EXPLORING THE MICRO-SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION: A Critical Analysis of Parents' Attitudes and Language Use Patterns among Ndamba Speakers in Tanzania

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Key Words

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Family

Bilingualism

Ethnic identity

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ABSTACT

Scholars submit that an enormous number of minority languages around the world are disappearing because they are not being transmitted to the next generation. This thesis presents an investigation of micro-social strategies of language transmission in a bilingual situation; focusing on parents' attitudes and language use behavior, it describes and analyses conditions that facilitate intergenerational language transmission to occur in a minority language community in Tanzania. The motivation for the study is the realization that after close to five decades of implementation of stringent and authoritarian policies on indigenous minority languages, unmistakable indications of language decline have begun to show up in most parts of the country. Some scholars have characterized the language situation in Tanzania as "*linguistic tsunami*" (Mugane, 2005: 176) referring to the critical rate of language shift that is currently underway in the country. Official pressure to use Swahili has been so intense that in many language communities speakers have given up speaking their home languages in favor of Swahili (Mkude, cited in Legére.1992). By one account, countrywide, most of the population born since 1977 uses exclusively Swahili (Mugane, ibid). Studies have further revealed that in some communities language shift has reached advanced stages as children learn Swahili as the mother tongue instead of the indigenous languages of the respective communities (Nurse, 1997). Moreover in some villages it has been revealed that community members no longer speak their indigenous languages, instead Swahili has taken over all situations and functions of language use in the communities. These views point out to the fact that the situation of indigenous languages in the country is precarious such that studies need to be conducted urgently to ascertain the dimension of the situation and to suggest ways of halting further decline.

Paradoxically however in spite of over a generation long period of official state discrimination and neglect of indigenous minority languages, there are unmistakable indications showing that some communities in Tanzania have been successful to maintain their home languages (Legére, 1992; Stegen, 2003; Msanjila, 2004). Studies have revealed that in some communities children still learn home languages as a mother tongue; they speak home language first before they gain proficiency in Swahili. This revelation implies that in spite of Swahili hegemonic pressure realized in the form of official neglect of minority languages and social and psychological motivation to entice speakers to give up speaking local languages, members of these language communities have maintained the capability to transmit their traditional languages.

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This paradox whereby language communities have been able to maintain their languages through linguistic reproduction in spite of experiencing hegemonic pressure to relinquish them has prompted me to examine the question of intergenerational language transmission as a strategy for language maintenance using Ndamba community as a case study.

As regards to larger theoretical traditions concerning the study of language maintenance initiatives, this investigation is motivated by the fact that despite the realization by linguists and language activists that intergenerational language transmission is the key factor to language survival (Fishman, 1992); few studies have been conducted to examine the dynamics underlying the process that facilitates parents to transfer language to their descendants. In the case of Tanzania no study, that the author is aware about, has carried out a language profile to investigate circumstances that make it possible for a language community to achieve intergenerational language reproduction. Hence an intellectual gap existed with respect to micro level factors that cause parents to transfer language to their descendants. In a bigger picture therefore this study aims to fill up this intellectual gap by contributing insights on circumstances that make it possible for language communities to maintain their languages against the pressure of linguistic hegemony.
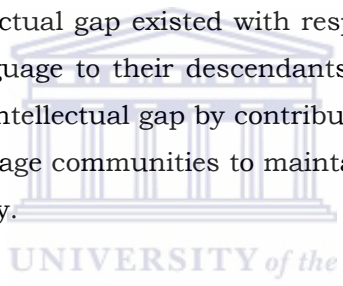
Most linguists concede that intergenerational language transmission is fundamental to safeguarding languages from decline. However the essence of the term and what should constitute the focus of investigation about the phenomenon has varied among the experts. Most linguists have construed intergenerational language transmission as an outcome; hence have investigated it focusing on differences in language competence realized by speakers of different age categories at a particular point in time. The presumption is that changes in language structure or competence of speakers at different intervals of time are indicative of the fact that language is transmitted from parents to children. The limitation of this approach is that it does not show how the process of language transmission itself takes place and what the determining factors are. According to Kari and Spolsky (1978) the best way to understand how languages are maintained or lost is to study [...] "the process itself" (p.635).

The present study has investigated the micro-social properties of intergenerational language transmission, looking at it as an ongoing process wherein communities pass on language from parents to their descendants through [...] "the normal familial interactions of parents and children (and grandparents, grandchildren, etc.) (Crisp,

2005:150). As a case study it examined Ndamba parents' attitudes and language use patterns to determine how they influence children's language acquisition.

Participants for the study were selected using purposive non-probabilistic sampling method. Data was collected in two Ndamba dominant villages using semi-structured, open-ended interview questions, and ethnographic participant observation method, informal discussion was also used as a support method. For data analysis, qualitative data analysis model and relational content (thematic) analysis were utilized.

The findings show that overall Ndamba language is being sufficiently transmitted intergenerationally among its speakers. Community members' language loyalty and the need to maintain ethnic identification are the main motives behind the community's inspiration to maintain and transfer home language. In conjunction with this main motive, categories of micro-social dynamics that facilitate language transmission to take place among Ndamba speakers have been identified. These are related to family language policy strategies, and language socialization experiences.

Nevertheless despite compelling evidence that Ndamba is currently being sufficiently transferred cross-generations, data also shows that the language transmission trend realized in the community is disrupted, making long term sustainability of the language precarious. Empirical evidence reveals that a class of semi-speaker children, defined in Dorian (1982) as […] "individuals who have failed to develop full fluency and adult normal proficiency" (p.26) is emerging in the community, which hints that children are not achieving complete acquisition of the home language. This observation heralds that language shift is underway in Ndamba community. Since the language context of Ndamba community resembles that of the rest of indigenous minority communities in Tanzania, the results of this study provide an empirical description of how ambivalent attitudes and incomplete language use pattern on the part of parents can be described as accountable for the slow but systematic language shift that is currently taking place in the country.

The study has several implications; for general theoretical traditions it highlights the point that ambivalent attitudes and incomplete language use are responsible for gradual language decline. Previous studies while acknowledging the role of community based, intuitive conditions on language maintenance and shift, did not show how the process occurred. For policy the study aims toward sensitizing policy makers and raise their awareness about the dire situation in which minority languages currently are in. This would ensure that politicians, bureaucrats, and other state authorities could

implement policy decisions that guarantee protection of minority languages and enhance their vitality. One policy strategy that could ensure revitalization of minority languages would be to include them in the school curriculum as supplementary approach to the effort of the home and the community, as McCarty (2002, quoted in Recento, 2006) observes that schools; […] "can be constructed as a place where children can be free to be indigenous in the indigenous language – in all of its multiple and ever-changing meanings and forms" (p. 51).

DECLARATION

I declare that *Exploring the Micro-social Dynamics of Intergenerational Language Transmission: A Critical Analysis of Parents' Attitudes and Language Use Patterns among Ndamba Speakers in Tanzania* is my own work; that it has not been submitted for any degree examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Pembe Peter Agustini Lipembe   March 2010

Signed.....................................

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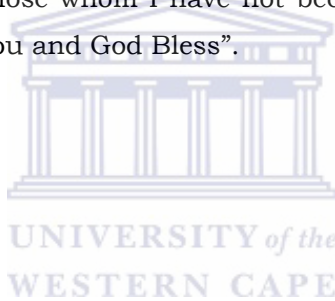
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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

"...indeed given the trials and tribulations of 'small national languages' it is really quite surprising that these normally do continue to experience intergenerational continuity" (J. Fishman, 1989, p.225).

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study deals with the micro-social strategies of language maintenance; it describes and analyses factors that contribute to an understanding of the role played by intuitive and community specific (traditional) strategies in language maintenance (Sasse, 1992). The focus of the study is the paradox of minority language sustenance in Tanzania where despite the overbearing linguistic hegemony of Swahili, some ethnic minority languages continue to survive. This is in contradistinction of the observations made decades ago by many scholars that […] "all languages in Tanzania will die within the coming decade" (Abdulaziz, 1972:122).

Linguistically Tanzania has been described as a 'trifocal' country (Whiteley, 1969; Batibo 1992, 2005) implying that three languages are invariably used for communication in the country. The real situation however shows that a majority of the Tanzanian population is bilingual; that is people largely make use of two languages, i.e., the dominant national language-Swahili and a minority ethnic language. Current estimations indicate that besides ethnic languages, over 50 million people (Nurse, 1997) or 90 percent (Rubagumya, 1997) of the Tanzanian population speaks Swahili.

Language contact which entails bilingualism for some speakers always has linguistic interference effects. Bilingualism may promote or threaten the state of a minority language. Lambert (1974; 1977 as cited in Hamers and Blanc, 2000) was the first to draw attention to the fact that the development of bilingualism that is either supportive or threatening to a minority language results from […] "the social psychological mechanisms involved in language behavior, particularly in the perception of the relative social status of both languages by the individual" (p. 98).

The sociocultural context of the community in which bilingual experiences occur is also accountable for influencing bilingualism. When the languages in question are in complementary connection, Hamers and Blanc (2000) comment, […] "both languages

and both cultures will bring complementary positive elements" (p. 98). This situation is found when families where novices are socialized and the community at large attribute positive values to the two languages. On the other hand when the two languages engage in competitive relationship rather than complementary, the culturally prestigious language will tend to take the limelight over the minority language leading its speakers to reject their own cultural values in favor of those of the dominant language. The outcome of this trend is the decline and replacement of the minority language.

Fishman (1991, cited in Downes 1998) while going along with the view that social factors are crucial in determining whether the weaker language group loses their mother tongue or maintains it in a stable bilingual situation, introduces the idea of power differential along it. He emphasizes asymmetry of power between the involved groups as the crucial factor influencing bilingualism. Fishman (1991) contends that language decline occurs, because [...] "interacting languages-in-cultures are of unequal power, therefore the weaker ones become physically and demographically dislocated" (p.59).

1.2 LANGUAGE REPLACEMENT IN TANZANIA

The process of language replacement is evident in most parts of Tanzania as more and more people who should have acquired dominance in ethnic languages become proficient speakers of the dominant Swahili language rather than in their ethnic community languages. Mugane (2005) refers to this situation as "discordant monolingualism", a condition whereby a speaker's (first) traditional language is replaced by another language. He holds this condition as a responsible factor for causing potential linguistic incarceration of most ethnic languages in the country.

Many writers (Batibo, 1992; Legére, 1992, Mugane, 2005) have attributed the decline of ethnic minority languages in Tanzania to the rise of Swahili hegemony which has extensively contributed to the undermining and destroying of the languages of minority ethnic communities. While acknowledging that some regional and local languages are known to have played an important role in the elimination of other languages in the country, (Batibo, 1992) nevertheless observes that;

> [...] it is the rise of Swahili, as a national language, which has contributed the major
> threat. This is because Swahili has...prestige, modernity, lingua franca, social promotion,
> and wider acceptance (p.93).

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Mugane (opp. cit.) describes the manner in which Swahili has annihilated local languages in Tanzania as "scorched earth policy", referring to the political and legal pressure applied in the legitimization of Swahili, culminating to a situation of linguistic neglect that has put all minority ethnic languages in an irrelevant position. Denied a function in the public domain, and their use restricted only to family and cultural performance (Polome, 1980), ethnic languages in Tanzania have subsequently [...] "been given up and gradual extinction is taking place to most of them" (Mkude, cited in Legére. 1992: 108).

Studies show that the number of people in Tanzania growing up speaking Swahili as their first language is increasing, a large majority of these are people ethnically affiliated to the minority languages (Nurse, 1997: 272). Indeed Mugane (2005) asserts that [...] "most of the population born since 1977 uses exclusively Swahili". This corroborates Nurse's (1997) observation that second-language Swahili speakers are relatively few in number and are mainly older people in the west of the country.

Nurse (opp.cit.) categorizes speakers of Swahili as the first language in three groups; these, beside members of the traditional Swahili communities along the coast whose ancestors have spoken Swahili for a millennium or more, are many adults who grew up in urban centers and who adopted Swahili as an interethnic language now speak it as their mother tongue. Another group of speakers who also use Swahili as the first language is the increasing number of youth about whom Nurse (ibid:) observes, [...] "might have spoken an ethnic language in their early years and perhaps still use it on occasion, but who, as a result of schooling and national policy , use Swahili in most daily situations" (p. 272).

1.2.1 Linguistic hegemony in Tanzania

The linguistic plain in different parts of Tanzania is characterized by Swahili hegemony in a bilingual relationship with ethnic minority languages. It is a kind of unilateral bilingualism or asymmetrical bilingualism (Mugane, 2005). This situation is realized through unequal opportunities that Swahili enjoys over the remaining ethnic languages. The existing linguistic relationship between Swahili and the numerous ethnic minority languages places Swahili in a position of domination over the other ethnic languages (Legére, 1992).

In a broader sense the notion of Swahili linguistic hegemony concerns not only linguistic characteristics but also social aspects. In the view of Suarez (2002), linguistic

hegemony concerns [...] "various aspects of social power relations, including social power relationships between majority and minority languages and language groups" (p. 513). A thorough appraisal of the principles of linguistic hegemony is therefore necessary if one is to appreciate the situation of unequal linguistic power relations currently taking place in Tanzania.

1.2.2 Linguistic hegemony in theory

Linguistic hegemony is a type of linguistic representation referred to by Bourdieu (1977, cited in Stroud, 2002: 248) as *legitimate* language, the language or variety of language associated in the minds of community members with power and authority, and with formal and official activities. Linguistic hegemony is configured in a form of unequal linguistic power relationships between languages in the community (Wiley, 2000). It is asserted when one language in the community usurps unquestioned power over other languages through legitimization and sanctioning leaving other languages powerless and vulnerable. Suarez (2002: 514) contends that successful linguistic hegemony often results into shift from the minority language to the majority language.

How languages come to be represented and generally perceived as dominant, authoritative and legitimate takes different forms. Bourdieu (opp.cit) contends that a complex historical process often involving extensive conflict applies when particular languages or sets of linguistic practices gain authority, dominance, and legitimacy. Downes (1998) discusses the principles of language restriction; linguistic markets; and political and legal factors as the main forms of linguistic hegemony assertion.

1.2.2.1 Language restriction: As a factor for legitimation of language, it refers to the subordination of competing languages in favor of the dominant language, making them become used less frequently and in fewer social contexts (Mougeon and Beniack, 1991, cited in Downes 1998:63). In this context the languages are deprived of their full range of varieties that they had potential to use in many domains. When the use of a language is restricted to the low functional situations like the home, it may not develop resources to deal with high domain functions like technology, law, science etc. because the words simply may not exist in the language or in the speaker's competence in it (Crystal, 2000).

Language restriction has been applied to the process of legitimation of Swahili. By legislation the functions of ethnic languages have been much reduced, the extended use of Swahili language in all official situations and important functions has tended to

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restrict the use ethnic languages to family and cultural performances (Polome, 1980). Ethnic language speakers find they have fewer opportunities to use their languages because of the restriction imposed on them.

1.2.2.2 Linguistic market: The linguistic market associated with a language variety determines its legitimation. Language is considered a form of cultural and social capital which can be cashed in economically (Sankoff and Liberge, 1978; Dittmar, et al, 1988, cited in Downes, 1998). Knowledge of the language variety with the highest market value generates a drive in those with other mother tongues to learn the valued variety. Abundant research literature shows languages linguistic market in a bilingual community lead parents to prefer that their children acquire the most economically useful tongue,

> [...] in the process often eliminating or subordinating other competing languages or dialects (Thompson 1991, cited in Stroud, 2002: 248).

In Tanzania the linguistic market factor has played a remarkable role in the decline of the numerous ethnic languages which are seen as lacking value. Since the knowledge of Swahili has determined one's chances of social integration and prospect of obtaining of a job in the urban centers, people have gradually tended to associate Swahili and social advancement. They have concluded that their traditional languages are limited in their pragmatic utility and may not help them to achieve outward movement, subsequently they have abandoned them.

Market forces in a bilingual situation are normally reinforced by political, legal and other forms of power in the law and government policy. Legislative measures imposed by government bodies in favour of the dominant language help to strengthen its status and power over the weaker languages. Fishman (1991; 56) makes contrast between two strategies used to intensify the position of the dominant language; the first involves actual legal prohibitions of language use where the state declares some languages as unlawful. The second strategy involves curtailment of linguistic rights of minorities. Most often this is realized through enactment of measures which restrict freedom of use of the weaker languages.

In the case of Tanzania, the promotion of Swahili to the current position was achieved through ratification of political and legal policies which favored Swahili and marginalized a lot of ethnic languages. Following the declaration of Swahili as national language, Legére (1992) observes [...] "serious efforts were undertaken to promote its

use in the official sphere...local languages were excluded from the official domain and relegated to the private sphere" (p.106). It is evident that these sanctions were intended to make Swahili not just a national means of communication; but more significantly an instrument of power and control.

The post-independence language policy was one geared toward the growth and expansion of Swahili and eventual disappearance of the ethnic languages. Batibo (1992) notes that;

> [...] (this) was a true reflection of the country's linguistic policy which, although was not explicit on the fate of the ethnic languages, it tended to treat them as marginal or even as nonexistent (p.93).

In view of these observations it would be justified then to conclude that the overall purpose of language policies adopted after the independence were designed to achieving change in attitudes of ethnic language speakers, signify the prestige of Swahili and most importantly to assert Swahili hegemony (Batibo,1992). In the next section I examine some of the agenda that have implications on language viability.

1.2.3 Language policy and sociolinguistic scales

Linguists unanimously agree that language policy decisions have significant and long term impact on language maintenance and sustainability. What they seem not to be in consensus about is what language policy decisions can best help to revitalize minority languages in a multilingual situation.

Traditionally language policy has been considered only as political decisions made by government or state institutions for the purpose of controlling practices of language use and status of varieties in a community (Spolsky, 2004). In reality however language policy and planning as social practice is realized in a continuum of layered scales having both local and the global realizations. This is in agreement with Blommaert's (2009, in press) idea of *sociolinguistic scales* which perceives acts of communication as simultaneously comprising the local (micro) and global (macro) realizations. The 'micro' phenomena of language are [...] "individual, one-time and unique phenomenon whereas the 'macro' phenomena are collective and relatively stable" (p.41).

Using the sociolinguistic scales paradigm to analyze language policy and planning, this study distinguishes between official language policies on the one hand which are 'macro' and global; and family language policies on the other which are 'micro' and

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localized. Whereas official language policies concern deliberate initiatives taken by government bodies or state institutions to control the structure or function of language varieties in the community (Spolsky, 2004), family language policies relate to decisions taken by parents regarding language use options within their families (King, 2000).

This study shows that in language maintenance context the two types of language policy and planning are in conflict, with the official policy often leading toward linguistic assimilation, and family language policy leading toward linguistic diversity and language maintenance.

1.2.3.1 Critical language policy approach

There are a number of policy models that have attempted to address the problem of language use in multilingual settings. One such model is critical language-policy which is part of the burgeoning field of critical applied linguistics (Pennycoock, 2001). Critical language-policy approach is built on the understanding that language policy has a wider role to play in the social, political and economic life of the community. In this respect the main purpose of critical language-policy approach is to develop policies that aim at reducing various forms of inequality in the community (Tollefsson, 2006).

Critical language-policy research supports linguistic pluralism; it has as its one area of concern investigation of the manner in which minorities could be empowered to resist hegemonic influences targeted to their languages and cultures. Habermas (1987, quoted in Ricento, 2006: 47) sees linguistic domination which is often realized in part through language shift as one of the main social problems of our time. In this respect critical language-policy research concerns itself with finding strategies that promote successful language preservation and rehabilitation (Ricento, ibid: 47). Empowering speakers of minority language is seen as the most viable way towards maintenance and revitalization of vulnerable languages.

Canagarajah (1999) reasons that empowered minority language learners may learn a dominant language but resist the pressure to alter their identities in favor of the dominant group. In this way they will manage to maintain not only their languages but their cultures as well as identities. Thus despite pressure from dominant languages, empowered speakers of vulnerable languages may still be able to create and sustain subtle resistance strategies necessary for maintenance of their languages and culture.

In the decision making process for policy formulation, most advocates of critical language-policy approach emphasize the need to involve the people for whom the

decisions are made. Ricento (2006) remarks that most researchers ascribing to critical language-policy acknowledge the principal that [....] "people who experience the consequences of language policy should have a major role in making policy decisions" (p. 45).

Considering the above, critical language-policy appears to be the most suitable approach to addressing the problem of minority language maintenance and revitalization.

The following section provides a brief overview of the feature of Tanzania's language policy in view of the theoretical background described above.

1.2.3.2 The feature of Tanzania's language policy

By many accounts since independence in 1961, Tanzania has not had languge policy in real sense of the term (Massamba, 1989); rather it has from time to time, arbitrarily issued policy statements which had not been subjected to sociolinguistic planning procedure. Partly because of this limitation, some scholars have described Tanzania's policy guidelines as, [...] "confusing, contradictory, and ambiguous" (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004: 68). In the last four decades since independence, the government has issued a number of such language policy statements. By and large most of the official public statements which have passed by as language policy have in reality been none more than directives for use and promotion of Swahili (Massamba, ibid.).

The main focus of Tanzania's language policy guidelines in the post-independence era has been one gorged toward achieving a monoglot society which according to Blommaert (2006) corresponds with the political ideal of building national identity which is defined in [...] "political-ideological and linguistic terms" (p.247) rather than in terms of ethnic or cultural identity. To implement this ideology, Blommaert (ibid.) observes, two important measures were adopted; first Swahili was declared the national language in 1965 whereby it instantaneously took over the position of English in a number of important social domains, e.g. it became the medium of instruction in primary education, language of parliamentary proceedings and became the dominant language in the media, both in radio and print media. The second measure was to neutralize the influence of other languages in the country; in the ideological atmosphere of the time, the first target according to Blommaert (ibid) was English which was perceived to be the language of oppression, which perpetuated imperialist and capitalist interests. Secondly the government was determined to counteract the influence of the indigenous languages which were seen to be relics of the past traditional, and pre-

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colonial cultures. These were perceived to be a hindrance to national integration and development.

Recently the government has introduced the **Cultural Policy (1997)** (also known as **Sera ya Utamaduni**) which recognizes the existence and rights of minority languages (Legere, 2006). The new policy however does not adequately redress the shortcomings of the previous policies regarding the problem of protecting and promoting the status of minority languages in Tanzania. Apart from official recognition of minority languages, there is no legislation that provides protective measures or assurance for their growth and sustenance. Moreover there is no change in the existing policy in terms of ending discrimination against minority languages; it still continues to favor the official languages-English and Swahili. For a detailed account on the current Tanzania language policy, refer to section 2.3.1.10.

1.3 SITUATING THE STUDY

Evidence gained from minority language experiences elsewhere indicates, as Suarez (2002) contends, that successful linguistic hegemony most often results into shift of the minority languages to the dominant language. The current language situation in Tanzania is consistent with this assumption. Research findings continually point to the fact that [...] "all ethnic languages in Tanzania are dying out in all parts of (the) country" (Batibo 1992:85), this is indication that serious threat of mass extinction of ethnic languages hangs on over minority languages in Tanzania.

On the other hand however despite several decades of long and successful implementation of linguistic hegemonic measures, sociolinguistic investigations conducted to assess the vitality of some ethnic languages in Tanzania have revealed that despite there being unmistakable indications of decline to a majority of them, most languages are still viable (Msanjila, 2004; Stegen, 2003). This is in contrast to predictions made decades back that minority languages in Tanzania will die out within a decade (Abdulaziz, 1972). This paradox whereby indigenous minority languages in Tanzania continue to thrive in spite of intense and protracted pressure brought to bear by Swahili influence constitutes an intellectual void which needs to be investigated. Most sociolinguistic profile studies conducted on Tanzania's minority languages have dealt with the problem of language shift toward dominant Swahili, few that have been examined how minority languages are maintained in Tanzania however have attended more on macro societal factors rather than micro-level, interactional strategies

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responsible for sustenance of minority languages in Tanzania (Stegen,2003; Msanjila, 2004; Swilla, 2005).

This study differs with the previous ones on two accounts; first it describes community dynamics which facilitate intergenerational sustenance of minority languages in Tanzanian context, focusing on natural interaction processes of language speakers. In this manner the research therefore complements studies that have been conducted elsewhere to examine in a systematic way how minority language communities utilize community specific dynamics to achieve intergenerational reproduction. Secondly, the present study differs from previous researches in terms of methodological approaches used. Whereas the previous studies have examined language maintenance practices using quantitative descriptions, the present study differs in the way that it draws conclusions from interpretations of meanings obtained from people's own perceptions and behavior experiences.

1.3.1 Ndamba as a case study: To determine local community dynamics that enable minority language communities to maintain their languages through natural transmission process, the study took Ndamba speakers as case of study. Ndamba speakers are found in Morogoro region in south eastern Tanzania. They populate a number of small, perennially swampy communities situated along the tributaries of Kilombero River (for a comprehensive account of Ndamba people and community refer to section 1.6).

Almost all Ndamba speakers living in the original homeland villages are bilingual in Ndamba and Swahili. In most homes however Ndamba is the dominant language of communication among family members and in a majority of families children acquire the language as a mother tongue (refer to section 1.6.4 for an account on the sociolinguistic situation). This is an indication that the community is intergenerationally transmitting the home language. Intergenerational language transmission is described in Fishman (1991) as the process of passing down language from one generation to the next. Moreover Brenzinger, Yamamoto et al. (2003) consider a language community as achieving language transmission even when [...] "most (but not all), children or families of a particular community speak their parental language as their first language" (p.11). Studies show that just like language endangerment, intergenerational language transmission constitutes a continuum ranging from complete transmission, whereby the language is acquired as mother tongue by all children in the community to no transmission, wherein the language is no longer

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learned as the mother tongue by children in the home (Brenzinger, Yamamoto et al. ibid).

1.3.2 Motivation for the study: The motivation for me to investigate intergenerational language strategies developed largely out of my personal interest in minority languages and apprehension about their fate in the face of distinct signs of their massive extinction. This stark reality made me conclude that some action was required of me to try to salvage the situation. When my first line of response-to conduct documentation of an ethnic language failed to materialize, I decided that a study of the circumstances that promote their sustenance was equally important as it would help to establish the facts necessary for promoting awareness to parents and other stakeholders on the best ways to maintain them.

Furthermore the statement given by the Foundation for Endangered Languages in 1995 saying that, *"we and our children, (then), are living at the point of human history where, within perhaps two generations, most languages in the world will die out"* and that *"it is already too late for hundreds of languages, for the rest, the time is now"* (cited in Crystal, 2005:viii) has developed in me both emotionally and intellectually, a strong sense of commitment to the salvation of minority languages. And I have always felt in me a sense of duty and obligation albeit in a small way, to contribute to finding ways of preserving minority languages.

1.3.3 Intergenerational language transmission: As the number of indigenous minority languages facing threat of extinction increases around the world, the issue of language reproduction has become of crucial importance. Increasingly evidence obtained from empirical investigation suggests that the survival or loss of minority languages depends upon the extent to which relevant language communities are able to pass on their language from one generation to another within the family or household context (Fishman, 1992; Aitchson & Carter, 1994).

Abundant research literature shows that the extent to which minority language groups manage to maintain or lose their languages depends on the scale to which the communities transmit their languages through generations. In this regard, the role of the home and the local community is commonly recognized as being most important to the transmission process of minority languages. This is particularly after it has been found that school education cannot quite adequately pass on to children both the cognitive and affective aspects of language (Fishman 1992).

1.3.3.1 Role of Family: The family is the cornerstone to the transmission of language to the younger generation. In order to understanding how the family achieves this undertaking one has to investigate naturalistic interactions between the young children and their caregivers (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984) and Schieffelin & Ochs, 1983; 1986a). Through interaction with children, families are capable of presenting to children rules through which appropriate language and social behavior might be constructed. In addition it is able to present techniques, procedures, modes of interpretation and information (Schieffellin, 1986, p.166). Families provide first experience for children to acquire basic or "stock knowledge" which they use in constructing contexts for interpreting what is going on.

1.3.3.2 Role of Community: For parents to be able to successfully transmit language to the children they need the support of the surrounding community. The use of language in the communities where the children live has significant implication on the child's language acquisition and socialization. If children are to develop adult like competence in the home language, they must have opportunities to speak it in the community, both in children and adult contexts. The community provides a novice language learner with the context for the world of real language use (Hinton, 1999).

In the light of the above, this study examines community (cultural) specific dynamics prevailing in Ndamba families and the surrounding community that facilitate intergenerational transmission of language. For proper understanding of the study, it is important to start by providing a brief account of the general historical and sociolinguistic characteristics of the Ndamba community. The next section describes the social and linguistic situation of Ndamba people.

1.4 DESCRIPTION OF NDAMBA SPEAKERS AND LANGUAGE

This section endeavors to provide the identity of Ndamba language by describing some particulars concerning its ethnolinguistic context of the language group. Olson (1996) describes the speakers of this language in the following words;

> [....] The Ndambas are an East African people who are part of the Ngindo group of East Africa. Most of the Ndambas are rice farmers, who raise the cash crop in the fertile, damp floodplains of the Kilombero and Rufiji rivers in Tanzania. They also raise poultry and goats. The Ndambas trace descent through male lines (p.421).

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1.4.1 Name of the language

The group's name Ndamba is a self-referent term that derives from the nominal word '*kundamba*' which literally means lowland. The name is said to originate from a primordial event that culminated with a schism of the ancestral cluster of speakers. Following the separation, the group divided into two; the first group moved '*kuchanya*' (to the highlands) becoming the forebears of the modern day Wachanya (also called *veghanji*, more popularly known as Wapogoro). The second group moved '*kundamba*' (to the lowlands) occupying the estuarine flood land of Kilombero river and its tributaries. These became the ancestors of the modern Ndamba people who up till today inhabit the flood plains of lower Kilombero basin engaging themselves mainly in small scale cultivation, fishing and occasional hunting.
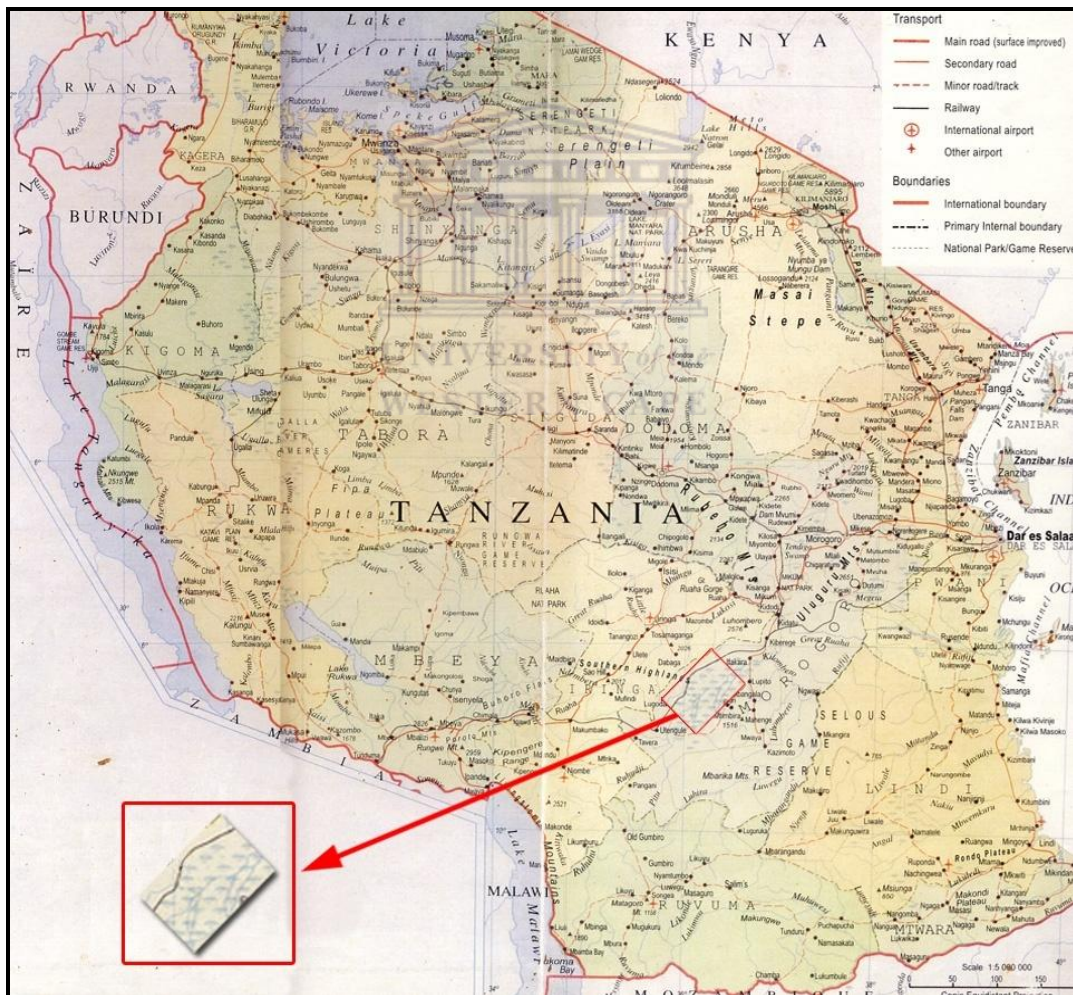
Map 1.1 Marshy Kilombero River basin, the original homeland of Ndamba speakers
Modified map from Conic Equidistant Project map (2009).

1.4.2 Genetic Affiliation

Linguistically Ndamba language belongs to the eastern sub-branch of Bantu language family. It is recorded in the Ethnologies Report for Languages Code as NDJNDAMBA, SIL Code: NDJ, ISO639-2: bnt.

Ethnologue classification for Ndamba is Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central, G (G50).

Languages that share close linguistic relationship with Ndamba are Mbunga which has a 69% lexical similarity and Pogoro which has a 57% lexical similarity to Ndamba (SIL International, 2009).

1.4.3 Ethnographic Setting

1.4.3.1 Genealogical Origins: The Ndamba are indigenous inhabitants of the marshy flood-plains of Kilombero river valley in Morogoro region. Information on their origins and their pre-modern history are scant and often controversial. However according to creditable vernacular accounts (Monson, 2000), the ancestors of the Ndamba people originally settled in the eastern end of the Kilombero river, near or around the settlement of Boma ya Ulanga. After sometime, as a result of population growth, conflict over resources erupted among the various clans of the tribe. Following this conflict the group divided into two sections; one group led by Mwibani decided to move away from the valley, they crossed the Kilombero river and went to stay in the mountains where they subsequently changed both their tribe and their language. These were the ancestors of the modern Veghanji or Wapogoro, as recounted by Mwilenga (cited in Monson, 2000):

> [From the time of] that division until today, the Wandamba and the Wapogoro are not brothers any more, but they are neighbours…This is the history (*habari*) of our elder grandfather Mwibani….Mwinyiani on the other hand stayed [here in the valley], and gave birth to many children and many grandchildren. That is, they became the local (*wenyeji*) of this valley of Ulanga (pg.554).

From their original homeland, in the east of Kilombero valley proper, one group of Ndamba moved up stream to form village settlements along river Mnyera and its tributaries. The significance of this movement is that it dispersed Ndamba speakers to a wider geographical area, giving rise to the current two principal Ndamba dialects of Chichanya and Chindamba.

One group shifted up stream to establish fairly dry land settlements in a place called Ngombo occupying among others the areas of Ifema, Njaawapi, Igawa, and Biro where

beside their traditional occupations of farming, fishing and hunting, they engaged themselves in cattle keeping. This group came to be known as Wachanya (meaning people of the highlands).They are the speakers of Chichanya dialect. Due to the settled nature of the Wachanya, compared to the group that settled in flood plains, their dilect has become recognized as the standard Ndamba dialect.

The group that remained and established settlements along the main river was known as Wandamba (meaning people of the lowlands). Their main areas of settlement were Kalihanya, Mofu, Mbingu, Merera and Chita. These are the speakers of Chindamba dialect.

1.4.4 Ndamba sociolinguistic situation

Ndamba people are bilingual speakers of Ndamba and Swahili. The two languages are acquired by children in the community as first languages. Proficiency in the two languages across the population differs according to the age of the speakers, whereas the older generation speakers are Ndamba dominant, children are largely Swahili dominant (refer to figure 6.1). Moreover the language use situation in the community reflects a typical diaglossic relationship whereby the two languages are used under different situations. On the one hand Ndamba is used primarily in the home for communicating intimate and informal subjects, like family matters or cultural affairs while Swahili on the other hand is used to communicate more official and formal matters like local government issues or religious. Furthermore only Swahili is allowed to be taught in schools while Ndamba is not even allowed to be spoken in or around the school premise.

Regarding members' loyalty to the two languages, an atmosphere of ambivalent attitude pertains among them; whereas some members think Ndamba language and culture are important for the community, others especially the youth pay more loyalty to Swahili because of its potential as means for achieving social mobility and wider integration with speakers of other languages.

1.4.4.1 Demography: Ndamba people are located in numerous, far-flung small village settlements which are not connected by permanent roads between them. The villages include, Ngombo, Biro, Mofu, Mngeta, Igawa, Mchombe, and Merera. During much part of the year these villages are cut off from one another as communication between them is prevented by floods. Prolonged isolation or confinement of speakers presumably impinges on the ethnolinguistic vitality of the group as it erodes effective social

networking of the speakers. The advancement of modern technology in recent decades may have provided opportunity for intensification of ethnic contact amongst members of the group. Most Ndamba speakers nowadays use cell phones for communication. In this way they are able to keep in touch with distant members (i.e. relatives, friends etc.) hence increasing both density and intensity of their social networks, which is an advantage to language maintenance.

The speaker population of Ndamba according to the 1975 data of the Tanzanian language survey conducted by Derek Nurse and Phillipson (confer, www.cbold.ddl.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/) is placed at 60,000. However when the actual number of people who use the language as a daily means of communication is considered, the number of speakers might be much less than that; since many villages which previously used Ndamba as primary language of communication have now completely shifted to Swahili.

1.4.4.2 Status: Ndamba people who are described by one account as [...] "sturdy and handsome people" (Monson,2000b:362) are a low status language group; occupied mainly in fishing and subsistence cultivation of rice, Ndamba people have no history of cultural or military superiority. Up to the recent decades Ndamba people have lived peacefully in their isolated and dispersed low-lying hill settlements. Comparing Ndamba with the war-like surrounding neighbors like the Hehe and Bena, Graf von Pfeil (cited in Monson, 2000b) describes the Ndamba as [...] "peaceful people who live without chiefs" (p.363).

The Ndamba political structure is described in Monson (opp.cit) as one that never had a centralized political system. In the contrary the Ndamba were organized [...] "under small, kinship-based settlements which were headed by a leader called *mbuyi* or *mutwa* who held secular as well as ritual authority" (pg.358).
In view of social and political background described above, it is reasonable to assume that Ndamba language is a low status language with no power to influence other languages.

1.4.4.3 Institutional Support: As is the case for the rest of tribal language groups in Tanzania, Ndamba does not receive any institutional support in the form of mass media, governmental or administrative service, or through the educational institutions. This is because Tanzania follows a homogenization language ideology which marginalizes indigenous minority languages in favor of Swahili. Minority languages are seen as a threat to national unity, hence the country pursues a language policy that

seeks to build a nation state where only the national language- Swahili is recognized as the official means for conducting matters of public interest. The use of other languages is not encouraged for the sake of promoting unity and stability of the state (Blommaet, 2006).

1.4.4.4 Ndamba language vitality: The ethnolinguistic vitality of Ndamba varies remarkably from place to place in the community; however in most villages a majority of the population speak the language on daily basis and most children use it for communication with parents and peers, a condition that shows that the language is being transmitted integenerationally. The range of functions to which Ndamba is used is restricted. The language is largely spoken in the home domain where it is used for expressing informal, intimate subjects. This condition according to Brenzinger, Yamamoto et al (2003) reflects an unsafe situation for the language as there is risk anytime for speakers to cease passing it on to the next generation.

On the basis of this language vitality overview it is realistic to conclude that much as the language does not show immediate danger at the moment, unmistakable signs of impending decline can be discerned among Ndamba speakers.

1.5 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main aim of the present study is to provide an explanation to the question, How have Ndamba speakers managed to maintain their language over time regardless of formidable influence engendered by Swahili domination? To answer this question, the study examines micro-social factors of the community, namely; parental attitudinal predispositions, language choice patterns in the home, and community support resourcefulness.

1.5.1 Objectives of the study

To answer the question the study has as its specific objectives the following items;

(i)   Assess parents' attitudes towards Ndamba language /group identity.

(ii) Explore language choice patterns in the home and neighborhood.

(iii) Investigate siblings and peers' role in language development of the child.

(iv) Contribute to the understanding of the of local community support measures that enhance generational language continuity.

(v) Design a suitable model for describing intergenerational language transmission process of a minority language in a bilingual situation.

1.5.2 Research questions

The overriding question of this study concerns how Ndamba speakers manage to preserve their language in spite of unfavorable linguistic conditions surrounding it. The study is guided by the view that the answer to this question lies in the manner in which community members perceive their language and how they use it in daily social interaction. To ascertain this, the following questions were asked;

(i)   What attitudes do Ndamba parents have toward their language and group identity?

(ii)   What practices in the home and the neighborhood contribute to language learning of the child?

        What role do peer group interactions play in child language development?

(iii)   What measures are there in the immediate community that support generational language self-renewal?

(v)   What would be a suitable model for describing language transmission process of a minority language in a bilingual situation?

1.5.3 Research Assumptions

Swahili domination and unsupportive atmosphere for sustained use of Ndamba language notwithstanding, Ndamba language speakers have been able to preserve and transmit the language through generations. My assumptions for this occurrence are as follows;

(i)   Parents hold positive attitudes toward Ndamba language and group identity.

(ii)   In the home there prevail language practices that enable children to acquire and appreciate Ndamba.

(iii)   Sibling and peer group interactions facilitate children's language development.

(iv)   The surrounding community proffers supportive atmosphere for learning and maintaining Ndamba.

(v)   From impressions gathered in the study a suitable model for describing language transmission of a minority language in a bilingual situation can be formulated.

1.6 JUSTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

It is widely known that one of the challenges of language shift is to determine strategies that could help to restore declining languages. Having in mind that the survival or decline of languages depends on individual members of the society itself, it is imperative that any effort toward understanding how a particular language is acquired, maintained or lost has to focus on the individuals who speak it. As Spolsky (1996) states;

> [...] the social phenomenon of language shift depends on groups of individuals who learn a language, who do not learn it, or who forget it. Thus what appears as a change in social patterns of language use and knowledge can be shown to depend on individual success or failure in language learning (p. 179).

This study has aimed at gaining insight into the means by which communities manage to transmit their language to their children thereby producing a new generation of speakers. Within this milieu, it has examined the multiple motivations, attitudinal and language use practices that cater for the maintenance and transmission of Ndamba through generations. These include parental attitudes, language choice patterns in the home and support measures available in the community.

The significance of the study is that, first it highlights attitudinal predispositions that are conducive to language maintenance and transmission in a community. Such knowledge is important for parents to have in communities where traditional languages are in danger of being overwhelmed by languages of wider communication.

Secondly, the study helps to promote awareness about the role of child-caregiver interactions and community participation in promoting language maintenance and transmission. This would appeal to parents and community members to improve interactional strategies with children making them more conducive for promoting language learning and transmission through generations.

1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

This study belongs to the broader discipline of language maintenance. It investigates how a bilingual Ndamba community maintains continuity of its traditional language by transmitting it to new generations of speakers. Working on language social psychological approach the study limits itself to the examination of parental language attitudes, language use patterns in the home, and support interventions in the

community as fundamental determinants for language transmission in Ndamba community.

1.8 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The nature of the topic investigated in this study and the strategies of obtaining information made it imperative to adopt a qualitative paradigm of research (Creswell, 1994). This study sought to determine a group of people's language attitudes and their pattern of language use. In this view reality was construed as subjective and attempts to understand it had to draw out on how the people concerned made sense of their life experience (Creswell, opp.cit.). Moreover it was envisaged that information would be obtained inductively through description and analysis of social reality.

The background described above required application of qualitative research methods that concerned with exploration, description and explanation of social experience thus providing a detailed and in-depth understanding of social reality and its implication. Babbie and Mouton (2006) observe that the major aim of explanatory studies is to indicate causality between variables or events. This particular study sought to determine how language attitudes and language choice patterns of community members impacted on language transmission to children.

The nature of the problem being investigated also required the use of qualitative techniques of data collection which provide for the researcher to interact with the sources of information. In-depth interview and participant observation methods were used for data gathering. These techniques proved a convenient means for the researcher to obtain firsthand experience with information providers as they were able to directly share their 'reality' with the researcher (conf. Creswell, 1994).

1.8.1 Sampling

The population of the study was parents. The nature of the research problem required that only individuals with some predetermined characteristics be selected as respondents of the study. Only parents with school-going age children were required for this study. In this sense a non-probability technique was deemed relevant for selection of a sample of respondents. In this case snowball sampling method was used to locate individuals who were deemed suitable to provide information required in this study. A few parents were located and interviewed and these were asked to provide information needed to locate other parents whom they happened to know (conf. Babbie and Mouton,

2006). In this way the number of respondents accumulated until the total number of 25 parents required as study sample was achieved.

1.8.2 Data collection
Data was collected in a multiphase procedure applying in-depth interview and participant observation methods simultaneously.

1.8.2.1 In-depth interview: This was conducted on all 25 parents to elicit their language attitudes and language use practices. Interviews were conducted at the homes of the respondents.

1.8.2.2 Participant observation: This was provisionally planned to be conducted in the homes of 4 families who agreed to act as focus group participants. However on account of parents being engaged in farm work during the period this study was conducted, observation of home interactions was difficult to accomplish. Hence most of language interaction practices were observed in the home of the family that hosted the researcher.
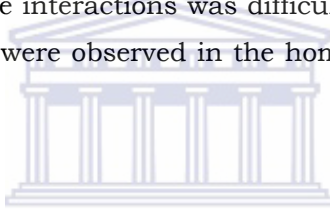
1.8.3 Data analysis
Consistent with qualitative research practice, the flow of analysis of data in this study was conducted as an on going process starting with anticipatory data reduction at the time the research project planning through data collection until finalization of the research report. Data reduction refers to the processing of data that involved sharpening, sorting, focusing, discarding, and organizing them in such a way that 'final' conclusions could be drawn and verified (conf. Miles and Huberman, 1994: 10). Other qualitative researchers also see this process as a form of 'data condensation'.

At the end of fieldwork when data collection was over, data was put through further systematic analytic procedure. First data was dissected into codes or labels of meaning. The codes of meaning were subsequently classified under categories of descriptive or inferential information which formed the basis for interpreting the data and forming views concerning Ndamba speakers' language choice patterns and attitudes.

1.8.4 Ethical considerations

During the course of conducting fieldwork for this research, determined consideration was made regarding the ethics for conducting social research. Five basic ethical principles were observed, namely; voluntary and informed participation of parents in the study, protection of parents and members of their families against any form of harm (physical or psychological), protection of anonymity and confidentiality of the participating parents, revelation of the nature and purpose of this research to the members of the community, and finally professional commitment on the part of the researcher to conduct accurate analysis and reporting of the findings and to make no claim to findings which may have been reached accidentally.

1.9 STRUCTURE OF THESIS

The eight chapters that comprise this thesis in their unison establish the context of the study; they present the conceptual and empirical premises that informed it, exhibit the methodological aspects of information gathering, procedures of data processing, analysis, interpretation, and finally the discussion of findings and recommendations.

Chapter One introduces the study by providing the background and definition of the problem. It is shown that the bilingual situation in Tanzania is influenced by Swahili hegemony which undermines the viability of the remaining ethnic languages. The principles by which linguistic hegemony is asserted are described and related to the Swahili case. The problem of the research is described as the paradox of language sustainability in an environment that is unsupportive for minority language to thrive. The chapter further presents the research objectives, questions and assumptions where it is indicated that the overall aim is to investigate Ndamba parents' attitudes toward their language; language choice patterns and community support strategies. The research design and methodology strategies are explained and reasons for adopting qualitative paradigm are established. The chapter ends by showing ethical considerations that were followed in the study.

Chapter Two examines the sociolinguistic situation in Tanzania. It explains the place, roles and interrelationship between English, Swahili, and the ethnic languages. The rise of Swahili to the current dominant position is traced where it is shown that the language's historical position as a means for commercial interaction is the impetus for its subsequent power and influence.

Chapter Three reviews the theoretical framework used to guide the study the literature on language contact and aspects of bilingualism; namely attitudes, language choice, and how these impact on intergenerational transmission of language.

Chapter Four deals with the methodological aspects of the research study. It describes the theoretical and practical aspects involved including the research design and methods used for sample selection, data collection instruments, and fieldwork practices.

Chapter Five presents and analyzes data concerning language attitudes of the community. Attitudes are analyzed on the basis of a set of emerging themes; family language policy, aspirations about children's future language use, feelings toward Ndamba language and culture, language proficiency, language loyalty and group identity, language pride, and language choice outside the house.

Chapter Six presents and analyzes data concerning Ndamba community's current language use behavior. Language use is examined under the variable of language choice which is categorized under the following themes; the range of societal functions performed by Swahili and Ndamba, situations in which Swahili and Ndamba are used, language socialization practices, relative frequency in which each language is used in the home and neighborhood, and, language variation in use in social contexts.

Chapter Seven presents a conceptual model proposal that summarizes the essential elements and underlying dynamics that apply in the intergenerational transmission of a minority language in a bilingual situation. It endeavors to systematize the fundamental factors that influence language transfer and to put forward a unified representation of the major components that impact on cross-generation transfer of a minority language faced with the danger of being annihilated by a competitor that is stronger and has wider influence.

Chapter Eight presents chapter conclusions of findings of the study. It is divided into three parts; the first provides a summary of the study, the second describes the implications for theoretical traditions and policy; and the third part presents recommendations of the study.

1.10 CONCLUSION TO CHAPTER ONE

This chapter has presented the context of the research by describing the background of the study and defining the problem of research. It has discussed bilingualism and the bilingual situation prevailing in Tanzania. The bilingual situation has been characterized as subtractive bilingualism in which the learning of Swahili causes displacement of ethnic languages.

The chapter further establishes that ethnic languages in Tanzania are being systematically displaced as a result of linguistic hegemony exercised by Swahili over the minority languages. The viability of the remaining ethnic languages is undermined as Swahili gains ground in prestige and diffusion.

The principles by which linguistic hegemony is asserted are described and related to the Swahili case. It is shown that a language becomes dominant and assumes hegemony when the use of other languages in the community is restricted; the dominant language has more linguistic markets value; and when the political and legal environment glorifies the dominant language and neglects the other languages.

The chapter further shows that the principles discussed above for the assertion of linguistic hegemony apply to the situation in Tanzania. It is argued that Swahili's gain of power and prestige is accounted for to restriction imposed on ethnic languages confining them to use only for inferior social functions; gain of linguistic market value where knowledge of Swahili is associated with material gain and privilege; and application of political and legal influence in favor of Swahili to the disadvantage of the ethnic minority languages.   The chapter ends by relating ethical considerations that were followed.

Chapter Two

LANGUAGE IN TANZANIA – THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND

"Tanzania is another great example of the linguistic *tsunami* that Swahili is causing in the region: the demise of the more than 120 languages indigenous to Tanzania is imminent" (Mugane, 2005:176).

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the sociolinguistic profile of Tanzania. It sets the context by elucidating on the main language groups and language use patterns available in the country. It goes on to highlight the relationship pertaining among the main language groups in the country and the circumstances that created opportunity for Swahili to gain dominance over other indigenous languages since the pre-colonial period as well as the effects of Swahili supremacy on language use pattern and attitudes. Tanzania language policy is put in focus and the place, role and functions of Swahili, English and the minority languages are described. It is concluded that should policy continue as it is the viability of minority languages will be seriously affected. The recount of the linguistic situation serves to provide the necessary background for understanding conditions that pose a threat to the viability of minority languages in the country.

The United Republic of Tanzania which comprises Tanganyika (or mainland Tanzania) and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, is a multilingual country consisting about 126 languages (Molnos, 1969 cited in Batibo, 1992). The historical linguistic atmosphere of this expansive, 943,040 sq.km geopolitical (Mbelle, 1994) region has been characterized with a tumultuous past involving extensive linguistic interaction, expansion, reduction or death of many of the languages, a situation that Batibo (1992) claims is attributed to [...] "conflict of interest and allegiance, mostly determined by socio-economic and cultural factors" (p.85).

Map 2.1 The United Republic of Tanzania.
Source: Eagle Maps (2009).

2.2 LANGUAGE FAMILIES

The language composition in Tanzania has been described as unique (Batibo, 1992), from the fact that it is the only country in Africa to encompass all the four language families described by Greenberg (1963). According to Greenberg (ibid.), the languages of Africa fall into four major families; the Congo Kordofanian, Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan, and Khoisan.

2.2.1 Congo Kordofanian: The vast majority of ethnic languages in Tanzania (102 out of the total 126 languages), belong to the *Bantu* group, which is itself a branch of the

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Niger-Congo sub-family of the Congo-Kordofanian. (Rubagumya, 1997; Batibo; 2005) It is estimated that about 95% of the Tanzanian population speak Bantu languages. Among the demographically dominant Bantu languages spoken in Tanzania are; Sukuma, Nyamwezi, Makonde, Ha, Chagga, Gogo, Haya, Hehe, Nyakyusa, and Luguru (Batibo 1992).

2.2.2 Afro-Asiatic*:* The Afro-Asiatic group of languages belongs to the Cushitic sub-family, the majority of who inhabit the area lying between the Red Sea and the Ethiopian plateau. The best known members of this group are the Oromo and Somali (Hayward, 2001). The main languages in this language group found in Tanzania include; Iraqw, Ma'a, Burunge, Kwadza, Gorowa.

2.2.3 Nilo-Saharan: This linguistic group, one of 'Greenbergian phyla' (Greenberg, 1963) represents an extensive group of languages scattered from north western Africa across to the south eastern (Bender, 2000; Dimmendaal, 2008). This family of languages is represented in Tanzania by the Nilotic group whose languages include; Maasai, Luo, Tatog, Barbaig, and Ongamo.

2.2.4 Khoisan: This group of languages represents the smallest of the four language phyla in Africa (Guldemann & Vossen, 2000). At the present time a majority of Khoisan languages are restricted to the Kalahari Desert especially in Namibia and Botswana with pockets of speakers in neighboring regions, including southern Angola and Zambia, western Zimbabwe and a handful places in northern South Africa. Languages of Khoisan family in Tanzania include Sandawe and Hadza whose speakers are mainly located in central part of the country (Batibo 1992).

2.3 PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE

The language use pattern in Tanzania has been described as 'trifocal' involving three languages in a triglossic relation (Whiteley, 1965; Abdulaziz-Mkilifi, 1978). A triglossic structure of language use is described by Batibo (2005: 16) as a condition that results from the phenomenon *triglossia* in which community members speak three languages, utilizing each to a distinct and complementary role. In a typical triglossic situation, language choice is characterized by hierarchical pattern whereby according to Batibo (2005), […] "languages are arranged in a structure. The language occupying the top of the structure holds official status and used mostly in high-level official dealings whereas the language at the lowest level of the structure is one of limited

communication and used largely for intra-ethnic communication, family interaction, and cultural expression" (p.17).

The language use pattern in Tanzania involves three language categories; Swahili, English, and ethnic languages in a complex mode of relations. A review of the use of these languages shows that each language is accorded different but complementary roles and a number of different trends also emerge such as not all languages are used by all people at all times and not all people are able to speak all the three languages with equal competence or proficiency. In order to understand the relationship between the three language categories used in Tanzania one needs to explore the history and circumstances of each of these language categories. How come the three languages occupy the positions they have? Who gets access to which language and what are the implications of such access or lack of it? A discussion of the circumstances and uses of the different languages is presented below:

2.3.1 SWAHILI

This is the national language and the language of wider communication in Tanzania, it is estimated that as of present, over 90 percent of Tanzania's population speak Swahili with different levels of competence (Abdulaziz, 1971; Rubagumya, 1997). Originally an indigenous language spoken by a minority group along the Indian Ocean coast, the rise of the language to its present position has a long history that rolls many centuries back. In the following section a brief overview of the history of Swahili is presented.

2.3.1.1 Swahili origins and development: Swahili is originally a language of the coastal civilization, indigenous to the coast of East Africa. According to Nurse and Spear (1985) the language was originally spoken along the eastern coast of east Africa south of Somali to Mozambique as early as between ca 800 and ca 1100. Its first speakers lived in dotted coastal town settlements along the coast and established commercial contacts with Arab and Persian traders. Over years of development along the coast, Nurse and Spear (ibid.) assert that Swahili societies became [...] "progressively more economically differentiated, socially stratified, and Muslim with the expansion of international trade, increasing wealth, and immigration from Arabia and India" (p.68).

The term 'Swahili', Rubagumya (1997) notes, originates from the plural form *sawahil* of the Arabic nominal *sahil* which means coast. The term was first used by the early Arab traders who came to the coast of East Africa to refer to the local people they found there

as the *sawahil* people, i.e. the coastal people; and their language the *sawahil* language, i.e. the language of the coastal people.

2.3.1.2 Linguistic Affiliation: Linguistic and archaeological evidence confirms that Swahili is an African language which has close affinity with the Bantu languages now spoken along the coasts of Northern Kenya and Somali. Despite influence from a number of languages, Swahili retains a high degree of inherited vocabulary, grammar and sounds. In an analysis test of Swahili vocabulary, Spear (2000: 272) established that from a word list of 100 basic vocabularies, 72-91 percent is inherited, while only 4-17 percent is loans from other African languages, and 2-8 percent is from non-African languages. Observations based along a similar line of theorization have prompted Nurse and Spear (1985) to conclude that;

> [...] Swahili is clearly an African language in its basic sound system grammar and is closely related to Bantu languages of Kenya, Northern Tanzania, and the Comoro islands with which it shared common development long prior to the widespread adoption of Arabic vocabulary. The Arabic material is a recent graft onto an old tree (p.6).

On the other hand and contrary to the long held belief, recent studies have established that Arabic influence on Swahili is not as extensive as many people had purported it to be. It is limited and relatively recent. According to Spear (2000), most Arabic influence in Swahili is realized in the vocabulary dealing with law, religion, administration, trade sailing, measurement, and kinship. Spear (ibid) argues that no Arabic influence is noted in other aspects of Swahili language structure:

> [...] there has been little Arabic impact on Swahili morphology or phonology over 1000 years of contact, and while Swahili has adopted a large set of Arabic loan words, they are mostly fairly recent and limited to fields where Arabic influence was greatest during the 17th- 19th centuries (p.272).

2.3.1.3 Spread and Development of Modern Swahili: From its original home along the coast, Swahili spread into Tanzania's interior mainland began in the nineteenth century with the expansion of trade into the mainland trading posts. Two factors are known to have contributed to the wide spread of the language inland. The first was commercial activities carried out by Arabs with the assistance of Swahili speakers. According to Whiteley (1969) the Swahili speakers who acted as porters or middlemen spread the language as they travelled into the inland trading posts.

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The second factor for the spread of Swahili countrywide relates to missionary work conducted by the early clergy. In this light Whiteley (ibid) distinguishes two phases of Swahili spread from the east coast into what is today known as Tanzania mainland; the first phase took place between 1800 to 1850, during this time Whiteley (ibid) notes;

> [...] the country was gradually opened up by trading caravans, who took the language with them into the form of Swahili-speaking 'managerial' core; during the second phase, from around 1850 until the advent of the colonial powers, the first systematic studies of the language were made and used as the basis for teaching others (p. 42).

The missionaries in complementing the pioneering work which had been started during the trade caravan period opened Swahili study centres upcountry with the aim of obtaining converts and interpreters for missionary work.

2.3.1.4 The colonial period: Schieffelin *et al* (1987) have observed that [...] "Language has always been the companion of the empire" (p.24). Experience worldwide indicates that wherever colonial domination had been imposed, the colonial administrators chose to impose either their own language to use in the administration of the empire or to adopt one of the local languages in which case they selected one among the indigenous vernacular as a means of conducting their rule. In the case of Tanzania both the German and British administrators saw more sense in adopting Swahili than using their languages partly as a way of protecting their languages from the depredations of the non native speakers, but mostly so as (Rubagumya, 1997) observes because Swahili was already wide spread in many parts of the country. Thus more work toward the spread of Swahili was recorded during both the Germany and British colonial periods. By the advent of Germany colonial administration in the then Dutch East Africa, Swahili was fairly spread countrywide. The Germans took advantage of this situation

2.3.1.5 Users of Swahili: As regards to the number of Swahili, it was estimated that close to 90% of the Tanzania population spoke Swahili in 1985, and that by 2000 about every Tanzanian would be a Swahili speaker (Mekacha, 1993). Table 3.1 below indicates the trend of growth of the population of Swahili speakers through the last over a century.

Year	Population (in millions)	Users of Swahili (in millions)	% of total population
1870	4	0.08	2
1900	6	1	17
1940	9	3	33
1960	12	6	50
1978	15	11	74
1985	22	20	90
2000	30	30	100

Table 2.1 Growth of the population of Swahili speakers through the last over a century. *Adapted from Mekacha (1993:24)*

Studies (Barr, 1976; Mekacha, 1993) have indicated that there is marked disparity in speakers' knowledge and proficiency in these languages. Competences vary according to one's level of education, age, gender and place of residence, whether one lives in the urban or rural area. The following trends are observable in speakers' knowledge and proficiency in the three languages;

1. The higher the level of education one has, the more likely he or she will be able to speak Swahili and English, than someone who has lower level of education. People with lower education tend speak Swahili and ethnic languages.

2. The younger the age the speaker has, the more plausible that he or she will be able to speak Swahili in comparison to older people. Older people tend to speak more ethnic languages.

3. Men are likely to speak Swahili and English more than women (Mekacha, 1993) who tend to speak more Swahili and ethnic languages.

4. People living in the urban areas are more likely to speak Swahili and English than those who live in the rural areas. Rural people tend to speak more Swahili and ethnic languages.

Refer to section 2.3.3.1 for more description of language use pattern in Tanzania.

	Educated	Male	Urban	Young	Less educated	Female	Old	Rural
English	√	√	√	–	–	–	–	–
Swahili	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Ethnic Language	–	–	–	–	√	√	√	√

Figure 2.2: Relative language use competence across speaker variables

(Key: √ = More likely
             -- = Less likely

A trend that emerges in this table confirms Swahili's position as a middle level language in a triglossic structure whereby the middle level language caters as lingua franca and as an inter-ethnic medium.

Relative to ethnic languages, Swahili emerges as a language with more power because of its being chosen by the educated, male speakers who live in urban areas and who constitute a high class in the community. In the following sections, I attempt to describe circumstances that led to Swahili acquiring power and dominance over other minority languages in the country.

2.3.1.6 The politics of Swahili hegemonization: The current prominent position of Swahili was not achieved overnight. It came about as a result of successive language policies which span from the colonial era through post independence period. This section examines macro-sociopolitical decisions that resulted into the current state of micro-linguistic perfomativity in which one language has assumed dominance over the others. Similar to cases of language imposition elsewhere Swahili hegemonization in Tanzania entails legitimation and use of institutional power (Blommaert, 1999). It denotes the process of linguistic authority created by formal institutions of the state.

2.3.1.7 Language policy during the colonial era: Some scholars claim that the process of Swahili hegemonization was set on during the period of German and British colonial administration. According to Topan (2008) this period marked the foundational and formative period of Swahili the spread of Swahili as a lingua franca. During German rule four main areas of focus for language development were pursued;

administration, education, the media and scholarship. By 1893 the Germans had established schools to train Africans for eventual deployment as junior officials of the civil service (Topan, 2008). Swahili was the only indigenous language that was used for educational and administrative communication during this period. They used the language to facilitate correspondence with local headmen. A working knowledge of Swahili was therefore a prerequisite for employment in the civil service. Hornsby (1964 cited in Whiteley, 1969:60) noted that [...] letters not written to the administration in either Swahili or German were liable to be ignored" (p. 60). Swahili domination was further entrenched during the German era though publication of grammar books, dictionaries, school textbooks and newspapers, some of which had country wide readership.

Language policies and practices during the British era consolidated what had been introduced by the Germans. Topan (2008) notes that British efforts toward Swahili development focused on three rather overlapping perspectives; linguistic, institutional, and educational. He further notes that among the achievements recorded during the British administration were; adoption of 'standard' Swahili based on Kiunguja (the Zanzibar dialect) in 1934; also implemented in the same year was the setting up of the Inter-Territorial Language Committee which was charged with the responsibility to oversee the process of standardization and development of Swahili. The Swahili standardization procedure emphasized mainly on establishing uniformity in the articulation and application of grammar of written Swahili in particular; and uniformity in orthography (Topan, ibid).

Blommaert (1999) notes two landmark achievements in the process of Swahili standardization that were realized during this time, these were the publication the *Standard Swahili-English* dictionary in 1939 under the direction of Frederick Johnson, and the *Swahili Grammar* by E.O. Ashton in 1944.

By the 1950s Swahili had already become a strong and influential factor capable of interfering in the learning of English and the vernaculars. This is according to one of the sentiments expressed by the Binns Mission 1953 urging the British administration to change its language teaching policy to curtail Swahili influence. The Mission (quoted in Cameron and Dodd, 1970) stated;

> [...] ...We suggest, therefore, that because the present teaching of Swahili stands in the way of the strong development of both the vernacular and English teaching, a

policy should be followed which leads to its eventual elimination from all schools...
(p.110).

2.3.1.8 Language policy in the post-independence era: At independence Swahili was the only indigenous language that had achieved sufficient expansion and was spoken in different communities upcountry (Whiteley, 1967). Moreover it had a relatively developed orthography. The new administration saw in it a viable tool for mobilizing the masses and as a symbol of national unity and identity. Two phases are salient in the rise of Swahili to prominence. First is the period following immediately after independence in 1961 when Swahili was declared the national language. Besides its predominance over a large area and developed orthography, Whiteley (1967) notes, the adoption of Swahili as national language was also prompted by the fact that it was not associated with any tribal unit, it was a neutral language in terms of ethnic identity as Madummula et al (1999) reflect on;

[...] "it was neither the language of the former colonizer nor that of any particular group, and so it could become the language of the independent Tanzanians (p.313).

In the predominantly multi-ethnic context of the country, the adoption of Swahili as a national language was perhaps the most rational and practical measure possible for bringing about unity and promoting national consciousness. As a national language, Swahili was invested with the kind of status which it formally lacked (Whiteley, ibid.), for instance in 1962 for the first time the president addressed the parliament using Swahili. Furthermore, several policy initiatives were introduced aiming at developing the language and to extend its use. To start with, a ministry was established charged with the responsibility of developing Swahili as an expression of national culture and in subsequent years plans were put forward for [...] " the establishment of additional organizations to carry out the general task of 'developing the language'" (Whiteley, 1969: 103). Government departments were directed to use Swahili in conducting official matters. In education the language was made a compulsory subject in secondary schools and pupils entering such schools had to satisfy authorities of their competence in the language (Whiteley, ibid).

The second phase of Swahili promotion in the post-independence era underlines the climax of its consolidation and heralds the start of the fall of English language competence and decline of indigenous minority languages vitality in Tanzania. This phase saw more drastic measures being taken to enhance the language's status. First

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hegemogenization language policy was declared in 1967 by proclaiming Swahili the official language with a directive being given that only Swahili should be used to conduct government business and in public enterprises (Whiteley, 1969: 137). English or any other foreign languages could be used only when it was necessary to do so. Deutsch (1966) hypothesizes that choice for a hegemonisation language policy is always intended to achieve two purposes, those of 'cultural assimilation' and 'social mobilization'. In the Tanzania case, the view that the start of this phase coincided with the proclamation of the Arusha declaration, the goal was to achieve both these objectives, as Blommaert (2001) asserts the goal was to absorb all ethnic groups into one large group [...] "under one national culture of Tanzania" which Whiteley (1969) described as [...] "the sum of its regional cultures, expressed in local languages... and tied to local customs and situation" (p. 101). The main political objective was to build a socialist, self reliant society and Swahili was seen as the language for expressing this new identity. Use of any other language was interpreted by the government as an indication of dissidence against the popular cause.

Henceforth a concerted and protracted psychological warfare of a nature never seen before, was unleashed countrywide against use and users of languages other than Swahili. Blommaert (2001) comments, [...] "Swahili was imposed as monoglot standard.... and promoted together with strong encouragement to stop using other languages" (p. 395). A campaign was conducted nationwide to sensitize masses on the benefits of Swahili and its role as a symbol of a new national identity based on the values proclaimed by the Arusha declaration; disengagement from neo-colonial set up, promotion of a self-reliant economy, and installation of an egalitarian society (Rubagumya, 1997).

Swahili fortunes were further boosted up when in subsequent years language promotion became part of the political agenda of socialist state building. Failure to use Swahili was often interpreted as going counterrevolutionary to the spirit of *ujamaa* and nation-building (Ludwig, 1999). Religious bodies were not spared either; those which showed hesitations were accused of harboring *ukoloni wa kidini* (religious colonialism). In 1970 the Council of Tanzanian Muslims decided to hold the prayers on Friday evening not in Arabic but in Swahili (Ludwig, ibid: 99). Strong negative attitudes were fomented against use and users of languages other than Swahili. Mazrui & Mazrui (1998) note that English became marked in Tanzanian society because it was perceived as an elite phenomenon, a means of discriminating English speaking intellectuals from Swahili speaking workers and peasants (Harries, 1968) . Hence people who were found speaking English were seen to be still intoxicated with colonial *'kasumba'* (opium) on

the other hand individuals found speaking indigenous languages were accused of clinging to *'ukabila'* (tribal factionalism). The main outcome of this campaign is that it made people fearful or feel ashamed to speak their tribal languages in public.

So decisive was the Swahili promotion campaign that to-date, three decades later one can still feel its effects among the rural population. Mekacha (1993) found that people who spoke Ekinata (local IML of the area) in particular situations, very often exercised self censorship or else they risked rapprochement or apprehension from fellow interlocutors. In a school he noted that the use of the local language [...] "was highly stigmatized" (p.127). Children labeled derogatory names on colleagues who spoke in the local language; like "*ngumbaru*" (literacy learner), "*mlevi*" (drunkard), "*mchawi*" (witch), and *"jangiri*" (poacher), "*bikizee/kibabu*" (ancestor). Likewise during the fieldwork of the present study, I occasionally came across villagers who were reluctant to discuss matters pertaining to Ndamba language, for fear of repercussion from the government. Children regarded a colleague who spoke Ndamba to be *'mshamba'* (rustic, lout).

2.3.1.9 Recent developments in the promotion of Swahili: The main strategy adopted to consolidate Swahili during the first five years of independence concerned setting up of institutions charged with the task of promotion and development of the language. In 1962 the Ministry of community Development and National Culture was set up and the office of the 'Promoter of Swahili' established within the Ministry to encourage people to use Swahili more (Whiteley, 1969). The Institute of Swahili Research was established as a Research Unit of the Dar es Salaam university college in 1964. The institute was primarily concerned with basic research into language, literature, and lexicography, often working in partnership with the department of Swahili; it has been engaged in the production of wordlists, dictionaries, monographs (on various aspects of Swahili language, linguistics, and literature) and journals (Topan, 2008). The National Swahili Council was established in 1967 as a government unit charged with the responsibility to promote and develop the usage of Swahili throughout the United Republic (Topan, ibid).For the past two decades the National Swahili Council has been engaged in producing booklets of lists of standard technical terms for use in schools and other educational institutions (Rubagumya, 1997). In Zanzibar, the Institute of Kiswahili and Foreign Languages was formed in 1979 charged with responsibility to promote Swahili within and outside the country; and to teach Swahili to both the local learners and foreigners destined to work in Tanzania and other countries where Swahili is used.

Besides academic and government bodies there were also a number of popular bodies involved in Swahili promotion, these included poets' and writers' associations. The most popular ones were *The Association of Tanzania Poets* (UKUTA) and The Book Writer's' Association of Tanzania. Overall these bodies made a big contribution toward development and promotion of Swahili, especially in the aspects of vocabulary and language structure studies, as (Topan, 2008) posits, [....] "the enormous contribution of these institutions has not only enriched Swahili studies, particularly the fields of lexicography and Swahili linguistics, but has created fresh terminology and registers of these disciplines in Swahili" (p.260)

2.3.1.10 The current language policy in Tanzania: The main feature of Tanzania's language policy, as probably has been the case in most African countries is that policy decisions have been taken arbitrarily without proper sociolinguistic surveys being conducted. It is probably in view of this situation that Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, (2004) have described Tanzania's language policy as [...] "confusing, contradictory, and ambiguous" (p.68). In fact as Massamba (1989) notes, never has there existed a real language policy in Tanzania. Official public statements which have passed by as language policy have in reality essentially been directives for use and promotion of Swahili. In the past two decades a number of language related policies have been pronounced.

In the absence of a proper language policy document, this section looks into how the issue of language usage, particularly the case of minority languages has been elucidated in most recent official policy documents. These are the ***Cultural Policy of 1997***; and the ***Information and Broadcasting Policy (2003)***. The contents of the two documents emphasize on the use of Swahili. The ***Information and Broadcasting Policy (2003***) in section 2.7.3 specifies that;

> [...] *languages to be used in radio and television broadcasting in the country are grammatical English and grammatical Swahili.*

This provision is based on article No. 15 (a) of the ***Broadcasting Services Act No. 6 (1993)*** which states that;

> [...] *Every-free-to air licensee shall; ensure that only official languages, namely Kiswahili and English are used for all broadcasts except where specific authorization has been given to use non-official languages.*

The existing regulation regarding newspaper publication is the **Newspaper Act No. 3** of 1976. The legislature carries the same emphasis as the more recent policy provisions. Reporting on a government circular clarifying the legislation, a local newspaper wrote;

> [...] the government has declared that it will not register any newspapers published in local languages (because)....this will be like sowing the seeds of tribalism which will eventually lead into factionalism... (**Nipashe**, August 13, 1999).

These policy provisions indicate that minority languages are still marginalized due to proscription declared on their use for all purposes of public information dissemination.

The **Cultural Policy (1997)** (also known as **Sera ya Utamaduni**) as the title indicates, addresses the global issue of culture. On the aspect of language, the document focuses on four subjects; the national language, vernacular languages, foreign languages, and the medium of instruction. On the aspect of national language the document states in section 1.1.1 that, [...] *Kiswahili shall be pronounced the National language and this pronouncement shall be incorporated in the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania.* With regard to the role of minority languages, the policy states in section 1.1.5 that [...] *vernacular languages shall continue to be used as resources for the development of Swahili.* This provision shows that there is no change in perception regarding the role of minority languages and function they are supposed to play in the community, they are still perceived, as they have always been regarded, a source of material for the enrichment of Swahili. Legére (2002) observes that the Cultural Policy document identifies minority languages as national treasures and as a resource for elaborating Swahili terminology. Legére (ibid.) further asserts that the document, [...] "perpetuates a tradition where MLs were reduced to the role of guarding the rich cultural heritage that was always being targeted for upliftment in the interests of national culture (as expressed and preserved in Swahili)" (p.172).

The other provisions of the **Cultural Policy (1997)** merely indicate government's recognition of minority languages but do not spell out their status nor do they state government's responsibility toward promotion of the languages. Moreover the government disassociates itself from the responsibility of promoting minority language. It places this responsibility on communities, private and public organizations as the following excerpts show;

> [...] Communities, private and public organizations shall be encouraged to research, write, preserve and translate vernacular languages into other languages [....] write vernacular

dictionaries and grammar books [....] publish and disseminate vernacular language materials (p.2).

It is evident from the above that language policy measures adopted in the recent decades do not adequately address the shortcomings of the previous policies regarding the problem of protecting and promoting the status of minority languages in Tanzania. Apart from official recognition of minority languages, there is no legislation that provides protective measures or assurance for their growth and sustenance. Moreover there is no change in the existing policy in terms of ending discrimination against minority languages; it still continues to favor the official languages-English and Swahili. Provision 1.1.4 of the **Cultural Policy (1997)** which says [...] *institutions responsible for the promotion of Swahili shall be strengthened and adequately resourced....*(p.1). substantiates this claim. This shows that institutional support is available only to Swahili and not to minority languages. This trend does not portray a favorable future for the minority languages in Tanzania as there is no commitment on the part of the government to participate in the effort toward their growth and consolidation.

2.3.2 ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN TANZANIA

English was first introduced in the then Tanganyika through the work of English missionaries of the UMCA denomination who established mission stations in various parts of the country. Early converts in these stations were taught English for the purpose of facilitating communication with the missionaries. However formal instruction of English as a subject began when the British had established their colonial rule to the country.

2.3.2.1 English during the British colonial rule: English was accorded high priority during British colonial administration. (Topan, 2008) notes that in both Tanganyika and Zanzibar English became the official language. As an official language, it was used in all aspects of the civil service; i.e. the military, the police, the judiciary, and in the legislative organs of government. Knowledge of English became the necessary criterion for selection and for one's advancement in the social ladder. It came to be perceived in society as the language of progress, advancement, and social mobility (Topan, 2008) and those who had mastered it were highly regarded. On this regard Rubagumya (1997) comments as follows;

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[....] needless to say during this period attitudes to English were very positive. The few Africans who could speak English were referred to as *wazungu weusi,* meaning 'black Europeans'. At this time this was the highest compliment an African could get (p.20).

In education English language was the most important subject in the school curriculum as it was not only taught as a subject but was the medium of instruction from the primary schools through to secondary schools and teacher training institutions. Furthermore the language became the principal criterion of selecting learners for further study or job placement.

The British colonial policy toward English in Tanganyika was influenced on the one hand by the *Phelps-Stokes Commission,* an American Trust which sponsored education projects for Blacks in Africa. In one if its recommendations after visiting East and Central Africa at the invitation of the British administration, the commission stated that [...] " an increasing number of native people shall know at least on of the languages of the civilized nations" (*African Education Commission,* 1922, cited in Rubagumya, opp.cit:19). This recommendation implied that it was imperative for the African to learn the language of the 'civilized' colonial master-English.

Another source of British colonial language policy in Tanganyika was the *Conference on African Education* which was convened in 1953 to chart out strategies for implementing education for the dominions (Rubagumya, 1997). The conference also emphasized the dominancy of English over the indigenous languages. To justify its endorsement on the language, the conference argued that English was indispensable to the African because it was a lingua franca in a wide area of interaction; an opener to technical knowledge of modern inventions; and a means for reaching out the world thought (*Conference on African Education,* 1953, cited in Rubagumya, opp.cit: 20). Emphasizing the importance of teaching English to Africans the conference (cited in Rubagumya, 1997) observed as follows;

[....] some of the moral confusion and lack of integrity in Africa comes from the fact that English, not being taught in primary school, is understood only by the very few and European ideas come to Africans through the confused barrier of language (p.21-22).

The intention of this statement was to emphasize the need for teaching English at the primary education level so that a broad population became competent in the language hence capable of accessing European ideas more effectively.

2.3.2.2 English in the post-independent period: Harries (1969) notes that even before independence Tanganyika leaders had indicated that [...] "the ultimate aim was that every citizen of Tanzania should be bilingual in Swahili and English" (p.275), therefore despite adopting *Swahili* as a national language soon after independence in 1961, Tanzania pursued a rather consistent bilingual language policy with variance of emphasis at different periods of time. According to Harries (ibid) the government's decision to adopt Swahili was a political one; first it was intended to change the pre-independence linguistic *status quo* and portray a truly African nation, secondly to address the question of national unity; however the complex operations of the nation-building were still carried out in English.

One can identify four distinctive phases related to change of emphasis in language policy frameworks in Tanzania since independence (Schmied, 1991; Rubagumya, 1997). The different policy framework phases distinguished by Schmied (Schmied, 1991) include; *exoglossic bilingual* policy, *endoglosic monolingual* policy and *endoglossic bilingual* policy, these phases are reviewed below with a focus on the position of English in the post independence era.

2.3.2.2.1 Exoglossic bilingual policy phase: According to Schmied (1991) exoglosic bilingual policy was implemented between 1961 and 1966. This is a policy in which two languages are concurrently used with the foreign language having more status. At this time English and Swahili were used in official business, but the main focus was on English. While Swahili was seen as the crucial means for building a unified nation-state, the new government still considered English an important tool for the nation as it was the language used for international relations and the language for conducting higher instruction. Furthermore English could not be completely dispensed with as it was still the mark of membership in a wider political and economic unit than the state. Still again English was perceived by the *elite* as the appropriate language of communication (Whiteley, 1969). The attitudes toward English were generally positive.

2.3.2.2.2 Endoglosic monolingual policy phase: This phase which spanned from 1967 to the 1980s saw a drastic swing of language policy from the previously bilingual orientated to one that was predominantly monolingual with the local – Swahili language being given top preference. The radical change of policy observed during this period was mainly motivated by the Arusha declaration. The declaration was a political statement ushering in social transformation intended to disengage Tanzania from neo-colonial domination and establish a socialist, self-reliant society (Blommaert, 2005). In this

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view English was perceived as part of colonial relic hence one of the symbols of domination. Whiteley notes that during this time a large number of occasions on which English would formally have been used were taken up by Swahili. The fortunes of English declined considerably during this period. Besides, strong negative attitudes against English were fomented with the outcome that [...] "people who spoke English in public were accused of having colonial hangover" (Rubagumya, 1997: 21).

2.3.2.2.3 Endoglossic bilingual policy phase: Schmied (opp. cit.) identifies a further change of language policy focus that occurred in Tanzania during the period of 1981 to 1985. During this phase, interest in English was revived but Swahili still occupied the centre stage. This resulted into a bilingual policy in which the local language i.e. Swahili was prominent and the foreign language i.e. English was considered important. This change of language policy focus came about as the government adopted social development policies which emphasized on efficiency and modernization, and both Swahili and English were seen as having an important role to play (Rubagumya, 1997: 21). On the one hand English was seen to be a necessary language for higher education and an indispensable means for achieving international contact and business, Swahili on the other hand was perceived to function as a necessary unitary instrument to the multiethnic Tanzanian community and a symbol for national identity, hence a crucial means for nation-building and development (Madumulla et al, 1999).

2.3.2.2.4 Exoglossic bilingual policy phase: Rubagumya (opp.cit.) notes that a further phase which describes the current situation in the country could be added to those already identified by Schmied (ibid.). He dubs this phase as exoglossic bilingual policy period, and it evolved starting from the 1990s as Tanzania embarked on a social transformation process which aimed at more political democratization and economic liberalization. According to Rubagumya (ibid) this period has been [...] "marked with a shift from socialist rhetoric to market-oriented management of the economy" (p.22). With this change of development policy, Tanzania has become more involved in international financial bodies and markets; and English has become the crucial means for her to participate effectively in these arenas. Thus English has once again reemerged as a criterion of class differentiation, as Rubagumya (1997) observes;

> [....] with the new economic orientation, contradictions and class differences have been sharpened. For this reason, the elite in Tanzania are even more anxious than before to have a firm grip on their privileges, including to English (p. 22).

One can say for certain that improvement of the previously diminished image of and revival of the symbolic value of English language currently observed in Tanzania is attributable to the drastic shift of policies and changed political and economic atmosphere which commenced in the early years of the 1990s.

2.3.2.3 Uses of English in Tanzania Today

Despite there being high regard for English in Tanzania, use of the language is very limited. It is estimated that only about 5% of the Tanzanian population can speak English (Rubagumya, 1990). Some scholars have noted that English language use situation in Tanzania is such that one is more likely to 'see' than to hear it, implying that English use in the country is more of a written than a spoken language (Rubagumya, 1997). Compared to the other East African countries, it is very unlikely that one would hear in Tanzania people speaking English in the streets as might be the case in Kenya or Uganda, the reason for such a situation is that, apart from communicating with foreigners, there are very few domains that require use of English.

2.3.2.3.1 Domains of English Use: As explained above, English is not a market place language in Tanzania; its use is constrained by place and function. The domain in which English is predominantly used is as medium of instruction at secondary and tertiary levels of education. It is also used in the judiciary, particularly in the High Court and the Court of Appeal. Other arenas of English use include diplomacy, foreign trade and other concerns involving interaction with foreigners or foreign countries (Rubagumya, 1997).

2.3.2.3.2 The Future of English in Tanzania: The environment for the development and eventual expansion of English use in Tanzania is favorable. The language garners immense prestige in the country and social attitude toward it is positive. According to Rubagumya (1997) there is also likelihood that English could evolve into a second language (or even first language) for a small minority of Tanzanians, especially the children of government and party elites who do their schooling in English from nursery school up to university and adequate English use in the home. On the contrary Schmied (1991) notes that the future of English in the country might not be that brilliant as plenty of signs indicate that the language might be losing its English as second language status to that of foreign or international language.

2.3.3 INDIGENOUS MINORITY LANGUAGES IN TANZANIA

There are various ways in which minority languages can be defined. However most of the descriptions tend to focus on the languages' relative demographic inferiority and their limited public functions   (Batibo, 2001; 2005). In this sense languages which have few speakers and have no functionality in public or official field have characteristically been labeled as minority languages. Following Batibo (2005) this study defines the status of languages in terms of power relations and social functionality. In this view therefore languages are characterized as minority when they are marginalized in the community, have no social prestige and are excluded from […] "serving in secondary domains (that is, public functions)" (p.51). In this view one could judge that all languages in Tanzania other than Swahili may be considered minority languages due to their being systematically marginalized and excluded from use in the public or official domain.

A long lasting contention has ensued in Tanzania concerning finding a suitable term to label minority languages. Legére (2002) mentions some of the terminologies that have been used at different times, these include; *tribal languages, native languages* or *vernacular* used by the British administration. Other labels suggested by various scholars are; *local languages* (Brauner, et al, 1978), Mkude (1979), Legére (1992); *ethnic languages* (Batibo, 1992). More recently Mekacha (1993) has come up with the term *ethnic community languages* (ECLs). This term like the previous ones has been seen also to be inadequate on grounds of tautological inference, since all ethnic groups by rule have to have a particular language or language variety associated with it, the term therefore does not express a new idea (Legére, 2002).

In the present study, the term ***indigenous minority languages*** **(IML)** is proposed as the most appropriate term to describe the local tribal languages of Tanzania. The essence of this label is that it distinguishes minority languages that are indigenous to Tanzania - which are the focus of the present study from numerous other languages spoken by minority migrant groups residing in the country. Some non-indigenous minority languages found in Tanzania include; Arabic, Comorian, Greek and Gujarati to name just a few (Joshua project, 2009). http://www.joshuaproject.net/countries.php?rog3=TZ

2.3.3.1 Patterns of IMLs use: By and large the use of IMLs in Tanzania is limited within the confines of the home and neighborhood environments. Over the years the functions that the languages used to cater for have been usurped by Swahili, leaving IMLs only as a viable means for conducting matters pertaining to the family and related

environments. Their use, Batibo (2005) notes, has become [...] "restricted to communication at family and village level and to cultural expression" (p.27). Brauner *et al* (1978, cited in Mekacha 1993:33) observed that the use of local languages was [...] "limited to communication within family and those groups in the rural areas whose production is based on subsistence farming" (p.33). Excluded from use in education, mass media, and in official public undertaking and deprived of socio-economic status, IMLs have simply become an intragroup means of ethno-cultural identification and solidarity (Abdulaziz-Mkilifi, 1972).

Literature increasingly indicates that IML use in Tanzania is strongly gender and age biased; with women and older members of the communities forming a majority of consistent and more competent speakers of IMLs (O'Barr, 1971; Mekacha, 1993). In his observation, Msanjila (2004) noted that female speakers predominantly used IML when speaking to same gender members, to pre-school children, and to older community members. It has also been determined that competence and proficiency in IMLs tends to decrease according to the age of speakers, with younger speakers being the least competent (Mekacha, 1993; Msanjila, 2004).

Studies have shown that the use of IMLs is more prevalent in rural village areas than in the urban (Brauner *et al* (1978; Polome, 1980; Barton, 1980). Legére (2002:170) asserts that predominant use of IMLs in the rural areas can be explained by prevalence of mono-ethnic and, consequently, monolingual population. Residents in urban areas tended to speak Swahili most. This is trend however would be expected because of the multilingual composition of residents in urban of speakers from different IMLs and also due to cross marriages which are common in this situation, provide little motivation for use of IMLs in towns.

2.3.3.2 Maintenance of IMLs: IMLs have traditionally commanded high esteem and reverence from speakers in their respective communities where the languages had been perceived as prominent symbols of ethnic identity and core values of cultural expression. Despite indications of extensive IML speakers' shift toward Swahili, to some extent these perceptions still pertain in most IML communities today, especially among people in the remote rural areas. Recent studies have invariably confirmed this fact. Stegen (2003) noted that despite decades of pressure from Swahili and regardless of their exclusion from national forums, IMLs in Tanzania have continued to survive. In another study, Msanjila (2004) observed that [...] "many young people and other age groups of both sexes still use (IML) more than Kiswahili" (p.161).

Studies indicate also that IML speakers in some communities still hold positive attitudes toward their languages - a necessary factor for the languages' overall maintenance. In one IML community, Stegen (2003) observed that the congregation was motivated to attend church service when the local IML was used instead of Swahili to conduct the service, he notes:

[....] village priests and catechists in homogenous Rangi communities are 'rewarded' with a greater attendance rate if they use Rangi instead of Swahili in their sermons and catechism classes (p.3).

Legére (1992) further observes that considering that over 80% of the Tanzanian population lives in countryside, where IMLs prevail as means of daily communication, it seems apparent that the role of IMLs would continue to be important. These observations bear evidence of the fact that IMLs in Tanzania still command allegiance among their speakers and are relatively still maintained. Just how IML communities manage to maintain their languages despite decades of neglect by government institutions constitutes the theme of the present study.

2.3.3.3 Vitality and the future of IMLs: Results of research conducted over many years repeatedly indicate that IMLs in Tanzania are in serious danger of being lost. According to Legére (1992) processes of language shift in Tanzania are a historical phenomenon, as speakers of various IMLs have given up their own language [...] "in favor of that of their neighbors or of a language with a more distinguished social prestige" (p.100). This submission is collaborated by Busse (1960, cited in Legére, opp.cit:100) who asserted that the Nyiha language in southwest Tanzania confronted a strong impact of both Nyakyusa and Swahili languages. More recently Legére (2002) has noted that assimilatory processes are taking place among IML speakers particularly in areas along the coast, in the hinterland and in most urban areas in the country. This trend has had and continues to have a detrimental impact on IML speakers' competence.

Literature indicates that a combination of political and socio-economic factors account for the gradual decline of IML vitality in Tanzania. According to Legére (1992) the weakening of IMLs may have been induced by factors like [...] "school education, involvement of speakers beyond the frontiers of traditional ethnic groups, social mobility, administrative etc" (p.100). Following the Giles (1977) et al. model Rubagumya (1997) conceptualizes factors affecting IMLs in Tanzania along status, demographic, and institutional factors. He contends that the migration of people from rural areas to urban areas in pursuit of better economic opportunities; together with the low social and symbolic status of IMLs have contributed toward their being abandoned by speakers.

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The exclusion of IMLs from use in formal institutions such as government, religion schooling, commerce, mass media etc. has further contributed to the deterioration of IMLs vitality.

More importantly, the wide spread tendency toward intra-ethnic intermarriages has further undermined the prospect of natural intergenerational language taking place within families.

Most studies however emphasize that the single most important factor that has significantly contributed toward the decline of IMLs in Tanzania is the language policies which denigrated IMLs in favor of Swahili. It is Swahili rather than English that appears to influence loss of competence in ethnic languages on young speakers in Tanzania.

In view of this study almost all IMLs in Tanzania including the most populous ones are faced with a bleak future. They are very likely to eventually succumb to the hegemonic influence of Swahili. As long as the linguistic capital in Tanzania continues to be associated with Swahili and English and so long as the two languages continue to inspire opportunities for socio-economic advancement, none of the indigenous minority languages will be able to persist for long. To most IML speakers in the region it seems the socio-economic advantages of language shift far outweigh the disadvantages of language loss (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998).

2.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has described the sociolinguistic profile of Tanzania. It has explained categories of languages that exist in the country and the interrelationship among them. Arguing from the premise that successive language policies starting from the colonial period to the post independence era have contributed to the declining situation of minority languages that is witnessed in Tanzania today, the chapter has strived to present the language policy situation in both pre- and post-independence periods and their impact on the emergence of Swahili linguistic hegemony. The main focus of the chapter was to illuminate on the language related political decisions that have influenced the linguistic landscape of the country. It has been argued that the main cause of minority language decline in Tanzania has been the successive language policies which disfavored the use of the languages in formal situations.   The Arusha declaration period is noted as the landscape on the consolidation of Swahili fortunes and the impoverishment of minority languages. The chapter concludes by asserting that so long as language policies remain unchanged, minority languages in Tanzania will continue to decline and eventually disappear.

Chapter Three

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

"Language is not just one dimension of the socialization process; it is the most central and crucial dimension of that process" (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004).

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an overview of the literature on the debates and issues related to the problem of investigation in this study together with the theoretical framework used to inform and guide the investigation. In the review of literature I have endeavoured to discuss matters that mark out the width and depth of the study area and provide a premise for making unequivocal and compelling links between the present study and earlier investigations. Furthermore an analysis is made of contributions by leading scholars in the area of study, which are then related to the problem addressed by the present research. The theoretical framework on the other hand provides the study with a vantage point for better understanding of the subject of the study, and also contributes toward securing premises for validating both the assumptions and methodological aspects used.

The study investigates factors and processes underlying home language transfer in an indigenous language context. The focus of investigation is the dynamics pertaining within the family-neighborhood-community nexus (Fishman 1991) which in view of many scholars is the core of transmission and maintenance of home languages. As McCarty (1996) notes, the fundamental factor in ensuring home language transfer is regular and natural use of the community language […] "for interfamilial and intercommunity interaction" (: 631). Thence the study's main goal is to show how the habitual language use of parents and their attitudinal predispositions are a key to language maintenance in the family and community at large. To start with in the next section a wide range of subjects, arguments and observations regarding language contact, language maintenance and shift, bilingualism and intergenerational language transmission are discussed.

3.2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This section provides an overview of the literature used to inform the study. The purpose of the study was to investigate sociocultural strategies used by Ndamba speakers to transmit their traditional language across generations despite opportunities and incentives to shift to the dominant Swahili language. To achieve this end the study

investigated micro-social language practices of the community as realized through parents' language attitudes and habitual language use patterns.

The perspective adopted in this study is one that considers intergenerational language transmission as a means that facilitates minority language communities to attain continuity and maintenance of their traditional languages. Hence as a way of establishing a conceptual background to base the study, the debate in this section is framed around the social and linguistic phenomena associated with languages in contact, since as Hyltenstam and Stroud (1996:568) have convincingly argued, for concepts of language maintenance and shift to be applicable to a speech community, there must exist contact situation between speech communities of two or more languages or varieties. Weinreich (1953, cited in Hyltenstam and Stroud ibid.) further argues that language maintenance and language shift are sociological outcomes of language in contact hence [...] "should be studied as part of contact linguistics" (p. 586). It is in view of this theoretical framing that home language transmission is considered in this study as a problem that is closely linked to languages in contact.

Language contact phenomena which are deemed relevant for review in this study include; language maintenance, language shift, bilingual patterns of language use (language choice and code-switching) and language attitudes. These have been decided on as relevant subjects for grounding on the study, since as Milroy and Milroy (1997) hypothesize [...] it is usually contact situations that are involved in language maintenance processes (pg.52). It is therefore logical that the relevant take-off point for conceptualizing intergenerational language transmission should be to consider language contact as a crucial factor affecting language maintenance and shift. Within this framework intergenerational language transmission strategies are seen as a guaranteed means for the preservation and sustained use of language.

3.2.1 LANGUAGE CONTACT

As it has been the case in most parts of the world, the problem of language displacement among Ndamba speakers is language contact induced. It has come about as Ndamba and other languages, particularly Swahili began to be used alternatively by the same persons. Worldwide, Thomason (2001) observes, language contact has been around probably since the beginning of mankind. As a social and linguistic phenomenon, the concept refers to a situation of prolonged association between the speakers of different languages (Crystal, 1992; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988), where more than one language is used in the same place and at the same time" (Thomason, 2001, p.1). Considerable evidence worldwide indicates that language contact is a norm

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rather than an exception, as it has been taking place everywhere and there is no evidence of any human languages that may have developed in total isolation from other languages (Thomason, 2001: opp. cit). Depending on the nature of contact involved, languages may experience either enrichment or decline of linguistic features as described below.

3.2.1.1 Balanced language and displacive language contact: Literature on contact linguistics identifies two forms of relationships happening in language contact situations; balanced language and displacive language contact relationships (Aikhenvald, 2006). The fundamental contrast between the two is that in balanced language contact the concerned languages coexist in a long-standing harmonious relation between (or among) them, without any dominance relationship. According to Aikhenvald (ibid.) this contact type more often than not results in increased typological diversity and increased structural complexity on the languages involved. It does not entail loss of language or of patterns. A typical example often cited of balanced language contact is the situation in Paraguay where both Guarani and Spanish have been maintained in more or less peaceful co-existence (ref. Thomason, 2001). This contrasts the displacive language contact relationships which entail one group aggressively imposing its language on another resulting in language displacement, loss of the language's own features and ultimately language shift. Displacive language contact (Aikhenvald, opp.cit) ultimately leads to the decline and loss of the less dominant language.

Parameters	Balanced contact	Displacive contact
Relationships between languages	roughly equal or involving a traditional hierarchy; stable	dominance; unstable
Linguistic effects	rise in complexity; gains of patterns	loss of patterns; potential simplification
Results	language maintenance	potential displacement of one language with another

Table 3.1: Balanced and displacive language contact: a comparison
      Adapted from *Alexandra, Aikhenvald and Dixon, R. (2006:44)*

Scholars note however that the distinction between balanced and displacive language contact is not unequivocal, since as Aikhenvald and Dixon, R. (2006:44) argue a

particular language contact situation may involve some displacive tendencies; and the relations between languages may abruptly change and even get reversed.

3.2.1.2 Social effects of language contact

Language contact has always been accompanied with different social and linguistic consequences to the concerned groups of speakers. Apart from the few stable situations where both (or all) languages have been maintained, as in the Paraguayan case where both Guarani and Spanish have been maintained in more or less stable bilingualism (ref. Thomason, 2001), the common trend in language contact situations however has been one in which the languages involved exist in asymmetrical bilingualism (Pohl, 1965), a situation that often has lead into the decline in use of the language (or variety) with less status socially, economically or politically. Experience elsewhere indicates that limited use of the minority language leads to limited exposure to that language, which results as Brenzinger (1998) remarks, [...] "in decreasing competence, lack of confidence in using the language and increasing reliance on the dominant language" (p.284).

3.2.1.3 Linguistic outcomes of language contact

Overwhelming evidence shows that languages in contact influence one another resulting in [...] "discernible diffusion of patterns- phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and especially pragmatic" (Aikhenvald & Dixon, 2006 p.4). The spread of linguistic patterns is attributed to two processes taking place in language contact situations; *convergence* which refers to tendency toward making languages similar, and *divergence* which entails efforts to differentiate contact languages in particular ways (Clyne, 2003). The two processes are dealt with in detail elsewhere in the subsections of section 2.8.3.5. Suffice here to mention however that the motive behind language convergence according to Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006) is to facilitate linear alignment between contact languages; consequently [...] "they become structurally isomorphic as a result of shared ways of saying things and similar underlying cognitive patterns of the speakers" (p.4). Aikhenvald and Dixon (ibid) further note that in language convergence there is tendency as well for semantic and pragmatic structures of one language to become replicated in the other. Linear alignment between contact languages to a large extent, as it will be detailed at a later stage, is achieved mainly through transference (borrowing) of features involving different levels of language.

Clyne (opp.cit, p.111) advances a number of motives by which languages in contact adopt new items at the level of vocabulary (lexical transference), these include; (i) need

to express items that do not have real equivalents in the other language, (ii) to cope with interpenetration of domains, (iii) need to express concepts for which the equivalent lexical items may become unavailable in the community language,(iv) need to express in one word a notion that has two or more equivalents in the community language,(v) need to express something verbally with less complex valency relations.

The linguistic divergence process on the other hand is achieved through *integration* procedures (Clyne, 2003) or *insertion* (Muysken, 2000), whereby instead of borrowing items, a speaker conjoins items of the dominant (imbedded) language into the local (matrix) language. Linguistic integration is usually realized in the form of 'code-switching' whereby in the words of Myers-Scotton (1993, cited in Clyne, 2003) [...] "forms or constituents from one language are imbedded in another" (p.71).

The discussion above has shown that depending on the contact relations between or among languages in contact situation, languages can either be maintained or undergo shift. The next section will examine the nature and circumstances of language maintenance and shift.

3.2.2 LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

Language maintenance and shift are phenomena resulting from language contact. Fishman (1964 cited in Li Wei,2002) describes the study of language maintenance and language shift as one concerned with the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social processes of change and stability, on the other hand, in multilingual settings. In current sociolinguistic studies the terms language *maintenance* and *shift* have variously been used to denote the processes that occur in contact language situations [...] "when speech communities collectively decide either to continue using the traditional language or give up completely using it in favour of another" (Fasold, 1985:213). It is common to see the two concepts often being used concurrently since they describe two notions which are in opposition. As Hyltenstam and Stroud (1996) aptly observe;

> [...] in much of the literature on these issues, *maintenance* and *shift* are seen as the relevant notions in (this) opposition. These two notions are in fact also often treated together, and the results of many studies of language shift naturally provide information of value to language maintenance and its study (p. 568).

On a similar note Tsunoda (2005) posits that as a result of the close relation between the two terms most (perhaps all) views (or theories) of *language shift* are expressed/ proposed […] "in the context of *language maintenance*" (pg. 70).

On the other hand Martin (1996) disputes this view; he sees language maintenance and language shift as aspects that are independent and having intermediate variables between them and considers the factors influencing them as values. Martin (ibid.) concludes that the two aspects are influenced differently by different values (Clyne, 2003: 52).

The meanings accorded the concepts language *maintenance* and *shift* are multifarious and their uses often varied. Sociolinguists however seem to concur, that two general conditions must obtain for the concepts to be relevant to any particular speech community situation. The conditions as provided in Hyltenstam and Stroud (1996) are; first there must exist a *contact situation* between two or more languages (or varieties) and secondly there should pertain factual or and/or perceived *power differential* or […] "a state of inequitable access to important resources (be they political, legislative, economic, educational, or cultural) between speech community members" (Hyltenstam and Stroud 1996:568). For the sake of convenience I will elucidate the meanings of the two notions and give a detailed account of each separately.

3.2.2.1 Language maintenance

In studies in the sociology of language the term language maintenance (henceforth LM) generally signifies a state where community members consciously maintain a particular form of a language in a situation characterized with linguistic diversity. Some linguists use the term to refer to a situation described by Hyltenstam and Stroud (1996) whereby […] "a speech community continues to use its traditional language in the face of a host of conditions that might foster a shift a to another language" (pg. 568). This conceptualization of LM thus closely links it with the notion of bilingualism where languages exist in competition for territorial autonomy.

Current literature on LM tends to distinguish two uses of the term; on the one hand it signifies the non-institutional process of consciously maintaining a particular form of language whereby a speech community continues to use its traditional language in spite of […] "incentives and opportunities to shift toward a dominant language of wider communication" (LWC) (Suarez, 2002:515). Research shows that the impetus for LM in this sense comes from the cultural practices of the community itself as realized partly

through day-to-day language use patterns and attitudes of the speakers. According to Batibo (2005) the language attitudes of speakers play an important role in the maintenance of community language. Equally important in this regard is the language behavior of the speakers realized through their habitual language choice patterns and daily use of the language. Fishman (1989:234) specifies two dimensions of language use which influence chances for community language maintenance; the *degree of use* and *location* of the community language. The first dimension explains the extent in terms of time to which the community language is employed for communication, whereas the later refers to the social contexts in which the language is employed.

The second use of the term LM refers to the conscious strategies adopted as planning activities to support the community language. According to Milroy and Milroy (1997) this form of LM often arises from the imposition of linguistic norms by the state or official agency.

> [...] (this) process of maintenance has sometimes been carried out by overt legislation, and sometimes in less formal way by imposing the codified linguistic norms by powerful social groups (pg.52).

The approach that is commonly adopted in contemporary sociolinguistic research is one that looks at LM in reference to [...] "the non-planned societal maintenance of some variety of language that can be located anywhere on a cline from functionally and structurally "fully healthy" to rudimentary" (Hyltenstam and Stroud 1996:568). The perspective on language maintenance and shift adopted in this study focuses on minority or small national languages faced by pressures resulting from contact with much bigger national or international languages (Fishman, 1989:233).

3.2.2.2 Language shift

Prolonged community bilingual use of language gives way to a situation whereby community members, particularly the younger generation become increasingly proficient in the language of the dominant group. The reality about language shift (henceforth LS), notes Wurm (1991), is that it causes a replacement of the cultural and social settings in which a given language had been functioning. Most linguists agree that the important feature of LS is failure by a speech community to create a new generation of speakers. Another feature of LS situation is expressed by Romaine (1994:212) that, [...] "there is usually considerable intergenerational variation in patterns of language use and often quite rapid change in communicative repertoires of

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community members". In a similar vein Fishman (1991) notes that a common feature of speech community undergoing LS is that the intergenerational continuity of the native language [...] "proceeds negatively, with fewer and fewer users or uses every generation" (pg. 1).

3.2.2.2.1 Causes of language shift: Most linguists seem to agree that language begins to disappear when speakers decide to abandon their traditional language in order to adapt to a changed environment where the use of the traditional language is no longer advantageous to them is a well known and uncontroversial fact (Grenoble & Whaley, 1998). What they are in dispute on are the circumstances that influence language shift to occur. As Grenoble & Whaley (ibid) observe;

> [...] the more complex, and thus obscure, issue is "What brings about the decreased efficacy of a language in a community (p.22).

In view of the complexity of the circumstances that cause language decline, linguists have found it convenient to categorize the cause factors according to points of communality between situations. In this view the cause factors can be described adequately by categorizing them into *macro* and *micro*-level variables (Bot & Stoessel, 2002). In the literature on language shift it has invariably been demonstrated how macro-level variables can interact with micro-level variables in affecting the language habits of speakers.

3.2.2.2.1.1 Macro-level variables: Sociolinguistic literature shows that there is correlation between language change and social aspects of the speech community. Empirical studies have shown that factors like demographic, economic and social changes brought about by political decisions influence language choice. Sasse (1992) describes social aspects that make language shift to happen as "external factors". He views these as the trigger to language change process, as they create in a speech community [...] "a situation of pressure which forces the community to give up its language" (pg. 10). Among the most frequently cited social circumstances identified in Fasold (1984) include; migration, industrialization and other economic changes, urbanization, higher prestige of the dominant language, and smaller population.

3.2.2.2.1.2 Micro-level variables: These refer to circumstances that relate to speech habits of speakers of a particular language. They account for intentions and desires which prompt the bilingual language speaker to gradually shift linguistic preferences

(Valdman, 1997). Sasse (1992) describes this set of cause-factors as "Speech Behavior" which explains the tendency of speakers to use different languages in multilingual settings or use different styles of one language. These are the circumstances which according to Fishman (1965) guide "*who speaks what language to whom and when*". A significant factor that affects language change at this level, as this research seeks to demonstrate, is the attitudes of the speakers about their language with respect to the dominant one.

3.2.2.3 Process of Language Shift

A linguist is recorded as saying that *"...the phenomenon of language shift takes place out of sight and out of mind"* (cited in Buda, 1992: 42), implying that the process that produces shift from habitual use of the traditional language to the adoption of a dominant language sets in gradually and takes a long time for communities to notice the changes in their linguistic habits. The onset of the process, Romaine (1994), observes, is when;

> [...] "the community which was once monolingual becomes bilingual as a result of contact with another (usually socially and economically more powerful) group and becomes transitionally bilingual in the new language" (p.50).

The main characteristics of the process heralding language shift process as presented by Crystal (2000) include; people finding less relevance in their traditional language hence identifying themselves more with the new language, and change of attitude toward the two languages whereby people find prestige in the new language and shame about using the old language. Sasse (1992) posits that, [...] "a negative attitude towards the language of the recessive group leads to the decision to abandon it" (pg. 14).

Experience generally gained from language contact situations indicate that extended language shift process engenders the abandonment of the traditional language. Decline of the traditional language begins when intergenerational communication ceases, as Crystal (2000) clarifies,

> [...] when parents stop transmitting the language to their children because they use it less and less to them, or find fewer opportunities to use that language to their children. As a result of this, children fail to develop proficiency in the language and stop talking to each other in the language (p.13).

3.2.2.4 Features of a language undergoing shift

Determination of features that characterize a speech community undergoing language shift has stirred up much controversy among experts, as Carl Blyth (1997) observes [...] "any analysis of speech communities currently undergoing shift...is best regarded with circumspection" (p.25). The difficulty comes about partly by the diverse nature of cases of language situations around the world but also due to lack of theoretical models which would allow for effective interpretation of combinations of relevant variables (Crystal, 2000: 19). To emphasize this view Clyne (2003) remarks that, [...] "no instrument powerful enough to assess language shift adequately on a large scale has yet been devised" (p.20). Another difficulty as noted by Carl Blyth (ibid) relates to the fact that language shift like language itself is not static. Carl Blyth proves the case by referring to the difficulty he encountered in studying language shift in French Louisiana, he notes, [...] " all the important categories of relevance to the study of language shift are non discrete and dynamic" (p. 25).

In spite of these challenges some scholars have attempted to describe features of communities undergoing shift in terms of the rate at which children acquire particular languages; the attitude of the whole community toward the languages, and the level of impact posed by threatening languages (Dorian, 1986; Wurm, 1991; Kraus, 1992; Crystal, 2000). Besides the criteria listed above, a common practice has been to evaluate the rate of threat to language by use of the following predetermined variables.

3.2.2.4.1 Absolute number of speakers: Some linguists characterize language shift in terms of the number of speakers, also referred to as *critical mass* or *absolute number of speakers* (Kincade & Dale1991; Krauss 2007). The presumption as Crystal (2000: 12) clarifies is that any language which has a very small number of speakers is bound to face survival problems. Fishman (1991); Dorian (1986) seem to concur with this postulation, they accede that there is a need for a language to have a sufficient core of language speakers to make survival a possibility. A good number of other researchers hold a similar view; for example, further contributing to this argument, Norris (1998) points out that among the many factors which contribute to language shift;

> [...] the first and foremost is the size of the population with an Aboriginal mother tongue or home language. Since a large base of speakers is essential to ensure long-term viability, the   more speakers a language has, the better its chances of survival (pg.3).

The size of speaker numbers is usually a predictor of the language's ability to perform or deliver, as Adegbija (1994) observes [...] "large languages tend to be associated with functional buoyancy, small languages with impotence" (p.82).

However a caveat is brought up by Crystal (2005) with regards to relationship between speaker population and language situation, he cautions against forming a conditioned relationship between the two as community realities also have a role to play. Crystal (ibid) observes, [...] "speaker figures should never be seen in isolation, but always viewed in relation to the community to which they relate" (pg.12).

Another way scholars have tried to understand the characteristics of a declining language is through the use of linguistic criteria; particularly the range of functions for which the particular language is used and the kinds of structural changes that the languages display.

3.2.2.4.2 Language functions: The notion of language use as a variable for determining language viability is based on Fishman's (1971) idea of language domains which explains *where*, and *with whom* a particular language is used and the range of topics that speakers are able to address using the language. A language is considered viable when it performs significant functions in the community. In the contrary when community language is confined to use in informal and home contexts instead of the official or prestige functions like government, public office or media, it indicates that the language is under pressure. Crystal (2000) implies that languages undergoing shift by rule come to be used progressively less and less throughout the community, [...] "with some of the functions they originally performed either dying out or gradually being supplanted by other languages" (p.21).

3.2.2.4.3 Linguistic changes: The assumption that language shift spurs linguistic change started since Weinriech (1953) pointed out this relationship. From a structural point of view, the language undergoing shift may be determined by drastic changes observed in different aspects of structure. The changes are attributed to the influence imposed by the dominant language on the minority one; the later suffers reduction of the number of registers and simplification of its grammar and the semantic composition of its vocabulary as well as taking over the lexical items and structural features from the dominant language (Crystal, 2000).

Such configuration of circumstances more often than not spells the demise of the weaker language. Linguistic changes in a threatened language may be realized in a variety of ways including; grammatical changes such as increased use of inflections and

function words from the dominant language, decline in knowledge of vocabulary, especially in younger members of the community (Crystal (ibid).

Not all linguists agree that all changes observed in a language are indicative of language shift (Lambert, 1977; 1981, Romaine 1989; Crystal, 2000). They caution that the assessment of functional or structural changes in a language, important as it might be in determining language shift process, however needs be treated with caution as changes in a language are a normal necessary feature of language. For example, Crystal (2000) comments that it is normal for healthy languages to borrow from one another and vocabulary always alters between old and young generations. He emphasizes that there is always [...] "need to know which features are associated with (language endangerment)" (p.23).

3.2.3 FACTORS FOR LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

Setting off from the viewpoint that language maintenance refers to a situation whereby a speaker, a group of speakers, or a speech community continues to use their language habitually despite competition for autonomy from a dominant or majority language within the language's spheres (Pauwels, 2004) and language shift having to do with the partial or total abandonment of a group's native language in favor of another (Winford, 2003), linguists have endeavored to specify factors which are conducive for language maintenance and those which tend to speed up language shift. Research work by Kloss (1966); Giles (1977); Smolicz (1981); Clyne (1991) and Pauwels (2004) have examined some of the factors promoting or impeding language maintenance and influencing the differential shift rates in different ethnolinguistic communities.

Most of the factors for language maintenance and shift come from studies carried out in immigrant language situations; hence some of the factors may not completely apply to indigenous language situations. There are fundamental differences between immigrant and indigenous language situations. One area of variation is that whereas indigenous languages belong to the place where they are spoken, immigrant languages are usually available in their countries of origin (Clyne, 2003). This factor gives immigrant languages an advantage for *language and cultural revival* as new speakers arrive in the contact area or migrant speakers travel to their countries of origin to visit relatives. Apart from language and cultural revival, the arrival of new speakers in contact areas gives immigrant languages an added advantage of *numerical strength* (Clyne, 2003:48). Thernstrom *et al* (1980) for example observe that the reason why the Croatian Americans have been able to maintain a cohesive ethnic group is partly due to the

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continuous influx of newcomers from the homeland; [...] "this had enabled the Croatians to maintain close contact with Croatia and its contemporary culture and language" (p. 255).

Conditions such as those described above do not apply to indigenous languages situation. The vantage adopted in this study is to describe factors for language maintenance and shift that apply specifically to indigenous languages.

3.2.4 MODELS OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

Linguists have approached the diverse range of factors that contribute to language maintenance and shift by systematizing the many factors operating in enhancing or diminishing language vitality. To achieve this they have proposed models and typologies of relevant factors. Fishman (1992) comments that, drawing of typology of types and degrees of threatened statuses within language communities is an important precondition for any systematic response to language endangerment. Scales of degrees of language shift serve a diagnostic purpose for language viability. He argues that [...] "since not every threatened language community or language network is equally or similarly threatened, nor equally and similarly capable of response to threat, it is necessary therefore that we must be precise on our understanding of threatened language situations" (Fishman, 1992: 87). Besides, language typological models can also act as frameworks for explaining or even predicting language situation (Clyne, 2003). Here below I elucidate on a selection of models which have significantly contributed to minority languages research.

3.2.4.1 Kloss - ambivalent factors

Kloss (1966) taxonomy of factors identifies factors promoting language maintenance or shift and ones which are ambivalent in that they can promote either language maintenance or shift (Clyne, 2003:47). Kloss factors included here are those considered relevant to the indigenous language situation;

3.2.4 1.1 Educational level of the speaker: The educational attainment of a language speaker has been seen to be closely tied to language use. In an indigenous language situation, the level of education of a speaker is interpreted as an indicator of an individual's length or degree of exposure to the pressures and opportunities to learn the dominant language (Stevens, 1992). It promotes shift if one's educational attainment (together with one's age) can be considered as indicators of the individual's level of acculturation in the dominant cultural life. On the other hand a lower educational level of a speaker engenders one's isolation from the dominant culture leading to language

maintenance (Clyne, 2003). In the case of the present study a majority of Ndamba speakers have low levels of education.

3.2.4.1.2 Numerical strength: The number of speakers of a language can be both an advantage and a liability to its continuity. All things being equal, a large absolute number of speakers guarantees the language's continued existence than a small number of speakers can. However according to Clyne (opp.cit), large groups of speakers are liable to multiple contacts with the dominant group hence promoting language shift toward the dominant language (pg. 48). The estimated absolute number of Ndamba speakers is 60,000 (Nurse& Phillipson, 1975). This is an adequate number to ensure sufficient maintenance of Ndamba language.

3.2.4.1.3 Linguistic and cultural similarity: This concerns the interethnic/socio-cultural characteristics of the contact language groups. It is argued that the more there is linguistic and cultural distance between the dominant and minority languages the less are chances of shift (distance guarantees language maintenance). On the other hand more linguistic and cultural similarities between the dominant and minority languages raise the prospects for language shift (Clyne, 2003). Regarding the languages in present study, the dominant language Swahili and the minority Ndamba are considered to have close linguistic and cultural similarities. Both are classified in the *Ethnologue* as belonging to the same linguistic phylum (i.e. Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, and Central). This implies higher prospects for the minority Ndamba language to shift toward Swahili.

3.2.4.1.4 Attitude of majority to language or group: This concerns language and identity. It is argued that positive attitudes on the part of the majority can create a favourable environment for language maintenance or inversely it can cause apathy (Clyne, 2003). When speakers hold favourable attitudes toward their language, they will identify themselves with and respect their language and cultural values hence maintain them. In the contrary when speakers hold their language and culture in contempt or indifference they will ignore them leading to language shift. A majority of Ndamba speakers hold their language and culture with esteem as symbols of ethnic identity.

3.2.4.2 Edwards' (1992) model

The typology of minority languages provided by Edwards (1992) to account for language maintenance and shift categorizes along two parameters the various variables that present themselves as factors of language shift in language contact situations. The first group presents different perspectives by which human groups can be categorized; these include; demography, sociology, linguistics, psychology, history, political, geography, education, religion, economics, and technology. These values are then examined against the variables of the second parameter whose values include; speaker, language and setting. These two parameters generate a table with thirty three cells. A set of specific questions is then associated with each of cells in the table. The number of questions corresponds to the cell number in the table.

Categorization A	*Categorization B*		
	Speaker	Language	Setting
Demography	1	2	3
Sociology	4	5	6
Linguistics	7	8	9
Psychology	10	11	12
History	13	14	15
Political	16	17	18
Geography	19	20	21
Education	22	23	24
Religion	25	26	27
Economics	28	29	30
Technology	31	32	33

**Table 3.2: Edward's (1992) framework for the typology of minority languages
Adapted from *Grenoble & Whaley (1998:25).***

Despite its potential as an instrument capable of accounting the entirety of variables associated with language maintenance and shift, some scholars have criticized the model as being too complex (Clyne, 2003: 54) and not comprehensive enough to generate a full typology of language endangerment situations (Grenoble & Whaley,1998 pp.25)

3.2.4.3 Fishman's (1991) typology of sociolinguistic disruption

Fishman (1991) proposed a model called the *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* (GDS) to account for states of sociolinguistic disruption in a community in view of the function of languages in a language network or community. According to the scale, the level of vitality of a language can be determined by assessing the age group of competent speakers. A language stands a better chance of intergenerational continuity if, [...] "it is still spoken by those of child bearing age (say, 20-45 years) the chances of the parents passing the language on to the children is high..." Batibo, (2005: 109). The eight grade scales of the GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) measure types and degrees of threatened statuses within language communities or networks, with the languages of stage 1 being the most viable and those of stage 8 being closest to extinction. For each stage   Fishman provides a characterization of situation and suggestions of response to threat specific to that stage.

The Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GDS) begins by specifying the characteristics of languages facing greater disruption and threat to the prospects for the language being passed on from one generation to the next. Contrary to the models proposed by previous linguists, Fishman's grades on the scales do not have names; he presents them simply as stages. The eight stages on the *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* are as follows;

STAGE ON THE GIDS	CURRENT STATUS OF LANGUAGE
STAGE 8	most vestigial users of the language are socially isolated old folks and the language needs to be reassembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults.
STAGE 7	most users of the language are socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age.
STAGE 6	the attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement.
STAGE 5	language used in literacy in home, school and community, but without talking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy.
STAGE 4	language used in lower education (types a and b) that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws.
STAGE 3	language used in the lower work sphere (outside the language's neighborhood/community) involving interaction between speakers of the language and the dominant language.

STAGE 2	language used in lower government services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either.
STAGE 1	some use of the language in higher level educational, occupational, governmental, and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence.

Table 3.3: Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GDS) of Threatened Languages. Adapted From: Fishman's (1991:88 – 109) *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages.*

Stage 6 is one of the most decisive in the GDS scale and constitutes the central theme of the present study. It places emphasis on the use of natural oral language along the home-family-community axis. It considers natural use of community language as part of regular inter-familiar, intercommunity interaction to be crucial to the community effort of replenishing their speakers through successive generations (McCarty, 1996).

Despite its overall worth as a fastidious scheme for evaluating minority language situations, GDS has been criticized and there have been calls for it to be modified to suit different contexts (Walsh, 2005). One area of censure has been that the model is more relevant to the European context than to minority language context in other parts of the world. (Hinton, 2003 cited in Walsh, 2005) notes for instance that the aspect of literacy (GDS stages 2 and 1) is not quite relevant to a majority of indigenous language contexts as there rarely exists a long tradition of literacy, […] "and because the GDS approach has an emphasis on literacy it may not be the most appropriate model in those contexts" (Walsh, 2005:298).

3.2.4.4 Landweer's (2000) Indicators of Relative Ethnolinguistic Vitality

In this relatively recent model, Landweer (2000) provides a set of 8 factors for assessing the probable direction of a speech community relative to maintenance of or shift from habitual use of the traditional language. The indicators are;

3.2.4.4.1 Position of the speech community on the remote- urban continuum: A minority language whose speech community is located   near a population centre or has fairy easy access to and from nearest population centre is more likely to undergo shift as its speakers would have more contact with speakers of other languages.

3.2.4.4.2 Domains in which the target language is used: This indicator refers to the language choice pattern in the community. A language undergoing shift normally does not have sufficient use in the community life. Its use progressively diminishes throughout the community, with some of the functions it originally performed either dying out or gradually being supplanted by other languages. As Crystal (2000) observes its use is usually confined to use in informal and home contexts instead of the official or prestige functions like government, public office or media.

3.2.4.4.3 Frequency and type of code-switching: The principle underlying this indicator is similar to that of language choice practice. The difference being that in code-switching the focus is in the forms of utterances rather than the use of the speech produced. Landweer (2000) observes that when speakers make frequent switching between normative code and the dominant language; and particularly when the traditional language appears as the imbedded language and the dominant language as the matrix language, it is indicative that language shift is taking place in the community

3.2.4.4.4 Population and group identity: The underlying implication of this indicator is that for a language to be considered viable it must have a core of fluent speakers considered as a "critical mass of speakers". For Landweer (2000), some number of speakers in a stable communication environment is a necessary condition for potential viability of the language**.** Research studies by Fishman, (1991) and Dorian, (1986) confirm the appropriateness of this phenomenon as a viable criterion for assessing language viability.

3.2.4.4.5 Distribution of speakers within their own social networks: The concept of social networks refers to a set of people who interact with each other and create a shared membership relationship with one another (Baker & Jones, 1998). Language vitality is deemed to be high when speakers of a language are in dense network with others of the same language; that is when each speaker is linked in a relationship with another thereby increasing the prospect of using the traditional language in a wide range of settings, domains and functions. Ricento (2006) posits that close networks increase chances of cohesion and reciprocity among members of a speech community [...] "thus increasing the chances of the survival of a minority language within such networks" (p.219). On the other hand language shift is likely to set in where there [...] "is prolonged loosening of close-knit ties or where there is a social network with relatively weak interpersonal links" Ricento (ibid: 219).   Social network further

contributes to language maintenance by ensuring that [...] "internal reinforcements of whatever cultural values are held dear across that society, (in this way) societal norms regarding language use are reinforced along with every other societal norm" (Landweer, 2000:28).

3.2.4.4.6 Social outlook regarding and within the speech community: The perception of the group about themselves and how others perceive them has significant effect on the group's overall language maintenance or shift. The notion of group's social outlook corresponds in essence within Giles *et al* (1977) and with more recent proposition by Landry and Allard, (1992; 1994) of *ethnolinguistic vitality* and *subjective ethnolinguistic vitality* respectively. These concepts are useful in predicting when a language group may become bilingual and, conversely, when it may replace the traditional language in most if not all activities with the dominant language (Myers-Scotton, 2002).

3.2.4.4.7 Language prestige: This indicator addresses the effect of relative language prestige on language vitality. A language's prestige results from it being perceived [...] "as having symbolic or utilitarian value in the community" (Batibo, 2002:108) Furthermore language is considered prestigious by speakers when it has status and when there is some perceived or real utilitarian value attached to it. Dorian (1998) argues that when a low prestige language acquires a negative reputation and image, potential speakers avoid using it so as not to be associated with its unappealing image. This much language prestige helps to boost speakers pride in their identity.

3.2.4.4.8 Access to a stable and acceptable economic base: This indicator assesses the extent to which the community's economic base is able to provide supportive environment for continued use of the local language. In this relation, Holmes (1997, cited in Landweer, 2000) observes that one common cause factor for speakers to abandon using their traditional language for another is the perception they have that the acquired language would be of more economic benefit to them. This assumption correlates with Aikhenvald's (n.d.) observation in Papua New Guinea, that growing prestige and economic opportunity associated with proficiency in Tok Pisin among Sepik language speakers, had led to virtual stoppage of cultural reproduction, [...] "consequently many children are now not learning the (Sepik) language" (p.4). In the same note, Landweer (2000) concludes that, [...] "dependence on an economic system requiring use of non-vernacular language puts the vernacular in jeopardy" (p.15).

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3.2.4.5 Ethnolinguistic vitality model (EV)

This model proposed by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) is founded upon the idea that the viability and likelihood of survival of a linguistic group as a collective entity in an intergroup context depends on the vitality a particular linguistic group has. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (opp.cit.) describe the vitality of an ethnolinguistic (EV) group as;

> [...] that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations (p.308).

The ethnolinguistic model (EV) provides an appropriate measure for assessing language viability by examining the extent to which language speakers accommodate to the mainstream group as opposed to preserving the integrity of their own group. The EV (cited in Mann, 2000) identifies three broad categories whose configuration ensures that a group may (or not) exist and 'behave as a distinctive and active collective entity'; these are (i) *status factors* which entails a configuration of variables that reflect the prestige or esteem of the group (economic status, language status and perceived status), (ii) *demographic factors* inform on the numerical strength of the group and their geographical distribution, and (iii) *institutional support factors* relate to the level of utility of the language in the formal and informal situations.

```
                            Vitality
        ┌──────────────────────┼──────────────────────┐
        ↓                      ↓                       ↓
     Status               Demographic            Institutional
        ↓                      ↓                       ↓
 Economic status                    ┌ national                    ┌ mass media
                                    │ territory         Formal    │
 Social status          Distribution┤ concentration               │ education
                                    │                              │
 Sociohistorical status             └ proportion                   │ government
                                                                   │ services
 Language status        ┌ within            ┌ absolute             │
                        └ without           │                      │ industry
                                            │ birth rate  Informal │
                                            │                      │ religion
                            Numbers ┤ mixed marriages              │
                                            │                      └ culture
                                            │ immigration
                                            └ emigration
```
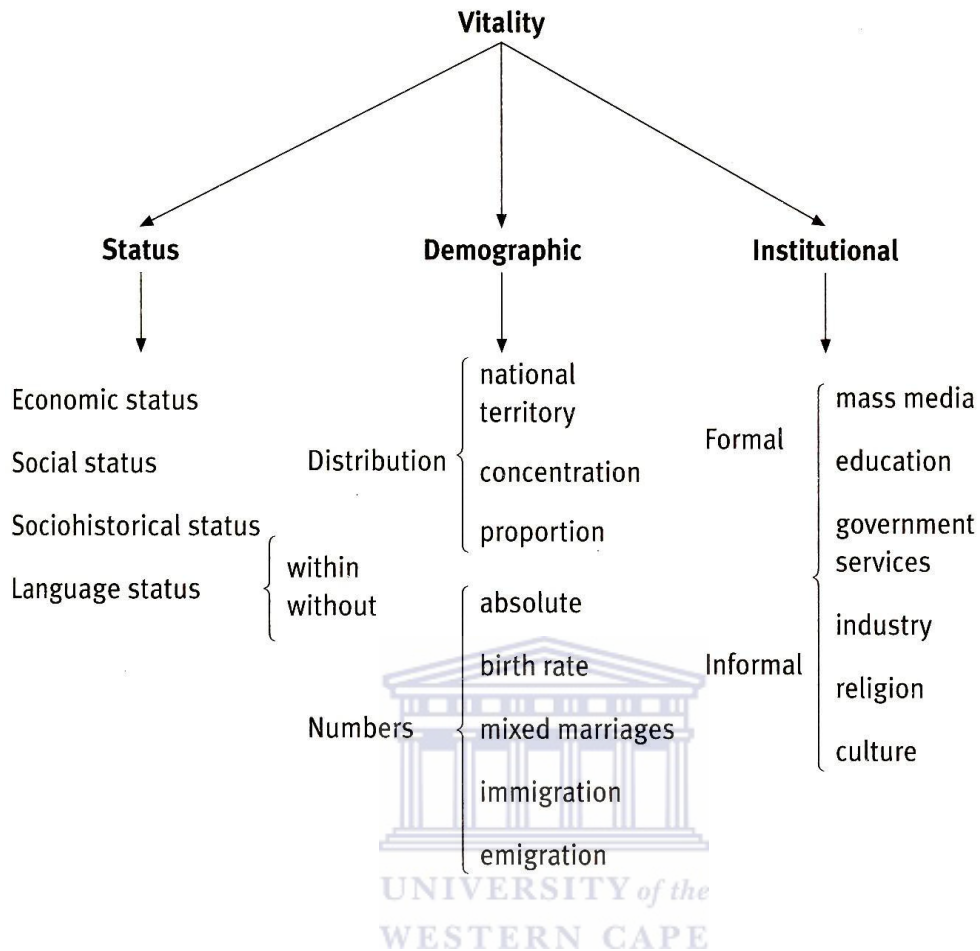
Figure 3.1 A taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality
Source: **Ricento (2006, p.195)**

The EV model has been criticized by some scholars for failing to detail specific language relations. Specifically, Haarmann (1986 cited in Mac Giolla Chriost, 2003) contends that;

> [...] despite its effectiveness in theorizing language related factors at a macro-level, the model is inadequate for this purpose at the micro-level. An adequate language theory must account for all possible variables, both general and specific, which affect language structure, choice and behavior in ethnic groups (p.46).

The main outcome of language contact is always development of dual or multi uses of languages in the same community, a situation commonly referred to as bilingualism or prulingualism (Batibo, 2005). The essence of this situation and its consequential realizations are discussed in the following section.

3.2.5 BILINGUALISM

It is well known truth that most of the world's speech communities use more than one language. In fact Grosejean (1982, cited in Romaine, 1995) estimates that about half the world's population speak more than one language. An enduring controversy in the sociological study of bilingualism has been whether bilingualism is an advantage or liability to the community. Scholars who see it as a problem describe the phenomenon as a factor for linguistic instability, and an ultimate cause of language decline (Romaine ibid). Those holding this viewpoint consider bilingualism as nothing more than a transitional stage toward language shift, or [...] "a step along the road to linguistic extinction" (Romaine, ibid: 5). In his proposed 'marked bilingualism model', Batibo (2005) emphasizes this position by saying that;

> [...] "language shift can only take place where there is a state of bilingualism, as clearly, no community can afford to abandon its language and become mute (p.89).

Scholars holding the opposite school of thought argue to the contrary that bilingualism does not necessarily lead to language loss (Grimes, 2001). Conversely, they view the phenomenon as having immense social benefits to the individual speakers and the community. Gunesch (2003) for instance, views bilingualism as some form of cosmopolitan cultural identity. He notes that learning different languages subjects one to adopt different cultural viewpoints, it makes one [...] "feel at home in the world" (Gunesch, ibid: 214). In this perspective bilingualism is perceived as a means of opening one to viewing the world from another perspective.

3.2.5.1 Inception of bilingualism: Scholars have generally considered bilingualism as a language contact situation which is signaled when people increasingly develop mastery of a new language [...] "while still retaining competence in their old" (Crystal, 2000: 79). At the beginning bilingual use of language is usually characterized by people speaking two or more languages as they have a minimal competence in both languages. Usually the local language is more dominant. However as time goes by use of the dominant language becomes more prominent bilingualism starts to decline, with the old language giving way to the new. When this stage of language use is reached, Sasse (1992) postulates, the traditional language is no longer 'healthy', it becomes 'threatened'. Sasse (ibid.) clarifies;

> [...] once a new language becomes dominant in a certain speech community the old one is potentially endangered unless there exists a very strong motivation to retain it. (p. 21).

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3.2.5.2 Denotation of bilingualism: The subject of bilingualism has attracted attention of scholars from a wide range of disciplines including; anthropology, sociology, psychology and linguistics. The varying disciplinary background has had ramifications on the theoretical and methodological approaches used to investigate it. Ensuing from this varying scholarly interest there exist a wide range of definitions concerning the notion bilingualism. A brief review of some ideas concerning bilingualism is presented here below. Weinreich (1968 cited in Mougeon & Beniak, 1991) consider the term bilingualism as synonymous to the concept language contact, he submits;

> [...] two or more languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternatively by the same persons. The language using individuals are *the locus of the contact*. The practice of alternatively using two languages will be called *bilingualism* and the persons involved *bilinguals* (p.1). (Author's emphasis)

Some scholars have defined bilingualism in terms of the criteria of proficiency of speakers and functions of the two contact languages in the community. They specify it in terms of categories, scales and dichotomies (Romaine, 1989: 11). A prominent protagonist of this approach, Mackey (1967 cited in Romaine, 1989) suggested four questions which needed to be considered in describing the concept bilingualism. These include (i) *degree* which refers to proficiency, (ii) *function* which concerns the uses the speaker has for the languages and the different roles the languages have in his/her repertoire, (iii) *alternation* which has to do with the extent to which the bilingual speaker interchanges between the languages and, (iv) *interference* which denotes the extent to which the speaker is able to keep the languages separate, or whether they are mingled. Mackey (1968) further submitted that bilingualism was an entirely relative concept as it is not possible to be specific in determining the point at which a speaker of a second language becomes bilingual as the point is either arbitrary or impossible to determine. This view is shared by Romaine (1989) who notes that bilingualism represents a spectrum comprising on the one hand Bloomfield's (1933 cited in Romaine, ibid.: 11) specification which calls for native-like control of two languages, the capacity possessed by a "mythical bilingual" (Valdes 2001) and on the other hand Haugen's (1953 cited in Romaine, ibid.) observation that a bilingual is any speaker of one language who can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language.

On the other hand Diebold (1964) presents what might be considered a 'minimal definition' of bilingualism using the term "incipient bilingualism" to mark the initial stages of contact between two languages, Diebold (ibid.) proposes no absolute minimal

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proficiency to mark bilingual language use, as a person might not be proficient in a language, but be able to understand utterances in it. This state is referred to by linguists as "passive" or "receptive" bilingualism; it is concomitant with Hockett's (1958,cited in Diebold,1964) use of the term "semilingualism". Diebold's argument has been criticized for being too open as to allow about every person who knows a few words in another language to qualify as an incipient bilingual.

Following Pauwels (1986), the term bilingualism will be used in this study to refer to;

> [...] a situation involving people employing two languages, who recognize themselves and are recognized by others as using two languages (p.123).

This view considers bilingualism as a continuum, ranging from a bilingual having proficiency in both languages or having a dominant and subordinate language (MacNamara, 1967; Hakuta 1986). Following Valdes (2001) bilingual speakers tend to realize different amounts of knowledge of the two languages in their repertoire. Figure 3.4 depicts Valde's (ibid) presentation of bilingual speakers' competence as existing in a continuum, where A and B are the two languages. The first letter in the combinations stands for the dominant language, and the font sizes and case suggest proficiency variation.

A   Ab Ab Ab Ab Ab Ab Ba Ba Ba Ba Ba Ba   B
Monolingual   Monolingual
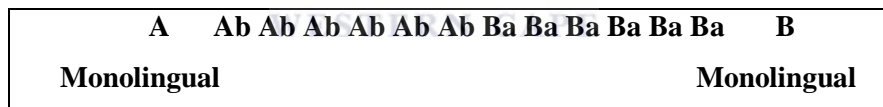
Figure 3.2: Bilingual continuum. *Source*: **Valdes, G. (2001)**

The present study critiques the Valde (2001) descriptive presentation as unrealistic as it assumes that a bilingual speaker cannot achieve native speaker competence.

3.2.5.3 Types of Bilingualism

The variation of theories, perceptions and arguments seen in the literature on bilingualism point out to the fact that the study of bilingualism is a complex phenomenon. To highlight the complexity, Hamers and Blanc (2000) note that the notion, [...] "simultaneously implies a state of bilinguality of individuals and a state of language in contact at the collective level" (p.32). Linguists have used these criteria to distinguish between various types of the notion of bilingualism. Accordingly many

classifications and definitions have been suggested. Generally speaking the various categories of bilingualism have been suggested in terms of either how the languages are learned (psycholinguistic perspective) (Ervin and Osgood, 1954 Weinreich, 1968; Grosjean, 1994) or how languages are used in a bilingual situation (sociolinguistic perception) (Gumperz, 1969; Fishman, 1972; Dorian 1986; Clark, 1986).

In this section a review will be made of some of the categorizations provided in these two disciplines.

3.2.5.3.1 Psycholinguistics of bilingualism

Psycholinguistic bilingual scholars have concerned themselves with explaining the cognitive processes of bilingualism. Their main focus of investigation has concerned the bilingual processes involved in the production, perception, comprehension, and memorization (Grosjean, 1994). One of the most discussed and debated specification in this area is Weinreich's (1968) coordinate-compound-subordinate distinction which specifies three types of bilingualism. His distinction was formulated based on [...] "the structuring of the vocabulary (lexicon)" (Klein, 1986:11) and [...] "the ways in which it was thought that the concepts of a language were encoded in the individual's brain" (Romaine, 1995: 78).
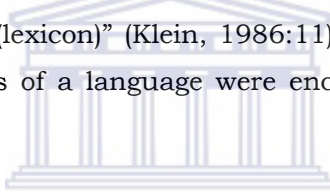
Weinreich's categorization was adopted and modified by Ervin and Osgood (1954 cited in Grosjean, 1994:241) who proposed a two part distinction that was defined according to bilingual language learning and use. They categorized bilingualism into '*compound bilingualism'* and *'coordinate bilingualism'*.

3.2.5.3.1.1 Compound and coordinate bilingualism: The fundamental distinction between the two types of bilingualism is the way the language codes involved are acquired. Compound bilingualism refers to the acquisition of bilingualism as first language. It alludes to the process of learning two languages in parallel (Klein, 1986). The feasibility of an individual learning two languages concurrently is actualized by the fact that languages no matter how different they are, share some features in common. In this way Klein (1986) argues, it is possible for the learner [...] "to develop 'one' language system with a number of variable components between which he may switch at will" (p.11). Compound bilingualism is acquired in one and the same context usually by means of home-family socialization.

Coordinate bilingualism on the other hand refers to the ability to use two (or more) languages that have been learned successively. It denotes a situation whereby a bilingual person initially develops one language system before he/she acquires another

as a second language. Coordinate bilingualism often results in dominant-inferior language competence in the speaker in which case the person's language processing would be effected by the dominant language while the other (inferior) language would be used [...] "only at a superficial level of production or comprehension" (Klein, opp.cit: 11) Coordinate bilingualism usually develops in the context where the speaker acquires the two (or more) languages in different situations, for example one at home, the other in school.

According to Hammers and Blanc (2000) the main distinction between compound and coordinate bilingualism is one of semantic representation. They argue that for the speaker of compound bilingualism there is greater semantic interdependence between his/her two language codes, while for the coordinate bilingual speaker, they contend, [....] " there is greater semantic independence between his two linguistic codes" (p.39).

The coordinate-compound distinction despite its use value has been criticized by some circles of linguists. For instance Macnamara (1970, cited in Klein, 1986: 12) described the distinction as deceptive because it can not easily be captured in strictly linguistic terms.

3.2.5.3.1.2 Additive-subtractive bilingualism: Another categorization in relation to language learning distinguishes bilingualism along additive and subtractive bilingualism. Cummins and Swain (1987) allege that additive bilingualism occurs when the learning of a second language enables the speaker to add to his /her linguistic repertoire another socially relevant skill without affecting his L1 competence. In this situation a speaker learns a second language while still maintaining strong L1 skills (Wright, et al, 2000). In an additive bilingual situation both the native language and the second language enjoy equal recognition and social support (Diaz & Klinger, 1991). Subtractive bilingualism on the other hand refers to a situation where the learning of a second language leads to the decline in speaker's L1 competence (Cummins, 1994). It entails speakers acquiring a second language while supplanting their first language with the second language. According to Perez & McCarty (2004) subtractive bilingualism is a social context that commonly prevails in most minority language communities where [...] "ethno-minority languages are not only not valued but there is also a strong societal expectation and pressure for the native language to be abandoned" (p.13) in favour of the dominant language. The long-term outcome of subtractive bilingualism is the ethno-linguistic minority group losing its home language in the process of acquiring the prestigious dominant language (McLaughlin, 1987).

3.2.5.3.2 Sociology of bilingualism

Linguists holding the sociological perspective of bilingualism (also referred to as societal bilingualism), (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1972; Halliday, 1973) contend that a pure linguistic approach to the study of bilingual use of language is not sufficient, for accurate understanding of bilingualism, they argue, it is crucial that the social environment where bilingualism operates should also be recognized. Backing this view, Hammers and Blanc (2000) advocate that bilingualism [...] "should be studied at several levels of analysis: individual, interpersonal, intergroup and societal" (p.32).

Studies in societal bilingualism perceive bilingual communities as multi-style societies (Hymes, 1974, cited in Domingue, 1990; 528-529) in which community members realize [...] "a universality of functional differentiation in the linguistic behavior" (Domingue, ibid; 528). Hence the main concern in societal bilingualism studies is to determine contextual factors which regulate the use of the codes in a community, described by Fishman (1972 quoted in Domingue, 1990) as;

> [...] a means of examining and relating and speakers' individual, momentary choices to relatively stable patterns of choice that exist in their multilingual setting as a whole (p. 528-529).
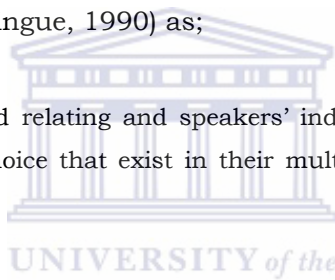
In the study of societal bilingualism the aspects often cited as salient contextual factors impacting on language choice and use are the *situation*, the *participants*, and the *topic*. (Gumperz, 1964; Blom & Guperz, 1972). On the other hand sociolinguists ascribing to the Hallidayian (1973) model consider it appropriate to distinguish contextual factors into *field* of discourse, *mode* of discourse, and *style* of discourse (Gregory & Caroll, 1978; Domingue, 1990).

The sociological approach to bilingualism recognizes societal bilingualism as a bilingual category in distinction to individual bilingualism.

3.2.5.3.2.1 Societal bilingualism:
Ferguson (1959 cited in Domingue, 1990: 529) refers to societal bilingualism as a situation pertaining to a language community that has dual (or multi) shared repertoire of linguistic knowledge. It alludes to a particular way in which language resources are organized and allocated in a society whereby [...] "speakers share similar sets of values in reference to the codes used" (Domingue, ibid. 529). This includes shared knowledge they have about the sociolinguistic patterns that operate within the community. According to Romaine (2004) however active knowledge

of two or more languages is not a necessary condition of one's membership to a bilingual community but rather it is one's possession of [...] "passive competence and shared norms of understanding" (p.387). The principal norm that a bilingual member has to master as a matter of necessity is knowledge of the contexts in which each of the language codes is used (Wardhaugh 2006).

3.2.5.3.2.1.1 Stable-unstable bilingualism: The distinction between stable and unstable bilingualism is based on the patterns of language choice speakers make about the coexisting codes in a bilingual community. Following Ferguson (1959) and Fishman (1972) two main patterns of language choice exist in the verbal repertoire of speakers in a bilingual setting. The community may decide either to use the languages observing strict separation of domains among them, leading to *stable bilingualism* or (in a rather rare case) the community may use both languages in all domains, resulting in *unstable bilingualism* (Romaine, 1995). In stable bilingualism the minority and the dominant languages are assigned different functions wherein the minority language is used in the family and friendship domains and the dominant language in official domains like government. In the case of unstable bilingualism both the minority and dominant languages are used in a compatible relationship, a situation which often results in the minority language being overtaken by the dominant language in the home domain (Cooper & Greenfield, 1969). Wardhaugh (2006: 100) cites the language use patterns in Switzerland, Canada, and Haiti as typical examples of stable bilingualism while that of New York and London as an illustration of unstable bilingualism.

3.2.6 BILINGUAL BEHAVIOR

Research dealing with bilingual speech at the micro-interactional level is in concurrence about the idea that bilingual language use is an orderly social behavior (Li Wei, 1994) that is guided by socially accepted norms and regulations. Bilinguals use language [...] "in terms of implicit and explicit rules and social norms which dictate how individuals should speak in various contexts and situations" (Bourhis1979: 124). This view correlates well with Mackey's (1962, cited in Li Wei, ibid.5) observation that language use is a social phenomenon implying that the linguistic behavior of bilingual speakers and the language use strategies they adopt are guided by social circumstances that apply to any particular speech event, noted by Li Wei (opp.cit.) as [...] "what language users themselves decide is going on around them and of what they take the behavior of others to mean" (p.14).

In this section I intend to describe linguistic resources that are available to bilingual speakers. Focus will be given to two most common language features realized in bilingual language use; (i) language choice and (ii) code-switching.

3.2.6.1 Language choice

The tendency for people to choose to use one language rather than another is a common practice in a multilingual situation. This, Bourhis (1979) observes is usually done [...] "in terms of implicit and explicit rules and social norms which dictate how individuals should speak in various contexts and situations" (p. 124). One way of examining this phenomenon of cross-language variation is to look at it along the dimensions proposed by Fishman (1972: 112) of "who speaks what language to whom and when" whereby he observes that;

> [...] proper usage indicates that only one of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties will be chosen by particular classes of interlocutors on particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular kinds of topics (p.15).

3.2.6.1.1 Language domains: Fishman (1972) observed that language use in a bilingual context realised orientation toward institutional contexts as well as socioecological co-occurrences. Consequently he proposed the notion of language domains to attempt to specify common major groups of interaction situations that occur in such situations. A language domain was defined as;

> [...] a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships and interactions between communicators and locales of communication in accord with the institutions of the society and the spheres of activity of a culture in such a way that individual behaviour and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other. (Fishman, 1966 cited in Pride, 2004:98)

Fishman (ibid, cited in Pride, 2004) described domains as [...] "the most common institutional arenas in which cultural identifications are enacted" (p.98) and specified them as a constellation of factors such as location, topic, and participants which were related to [...] "widespread sociocultural norms and expectations" (p.19) of the community. Romaine (1994) describes a language domain as an abstraction which refers to a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings, and role relationships. She identified domains to include the following aspects; family, friendship, religion, employment, and education. These, she explained [...] "serve as

anchor points for distinctive value systems embodied in the use of one language as opposed to another" (p.43).. In each domain, Romaine (ibid.) reasons that [...] "there may be pressures of various kinds, e.g. economic, administrative, cultural, political, religious, etc. which influence bilingual speakers to use one language rather than the other" (p.44). Often knowledge and use of one language is an economic necessity. Such is the case of minority language speakers in Tanzania where administrative policies require that all transaction in the government and public sector institutions be carried out in Swahili.

3.2.6.1.2 Factors influencing language choice

It has been argued that language variation in a multilingual situation is manifestation of part of the community members' pragmatic knowledge of their language. People speak as they do because they feel a particular kind of language to be appropriate in a particular situation. (Labov, 1966; 1972).

To explain language use in a multilingual situation, sociolinguistic literature presents a number of reasons that account for community members' decision to use one language rather than the other in a particular situation. By and large linguists identify two main categories of reasons for language choice; (i) macro-collective factors and (ii) micro-individual factors.
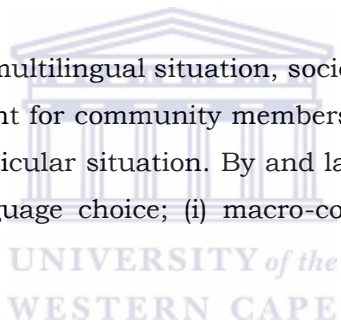
3.2.6.1.2.1 Macro-collective factors: These are community based factors that influence the individual speaker's language as he or she interacts with other members of the community. The community's macro-collective factors may be well explained with reference to the Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) conceptualization of ethnolinguistic vitality (ref.2.4.5) whereby it is maintained that the group's language use is influenced by the particular language's vitality. As Bourhis (1979) clarifies; [...] "(the nature of) speech strategies encoded during ethnic interaction may be affected by the respective vitality of ethnolinguistic groups in contact" (p. 129). Using these variables, language communities can be classified as having low, medium or high vitality.
The language having higher vitality is more likely to be chosen for interaction than one with low vitality.

Interpreted in terms of language use in a multilingual situation, language vitality notion refers to power relations in the community, with the language possessing more vitality being the one with more power, prestige and status. Romaine (1984:45) posits that the prestige of one language over another is a function of the perceived power of those who

speak it. The amount of power a language variety possesses in the community defines its status and therefore chances for it being used more for communicative purposes.

Power relations in language use define not only contexts of use of the various languages in the community but also as Bourhis, (1979) observes, prescribe sanctions and rewards. This situation is observed in bilingual communities especially in diglossia where the dominant group's language is used in prestige situations, formal public purposes (the H form) while the other is used for common, everyday pursuits (the L form).

3.2.6.1.2.2 Micro-individual factors: These are factors that influence language behaviour at the speaker level as opposed to macro-social variables which influence language behaviour at the community level. Micro-individual factors have a social psychological orientation. They explain circumstances that influence choice as language takes place in interpersonal encounters amongst interlocutors; to account for speech dynamics at individual speakers' level linguists have developed an *Interpersonal Speech Accommodation model* (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1973).

3.2.6.1.2.2.1 The Interpersonal Speech Accommodation model: is based on the understanding that the purpose of speech interaction in an interethnic situation is common understanding amongst interlocutors; hence they will shift their languages and use a variety that would enable them to achieve this need more effectively. The model can best account for three types of speech strategies which speakers usually adopt in social interaction, these are (i) speech convergence (Giles, et al., 1973); (ii) speech maintenance (Bourhis, 1977); and (iii) speech divergence (Bourhis and Giles, 1977).

(i) Speech convergence strategy: This is an interaction strategy in a bilingual situation which accounts for the individual speaker's decision to adapt to the interlocutor's language. According to Giles (1977: 28), it refers to the process whereby;

> [...] individuals adapt to each others speech on a number of linguistic levels and in a manner that is not easily explicable simply in terms of normative demands of the situation.

The main goal for the speaker to deploy speech convergence strategies is to achieve social integration with his or her interlocutor, as (Bourhis, 1979) observes, in

interpersonal interaction [...] "speech shifts can occur in many types of social encounters and may reflect speakers' conscious and unconscious needs for social integration with their interlocutors"(p.124).

In addition, speakers tend to adopt speech convergence strategies when they intend to secure social approval in both intragroup and intergroup encounters.

Studies around the world have found that speech convergence strategies are a common practice of language choice of speakers in bilingual minority language communities. Faced with prospects of reward or sanctions attached with the choice to use the dominant language or not, speakers of minority languages have always tended to shift their speech toward the dominant language. This choice has more often led to the development of 'subtractive bilingualism' in minority language communities. The notion of subtractive bilingualism as developed by Lambert (1974, 1977) and Taylor, Meynard and Rheault (1977) is characterised by the development by minority language speakers of proficiency in the dominant language often resulting in decline of traditional language skills and a loss in cultural identity as one comes to identify more and more with the dominant language group (Reynolds, 1991).

(ii) Speech maintenance strategy: In social encounters, a shift of different manner may occur that speakers may decide not to converge linguistically but each to maintain their separate language variety. This happens occasionally in situations where speakers' aim is to maintain their ethnic identity and cultural distinctiveness in the presence of salient intergroup interlocutors (Bourhis, 1979:126). This language choice strategy helps to account for why some minority language groups, like the Ndamba group being investigated in this study succeed to maintain their language codes despite there being unfavourable atmosphere toward their existence.

(iii) Speech divergence strategy: This strategy is realised in social interaction situation when the speaker modifies his or her language away from one's interlocutor. Speakers adopt speech divergence strategy to accentuate the differences between themselves and others. This idea corresponds with Peng's (1974) "communicative distance" which is described as speakers' choice of language that is intended to create an atmosphere of 'closeness' with their interlocutor or one of 'remoteness' (Bourhis, 1979:128).

In a typical multilingual situation, speech divergence more often occurs when a speaker of the dominant language decides to interact with an interlocutor from the minority

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language group. This observation corresponds with Tajfel's (1974) theory of intergroup relations which describes interaction patterns with consideration to speakers' relative position in the intergroup status hierarchy in terms of being dominant or subordinate group members (Bourhis, 1979:127).

3.2.6.2 Code switching

One characteristic feature of language use in a bilingual situation entails speakers using in alternate ways the language resources at their disposal. The alternation can be introduced within a sentence or in between sentences (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Or even it may be in a form of [...] "juxtaposition within the same speech exchange or passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems" (Gumperz, 1982:59). There are several different terms in literature describing this phenomenon including, mixing, borrowing, interference, and transference (Clyne, 2000). However the commonly used term is code switching which is variously defined as [...] "the alternative use of two languages either within a sentence or between sentences' (Clyne (2000: 258) or as advanced by Nilep (2006) ;

> [...] code switching is the practice of selecting or altering linguistic elements so as to contextualize talk in the interaction. The contextualization may relate to local discourse practices, such as turn selection or various forms of bracketing, or it may make relevant information beyond the current exchange, including knowledge of society and diverse identities (p.1).

3.2.6.2.1 Approaches to code switching

Traditionally linguists have adopted two divergent approaches toward the description of code switching, with the first group being engaged more on examining the grammatical features and constraints applying to code switching. This approach is based on the view that code switching is a rule governed procedure. The second group of investigators has assumed that linguistic code choices play an indexical role. This group of researchers has focused their investigation on [...] "social consequences as motivating linguistic code choices and how speakers use conversational implicatures to arrive at the intended consequences". (Li Wei, 2000). The two viewpoints characterized as (i) linguistic approach and (ii) socio-cultural approaches are described below.

3.2.6.2.1.1 Linguistic approach to code-switching

Various aspects have been emphasized by different scholars in this regard, the main ones being the observation of regularities on the ways in which the items from the two

languages were employed and patterned, they also attempted to postulate constraints that were similar from the contact languages (Clyne, 2003:80). A prominent protagonist of this stance, Poplack (1980) for example examined the word order and phrase structure of code switching; in the event she came up with two rules; an "equivalent constraints" rule which hypothesized that bilingual speakers in their speech tended to produce mixed up utterances composed of components of one language at one point and those of another at another point and the "free morpheme constraint" rule which showed that no switch could occur in between a lexical form and a bound morpheme unless there has been phonological integration of the former into the language of the latter. Woolford (1983) using the generative model indicated that code switching was precipitated by an overlap of grammatical rules obtaining in the two languages.

3.2.6.2.1.1.1 Matrix Language Framework (MLF): Myers-Scotton (1993) proposed the *Matrix Language Framework* (MLF) model to [...] "explain grammatical and lexical choices and 'constraints in a universal framework'" (Clyne: 2003: 81). The model provided that the universal framework of inter-sentential code switching involved one of the languages taking the role of a matrix language (ML) which sets the morphosyntactic frame and one or more varieties as embedded languages (ELs) (Clyne, opp.cit.). As a means for analyzing code switching Myers-Scotton proposed the use of a '*complementilizer of projection*' (CP) as an appropriate unit for analyzing code switching. She defined CP as a syntactic unit that carried the predicate-argument structure of the clause together with any additional forms [...] "required to encode discourse relevant structure and the logic form of that clause" (Myers-Scotton, 2002:54).

More recently Muysken (1997) classified code switching into three subcategories; *insertion*, *alternation*, and *congruent lexicalization* in view of the structure of its component constituents. Muysken (ibid.) attributes the different switch types to typological differences between the languages in contact, variation in the bilingual and sociolinguistic situations and interactional settings of the speech context (Clyne: 2003: 88). He asserts that languages that typologically differ will realize an insertion or alternation switches whereas very closely related languages promote congruent lexicalization. On the other hand speaker attitudes will precipitate congruent lexicalization if the speakers hold non-purist attitude (Clyne, opp.cit.).

3.2.6.2.1.2 Socio-cultural approach to code-switching
 Over the years some scholars have found it useful to relate code switching to the socio-cultural situation of the speech events. This came about especially after it was found

out that grammar focused description of code switching alienated the linguistic discipline from the social reality making it good only for [...] "producing esoteric analyses that have little importance outside the study of linguistics per se" (Nilep 2006: 2). It dawned to some scholars that grammatical description alone of code switching was not sufficient to inform on the reasons for using a particular switch nor its effect in an interaction (Nilep, opp.cit.). A theory of code alternation needed to be developed to explain or predict social motivations for code switching within a conversation.

3.2.6.2.1.2.1 Contextualization cue: There is a growing body of literature indicating that code switching is socially motivated; it is a conversational strategy that bilingual speakers utilize to convey various kinds of social meanings. Using data from naturally occurring conversation, Gumperz (1982 cited in Myers-Scotton, 2002:45) refers to code switching as '*contextualized cue*' implying that use of switches within a conversation, functions to inform other participants about [...] "the speaker's attitude or stance *vis-à-vis* other participants and/or their conversational contributions" (p.45). In this view Gumperz (ibid) perceived code switches as having the same effect as changes in prosody, syntax, and lexical features to signal a particular intent on the part of the speaker in monolingual discourse.

This approach attempts to link the macro-level context of conversational interaction to the macro-level societal situation in which the interaction takes place and without which it cannot be interpreted, as Winford (2002) asserts;

> [...] the meaning of a code switch depends both on its sequential position in the discourse context itself and on the broader situational and sociocultural context which make up the background knowledge of the participants (p.117).

3.2.6.2.1.2.2 Markedness model: Myers-Scotton (1993) adopts a somewhat different outlook to the social motivations for code switching; she proposed a "markedness model" to describe sociopsychological motivations that lead a speaker to code switch. She considers code switching as a strategy used by the speaker to negotiate the context of and social relationships with other participants of an interaction (Winford, 2002). In the context of the theory, the speaker is seen as creative actor who uses code switching to express intentional meaning of a socio-pragmatic nature. It argued that in each interaction event, participants engage in expressing role relations and norms that are socially appropriate for the occasion. In other words speakers are intrinsically aware of what code is expected (*unmarked*) or unexpected (*marked*) for a particular interaction type. Ramsey (1997) reasons that the implication of choosing either of the codes is that

[...] "if the marked code is used it has a shock value not just because of the language used but also because of the change from the unmarked choice" (p.50). The schemata used by speakers to express role relations and norms are dubbed rights-and-obligations sets (RO sets) for particular social interaction type. An RO set was defined in Myers-Scotton (1993) as [...] "an abstraction which is based on situational factors, and represents the attitudes and expectation of participants toward each other" (p.84).

Based on this model, Myers-Scotton (1993) concluded that code switches were ways used by interaction participants to index the rights and obligations sets (RO sets) relevant to their particular interaction situation, she argued that;

> [...] "speakers see code choices in general (not only code switches) as a way to index the set of rights-and-obligations that they wish to have in force between speaker and addressee in the current exchange" (p. 45).

Not all researchers agree with the perception of code switching as an interactional strategy, one of the critics of this view, Stroud (1998) argues that it would be more appropriate if code switching description were looked at from the point of view of the community rather than individual speaker and the micro conditions of the interaction. Moreover he doubts the view that language speakers use code switches to attain particular deliberately pre-planned intentions, since in his view, [...] "any one instance of code-switching could be performing one of a manifold of different functions simultaneously" (p.134). However one thing that most researchers agree upon is that language use and patterns of code-switching both structure and are structured by the cultural practices of the communities concerned.

As world minority languages rapidly fall into decline and eventually disappear resulting from domination by languages of wider communication and powerful regional languages, sociolinguists agree that an effective approach to revitalizing them is by strengthening intergenerational transmission specifically by ensuring that parents develop favorable attitudes toward home languages and make sure that they use the languages for communication with their children. The next section describes the conditions and methods of intergenerational language transmission

3.2.7 INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION

Studies in minority language maintenance have long established that sustainability of minority languages depends on the ability of families to pass on their home languages to the younger generation of speakers. This is accomplished when families make a habit of using their traditional languages to speak and interact with their children on daily basis. Foremost in promoting the notion of intergenerational language transmission (henceforth ILT) as a crucial means of language maintenance has been the work of the American sociolinguist Joshua Fishman (1972, 1991, and 1997).

3.2.7.1 Home language

Central to the notion of intergenerational language transmission is continuity of home languages by passing them on from one generation of speakers to the next. The term home language often referred to as heritage language is the language spoken at home, usually as a means of communication among family members. Ones home language is his or her mother tongue- the first language a person spoke when he or she was a child (Velteman, 1983). In terms of cultural affiliation, home language denotes the language a person considers his/her native or ancestral language (Baker, 2000). Home language is normally acquired by means of socialization practices in the home through naturalistic interactions between the novices and the mature members of the community (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). In the context of this study, the term home language includes all indigenous languages that are spoken in Tanzania with the exception of Swahili.

3.2.7.2 Theory of language-in-society processes

In a bid to highlight the role of informal home based contexts as a necessary condition for the preservation of language in minority communities, Fishman (1991) developed the language-in-society processes theory that places intergenerational transmission at the centre. He attributed the decline of minority languages to failure by communities to use their languages in informal home environment situation. Fishman (1997) further comments that, "[...] endangered languages become such because they lack informal intergenerational transmission and informal daily life support in the home environment" (p.194). He further argues that communities can succeed to maintain their languages if they give due recognition to the role played by the family and community. He shows how difficult it would be for any speech community to achieve intergenerational continuity without there being available to young language learners of interfamilial and intercommunity interactions.

Literature on language maintenance and shift does not provide a straightforward definition of the term intergenerational language transmission but descriptions from a number of studies characterize it as the process through which the community transmits language from one generation to the next. Hans-Jurgen Sasse (1992) defines language transmission as [...] the purposive, directed-passing on of a language from one generation to the next" (p.23) and describes it as the initiating factor for primary language shift in a community. Crisp (2005: 150) describes ILT as;

> [...] an ongoing process whereby a language is transferred from generation to generation through the normal familial interactions of parents and children (and grandparents, grandchildren, etc),

In language ecological terms, ILT is a means by which the community is able to reproduce itself and ensure its own continuity. As Fishman (1972: 88) argues that it is through practices in the home, family and neighborhood that consecutive generations are able to replenish their speakers.

Most social and ecological linguists agree that the cornerstone agent in intergenerational transfer of language is the family and home environment whereby through naturalistic interactions between the novices and the mature members community, it accomplishes to pass on not only language but also values, modes of identity, attitudinal predispositions and information about the community's language (Fishman, 1972, 1991, 1997; Fillmore, 1991; Strubell, 2001; Crisp, 2005).

In this view the home, family, and neighborhood according to Fishman (1972), [...] constitute a natural process for intergenerational language transmission" (p. 88). In effecting this process, the role of family (or home), caregivers, and the community are indispensable. The place and function of these transmission agents are discussed below.

3.2.7.3 Role of family/home in language transmission

Studies in both the sociology and linguistic aspects of language in a multilingual situation have indicated that a strong commitment on the part of the family or home (henceforth 'home') is an essential prerequisite for language development and maintenance (Fishman, 1991). This is because the home has long been known to be an unrivalled agent for effecting language transfer from the more-competent speakers to the less-competent members of the community. This is essentially so because the home

is a resource that provides to the young learner not only security and intimacy which are necessary for the emotional development of the child, but also offers opportunities for meaningful interactions to take place between the child and the caretaker because as Fishman (1991) explicates;

> [....] it is in the family that the particular bond with language and language activities....is fostered, shared and fashioned into personal and social identity (p. 409).

Strubell (2001) observes that the use of one language in the family is a crucial factor in language maintenance at the family level. He points out that the fate of a minority language depends on the choice of language in the family.

The indispensability of the home in ensuring continuity of intergenerational transmission of language is widely acknowledged by language researchers and activists world over. They all tend to agree that for one to understand how minority languages are able to survive one has to consider the role of the home in transmitting language to children and the processes that underlie it should be explored. A renowned proponent of the agency of the home in language maintenance, Fishman (1972) observes that;

> [...] the home, family, and neighborhood constitute a natural process for intergenerational language transmission. It is through the practices in the home that succeeding generations are able to replenish their speakers (p.88).

Fishman (1991) further contends that the family is the key to language maintenance and transmission. He argues that as far as transmission mechanisms for language renewal are concerned, other initiatives can contribute but not substitute for what he terms "'home-family-neighborhood-community' process" (p.95).

Natural language interaction occurring among family members lays the foundational skills for the child to learn the community's language, moreover as Fillmore (1991: 313) asserts, family talk is a means for parents to impart their culture to their children and mould them into the kind of men and women they want them to be. The main reason why the home is able to facilitate this function is because it offers not only the atmosphere of intimacy and security necessary for the young to language to learn a language but also provides opportunities for meaningful interactions to take place between the child and the caretaker. Hence the *Network Of European Languages Planning Boards* (2005) concludes, [...]"it is in the family that a deep bond with

language and language activities is fostered, shared, and fashioned into personal and social as well as cultural and linguistic identity" (p. 2). Furthermore through family talk children are able to learn different skills from one another as Perez-Granados and Callanan (1997) posit [...] "siblings serve as agents for socialization for one another through their everyday interactions" (p.5).

3.2.7.4 Caregiver roles

 The home caters for intergenerational continuity of language through facilitating daily, informal, oral interaction between the caregivers (parents, grandparents, and relatives) and children. It is by means of these interactions which take place between adult family members and their young that language transfer is accomplished. The roles and manner in which adults interact with children across cultures and communities differ significantly (Kulick, 1992). This view is collaborated by Ochs (1988: 82) who observes that;

> [...] societies differ in the ways [caregiver-child] activities are organized, both in terms of the tasks undertaken and in terms of the roles expected of more-and less- competent participants.

In the Samoan community for example, Ochs (1988) reports of hierarchy in roles and activity levels of caregivers. She identifies the high-ranking and low-ranking caregivers and notes that both the verbal and non-verbal comportment of caregivers are explained along these parameters, she notes "[...] overwhelmingly, the more active child-care tasks are the responsibility of lower-ranking personnel, and the less active care is provided by the higher-ranking caregiver" (p.82).

Caregiver roles and activities have been noted in other studies to comprise two broad styles of child raising, these are: *child-centered* and *situation-centered* styles (Heath, 1983; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986). The two styles refer to the nature and scope of activities provided by the caregivers to facilitate language learning of the child. According to Ochs (1988) in child-centered style, the common practice for caregivers is to make accommodation to language acquirer's cognitive maturity hence language transmission is effected by adults adjusting their speech to suit the child's competence. Park and King (2003) identify two common strategies used by caregivers to adjust their speech to children; these are realized through self-lowering wherein caregivers use baby-talk and through child-raising where caregivers interpret child's unintelligible utterances. The intention of this strategy is ensure that children are gradually introduced to the language of adults through use of simplified language. In situation

centered style on the other hand, caregivers do not accommodate to children's speech thus children acquire language on their own without much help of adult language simplification. Children make their own effort to be understood and interpret others' responses to them (Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1979). In this situation children learn to understand and produce home language by observing adults 'performing' it (Park and King, 2003).

3.2.7.5 Community's role in language transmission

Within the construct of home language transmission, the local community context is an important factor to be considered in examining the relationship between the learning of a language and its development. Hinton (1999) argues that while family dynamics play a significant role in establishing primary linguistic competences, it is the community that reinforces knowledge and skills gained in the home. The significance of the local community in language development of the child is that it provides the child with the opportunity for reinforcing the skills and knowledge that he or she had acquired earlier on in the family. In a sense the community offers the child the opportunity to experience the use of language in real usage context.

Studies elsewhere have found that much as parent's use of language with children is important for home language continuity, but if the children are to speak the home language as adults, they must have opportunity to speak it both as children and as adults in the community (Hinton, 2001). However the community may widen the knowledge gained by the child at home, only if it offers opportunities for the child to experience and practice what he or she already knows. This can be achieved in many ways, including wider use of local language in a number of domains, holding of cultural events using the local language, and utilizing ethnic elders to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes that are pertinent to cultural reproduction of the society.

In most studies of language use in bilingual contexts the role of speaker's language attitudes and choice patterns account as crucial factors effecting intergenerational language transmission. For a community to succeed in passing on language to the next generation, Crystal (2000) observes, it has to consider fostering positive attitudes as one of the most important initiatives to be achieved. This can be realized by adults using the home language more and more to speak to their children or in front of them. Children acquire language and attitudes toward it through observing and interacting with their parents, when parents feel ashamed about using the home language and when they find fewer opportunities to use it with their children, they may not succeed

to transfer it to their children. In the following section the nature and significance of language attitudes in effecting language transmission are reviewed.

3.2.7.6 Modes of language transmission

From the literature we may identify two kinds of language transmission; normal transmission and disrupted transmission depending on the level of proficiency children develop in the home language (Sisse, 1992). Transmission is considered normal when the community's linguistic environment offers children opportunity to achieve complete acquisition of the linguistic norms of the home language and become fully proficient in it. Hence normal transmission leads to development of full (or competent) speakers (Dorian, 1992). .

Disrupted transmission on the other hand occurs when the linguistic environment does not provide children with full advantage of acquiring the home language effectively, leading them to achieve incomplete acquisition, hence imperfect proficiency in the home language. Disrupted language transmission often results into development of imperfect (or semi) speakers, defined in Dorian, (1982) as;

> [....] "individuals who have failed to develop full fluency and normal adult proficiency.... As measured by their deviations from the fluent-speaker norms within the community" (p. 26).

The ultimate outcome of the two modes of transmission is that, whereas normal transmission leads to language maintenance, disrupted transmission often leads to language shift, since as Rouchdy (1992) observes, language shift in many cases is seen to relate to lack of proficiency among community members, especially in young children. Fig. 3.1 presents the notion of language transmission modes based, among others on Sisse (1992) and Dorian (1982), (1992).
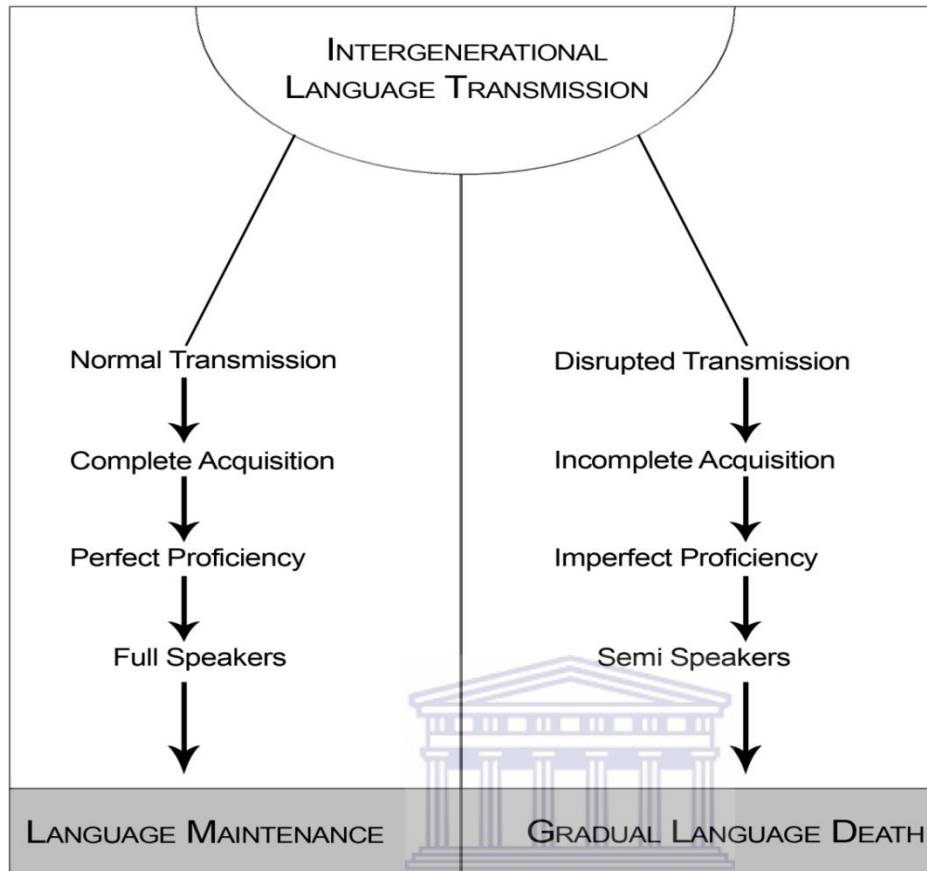
Figure 3.3 Modes of language transmission (Based on Dorian, 1982; Sisse, 1992)

3.2.8 ATTITUDE AND LANGUAGE

Linguists theorize that attitudes to language have a predictive value for language behavior, hence are of practical application to a wide range of sociolinguistic problems; including language shift and maintenance, language restoration and planning. As Fishman (cited in Chou, 2002) points out, [...] " attitudes have a decisive influence on processes of linguistic variation and change, language planning, and the maintenance or loss of languages in a community" (p.81). In the case of language shift and maintenance, a survey of language attitudes provides a measure of the sociolinguistic vitality of a particular language group. Likewise in the case of decisions to language renovation and planning, attitudes provide an indicator of current community thoughts and beliefs, preferences and desires (Baker, 1992).

3.2.8.1 Meaning of Attitude: Baker (opp.cit.) acknowledges that definitions of attitude are surrounded by semantic disagreements and differences about the generality and specificity of the term. However in line with the psychological foundations in which the

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concept draws its origins, the study of attitudes in general distinguishes two approaches of investigation; the *mentalist* and the *behaviorist* approaches.

An attitude in accordance to the postulation of traditional behaviorists Thorndike, Doob, and Rhine (as cited in Pratkanis (1989), is described as;

> [...] an anticipatory and mediating response (typically overt behavior) ...that is evoked by a variety of stimulus patterns which are determined by the principles generalization and discrimination of stimuli....and learned through contingences of reward and punishment (p.73).

The behaviorist approach relates attitudes to responses that people make to social situations. In this view attitudes are latent constructs, which one may infer only from the direction and persistence of external behavior (Baker, 1992). Along the same line, Ajzen (1988) defines an attitude as [...] "a predisposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution, or event" (pg.4). A typical behaviorist position therefore would hold that a person's attitude is represented by his or her action and evaluation of the entity in question, as Ajzen and Fishbein (1977) conclude;

> [...] It is usually considerable to be logical or consistent for a person who holds a favorable attitude toward some object to perform favorable behaviors...similarly a person with unfavorable attitude is expected to perform unfavorable behaviors (pg. 888).

The mentalist views on attitudes are informed by the cognitive psychological descriptions which pay more attention on mental operations rather than observable behavior. Hence a typical mentalist description of an attitude would view it as an internal mental state which may give rise to certain forms of behavior (Kelechukwu, 2006). Other sociolinguists (Fishmam and Agheyisi, (1970) state that:

> [...] attitudes are mental and neutral state of readiness which can not be observed directly, but must be inferred from the subject's introspect (p.138).

Fasold's (1984) mentalist conceptualization about attitude is that it is [...] "a state of readiness; an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response" (pg. 147). In this view, a person's attitude prepares him or her to react to a given stimulus in one way rather than in another. Another description given by Williams (1974) views an attitude as [...] "an internal state aroused by stimulation of some type and which may mediate the organism's subsequent response" (pg.21). On the

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other hand, Baker (1992) views attitude as [...] "a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behavior" (p.10)

3.2.8.2 Language attitudes: Of interest in this study and in the study of language in general are language attitudes. Language attitudes have long been a subject of empirical investigation in a wide range of disciplines particularly in the fields of education and the social study of language. In sociolinguistics, the study of attitudes has been prominent because of the realization that they play a profound role in language maintenance and shift. Choi (2003: 82) observed that;

> [...] "linguistic attitude and linguistic usage mutually influence each other. Linguistic attitude governs the conduct of an individual or a society and vice versa. A positive attitude towards a language may increase its use and can result in the maintenance of that language. Conversely, an unfavourable or negative attitude can hinder the diffusion and vitality of a language and may result in its abandonment and loss".

Crystal (1992) defines language attitudes as feelings people have about their own language or that of others; attitudes concern not only perceptions people have of language but also on varieties. An attitude is a covert trait that is internal to the person; it can not be directly measured, it can only be inferred through behavior observation. On the other hand Gere and Smith (1979) look at attitudes as [...] "part of a larger framework of language which determines our view of both the physical environment-objective reality and the structure of our internal existence-subjective reality" (pg.52).

3.2.8.3 Importance of attitudes to language study: A number of reasons account for the importance of attitude as a crucial explanatory variable in the study of language; according to Baker (1992) attitudes provide not only a convenient way of explaining consistent patterns of behavior, but also an expedient platform for summarizing, explaining and predicting behavior of a an individual or a group. Furthermore attitudes play an important role in accounting the existence of any particular language, as Baker (1992) observes, "[...] in the life of a language, attitudes to that language appear to be important in language restoration, preservation, decay, and death" (pg.11). Moreover attitudes about a language provide a measure for determining the social situation of a language in the community at a particular time, as Baker (1992) further observes;

> [.....] survey of attitudes provides an indicator of current community thoughts and beliefs preferences and desires [...] Attitude survey provides social indicators of

changing beliefs. In terms of minority languages, attitudes, like censuses, provide a measure of the health of the language (p.11).

Besides, linguists have used attitudes as a measure for determining the status, value and importance of a language. In the present study Ndamba parents' attitudes will be investigated to determine the extent to which community members are loyal to and identify themselves with their language.

3.2.8.4 Language attitude change: It is a long established fact that change in language attitudes has a significant effect in the way language is transmitted and maintained in the community (Gardner, 1985). Sociolinguistic studies carried out in recent decades have established that decline in language viability in a number of cases has corresponded with or has been preceded by changes in language attitudes of members the concerned communities. Sasse (1992: 14) gives support to this argument when he describes the preconditions that move members of an economically weaker or minority speech community to give up its language. He notes that the giving up of a language by a group;

> [...] happens - not always but very often - via the development of negative language attitude which results in collective doubts about the usefulness of language loyalty (p. 14).

Knowledge of factors that lead to change of attitude is important for this study as it is will guide toward establishing the state of parents' attitudes in Ndamba community and how they impact on the overall process of intergenerational transmission of language in the community.

3.2.8.4.1 Factors influencing language attitudes change
Linguists have identified and described conditions under which language attitude changes take place. The conditions can be explained under two theoretical principles; the (i) social psychological factors and (iii) historical sociological factors.

3.2.8.4.1.1 Social psychological factors
These factors of attitude change refer to changes in the individual's behavior as he or she interacts with and is influenced by conditions that surround him Baker (1992). A number of theories account for the individual's psychological behavior, the principal one is the functional theory that links change of language attitude in the individual to

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the functions that a particular language avails to him or her. It spells out that the speaker will change his or her attitude toward language when one or more of these functions are altered. The most important language functions known to influence the individual's development of attitudes are utilitarian or instrumental functions.

Utilitarian or instrumental function refers to individual or communal benefits one enjoys following one's change of attitude toward a particular language variety, especially when some form of reward is implied. This condition applies particularly in matters related to language learning or language maintenance. For example a person will increase effort toward acquisition of a minority language, using and maintaining a language, or acquiring a positive attitude to that language if that would assure him/her of a reward or avoidance of punishment (Baker, 1992: 99). The reward may be in the form of emotional or material satisfaction that one gets for learning or speaking a particular language.

The utilitarian function has crucial impact on causing shift in attitude to use and preserve languages in minority language communities. Dominant languages in most parts of the world are regarded as having utilitarian value compared to minority languages. Individuals who master a dominant language are assured of obtaining lucrative jobs and living better lives. As a result more and more people decide to acquire mastery in dominant languages like English French, Spanish or Portuguese as many of them see the languages as being the road to success and prosperity.

In some parts of the world, local languages have acquired utilitarian value and are influencing smaller languages in the region. In Africa such languages include; Swahili, Hausa, and Amharic. Speakers of other indigenous languages learn these languages for hope of opening doors to careers and social mobility. As time passes by parents develop attitudes that denigrate their traditional languages in favour of the regional languages of wider communication.

Strategies likely to enhance positive attitudes toward minority language maintenance should recognize the need to promote the status and utility of minority languages.

3.2.8.4.1.2 Historical sociological factors

Complementary to suggesting social psychological reasons for attitude change, experts have also found that attitude change is influenced by factors which have their origins in the community. These are related to social variables and changes that take place within the community itself. Lauding this view, Moreno Fernandez, 2000: 180) observes that;

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[...] language attitudes are a reflection of psychosocial attitudes about languages that convey the social, cultural and sentimental values of the speakers; therefore they are to be valued and evaluated according to the status or social characteristics of the users (p. 180)

The discussion presented here is based on views suggested in McGuire's (as cited in Baker, 1992: 106) concerning the structure of attitude formation. Attitude change is known to be profoundly influenced a number of social variables including age changes, dramatic experiences, community effects, parental effects, peer group effects, institutional effects, mass media effects, rituals, and situational effect. These are explained below.

3.2.8.4.1.2.1 Social events effects: People's attitudes are known also to be influenced by drastic political or social events occurring in the community. Attitudes of this nature usually occur slowly and gradually. As Baker (1992) notes [...] "they evolve and develop rather than change dramatically and quickly" (p.106). Cases in different parts where such events have occured indicate that while the events may not have been specifically related to language, but their effects often had ramifications to language attitudes in the community.

A case in point is the introduction of the political ideology of African Socialism (*Ujamaa*) in Tanzania (Blommaert, 1990). One of the objectives of the policy was to [...] "keep the various ideological objects as closely together as possible" (p. 34). To achieve this end, the *Ujamaa* policy rejected all forms of tribal and ethnic consciences and promoted Swahili as [...] "the language of liberation, national independence, freedom and the symbol of national unity" (p.34). The hegemonic promotion of Swahili during Ujamaa castigated and presented negatively the use of both English and ethnic languages. English was conceived as one of the symbols of neo-colonial domination and ethnic languages as symbols of tribal consciousness (Blommaert, 1990). One lasting consequence of this policy was development among indigenous language speakers of negative attitudes that looked at traditional languages with disfavour compared to Swahili.

Investigating language use patterns and attitudes of pupils and teachers in one rural area in Tanzania three decades after the introduction of *Ujamaa*, Wedin (2005) noted that there was stigmatisation toward the use of local languages in rural schools. She observed thus;

[...] "one severe effect of the fact that traditional language use and traditional education have become stigmatised is obvious, mainly in literacy education, particularly in lower classes. Traditional uses of elaborate language......and ambiguous talk are in Runyambo and are not used in school settings (p. 579).

3.2.8.4.1.2.2 Community effects: The community has been found to provide an enormous influence on attitude change. This is possible because as Vasquez et al (1994) observe [...] "everyday uses of language influence what we do, think, and learn. The conversations that we have on issues that concern us contribute to the formation of our opinions and theories" (p. iv).

There is a variety of ways in which the community affects changes in language attitudes of its members. Patterns of daily language choice and use, forms of relationships among groups in the community, people's movements and institutional support available for language support in the community all have effect on members' perception toward language in the community. Some of the factors that affect attitudes are discussed here below:

3.2.8.4.1.2.3 In-migration: The entrance of immigrants in a community and forms of contact that arise between them and the native speakers provide what Baker (1992) refers to as [...] "the mechanisms and motivation for attitude change" (p. 108). For example rapid settlement of immigrants has been noted to provide serious language problems in some communities. As Baker (ibid.) observes, [...] "a fast turn-around in a community (also) implicates changes in attitudes to language in such communities, where polarization of attitudes may become an instant safeguard" (pg.107). This factor is of significant relevance to change of language attitudes among the Ndamba. Since the mid 1980s the area has seen massive in-migration of outsiders attracted by land fertility of the area and facilitated easy transport by the Tanzania-Zambia Railway (Tazara) which passes across Ndamba land. The coming of outsiders induced convergence tendencies among Ndamba speakers as they were obliged to speak Swahili more in order to facilitate communication with the non-Ndamba settlers. When common goals and integrative conditions were established between Ndamba speakers and the immigrants, the local language started being undermined. Accordingly Baker (ibid) notes that the adoption of convergence practices become a liability to the viability of the minority language as there is always danger that [...] "common goals and interests may evoke attitude change that is less favourable to the traditional language" (p108).

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3.2.8.4.1.2.4 Supportive language environment

Supportive language environment is of significant importance to attitude change. Speakers will develop either positive or negative toward a particular language variety depending on their perception of the role of the variety to their wellbeing. Speakers will accept and support a language variety that they perceive to be supportive to their social, economic, political, and cultural conditions, as Baker (ibid) observes, [...] "communities can not create attitude change without the conditions for integration and intimacy to occur" (p. 108). The fall of speakers' esteem toward indigenous minority languages in Tanzania can partly be explained in view of the languages' inability to uplift wellbeing of their speakers.

3.2.8.4.1.2.5 Parental effects

Parents have a strong bearing on attitude formation and change in children and youth. A large amount of literature gives credence to the role of parents' influence on change of children's language behaviour. Brown *et al* (cited in Andrew Collins *et al*, 2000) confirmed that families were seen as important influences on children's behaviour, they observed thus;

> [...] throughout the child's development parents indirectly influence the child's attitudes, values, personality, and motives (p. 227).

Research on children's attitudes seems to confirm the congruent relationship that pertains between parental and child language attitudes. The implicit belief is that the language of the home and the socialization practices by parents have a significant impact on children's attitude toward language. However despite the apparent correlation between children's language background and their attitudes, it is inappropriate to assume that parents are the sole cause of children's attitudes because the child's environment comprises of other relations such as neighbours, friends, peers and the school (Baker, 1992). Accordingly, Baker (1992) posits that [...] "children's attitudes tend to match, or be similar, to their parents, does not imply that one causes the other" (109).

3.2.8.4.1.2.6 Peer group effects

A significant amount of literature indicates that the members of groups to which one belongs have substantial persuasive impact on that individual. As regards to attitudes, it has been shown that peer group dynamics engender significant amount of influence on change of attitudes of in-group members. Mackie *et al*, (1990) observed that, despite

differences in theoretical orientations, research studies have [...] "almost without exception demonstrated that other members of an individual's in-group have significant power to persuade that individual". McGuire (1985,cited in Baker, 1992) notes that significant changes in language attitudes have occurred among youths and children living in minority language communities as a result of in-group persuasion and influence of urbanisation, population growth, and exposure through mass media technology.

3.2.8.4.1.2.7 Institutional effects

Attitude towards a particular language in the community may decline or increase depending on whether or not the language has a place in daily business, administration and transactions (Baker, 1992). Likewise the uses given to a particular language variety in the community or the recognition given to it has a significant impact on attitude change, for in so doing a massage is conveyed that the language in question "has utilitarian value and functional vitality" (Baker, ibid: 110).

Increasing the visibility of a minority language by using it community institutions like the bank, school, the courts of law, road signs and in important government documents provides conditions for the evolution of more favourable attitudes and improvement of its vitality, as Baker (ibid) indicates, [...] "when a minority language is the *modus operandi* in public transactions and discourse, attitudes may stay or become more favourable" (p.110). The implication of this factor is that language revival efforts in minority language situations should focus on making their local languages part of institutional life by promoting opportunities for using them.

The school is the most influential institution as far as attitude change is concerned. A number of strategies available in school make it possible for attitude to evolve and change. Some possible strategies that could be adopted in school to promote positive attitude toward minority language include; delivery of the curriculum in a minority language, use of the minority language in extra-curriculum activities and in the hidden curriculum, use of the minority language as medium of instruction, and as language of play-ground and sports field (Baker, 1992).

3.2.8.4.1.2.8 Mass media effects

Of the many functions that the mass media serve in the community, the function of providing new information or attitudinal persuasion is the most crucial one (Oskamp and Schultz, 2005). Despite this understanding however there still remains controversy

in mass media research on the effect of media on public attitude change and conformity. Oskamp and Schultz (opp.cit.) present three somewhat contradicting models of media influences; (i) the *powerful effect* model, (ii) *minimal effects* model, and (iii) the *powerful effects under limiting conditions* model. The *powerful effect model* sees the media as having powerful persuasive effect and an important tool for attitude change and conformity. The *minimal effects model* on the other dismisses the role of mass media, holding that they have no effect or very limited effects on changing peoples' beliefs, attitudes, and behaviour. The *powerful effects under limiting conditions model* has gained acclaim in recent time, it denies the earlier all-powerful view of the media, but points out that they have significant effects in particular circumstances and with particular individuals (Oskamp and Schultz, 2005). Klapper (1960; 1963 cited in Oskamp, and Schultz, ibid: 191) provides some important principles about the effects of the mass media on people's attitudes. He asserts that the influence of communication is mediated by factors like personal predispositions, personal selective processes, group membership, etc. Because of these factors, mass communication usually serves to reinforce existing attitudes and opinions, though occasionally it may serve as an agent of change.

This section has served to highlight the role of attitude in supporting language transmission and the factors that give rise to evolvement of attitudes in the community.

Linguists agree that another arguably important factor that helps to shape peoples' attitudes toward language and language use is the language policy of the community. This is so because as Christ (1991) observes, language policy has an influence on the communication radius of languages in the community and controls ways and the resources of langue use. In the next section a brief review of language policy and its relation to langue maintenance and shift is presented.

3.2.9 LANGUAGE POLICY

The discussion in the previous sections has indicated that the present dismal situation of the indigenous minority languages in Tanzania, beside other social factors is largely an outcome of the country's languages policies adopted at different periods. This section examines the question of language policy; it looks at the approaches and the contemporary agenda of language policy.

Language policy is analysed in this study using the sociolinguistic scales analytical approach which characterizes language practices and processes as simultaneously comprising of 'macro' realizations, which are collective and relatively stable in character

on the one hand and 'micro' realizations which are individual, one-time and unique in nature on the other. Central to the notion of language policy however is that it relates to decision-making and control on matters pertaining to language use. These decisions can be formulated at either macro level resulting to national or institutional language policies or at micro level giving rise to what are refered to family language policies.

3.2.9.1 Language policy as 'macro' phenomenon

This notion encompases policy decisions formulated by state authorities and realized in a form of long-term sustained statements for controlling language use practices at the the national or institutional level.   As is the case with most social science concepts, a number of descriptions exist about the term language policy. Spolsky (2004) attributes this situation partly to the tendency for social scientists to project personal opinions and value judgment in their descriptions. Cooper (1989 quoted in Hornberger, 2006) relates language policy to decisions that are deliberately taken by a particular polity to influence the behavior of others […] "with respect to acquisition, structure or functional allocation of their language codes" (p.45). In this sense language policy is seen as a regulatory instrument a governing body deploys to influence language use in the society. The notion of policy as a means of social control is further amplified by Plummer (1999) who views policy as a course of action that is adapted by the governing body through registration, ordinances and regulations and pursued though administration and control. When applied to language this means that language policy refers to any act passed by government with the intention to control language practice in the society.

A description that seems to take aboard views and concerns expressed `by most scholars is provided by Weinstein (1990), he describes language policy as;

> […] government-authorized, long term sustained and conscious effort to alter a language itself or to change language's functions in a society for purpose of solving communication problems (p. 119).

3.2.9.1.1 Language policy goals

Weinstein's (ibid) description presents language policy as a management strategy for solving problems of communication in the community. There are a range of purposes which impel societies to institute language policies. Goals of language policy have traditionally been described in view of the following language planning strategies; *status planning* which refers to those efforts intended for the allocation of functions of

languages or illiteracies in a given speech community; and *corpus planning* which denotes decisions directed toward improving the form or structure of the concerned language (Hornberger, 2006). When applied to actual language situation the status strategy relates to practices concerned with specification of a variety as a standard code of a given community, it encompasses the notions of language [...] "revival, maintenance, spread and interlingual communication" (Hornberger, opp.cit :30). On the other hand corpus planning serves language cultivation goals; it focuses on the standardization and modernization of the selected code through lexical modernization, purification, reform, stylistic simplification, and terminology unification (Haugen, 1983 quoted in Hornberger, ibid: 30). To sum up, the *status vs. corpus* policy distinction denotes two main intensions; on the one hand, to regulate language use and choice practice through specification of a variety to be used in specific situations, such as proclaiming one variety as 'official' language of the community (status), and on the other, to standardize the language by regulating the structure of the language itself through instructing on the 'correct' forms of the language, like spellings, grammatical rules, and new lexicon (corpus) (Shohamy, 2006).

In recent decades a third parameter of policy planning, named *acquisition planning* was introduced to cater for efforts to influence the allocation of users or the distribution of languages or literacies [...] "by the allocation of users or the distribution of languages/literacies by means of creating or improving opportunity or incentive to learn them or both" (Hornberger, 2006: 28). According to Cooper (1989 quoted in Hornberger, ibid: 32) acquisition planning addresses language needs of the speakers and serves the following overt goals; reacquisition, maintenance, foreign-language/second-language acquisition and to these one could also add the aspect of speaker language shift. Figure 3.4 presents an integrative framework of the main goals of language policy and planning.

Approaches Types	Policy planning (on form) Goals	Cultivation planning (on function) Goals
Status planning (about uses of language)	Standardization status Officialization Nationalization Proscription	Revival Maintenance Interlingual communication International Intranational Spread
Acquisition planning (about users of language)	Group Education/school Literature Religion Mass media Work	Reacquisition Maintenance Foreign language/second language Shift
Corpus planning (about language)	Standardization Corpus Auxiliary code Graphization	Modernization Lexical Stylistic Renovation Purification Reform Stylistic simplification Terminology unification

Figure 3.4 An integrative framework of language policy and planning goals
Source: **Hornberger (1994:78).**

3.2.9.1.2 Approaches to language policy

Since language policy consists of decisions regarding language use practices, most societies have tended to use it as a mechanism for managing language behavior in terms of organizing and controlling its use in the community. It is evident however that policies not only express regulations about the official language behavior patterns of the community, they also serve as manipulative tools catering the interests of different ideologies that exist in the society. As a result of this a number of language policy approaches exist.

Scholars have categorized language policies using a wide range of different criteria. Stewart (1972 quoted in Beer & Jacob, 1985) classifies language policies in terms of the objectives that the various policies seek to achieve. He contends that in view of the communication problems aggravated by linguistic heterogeneity, most state

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governments promulgate policies that seek to achieve either; [...] "the eventual elimination, by education or decree of all but one language which is to remain the national language; or the recognition and preservation of important languages within the national territory, supplemented by the adoption of one or more languages to serve for official purposes and for communication for across language boundaries within the nation" (p.119).

This distinction of language policy objectives leads into classification of language policies into two main groups; (i) policies of assimilation, and (ii) pluralistic or strategic multilingualism policies.

3.2.9.1.3 Language policies of assimilation

The main idea underlying the notion of language assimilation is enculturation of minority language groups into the cultural system of another. Park and Burgess (quoted in Hirschman et al (1999) insinuate this perception in their definition which describes assimilation as;

> [...] "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (p.185).

Language is the main means for achieving enculturation, hence language policies of assimilation, also referred to as assimilative language policies denote measures that seek to ensure that speakers of all language groups in the community adopt one variety as a common language for all. The main feature of an assimilative language policy is that one language, usually the dominant one is imposed upon all community members as the acceptable language for use in public matters such as education, legislative and the judiciary. Other languages are not allowed to perform public functions in the community. Cultural identification of the minorities with the dominant group is another central feature of assimilative policies. The ultimate goal of an assimilative language policy is to make members of low status language groups adopt the dominant language by becoming fluent speakers in it. Assimilative policies are often the main cause factor of language shift taking place among speakers of indigenous minority languages in different parts of the world. This happens, May (2000) argues when a majority language, one that enjoys more political power, privilege and social prestige in the community usurps the functions of minority languages. The outcome will be that speakers of the minority languages will overtime shift to speaking the majority language.

3.2.9.1.4 Strategic multilingualism policies

Policies of multilingualism in contrast to policies of assimilation, seek to maintain linguistic diversity by encouraging linguistic pluralism to thrive in the community. According to Kymlicka & Patten (2003) multilingualism policies take the preservation of vulnerable languages their main concern. Proponents of multilingualism see that languages have intrinsic value, hence there is an important need to preserve them from extinction. They present a number of reasons explaining why there should be policies to counteract the disappearance of minority languages. The first reason relates to maintenance of global linguistic diversity; they contend that linguistic diversity is valuable in itself because it brings variety. Nettle and Romaine (2000) justify language maintenance policies along the lines advanced for the conservation of species. They argue that as the world benefits by preserving variety of biological species, it would equally benefit by preserving linguistic diversity. Similarly Boran (2003) argues that linguistic diversity like biodiversity is valuable to mankind as it provides variety.

Another common argument often given for implementing multilingualism policies relates to the need to protect languages as human accomplishment. Advancing this view, Reume (2000 quoted in Kymlicka & Patten, 2003) argues that languages need to be preserved as they represent human creativity and originality. In the same vein Crystal (2000) adds on by suggesting that languages do not only serve as a means of communication of a particular community but also function as a depository of the community's cultural values, traditions, knowledge and arts.

The third reason given for the introduction of policies protecting vulnerable languages relates to people's identity. For a majority of people, language is the main symbol of identity. It is a means through which they can be able to self-identify themselves with the fellow members of the community (Kymlicka & Patten, 2003).

Another recently promoted reason for implementing policies supportive of multilingualism concerns development of linguistic human rights. The main concern of proponents of this paradigm is to see to it that language policies are formulated that provide for minority language communities and their speakers at least minimal protection and institutional support that majority languages already benefit (May 2005).

There are a number of goals that advocates of linguistic human rights principle seek to achieve. May (ibid) discusses three of the main goals, first; while recognizing the importance of national members to have knowledge of common

public languages of the state, advocates observe that measures should be undertaken which ensure that national minority languages within the state are accorded legitimation and institutionalization. The aim is not to replace the majority languages with minority ones, rather as May (2005) emphasizes [...] "it is about questioning why the promotion of the majority (national) language should necessarily be *at the expense* of all others" (p. 1064). By this they challenge the exclusivity given to the assimilationist tenet of cultural and linguistic homoginization

The second aim of linguistic human rights paradigm is described by Hinkel (2005) as to ensure that minority language speakers are accorded opportunity to use their languages, if they choose to do so, as part of their human rights. This principle is adopted in recognition that minority language groups deserve equal treatment as the majority language groups in the community. It calls for communities to accommodate to the reality of the presence of other languages in the community and recognize their status as additional languages of the particular polity (Hinkel, ibid.). This form of accommodation is described by May (2001) as *mutual accommodation.*
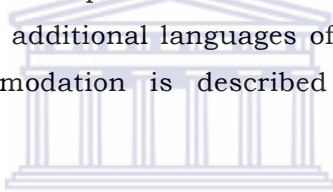
The third goal of linguistic human rights policies relates to providing of 'appropriate and reasonable' rights (Hinkel, ibid.) to various groups in the community, part of which is the right for national minority groups to pursue their own historic, cultural and linguistic practices (Hinkel, ibid).

3.2.9.1.5 Trends and future directions in language policy and planning

Since language policy and planning evolved as an autonomous discipline concerned with research in language management in the late 1960s, it has undergone significant changes in terms of goals and theoretical directions (Ricento, 2000). A wide range of factors account for these developments in the language policy discipline. Most linguists agree that the evolution of language policy interests has occurred as a result of developments in political interests and social requirements that have occurred in different parts of the world (Hornberger, 2006; Ricento, 2000). Basing on Ricento (2000) an overview of important trends and motivations for language policy are presented below.

3.2.9.1.5.1 Colonization and state formation:

The dissolution of colonialism and attainment of political independence by many third world countries in the 1960s occasioned a real problem of selecting a language in predominantly multilingual contexts. A focus of language management goals during these early times was on status planning aimed at selecting [...] "a national language for purposes of modernization and nation building" (Ricento, 2000: 11). Since the main goal at this time was to achieve political integration, assimilative language policies were seen to be most appropriate' [...] "for successful nationhood entailed cultural/ethnic unity within a defined geographical boundary (state), and a common linguistic identity among the citizens of a polity" (ibid: 11).

Language policy decisions at this time served practical value for the newly independent countries which were multilingual and multiethnic and faced [...] "the problems of national unity and socioeconomic development" (Tollefson, 2006:42). Ricento (2002) identifies a number of the main characteristics of language policy and planning at this time; first, language was seen as a means for achieving unification, modernization, efficiency and democratization. Secondly language was seen to be a valuable resource that needed to be planned. Thirdly status and corpus planning were viewed as distinct activities and not influenced by political ideologies or considerations. Fourthly languages were not considered to be related to sociohistorical and ecological contexts.

In the African contexts while most countries selected colonial languages as a means for facilitating nationhood, Tanzania adopted English and Swahili as official languages, to serve formal and specialized functions, and national unity and mass participation respectively (Whiteley, 1969), before subsequently naming Swahili the national language shortly afterwards.

3.2.9.1.5.2 Language contact and relations

Ricento (2000) observes that knowledge gained from developments in linguistics and other social science disciplines in the 1980s had significant influence on ways scholars conceptualized and problematized language policy issues. In contrast to the earlier period which was concerned with language standardization, graphization and modernization (Ricento, ibid: 15), during this phase the focus was on language contact and its effects on society, economy and politics. Language policy inquiry focused on the questions of [...] "status and relations of speech communities in defined contexts" (ibid: 15). Languages were no longer valued on the basis of number of speakers but on their viability in correlation with attitudes, social and economic status of its speakers.

3.2.9.1.5.3 Critical postmodernism and linguistic human rights

New insights gained in the recent decades including the revelation by Krauss (1992) about the loss of many of the world's small languages has made scholars to rethink in a critical way about the existing popular approaches to language policy research (Tollefson, 2006). This modern way of analysing social reality has been referred to as critical postmodernism (or critical theory). It has as its fundamental mission to bring about social change through formulation of policies that seek to reduce all forms of social inequality. Hence the main objective of critical theory as stated by Tollefson (2006) is;

> [....] "to investigate the processes by which social inequality is produced and sustained, and the struggle to reduce inequality to bring about greater forms of social justice" (p. 44).

In this sense critical theory is seen intent to expose systems of abuse which keep individuals or groups people in marginalized position. A wide range of interests comprise debates of critical theory, these include; [....] "gender, sexuality, ethnicity, cultural difference, ideology, inequality, identity, and subjectivity in the areas of language use, language learning and language teaching" (Wodak & Corson, 1997: 132).

3.2.9.1.6 Recent approaches to critical theory of language policy research

Despite being a relatively new and underdeveloped field of study (Williams, 1992 cited in Tollefson, 2006), critical theory of language policy has influenced not only the subject matter of language policy but also the approach of analyzing language policy problems. A recent approach discussed in critical theory of language relates to *bottom-up grassroots initiative* as a language planning approach (Hornberger,1996; Canagarajah, 2002).

3.2.9.1.6.1 Bottom-up grassroots initiative

Following Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), some scholars analyze policy by considering among other dimensions, who are the actors or initiators and who are the beneficiaries of language policy and planning initiatives. They contend that language policy is most effective when it is conducted in consultation with the supposed beneficiaries of the policy initiatives in a bottom-up directionality involving the grassroots actors. One advantage of bottom-up approach is that it takes account of the circumstances and wants of the intended implementers and beneficiaries of language policy and planning initiative.

3.2.9.1.6.2 Multilayered policy and planning process

Another feature of critical theory of language policy and planning relates to conceptualizing it as a multilayered practice involving a variety of agents, levels, and processes which permeate and interact with one another in different ways as they realize various types, approaches, and intentions of language policy and planning initiatives (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). The main agents of language policy and planning are (i) the state and supranational agencies (ii) institutions (iii) practitioners.

Using the context of English Language Teaching (ELT), Ricento & Hornberger (1996) describe the roles of the agents of language policy and planning as follows; first, the state provides the global ideology and would support policies which correspond with state ideology, in this regard the state has an important role to play – although most often an indirect one.

Institutions on the other hand contribute to policy making as they participate in various roles related to language use and development as Ricento & Hornberger (1996) observe;

> [....] institutions other than religious ones, such as book and magazine publishers, broadcast media, and schools and univesties also play important roles as policy-makers arbiters, watchdogs, opinion leaders, gate keepers, and most usually reproducers of the existing social reality (p.416).

The point being emphasized here is that policy evaluation decisions have to consider not only the "official policy statements or laws on the books" (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) but also the interests and opinions of institutions.

The third agent of language policy decision making relates to the practitioners (or implementers) of a policy initiative. The role of this level of language policy-making agents is that of evaluating the usefulness of a given policy initiative against the normative social reality. Practitioners often introduce changes to official language policy decisions articulated by higher authorities in order to ensure that the policies not only comply with the normative social attitudes but more inportantly function to the best interestof the people intended.

3.2.9.2 Language policy as "micro" phenomenon

Thus far we have looked at language policy as an explicit realization of decisions for controlling or changing language practices. However language policy and planning can

also be realized implicitly and covertly in a form of practice referred to by some experts as "invisible language planning" (Pakir, 2003). Invisible language policies and planning refer to implicit, non-governmental decisions implemented by individuals or small groups of people, like families. The focus of this study is to explore language decisions taken or implemented at the level of the family with parents playing a key role in the planning and decision making (Pakir, 2003; King at al, 2008).

3.2.9.2.1 Family language policy

Decisions made in the family regarding language use practices constitute a case of the realization of "micro" language policy. The notion of family language policy as described by Lambert et al (2000) refers to a regular set of language choice practices from among alternatives that are realized in the family and any efforts that parents make to influence children's language choice so as to determine children's current use and future decisions about language use. It is also described in King et al (2008) as […] "an explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members" (p. 908).

3.2.9.2.2 Goals of family language policy

Family language policies unlike macro level language policy decisions are formulated by parents and guided by their aspirations about the future language use of their children (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). The main goal of family language policy therefore is to ensure that children develop proficiency in the language variety that would be important for the children's future life.

3.2.10 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION

This section examines studies that call attention to home and community as primary agents for children's acquisition and survival of mother (also referred to as *indigenous, traditional*, *heritage* or *first*) language. Few if any such studies have been conducted in Tanzania to determine the role of home, family and community in language preservation and transmission. A majority of micro-level oriented investigations have focused on language shift, specifically the impact of Swahili expansion on Tanzania's indigenous languages (Mekacha, 1993; Stegen, 2003; Msanjila, 2004). The present study might be the first of its kind to look into the micro-level dynamics of language maintenance in Tanzania. In view of the above, a review of language transfer processes will be made using case studies carried out in other parts of the world.

Sociolinguistic literature shows a diversity of perspectives and themes from which the subject of intergenerational transfer of home language has been investigated. The most common topics have gyrated around the theme of linguistic practices and language attitudes in the home i.e. family or parents' roles in language transmission; family language policy; language use and choice in the family; factors influencing language transfer in the home; parental attitudes and motivations for language transfer. In recent decades linguists have examined the role of parents' knowledge about transmission of indigenous languages (Kondo, 1998; Fishman, 1972; 1991; Morris & Jones, 2007).

Studies falling under this thematic category look at patterns of language use in the home and how they impact on intergenerational transfer. Language choice as a factor in a multilingual situation refers to the tendency shown by speakers to switch among languages depending on the social and situational variables in the speech community, e.g. addressee, formality, and topic.

Language choices made by parents on an everyday basis in the home are known to have significant influence on the language that children eventually adopted intergenerationally as Fishman (1991:409) contends [...] "language practice in the home is the most crucial factor in predicting whether a language would be maintained across generations". In similar vein, reporting on findings from ethnographic studies conducted on bilingual language transmission in Latino communities, Schecter & Bayley (2004) observed that [...] "there was compelling evidence for the argument that extensive use of Spanish in daily interactions in the home was necessary to foster complementary development in both Spanish and English" (p.607).

3.2.10.1 Evans (1996): This two phase study investigated Spanish language use patterns among Mexican Americans living in rural southeastern Arizona. The investigations were undertaken to test the hypothesis that ethnolinguistic vitality of a group determines language policies about the transmission of Spanish. The first study was carried out in Austin, Texas and the second one was conducted in three small communities in Santa Cruz country in Southern east Arizona. The objective of the two studies remained constant. The difference between them was in matters of design; whereas the first study involved both parents and children, in the second study only mothers of third-grade children were involved.

Recruitment of participants to the studies required that the parents be of Mexican or Mexican American heritage, had lived in the locality for at least four years in a row and

were able to speak Spanish. Interviews were administered individually in the parents' homes and using the language of respondent's preference.

Designed as qualitative investigation, the first study used self-reported interview schedule which was administered on 37 families. One out of a range of language use situations in which parents were required to indicate their use of either English or Spanish was the home. They were asked to report the language they preferred to use in the home with their spouses, fathers, mothers and while speaking with bilinguals. Two categories of families emerged in relation to transmission outcomes; transmission and non-transmission families. The categorization of a family as transmission or non-transmission was based on the assessment of whether or not the third-grade child in the family could speak Spanish.

The findings of the studies showed that frequent use of home language in the home was necessary condition for effective language transmission to occur. Non-transmission parents reported that they almost always spoke English to their third-grade children while transmission parents reported that they almost always spoke Spanish. In transmission families which had both parents, it was reported that Spanish was [...] "the language of choice between spouses 'all the time'" (Evans, 1996: 185). These findings confirm the common observation that language use pattern in the home affects the manner in which children learn the community language.

3.2.10.2 Pease-Alvarez (1998): This seven year study was conducted from 1991 to 1998 among Mexican-decent families living in an enclave of monolingual Spanish in the suburb of Eastside, California. It investigated language proficiency, attitudes and choices to determine the community's language maintenance and shift toward English. Sixty three parents (mostly mothers) were involved in the study. Data was collected using an interview method. The findings established that parental influence was crucial in children's maintenance of Spanish, especially mothers were seen to play a greater role in maintenance of home language [...] "by making sure that their children learned or recovered Spanish" (p.18).

3.2.10.3 Garcia (2005): This qualitative designed study investigated language practices and attitudes and how these contributed to the language socialization process in a Paraguayan rural community. Data was collected from caregivers (mostly mothers) and children from 27 families, using interview method. Among her findings were that both the parents and children's linguistic attitudes were in favor of their indigenous language. Besides, they made daily use of the language in their social interactions in

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the home and neighborhood. These findings made her to conclude "…the daily use of the language in social interactions makes it impossible for the language to be lost in their children's generation" (p.342).

3.2.10.4 Rogers (1975): This study investigated attitudes in the community to determine how Spanish coexisted with an indigenous Guarani language in Paraguay by. Findings confirmed that parental attitudes together with the community cultural context played an important role in defining for the children a social structure that favored the 'high variety' language of Spanish at the expense of the indigenous language of Guarani that holds much cultural significance for the community.

After reviewing the main subjects and debates related to the topic of study, I now wish to examine the theoretical frameworks that have guided to answer questions that stem out of the main aim of the study. The questions sought to determine parents' language choice patterns and attitudes towards Ndamba language /group identity; children's peer group interactions and their role in language development; local community support measures that enhance generational language continuity, and parents' aspirations regarding the language acquisition of their children.

3.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As the subject of investigation of this study involves the micro-level of social interaction, sociocultural models of conceptualization are considered pertinent and competent approaches for use as an analytical guide. A sociocultural paradigm of language learning /maintenance focuses on the human individual in interaction with his/her social environment. The paradigm is rooted on Vygotsky's (1978) postulation which places much emphasis on the role of social interaction as a fundamental element in the development of the mind. The principle states in part that;

> [….] every function in the child's cultural development appears twice; first on the social level and later on the individual level; first between people (interpsychological) and inside the child (intrapsychological)…..All the higher functions originate as actual relationships between individuals (p.56).

The main idea underlying Vygotsky's postulation is that learning is a social undertaking that is accomplished through interaction of the learner and the surrounding situation. Basing on this view, three co-related frameworks are adopted to inform on the processes of home language transmission among Ndamba speakers. These are the *language socialization model* as developed in Schieffelin & Ochs (1986); Ochs (1988);

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Schieffelin (1990); the language *ecology model* as advocated by Haugen (1972) among others; and the *Language Social Networks model* developed and advanced by Milroy (1987). The three models in one way or another conform to the fundamental principles of sociocultural paradigm as they all perceive language acquisition and maintenance, the main processes underlying language transmission, to be processes that take place in a social context.

3.3.1 Language socialization framework

This model is relevant to the study of language transmission as it places emphasis on the use of natural interaction as the fundamental principle for socializing children and as well as adults. Furthermore language socialization methodologies focus on the micro level of interaction that examines language use in the natural contexts of parent-child (caregiver-child) interaction (Lanza, 2001). Applying this framework has therefore enable me to interpret the habitual language practices of Ndamba parents and relate them to "the broader social structures and systems of cultural meaning" in the community (Garret & Baquedano-Lopez, 2000:341)

The language socialization approach was articulated and developed in the 1980s as a response to deficits observed in the contemporary literature on developmental psycholinguistics on language acquisition and the anthropological knowledge on child socialization (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004). Both bodies of literature were seen to neglect crucial dimensions that are; lack of culture in language acquisition studies and the absence of language in child socialization studies. Hence the modern paradigm of language socialization addresses these by linking culture and language. The mentors of the model, Schieffelin & Ochs (1986) consider language as [...] "not just one dimension of the socialization process; it is the most central and crucial dimension of that process" (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004:350).

The language socialization paradigm is considered a productive model for evaluating language transmission research for a number of reasons; first its sociocultural foundations to language development emphasize a link between language, learning and culture (Pease-Alvarez, 2003). This link is crucial since language transmission has been closely related to matters pertaining to acquisition of cultural knowledge. Secondly, the framework is both theoretically and methodologically suited for investigation of processes pertaining to language use at the micro levels of speakers' everyday language choice patterns and their attitudes.

The concept language socialization is broadly described as a lifelong process by which community members acquire competence of the community's socio-cultural structures and practices through the use of language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990). It is part of general socialization practices carried out in the community wherein [...] "individuals are socialized to use language meaningfully, appropriately, and effectively" (Schieffelin, 2002:153). In the course of the process individuals are initiated into [...] "cultural meanings and learn to perform the skills, tasks, roles, and identities expected by whatever society or societies they may live in" (Watson-Gegeo: 582).

Language socialization is a study that draws insights from a wide range of disciplines including; anthropology, sociolinguistics, sociology, and psychology (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez, 2002. As a body of empirical knowledge, language socialization is imbedded in the theoretical principle that language is acquired through social process involving interaction between a novice and a mature speaker. A novice language learner acquires language skills and social identity through social interaction with knowledgeable members of the society within a natural interactional context, since as Schieffelin (1990) emphasizes, [...] "socialization is an interactive process" (p.102).

3.3.1.1 Language socialization process
Most scholars agree that language socialization process in children begins as soon as an infant has social contact. From there on the child is socialized into community norms for language use and language choice through everyday discourse interactions with other members surrounding him or her (Lanza, 2001). Interactive social participation of this nature implies that the child learns language and cultural fabric of the community as an active participant. Viewed within this wider communicative perspective, language socialization is perceived as [...] "one of several achievements accomplished through verbal exchanges between the caregiver and the child" Ochs & Schieffelin (2001).

Schieffelin & Ochs (1986); Schieffelin (1990) in describing language socialization as a practice that concerns two major areas of socialization; *socialization through the use of language* and *socialization to use language* (Schieffelin, 1990:14), provide the notion with two important dimensions; they see it as a process that simultaneously realizes two functions, on the one hand it concerns language learning, and on the other it functions as a means for learning culturally appropriate values and behaviors. They (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) elaborate;

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[...] language in socializing contexts can be examined from two perspectives. We can investigate how <u>language is a medium or tool</u> in the socialization process. In addition, we can investigate acquisition of the appropriate uses of <u>language as part of acquiring social competence</u> (p.167) (*my emphasis*).

In this regard one may rightly conclude that the notion of language socialization encompasses both the notions of acquiring *linguistic knowledge* with its concerns in [...] "linguistic competence, and processes that underlie and strategies that organize language comprehension and production" (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986: 166) and the processing of social knowledge which corresponds with Mead's (1963) concept of *language enculturation*; "the process of learning culture in all its uniqueness and particularity" (p.187) that entails individuals acquiring appropriate skills, beliefs, attitudes and values which enable them to function effectively as members of their societies. This is in agreement with Cook-Gumperz's (1986 cited in Lanza, 2001) contention that [...] "children's language socialization occurs as part of the continuing history of conversation exchanges that make up daily life in which the processing of linguistic knowledge occurs simultaneously with the processing of social knowledge" (p. 202).

3.3.1.2 Features of language socialization paradigm

Kullick & Schieffelin (2004) while contending that all social interactions are in some sense socializing, emphasize against assuming that every analysis of social encounters is a language socialization study. A study that is language socialization oriented must fulfill particular defining criteria (Garret & Baquedano-Lopez, 2000; Kullick & Schieffelin, 2004). Kullick & Schieffelin (2004) observe that language socialization research ought to demonstrate the following features; (i) take a longitudinal approach, documenting interactional events and discourse over a period of time and across contexts, (ii) have an ethnographic perspective; relating interactional events and discourse to the sociocultural circumstance in which they take place and, (iii) should be cross-cultural in orientation, taking into account the fact that while there prevail universal biological and psychological aspects to social interaction processes, there are cultural specific factors which condition and influence how these processes take place.

3.3.1.3 Nature of language socialization discourse data

Language socialization is essentially a sociolinguistic study often employing anthropological methodology. It uses specific type of data analysis to describe

interactional discourse. Schiefflin (1994) outlines two important features which characterize language socialization discourse data.

3.3.1.3.1 Empirical data: Language socialization data is empirical in nature implying that its analysis uses actual face-to-face discourse of an interactional situation. Use of actual recorded speech is essential for investigating social interaction as it provides context to a segment of interaction in the study, as Schieffelin (1994) states;

> [....] we need actual transcripts of face-to-face interaction in order to seriously address the issue of context.... actual recorded speech is essential for investigating the contextual dimensions of conversational interaction (p. 203).

3.3.1.3.2 Contextualization: Language socialization data realizes context of discourse. Unlike in others studies, context in language socialization investigation emanates from the event of interaction itself, it is not a predetermined aspect. It is an aspect that is jointly achieved by participants as they engage in a particular conversational circumstance. Schieffelin (1994) contends;

> [....] situation is not a predetermined set of norms functioning solely as a constraint to linguistic performance..... [P]articipants in an interaction jointly achieve a conversational context (p. 203).

3.3.1.4 Vygotskian model

As a language learning strategy, the language socialization paradigm draws from Vygotskian model of learning which emphasizes the interdependence of social and individual processes in the construction of knowledge. Its main thrust is that learning is a socially mediated process which can be achieved through (social) interaction. In view of this model individuals attain development of higher order interpersonal processes through interaction (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986).

The Vygotskian model is built on the principle that conceives learning as a process embedded in practical activities of communities. The overarching principle is the dynamic interdependence of social and individual processes with the more knowledgeable members contributing in the learning process. Within this framework Smith and Pellegrini (2000) observe that a developing individual begins by relying on the transmitted experiences of other community members in a form of guided participation. In elaboration, they posit that;

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[W]hen beginning an activity, learners depend on others with more experience. Overtime they take on increasing responsibility for their own learning and participation in joint activities (p.91).

Learning through guided interactions, from the perspective of Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, has been a recurrent theme in recent research along the Vygotskian framework, in which novices have been observed to carry out particular tasks through guided interactions with more knowledgeable members of the community.

While knowing that children acquire language in natural interactions with mature members of the community it is important to understand that language exists and language learning occurs in an environment that is made up of language users and their social context or the ecosystem in which the language is used, maintained and transmitted (Haugen, 1972:325). The next section examines the notion of language ecology and its implication to language transmission.

3.3.2 LANGUAGE ECOLOGY FRAMEWORK

Language ecological framework has significant applications to the questions of home language endangerment, maintenance and transmission. In terms of language ecology, language endangerment is perceived as an illustration of disruption of linguistic ecology (Fishman, 1991). The language ecology paradigm is ideal for this study because the problem of language transmission like the issues of language shift and maintenance all relate to changes occurring in a particular language environment; hence they can best be explained by a theory that looks at language as an entity that continually interacts with its environment (the community) and influence one another. Further value of the theory lies, as Garner (2005) observes, in the fact that it caters for [....]"integrating a range of social, cultural, and historical characteristics of the communities under study and relating them to a range of observed linguistic features"(p. 92).

The notion of language ecology was first introduced by the Norwegian-American linguist, Einar Haugen in 1972 when he envisaged it as an alternate approach of describing language in a multilingual situation. The motivation for Haugen to propose the theory came from his dissatisfaction with the contemporary approaches to linguistic description which gave little if any consideration to the speech community and the dynamics therein. What was considered to be real linguistic work, according to Garner (2005) was description of phonology, grammar and lexicon. Linguistic research rarely

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acknowledged the fact that languages were a means of facilitating communication by [...] "real people in communities" (p.92).

 Deriving the notion from the study of living things, Haugen (1972, cited in Garner, 2005) defined the term language ecology as [...] "the study of the interaction of any given language and its environment'. Language environment in this sense refers to the social and cultural contexts in which a particular language is used which is translated to infer a duality of language users; in terms of language ecological framework language users are conceptualized simultaneously as individual speakers and as a community" (p.91).

The main point of departure in language ecology is the understanding that the adequate home for language to survive is the community of its speakers. Hence in order to understand a language one has to study the people who speak that language as individuals and as a community (Garner, 2005). The community of speakers therefore constitutes the fundamental element in the study of a particular language. Haugen (1974, cited in Muhlhausler, 1992) insists that when using the language ecology approach to study a particular language, the linguist should consider the language environment first and ask oneself;

> [...] who are its users? This is the question of *linguistic demography* locating its users with respect to locale, class, religion or any other relevant grouping (pg.164) (emphasis original).

3.3.2.1 Components of language ecology

Language ecology concerns with forms that underlie language existence. These may be variously realized, i.e. through individual speaker's language behavior, role that language caters in group relations, the functional range of language(s) in the society and the ideologies attached to it (Haarmann, 1986: Muhlhausler, 1992). Translated as the environment of language, language ecology comprises two major components; the *psychological environment* and the *sociological environment* components. According to Garner (2005:94) the two aspects of the ecology of language overlap at many points with the *psychological* aspect being concerned with the language as it exists in the mind of the speaker; his or her use of the language to make sense of the self and the world; its interaction with other languages in the mind; and the speakers attitudes towards the language. This is the macro-social aspect of language as what exists in the mind of the speaker is usually conditioned by the political and socio-economic situations of the time.

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The second aspect, the *sociological* component of language ecology is concerned with language as it exists within the speech community; how community members use it amongst themselves. This corresponds to Fishman's (1991) idea of *where*, *when*, and *why* a language is used or not used. It explains the patterns of the speakers' social behavior. This is the micro-social aspect of language.

The significance of the language ecology theory to the study of intergenerational language transmission lies in the fact that it attempts to explain the main factors; both the macro-social factors (i.e. psychological variables) and micro-social factors (i.e. sociological variables) that influence community members to either maintain or abandon their language, as Mufwene (2001) convincingly observes:

> [....] from the same perspectives we can (also) understand what causes language to thrive at the expense of others and conversely what erodes the vitality of a language in a particular socio-economic ecology (pg. xii).

3.3.2.2 Sociolinguistic applications of the language ecology theory

The main focus in Haugen's description of the ecology of language is the interactive relation between language and its environment – the community. In view of this therefore Garner (2005) observes that any linguistic inquiry that investigates language from the perspective of its speakers, either as individuals or as a community falls in the category of language ecology. In this regard therefore the language ecology framework is a convenient theory for investigating problems regarding language acquisition, socialization, restoration, preservation, decay, and death.

Ochs (1988) demonstrates that the interdisplinary nature of the language ecology framework helps in the initiatives to [...] "consider in new ways both the potential of the 'human bioprogram' for language and its interdependence with sociocultural factors" (p.vii). In particular the language ecology theory is a convenient framework for those who study and theorize about language acquisition, as well as those who attempt to document the widely varying contexts of socialization of children in which category this study falls in. The connection between the ecological framework and language socialization of children is that the framework specifies the context in which children can learn a language. The emphasis in language ecology is that language learning is achieved through natural interactional processes, which as Ochs (1988) postulates, [...] "determines the ways children have to, can participate in, or are rewarded for responding to or producing specific language behavior" (p.vii).

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Besides language environment, another important condition that facilitates language maintenance and transmission relates to the several ways in which speakers are linked to one another in the community resulting into development of shared expectations in their language use behavior (Gumperz, 1982). These social links lead language speakers into attaching values to their language which in turn affect the community's language behavior. These links are expressed under the framework of language social networks.

3.3.2.3 LANGUAGE SOCIAL NETWORKS FRAMEWORK

The language social networks framework concerns with the analysis of social mechanisms which influence language use behavior in a given society. It is rooted on community members' need to realize local identity and solidarity (Milroy & Milroy, 1985). The concept of social network relates to network relationships existing in human groups, the fundamental goal being for the groups to achieve mutual support and common identity (Wei, 1994). These relationships function to provide group members with instrumental and companionship support which is essential for individual member's survival, and group cohesion and sustainability, as Milroy & Wei, (1995) elaborate;

> [...] A fundamental conceptualization of a social network is that individuals create personal communities which provide them with a meaningful framework for solving the problems of their day-to-day existence (Mitchell, 1986 cited in Milroy & Wei, 1995:138).

Literature further shows that for networks to be sustained, they have characteristics which define obligations for individual members to adhere to, violation of which may result into a member being ostracized. A social network thus functions as a formidable *mechanism for norm enforcement* into the group (Milroy & Milroy, 1985). Examined from the point of view of language use, it has been observed that speakers usually try to pattern their language in such a way it resembles that of the group to which the individual speakers wish to be identified with (Le Page, 1968 cited in Milroy & Margrain, 1980).

3.3.2.4 Sociolinguistic applications of network analysis

The concept of language social networks has come about as an alternative approach to the social class approach of describing speaker groups (Wei, 1994), which was considered inadequate as it defined individuals group membership using criteria which [...] "did not necessarily form an important part of a person's definition of his social identity" (L. Milroy, 1987, cited in Wei opp.cit:30). The adoption of social network approach has therefore availed language researchers with more comprehensive categories for characterizing individuals' social identity (Wei, ibid.).

Beside its appropriateness for analyzing language variation in a community, the language social network paradigm is a useful paradigm for studying community based strategies by which minority language communities maintain their languages. Using the framework scholars have been able to describe mechanisms which bilingual or bidialectal communities use to maintain their low status language or dialects in the face of strong pressures experienced from status-oriented, legitimized varieties (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gal, 1978; Ryan, 1979; Milroy, 1980). Thus the social network paradigm provides a way of comprehending how communities maintain their languages as Wei (1994) contends [...] "network analysis offers a basis for understanding the social mechanisms that underlie the process of language maintenance the converse of language shift". The model is rooted on the assumption that diffusion of language habits in a bilingual community, like that of a language variety takes place against a background of language maintenance. Furthermore Milroy (1992 cited in Wei, 1994) observes that the extent to which changes in language variety can succeed [...] "depends on the interplay of two sets of social influences – those that encourage maintenance (or stability), on the one hand, and those that encourage change (or divergence), on the other" (p.31).
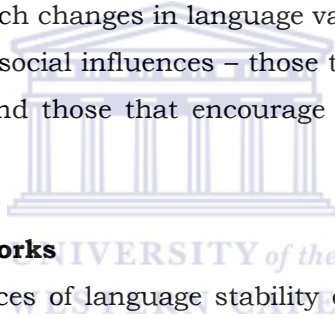
3.3.2.5 Language social networks

In a bilingual context, the forces of language stability or language divergence are not characterized as isolate individual speaker's rather they are realized in a form of groups of individuals linked in boundless web of ties – *a network* that reaches out the whole society. Milroy & Wei (1995 following Milardo, 1988) distinguish two fundamental language network types; 'exchange' and 'interactive' networks. *Exchange networks* refer to a link with persons whom the individual has close relationship with such as ones kin and close friends. In the exchange network the individual does not only interact routinely with the other members, but also is able to exchange with them direct aid, advice, criticism, and support (Milroy & Wei, 1995). An exchange network may therefore be described as strong relationship. *Interactive networks* on the other hand denote a relationship an individual has with persons on whom the he or she [...] "interacts frequently and often over prolonged periods of time, but on whom (the individual) does not rely for personal favors and other material or symbolic resources" (Milroy & Wei, 1995:138). This kind of network which usually pertains between an individual with the members of the community's neighborhood may be described as weak.   Social networks may also be described as 'dense' or 'multiplex' depending on the nature of relationship pertaining between group members. In *dense social networks* all people in

a group are linked to each other in such a way that each member knows everyone else (Stockwell, 2002). *Multiplex social networks* on the other hand denote multiplicity of roles in which group members know one another e.g as neighbors, club members, work or drinking in partners. Dense and multiplex social networks result into close-knit community of speakers which plays an important role as norm reinforcement mechanism in the dynamics of language competition. In a study to determine means by which local communities in Belfast were able to maintain stigmatized vernacular norms in resistance to standard norms, Milroy (1978; 1987) found that the highest incidence of vernacular maintenance correlated with areas in the study which recorded close, dense and multiplex networks whereby group members maintained strong, close-knit social network relationships. In this view, Milroy & Milroy (1985) suggest that [...] "a close-knit network has an intrinsic capacity to function as a norm-enforcement mechanism, to the extent that it operates in opposition to the large scale institutional standardizing pressures" (p. 359)

The general assumption in the social networks approach is that people's linguistic behavior is influenced by the social groups to which they belong (Hymes, 2003) in and resulting from this the group structure of language speakers plays a significant role in language variation, change and maintenance. As regards to language maintenance, it is assumed that close-knit networks promote maintenance while looser ties permit language shift.

A number of studies have investigated language maintenance and transmission using social networks as analytical framework. Sallabank (2007) investigated language endangerment in Guarnesiais, an indigenous language spoken in Guarnsey, Channel Islands. The study examined community's inability to achieve intergenerational language transmission resulting from pressure exerted by the dominant language. Using ethnographic method through questionnaires and semi structured interviews, she discovered that there was correlation between speakers' proficiency and existing group social networks. On the basis of these findings the study concluded that, beside other factors language loss in Guarnsey was caused by the speakers failure to transmit the language despite community members' strong affective attachment to their home language, they failed to effect intergenerational continuity of the language.

3.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have presented the review of literature and the theoretical framework related to the present study. The review of literature has looked at the problem of language transmission as a phenomenon arising from language contact; it has been argued that language transmission becomes a problem as a result of contact induced language shift. In section 3.2.5 a review of bilingualism was given and looked at the characteristics of language choice, code switching and language attitudes as realized in bilingual context. In our discussion we made a distinction between situational code-switching and metaphorical (stylistic) code-switching.

The main theme of the study – home language transmission has been reviewed in section 3.2.7. A submission was made arguing that the probability for home language being effectively transmitted depends on the extent that the family and surrounding community used it as a regular means of inter-familiar, cross-community communication.

The concept of language attitude has been described in section 3.2.8. wherein ideas of attitude change and factors influencing attitude change were discussed.

As regards to theoretical framework, the nature of the problem being investigated has made it necessary to adopt a social psychological conceptual framework. Three social psychology oriented frameworks have thus been adopted as appropriate models for addressing the problem of intergenerational language transmission. The frameworks of language socialization, language ecology and language social network have been described and their sociological applications to this study have been explained.

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Chapter Four

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

"Language is not just one dimension of the socialization process; it is the most central and crucial dimension of that process" (Kulick and Schieffelin, 2004)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the research design, reviews fieldwork procedures and methods used in conducting this study. Furthermore it attempts to provide an explicit and systematic account of the sample, instruments and the process of data collection. It also explains the approach used in data preparation and analysis. As much as possible, rationale is given for each of the procedures deployed.

As stated in the introduction chapter, the main goal of this research study was to attempt to answer the general question 'how are parents able to transmit traditional language to their children, bilingual and linguistic hegemonic practices notwithstanding in the community?' To find an answer to this question, the study set out to investigate parents' attitudes and language choice patterns they make in the home as determining factors for language transmission. Studies in the subject of language maintenance have adequately determined that language use patterns in the home which are partly realised through parents' language attitudes and the language choice patterns they make are key factors in determining the probability of the home language being passed on to the next generation of speakers (Li, 1999; Lao, 2004, Fillmore, 2004).

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Attitudes and language use patterns are behavioural traits; for one to adequately capture them a research approach that is inductive and exploratory in nature is required. Besides, the 'reality' about these aspects is 'subjective' and independent of the researcher, it can only be adequately [...] "constructed by the individuals involved in the situation" not by the researcher (Creswell, 1994: 4). For this matter, the present study was designed as a multiphase qualitative study, providing for a holistic treatment of the subject of study. And since the aspects it sought to investigate concerned culture and behaviour of a people, it adopted an ethnographic, participant observation approach. This approach allowed for an in-depth investigation and extensive description to be made of the relations of Ndamba language and its social and cultural context (conf. Spradley, 1979: 3).

4.2.1 Qualitative research design

The main motivation for adopting a qualitative design for this study was the goal that it sought to achieve, that of describing and understanding human behaviour rather than explaining it (Babbie and Mouton, 2006). Information regarding parents' attitudes and patterns of language choice is subjective hence attempts to study it was deemed necessary be geared toward building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducted in natural setting (Creswell, 1994).

Furthermore since the goal of the research was to describe and understand human behaviour rather than explaining it, it was deemed that the process of investigation should focus upon the way [...] "participants interpret their experience and construct reality" (conf. Berger and Luckmann, 1967 cited in Burgess, 1984). Many social scientists according to Burgess (1984) utilise qualitative design when the intent is to elucidate [...] "the way in which different people experience, interpret, and structure their lives" (p.3). Under this circumstance, the use of obtrusive, controlled, and measurement oriented practices that characterise the quantitative research paradigm were considered inappropriate. This is in line with Nunan's (1997) description of quantitative research paradigm which in his views concerns with [...] "generating insight and understanding rather than establishing 'truths'" (p. 14).

A further basis for adopting a qualitative research paradigm for this research is its naturalistic approach of investigation with focus on the researcher [...] "learning the social world at first hand by getting close to the data" (Nunan, opp. Cit:14). This was achieved by means of investigating language behaviour in a natural setting of social actors as opposed to artificial experimentation and focusing more on process rather than outcome. According to Babbie and Mouton (2006) [...] "qualitative research is conducted in the natural setting of social actors, placing emphasis on the actor's perspective (the "*insider*" or "*emic*" view)" (p.270). In order to capture Ndamba speaker's attitudinal predispositions and language use patterns the researcher had to enter the community of language users and learn reality from the speakers themselves. This is consistent with Denzin and Lincoln's (1994: 2) observation that [...] "qualitative researchers study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense or interpret phenomena in terms of meanings people bring to them" (Babbie and Mouton, ibid:270).. The feature of naturalistic enquiry is central to qualitative research practices; it refers to the approach's preoccupation in investigating phenomena in their natural environment as opposed to [...] "the somewhat artificial settings of experiments and

surveys" (Babbie and Mouton, ibid:271). Emphasis of natural setting in qualitative research is further reflected in other terminologies used to describe the approach namely; *naturalistic enquiry* (Denzin, Glaser, and Strauss) and *field research* (Burgess, Silverman).

The "emic" or "insider perspective" that is a characteristic feature of qualitative research refers to the practice of obtaining information concerning a group by the researcher getting involved in the community of informants and attempting to see things from the community members' point of view (Babbie and Mouton, 2006). The perspective constitutes an essential practice in overcoming the potential barrier posed by the differences in language, race, culture, and beliefs between the researcher and the research participants. As Babbie and Mouton (opp.cit: 271) observe:

> [...] "to understand a group of people who use a different language, have very different world-views and beliefs, and whose cultural practices and customs are vastly different from your own, poses serious challenge to this deal".

The 'insider perspective' was used in conducting this study where the researcher was obliged to interact with research participants and learn from them their language attitudes and practices. By use of key informant participants, the researcher was able to get close enough to the natural life of the participants and capture their daily actions, decisions, behaviour and practices.

Another qualitative feature of this study is its 'qualitative description and understanding' which according to Babbie and Mouton (ibid.) refers to the procedure of deducing "truth" based on description of the actions of the respondents and trying to interpret these actions in terms of [...] "the participant's own beliefs, history, and context" (pg. 271). In line with this condition the data in this study is given in "thick description" (Geertz, 1971). This format according to Babbie and Mouton (opp. cit: 271) is presented in [...] "a form of a lengthily description that captures the sense of actions as they occur". Furthermore, in order to construct reality that is true to the actions and meanings of the participants, data description in the present study uses categories and concepts deducted from the participants themselves.

Furthermore the present research in compliance with qualitative research practice considered the contextual interest of the study, contextual interest refers to the holistic research practices that take stock of the historical and socio-cultural context of the

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research situation. According to Babbie and Mouton (ibid: 272), contextual practices aim to [...] "describe and understand events within the concrete, natural context in which they occur". This practice contrasts with the analytical approach commonly followed in quantitative research in which the analysis of variables and the relationship between them is achieved without reference being made to the context or setting of the study. In the current study, information about Ndamba speakers' attitudes and language practices were considered from and analysed with respect to the historical and socio-cultural language situation which is influenced by Swahili hegemony.

Moreover the methods used in the present study were inductive in nature, meaning that hypotheses were developed in the course of the study so as to take into account of what was being learned about the Ndamba community and the speakers (conf. Kaplan and Maxwell, 2005). In a typical qualitative investigation, Babbie and Mouton (ibid) observe;

> [...] the researcher begins with an immersion in the natural setting' describing events as accurately as possible, as they occur or have occurred, and slowly but surely building second-order constructs...a hypothesis and ultimately a theory that will make sense of the observations (p.273).

The inductive feature of research distinguishes qualitative research from other approaches as it seldom begins with an existing theory or hypothesis. In qualitative research, universal statements (i.e. hypotheses and ultimately theory) are constructed in the course of the research based on the observations. Babbie and Mouton (opp.cit) observe that inductive practices place emphasis on:

> [...] developing and building inductively based new interpretations and theories of first-order descriptions of events, rather than approaching the social factors with deductively derived research hypotheses (p. 273).

4.3 METHODOLOGY

4.3.1 Description of the research site: Ndamba speakers reside in a number of villages located in two sub- locations in the administrative districts of Kilombero and Ulanga in Morogoro region; the villages are Mofu and Merera in the sub location of Mngeta in Kilombero district and Ngombo and Igawa in Malinyi sub location in Ulanga district.

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This particular study was conducted in the villages of Mofu and Merera in Mngeta sub location. The two villages are far flung from one another by having no direct road access between them. The villages differ in a number of ways, the most important concerns the level of accessibility; whereas Mofu is accessible by road from a large commercial centre, Merera is isolated as it has no permanent road and is not connected to any lively commercial centre. This observation has a profound outcome on language vitality in the two villages.

The choice of these villages was influenced by two main reasons; first, in my view the locations were considered 'typical' and 'representative' of Ndamba speaking communities (Burgess, 1984). Most members of these villages speak Ndamba as their first language and use it as the dominant means of daily communication. Besides, Ndamba is still learned as a mother tongue by a majority of children. These situations assured me that I would be able to obtain relevant data that would adequately inform me on how families manage to transmit language to their children.

The second reason for choosing the location was easy access to the two villages. A majority of the villages occupied by Ndamba people are located in the lowland area which is prone to flooding during the rainy season. In the months of January through March when this research was conducted the rainy season had already started which made transport to the other villages difficult.

4.3.2 Sampling

4.3.2.1 Population of the study: The theoretical viewpoint that this study is framed on is that the most important strategies that promote language transmission take place in the home and parents are the single most significant source of language input for children (Fishman, 1991). For this reason, it was decided that the population for the research should be parents (including family members who play the role of caregivers.) Parents were considered eligible for the study if they had a child (children) of the age range between 1-10 years. Setting of criteria for selection of participants is a common practice in qualitative research. Before commencement of fieldwork, the researcher is at liberty to develop certain important criteria which he or she thinks are pertinent for one's study. As one of the guidelines for researchers about to embark on fieldwork, Babbie and Mouton (2006) remark, […] "before you enter the field, you may wish to set up certain criteria for the inclusion, or exclusion of respondents" (p. 287)

4.3.2.2 Sampling methods: Since the participants for this research were expected to meet certain criteria to be included in the study, the use of probability sampling was

not applicable, instead a flexible, non-probabilistic approach was adopted (conf. Burgess, 1984). Non-probabilistic sampling methods are purposive in nature and suitable for use in situation where it is not possible to select probability samples or where a small sample is involved (Babbie and Mouton, 2006). This is because selection of samples using this method follows a preconceived plan relevant for the particular research. In the case of this study, only parents who have children of the age range between 1-10 years were qualified for selection as respondents. For this reason non-probabilistic sampling method was found to be convenient.

Purposive non-probabilistic sampling was perceived a logical strategy in the context of the present study because only a sub-set of parents-those meeting set criteria were considered suitable for selection for the study. According to Kitchenham and Pfleeger (2000), non-probability sampling strategy is adopted; when the target population is hard to identify, or when the target population is very specific and of limited availability. The non-probabilistic sampling method used in this study was snowball sampling.

4.3.2.3 Snowball sampling technique: As the normal conditions for conducting purposive sampling did not apply in the context of the present study, the snowball sampling technique was adopted. This technique is often used when the population is difficult for the researcher to identify; it involves asking people who have participated in a survey to nominate other people they believe would be willing to take part. (Kitchenham and Pfleeger, 2000: 19).

4.3.2.4 Location of participants: After I had introduced myself to the village administration authority and permission granted for me to conduct research, the authority provided me with a guide to take me around the village. With the help of this guide who proved later to be a competent research assistant, I was able to identify family participants who were willing to become research participants either as interviewees or focus group participants. Almost each family that I interviewed volunteered to mention to me other households where parents of school-going age could be found. In this way I was able to locate 30 parents out of whom 4 parents agreed to become focus group participants.

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4.3.3 Data collection instruments

4.3.3.1 Triangulation: For a better and more accurate understanding of the attitudes and language practices of Ndamba parents, a multiple strategy for gathering data were adopted, this practice is referred to in social enquiry literature as *triangulation*. The significance of using multiple methods of investigation is that it helps to enhance data quality and confirm validity (Burgess, 1984). Another advantage of using triangulation as seen by Denzin (1978, cited in Decrop, 1999), is that [...] "it limits personal and methodological biases and enhances a study's generalizability" (p.96).

In the present study, triangulation was realised through the use of two approaches of data collection; the first approach allowed parents to articulate for themselves their opinions about language attitudes and use, for which the *survey method* was used; the second approach involved the researcher participating in the daily life of the speakers, watching and studying their language behaviour as they went about their daily life for which *participant observation* method was chosen. As a research technique, participant observation assumes that by noting the behaviour reactions of an individual over a period it is possible to learn a great deal about the person's attitudes (Burgess, 1984). The two methods were used simultaneously; some people who were interviewed were also formally observed. The focus group observation served to validate the findings from the interview.

4.3.3.2 Survey approach: The use of this approach entailed interview questions administered on parents to elicit opinions, views and interpretations about their attitudes and language use patterns. The method has been found to be particularly useful in soliciting information in qualitative research. Peil (1982) observes that;

> [...] "by asking large numbers of people the same questions, ...it is possible to get a broad and reasonably accurate view of the response to certain issues and to test theories on social relationships at both the individual and group level"(p.97).

The survey method used in this study was *interview*. Its selection was motivated by the need to obtain descriptions of Ndamba parents regarding their life world with respect to interpreting their attitudes to language and patterns of choice in everyday use.

4.3.3.2.1 Interview method: An interview, Kvale (1996: 46) contends [...] "is a conversation that has structure and purpose". Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) describe it as a "structured conversation" which is designed as a trigger to stimulate the

respondent expressing his or her attitudes, motivations, and perceptions. According to Neuman (2000), survey research interviewing is a specialised kind of interviewing. As with most interviewing, its goal is to obtain accurate information from another person.

Interview of any form is a means of gathering information. Used in qualitative research, the interview [...] "functions as a social relationship" (Neuman, opp.cit: 274). It facilitates gathering of information in which the interviewer asks prearranged questions and the respondent answers. Cannell and Kahn (1972, cited in Neuman, 2000) compare the interview with a social interaction in which, [...] "the behaviour of both the interviewer and respondent stems from their attitudes, motives, expectations, and perceptions" (p.277).

The interview method was preferred in this particular research because it was considered to be more effective than the questionnaire. The first reason for which the method was considered more effective was its interpersonal relation advantage. The interview is normally a cooperative venture that promotes participation between the researcher and the participant, as Peil (1982) conjectures; [...] "the personal approach (implied in the interview) usually produces much more satisfactory results than the questionnaire from an unknown source" (p.112). Agreeing with this observation, Babbie and Mouton (2005) supplement that [...] "respondents would normally be reluctant to turn down an interviewer standing on their doorstep than to throw away a mailed questionnaire" (pg. 233).

Secondly, use of the interview helped me to ensure that the questions were understood and answered in full and in uniform manner by the respondent. Besides, I was able to correct misunderstandings by respondents whenever they arose, thus ensuring the data collected was correct (Peil, 1982:112). Furthermore using interview, enabled the researcher to use supplementary questions to get additional information, this added advantage would not be possible if another survey method were used.

The third reason for adopting the interview method was that the sample was considerably small and localised; in each of the two villages where the research was conducted, the respondents lived in close community, it was relatively easy to reach and speak to each one of them.

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4.3.3.2.2 Interview formats

Field researchers use different formats of interviews depending on the orientation and purpose of their research. An interview format refers to the type of questions that the researcher poses to the respondent. On the one hand there is the *structured interview* format which uses a set list of questions that have been formulated *before* the interview and which are to be *answered* rather than considered, rephrased, reordered, discussed and analysed (Burgess, 1984). The structured survey interview, therefore, takes the form of a data collection device in which the interviewer merely poses questions and records answers in a set pattern.

The interview format used in this particular research was the informal, semi-structured interview format which instead of asking questions and recording answers in a set pattern, the researcher organised questions in a form of themes and topics of discussion with the respondents. This strategy, it is argued (Burgess, 1984), […] "gives informants an opportunity to develop their answers outside a structured format" (p.86).

4.3.3.2.3 Interview questions

Open-ended questions were used to interview respondents in this particular study (see Appendix II). According to Peil (1982), this form of questions is more suitable for use when the goal is exploratory and the range of answers cannot be predicted. Moreover open question items give the respondents more time for thought than closed questions. With this type of questions, respondents were able to provide answers which had depth of meaning. Babbie and Mouton (2005) describe open-ended questions as those in which […] "the respondent is asked to provide his or her own answer to the question" (p.233). A combination of questioning strategies was used to probe for details about the respondents at different points in the interviews. Among these were descriptive questions which required informants to provide statements about their activities.

4.4 SURVEY DATA TYPE

The interview schedule elicited the following information:

4.4.1 Personal data: The first part of the interview schedule consisted of preliminary non-linguistic questions whose purpose was to elicit personal data regarding the social background and characteristics of the respondents. The personal data elicited in this section included; gender, age, education, occupation and number of children.

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4.4.2 Language behavior data

The main body of the interview consisted of language-related topics which sought to elicit the following data; (i) parents' own proficiency in Ndamba (ii) attitude to Ndamba language (iii) reasons for maintaining Ndamba (iv) aspirations to children's language learning (v) home language policy (vi) language choice pattern (vii) children's competence in Ndamba (viii) situations in which Ndamba use is dominant (ix) community's support for language transmission.

4.4.2.1 Proficiency in Ndamba: Language proficiency indicates a speaker's confidence in his/her language. In a minority language situation, speaker's proficiency is a significant factor in determining whether one will shift or maintain the traditional language (Clyne, 2003). Where speakers are confident in the traditional language, they tend to maintain it. To determine parents' proficiency in this study, they were asked indicate;

- the language they can best express themselves in (Swahili or Ndamba).

4.4.2.2 Attitude to Ndamba language: How parents look at their language and how they feel about it, is important in ensuring whether a language is lost or maintained in the community. Languages decline when positive attitudes are missing and when parents use the traditional language less and less to their children in the home (Crystal, 2000). To determine parents' language attitudes in this research, they were asked to indicate:

- which language they feel proud to speak (Swahili or Ndamba).
- which language is important for them to speak (Swahili or Ndamba).
- how do they view public use of Ndamba, is it desirable?

4.4.2.3 Motives for maintaining Ndamba: The motives that speakers have as reasons for maintaining their language is an important factor in determining the long term sustainability of the community language. Research studies indicate that various reasons account for community members wish to maintain their languages. Among the frequently widely cited factors are ethnic identity; ideological and symbolic reasons; and humanistic reasons (Kouzmin, 1988). To determine parents' reasons for wanting to preserve Ndamba language, they were asked to indicate;

- why they consider it important to preserve Ndamba language and culture?
- would he/she be concerned if Ndamba were to die?

4.4.2.4 Parents' aspirations about children's language: Parents' choice to teach community language to their children is a predictor of future use and maintenance of the language. Fishman (1991) observes that transmission of language in the home from parents to children is key to keeping intergenerational language transmission. To determine parents' aspirations about their children's language, they were asked to indicate:

- what language must their children learn (Swahili or Ndamba).
- their opinion if someone said to them Ndamba served no practical purpose for children to learn.

4.4.2.5 Family language policy: Family language policy is a critical factor in determining language transmission in the home. Spolsky (2004) describes family language policy as a regular systematic choice of language variety governed by belief about the appropriateness and value of the variety. This view is collaborated by Fishman (1991) who contends that the critical feature of family policy is a decision on what to speak to babies and children. In order to maintain natural intergenerational language transmission, Fishman (opp.cit.) further indicates that, it is necessary to look at the model of language policy and management at the level of the family domain.
To determine language policies adopted in the home, parents were asked to indicate:

- how would they feel should they address a minor in Ndamba and the child answered back in Swahili.
- language dominantly used in the home (Swahili or Ndamba).
- do they code mix in the home?

4.4.2.6 Language choice pattern: The decision that parents make about the language they use as means of communication among the members of the family is crucial in effecting intergenerational language transmission. Studies in minority language situations have indicated that extensive use of community language in daily interaction in the home was a necessary condition to foster intergenerational language transfer to children. Schupbach (2007: 3) argues that clear transmission strategy, including […] "consistent and persistent language use by parents (is) seen to play a crucial role in decisions whether to transmit a community language within the family and to inform the subsequent language practices in the family". To determine their language choice patterns, parents were asked to indicate the language:

- they use most at home when speaking to spouse, children, and relatives.
- they prefer to use with friends outside the home (Swahili or Ndamba).
- they use for personal prayer (Swahili or Ndamba).

- they speak at the local dispensary (Swahili or Ndamba).
- they use when speaking to local government officials (Swahili or Ndamba).

4.4.2.7 Children's competence in Ndamba: Proficient use of a particular language by children in peer-group interactions is indicative of successful transmission having taken place in that language. When language transmission in a language ceases, [...] "children stop talking to each other in the language outside the home" (Crystal 2000: 79). To determine parents' assessment of their children's competence in Ndamba, parents were asked to indicate;
- which language do their children use among themselves in the home
- what language do children dominantly use at play with peers (Swahili or Ndamba).
- do the children speak Ndamba correctly.

4.4.2.8 Situations in which Ndamba use is dominant: The range of situations in which a particular language is used in the community is indicative of its status. A language of diminished status is a cause factor for interruption of language transmission. Sasse (1992: 13) observes that when a language ceases to serve political and/of economic purposes in the community, it sets in motion the decision of community members to cease to transmit it to their children. To determine domains in which Ndamba is used, parents were asked to indicate;
- the range of situations in which the use of Ndamba is dominant.

4.4.2.9 Community's support for language transmission: Studies in intergenerational language transmission have established that the local community plays a crucial supporting role in child's learning of the traditional language and its development. It has been shown that the quantity and quality of language input that the surrounding community offers to the child has significant effect on sustainable language transmission in the family because as Hinton (1999) argues, the community offers the child [...] "real language usage context" where he/she may reinforce language skills and knowledge gained in the home. On the other hand, Pauwels (2005) further observes that attitudes and reactions of the community are influential to family's language transmission efforts. To determine community support measures for language transmission, parents were asked to indicate:
- opportunities available for children to learn Ndamba apart from the home.
- the role played by the community in language teaching
- opportunities available in the community for children to learn Ndamba.

4.4.3 Interview Procedure

An interview schedule containing nine main discussion topics was administered on one parent each from 25 families. Most of the interviews were conducted in the respondents' own homes. According to Hall and Hall (1996), the place where the interview is conducted has a significant effect on the sort of information that the informant gives. When interviewed in their homes, participants are [...] "more likely to answer at length and in a more 'conversational' style" (pg. 167). Parents were interviewed individually in the language of their preference, either Swahili or Ndamba. A majority of them preferred to speak in Ndamba. This did not pose difficulty as the researcher has sufficient receptive competence in the language.

4.4.3.1 Interview data collection procedure: Collection of interview data was achieved by using a portable cassette recorder portable cassette recorder and reflective notes. All respondents consented to the use tape-recorder to record their answers. Use of the tape-recorder helped to obtain reliable data that was "more complete, concrete, and detailed" (conf. Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983) than if field-notes were used.

4.4.3.2 Reflective notes: During the course of conducting the interviews, I took note of and recorded remarks made by the participants which I perceived to be unclear at the time and which I thought needed to be checked on further. This is similar to Miles and Huberman's (1994) idea of reflective remarks. In the reflective notes, I recorded respondents' non-verbal expressions and personal reactions to some responses given by the respondents. Maintaining reflective notes in this particular study proved to be a useful means of tracking the research process and for enhancing my sensitivity about the issues and concerns of the study (conf. Hall and Hall, 1996).

4.5 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

The second method that I used for data collection was participant observation. The method refers to a strategy that puts the researcher where the action is (Bernard, 2005). This method was perceived to be an expedient means of obtaining in-depth information concerning language attitudes and language choice patterns. Furthermore as Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) observe, the method is a useful means for studying cultural situations. In the case of this research, the method served to access an understanding of complex relationships affecting language use and transmission in Ndamba community.

"*Nobody tells all he knows*" so says an old Senegalese adage (Margaret Peil, 1982: 97). This truism has much relevance to matters of information gathering in research studies where it has been shown that information gathered from respondents' statements is often not quite reliable because participants do not tell all information they have about a phenomenon, as Peil (1982) observes [...] "there is a limit to how much can be learnt from what people say"(p.97). In this case it is important to use participant observation method as a means of verifying the information given by respondents through interview or questionnaire methods. Need to achieve a means for validating the findings obtained from the interview was another motivation therefore for adopting participant observation method in this particular research.

Participant observation is acknowledged as the best method for one to understand fully the complexities of many situations. It is through direct participation in and observation of the phenomenon of interest that one comes to understand the dynamics and processes underlying it.

 Social scientists argue that participant observation is the most comprehensive of all types of research strategies. Howard Baker (1970, cited in Patton, 2002) posits that the most comprehensive data after all;

> [...] is the form in which the participant observer gathers it: an observation of some social event, the events which precede or follow it, and explanations of its meaning by participants and spectators, before, during, and after its occurrence. Such a datum gives us more information about the event under study than data gathered by any other method (p. 21).

4.5.1 Participant Observation Procedure
4.5.1.1 Gaining Access to the field site: Gaining access is an essential phase in any research process. Burgess (1984) contends that access has an influence not only on the reliability and validity of the data that the researcher subsequently obtains but also the ways in which those who are to be researched [...] "define the research and the activities of the researcher".

4.5.1.2 Research site: The research for this study was conducted in Merera and Mofu villages. These villages were selected on the basis of the advice I had received the sources I had consulted, showing that children in these villages learned Ndamba and

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spoke it as a mother tongue; implying that the language was still being transmitted intergenerationally in these village communities.

Gaining access to these villages involved two steps; first, I sought permission from the administrative authorities of the district in which the two villages are situated. This allowed me access to carry out research in the villages. Secondly, the authorities of the two villages were also consulted to grant access for me to carry out research in their area. The village authority officials granted me permission; moreover they assigned a young man to accompany me as a guide.

4.5.2 Focus group participants

Participant observation was carried out in the homes of four focus group participant families. The main goal of participant observation was to determine language habits pertaining to the family-home situation. The main concern was to see how parents and other caretakers use Ndamba language on the daily basis. The focus of observation was to note instances of language behaviour realised by parents and other mature caregivers while interacting with children or non-family members within the home compounds or while busy carrying out their normal domestic activities (e.g. meal time).

This research set out to utilise four families as focus group (or key) participants. The aim was to use the families as focal points for obtaining in-depth examination of cultural practices of the community. These were selected as perfect examples of typical Ndamba speaker family in which intergenerational language transfer takes place. Burgess (1984) asserts that the selection of focus group (or key) participants is made on account of their knowledge of a particular setting which may complement the researcher's observation and point towards further investigation that needs to be done in order to understand the social process.

4.5.3 Description of the focus group participant families

In order to ensure that the anonymity and confidentiality of participants is protected, the real names of focus group family members have been omitted. Hence all the names indicated below are pseudo names.

4.5.3.1 Bwana Changupa family.

Family background: The head of the family, Bwana Changupa is 33 years old; he and his wife are peasants. His educational attainment is standard seven (basic education). They have three children aged 8, 3, and 2 years respectively. The elder child attends

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standard two in school. Other family members are the wife's mother and a male relative aged approximately 15 years.

Language use in the home: All members of the family speak both Ndamba and Swahili however the dominant language communication in the home is Ndamba; code-switching is practiced in the home, especially when visitors come. When outside the home, Bwana Changupa admits speaking Swahili more than Ndamba.

Language attitudes: Bwana Changupa thinks children must be taught Ndamba language because it is important for them to know the language. He believes that Ndamba is in danger of disappearing because people don't take the language seriously; children learn Swahili more, in school teachers demand children to learn and become competent in Swahili.

4.5.3.2 Binti Danda family.

Family background: Binti Danda is 32; she is a peasant, her level of education is standard seven (basic education), she has three children aged 13, 9, and 4 years. Other dependants in the family are two elderly parents, aged over 60 years, male and female respectively.

Language use in the home: Except for the elderly grandparents, all other family members can speak both Swahili and Ndamba proficiently however the dominant language used in the home is Ndamba. The grandparents always speak Ndamba; they have only receptive capability in Swahili. Binti Danda and her husband usually speak Ndamba when communicating among themselves and with the children. The children tend to speak more in Swahili rather than Ndamba in most situations. When visitors come to the house, Binti Danda speaks either Swahili or Ndamba depending on the language background of the visitor.

Language attitudes: Binti Danda professes that she feels very proud to speak Ndamba, and when she meets a fellow Ndamba speaker she feels obliged to speak Ndamba with him or her. Her aspiration is to see her children learn Ndamba first because she believes they have the opportunity to learn Swahili in future when they grow up. Moreover Binti Danda disagrees with people who advocate against teaching of the traditional language to children. She thinks that such people are showcases. She believes Ndamba is not in immediate danger of extinction. However should Ndamba disappear, she would feel deficient because to her Ndamba is equivalent to her ancestry.

4.5.3.3 Binti Undole family

Family background: Binti Undole is 31 years of age, she is a peasant, her level of education is standard seven (basic education), she has four children aged13, 11, 6, and 1 year. Another dependant in the family is a 70 years old grandmother Mguwa.

Language use in the home: Both the parents and children are proficient in Swahili and Ndamba. Much as the dominant language of communication in the family is Ndamba, code switching is prevalent especially among the children. Interaction with visitors is in Swahili. Grandmother Mguwa is functionally monolingual in Ndamba; her competence in Swahili is minimal hence she is not able to switch codes. Most often when the grandchildren speak to her they usually do so in Swahili.

Language attitudes: Binti Undole thinks that both Swahili and Ndamba are important for children to master. A desirable situation for her is for children to learn both languages. In her opinion both languages are important to the children; Swahili is the national language, and on the other hand Ndamba is a means for children to communicate with their grandparents. She feels that Ndamba is in danger of becoming extinct because most people discredit Ndamba language and culture as they resort more to speaking the national language. Should Ndamba language vanish, she would feel upset and frustrated.

4.5.3.4 Hango Likonoka family

Family background: Hango Likonoka is 42 years of age, he is occupied in farming and fishing, his level of education is standard seven (basic education), he has three children aged14, 9, and 5 years. Another dependant in the family is a 23 years old sister in law of his.

Language use in the home: All members of the family can speak both Swahili and Ndamba. However the main language for daily communication among members of the family is Ndamba. Code switching occurs especially when visitors come to the home. Hango and his wife almost always communicate to each other in Ndamba. When talking to children he often mixes languages. Siblings communicate with each in mixed codes.

Language attitude: Hango believes that Ndamba is the ancestry of the community as it has to be preserved by teaching it to the children. He maintains that when out of the home, he would speak Ndamba whenever he comes across a fellow Ndamba speaker. He believes Ndamba is in no immediate danger of extinction among the members of Merera

village because people hold the language and its culture with high regard. He would like his children to learn Ndamba because it is a means for ethnic identity.

4.6.1 Focus areas of participant observation

The main language practices which were the focus of observation were language choice practices in the homes, language attitudes, and code-switching patterns.

4.6.1.1 Language choice patterns: The view of language choice adopted in this particular study was the micro-interactional perspective (Labov, Gumperz 1982; 1992; Wei, 1993) with its emphasis on the individual speaker's capacity to produce and reproduce social norms and values through everyday interactional behaviours. Wei (1994) observes that research adopting micro-interactional approach as a matter of rule relies on information collected through face-to-face interaction with the respondents.

In this particular study, language choice patterns were deduced from the language use patterns of the informants. Speaker's language uses were analysed both as language-in-use and as speaker-in-community (conf. Wei, 1994). The focus of observation exercise was given to three language use patters; inter-speaker variation, stylistic variation and code-switching.

- *Inter-speaker variation* refers to speaker's language used while engaged in interaction with different interlocutors. In this study the language that parents used while speaking to other members was observed and documented. This follows the assumption that there is correspondence between speaker's linguistic behaviours and interpersonal relations. This assumption Wei (1994: 137) observes results from the view that [...] "speakers' language use is influenced and shaped by the types of social contact they have, and in the meantime it actively contributes to the social relations which speakers maintain".

- *Stylistic variation* denotes speaker's personal language use. Bell (1984) observes that a speaker varies ones language in relation to language differences which exist between speakers on the "social" dimension. In this study stylistic variation was inferred by change of language use a parent realised in different situations (home, church, work).

- *Code-switching* refers to variation of language from one to another in the course of conversation (Wei, 2000). It is a form of linguistic contextualisation cue that speakers utilise in conversation to express some preconceived meanings or to achieve certain discourse functions. There are many ways in which speakers realise code-switching in conversation. Numerous studies have indicated that code-switching involves what Wei, (2000: 16) describes as [...] "skilled manipulation of overlapping sections of two (or more)

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grammars". In conversation code-switching may take the form of either, a long narrative that is divided into different parts which are expressed in different languages, a sentence that begins in one language and finishes in another; or a succession of words from different languages (Wei, opp. cit.).

The assumption adopted in this study regarding code switching is that speaker's variance of language during conversation, using Wei's (opp. cit.) words, seeks [...] "to contribute to the signalling of contextual presuppositions" (p.17). In this sense therefore code-switching is seen as a form of language choice pattern that is intended to achieve certain communicative effects. In this study, code-switching instances were recorded for the purpose of interpreting the functions or meaning they were intended to express in the conversation.

4.6.1.2 Language attitudes: The concept attitude as described in detail in section 3.2.8.2 refers to a hypothetical construct that people often use to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour (Baker, 1992). Normally people's attitudes are inferred by observing their behaviour as realised through their thoughts and beliefs, feelings toward the object, or actions under certain contexts or circumstances.

The exploration of parents' attitudes and language use in the home provides an understanding of how they perceive the status and role of their language to be in comparison to other languages in the community.

Secondly parents attitudinal predisposition informs on the type of cultural knowledge and experiences that parents transmit to their children by way of socialisation as Garcia (2005: 329) notes, [...] linguistic beliefs or attitudes along with a thorough understanding of daily linguistic practices are central explanatory constructs in understanding how parents socialise their children to interpret their particular sociocultural context and gain social knowledge of it". Other linguists (Schecter and Bayley, 2003) opine that children develop their cultural habits and values through what they conceive of their parents' attitudes and behaviour.

In this research parent's attitudes were inferred by their language use preferences in different circumstances especially the language they used to communicate with their children. Other language related and cultural behaviours were noted, like the kind of music played at home, language of family narratives and stories.

4.7.1 Collection of participant observation data

Participant observation involves taking note of empirical observations and the researcher's interpretation of them (Babbie and Mouton, 2006). Therefore a suitable record of naturalistic observation should be able to indicate both substantive and methodological information of an encounter. With this view in mind, I used two main tools to record interactional encounters in the homes of the focus group participants; substantive field notes, personal notes, and analytic notes.

4.7.1.1 Substantive field notes: These were composed of detailed description of naturalistic encounters related to language use in the homes of focus group participants; they entailed continuous and detailed descriptions of language choice patterns made by parents in meaningful interactions while in the home. Burgess (1984:167) describes field notes as, [...] "a record of the observations and interviews that are obtained by the researcher and of the content documents".

To facilitate the note taking process I developed a systematic observation sheet (conf. Burgess, 1984). The form contained entries for essential information concerning each encounter. The information entered in the sheet for each encounter included the description of the social setting, interlocutors (their age, gender, and relationship), language used, activity or topic of the encounter, and type of code-switching (if any) (see Appendix III).

Since it was not possible to take complete notes as the interactions took place, field notes were recorded in privacy soon after an encounter had been completed. For encounters which occurred in the home which hosted me, normally shortly after an encounter was complete I found an excuse to go inside the house to jot down points regarding the interactions. While in other homes I tried to remember the details of the encounters and recorder them down as soon as I reached the home where I lived. Generally the exercise of reviewing and developing jottings of the encounters into full field notes was accomplished at the end of each day.

In order to maximize the range of information gathered in the field, I used, besides recording substantive notes, other means of recording information and experiences in the field. These included personal notes (or diary entries) and analytic notes.

4.7.1.2 Personal notes: These entailed the reflections of my daily activities in the field. Burgess (1984) refers to this form of record as methodological notes which serve the

purpose of reflection. They help researchers to [...] "consider their methods and speculate on ways in which these methods can be adopted, adapted, and developed in particular settings" (Burgess, 1984).

My personal notes comprised of the experiences I encountered in the course of fieldwork, such as my personal feelings about research situations, problems encountered, or any other concern which I felt might have implications on the research.

4.7.1.3 Analytic notes: This dimension of notes entailed a record of my ideas in relation to some common meaning which I was able to develop in the course of the fieldwork. Hence with analytic notes I was trying to give meaning to the experiences and ideas that emerged from observed encounters.

The analytic themes upon which the observed encounters were linked emerged iteratively from data incidents of recurrent language use patterns. Keeping of analytic notes was in essence the initial phase of analysing the data of the study. It constituted what Glaser and Strauss,1967 (cited in Locke, 2001) referred to as the stages of naming and comparing data which in Locke's (opp. cit.: 47) view are [...] "the first step in the act of creating a conceptual category that provides a new way of looking at the world".

4.8 DATA ANALYSIS
The two sets of data elicited in this multiphase study; semi-structured, in-depth interview data and participant observation data were analysed manually using a multiple of techniques including grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990); qualitative data analysis model (Seidel, 1998); and relational content (thematic) analysis.

Data analysis is variously described as a [...] "process of sifting, organising, summarizing, and synthesising data so as to arrive at the results and conclusions of the research" (Seliger and Shohamy, 1989: 201). It is described by Miles and Huberman (1994: 10) as [...] "the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming the data appear in written-up field notes or transcriptions".

Following Seidel's (1998) qualitative data analysis model the procedure adopted for analysing data in this study was iterative, progressive and recursive in nature. This means that it was conducted as an ongoing and continuous procedure. It started at the

time of designing the research continued through data collection in the field up till the time all data had been translated and transcribed.

4.8.1 Content analysis of observation data

The analytic approach used to describe observation data for this study was content analysis. This method often referred to as 'thematic' or 'conceptual' analysis was considered a convenient tool for this purpose. Palmquist (1995 cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2006) describes it as a method that;

> [...] examines words or phrases within a wide range of texts, including books, book chapters, essays, interviews and speeches as well as informal conversation and headlines (p.491).

In content analysis the researcher is able to explore relationships by making inferences from any repetitions of words and phrases that occur in the text (Palmquist, opp.cit.). In the case of the present study, coding of each encounter of participant observation data was accomplished using conceptual content analysis following steps below;

1. Selection of the level of analysis: I decided to use words as the criterion of coding data. The selection of words for coding was guided by the research questions.

2. Number of concepts to code: Being an inductive analysis I did not determine in advance the number of concepts to code; I left them to emerge from the data.

3. Mode of coding: I decided to code words for existence rather than frequency. The coded words corresponded with the questions of the research.

4. Meaning of coded words: I decided that not only exact words needed to appear under each code; generalisation will be made to allow words of similar meaning to be include under each code.

5. Coding text: I dissected segments of text from different encounters and fitted them alongside corresponding code words. This was accomplished by reading and re-reading of the texts of encounters and trying to make sense of the patterns and themes that emerged from the data.

The approach adopted throughout the process of data analysis had two main features; first the procedure was an interwoven one progressing by moving forth and back

through reading fieldwork text, and continually paraphrasing, summarizing, or categorizing it in an iterative way. According to Seidel (1994) a process is iterative and progressive when it is realised as [...] "a cycle that keeps repeating...in an infinite spiral" (p.2).

Second, the procedure was inductive in nature suggesting that data interpretation and identification of concepts were based on the evidence drawn from themes and categories that emerged from the data at hand rather than from predetermined deductively derived hypotheses (conf. Babbie and Mouton, 2006).

The process of data analysis comprised mainly of three interacting parts; (i) noticing (or coding) of patterns whereby words or phrases which illustrate a particular idea were identified and grouped together. (ii) forming clusters of recurring notions (or categories) which entailed building of categories of meaning through aggregation of coding elements, and (iii) integrating diverse categories into themes   (conf. Miles and Huberman, 1994) after which it was possible to establish a logical chain of evidence for conceptual description of language behaviour. Below I recount how different stages of data analysis were accomplished.

4.8.1.1 Data coding: During fieldwork and after data had been transcribed, I started noting in the data instances of recurring phrases or common responses in participant's accounts. Words, phrases or sentences of related meaning so identified were categorised and given a name or 'code'. *Codes* according to Miles and Huberman (1994: 56) [...] "are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or referential information compiled during a study". Following Seidel (1998) the exercise of data noticing involved [...] "breaking up, separating, or disassembling research materials into pieces, parts, elements, or units" (p. 6).

The aim of the data coding was to make sense of the data by identifying patterns of semantically corresponding units hence create order out of the mass of information that had been obtained. In this way I was able to establish patterns by means of naming and comparing various items of data that had related properties.

In the present research the data coding process was undertaken continuously. It started with the adoption a qualitative design for the research, formulation of research questions and specification of data collection methods. At this stage of analysis I made up assumptions regarding the meanings, perceptions, and presumptions that people

make about their social environment and how this could influence their attitudes and language use options. This corresponds to Miles and Huberman's (1994) 'anticipatory data reduction' process in which [...] "the researcher decides (often without full awareness) which conceptual framework, which cases, which research questions, and which data collection approaches to choose". Below I describe the stages which were taken in the course of data analysis

4.8.1.2 Category generation: After codes of semantically corresponding units had been identified and names assigned to them, higher-level communality or patterns started to emerge from the data by way of clustering. Words and phrases identified in (i) were categorised into larger fields of meaning like 'activities involved', 'actors', or 'situations in which acts occurred'. A number of categories of this nature emerged from the previously determined codes. These patterns facilitated to further organise and reduce data into few logical conceptual frames.

4.8.1.3 Integrating categories into themes: Patterns of information obtained in stage (ii) were further correlated to form higher-level variables of communality (or themes). These formed the basis for generalising the micro-social patterns of language behaviour (acts) of the participants (actors) and understanding the community's intergenerational transmission process.

Further themes were drawn by interpreting the research objectives. In this connection data was analysed to find recurrent semantic variables that provided answers to questions of the research.

4.9 CANONS FOR TRUSTWORTHINESS, RIGOUR AND QUALITY

Researchers ascribing to the positivist research paradigm tend to qualify qualitative research practice as "bricolage" or "art" for failing to meet the evaluative standards of rigour applicable to quantitative research (Decrop, 1999). Researchers from the interpretivist, phenomenological-based epistemological perspectives (conf. Guardado, 2008) on the other hand convincingly argue that the variation in philosophical orientations, purpose, and methodology of inquiry that apply between the two paradigms call for use of different standards for evaluating rigour and quality of a study (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Seale, 1999; Healy and Perry, 2000; Stenbacka, 2001). As Golafshani (2003) elaborates, [...] "the difference in the purposes of evaluating the quality of studies in quantitative and qualitative research is

one of that the reasons that the concept of reliability is irrelevant in qualitative research" (p. 601).

Quality assurance for the present study was achieved using the criterion proposed in Lincoln and Guba (1985) which emphasises that qualitative studies should be externally evaluated of their objectivity on the criterion of trustworthiness instead of the measures of reliability and validity applied in the paradigms employing experimental methods and quantitative measures. Trustworthiness of a study refers to the measure by which [...] "an enquirer (can) persuade his or her audiences that the research findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to or worth taking account of" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 290).

Trustworthiness in the present study was guaranteed by applying the criteria for validating findings proposed in the Lincoln and Guba (1985) model, namely; *credibility, transferability, dependability,* and *confirmability.* These aspects according to Lincoln and Guba (1985) are the essential criteria for the quality of a study. Below I present the specific strategies I used to in satisfying each criterion of trustworthiness.

4.9.1 Credibility: The credibility of a study is determined by the extent to which its findings correctly reflect the [...] "realities in the minds of those that are attributed to them" (Babbie and Mouton, 2006: 277) or as Bradley (1993) posits, [...] "an adequate representation of the constructions of the social world under study" (p.436).

Modelling on Lincoln and Guba (1985), the credibility of this study was established through the procedures of prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, and member checks.

- *prolonged engagement:* This refers to the length of time a researcher engages oneself in the field to build rapport with and learn the culture of research area (Lincoln and Guba 1985). A researcher must spend enough time in the field [...] "until data saturation occurs" (Babbie and Mouton, 2006: 277). To achieve this goal, I spent 90 days in Mofu and Merera villages, living and engaging in the daily activities of the focus group families trying to [...] "grasp the native's point of view" (Burgess,1984: 13) regarding language use and attitudes of Ndamba parents.

- *persistent observation*: This refers to the researcher consistently pursuing and interpreting situations in different ways (Babbie and Mouton, 2006). In the present research, I addressed this requirement by seeking views and interpretation of language

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use situations from different parents and asking them to substantiate my accounts on particular situations as Shipman (1974, cited in Burgess, 1984) states, [...] "researchers should get their informants to comment upon their accounts…" (pg.157).

- ▪ *triangulation:* A concept borrowed from psychological reports (conf. Campbell and Fiske, 1959 cited in Burgess, 1984:144), refers the use of multiple strategies, data sources and accounts of events in field research (Burgess, 1984) to obtain 'multiple realities' (Lincoln and Guba,1985: 296), about the study.
  In this study I exercised triangulation by engaging multiple (or mixed) field strategies (method triangulation); using different data sources (data triangulation); and inviting other people to examine and comment on same situations (investigator triangulation).
  Use of triangulation facilitated gaining of information from different angles that enabled me to collaborate, elaborate and illuminate the research problem and improve my own understanding of intergenerational language transfer among the Ndamba.

- ▪ *member checks:* Refers to the practice of inviting research participants to substantiate the researcher's accounts and conclusions about a cultural reality by asking them [...] "to collaborate findings" (Lincoln and Guba,1985).
  Member checking for this study was carried out one year after fieldwork had taken place; I visited the research site and invited each focus group family participant and a number of interviewees to comment upon my conclusions regarding language attitudes of the Ndamba and language use patterns in their community. The intention of carrying out member checking, in line with Babbie and Mouton's (2006) view was to [...] assess the intentionality of respondents, to correct for obvious errors and to provide additional volunteer information" (277).

4.9.2 Transferability: The findings of a study are said to be transferable when they can be applied to other contexts or with other participants. However it is not possible for the qualitative researcher to establish that knowledge gained from one situation will have relevance in other contexts or for the same context in another time frame (Babbie and Mouton, 2006). It is the readers of the study who may determine whether or not the findings are applicable to their context (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

In order to enhance transferability for the present study, I used the strategies of 'thick description' and purposive sampling. The two strategies provided thick description proposed in Guba and Lincoln (1984, cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2006).

- ▪ *thick description:* refers to sufficiently detailed descriptions of data of the observed context and procedures of the study (Babbie and Mouton, 2006). In this study, as can be discerned in the preceding sections of this chapter, I have provided a rich description of

the participants, setting, methodological, and analytical procedures of the study, enough to allow judgements about transferability to be made by the readers.

- ▪ *purposive sampling*: The use of purposive sampling approach to select respondents enhanced transferability potential for the present study. By purposely selecting the study location and participants, I was able to maximize the range of specific information from and about the context of the study which is a necessary condition for comparison purposes (Babbie and Mouton, 2006).

4.9.3 Dependability: This refers to the extent to which a study is able to realise the same results when it is repeated with the same (or similar) respondents in the same (or similar) context (Babbie and Mouton, 2006). The description given in preceding section establishing the transferability potential for this study is sufficient to explain the existence of dependability potential for the same since as Guba and Lincoln (1984, cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2006) establish there can be no validity without reliability (and thus no *credibility* without dependability). However the above notwithstanding, to further enhance dependability potential of this study, I sough an 'enquiry audit' to be performed by colleagues to examine the product (the data, findings, interpretations, and recommendations made) and attest that it is supported by data and is internally coherent (conf. Babbie and Mouton, 2006).

4.9.4 Conformability: This entails the degree of neutrality and credibility of the research findings; it refers to the extent to which the findings reflect the focus of the study and not the biases of the researcher (conf. Babbie and Mouton, 2006). Following Lincoln and Guba (1985), 'audit trail' was provided to facilitate the auditor trace the sources for conclusions, interpretations, and recommendations arrived in the study.
Conformability was further ensured by applying a combination of triangulation strategies and convergent validation (Fiske, 1959 cited in Decrop, 1999). By means of using a variety of data sources, multiple methods of investigation, and member checking strategies, I was able to maintain the focus of study and limit personal and methodological biases (Decrop, opp.cit.) thus enhancing the conformability potential of the study.

The notion of trustworthiness is a conceptualisation of objectivity which suits most to explain the objectives and aspirations of qualitative research. Qualitative inquiry according to Stenbacka (2001) seeks to generate understanding of phenomenon rather than explaining it which is the primary goal of positivist research. Hence the criteria for judging the quality of the two paradigms must vary as Healy and Perry (2000, cited in

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Golafshani, 2003) contend [...] "the quality of a study in each paradigm should be judged by its own paradigm's terms" (pg. 601).

4.10 CONSTRAINTS

The main constraint encountered in this research relates to the fact that the period in which this research was conducted was farm clearing season, a period when preparation of farms for planting was in progress. This was the time of the year when parents were fully engaged in farm work. They spent long hours in the farms, in a number of cases some parents decided to relocate themselves to makeshift houses erected in the farms to avoid having to walk long distances every day. Houses were left under the care of grown up siblings, or other mature relatives. In this way normal family life interaction was interfered with.

As a result of this hindrance, most of the observation data was drawn from the host family which accommodated the researcher during the fieldwork period. In any case in a few occasions it was possible to observe some encounters in the homes of the other focus group families especially on the days the parents in those households stayed at home.
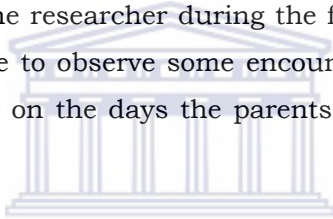
As regards to gathering of interview data, the situation just explained caused a problem to the researcher about finding convenient time to interview parents. As a result most interviews were conducted in late evenings or on Sundays, the day on which most community members took leave from farm work.

With perseverance and often working long hours, the researcher was able to circumvent this constraint. I was able to collect enough interviews, sufficient to illuminate the main concerns of the study. Likewise I was able to observe a wide range of language use experiences, sufficient enough to give a correct and unbiased reflection of language use behaviour of the members of the Ndamba community.

4.11 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Social research being a practice that involves the researcher interacting with other people, other beings (such as animals), and the environment, requires that it recognises and guarantees dignified treatment and privacy of other individuals in society. For this reason then anyone embarking on social scientific enquiry should be aware of and abide by [...] "the general agreements among researchers about what's proper and improper in the conduct of scientific enquiry" (Babbie and Mouton, 2006:520).

In the present study, following Craig (1993) and the ethical guidelines of the *Applied Linguistics Association of Australia* (ALAA, 1998),   I observed ethical responsibility in three main areas, namely; responsibility to the community in which the research was carried out; responsibility to the individuals involved in the research (i.e. respondents); and responsibility to the intellectual traditions. Below I relate steps I undertook in observing these responsibilities:

4.11.1 Responsibility to the community: In conducting this research I observed the sovereignty of the community in which the study was carried out (conf. Samarin, 1967) by;

(i)   Asking for and obtaining permission from the regional, district and local community authorities (see Appendix I).

(ii)   Explaining to these authorities the purpose and potential benefits of the research to the community and the linguistic profession.

4.11.2 Responsibility to the respondents: In the course of conducting fieldwork for this study, I adhered to and upheld obligation to the respondents (conf. ALAA, 1998) by;

(i)   Respecting their rights, interests, sensitivities and privacy.

(ii)   Ensuring that the relationship with them was founded on trust and openness by informing them about all aspects of the research that might affect their willingness to participate.

(iii)   Ensuring that their wellbeing was safeguarded against any harm, be it physical or psychological. To this effect I ensured that the respondents were not subjected to stress, undue intrusion or any form of exploitation.

4.11.2.1 Ensuring voluntary participation and informed consent: Before commencement of an interview session, first I made a point of reading to each respondent the purpose of the research and secondly I sought each one's voluntary participation to the study by making him/her aware of their right to refuse to participate or to withdraw from the study as and when they felt they no longer were interested in it (see Appendix II).

4.11.2.2 Observing participants' anonymity and confidentiality: As required by the ethical code of conduct in social science research I observed participants' anonymity and confidentiality by assuring them that under no circumstance would their identity

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be revealed without their consent nor would their responses be be made public or used for purposes other than those intended for this study.

4.11.3 Responsibility to linguistic professionalism: In conducting this research I observed my obligation to the linguistic profession by;

(i)   Acknowledging in full all experts whose research and
        publications informed the preparation and execution of this research.
(ii)   Clearly identifying and referring any reference materials consulted in
        this study.
(iii)   Avoiding the falsification, fabrication or misrepresentation of evidence,
        data, findings or conclusions.

4.12 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have presented the research design and discussed in detail the qualitative nature of the present study. Moreover the chapter has discussed a variety of methodological issues and field procedures adopted in the study including; sampling, data collection strategies and procedures; and data preparation and analysis.

A case has been presented for adopting a multiphase and multiple strategy approach to data collection; it has been argued that using a variety of data sources and different data collection methods has a significant outcome in ensuring that the study findings are not only consistent and neutral but also believable and applicable.

The chapter has also described the principals which were used to enhance the quality and objectivity of the study whereby it has been shown that the principles of trustworthiness and triangulation were the cornerstone ideas in ensuring credibility and convergent validity respectively.

Lastly the chapter has looked at the key issues concerning ethical practices adhered to in the course of the present study; it has shown that the sovereignty of the community in which the study was conducted and the rights or respondents were observed also the study's responsibility to the linguistic discipline has been discussed.

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

"In the life of a language, attitudes to that language appear to be important in language restoration, preservation, decay, and death" (Baker, 1992:11).

5.1NTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the social dynamics that influence intergenerational language transmission; specifically it focused on the role of parents' attitudes and language use patterns in shaping the course of cross generation language reproduction. This chapter discusses the attitudinal aspect of Ndamba parents' language behavior as discerned from both the in-depth reflexive interviews and ethnographic observation of participants in naturalistic situations. The intention is to illustrate how attitudinal predispositions held by community members are indicative of the prospect for the community to achieve intergenerational language transmission of heritage language.

Language attitude as described by Baker (1992) can be recognized though speakers' thoughts and beliefs (cognitive or knowledge component); or through their feelings toward the attitude object (affective or emotive component); or their readiness for action (conative or behavior component) which by and large is realized in the form of one's […] "behavioral intention or plan of action under defined contexts and circumstances" (p. 13). In the present study language attitudes were interpreted from parents' beliefs, feelings, and actions as were determined from their self reported interview responses and observed self conduct in the home and neighborhood. The attitudinal trends that are described concern the villages of Mofu and Merera which constitute the research site for the present study. The inhabitants of the villages are bilinguals as they realize competence in both the local language, Ndamba and the national Swahili language. The two languages are widely spoken and are used daily and frequently in the communities, however as data will reveal, Ndamba is the more preferred conversational language in most households while Swahili is the more preferred variety in conversations in most contexts outside the home.

In the presentation that follows parents' behavioral dispositions are examined under the themes of; (i) family language policy (ii) aspirations about children's future language use (iii) feelings toward Ndamba language and culture (iv) language proficiency (v) language loyalty and group identity (vi) language pride and (vii) language choice outside the

house. The discussion begins by expressing the general context of language use among Ndamba speakers as realized through family language policy.

5.2 EMERGING THEMES ON LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

5.2.1 Family language policy and practices

Family language policy as an attitudinal aspect of language use refers to a regular set of language choice practices from among alternatives that are realized in the family and any efforts that parents make to influence children's language choice so as to determine children's current use and future decisions about language use (Lambert et al, 2000). It is also described in King et al (2008) as […] "an explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members" (p. 908).

In the present study the description of family language policy focused on how language is used within the home among the family members. The language that is more frequently chosen as means of home interaction and often enforced by parents reflects the language adopted as family language. King et al (2008) conjecture that language policies are an important aspect of language use as they influence children's developmental direction and determine the vitality of low status languages.

In the study a majority of parents (18 of 25) responded in the interview discussion by indicating that the language they frequently choose for communication in the home is Ndamba. This is the language they usually use to speak to their spouses, children or relatives at home. Most of them indicated that they would considered it rude and disrespectful if a child answered back in Swahili after being addressed to by an elder in Ndamba. A majority of respondents indicated using some form of sanctioning on children to enforce use of home language in the home. The response of participant ME25M cited below is typical of this perception:

> *Nengapa na mwehe wangu patwikala pakayapa zaidi tukutovanga chichindamba...... Nenga padeta chindamba alafu mwananguta ayise ajibu chiswahili...mbona mwana wangu padeta chiswahili nengapa tuva tuvavili hela pala ngumwombela kabisa achi chimbwani chakochi kadetelele kukoku apa tudete chiwonikile tangu, da chimbwanichi katovangile kukoku.* [The language that my wife and I speak most at home is Ndamba…. When I speak to my child in Ndamba and he answers back in Swahili…normally I tell my children when we are at home that if they wish to speak the town language they should do it outside the home, here at home we must all speak only the language of our origin.]

On the other hand an equally substantial number of parents indicated a reverse view that no fast rules applied in their homes regarding language of communication. Even as Ndamba was the primary language of the home, use of Swahili was tolerated invariably, adding that what mattered was that communication was facilitated.

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Other parents (6 of 25) presented views which highlighted more use of Swahili or code-switching occurring in some homes. A sample of parents' responses which reflect home language policies is presented in Table 5.3

Respondent	Parents' responses on home language policy and practices
ME25M	*Nengapa na mwehe patwikala pakayapa zaidi tukutovanga chichindamba...... Nenga padeta chindamba alafu mwananguta ayise ajibu chiswahili...mbona mwana wangu padeta chiswahili nengapa tuva tuvavili hela pala ngumwombela kabisa achi chimbwani chakochi kadetelele kukoku apa tudete chiwonikile tangu, da chimbwanichi katovangile kukoku.* [The language that my wife and I speak most at home is Ndamba.... When I speak to my child in Ndamba and he answers back in Swahili...normally I tell my children when we are at home that if they wish to speak the town language they should do it outside the home, here at home we must all speak only the language of our origin.]
MO1F	*Lugha tukutumia pakayapa...handa naha tulongau, chindamba. Na vanavo tukudeta chindamba.Hinaa pavayisa vayao nga ava nahaa sui kazi ya chiswahili. Kiswahili wanajifunza hukohuko shuleni, mimi ninapoongea na watoto naongea chindamba.* [The language that we speak here at home, like now I am speaking to you, is Ndamba, I speak to the children in Ndamba as well but when their fellow age mates come to play they diverge to Swahili. The children learn Swahili at school and when playing with age mates but here at home I speak Ndamba to them.]
MO2M	*Lugha tunayotumia zaidi hapa nyumbani Kiswahili. Lugha rahisi kuzungumza ni Kiswahili.Lugha ninajisikia fahari kuitumia ni Kindamba.* [The language that we use most of the time here at home is Swahili. The language I find easy to speak is Swahili but I feel proud when I speak my tribal language, Ndamba.]
MO3F	*Hapa nyumbani na mume wangu tunaongea zaidi Kiswahili...... Ninapozungumza na watoto huwa nachanganya kindamba na Kiswahili.Kwa sababu wenyewe wanasema zaidi Kiswahili...... Lugha rahisi zaidi tukiwa peke yetu chindamba ndiyo zaidi.Lugha naona fahari kuitumia kindamba ndiyo zaidi. Ukija kuangalia hapa Mofu kitu cha kwanza kabisa chindamba.Kwa hiyo utakapoongea utajisikia kama vile uko nyumbani.Kwa hiyo ni kama lugha hii ya Kiswahili...hii kama hivi wageni wanapokuja unatumia Kiswahili lakini sanasana ni kindamba.* [The language that I speak with my husband and children is Swahili...The children speak a lot more Swahili....When I speak to them I mix Ndamba and Swahili.The language I find easy to speak is Ndamba and I also feel proud to use it, because here in Mofu village Ndamba is the main language so when I speak it, I feel at home. We use Swahili when we have to speak to foreigners but our common language is Ndamba.]
MO4M	*Kuzungumza na mke wangu...ninapokuwa nyumbani sanasana huwa tunatumia tu tunachanganya tu lugha ya Kindamba na Kiswahili kidogo. Mimi ninapozungumza na watoto huwa natumia pengine lugha ya kindamba na au pengine kwa Kiswahili. Hapa nyumbani kwa kweli lugha zaidi sansana tunayotumia ni Kiswahili.* [When talking to my wife ..... I speak to them using both Ndamba and Swahili, however the dominant language here at home is Swahili.]
MO5M	*Ninapozungumza na watoto...zaidi kwa sasa hivi tunatumia zaidi Kiswahili ndiyo maana nasema lugha inaweza ikapotea hii. Ninapozungumza na mke wangu natumia ...nacho hicho hicho Kiswahili. Ndugu zangu wakija hapa nyumbani...tunaongea hicho hicho Kiswahili.* [In my house I speak with my children in Swahili even when relatives and visitors come to visit all of us speak in Swahili. On few occasions I mix in some Ndamba when talking Swahili.
	Apa pakayapa kwa kweli tukuywanga Chiswahili na Chindamba chetu cha tuwonekili nacho.Tukuchanganya changanya, saa yingi Chiswahili saa yingi Chindamba. *Wakati ambao wa pamusi nga vana naha tangu malavila vakuyenda kushuli, pala*

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ME1M	*na yuwe ukughayanika kudeta Chiswahili. Lakini pavawuya kaya ndilya yila ya pamihi yila kuna simo lazima tukuvasimilagha Chindamba. Kwa hiyo kuwona vana vetu vakolela nongwa ya Chindambachi.* [Here in this house frankly we speak Kiswahili and Ndamba, the language we were born with. In speaking we mix up languages, sometimes Swahili sometimes Ndamba. Like during the day, when the children have gone to school, you may try to speak Kiswahili. But when the children return home, particularly during the evening meals we tell them stories in Ndamba. That is why you can see our children are well conversant in Ndamba.]
ME2M	*Nyumba ayi,pa kudeta na vana tukutumia chindamba wuwu, pa kukema tukukema Chindamba wuwu,pavele Neta vakumkema…"Neta ee wisepa .Neta mwao kandolele machi.Neta yende kwa nahongao kula kandolele sabuni". Akumutuma pala, pawuya akuwuya na sabuni,Ndo mazowezi ya vananyumbayi kwa vana.* [In this house we speak to children in Ndamba, we call them using Ndamba…If it is Neta, they call her… "Neta please come here…Neta fetch me some water…Neta go to your aunt and get me soap". They send her….when she comes, she brings soap with her. This is the habit of the people of this house.]
ME3M	*Pakayapa kuywanga na mdala wangu zaidi tukutumiya chindamba na vana nawo tukudeta nawo chindamba......Pavesa valongo mala zaidi tukudeta chindamba mala chiswahili.Tukuchanganya luga kwa sababu pawesa kufika mlongo monga yaani akuywanga chiswahili, kwa hiyo paywanga chiswahili pala yuwe ukumjibu chindamba alafu yimonga ukuyendelela chiswahili.Lakini luga tukutumia sana pakayapa chindamba.* [Here in my house the language I use to speak to my wife is Ndamba, likewise I use Ndamba to speak to my children…… When relatives come to visit more often we speak Ndamba but sometimes we use Swahili as well. We mix languages when the relative who comes to visit speaks Swahili, even though you might speak to him in Ndamba but very often you would find yourself drawing in Swahili. But overall the main language of communication in my house is Ndamba.]
ME4F	*Pakayapa tukudeta chindamba na bambo wangu na vana...... valongo pavayisa kama vandamba tukudeta chindamba kama pana mchanganyiko lazima dete chiswahili........ Yaani pandanganyika na mndamba miyangu panywanga chindamba ndo nguwona ufahali sana.* [The language that I usually use at home to speak to my husband and children is Ndamba….. When visitors come to my house, it depends if they can speak Ndamba I will speak to them in Ndamba, in a mixed group with speakers of other languages, we are compelled to speak Swahili. When I meet a fellow Ndamba speaker I feel very proud to speak in my own language.]

Table 5.1 A sample of parents' responses regarding home language policies

The relevance of family language policy to continuity of home language is indispensable. King et al (2008) argue that family language policies are important as they influence children's course of development …and together determine the safeguarding and future standing of minority languages.

Likewise, Fishman (1991, quoted in Lambert et al, 2000:6) points out that;

[….] the decision on which language to speak to babies and children is the most critical determination of the possibility of natural intergenerational transmission and the survival of the language (p.6).

Family language policy provides a facilitative environment for fostering in children of not only linguistic skills but also appropriate attitudes toward their language and for eventual transmission to the next generation of speakers.

What has been revealed in this study is that family language policies exercised in the focus group families has positive implication for transmission of home language. It indicates that sufficient dynamism is currently available in the community that is enough to facilitate the maintenance and transmission of Ndamba Apart from providing encouragement for use of Ndamba language in the home it also facilitates for it to be naturally learned by children thus ensuring survival and sustenance of the language across generations.

The main arguments advanced by parents regarding the importance of upholding heritage language in the home concerns maintenance of one's ethnic identity and personal identification to the tribal group. This will be dealt with in more detail in section 5.2.2.7

5.2.1.1 Family language policy enforcement strategies

During visits to the homes of focus group families and other families it was possible to observe interaction practices which had implications for controlling language use behavior of children. Three strategies were particularly seen to be applied by many parents; these were; shaming language, deliberate divergence and linguistic purity.

5.2.1.1.1 Shaming language: This was realized through parents' verbally teasing or shaming children when they spoke Ndamba in a way that was considered to be inappropriate such as using wrong vocabulary, or mispronunciation of a word. Different realizations of shaming language expressions were noted on several occasions in conversational interactions involving family members and in interactions of other community members in the neighborhood.

One form of shaming language that was often realized by parents was teasing when a child used language inappropriately or wrongly. The following excerpt shows an adult member of family teasing a child who used a borrowed dialectal word instead of formal Ndamba vocabulary for the word banana.

The context of the interaction is at the Mpole's house. In the evening, two children aged between 10 and 12 years (Ch1. and Ch2.) were talking to one another within earshot of an adult member (Adult). On hearing the inappropriate vocabulary in children's interaction the adult teases the child for using the word *'ndoki'* instead the word *'ngowo'* that is acceptable to the surrounding community

1. **Ch1**: *Nivawona pamusi na mawako mukafumeghe kuchihanje?*	Ch1: I saw you and your mother in the afternoon, were you coming from Kihanje?
2. **Ch2**: *Tuyendili kuchitava kutola ndoki, minyabu yikulya.*	Ch2: We went to pick bananas at the farm, wild animals are destroying them.
3. *Adult: Yu kudeta chindamba cha koti...**kucha mwighanji** (laughs sarcastically)*	Adult: What kind of Ndamba are you speaking...you are speaking like a Mghanji (*laughs sarcastically*)

The action of comparing the child with an Mghanji is considered derogatory among members of the community. The adult speaker seems to have used this comparison deliberately in order to tease and shame the child on account of his use of uncommon vocabulary. The sarcastic laughter that the adult speaker manifests following his statement is proof of the repressed intention to chastise the child. Studies have shown that community members deploy this method as a strategy for language socialization when the intention is to instill into children the community's attitudes, social values and personal attributes (Wentworth, 1980; Ochs 1988). Cases of child-child shaming were also observed.
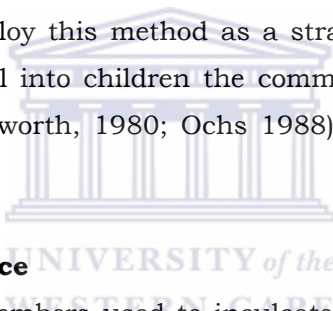
5.2.1.1.2 Deliberate divergence
Another strategy that adult members used to inculcate children with language values involved parents deliberately changing language of communication by continuing speaking Ndamba when children spoke Swahili. Wardhaugh (2006) describes divergence as a strategy in conversation whereby one of the conversational partners disassociates from another reciprocally and dynamically. In the present study the strategy of deliberate divergence seems to have been used by parents as resistance strategy to avoid the intrusion of Swahili in the home environment. Data presented elsewhere (see section 6.2.2.1) shows that children are the more incessant speakers of Swahili in the home environment; therefore the tendency for parents to adopt avoidance behavior to accommodate Swahili in the home is a strong tactic against aggravation of Swahili intrusion in the home environment. The following conversation extract illustrates an application of deliberate divergence tactic in an interaction taking place in the home.

The context of interaction is the home of one of the interviewed respondents. The interlocutors were a daughter (D) (about ten years) and her mother (M). The subject of discussion was purchase of sugar from the local store.

1. D: (**in Swahili**) *Ulisema wakileta*	1.D: You said I should remind you
sukari nikuambie.	when they bring sugar at the store.
2. M: (*does not respond*)	
3. D: (**in Swahili**) *Nimesema dukani*	3.D: I said today they brought sugar at
leo wameleta sukari	the local store.
4. M: (**in Ndamba**) *Mbilikana,*	4.M: I have heard you, but I don't have
magwala vene niva nawo	any money
5. D: (**in Ndamba**) *Aa mama gole hata*	5.D: Oh, mother please, buy at least
kilo yimo hela?	one kilogram.
6. M: (**in Ndamba**) *Mani mwombele*	6.M: You would better ask your father
tati wako payisa,	when he returns home.

In this excerpt the child initiates the conversation in Swahili. When the mother does not respond in line 2, the child repeats her question in Swahili. In line 4 the mother replies in Ndamba. In line 5 the child gives in by speaking to the mother in Ndamba.

In the literature the strategy of deliberate divergence is described as a means often used by individuals to demonstrate one's identity. Schilling-Estes (2002) refers to it as "speaker design"   and characterizes it as a language use strategy deployed by speakers […] "as a resource in the actual creation, presentation, and recreation of speaker identity (p.388). The same view is held by Bourhis (1979) who perceives speech maintenance or divergence as deliberate acts speakers use to maintain group identity.

5.2.1.1.3 Linguistic purity

Another strategy Ndamba parents used to reinforce family language policy to their children involved measures for maintenance of linguistic purity. These were in essence very similar to those mentioned for shaming language; the difference was in their intention. In the context of the present study linguistic purity maintenance measures were intended to put right children's incorrect language use especially in the aspects of pronunciation, vocabulary, and word formation.

One example inferring linguistic purity maintenance was observed in an interaction wherein a child (Ch) was censured by his uncle (U) for using wrong word formation in Ndamba. The context of the interaction was that the uncle had told the child previously to inform the child's father that there would be community work on that particular day; the uncle noted however that the father did not attend the function. The language problem in this case was morphological interference. The child had inserted a Swahili

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past tense morpheme   -li in an Ndamba verb resulting into an incongruent Ndamba word form.

1. U: Tati wako nimwona ndili kujumiya, wamwombele?	U: Did you tell your father about the community work?
2. Ch: **Nilimwombela**.... *mani mwene kaivasiwa, nguwona*	Ch: I told him….may be he forgot about it.
3. U: Ukudeta **nilimwombela**....*na vayako vakucha* **nimwombela.**	U: How can you say *nilimwombela*…….people say *nimwombela*

In line 2 the child used mispronounced the Ndamba verb *nimwombela* by inserting a *-li* morpheme used in Swahili to indicate past tense.

5.2.2 Aspirations about children's future language use

The investigation of parents' aspirations about their children's future language use sought to determine what language parents desired their children must learn. It also determined to ascertain whether or not parents thought Ndamba were important for their children.
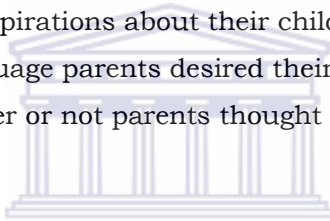
Parents' aspirations about the children's future language are an important indicator for language transmission. The existing body of literature shows that language shift in most low status language communities has often come about when parents have deliberately decided not to impart their vernacular to their children (Denison, 1977). Anthropological and sociolinguistic literature abundantly reveals that parental decisions and desires regarding their children's language are among the many factors that influence which language, in a multilingual context, a child learns (Hyltenstam & Viberg 1993).

In the self reported interview responses a large number of parents were in favor of children learning Ndamba. They maintain that Ndamba was important for their children to learn. The main reason they give is that teaching the language to the children   was a way of maintaining tribal identity and perpetuating cultural heritage. It is also a way of ensuring continuation of the tribal community. A typical response is narrated by respondent ME3M who opines that;

Ne ngudayila sana vanavangu vemanye kudeta chindamba, kwa sababu ay indo lugha yetu ya asili tangu yufwe tuwonekilwe wazazi wetu vaywangaa chindambachi……. Ne

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ngudayila sa vanagu vemanye chindamba kwa sababu hata baadaye, hata twavene baha hinopaa tukwidasha kuva vandamba asili yao zaidi koti? Kwa sababu hinopau tukuwona yaani kulonga tukuyaghamika wula. [I would like my children to learn to speak Ndamba because this is our language of origin since we were born our parents had been speaking Ndamba...... I like my children to know Ndamba because in future they should be able to tell their origin. Like now we ourselves can not really tell what our origins are, we are like a lost people]

A significant number of parents (8 of 25) responded to the contrary, they preferred their children to acquire proficiency in Swahili more than Ndamba. They reason that since Swahili is the language of school it would help children to do better in their studies. Also they point out that proficiency in Swahili would facilitate easier integration of children into the wider national context, as expressed by respondent ME19F;

Vanavangu ngudaya vajue sana Kiswahili, kwa sababu watatembea.
[I would like my children to know Swahili more because when they travel to other places they should be able to interact with the people there.]

Overall however it was determined that parents who indicated support for teaching Ndamba to children showed a remarkable discrepancy between the views they provided in self-report interview responses and observed inclinations regarding their children's language knowledge. Whereas in the interviews they expressed fervent bias towards children learning Ndamba, the observation of their language behavior regarding day to day liking and attachment to language indicated that they preferred children to learn Swahili more than Ndamba. In one incident Bwana Changupa was teasing a child who had mispronounced the word for sugarcane. The child had pronounced "mughuva" instead of "lighuva" to which Bwana Changupa retorted;

Ayi luga ya veneyi, mumanya ndili, mdeteghe chiswahili [This language has its owners, if you do not know it well, just speak Swahili]

The implication here is that the child should not speak in a language he was not proficient in. This stance does not encourage children to learn home language.
In table 5.4 a sample of parents' views about children's future language knowledge is presented.

Participants	Parents' views on children's future language knowledge
	Mimi nia yangu wanangu waelewe kindamba kwa sababu kwanza kudumisha

MO2M	*mila na desturi za kindamba.* [My wish is that my children could know Ndamba most because that is the way we will be able to maintain our customs and traditions.]
MO4M	*Lugha ninayotaka watoto wajue vizuri zaidi....sasa nina wasiwasi kwa sababu nikisema kwamba ile lugha ya kindamba itumike zaidi maana kule shuleni kule wanakokwenda asilimia nyingi sana ni Kiswahili.Kwa kweli kwa mimi ningependezwa tu kwamba hata katika kuelimika kwa wale watoto,wangeweza kuelimika kwa kindamba.* [The language which I would like my children to learn is Ndamba however since the language of education is Swahili, they have to learn it, were it possible, I wish the children could be allowed study their subjects in Ndamba.]
ME3M	*Ne ngudayila sana vanavangu vemanye kudeta chindamba, kwa sababu ay indo lugha yetu ya asili tangu yufwe tuwonekilwe wazazi wetu vaywangaa chindambachi……. Ne ngudayila sa vanagu vemanye chindamba kwa sababu hata baadaye, hata twavene baha hinopaa tukwidasha kuva vandamba asili yao zaidi koti? Kwa sababu hinopau tukuwona yaani kulonga tukuyaghamika wula.* [I would like my children to learn to speak Ndamba because this is our language of origin since we were born our parents had been speaking Ndamba…… I like my children to know Ndamba because in future they should be able to tell their origin. Like now we ourselves can not really tell what our origins are, we are like a lost people]
ME12M	*Vana vangu...ne ngudayila chindamba vachimanyi sana, kwa sababu chiswahili chila ngumanya kwa sababu vakuyenda kushule kula vakuchimanya halaka sana somo la chiswahili.Ila pakaya ngudaya sana vamanye chindamba.* [I would like my children to become proficient in Ndamba because I know there is no problem with Swahili as they will learn that in school. But while they are here at home I would like them to grasp Ndamba.]
ME15F	*Wanangu nataka wajue zaidi Kiswahili, kwa sababu shuleni wanasoma Kiswahili na wanazungumza Kiswahili.* [My desire is that my children should know Swahili because that is the language they use in school; they study it and use it in school.]
M16M	*Vananguta kwimanya chindamba… umuhimu upo, kwa sababu ayi…nitu ya vayetu va pakwandi,ee vagogolo va pakwandi vagitaa nahau. Hinopau kesa mhenja nahau ukuwesa kumfisa alo…tole lingambalyo vike kundambaloko kidogo.Hinopa muhenja akuwesa kumanya haa. Hinopa paudeta chiswahili,mhenja akumanya.* [It is important for children to know Ndamba because like our ancestors did, they could talk confidential matters in the presence of a stranger without him knowing what was said.]
ME19F	*Vanavangu ngudaya vajue sana Kiswahili, kwa sababu watatembea.* [I would like my children to know Swahili because when they travel to other places they should be able to interact with the people there.]
ME20M	*Vanavangu ngudaya sana vamanyi kudeta chindamba kwa sababu chiswahili hata pavayendako kushuleko vakudetaa chihi.* [I wish that my children should learn best to speak Ndamba since there is no problem for them to learn Swahili, as it is the language they speak at school, they will learn it there.]

Table 5.2: A sample of parents' views about children's future language knowledge.

5.2.3 Feelings for Ndamba language and culture

Feelings are an attitudinal property as they express one's inner emotional disposition about an object. There are a number of ways by which to infer one's feelings toward a language. In the present study parents' feelings on their language and culture in general were elicited by asking them to specify the language they considered to be more important, or felt most proud to speak, to indicate the language they preferred most to

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speak when interacting with friends outside the home. Furthermore they were also asked to answer a hypothetical question which required them to indicate how they would feel were Ndamba language and culture to vanish.

Most parents (11 of 25) reported that they were proud to speak Ndamba and felt delighted when they were spoken to in the language. As regards to how they would feel were Ndamba to vanish, a majority of them (14 of 25) indicated that they would be affected personally should such a situation occur. Moreover some parents indicated that should such an eventuality occur, it would have a big impact to community as a whole; the tribal community would have lost its traditional bearings. The language reported by most (10 of 25) as language of choice when in company of friends was Ndamba because it is the language in which everyone could express oneself more easily. A substantial number of parents (7 of 25) reported speaking Swahili when outside the home and felt proud to speak Swahili because it was the national language. In table 5.5 a sample of parents' views about their feelings toward Ndamba is presented.

Participant	Parents' personal attitude toward Ndamba
ME25M	*Sababu ya kuweza kuhifazi ayi ikuwezekana iva kuivele kwa sababu sehemu simonga vazidiwa kabisa lakini nangayufwi apa patuvelepa,yufwepa ndo paasili kabisa kwamba chizazi chetu bado chakaikala baha mpaka nalelou na chila bado tukaitovanga siyo lahisi hata vayingile makabila mangapi yufwe apa tuchivasuwe haa....... Nenga kwa kwa kweli pachisa chiyaghamile chindamba nguwona kucha vangika kuusho hata njila ya kuyendela nguyiwona kandi haa.Kwa sababu mbona kuchau vamika kuutumwa naha.* [It is necessary to preserve our language because in some places the language has almost disappeared, fortunately the situation for us is much better, we are still the bedrock, our ancestors have not moved from here......Should Ndamba disappear I would feel as if my view is blocked, I am no longer able to see my path on which to move on. It would be like I have been placed in servitude.]
MO1F	*Nguwona fahali chindamba, Kiswahili kundambukia kwa wayetuko tukuyenda ulumanga wuwu....... Lugha muhimu chindamba. Sababu nimeshazoea tayali.... Ukayenda kula kulongalonga na bibi wuwowu..., Kiswahili ni muhimu kabisa. Ako kumjineko ndo tukuyenda kuwafuata ava mani,ee vafijanava sui ukulumanga wuwo* [also feel proud when I speak Ndamba because I can speak it well.....To me the language that is important is Ndamba because it is the language that can enable me to interact with my grandparents....... Swahili is also important because when you go to the town, you have to speak Swahili.]
MO2M	*Lugha tunayotumia zaidi hapa nyumbani Kiswahili.Lugha ambayo ni muhimu ni Kiswahili kwa sababu ina mawasiliano na makabila mengine.* [The language that we speak more at home and one is more important is Swahili because it facilitates wider communication; you can speak to people of other ethnic groups.]
ME8M	*Apa pakayapa tukutumiya zaidi chindamba. Mwehe wangu na vana, vose zaidi chindamba. Ne nimwenepa luga ngutumiya zaidi chindamba.Lugha nguwona fahali kutumiya zaidi chindamba.* [The language we dominantly use in this house is Ndamba. My wife the children and I use it on a regular basis. Personally the language I find easy to speak is Ndamba it is also the language I feel proud to speak.]
ME9M	*Pakuywanga hasa kwa muda utangilili zaidi, tukuywanga chiswahili.Na vana*

	nao wuwu nao pamonga tuywanga chiswahili pamonga mkuwuya kaya, basi.Luga tukuchanganya ee...... Lugha naona lahisi zaidi Kiswahili, Lugha fahali ni lugha ambayo ni ya kindamba.. [At home my wife and I most of the time speak Swahili. With children it is the same; sometimes we speak to them in Swahili sometimes we revert to traditional language, that's how we do we mix languages here..... The language I find easy to speak is Swahili however the language I feel pride in speaking is Ndamba.]
ME19F	*Nguwona nyanyi Kiswahili,kwa sababu hata mundu muhenja payisa chindamba kamanya haa kudeta, lazima udete chiswahili.* [The language that I feel proud to speak is Swahili because it is a means through which I can interact with people who do not speak Ndamba.]

Table 5.3: **A sample of parents' views regarding their feelings toward Ndamba.**

5.2.4 Parents' assessment of own and children's proficiency in Ndamba

Speakers' proficiency in their language is an important indicator of their ability to maintain it and potential for transmission to the next generation. The significance of the two variables is that; parents' own language proficiency provides a hint on their ability to pass on the language to their children. Whereas children's proficiency or lack of it indicates whether or not sufficient language transmission is taking place in the community. The present study examined parents own and children's proficiency in two ways; first in the in-depth interview parents were asked to indicate their own proficiency in Ndamba by stating among others the language in which they expressed themselves best or felt more comfortable in speaking. Regarding children's proficiency parents were asked to tell how they assessed their children's competence in the language. Parents' assessment of children's competence in Ndamba was based on whether or not they considered the children were proficient in Ndamba or whether the Ndamba they spoke was correct or not.

In home observation, parents' and children's language proficiency was determined through the frequency of choice they made of one language instead of another. Sociolinguistic scholars have long established that in multilingual situations speakers tend to choose more frequently the language that they are more proficient in.

5.2.4.1 Parents' own proficiency: Regarding parents' own proficiency, data indicates that a majority of them considered themselves proficient in Ndamba as they were able to express themselves better in Ndamba than Swahili and that they felt more comfortable to speak Ndamba than Swahili. The data about parents' own proficiency indicates that a majority (19 respondents) were proficient in Ndamba, while a small number (6 respondents) were not proficient.

5.2.4.2 Children's proficiency: Regarding children's proficiency, data indicates that Ndamba children are not sufficiently proficient in their home language. A majority of parents (14 respondents) expressed that their children were not proficient in Ndamba, whereas a few of them (9) submitted that their children were proficient in the language. These results imply that language transmission process in the community is taking place ineffectively.

Two observations can be drawn from these finding; first in view of parent's proficiency, there is potential for language transmission to take place, since for language transmission to take place, it is of necessity that parents must be proficient in the traditional language. Secondly, considering parents' assessment of their children's competence in Ndamba, it shows that children are lacking competence in the language. This implies that language transmission is not taking place effectively in the community. Table 5.4 presents parents' assessment of own and children's proficiency in Ndamba.

Participant	Village interviewed	Participant's Code	Own Proficiency	Children's Proficiency
1	Mofu 1	MO1F	P	NP
2	Mofu 2	MO2M	NP	NP
3	Mofu 3	MO3F	P	NP
4	Mofu 4	MO4M	NP	NP
5	Mofu 5	MO5M	NP	NP
6	Merera 1	ME1M	NP	NP
7	Merera 2	ME2M	P	NP
8	Merera 3	ME3M	P	P
9	Merera 4	ME4F	P	not indicated
10	Merera 5	ME5M	P	NP
11	Merera 6	ME6F	P	not indicated
12	Merera 7	ME7M	P	P
13	Merera 8	ME8M	P	P
14	Merera 9	ME9M	NP	NP
15	Merera 10	ME10M	P	NP
16	Merera 11	ME11F	P	P
17	Merera 12	ME12M	NP	NP

18	Merera 13	ME13F	**P**	**NP**
19	Merera 14	ME14F	**P**	**P**
20	Merera 15	ME15 F	**P**	**P**
21	Merera 16	ME16M	**P**	**NP**
22	Merera 17	ME17M	**P**	**NP**
23	Merera 18	ME18M	**P**	**P**
24	Merera 19	ME19F	**P**	**P**
25	Merera 20	MO1M	**P**	**P**

Table 5.4 Parents' assessment of own and children's proficiency in Ndamba.

Key: **P** means Proficient in Ndamba
    NP means Not Proficient in Ndamba
    *Empty cells indicate insufficient or missing speech for analysis

5.2.5 Language pride, loyalty and group identity

Language pride and loyalty are attitudinal properties which refer to one's feelings of emotional attachment and nationalist feelings about one's language respectively (Dua, (1989). Group identity on the other hand denotes the sense of affiliation or social allegiances one has to his or her ethnic group using language as a means if self-identification. Scholars investigating minority languages maintenance and shift have long established that   speakers' language pride, loyalty to culture together with a sense of group identity are vital predictors of language maintenance and reproduction.

The purpose of this topic was to find out whether or not parents, children and the community at large considered that Ndamba was important for them to speak. Children's language loyalty was judged from parents' responses on whether or not their children have interest in the language and culture. On the other hand language community's members expressed loyalty to their language and culture in various ways; through the language they choose to speak in groups outside the home or on whether they find it important to teach it to their children.

Following Baker (1992), feelings were evaluated on three criteria; positive, negative and ambivalent.

5.2.5.1 Parents' feelings for Ndamba culture: Data obtained from self-reported interviews indicates that a majority of parents have positive feelings toward Ndamba language and culture, however insights from observed behavior points to the contrary; as in the other previously discussed attitudinal aspects parents' actual behavior indicates that they are apathetic to it.   Parents who expressed positive feelings

commented that Ndamba was important to the community as it was an identifying factor of their membership to their ethnic group. Others expressed a view that portrayed Ndamba language as a means for expressing and maintaining their culture.

Parents who indicated ambivalent feelings toward Ndamba stated that Ndamba was not important to the current needs of the children. They preferred their children to acquire mastery of Swahili for effective participation in a wider community. Some parents saw Swahili as an important element for children to excel in academic studies.

Parents also expressed language loyalty through the language choice they made outside the home. The number of parents who spoke Ndamba outside the home was about equivalent to that of parents who spoke Swahili. Table 5.6 presents a sample of responses indicating parents own and children's loyalty to Ndamba language and culture.

Participant	Parents' assessment of own, children's and community's loyalty to language and group identity
MO1F	*Lugha muhimu chindamba. Sababu nimeshazoea tayali...... Lugha ya kindamba na utamaduni wake...vakupuuza ava vijana nga ava vayetova, lika ya vakome bado tukalonga chindamba.Lakini uyise ukavawone nga ava naha.Hawa ndio wanabadilibadili.Payisa wayao da walonge wuliwuli..... Chindamba chikuyaghamila dandili mundu wa kuywanga nayi kwahela ee..ila kwa wakomiwakomi nahau nga twenga nahau aa ukuwesa kuywanga nayi... vayetu vafijana nga ava nahau ndiyo maana ikuyaghamila.* [To me the language that is important is Ndamba because it is the language that can enable me to interact with my grandparents.... The youth seem to give little regard for Ndamba language and culture but we the elders still speak Ndamba and pay respect to our culture..... Ndamba is disappearing because fewer and fewer people nowadays speak it, when you need to speak the language; you find there are no people who can speak it with you. Few elder people still speak it but the youth don't.]
MO2M	*Kindamba ni lugha muhimu sana katika jamii kwa mawasiliano sisi kwa sisi pia kwa michezo na nini...kwa sababu kuna ngoma zetu nyingine huwa tunacheza kwa kuimba kindamba..... Watu wameanza kupuuza kindamba, hawatilii maanani....Kindamba na kweli kinaweza kutoweka wala si muda mrefu. Kindamba kikipotea sitajisikia vizuri...... Watoto hawakionei muhimu wowote kindamba. Wao ni Kiswahili tu... shuleni.... ku michezo yao huko.... wao ni Kiswahili. Mimi napenda kabisa wanangu wangejua kusema vizuri kindamba.* [Ndamba is important in the community as it facilitates interaction among ourselves and as a means of expressing of our culture when we use it in our traditional dances....... Nowadays people tend to look down upon Ndamba something that indicates that the language is in danger of vanishing in the near future...... Children don't show much interest in Ndamba because most of the time speak they Swahili at school and when they play among themselves.]
ME2M	*Na nimwao na ngujinga wuwu.Chiswahili panopa nahau chikwila, chiluga ya chindamba chila vakuhimula haa.Ponopa naha yilinganalingana kuchau vaswahili, na nimwao naha nichiwona wuwu.* [Personally I am very much perplexed by this issue. The use of Swahili nowadays is much spread, Chindamba is not spoken. It now seems like everybody is a Swahili speaker. I see that problem.]
	Chindamba kwa halaka hela kiyaghamile haa. Vandu apa vakuheshimu tu chindamba na utamaduni wake..... Mundu padeta chindandamba chivahela

ME4F	*maana kuvafundisha vana, nengapa jumile haa kwa sababu ni limbukeni.* [I don't think that Ndamba would die out easily in this village because people hold Ndamba language and culture with esteem.... Should a person say that there is no practical purpose to teach Ndamba to the children, I would not agree with such an idea, I would consider a person with such an idea as a showcase.]
ME7M	*Watu kindamba wanakiheshimu.Kindamba kuyaghamila si lahisi.* [Generally speaking our people here hold Ndamba in high esteem, for that reason it is not easy for the language to die out.]
ME8M	*Ponopawu tofauti kidogo na dahili, ponopawu hata vagogolo vakudayila sana zaidi chiswahili.Hatali ya kuyaghamila chindamba siku limo ee kuyivele.* [Nowadays things have changed they are not the same way as they used to be long ago. These days you find even old people engrossed in speaking Swahili.]
ME12M	*Kwa jinsi ne panola chindamba na chiswahili, kwa kweli chindamba chikuwesa kuyaghamika kwa sababu lughai ponopa nguwona ikwikala pambali sana, yaani inakaa pembeni kwa hiyo Kiswahili ndio kikutawala sana kushinda chindamba ponopau...... Lugha ya kindamba...kwa kweli ponopau nguwona kitau vakuipuuza kwa sababu vakuywanga sana chiswahili kushinda chindamba.* [The way I see these two languages, Ndamba and Swahili there is likelihood that Ndamba could disappear because this language is no longer cherished by the speakers. They treat it as sideline language. Swahili dominates here; it has taken centre stage...... People these days seem to ignore Ndamba because they talk more using Swahili than Ndamba.]
ME14F	*Lugha na utamaduniwa chindamba...apa zaidi ne nguwona vakuheshimu,kwa sababu mbona vakudeta sana, uhh wanasema sana kilugha....... Najisikia fahali chindamba,bali kutoka na mazoea ndio ukudeta achi lakini nguwona nguwesa kujangisha Kiswahili na nguchiwona nikisema naonekana pengine wa maana zaidi ee.Kwa sababu nguwesha kusafiri,akumanya kucha mundu ayu,ayu kaja kindamba, ayu kafuma ako ayu,Kiswahili kamanya ng'oo,ndio maana tukudaya kuifundisha Kiswahili.Lakini hasa zaidi tukudeta chindamba.*[People here have high opinion for Ndamba, they respect Ndamba language and culture because they speak Ndamba extensively.....The language that I find easy to speak is Ndamba even though I often feel proud when I speak Swahili; this is because we are used to thinking that one appears more important when they speak Swahili. We are conditioned to think that if one speaks Ndamba, he cannot speak Swahili therefore people take him/her to be backward, uncultivated. That is why we make effort to learn Swahili, but for the most part we speak Ndamba here.]

Table 5.5 A sample of responses indicating parents' own and children's loyalty to Ndamba language and culture.

5.2.5.2 Children's feelings for Ndamba culture

Inferring from parents' responses and children's language behavior observed in the homes, it is revealed that children have apathetic feelings toward Ndamba language and culture. Most parents indicated that children do not care much about Ndamba language and culture. A typical response to this effect is given by MO1F who, regarding children's feelings to Ndamba stated thus;

…Lugha ya kindamba na utamaduni wake…vakupuuza ava vijana nga ava vayetova, lika ya vakome bado tukalonga chindamba.Lakini uyise ukavawone nga ava naha. Hawa ndio wanabadilibadili. Payisa wayao da walonge wuliwuli….. […. The youth seem

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to have little regard for Ndamba language and culture but we the elders still speak Ndamba and pay respect to our culture]

In similar tone, MO2M asserts thus;

......Watoto hawakionei muhimu wowote kindamba. Wao ni Kiswahili tu... shuleni.... ku michezo yao huko.... wao ni Kiswahili. [...Children don't show much interest in Ndamba because most of the times they speak Swahili at school and when they play among themselves.]

The same perception is noted when one observes children's language behavior at home. Their choices to speak Ndamba were infrequent indicating that they were either not proud of the language or not proficient in it.

5.2.5.3 Community's feelings for Ndamba culture

Parents' assessment of community's feelings for Ndamba indicates that overall there is less attachment to the language and culture. This is inferred first from parents' response to interview question wherein they indicated that there was less frequency of use of Ndamba in the neighborhood. Parents reported that there are few people to speak Ndamba a with in the neighborhood as most people choose to speak Swahili, as respondent ME12M asserts;

.... lughai ponopa nguwona ikwikala pambali sana, yaani inakaa pembeni kwa hiyo Kiswahili ndio kikutawala sana kushinda chindamba ponopau...... Lugha ya kindamba...kwa kweli ponopau nguwona kitau vakuipuuza kwa sababu vakuywanga sana chiswahili kushinda chindamba. [...this language is no longer cherished by the speakers. They treat it as sideline language. Swahili dominates here; it has taken centre stage...... People these days seem to ignore Ndamba because they talk more using Swahili than Ndamba.]

Some parents reported that there were people in the community who think that Ndamba language and culture are irrelevant and people who still practiced them were seen as backward and ignorant. These results indicate that Ndamba language is less prominent in the community as it is chosen less frequently and is used in inferior situations.

5.3 CONCLUSION

The analysis and discussion of pattern of language attitudes presented in this chapter leads to the conclusion that Ndamba was still being transmitted in the two villages because a majority of parents had chosen it as the language of communication in the home. The attitudinal mechanism that appears to be a crucial factor in supporting language transfer is family language policy which uses shaming language, deliberate divergence, and maintenance of language purity as its means of inculcating Ndamba language into children.

However when the value that members assign to the two main languages of the community, Ndamba and Swahili is considered, it becomes evident that a situation of ambivalence pertains in the community; members are in a dilemma trying to balance between the need to maintain the home language on the one hand and the desire to assimilate to the national language which promises more advantages to them. This is more evident when one considers parents' aspirations about the children's future language use, where in interviews most parents indicated to favour children developing competence in Ndamba while in home observation they insinuated habits that implied otherwise.

The realization of language attitude described above is reminiscent of an attitudinal situation which Sasse (1992) describes as 'schizophrenic' where speakers hold both positive and negative attitudes towards a particular language. It is kind of dual loyalty which occurs in a bilingual situation and which often heralds inception of the process of decline of the inferior language. In view of this description, Ndamba speakers seem not to have entirely negative attitude toward their local language rather in line with Sasse's (1992) postulation, [....] "their retention of the language is valued positively for one reason and negatively for another" (p. 14).

This social psychological description of Ndamba speakers' attitudinal stance is of significant importance to this study as it highlights both the conditions that support language transmission and those that indicate possibility that language shift might be underway (refer to section 8.5).

Chapter Six

LANGUAGE USE PATTERNS

"Language preferences and choice patterns......cumulated over many individuals and many situations become transformed into the processes of language maintenance and shift"
(Fishman, 1972, p.80).

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter presented findings about the attitudinal behavior of Ndamba parents and their implication to language transmission. In this chapter a discussion of the findings about parents' language use patterns is presented. The main concern of the study was to establish social mechanisms that determined language transmission in a bilingual situation. To capture this phenomenon the study investigated language use patterns among Ndamba speakers as discerned from parents' self reports and observations of language behavior in the home and neighborhood. The main point of the discussion that follows is the understanding that parent's language use patterns have substantial impact on children's overall acquisition and maintenance of family language.

Language use has often been considered an important predicting factor for language maintenance and as an extension to language transmission. Fishman (1972) observes that language preferences and choice patterns that a community makes [...] "cumulated over many individuals and many situations become transformed into the processes of language maintenance and shift" (p.80). In similar vein Luo and Wiseman (2000) opine that language use is one of the necessary conditions promoting language maintenance; the other conditions are language proficiency and language attitude. The overall idea is that a group that makes frequent use of a particular variety of language is more likely to maintain the language and to pass it on to their descendants.

The main focus of the discussion presented here is to relate parent's language use patterns with children's overall acquisition and maintenance of family language. Language socialization studies have long emphasized the significance of caregiver-child interaction as a means of child's language acquisition, however recently abundant literature shows that children learn to speak home language not only through direct interaction with parents but also by means of listening to them as they participate in natural interaction with other community members, as Bayley and Schecter (2003) point out;

[...] Children learn to speak in particular ways, not only from the speech directed to them, but also from eavesdropping on conversations between parents and other adults (p. 31).

Copious sociolinguistic and anthropological research have revealed that inputs children receive through the manner in which their parents choose and use family language in the home complement the other strategies of socialization to enable children to develop language skills and appropriate attitudes for proper functioning as competent members of their respective communities. The present study is framed on this background hence the intent of this chapter is to describe language use patterns in Ndamba community and explain their implication to the maintenance and generational continuity of the home language.

This section attempts to provide a coherent account of language choice trends and discourse strategies adopted by Ndamba speakers while negotiating interaction among themselves using language resources made available by their bilingual competence. The speaker's language use habit is a linguistic tendency that one realizes through his or her choice of alternate codes available. In the following sections realizations of and motives for language choice among Ndamba speakers are explained and the relative implication of such choices to language maintenance and transmission is examined.

6.2 Language choice

 The notion of language choice, variously described as speakers' variation of language according to interlocutor, situation, and topic is a characteristic phenomenon in bilingual language context. Abundant research literature indicates that language choice is not a haphazard practice; rather it is an undertaking that is determined by community's social values assigned to each of the involved languages (Milroy & Muysken, 1995). Besides, studies have shown that permissible patterns in speaker's choice of language are determined not only by macro level social factors but more so by the micro-level interactional requirements of communication events.

The aspect of language use is discussed in the next sections with reference to data on language choice patterns of the community. Variables of language choice are discussed under the following themes; (i) the range of societal functions performed by Swahili and Ndamba (ii) situations in which Swahili and Ndamba are used, (iii) language socialization practices (iv) relative frequency in which each language is used in the home and neighborhood, and (v) language variation in use in social contexts.

6.2.1 Range of societal functions of language

One way to describe language choice in the community is to consider the functions that the concerned language varieties perform in the community. Drawing partly from Fishman's (1972) concept of extended diglossia, this study interpreted language function in terms of range of topics that a particular language is capable of conducting. Input from both parents self reports and observation information shows that there is marked compartmentalization in the manner in which Swahili and Ndamba are utilized in the community. Ndamba is used for communication in matters pertaining to home, informal and intimate issues; Swahili is used when matters discussed were related to formal or official subjects. As regards to the use of Ndamba, two sets of functions apply; expression of intimate and informal situations on the one hand, and expressing formal or official topics on the other.

6.2.1.1 Expressing intimate and informal issues

The main function in which Ndamba is used in daily communication among members in the community is to talk about everyday personal, family, and community matters. Three patterns of language use can be identified in this regard; the first concerns conversations involving spouses. In a majority of homogenous marriages interaction is conducted using Ndamba. Most parents attributed this trend of language choice to the fact that they were more proficient in Ndamba than Swahili. The same pattern is observed when parents communicate with their children. Secondly when communicating with the older generation, Ndamba is the language that is chosen. The third trend concerns children's language use, it was established that smaller, pre-school children spoke largely in Ndamba. On the other hand older, school-going children exhibited marked tendency toward code variation. Quite often they used Ndamba when talking to all categories of people except when speaking to their peer colleagues. The older generation members were found to be true Ndamba monolingual speakers, a majority of them were Ndamba dominant bilinguals. This pattern of language use indicates a declining trend of language use in the home. It reflects that different categories of speakers in the home domain, i.e. grandparents, parents and children posses varying competence in Ndamba

Expression of group solidarity is another important function where Ndamba is the preferred variety. This particularly concerns interactions between friends and close affiliates where intimate relationship is expressed. It was established that members trying to express group solidarity used Ndamba as a means of establishing common

identity. A majority of parents indicated that when speaking to friends they normally used Ndamba because it served to show intimacy and group identification.

6.2.1.2 Inner speech

Another function in which Ndamba predominates relates to individual's inner speech which entails saying of personal prayers, meditation, and dreaming. A majority of parents testified that Ndamba is the preferred language for this function. In follow-up interview with respondent **ME17M** it was revealed that praying to the ancestors known in the community as *"kuluva makungu"* is in essence a form of conversation with the souls of departed ancestors, hence it was effected in Ndamba because it was the language that the ancestors spoke when they lived on earth, it would be inconceivable to speak to one's ancestors to a foreign language. According to the literature this finding indicates that Ndamba community is resisting shifting to Swahili. In language shift situation, the tendency is that one's language of thought, which facilitates one to talk to oneself including the language of dreams, tends to be most resistant to interference, switching or disuse (Fishman & Dil, Anwar, 1972).

Furthermore Ndamba is a preferred language when the purpose is to hide meaning or to prevent people who are not wanted to understand the conversation. In this regard using Ndamba at home is a way of making sure that one could talk confidential matters in the presence of a stranger without him or her knowing what was said. This is revealed by respondent **ME16M** who says;

> ....hinopau kesa mhenja nahau ukuwesa kumfisa.... Hinopa paudeta chiswahili, mhenja kumanya kwa sababu lugha yila kidogo kwifisa na mundu pa kudeta. [....like in the presence of a stranger....if you speak Swahili the stranger will understand...when you speak Ndamba you hide information from the stranger]

The language choice described above is considered supportive to language transmission to occur and also it concurs with experiences from other places. Abundant literature shows that a prerequisite for continuity of home language is for it to be used as a tool for natural interaction in the home and the neighborhood (Fishman, 1991). Empirical studies have confirmed that children acquire home language when the language is chosen as the dominant language in the home and used as the means for conducting daily communication and interaction between parents and children.

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6.2.1.3 Language use in formal or official topics

The language preferred to address formal, official subjects is Swahili. Both home observations and personal reports showed invariably that official or formal matters including discussions in public meetings organized by the local government, talk to officers in local official institutions, like dispensary, or school were conducted in Swahili. In village public gatherings a speaker who speaks Ndamba is usually denigrated and required to keep quiet if he/she could not express oneself in Swahili. Respondent **ME3M** testifies this trend by saying:

> ....*kwa sababu hata vene pavayenda pa mikutano vakuywanga zaidi chiswahili,kwa sababu pa vaywanga chiswahili pala,hata mundu pakudaa adashe swali,akudasha chindamba,vakuwomba...aaa bwana apa kwa sababu tumechanganyika hapa, kwahiyo tuywangi chiswahili* [....even village members themselves when they gather in village meetings they communicate mostly in Swahili. <u>In the village gatherings if someone happens to ask a question in Ndamba the leaders would tell him to speak in Swahili</u> because the gathering is a mixture comprising of speakers of other languages as well.]

Religious matters are also considered to be a formal undertaking in Ndamba community hence orations and all other matters pertaining to religion like prayers, hymns, are also conducted in Swahili. This trend was cause for puzzlement to me during fieldwork when I witnessed congregations using Swahili to conduct prayer services instead of Ndamba when about every one present was Ndamba speaker.

6.2.2 Situations of language use

The role of social circumstance on determining language variability has been extensively established in sociolinguistic research. Experience shows that no two languages can be used to perform same functions in the same context. Drawing from Fishman's (1965) language domains framework which centres on situational variation as determinant of language choice, this study delineated situational circumstances which were considered to determine language choice among Ndamba speakers and examined language use patterns realized in those circumstances. The following main language domains were identified (i) home and family (ii) neighborhood (iii) work place (iv) government (v) ritual and cultural events. The next section of the chapter is divided into six subsections, each focusing on the language use pattern realized in each one of the language domains.

Typical of a bilingual community the general trend of language use in Ndamba community reveals variation of two languages, Ndamba and Swahili across social domains and functions. Table 6.1 presents the general pattern of language use in the community.

Participant	Age	Spouse	Meditation	Children	Relatives	Friendship	Neighborhood	Dispensary	Government
ME2M	+70	N	N	N	N	N	N	---	---
ME19F	30	N	N	N	N	N	S	S	S
ME8M	36	N	N	N	N	N	N	S	S
MO1F	42	N	N	N	N	N S	S	S	S
ME11F	25	N	N	N	---	N S	S	S	S
ME17M	46	N	N	N	N S	N	S	S	S
ME10M	46	N	N	N	N S	S	S	S	S
ME4F	32	N	N	N	N S	N S	S	S	S
ME5M	29	N	N	N	N S	N S	S	S	S
MO2M	40	N	N	N	N S	S	S	S	S
MO3F	39	S	N	N	N S	N	S	S	S
MO4M	53	N	N	N	N S	N S	S	S	S
ME16M	42	N	N	N	N S	S	S	S	S
ME1M	50	N	N	N S	N S	N	S	S	S
MO5M	38	N	N	N S	N S	N S	S	S	S
ME13F	31	N	N	N S	N	N	S	S	S
ME14F	40	N	N	N S	N	N	S	S	S
ME15 F	28	N	N S	N S	---	N	N	S	S
ME6F	37	N	N	N S	N S	N S	N S	S	S
ME18M	47	N	N	S	N S	N S	N	S	S
ME9M	41	N	N S	N S	N S	N	S	S	S
ME7M	35	N S	N	N S	N S	N	N	S	S
ME20M	45	N S	N	N S	N S	S	S	S	S
ME3M	32	N S	S	S	N S	S	S	S	S
ME12M	38	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S

Table 6.1 Implication Scale for overall Language choice of Ndamba speakers at Merera and Mofu

Key
M male
F female
N speaks Ndamba
N S speaks Swahili
--- no data

Table 6.1 is an implication scale of parents' responses to interview questions regarding their language preference in different domains. It presents the general trend of language choice among the respondents. In the main it shows that use of Ndamba is more predominant in home related domains, whereas Swahili is chosen more frequently in public and official situations.

6.2.2.1 Language use in the home / family: The investigation of language use in the home focused on language preferences of core members of family. In the context of Ndamba culture, core family members comprise parents, children, and grandparents. The study sought to determine language choice that each category used to address the other members. Results from both self-reported interviews and home observation data indicate variation in language use pattern in the home and in interaction among family members. The main tendency however was that Ndamba was the most preferred language than Swahili as a means of communication across the range of categories of family members. Table 6.2 represents language preference patterns realized by family members in the home.

Participant	Age	Spouse	Meditation	Children
ME2M	+70	N	N	N
ME8M	36	N	N	N
ME19F	30	N	N	N
MO1F	42	N	N	N
ME11F	25	N	N	N
ME17M	46	N	N	N
ME10M	46	N	N	N
ME4F	32	N	N	N
ME5M	29	N	N	N
MO2M	40	N	N	N
MO3F	39	S	N	N
MO4M	53	N	N	N
ME16M	42	N	N	N
ME1M	50	N	N	N S
MO5M	38	N	N	N S
ME13F	31	N	N	N S
ME14F	40	N	N	N S
ME6F	37	N	N	N S
ME18M	47	N	N	S
ME15 F	28	N	N S	N S
ME9M	41	N	N S	N S
ME7M	35	N S	N	N S
ME20M	45	N S	N	N S
ME3M	32	N S	S	S
ME12M	38	S	S	S

Table 6.2 Implication Scale for Language preference at home

Key
M male
F female
N speaks Ndamba
S speaks Swahili
N S speaks Ndamba and Swahili
--- no data

From the way different categories of family members make their language preferences in the home, it is possible to distinguish a number of language choice patterns in the home domain; the first concerns interaction among spouses. Data indicates that the language of preference in communication among spouses is Ndamba. This could be explained in terms of the need to express intimacy and solidarity in between the spouses. The second trend concerns interaction of parents with the grand parent members of the family, this is also dominantly realized using Ndamba. Respondents emphasized that a child must know Ndamba so that he or she can communicate with the grandparents. Respondent **ME13F** provides a typical observation to this effect;

> *Ponopa akuwesha kuywanga na ayu chindamba alafu ayu kamanya haa. Kwa hiyo hawataelewana, sasa inatakiwa ajue lugha zote mbili.* [the child has to know the two languages so that he may be able to talk to both his colleagues and the elders].

This implies that the language considered as appropriate code for one to speak to the older generation is Ndamba.

Thirdly, parents-initiated talk to children is mostly in Ndamba, whereas children often initiated talk with parents using Swahili. This implies that code mixing in parent-child talk is not quite marked choice.

The fourth pattern concerns interaction among siblings. Children talked to one another using either Swahili or Ndamba. Often children tended to speak using a mixture of Ndamba and Swahili. Overall siblings, particularly those who had started attending school tended to realize bilingual competence that was Swahili dominant.

There are a number of conclusions that can be drawn from language choice pattern in the home; the first is that bilingual competence across family member categories is not uniform, it is realized in a form of gradient with the grand parents being Ndamba dominant bilinguals and children, especially of school-going age are Swahili dominant bilinguals. Parents who are the focus of this study realize stable bilingualism, as in their language use, they tend to observe clear separation of language functions according to societal situation (See Fig 6.1). Secondly, the declining intergenerational language competence notwithstanding, fact that Ndamba is spoken by all generations in the family signifies that intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted. This implies that at least for the time being the conditions for future intergenerational transferability of Ndamba still exist.
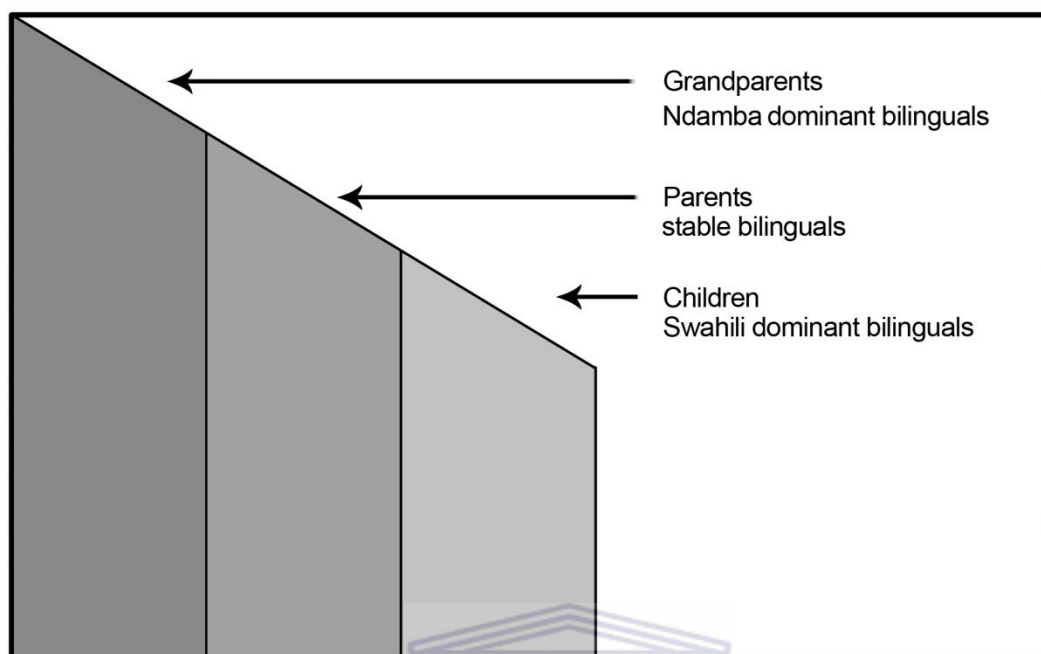
Figure 6.1 Bilingual competence gradient of Ndamba family members according to language choice habits at home.

6.2.2.2 Language choice in the neighborhood: The neighborhood domain refers to all non-formal situations outside the home context. These are situations in which an individual is likely to interact with people whom one is familiar with and others he or she is not. The common neighborhood spaces include shops, market places, playgrounds and social drinking places where the normal interaction events include conversation with friends and customers, arguing, discussing, or explaining matters with friends or acquaintances in matters ranging from personal issues, politics, and social affairs to sports.

Language choice in Ndamba community neighborhood is a rather complex phenomenon owing to multilingual nature of the population. Consequential to the policies of 1970s which promoted inter-ethnic interaction and co-existence, people from various language backgrounds settled in among Ndamba people, making the community develop societal multilingualism. Hence language choice in the neighborhood domain is highly selective with Swahili, Ndamba and mixed-code being used alternatingly.

Language choice in a complex language situation such as that pertaining in societal multilingualism is determined by speakers' determination of   clues such as dress,

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appearance age, accent and command of language   (Baker and Jones, 1998: 51). In the context of the Ndamba speakers, most respondents indicated that there was no problem of identifying who speaks Ndamba and who does not because the community was small and about each one knew another person (Changupa, informal interview 21/2/2008).

Data indicates that the general language choice in the neighborhood depends on who one speaks to or what his/her proficiency in Ndamba is.   Respondent ME4F (32 yrs) testifies that outside the home when she is in a mixed group with speakers of other languages, she is compelled to speak Swahili. ME16M (42) says

Panyenda mbele ya vandu lazima nywange chiswahili kwa sababu vamonga vandamba ng'odo eee lazima nywange chiswahili [most people I meet there do not speak Ndamba or just prefer to speak Swahili].

The probable answer for the strong choice of Swahili in the neighborhood domain is that the neighborhood being a multilingual context, comprises languages more than just Swahili and Ndamba, hence a speaker is always uncertain about the language or proficiency of the people one comes into contact with. In this regard the languages understood by speakers or their proficiency in them are crucial influential language choice factors in the neighborhood domain. From this evidence we may generalize that speakers' language choice tendency in the neighborhood domain is influenced by their perception about the other person's knowledge of Ndamba or proficiency in it.   This tendency is consistent with the literature which asserts that in a multilingual situation the tendency is for an individual to change his/her language either deliberately or unconsciously so as to accommodate the perceived preference of the other participant in the conversation (Baker and Jones, 1998).

Participant	Age	Relatives	Friendship	Neighborhood	Dispensary	Government
ME2M	+70	**N**	**N**	**N**	---	---
ME8M	36	**N**	**N**	**N**	**S**	**S**
ME19F	30	**N**	**N**	**S**	**S**	**S**
ME13F	31	**N**	**N**	**S**	**S**	**S**
ME14F	40	**N**	**N**	**S**	**S**	**S**
MO1F	42	**N**	**N S**	**S**	**S**	**S**
ME11F	25	---	**N S**	**S**	**S**	**S**
ME17M	46	**N S**	**N**	**S**	**S**	**S**
ME10M	46	**N S**	**S**	**S**	**S**	**S**
ME4F	32	**N S**	**N S**	**S**	**S**	**S**
ME5M	29	**N S**	**N S**	**S**	**S**	**S**
MO2M	40	**N S**	**S**	**S**	**S**	**S**
MO3F	39	**N S**	**N**	**S**	**S**	**S**
MO4M	53	**N S**	**N S**	**S**	**S**	**S**
ME16M	42	**N S**	**S**	**S**	**S**	**S**
ME1M	50	**N S**	**N**	**S**	**S**	**S**
MO5M	38	**N S**	**N S**	**S**	**S**	**S**
ME15 F	28	---	**N**	**N**	**S**	**S**
ME6F	37	**N S**	**N S**	**N S**	**S**	**S**
ME18M	47	**N S**	**N S**	**N**	**S**	**S**
ME9M	41	**N S**	**N**	**S**	**S**	**S**
ME7M	35	**N S**	**N**	**N**	**S**	**S**
ME20M	45	**N S**	**S**	**S**	**S**	**S**
ME3M	32	**N S**	**S**	**S**	**S**	**S**
ME12M	38	**S**	**S**	**S**	**S**	**S**

Table 6.3   Implication scale of language choice tendency outside the home
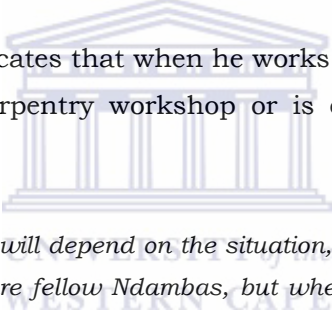
Key
M male
F   female
N   speaks Ndamba
S   speaks Swahili
N S speaks Ndamba and Swahili
--- no data

Table 6.3 reveals that Ndamba speakers prefer to speak Swahili more frequently for communication in the neighborhood. This language choice tendency is not supportive for language transmission to occur because the surrounding community is a vital support agent for language transmission to take place as it provides children with an ideal situation for developing pragmatic language competence (Giollagain & Mac Donnacha, 2008). Sociolinguistic literature has revealed that the role of the home as cornerstone for language transmission notwithstanding, children must have opportunities to speak the home language in the community if they are to develop adult like competence (Hinton, 1999). Limited frequency of Ndamba use in the neighborhood domain thus constitutes a drawback to its transmission.

6.2.2.3 Language choice at work place: The occupational activities which Ndamba people have traditionally engaged themselves in include farming, fishing, hunting and other subsistence oriented rural activities. In the recent years not so few Ndamba people have learned and do practice some non-traditional work activities like masonry and carpentry. Data obtained from both self-report interview responses and participant observation show that speakers vary language according to the type of work they perform. When performing traditional work, they consistently speak Ndamba. However language choice varies when the speaker is engaged in non-traditional work or in communal activities organized by the local government. In the latter case data shows that speakers tend to use either Swahili or Ndamba or mixed code depending on the language knowledge or proficiency of the other person in the conversation. This is consistent with the literature which specifies that in a bilingual situation if the other person in the conversation is not known, a speaker will use clues to determine the appropriate language to use (Baker and Jones (1998, p.52).

Respondent ME1M (50yrs) indicates that when he works in the farm he speaks Ndamba but when he works in his carpentry workshop or is engaged in other related work speaks Swahili. He states thus,

> Language that I use at work will depend on the situation, in the farm I understand well that the people I work with are fellow Ndambas, but when I am out making a chair or when I am engaged in roofing work or making a cupboard, I know I have to speak Swahili [Kukasi,ngulola na kasi yene maana kasi mfano ya kulima,ngumanya kabisa ngulima na va kabila yangu,lakini panyenda ngagole kasi ya chiti cha malimba au pengine kuezeka nyumba au kutengeneza kabati,basi lazima nywange chiswahili,kwa sababu....]

The reason given for language variation in this case is inability for the speaker to tell whether or not the other person in the conversation would know Ndamba or be proficient in Ndamba.

On the basis of available data we can draw conclusion that, first the high frequency of choice of Ndamba in traditional work activities indicates that Ndamba people tend to relate work as performance of cultural activity. Hence like for the performance of other cultural activities, people consider Ndamba as the appropriate language of use at work place.   Secondly speakers choose Ndamba in situations of traditional work like cultivation, weeding harvesting or fishing because of the awareness that such a situation customarily involves relatives, neighbors or friends, all of whom speak

Ndamba. Conversely the use of Swahili in non-traditional workplaces is implies that speakers anticipate that such situations have the potential of engaging people of other languages as well.

6.2.2.4 Language choice in government and worship domain: Speakers' language choice in the activities related to the local government and religion is regulated by the requirements provided in the country's language policy. Tanzania language policy, as it has been extensively described in Chapter Two specifies that only Swahili is allowed to be used as language of communication in conducting public and official matters. Hence Swahili is the language of choice in all activities concerning service provision, like settlement of disputes, or security issues which involved the intervention of government agencies like schools, dispensaries, primary courts etc. During my stay in the two villages I observed that in public gatherings where village matters were being discussed some speakers who were not proficient in Swahili and who tried to speak Ndamba or attempted code mixing were usually publicly reproached against doing so. In the interview data respondent ME3M (32 yrs) elucidated that as follows;

> *.....kwa sababu hata vene pavayenda pa mikutano vakuywanga zaidi chiswahili,kwa sababu pa vaywanga chiswahili pala,hata mundu pakudaa adashe swali,akudasha chindamba,vakuwomba...aaa bwana apa kwa sababu tumechanganyika hapa, kwahiyo tuywangi chiswahili* [...in the village gatherings if someone happens to ask a question in Ndamba the leaders would tell him to speak in Swahili because the gathering is a mixture comprising speakers of other languages as well.]

The prohibition to use Ndamba in formal, government matters creates unfavorable environment for language transmission to take place because it limits the opportunities for language learners to use the home language authentically. Literature provides that inability to use a minority language in official domains such as public institutions, media or as medium of instruction engenders the language to disappear from serious spaces of community life which eventually leads to a state of folklorization of the language (Fishman, 1987 cited in Crystal, 2000:82) that is the language becomes a means for only expressing irrelevant and unimportant matters of society (ibid). In this way the home language is eventually relegated into obscurity the leads to lose status and prestige.

6.2.2.5 Language choice in rituals, cultural and leisure events: Activities of this domain involve participation of many individuals who may range from close relatives in ritual activities to the entire neighborhood in the case of cultural and leisure activities. Data from both interview responses and participant observation show that rituals which

include offering of sacrifices, funerals and initiation rites usually involve family members and close relatives usually are conducted by elders. The dominant language used in performance of rituals is Ndamba. The choice of Ndamba in rituals   is partly influenced by the fact that the main performers in ritual activities are usually the old generation members who as explained in section 6.2.2.1 speak Ndamba most of the time. Another reason is that since most participants are family members and relatives, Ndamba is the natural language of choice. Thirdly it was also determined that participants usually perceive rituals as activities which involved participation of ancestral spirits which makes use of Ndamba an imperative choice. This belief is confirmed when often the elders tend to speak to the departed ancestors addressing the family's concerns to them as if they were physically present at the moment.

In traditional events which include weddings, initiation ceremonies, coming of age for girls, and payment of bride wealth, participating members are usually people who know each other including family members, relatives and close neighbors.

6.3 Language socialization experiences

It has been emphasized in the literature that children learn to speak their home language and acquire appropriate culture through interacting with competent members of their community first within the home and gradually as they start to participate the immediate neighborhood (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986). These experiences which children are exposed to, constitute what is referred to as language socialization practices, since as Schieffelin and Ochs (opp. Cit.) state, [...] "through this language socialization, children learn the behaviours that are culturally appropriate in their community" (p. 32). Depending on the various ways novices interact with competent members of their community, there are a number of strategies of fostering language into children.

This section explains patterned language instruction experiences that were observed in the natural interactions taking place among children and parents in focus group participants' homes. For the purpose of easy understanding, the strategies are classified into two broad categories; parents' instructional speech, and siblings and peers language socialization practices.

6.3.1 Parents' instructional speech

During observation visits at the homes of focus group participants', it was possible to notice various interactive activities in child-parent communication that realized language teaching properties. According to Dopke (1988), interactive activities and playful child-caring activities that take place between parents and children [...] "are perfect opportunities for language teaching" (p.103). Through these activities parents are able to perform a number of language teaching activities like; presenting themselves as verbal models for the child, clarifying language information and formal patterns, and drawing out speech from the child. The most common language instructional activities that were observed to be demonstrated in the homes of participants were; direct language instruction, self repetitions, recasts, self repairs and modeling.

6.3.1.1 Direct instructions

This home language teaching strategy was realised by parents directly instructing children on a language item or social behaviour. It involved parents explicitly telling children what to say and how to say it. Through this method both linguistic and social knowledge is imparted to children. During home visits I was able to observation on some occasions mothers using this strategy to interacted with small children.

6.3.1.1.1 Direct instruction of vocabulary

In the following example the interaction took place in the morning, involving grand mother (GM), Gabu (G, 3 yrs) and mother. Grandmother sent Gabu to fetch a cooking pot from inside his mother's house. Mother (M) is inside the house.

1. GM: *Yende kandolele chimbundi chidoko chila kunyumba kwa mawako.*	GM: Go inside your mother's house and fetch me the small cooking pot.
2. G: (***After looking for it for a while, he speaks the grandmother***). *Mbona ndichiwona ndili?*	G: I cannot see it.
3. M: *Kumbe ukusaka liki?*	M: What are you looking for?
4. GM: *Bibi akudayila chingumbi.*	GM: Grandmother wants chingumbi
5. M: (***laughs***) *Chingumbi au chimbundi, vayako vakukemaa chimbundi....cha pala chila tole..*	M: It is not chingumbi, its chimbundi. People call it chimbundi.....its there take it.
6. G: (*Chuckles, picks up the pot and runs out with it*)	

In this interaction young Gabu pronounces wrongly the word for a cooking pot. He pronounces as chingumbi instead of the correct word *chimbundi*, something the mother finds amusing. (The word Gabu pronounces 'chingumbi' means tortoise in Ndamba). In this interaction the mother directly instructs the child the correct pronunciation of the vocabulary by saying (line 5) *"It is not chingumbi, it is chimbundi. People call it chimbundi"*

Another method of direct teaching of language item was eliciting technique which was observed in Binti Undole's home. In this interaction the mother and her young daughter were in a playful situation. The language teaching interaction began by the child asking her mother to name some items, direct instruction started when the mother's turn came to ask the child to name items.   This interaction took place at Binti Undole's house hold compound between mother (M) and daughter Debora (D, 25 months). The two were seated on a mat outside the house and were in playful mood.

1. D: (*Pointing to mother's bangles*) Mama kumanya ayi liki ayi?	D: Mother do you know what these are?
2. M: Asi bangili	M: These are bangles
3. D: (*Pointing to two used torch batteries lying nearby*) asi?	D: These?
4. M: Beteri (*She then started asking the child to name things, pointing to the chills nose*). Ayi liki	M: Battery.......What's this?
5. D: (*laughs*) mbula	D: Nose
6. M: (*pointing to child's earings*) asi liki	M: What are these?
7. D: (*hesitates to give answer*) eeeeh liki....liki?	D: eeee what...what
8. M: (*mentions it to her in teasing voice*) hereni	M: Earings

In this dialogue the mother utilizes the opportunity initiated by her daughter to teach the child vocabulary by asking her names of things she knew the daughter did not know (lines 7 and 8). In this way the mother was able to instruct the meaning of different vocabulary items to the child.

6.3.1.1.2 Self repetition

Repetition as a language development strategy has been extensively investigated, especially on its contribution to second language acquisition (Tannen, 1987; Brody, 1994; Murata, 1995; Perrin, 2003). Much of the investigation on the aspect has focused on its role to accomplish social intentions of interactants in a conversation. Data from various studies has indicated that, as a conversational strategy self repetition can accomplish a number of interactional functions including; to indicate solidarity, signaling comprehension or agreement, to question or to emphasize a point (Murata, 1995; Simpson, 1994). With the exception of Duff (2000) who provided empirical evidence on the correlation between repetition and knowledge formation of the learner, there has not been much research on the link between repetition and home language socialization.

The type of self-repetition that was relevant for this study and was investigated in child-caregiver interaction was second-speaker repetition (Schnelby, 1994; Simpson, 1994). This was realized when an adult speaker repeated in a spontaneous way, a particular language aspect (pronunciation, morphology, vocabulary or sentence) produced by a child when the adult noticed that the child failed to give appropriate response or when the child's utterance was considered to be incorrect or inappropriate.

The focus of this study was on repetitions produced by parents in their interaction with children. The most common language aspect that was repeated more often in parents' conversation with children was lexical items (vocabulary); the main aim was to instruct children's pronunciation or context of use of the repeated word. An example was observed at a participant's home of a mother (M) who corrected her child's 4 (Ch) years old child utterance.

1. **Ch:** *Bibi akudaya **chingumb**i kidoko akateleke likolo*

Ch: Grandmother wants the small cooking pot to cook vegetables.

2. **M:** *Chimbundi...cha kutelekela likolo*

M: Chimbundi, for to cook vegetables.

In line 1 the child mispronounces the word cooking pot, by pronouncing ***chingumbi.*** In line 2 the mother repeats the sentence while juxtaposing the correct word ***chimbundi***.

6.3.1.1.3 Recasts

A recast is a language instruction strategy whose main intention is to provide corrective feedback to the learner (Schmidt, 1990; Sheen, 2004; Ellis & Sheen, 2006). It is an indirect method of correcting the language of a learner. In a typical recast, a listener provides a reformulation of the incorrect utterances made by a speaker. In applying a recast, Inagaki & Long (1999) observe that the expert speaker responds to the novice's incorrect utterance by [....] "providing relevant morphosyntactic information that is obligatory, but either missing or wrongly supplied in the learner's rendition while retaining its central meaning (p.11). In the context of home language learning, overall a recast occurs when an adult speaker modifies a child's speech by providing a new lexical item, syntactical structure or, semantic information (Warren & Walker, 2005).

In the literature, the concept of recasts as a language teaching method has been debated under the subject of implicit feed back and its essence as an effectual method of language teaching has been discussed by various scholars (Nelson, 1998; Wu, 2008).

Analysis of naturalistic interaction in the present study shows that caregivers, particularly mothers demonstrated recasts in two particular ways; the first involved parents repeating the utterance of the child with modification on the item that was considered erroneous or socially inappropriate; In the following interaction the mother (M) corrected a morphological error in utterance of the daughter (D) (aged 4 years). The context of the interaction was that the mother was enquiring the whereabouts of her elder daughter.

1. **M***: Yulita kayenda koo?*	M: Where has Yulia gone?
2. **D***: Kayenda kumwambo*	D: She has gone to the farms
3. **M***: Kayenda na ghani*	M: Who has she gone with?
4. **D***: Weka wake hela*	D: By herself
5. **M***: Weka yake (*emphasis*) hela*	M. By herself (*emphasis)*
6. **D***: Ahaa…weka yake hela (*giggle*)*	D: Oh… by herself (*giggle*)

In this interaction extract, the mother implicitly corrects the child language by juxtaposing the wrong word form '*wake'* pronounced by the daughter with the correct form '*yake'* (alone). The mother also uses emphasis as a signal to the child of the difference being introduced.   The giggle that the daughter produces after

repeating the correct form given by her mother indicates that the child had become aware of her mistake.

Another form of recast that was observed in mother-child interaction involved the parents correcting the children's utterances in a form of a question. This recast did not differ from the statement form of correction explained above; the only difference is that instead of a putting emphasis, the parents used a question to indicate the corrected item. In this form of recast, the caregiver repeated the utterance of the child in a form of a question.

6.3.1.1.4 Repair patterns

Another language instructional strategy observed in parent-child natural interaction involved parents spontaneously correcting children's utterances and children correcting own errors which occurred in   speech. This act is referred in language instruction literature as repair strategy. Schelegoff et al, (1977) describe repair as the act wherein interlocutors correct an error in on-going speech. In the literature, two types of repair are identified; *self-initiated* and *other-initiated* repairs. In self-initiated repair, the speaker corrects own speech error whereas in other-initiated repair the other interlocutor corrects the error made by the speaker. Although repair is essentially an interactional strategy intended to resolve communicative problems, it has also been found to contribute to natural language development of children (Candlin & Mercer, 2001).

The focus of this investigation was on *other-initiated* repair, also referred to as *other-completion* (Kasper, 1985) hinted in parent's speech directed to children. A number of cases were observed in which parents used repair strategy to rectify their young children's speech. In the following excerpt of an interaction between mother (M) and daughter Mwinga (Mw) (4years, 8 months), the mother completed her child's speech when she noted the child had difficulty expressing an idea. The context of the interaction was that the mother on coming out of the house asked the daughter where the fish monger had gone to.

1.**M:** *Mundu wa somba yula kayenda ko?*

M: Where has the fishmonger gone to?

2.**Mw***: Kayenda pala pa uyimbi….*(hesitation)

Mw: He has gone to the liquor place….(hesitation)

3.**M**: (interrupts) *Ku chilabu kula?*

M: (interrupts) To the local beer-shop?

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In this conversation the mother notices that the child has encountered difficulty in line 2 of finding the vocabulary of a place where local beer is sold. The mother interrupts the child and completes the utterance by providing the appropriate vocabulary ...*chilabu.*

6.3.2 Siblings and peers language socialization experiences

It is well known that in the home children spend more time among themselves than they do with adult caregivers. While engaged in their group interactions, children actively participate in activities that lead into their language socialization. Studies have indicated that children use a multiple communicative resources to socialize one another. These include story telling, role-plays and some make believe imitation games.

In this study children were observed when performing two interactional and socializing practices; story telling and role-plays.

6.3.2.1.1 Story telling: Story telling is an ancient genre that communities worldwide have utilised for sharing and transmitting experiences, ideas and values across generations. In recent studies story telling has increasingly been shown to be an important resource in children's language acquisition, as it can facilitate in their acquisition of conversational and discourse skills (Blum-Kulka & Snow, 2002). Story telling belongs to multiparty mode of interaction, it offers children with unique opportunities to learn language because the demands inherent in the mode are more challenging compared to those in the more common dyadic interactions, hence participation in story telling exposes children [...] "to a wide range of language varieties, different and changing genres and a variety of language usage such as irony, humour and indirectness" (Blum-Kulka & Snow, ibid: 132).

In the present study, storytelling was observed to be a popular pass time for younger children and youths in the both villages. This is expected because in the rural situation children do not have the opulence of modern media resources like TV, DVD or video players; hence stories help to provide them with entertainment.

It was noted during the observation that stories were usually told during the night, after evening meals. The main story tellers were older siblings, grandmothers or in the case of one family, the mother. Fathers were rarely seen to take active interest in storytelling. Through stories children were able to create rich context of their social context upon which their stories were based. Context creation calls for imagination on the part of

both the story teller and the listeners. Storytelling also helped children to develop their skill of attentive listening.

6.3.2.1.2 Attentiveness: One of the main features noted during story telling was that slow listeners were not tolerated. There was an unspecified rule during story telling that children were expected to be attentive so that as to be able to follow the story without asking many questions. Children who constantly asked questions as the story unfolded were often ridiculed by the other listeners. This is illustrated in the following excerpt of a story telling interaction, when the story teller (ST) is interrupted by a boy (B1) who tried to ask for clarification. Another boy (B2) expresses his annoyance by shouting down when. The story is about some animals who were trying to make a fool of another animal.

1. **ST...**_basi yuwi ghonje pasepa, dawule mlomo......daaawu yufwe tukukuponeshela fulu. Haya vayegha na migongovele yao mivili._

ST....So lie here under the tree, open up your mouth wide...and we will throw down fruits to you. They climbed the tree carrying big stones with them.

2. **ST:** _Vakukwela kumbindi vakukwela, valya fulu, valyaaa, pavalili vamalisha. Vatola ligongovele lya kwanza, vapaka fulu, vapaka fulu, vakumdangila._

ST: when the other animals had climbed up the fruit tree, they started eating fruits, when they were full they took the first stone, smeared it with fruit juice and threw it down into his mouth.

3. **B1** (interrupts) **_Vamdangila ghani, simba?_**

B1: They threw to who, lion?

4. **B2: _Matu!... ukutuyaghamisha_**!

B2: Quiet... you are confusing us!

5. **ST:** (continues with the story) _vatola ligongovele lya pili vapaka fulu, vapaka fulu vakumdangila......_

ST: They took the second stone, smeared it with fruit juice; and again threw it down into his mouth.......

This excerpt shows that apart from helping children to improve their literary competence story telling also functions as a means of training them in listening skills. When story telling is underway, listeners are not expected to ask questions, a child who does so shows that he or she is not attentive.

6.3.2.1.3 Vocabulary: Story telling also provided opportunity for children, particularly the younger ones to learn vocabulary, grammatical structures and stylistic conventions from older ones. In this study it was observed that children used storytelling to correct language mistakes. In the following interaction, the story teller (ST) used a Swahili word "bunduki" for gun instead of the Ndamba word "huti". In this interaction one of the listeners L1 corrects the story teller by telling him the right word for 'gun'. Another

listener (L2) seems to suggest that the correction is unnecessary, he says "It is ok, that is Swahili" by which he implies that the correction is not necessary as everyone understands the Swahili word.

1. **ST**:....*Ndefu kayenda mwanja wake, kumbele kuno moyo kacha haa ayu kanekela nenga findu fyondafi na nenga nahela mapesa, nguyenda kughula mbati mapesa. Kayanza kughula findu fila.Kayanza minindi…..yoonda kamalila, mighuva….yoonda, kila chindu, nyumba yonda mbulete kabisa. Ndefu kekalaako majuva vatangili, kawuya. Kufika pala kawona mali syake syonda kwahela, kamdasha moyo mali syangu siva koo? Moyo kahela jibu.Ndefu kadeta lazima ulipi mali syangu katola bunduki yaki kadaya kumguma*….(interruption)

ST:...When Beard had left, Heart said to himself, I have no money, I will sell the produce and make some money. So he started selling Beard's products, he sold cassava...he sold sugarcane….., he sold everything, until the house was empty. After many weeks Beard returned to his house. Upon entering his house he was surprised, all the produce was gone. He asked Heart where is all my produce? Heart had no answer. Beard got very angry; he said you have to pay back my produce. He took his gun intending to shoot at Beard....

2. **L1**: *Kwanza* **bunduki***… na vayako vakema* **huti**..

L1: Not *bunduki*...they say *huti*

3. **L2**: (irritated by interruption) *Sawa tu…..si kwa Kiswahili*

L2: It is ok, (there is no problem) that is Swahili

4. **ST**: *Sawa*

ST: It's ok

ST: (continues with story) *…moyo kuwona naha kayanza kutuva mbiyo, mbiyo……*

ST: On seeing that, Beard started to run Away as fast as he could......

This interaction shows how through use of story telling children are able to teach vocabulary to one another.

6.4 Relative frequency of Ndamba use in the home and neighborhood

The frequency of Ndamba use was determined by counting the number of interactions in which the focus group families respondents spoke Ndamba in the home and outside on any particular day, during the period of time that I was with them. It was found that respondents in all families tended to speak Ndamba more frequently when they were at home than outside the home.

6.4.1 Increased Ndamba choice: In the home the respondents tended to choose Ndamba more when interacting with their spouses, older generation members, or with close relatives like sister, brother, aunt, cousin etc. High frequency of home language use in the home has a positive effect on language transmission because it is likely to make children become proficient in the language and promote positive attitudes toward it. High frequency of Ndamba use was also observed when the respondents were at traditional workplaces, like farming, fishing or harvesting or when they were performing traditional activities like, dances or rituals. Such was the case because performance of traditional work and cultural activities most often involved relatives, friends or close acquaintances.

6.4.2 Decreased Ndamba choice: The frequency of using Ndamba decreased when the respondents were in neighborhood spaces like market, shop, drinking places. When they were in these places the respondents' frequency of speaking Ndamba was reduced. The most likely explanation for this tendency is that these places normally involved speakers of other mother languages. Hence the likelihood for an individual to choose Ndamba in the neighborhood was conditioned by who the other interlocutors were. Respondents tended to choose Ndamba only when the other interlocutors were people whom they were acquainted to, like friends, age mates, and workmates.

6.5 Language variation in use in social contexts

Observation of language variation in the social context (also called code-switching) of Ndamba speakers focused on describing participants' motivations and interactional consequences of language choice in natural interactions. The purpose was to gain an understanding of the social-pragmatic implication applying to the speakers' conversational situations. This facilitated an understanding of the underlying communicative intent of the interactional activities that occurred between interactants. In order to grasp the pragmatic and functional intent of contextual language variation, this study looked at the phenomenon of code-switching beyond the simplistic model that relates code choice to intermediate external social factors instead it examined language used naturally by speakers as discourse strategies (ref: Alfonzetti, 1998). To achieve this end the study focused on noting and analysing the structure of and functions expressed by code switches between Ndamba and Swahili.

Judging from the responses realised by participants to ongoing interaction events, the study confirmed established principle that language variation was used as a symbol- a means for creating social meaning. In keeping with Myers-Scotton (1993) it was

determined that among the various motivations for speakers to undertake code variation, the main one was need to negotiate social identity. In the case of this study speakers realised social identity by indicating social distance and used the following ways to index it (i) show of authoritativeness (ii) show of knowledgeableness and expertise (iii) addition of seriousness or emphasis on a claim. Samples of spontaneous conversation incidents shown below demonstrate the various realizations of this particular social pragmatic relation.

6.5.1 Show of Authoritativeness

This interaction took place at the compound of Bwana Changupa's home. Changupa and a guest were talking on the veranda; a number of children were playing close to the veranda, two boys were quarrelling and interfering with the elders' conversation. Changupa was irritated and ordered them to move away. When the children seemed not to heed his request, he ordered them to leave using Swahili

1. **Changupa:** (to the children) *Tuvayenu matu pa. Tukotoo kwipikanisha, muwuke po.*

1.**Changupa:** (to the children) You are making noise, we can't hear one another, move away.

2. **Child1:** *Si ayu, katola manyanga vangu...lete pa.*

2.**Child1:** This one has taken my manyanga (musical instrument)...give it back.

3. **Child 2:** (teasing) *kwani vako veneva... na va Simon.*

3.**Child 2:** They are not yours....they belong to Simon.

4. **Changupa:** (raised voice) **_Nimesema mtoke hapa._**

4.**Changupa:** I have said all of you move out of here.

This excerpt shows that Changupa upon noting that the children did not follow his order (given earlier on in Ndamba) requiring them to move away switches to Swahili (line 4) as an expression of anger or intention to enforce his order and express authority.

Another example of use of language variation to express anger and authority is shown in an interaction involving two brothers at Hango's home SH (14yrs) and MH (9 yrs) who were engaged in making a pair of catapults. SH is the expert in

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catapult making, he asks MH to assist in holding the rubber and pull while he tying them fast.

1. **SH:** Kole apa…aaa…apa,…alafu nyulumbule . (MH *does what he is told to do*). Ndicha kole halafu nyulumbule naha.	1. **SH:** Hold here….no, not there…here and the pull. I have said hold and then pull them like this.
2. **MH:** Mbona ngolela tayali?	2. **MH:** I am already holding as you have said
3. **SH:** (*in raised voice*) <u>**Nimesema vuta kwa nguvu….husikii?**</u>	3. **SH:** (*in raised voice*) I have said pull hard…don't you hear properly?

By switching to Swahili, (in line 3) SH does not make new reference meaning, he is simply restating what he had already said before, but the change of code is effected surely for the purpose of adding force to what he had said earlier on in Ndamba.

6.5.2 Knowledgeableness and expertise

Language variation to indicate knowledgeableness or expertise was realized by those individuals who were engaged in various communities of practice like in this case, a fishmonger. Some men also realised this phenomenon when they intended to show air of knowledgeableness or modernity. Six of the recorded conversation interactions had this function. The following excerpt presents a conversation that took place in the morning between Binti Danda (BD) and a fishmonger (FM).

1. **BD:** *Leke tulole….mbeleghe muvavele?*	1. **BD:** Let's see the carry basket…do you have tilapia in there?
2. **FM:** *Aa…vamalika, nakavele na vadoko hela nalelo…. **mbona mwezi sasa uko juu…**pa uyaghamika eee, apo mbeleghe akupatikana.*	2. **FM:** Oh no….they are finished, I had very few of them today….<u>the moon is high up now</u>… when it gets dark ….yes, then it possible to catch tilapia.

In line 2, the fishmonger switches intersententially to Swahili when he is telling BD the reason why there is little catch of tilapia fish during that particular time of the month. The switch to Swahili here is indicative of fishmonger's intention to present an impression of knowledgeableness.

Another example representing this category of social pragmatic meaning is shown in a conversation between Bwana Hango (BH) and a male friend (F). The two were discussing the poor transport condition in their area when using railway transport run by the

Tanzania-Zambia railways. When trying to suggest a solution to the problem (F) switches from Ndamba to Swahili (in lines 2 and 3, bold font). Language switch of this nature signifies that the speaker intended to convey additional meaning beyond that referred by linguistic sign.

1. **F:** *Masikova pa udaya kuyenda mwanja wa teleni, lasima mbaka uwonje pa Chita...dahili yavaa nahau ha....ukufika pala lumihi ukupata tikiti yako, masikova yiva wuwu haa.*

2. **BH**: *Kuchau kudesi.....lisikulimo tuveta pala kalibu siku ndatu. mala vache teleni, mabeheva madoko, ya dahili yagoboka mala leli ihalibika... mala**.....haieleweki kabisa.***

3. **F**: *Kwa luhala lwangulu, ne mona **dawa yake ni kubinafusisha tu....iwe mali ya mtu binafsi basi**. Mana nahau vandu vakuvika muhimu haa ...mbona mali ya silikali?*

1. **F:** Nowadays if one intends to travel by train one must spend a night at Chita. In the past it was not like this...you would arrive there in the evening and get your ticket right away....not these days.

BH : You are right......On one occasion we had to stay there for three days.They would tell us... there is shortage of wagons or the rails are defective or... its mind boggling indeed

3. F: In my opinion the <u>solution is just to privatize the company...make it private property.</u> Because at present employees are not keen...because it is government property.

The probable motivation for F to switch to Swahili in the final statement in transaction 3 is to impress the other interlocutor that he could contribute a solution to a big social problem affecting the community. Furthermore in Tanzania's current political context individuals who think of private ownership of property consider themselves to be liberal minded and hence more progressive than the majority who still believe in the past political ideologies of communal ownership. This could be another meaning F intended to convey to the other speaker.

6.5.3 Adding seriousness or emphasis on a claim

Another social meaning that speakers were observed to express through language variation concerned adding seriousness and emphasis on a claim. In this discourse function, language alternation served to indicate to the listener information that the speaker intended him or her should pay more attention to. Speakers employed this strategy when they intended to highlight information they considered to be of more

importance to the undergoing interaction. Often the realization of this function was accompanied with the speaker raising his or her voice. The following excerpts of recorded conversations serve to demonstrate this type of communicative effect.

In the following conversation Binti Danda (BD) was talking to a neighbor (BM) about village women being required to attend health care seminars conducted by child care officials. BM was a member of the village health committee hence more informed about the program.

1. BD: *Vacha wuliwuli habali ya vene mafundishoyo.*

1. BD: What did they say about the training?

2. BM: *Vacha manesi vakwisa pa kijiji mala ndatu kila lijuma. Vakudaya vamama vondavafiki, vayifundishi kutunza vana.*

2. BM: They say the nurses will come to the village three times a week. They want all women to attend the meeting.

3. BD: *Mani vayende vakamwali, na vagogolo nga yufwi, vakutuhimulila chindu liki?*

3. BD: I think it would be appropriate for young mothers; old mothers like us, what is it they are going to tell us.

4. BM: *Vakamwali weka haa....vacha* **wanawake wote wanaonyonyesha.......** *kumbe yuwe ukuyongesha ndili?*

4. BM: Not only young mothers...they said <u>all breast feeding women</u>....aren't you breast feeding?

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The switch to Swahili by BM in exchange (line 4) is made for the purpose of adding emphasis to what she had said earlier and also to counter the misinterpretation by BD concerning the category of women who were supposed to attend the seminar. By restating the category of women and saying it in a language that is socially associated with power BM appears to be adding seriousness and emphasis to the claim.

6.6 Language social networks

A further dimension that had a significant influence on language choice in the home and immediate neighborhood was related to social relationships existing among the speakers. Observation of language use reveals that individuals who are intimate, interact frequently, or have high intensity of interactions like; spouses, relatives, friends or close neighbors dominantly communicate using Ndamba. More precisely data reveals that in the home, Ndamba is the language of intimate family communication, used with spouse and siblings; it is the preferred language in interactions between husband and wife; and parents and children.

A similar language preference tendency was observed when relatives from distant places like; sisters, brothers, uncles etc. paid visit the focus group families, they dominantly chose Ndamba as language of communication.
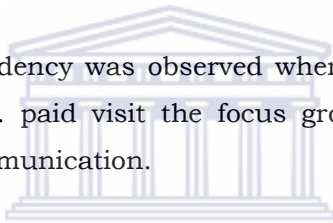
These findings are consistent with the existing body of literature which shows that speakers of low status languages have a tendency of speaking a vernacular variety to individuals whom they maintained regular and influential relationships with. Language speakers' social networks of this nature are a common phenomenon in rural village situations and often act as norm-enforcement mechanisms; they impose various sorts of behavioural norms, like dress, conduct or use of language on their members (Mesthrie, 2000). Commenting on a similar situation observed among speakers of minority Buang language in Papua New Guinea, Sankoff (1972, quoted in Foley, 1997) noted, [...] "Buang represents an identification with the people, shows that the speaker considers himself as part of the local community and accepted as such" (p.334). Language networks stress a sense of solidarity among speakers and impose normative influence on the language habits of the members. By encouraging and demanding loyalty of its members on the use of a local variety, language networks [...] "function as conservative force for the maintenance of the vernacular forms; a break-up of the traditional network patterns can initiate linguistic change" (Rajend Mesthrie, opp.cit:123)

The members of families who were observed in the present study can be described to constitute close-knit networks; as their relationships with other group members were both

dense; involving own family members, relatives, intimate friends', and close neighbors and multiplex; as the various members in the networks were also related to one another in a number of different roles; as workmates, drink mates or fellow worshipers of the local church or mosque, etc.

The view that sees families as a midpoint of close-knit networks is compellingly expounded by Bott (1971) who attributes this situation to the fact that family members live surrounded by the kin of both spouses and these kin are therefore neighbours, friends, and workmates. As a result of this close and multidimensional relationship family members were compelled to maintain attachment (p. xviii).

6.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented research results relating to community's current language use patterns. Speaker's language use habits have been examined from a number of language expressions including language choice patterns. It has been shown that one way speakers realize their language habit is through the choices that they make out of the existing language varieties. Other aspects of language use that have been examined are; relative frequency of using existing languages in the home and neighborhood, language variation in use in social contexts, and speech social networks.

The findings have shown distinct variation in language choice patterns in the community with Swahili being dominantly chosen as means of communication in the neighborhood and Ndamba used more frequently in the home for communication among family members than Swahili. Regarding frequency of language use, a pattern was very similar to that of language choice; data reveals that Swahili is more frequently preferred as a means of communication in the neighborhood and less so in the home environment.

These patterns of language choice and frequency of use observed among the speakers imply that the community may achieve only partial language transmission. It may not be able to support it for a long run because studies have shown that home transmission alone is not enough as it is capable of only laying down what Giollagain & Mac Donnacha (2008) refer to the "initial acquisitional framework". The process of language acquisition can only be completed when children participate "in the social and institutional networks of the community" (ibid). Children need to see language being used in the wider community for them to learn authentic uses of home language. Reduced choice and frequency of use of Ndamba in the wider community is an indication that the language is only being partially transmitted in the community (Giollagain & Mac Donnacha, ibid.).

With regard to language socialization practices, findings have shown that sufficient activities are available in the home that facilitate language transmission. Besides interactional routines taking place between parents and children other language socialization strategies that support language transmission are; direct instruction, self-repetitions, recasts, modeling, and self repairs. Children's own interaction among themselves was significant for language transmission. Consistent with Cablitz (2006) it is known that through child plays and different sorts of games and activities, children are able to learn the rules and values of society. In the context of the present study, children's activities that were seen to supplement language transmission mechanisms in the home were; story-telling and singsong plays. Overall we may conclude that the aspect of language socialization experiences in this study provides strong support for language transmission to take place.

With regard to the aspect of speakers' language variation in use in social contexts, data has shown that speakers' variation of language during interaction was socially motivated and carried social meaning. Cases have been presented showing where speakers switched language when they intended to signify power, status, knowledgeability or intimacy. What is noteworthy here is the tendency for speakers to switch to Swahili when negotiating authority and Ndamba when expressing solidarity and intimacy. These language variation patterns manifest underlying perceptions that community members have regarding the status and prestige of the two languages. Regarding language social network patterns of language use, data has shown that Ndamba was the natural language of choice where the interlocutors were relatives, close neighbors or intimate friends. The use of Swahili on the other hand was the norm where the interlocutors were not intimately related. This tendency substantially supports language transmission as the choice of home language among intimately related individuals induces informal pressures among parents to use and transmit the home language to their descendants. This observation draws credence from Milroy & Milroy's (1985) language social network theory which observes that [...] "varieties of language are subject to maintenance through pressure exerted by informal ties of kin and friendship" (p.57).

Chapter Seven

TOWARD AN INTEGRATED CONCEPTUAL MODEL FOR LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION

"A conceptual model emphasizes what the participant knows at a point in time, and is not necessarily right or wrong, it is a representation of the participant's thinking about the phenomenon under study" (Dresner & Elser's, 2009: 4).

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study was to determine how parents' language use patterns and attitudes impact on their bid to transfer community's language to their descendants. One objective of the investigation was to use the results as basis for developing an effectual conceptual model for describing language transmission. In this chapter an attempt is made to propose a conceptual model that presents in a concise but comprehensive way the essential elements and underlying dynamics that apply in the intergenerational transmission of a minority language in a bilingual situation. It is an endeavor to systematize the fundamental factors that influence language transfer. The goal is to put forward a unified representation of the major components that impact on cross-generation transfer of a minority language faced with the danger of being annihilated by a competitor that is stronger and has wider influence. The importance of having a conceptual framework in a study is that it helps to capture the essential components of a phenomenon of study. In the case of the present study, a comprehensive model is anticipated to provide an integrated overview of the aspects that describe minority language transfer.

The relevance of evolving a conceptual model for this study arises from the fact that despite a number of studies having been conducted to describe language transmission, few have sought to present in an integrative way the essential elements and relationships involved in influencing intergenerational language transmission. This study attempts in a small way to propose a model that shows the system and interrelationships of the elements involved in realizing intergenerational language transfer in a bilingual situation.

7.2 Conceptual model notion

The notion of conceptual model generally refers to some kind of representation of a natural feature or process by portraying its underlying basic components. Some scholars look at it as a mode of describing the structure or practice of a phenomenon under study in form of simplified presentation of its fundamental components.

Scholars from various persuasions have described the concept of conceptual model, most of them however tend to agree that a conceptual model essentially specifies the fundamental elements or components and associated relationships of a particular phenomenon. Burns &

Grove (2008) conceive it as [...] "a set of highly abstract, related constructs that broadly explains a phenomenon of interest, expresses assumptions, and reflects a philosophical stance" (p.128). Likewise the conceptual model being proposed presents an abstraction of the categories of factors that influence language transmission. Weil (1997) on the other hand portrays it as a mental picture that shows how something is composed of or works. It is a way of putting together aspects in a manner that shows how they are related. Reigeluth (1983) on the other hand perceives it as a manner of presenting a detailed description of essential components of a certain condition or process. A similar view is expressed by Houser (2008) who outlines a conceptual model as a description of a set of factors and relationships that impact on a particular target condition.

Conceptual modeling is a widely used form of presenting information in most branches of science, often it has been realized in an implicit way. Its significance to scientific research is that it provides organization for thinking, observing and interpreting the object of study (Brockopp & Tolsma, 2003). In the present study the notion of a conceptual model is used to denote both visual and descriptive realization of my personal conceptualization of the features of language transmission in a minority language situation. It is based on Dresner & Elser's (2009) presumption that characterizes a conceptual model as both visual and descriptive representation of an individual's perception and understanding about the features of a phenomenon they define the concept as follows;

> [...] A conceptual model is a visual summary with an accompanying explanation of the basic features of the system under study that explain a person's thinking about a phenomenon....It is both a simplification of a complex system and an expression of the modeler's understanding. Since it emphasizes what the participant knows at a point in time, and is not necessarily right or wrong, it is a representation of the participant's thinking about the phenomenon under study (p.4).

To recapitulate the description of a conceptual model, it is essential to conceptualize it as a kind of a mental image or abstraction of the researcher's personal understanding about the phenomenon or systems of the process under study.

7.3 PROPOSED LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION CONCEPTUAL MODEL

The proposed conceptual model specifies determinant factors for minority language transmission. Language transmission was described in Chapter two as being concerned with the process which makes it possible for language communities to transmit language from one generation to the next through the normal familial interactions of parents and children (and

grandparents, grandchildren, etc) (Hans-Jurgen Sasse, 1992; Crisp, 2005). However the long interest in the subject notwithstanding, few studies have ever come up with a cohesive model designed to describe important determinant factors of family language transmission which would be used to explain or predict situations for language transmission to occur.

The model that is proposed in the present study is not an entirely novel invention; in formulating it I have drawn inspiration from a wide range of existing theories on language maintenance. The main ideas derive from concepts that have originally been used in previous important studies. What is novel however about it is that the model endeavors to blend these hitherto distinct concepts and issues into an integrated conceptual representation. The ideas and concepts used to form this model have derived from a number of sources; the foremost source is the data gathered from the field. This constitutes the backbone of the model's subject matter. Moreover ideas adapted from literature review and theoretical frameworks have also contributed to the ultimate content of the model.

Drawing from the sources mentioned above, language transmission is perceived to be a complex process that is determined by the interaction of three fundamental elements which correlate with the assumptions that it;

(i) takes place in a particular language environment, the term environment here denotes more than merely the society which speaks the particular language, it takes aboard both the physical and psychological circumstances in which the language functions. This view is based on Haugen's (1972) original theorization that [...] "language interacts with is environment" (p. 325).

(ii) (ii) partakes to equip children with the necessary skills for appropriate language performance in the community. Through interaction with more expert members of the community (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986) and through their own creative language performance (Corsaro, 1997), children manage to gain knowledge of and capability to perform in accordance with [...] "the social and cultural structures, processes, activities, understandings and ideologies that give meaning and identity to a community" (Schieffelin & Ochs 1996:40).

(iii) depends for its vitality and survival on the extent and strength of the social network of language users and their capacity to express solidarity and group identity. For speakers of a low status language, group identity and local loyalty are important constraint values for achievement of stable language use and possible effectual transmission.

7.3.1 Components of the proposed integrated conceptual model

The components of the proposed model are based on the assumptions described above in connection with language transmission. They represent three fundamental factors that influence minority language transmission. In respect of the present study, language transmission can be explained and predicted with respect of the status of three main factors; (i) language environment (ii) language socialization practices, and (iii) the set of social connections or networks among the speakers. It is necessary to note that the relationship among these components is one of interdependence rather than hierarchy as each one plays a distinctive role in facilitating language transmission. As mentioned beforehand, the notions upon which the components are based are not novel inventions, rather they are an adaption of the following frameworks (i) language ecology as propounded by among others, (Haugen,1972; Haarmann, 1986) (ii) language socialization theory as advocated by Schieffelin & Ochs (1986); Ochs, (1988); Schieffelin (1990) and (iii) language social network framework promoted by Milroy (1990). The nature of these theories and frameworks has been dealt in more detail in Chapter Three which dealt with the review of literature and theoretical framework.

The features of each of the model's components and their role in language transmission are explicated in brief in this section.

7.4.1.1 Language Environment Component

The language environment component of the model correlates the concept of language ecology as expounded in (Haugen, 1987; Haugen & Dil, 1972). It concerns language as it exists and used in social context, as noted in Haarmann's (1986) description;

> [...] Language ecology is primarily concerned with language in its fundamental forms of existence ....(and) corresponds to the concepts of language behavior of the individual speaker, the role of language in in-group relations, the functional range of language(s) in a given society and language politics in a given state (p.6).

Drawing from this view, language environment refers to the society that uses it as one of its means of communication. The main function that language caters for in its environment is to facilitate interaction of the users between one another and with their social context. This implies that language environment in part consists of a psychological variable, which alludes to the perceptions that speakers have about the status of the particular language in respect of other languages in the community, and a socio-political variable which denotes language's [...] "interaction with society in which it functions as a medium of communication" (Haugen & Dil, 1972: 325). The variables of the model proposed in the present study differ with Haarmann's (1986) model which suggests seven language ecology variables, namely; ethnodemographic,

ethnosociological, ethnocultural, ethnpsychological, interactional, and ethnolinguistic (Haarmann, 1986:11-16). In the proposed model, language environment encompasses two variables; psychological environment and socio-political environment. They are described and visualized below.

7.4.1.1.1 Psychological environment variable: The psychological environment variable refers to community's speech behavior, this corresponds to Haarmann's (1986) notion of ethnpsychological set of variables which he describes as […] a set of filters which control the nature of interaction and relate to the ways in which the group views both its own ethnic identity and also that of contact groups" (Chriost, 2003:35). Literature identifies two language behavioral conditions which influence community's proclivity to pass on language to the next generation; i.e. language attitude and language use patterns. Considering the competitive nature of languages in their ecology, two conditions are necessary for the community to successfully pass on language to the next generation; the first is that existing speakers must possess accommodating attitudes toward their language; and the second is that speakers should use the language on regular basis with the children so as to allow natural language acquisition to occur (Sasse, 1992). The effects of both language attitudes and uninterrupted language use are explained here below.
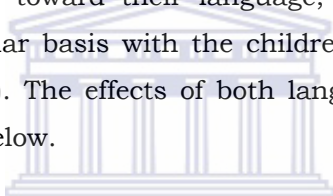
7.4.1.1.1.1 Significance of language attitudes in language transmission: Studies have affirmatively established that linguistic beliefs held by parents and transmitted in home interaction are important precursors for language maintenance and transmission (Gardner, 1985; Baker, 1992). This is because linguistic attitudes are one way parents socialize their children on the importance of community language. Batibo (2005) in a study of language attitudes among Khoesan speakers of Manxotae and Nata in Botswana noted that speakers' attitudes towards their language were a key factor to language maintenance and transmission. He noted that development of negative attitudes among Khoesan parents in these communities resulted into gradual decline or complete cessation of transmission of home language as the younger generation became more proficient in Setswana, the national language and widely used variety (Batibo, 2008).

Parental attitudes are thus a necessary factor towards influencing children's language acquisition and retention. As the referred study reveals parents decide to transfer language to their children when they find it desirable for future needs of their children.

7.4.1.1.1.2 Implication of language use pattern to language transmission

Language use in a bilingual community refers to dominance or frequency of choice of one variety rather than another in a particular situation. Literature increasingly indicates that

language transmission in the home correlates with parents' decision to use the home language when speaking to children or in their vicinity (Coulmas, 2005). Empirical evidence indicates that parent's use of home language at home directly impacts on intergenerational language transfer. Study findings show that where parents have decided to use the home language as the primary language of parent-child communication, they have been able to successfully pass it on to their descendants. According to Coulmas (opp. cit) frequency of home language use in the home provides more language input to children's language learning. Moreover it also presents them with modeling of appropriate behavior of language use.

7.4.1.1.2 The socio-political milieu variable

The socio-political milieu refers to extra linguistic context that impacts on the community's language use pattern. The existing body of literature suggests that besides the speaker oriented, everyday, interactive practices which are realized in the form of language attitudes and use patterns, language transfer across generations depends upon broader socio-political circumstances of the language. Hans-Jurgen Sasse (1992) refers to socio-political aspects of language as the external setting of language. According to Sasse (ibid.) these aspects have significant impact on influencing language sustainability hence need to be [...] "carefully taken into account because they constitute the trigger for the entire process" (p.10).

Aspects of the sociological environment which determine whether a community can transmit or give up home language include cultural, ethnohistorical, economic etc. processes that prevail in the community. The sociological environment is very important for language transmission as it has a strong impact on the language behavior of the community (Sasse, 1992).

7.4.1.2 Language socialization experiences component

The notion of language socialization practices derives from the language socialization framework (Schieffelin & Ochs (1986); Ochs, (1998); Schieffelin (1990); Heath, (1983); Kulick, (1992). Consistent with the original articulation, the term refers in this model to the practices by which children acquire the community's language and cultural competences through interaction with more adept members of the community (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986.). Literature provides that language socialization is a social practice wherein children acquire language in the home and neighborhood through participation in naturally occurring interactions with other community members. To clarify the social nature of language transmission, Schieffelin & Ochs (1983) contend as follows;

[...] Through participation as audience, addressee, and/or 'speaker' the infant develops a range of skills, intuitions, and knowledge enabling him or her to communicate in culturally preferred ways (p.129).

Defined as [...] "socialization though language and socialization to use language" (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986:163), the term language socialization denotes a process that makes it possible for the child to acquire both community's language and sociocultural knowledge. in addition children's interaction with the other community members help them to internalize community values to foster, leading to their forming of appropriate identities as Park & King (2003) observe;

[...] through these naturally occurring language socialization experiences, children construct their identity in relation to others. As children acquire their mother tongue at home, they also learn who they are and how they should behave (p.2).

Language socialization research indicates that there are not only different caregiver-child interaction patterns across cultures (Fischer, 1970; Clyne, 1985) but that a wide range of strategies are deployed in the home that enable children to acquire community language and cultural knowledge.

7.4.1.2.1 Language socialization experiences Contemporary language socialization scholarship recognizes two dimensions of socializing children into the linguistic and sociocultural values of the community. The dominant way has been to see it as being achieved by means of modeling where the role of the caregiver is imperative. Adults in their role as caregivers have been considered a crucial determining factor in the language socialization of the child (Demuth, 1986; Ochs, 1982; Schieffelin, Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1986), as Schieffelin & Ochs (1986) succinctly explain;

[...] caregivers may socialize infants and young children into a particular way of the child-caregiver relationship by engaging them in numerous repetitions of a particular turn-taking pattern. Caregivers may also involve the child in triadic and other multiparty turn-taking, and in so doing socialize the child into understandings of diverse and complex relationships (p.171).

Various methods are used to socialize children through caregiver-child interaction, the most common ones include; language teaching strategies, use of various kinds of routines, [...] "as well as repetitions, exercise games, corrections and other types of metacommunication, especially discussions about word meaning.... and a strong tendency to assist and encourage

children in their own efforts to improve their linguistic skill" (Hans-Jurgen Sasse, 1992:13). On a number of occasions parents take measures of directly instructing language aspects to the young children, they accomplish this by correcting pronunciation, grammar or meaning of their children's constructions. (Schriffin, Tannen, Hamilton, 2003).

Aside from caregiver-child interaction, language socialization studies have increasingly revealed that children become socialized to language and social norms through their own initiative as social agents. In this approach children are seen as being actively and creatively engaged in producing their own unique children's cultures - popularly called 'peer cultures'. They achieve this through their ability to select on and interpret messages from adults (Corsaro, 1997). The role of peer cultures in language socialization is further spelled out by Adler & Adler (1998) who explicate that;

> [...] Children's peer groups create their own culture by selecting and rejecting various aspects of adult culture and making cultural innovations of their own (p.206).

It is necessary to note that peer cultures not only reproduce adult experiences, in most cases children have used their creativity to transform adult culture to achieve self independence and control of their environment (Adler & Adler, ibid.)

Studies in child-centered communication have revealed a number of activities that children perform when creating peer culture, these include, role-plays, pretend play routines, chit-chat, and arguments; other activities are games, and teasing rituals (Schriffin, Tannen, Hamilton, 2003).

7.4.1.3 Set of social speech connections

The social speech connections component is based on Milroy's (1980) language network framework. It denotes specific language linkages that pertain among speakers who share with other members of the community a set of speaking rules. Speech connections are among community's crucial social factors that help society to defy language change and maintain standards, by extension they are a significant predicting factor for prospects of language transmission in the community.

Borrowing a leaf from the social network theory (Milroy, 1980; 1987 and Milroy & Milroy, 1985) social speech connections can be described as links or patterns of contacts or interactions that exist between individuals and provide them a framework for helping each other in solving day to day problems they encounter in the society (Coates, 1998).It is a hub to which members depend on for obtaining moral, emotional and practical support. In this way social speech

connections act as a protective measure to social groups; they provide their members a sense of belonging and security (Milroy & Milroy, 1985).

Apart from offering moral support and protection to group members, social speech connections, like social networks constrain the behavior of individuals in the group. For members to enjoy moral and emotional support of the group they have to follow the behavior norms of the group. As regards to language use, social speech connections operate as norm reinforcement mechanism that binds its members to norms acceptable to the speech community (Milroy, 1987).

Modeling on language network framework, social speech connections are measured along the dimensions of 'density' and 'multiplicity' of ties resulting into *dense connections* and *multiplex connections*. Speech connections are described as dense when members of the group are engaged in frequent interactions, or are intimately related (Myers-Scotton, 2006), like in the case of family members or close friends. Multiplex connections involve intensive engagement of its members in a multiple of engagements where individuals in a group are linked to each other in various kinds of connections (Myers-Scotton, ibid).

The two dimensions of speech ties, density and multiplexity determine the strength of a language community in terms of the intensity and magnitude of connections among speakers.

7.4.1.3.1 Implication of social speech connections to language transmission: Social speech connections are a useful tool for understanding social mechanisms at work within minority language groups. They constitute fundamental means that provide stability and continuity of minority languages. Social connections existing among speakers help communities to withstand pressure brought to bear by institutionalized languages. They constitute counter forces inherent within low status groups which covertly and informally offer resistance to influences that threaten the existence of their languages (Milroy & Milroy, 1985). The mechanisms are realized in the form of force that is entrenched in group cultural loyalties, and ethnic identities. These kinds of forces compel language speakers not only to use their languages on day to day basis but also to maintain and pass them on to their descendants.

7.4.2 A visual presentation of the proposed integrated conceptual model of language transmission

The purpose of making visual presentation of a model is to render the model's description straightforward and easy to understand.
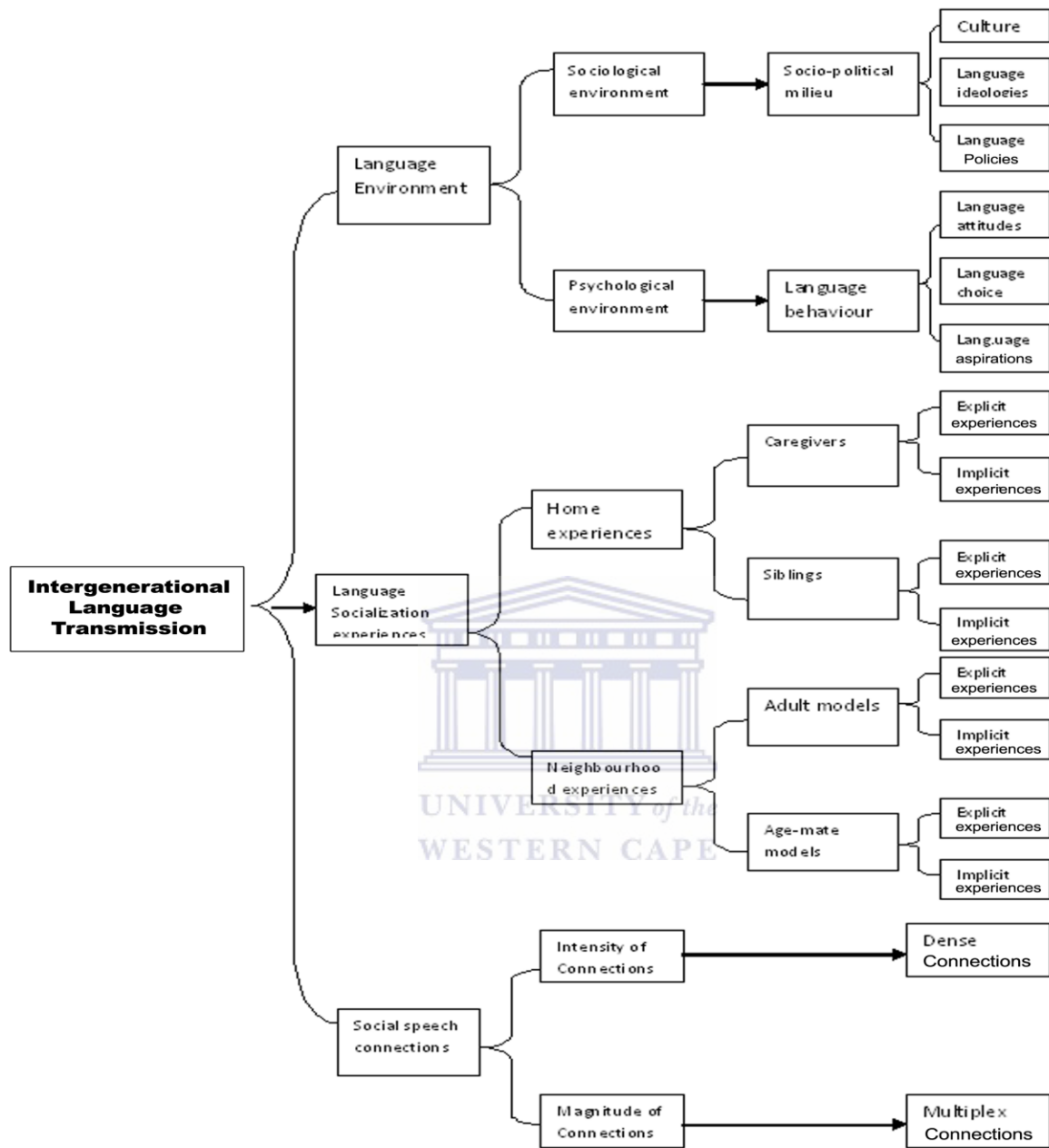
Figure 8.1 Proposed integrated conceptual model of language transmission

7.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has sought to present a conceptual model of language transmission in the context of a low status language. The essence of providing a conceptual model for any study is that it offers a simplification of the otherwise complex concepts of a natural phenomenon or process under study. Language transmission was described as a process concerned with the diffusion of linguistic habits from one generation to the next through community level mechanism of normal familial interactions of parents and children (and grandparents, grandchildren, etc). The means that are used to shore up continuity and sustenance of minority languages differ from those which are used by dominant national varieties as the former do not enjoy the advantages of official enforcement services provided through legislation and use of public channels such as education and public broadcast media. Minority languages depend on capacities from within their communities for their sustainability.

A constructive conceptual model for predicting language transmission has been proposed. The model is made up of three components which present the main determinant factors for language transmission. They include language environment component which accounts for the context which influences language use in the community; language use is the basis of language transmission. The second component is language socialization experiences which explains practices conducted in the home and the community which facilitate children to acquire language and cultural knowledge. The third component is the social speech connections aspect. This accounts for the intensity and magnitude of relations that exist among language speakers. The scale of social connection among members of a language community is a strong predictor of the community's potential to transmit their language to the next generation. The chapter ends by furnishing a visual representation of the model.

<center>**Chapter Eight**</center>

<center>**SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY**</center>

[...] "Linguistic attitude and linguistic usage mutually influence each other. A positive attitude towards a language may increase its use and can result in the maintenance of that language....an unfavourable or negative attitude can hinder the diffusion and vitality of a language and may result in its abandonment and loss" (Choi, 2003:82).

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In the present chapter conclusions of findings of the study, their implications for theory, language policy and general practice of minority language maintenance in Tanzania and recommendations are discussed. Using psychosocial perspective the study sought to describe the micro-level dynamics that determine cross-generation language transfer among Ndamba speakers. The focus of the study was parents' language attitudes and habitual language use patterns. Consistent with most previous studies, the present study has determined that speakers' language attitudes and habitual language choice patterns are crucial for language transmission, as the two aspects constitute an important part of language's ecology. Failure to realize them effectively leads to disruption of the environment that supports language to thrive.

The chapter is divided into three parts; the first part provides a summary of the study, the second describes the implications for theoretical traditions and policy; and the third part presents recommendations of the study.

8.2 Summary of the study

Prompted by the understanding that Ndamba language speakers were able to preserve and transmit their language through generations despite restrictive institutional regulations and unsupportive policies, the study sought to investigate micro-social factors that facilitated the community to maintain their home language and pass it on to the descendants. Its main focus was to examine parents' attitudes and language use patterns. Informed by the sociocultural paradigm of language learning /maintenance which focuses on the human individual in interaction with his/her social environment the study investigated micro-social strategies of language maintenance. The main question it sought to answer was "What underlying social factors facilitate Ndamba parents to pass on home language to their descendants".

Data was collected in the villages of Mofu and Merera in Kilombero district which in consideration of the aims of the study were considered 'typical' and 'representative' of Ndamba

speaking communities as the inhabitants of these villages speak Ndamba as their first language and use it as the dominant means of daily communication. Besides, most children in the community still learn and grow up speaking Ndamba as a mother tongue. These characteristics correlated with the study's assumptions which posited that overwhelming pressure to shift to Swahili notwithstanding, Ndamba families managed to transmit the home language to their children because;

    (vi)   Parents hold positive attitudes toward Ndamba language and group identity.

    (vii)   In the home there prevail language practices that enable children to acquire and appreciate Ndamba.

    (viii)   Peer group interactions facilitate children's language development.

    (ix)   The surrounding community proffers supportive atmosphere for learning and maintaining Ndamba.

The main participants of the study were parents of children aged between one year and school-going age. This category of parents was preferred because it is the group who were actively engaged in the practice of child rearing which includes language socialization of the child. The respondents were selected using purposive non-probabilistic sampling approach. The method was considered significant for this study because, as posited by Kitchenham and Pfleeger (2000), it is appropriate for the study of a target population that is very specific and of limited availability. Parents holding the characteristics mentioned above are specific and not easily available.

To capture the underlying social dynamics of language transfer, a multiple strategy data gathering approach involving semi-structured, open-ended interviews on parents and participant observation of their language behavior in naturalistic home environment was adopted. The significance of using multiple methods of investigation as noted by Burgess (1984) is that it helped to enhance data quality and confirm validity. Another advantage of using triangulation as seen by Denzin (1978) is that it helps to reduce personal and methodological prejudices and enhance the study's generalizability. The data were analyzed manually using a multiple of techniques including qualitative data analysis model and relational content (thematic) analysis.

Finally, quality assurance for the present study was achieved using the criterion of trustworthiness instead of reliability and validity measures. Trustworthiness in the present study was guaranteed by applying the criteria for validating findings proposed in the Lincoln and Guba (1985) model, namely; *credibility, transferability, dependability,* and *confirmability.* The specific strategies I used to satisfy each criterion of trustworthiness are explained in full in section 4.9 of this thesis.

8.3 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

8.3.1 Dynamics of intergenerational language transmission

Concurrent with the study's main assumption, data has overwhelmingly revealed that Ndamba language is being transmitted intergenerationally among its speakers. It has further been shown that language loyalty among Ndamba speakers and the need to maintain ethnic identification and local traditional relations are the main motives behind the community's inspiration to maintain and transfer home language.

8.3.1.1 Ethnic identity and retention

The question of group identity as a motive for language maintenance has been well documented in the literature and investigated in a number of previous studies (Giles & Johnson, 1987; Fishman, 1989, 2001). Identity is what makes members of a particular community be recognized as related, and of all behaviors that identify human communities, language is the most noticeable. Breton et al, (1990) examined methods by which German, Italian, Jewish, and Ukrainian communities in Toronto, Canada retained ethnic identity. They distinguished two broad dynamics of identity retention; external, and internal, subjective aspects of ethnic identity. Language is an external aspect of ethnic identity. Speakers see their languages as [...] "the primary index, or symbol or register of identity" (Crystal, 2000:40) hence they can do anything in their reach to see that they are maintained and sustained. Accordingly a common language enables community not only to attain cohesion and vitality but can also make people feel proud in their culture and develop more confidence in themselves (Crystal, opp.cit). Ndamba speakers have a strong sense of ethnic identity and language loyalty. As an example, respondent ME20M demonstrates a strong sense of ethnic identity by comparing loss of Ndamba to be similar to one losing his bearings in life, he says;

[....]*should Ndamba disappear I would feel as if my view is blocked, I am no longer able to see my path on which to move on.....it would be like I have been placed in servitude.*

8.3.1.2 Strategies of ethnic identity retention among Ndamba speakers

Despite lacking prestige and social status, Ndamba language is still considered important by its speakers. Overall they realize positive ethnic identification and recognize Ndamba as the language that epitomizes their affiliation to the ethnic group. They express this identity mostly through use of Ndamba as a means of communication in informal situations to mark self-identification and solidarity with other community members. Applying the Breton (1990) ethnic identity retention framework, this study identified community specific micro-level realizations of ethnic identity, which explain how Ndamba speakers manage to sustain their identity as a cultural group. These are categorized as (i) observable behaviors, and (ii) intuitive behaviors.

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8.3.1.2.1 Observable behavior of ethnic identity retention

Observable behaviors of identity retention refer to a range of practices that speakers realize as a means of expressing their belonging to the cultural group. Ndamba speakers have retained their ethnic identity through the following strategies;

8.3.1.2.1.1 Frequency of speaking Ndamba: Data from self report interview and naturalistic observation attest to the fact that most parents speak Ndamba frequently, especially in the home and among family, kin relatives, close neighbors and intimate friends. By choosing Ndamba frequently, parents set a model for their children to speak the language.

8.3.1.2.1.2 Participation in ethnic customs and rituals: Ndamba speakers further sustain their ethnic identity though participation in ethnic traditional practices and rituals. These include funeral, initiation, and 'praying to the gods' ceremonies in which members of the community congregated to ask the ancestral spirits to save them from calamities like drought, or floods. Respondent MO1F attests this by saying;

"*Kindamba kinatumika zaidi kwenye misiba, kwenye sherehe kama vile harusi..Pavafika pala, nga twenga naha tilikala si tukuhimulila habali...chindamba. Hata tulikale pabomba tukuyenda uteka machi patuwonana...tukuywanga chindamba...*" [Ndamba is dominantly used when conducting funeral rites or family celebrations like marriages and in performance of any communal work... for example when we go to fetch some water at the village tape... when we meet there we speak Ndamba.]

8.3.1.2.1.3 Participating in social networks: Ndamba speakers further realize their identity through participation in social network interactions and functions which involve family members, kin relatives, close friends and neighbors. These include attending family related events, like marrying out children, funerals, family rites. Social network events provide members not only with a sense of belonging but also a framework for assisting one another in solving problems that face them individually, hence it is a means for securing security and solidarity among the members (Milroy, 1987).

8.3.1.2.1.4 Participating in communal work: Ndamba speakers further strengthen group identity by partaking in communal work. This involves members participating in work that is organized by any one member to help him or her complete the work that might take long, if the member were to do it alone. Common communal work among the Ndamba include, farming, house thatching, and harvesting of crops.

8.3.1.2.1.5 Possession of traditional ethnic artifacts: Modern day Ndamba do not have any materials which particularly identify them as a group. Nevertheless some male members demonstrate ethnic identity by keeping traditional materials like large spears (*msomelo*) which were traditionally used as war weapons or traditional work implements; like machetes, hoes etc. Most women use traditional clay made pots to keep drinking water in the house. This is one way that Ndamba speakers show that they are keeping alive and glorify the traditional past of the community.

8.3.1.2.2 Intuitive behavior of ethnic identity retention

Intuitive behavior of ethnic identity retention refers to community specific set of cognitive, moral, and affective doings that members realize to indicate ethnic identity Breton et al, (ibid.). Intuitive behavior can be expressed through moral and affective conduct.

Ndamba speakers realize intuitive behavior of ethnic identity retention largely by showing attachment to social networks and by attaching importance to social network obligations.

8.3.1.2 Dynamics related to language use patterns

In chapters Five and Six I analyzed the attitudinal and language use behavior patterns of the participants. Drawing from the evidence of the data analyzed, in this section I present the micro-social dynamics that facilitate language transmission to take place among Ndamba speakers. For reasons of clarity the strategies are classified into two main categories; (i) family language policy strategies and (ii) language socialization experiences.

8.3.1.2.1 Family language policy: Family language policy and ideologies pursued in most Ndamba families were considered to play the most crucial role in sustaining language in the community. Evidence obtained from both self-reported interviews and observed language behavior in the homes shows that most families practice policies and ideologies that favor the use of Ndamba as the language of interaction among family members.

Family language policy and ideologies refer to the values and beliefs held by family members about how languages should be used in the home context. In a bilingual situation, parents are the main custodians of family language policy (Lambert et al, 2000). As regards to language transmission, family language policy and ideologies are vital as they influence children's language developmental direction, hence contributing significantly in sustenance of low status languages (King et al, 2008; Medvedeva, 2008).

Following below, I examine some of the wide range of strategies that Ndamba parents used to enforce home language policy and instill linguistic values and language use competence into children. These include; (i) shaming language, (ii) deliberate divergence, and (iii) maintenance of linguistic purity.

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8.3.1.2.1.1 Shaming language: As a strategy of putting in force use of Ndamba in the home, parents often practice shaming language by verbally teasing or shaming children when they spoke Ndamba in a way that was considered to be inappropriate such as using wrong vocabulary, or mispronunciation of a word. Different realizations of shaming language expressions were noted on several occasions in conversational interactions involving family members and in interactions of other community members in the neighborhood.

One form of shaming language that was often observed realized by parents was teasing when a child used language inappropriately or wrongly (Refer to section 5.2.1.1.1 for natural interaction examples).

8.3.1.2.1.2 Deliberate divergence: Parents use deliberate divergence as well to inculcate appropriate values and beliefs. The strategy seems to have been used by parents mainly as resistance tactic to avoid the intrusion of Swahili in the home environment. The strategy involved parents deliberately changing language of communication by continuing speaking Ndamba when children spoke Swahili. (Refer to section 5.2.1.1.2 for examples of natural interaction on deliberate divergence).

8.3.1.2.1.3 Linguistic purity: Maintenance of linguistic purity is also used by Ndamba parents to put in force family language policy onto their children. Linguistic purity maintenance strategies resembled shaming language method explained above; the difference between them is in their intention. The main intention of linguistic purity maintenance measures was to put right children's incorrect language use especially in the aspects of pronunciation, vocabulary, and word formation (Refer to section 5.2.1.1.3 for examples of natural interaction excerpts on linguistic purity). Language purism practices have been criticized by some linguists for their inhibition effect to language learning; as such practices often lead into young children to eschew practicing use of home language (Duranti, 2004).

Besides use of linguistic ploys to enforce use of Ndamba in the home, in some homes parents pursue strict explicit Ndamba-only policy wherein children are restricted from using Swahili in the home environment, especially in the presence of elders. Respondent ME20M is one such parent who pursued Ndamba-only policy in his home, he stated thus;

> [....] *normally I tell my children when we are at home that if they wish to speak the town language* (Swahili) *they should do it outside the home, here at home we must all speak only the language of our origin.*

Overall data from both self reported interviews and observation of naturalistic interactions strongly reveal that family language policy situation in the community is favorable for language transmission to take place. Literature indicates that in a minority language situation, the language context of the home is the most important setting for passing language on from generation to generation (Waldinger & Bozorgmehr, 1996) choice of a traditional language as the means of communication among family members is crucial for the languages' maintenance and continuity (Fishman, 1991).

These results are consistent with Kuo's (1974) findings in a study of language socialization of Chinese children in which she found that the general language orientation of the family had profound impact on child's language proficiency.

8.3.3.2 Dynamics related to Language socialization experiences

It has been argued that language experiences to which children are exposed are indispensable for their development of the home language. Language experiences are manifested in form of everyday practices and ways of thinking demonstrated by mature members of community during face-to-face interaction with children (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986). It is through these everyday experiences that children acquire linguistic skills and the set of value and belief system of their community. Following below I present an analysis of typical strategies and means of language experiences observed in naturalistic child-caregiver interactions. The strategies are classified into two broad categories; (i) parents' instructional speech, and (ii) siblings and peers language socialization practices.

8.3.3.2.1 Parents' instructional speech

Parents' instructional speech styles varied greatly from family to family. However observation of parents' language used to or in the presence of children in various social interaction events demonstrated a cluster of language instructional styles which were common across the families. These as analyzed in section 6.3.1 included; direct language instruction, self repetitions, recasts, self repairs and modeling.

8.3.3.2.1.1 Direct instructions: This language teaching strategy involved parents explicitly telling children what to say and how to say it. Through this method parents and other caregivers were able to impart to children both linguistic and social knowledge. Direct method as a language teaching strategy has been extensively investigated (Tarone, 1983; Nibset & Shucksmith, 1986; Rubin, 1987; O'Malley & Chamot, 1990). Within this approach a number of methods are found. All of which ultimately lead language learners to […] "develop a range of strategies from which they are able to select appropriately and adapt

flexibly to meet the needs of a specific context" (Nibset & Shucksmith, ibid, quoted in Marefat, 2003).

In this study direct method was widely used across families, it was realized when parents directly instructed children on a language item or social behavior. It involved parents explicitly telling children what to say and how to say it. By use of this method parents were able to inculcate children with a wide range of social and linguistic skills (Refer to section 6.3.1.1 for a detailed description and examples of naturalistic interaction).

8.3.3.2.1.2 Self repetition: Use of self repetition as language socialization strategy was achieved when an adult speaker repeated in a spontaneous way, a particular language aspect (pronunciation, morphology, vocabulary or sentence) produced by a child. This was especially when the adult speaker noticed that the child gave a response that was contextually inappropriate or when the child's utterance was considered to be incorrect or out of place. Vocabulary rectification was by far the most recurrent aspect that parents tended to use self repetition for and the main aim of applying self repetition was to instruct children's pronunciation or context of use of particular repeated lexical item. (For a detailed description and examples of naturalistic interaction refer to section 6.3.1.2).

8.3.3.2.1.3 Recasts: Parents' speech was also seen to realize recast properties, which helped to imbue children with language skills. Recast has been found to be a valuable method in second language learning (Schmidt, 1990; Sheen, 2004; Ellis & Sheen, 2006). Used as language teaching strategy, a recast provides the learner with corrective feedback from the listener. In a typical recast, the listener corrects the learner's language indirectly and provides corrective feedback without the learner noticing it.

In the literature a number of different ways of realizing recasts are discussed; these include modulation of prosodic emphasis whereby the listener may signal the problematic form by raising one's pitch (rising intonation) or lowering it (falling intonation) to indicate confirmation check and statement respectively.

Analysis of naturalistic interaction of mothers and young children revealed that parents used two types of recast method; the first involved parents repeating the child's utterance with modification on the item that was considered erroneous or socially inappropriate; in the second type parents corrected the children's utterances by repeating the incorrectly formed items by posing a question. Each one of the approaches functioned to make the child notice the mistake without interfering with the flow of communication. (A detailed

description of recast and examples of naturalistic interaction are provided in section 6.3.1.1.3).

8.3.3.2.1.4 Repair patterns: Repair as a strategy of instilling children with language skills was observed when parents spontaneously corrected children's utterances and children corrected their own errors that occurred in speech. Repair or correction of a language learner's utterances given by an expert (in this case a parent) is referred to in the SLA literature as *other-initiated repair* (Schelegoff et al, 1977; Kasper, 1985).

This study focused on *other-initiated* repair (also called *other-completion*). It analyzed parents' utterances in child-parent naturalistic interaction to see how repair was used by parents to impart social and linguistic competence into their children. (For a detailed description and examples of naturalistic interaction concerning repair strategy, refer to section 6.3.1.1.4).

8.3.3.2.2 Siblings and peers language socialization experiences

Consistent with the third assumption of the study, which stated that peer group interactions facilitate children's language development, data from both self-reported interview and observation of natural interaction have confirmed that children in the community involve themselves in activities that lead to acquisition and development of Ndamba language. The literature in language socialization indicates that children's activities play a significant role in their own socialization of linguistic skills and social values of the community. It has been shown that while engaged in their group interactions, children actively participate in activities that lead into their language socialization (Schiefellin & Ochs, 1986; Corsaro, 1997; Adler & Adler, 1998).

Adler & Adler (1998) assert that in children's plays, they not only reproduce the experiences of the adult culture but also challenge and transform these experience in a way that leads them to achieve […] "self-control and measure of autonomy" (p.207). Peer culture, that is, sociolinguistic practices and activities through which children reconstruct and express their world viewpoint vary from culture to culture. In most communities, however it is realized through day to day children's activities like; games, teasing rituals, and pretend play routines (Schieffelin, Tannen, Hamilton, 2003).

Constrained with limited time for data collection, data for description of peers' language socialization experiences was drawn from only two genres of children's interactional and socializing practices; story telling and role-plays.

8.3.3.2.2.1 Storytelling: Storytelling is among children's and youth's popular pass time activities in the village Ndamba community, this is particularly so because they do not have access to modern media resources like television, DVD or video players; hence stories help to

provide them with entertainment. Blum-Kulka & Snow (2002) contend that story telling is an important means for children to learn language as it offers them opportunity to acquire not only social skills but also a wide range of language varieties including grammar, vocabulary, usage and stylistics.

In the present study it was revealed that storytelling helped children to develop a wide range of linguistic and social skills including; oral skills whereby they were able appropriate grammar and vocabulary to context and organize events logically. This finding is consistent with Ortiz (1997) who found that storytelling revealed information about child's ability to organize information in terms of sequencing events, drawing conclusions and evaluating actions described in the story (Ortiz,1997:327).

The study also determined that storytelling promoted children's linguistic proficiency as it helped them to improve their oral expression, develop grammatical competence, vocabulary, and stylistic expression.

8.3.3.2.2.2 Simulation plays: Of the many kinds of plays that Ndamba children perform, this study analyzed simulation plays. This is a kind of play in which participating children take up roles and act on them. A number of names are assigned to this kind of plays; drama, play etc. Some scholars relate simulation and role-play (Grockall & Oxford, 1990). However, some scholars distinguish the two forms of play by stating that simulation involves enacting roles and situations that relate to children's real life and everyday experiences. Whereas in role play children enact roles they do not normally perform in real life (Maria Kodotchigova (2002). The main feature that characteristerizes simulation plays is that children perform situations, actions, or behaviors which are familiar to them and relates to their day to day experiences.

8.3.3.2.2.3 Parents aspirations about children's future language use

Parents' attitude regarding their children's future language use is another motivating factor for seeing that children learn Ndamba. In self-report responses most parents indicated preference for children to learn Ndamba. However in home language observation most parents showed contradictory behavior as parents tended to indicate that Swahili was more important to the children (Refer to section 6.2.2). Realization of inconsistent feelings is an indication that parents hold ambivalent attitudes regarding what language they consider important for their children. As indicated in Sasse (1992) ambivalent attitudes are not readily conducive of language transmission as do not support complete language transmission to take place.

8.3.3.2.2.4 Language proficiency

Parents' language proficiency in Ndamba is a crucial factor supporting language transmission in the community. In the self report responses parents indicated that they were more at ease

speaking Ndamba than Swahili. The finding that parent's' proficiency influences children's acquisition of the home language is consistent with the literature which suggests that parents' knowledge and proficiency in the home language has significant impact on possibility for children to learn the language. Huteson (2004) investigating language shift to Mandarin among the Puyuma speakers in Taitung county in Taiwan found that one reason Puyuma was not being intergenerationally was that many parents were not able to speak the language. The argument is that one's proficiency in a particular language is a measure of his or her skill in the language.

8.3.3.2.2.5 Language pride and loyalty

Another attitudinal factor that facilitates parents to teach home language to the children is their strong feelings of pride to the home language. In self report responses a majority of parents indicated that that they felt proud to speak Ndamba for the reason that by doing so they identify with their culture and traditional roots.

8.4 Implications and recommendations of the study

Given that the main goal underlying this study was to address the challenge of language shift currently facing a majority of indigenous minority languages in Tanzania, the present study has implications for the sociolinguistic research traditions, policy and the practice of language revitalization. Recommendations are also suggested for improving the situation of indigenous minority languages in the country.

8.4.1 Implications for sociolinguistic theory

It is well known in sociolinguistic scholarship that the most important way to deal with the threat of extinction of world minority languages is to revive them by encouraging their use at micro-level, face-to-face interactions taking place in the home and the surrounding neighborhood. To elucidate the point, Fishman (1991) proposed a language shift reversal (RLS) model which emphasized the crucial role of the family and neighborhood for home language maintenance. The point of emphasis in the RLS theory of language maintenance is that all efforts towards rescuing minority languages from total displacement [...] "must derive from a single, integrated theory of language-in-society processes that places intergenerational mother tongue transmission at the very centre" (Fishman, ibid.:6).

Despite this common understanding however virtually very little has been done to investigate and establish micro-social dynamics that underlie the process of language transmission. The common practice regarding studying macro societal trends of language use has aimed at revealing changing patterns and scale of language retention in the homes (ref. Velteman, 1979). This study makes a departure from the common practice by paying attention to the dynamics

that underlie the low-level, face-to-face interactions that occur in the home and the community involving mature members of the community and the children. A number of previous studies that investigated naturalistic interaction had done so from the perspective of language socialization (ref. Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990). The goal was to analyze how children acquired the set of linguistic and cultural system of the community. In the contrary, the aim of describing micro-social language behavior of the community in this study has focused on explaining how communities achieve continuity of their languages through intergenerational transmission as a strategy of language maintenance. In this regard, the present study has added new insights to our understanding of the process that takes place in the course of parents transmitting language to their descendants.

It is recommended that sociolinguistic scholarship should distinguish between language socialization practice and intergenerational language transmission. The two are related but not the same entity. This study has shown that language socialization practices are only a sub-set of the factors that constitute intergenerational language transmission process. Other factors that accomplish language transmission are language environment and the speakers' social network structure.

8.4.2 Implications for the practice of language revitalization.

The present study has implication for the practice of langue revitalization as it has contributed new insights and awareness by revealing the micro-processes of language transfer that transpires within home-family-neighborhood interactions. Specifically the study has increased our understanding of family and community initiatives applying to home language revitalization.

Insights gained in this study will help to enlighten minority language stakeholders and promoters to find strategies that would improve speakers' attitudes and to suggest ways in which minority language speakers can increase avenues and opportunities for face-to-face interaction using home languages.

For successful revitalization of Tanzania's minority languages the following strategies are recommended;

- Minority language stake-holders, promoters and custodians should encourage parents to enhance use of home language as means of communication among family members.

- Minority language stake-holders, promoters and custodians should seek change of regulations that restrict use of minority language in public context.

- Effort should be made to make indigenous languages more visible by increasing publications and mass media productions in the languages.

8.4.3 Implications for policy

While appreciating the contribution of Swahili to the promotion of national unity and social development in Tanzania, we have to note also that the same policies, which were introduced to promote Swahili eventually led to the undermining of the viability of the other indigenous languages in the country. Assimilative language policies of the last decades that restricted the use and utility of indigenous minority languages in the public arena (Batibo, 1992), among other factors are attributed to have directly contributed to the language shift that is currently taking place in the country.

In view of the above, it is reasonable that revitalization of indigenous minority languages in Tanzania should begin by amending, adjusting or transforming current language policies to make them encouraging of the maintenance or ethnic minority languages. Policies that lean toward linguistic assimilation of their subjects should be done away with; instead, policy-making authorities should start implementing alternate policies that would stimulate revitalization of minority languages.

Recommendation is suggested that effort towards revival of minority languages in Tanzania should begin with the introduction of policies that provide for greater national recognition and support for minority cultures and language rights. This would help to raise the profile of minority languages and improve their social image. Such policies interventions should seek to achieve the following objectives.

- Raise the legal status of indigenous minority languages, such that speakers can have the liberty to speak Swahili or their local languages in all public contexts.

- Promote indigenous languages and encourage their active use in home contexts as means of everyday communication.

- Increase the confidence of indigenous language speakers in their languages and cultures.

- Oversee protection of minority languages by forming a statutory body responsible for minority language s maintenance.

8.5 Future viability of Ndamba language and culture

Despite the findings of the study affirming its main assumption that Ndamba language and culture are sufficiently transmitted intergenerationally in the community, the data reveal unmistakable indications that the language may not achieve long term sustainability. There are a number of factors present in the community that do not favor complete transmission to take place or indicate that transmission is already not effectively implemented. The following

findings indicate the possibility that Ndamba may not be able to hold on for long. They may be considered as tell-tell indicators of impending language shift.

8.5.1 Ambivalent attitude: Analysis of parents' self-report interview responses and observed language use behavior indicates that parents hold dual language loyalty. They are in a dilemma trying to balance between the need to maintain the home language on the one hand and the desire to assimilate to the national language. This implies that parents embrace ambivalent attitude towards home language. Ambivalent attitude manifests when speakers hold both positive and negative attitudes towards a particular language, it is a kind of dual loyalty. This situation referred to as attitudinal *schizophrenia* (Sasse, 1992; Kachru & Nelson, 2001) is a natural development in a situation where speakers are subject to an aggressive language policy that favors the dominant language (Sasse, 1992).

 In view of this study, ambivalent attitude is an unfavorable condition for language transmission as it often leads to development of apathetic behavior on the part of speakers, hence making it difficult for speakers to transmit their language to their descendants.

8.5.2 Children's proficiency: Data from parents' self-report interview responses and observation of children's language use behavior reveal that Ndamba children are not sufficiently proficient in their home language. Children's lack of proficiency is an indication that they are lacking competence in the home language, which implies that language transmission process taking place in the community is ineffective. Some experts however posit that parents' unfavorable assessment of children's language proficiency often is an indication of parents' failure to appreciate generational language transformation taking place in the community (Stroud, 2009 in face-to-face conversation).

8.5.3 Children's feelings for Ndamba culture: Inference from parents' responses and children's observed language behavior in the homes reveals that children have apathetic feelings toward their home language and culture. Most parents indicated that children do not care much about Ndamba language and culture. Moreover, children's choices to speak Ndamba were infrequent indicating that they were either not proud of the language or not proficient in it.

8.5.4 Language use pattern: Data reveals a skewed pattern of language use in the community, in that Ndamba is more dominantly used in the home context than in the surrounding community. This situation is not conducive for complete transmission to take place and   may not be able to support it for a long run. Studies have abundantly shown that home transmission alone is not enough as it is capable of only laying down partial language

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transmission or what Giollagain & Mac Donnacha (2008) refer to the "initial acquisitional framework". The process of language acquisition can only be completed when children participate "in the social and institutional networks of the community" (ibid), because for complete language transmission to occur, children need to see language being used in the wider community for them to learn authentic uses of home language.

8.5.5 Bilingual competence pattern: Data also reveals that bilingual competence across family member categories in the home is not uniform, with the grandparental age members being Ndamba dominant bilinguals and children, especially of school-going age ones, Swahili dominant bilinguals. Parents on the other hand realize stable bilingualism, as their language use tends to observe clear separation of language functions according to societal situation. This pattern of community bilingual competence implies that children are experiencing subtractive bilingualism. According to Cummins (1994), subtractive bilingualism ensues when speakers acquire a second language while supplanting their first language with the second language. In the context of the present study, it seems that children's learning of Swahili leads to the decline in their Ndamba competence. This is further indication long term vitality of Ndamba is threatened. This assumption concurs with the literature; McLaughlin (1987) asserts that the long-term outcome of subtractive bilingualism is the ethno-linguistic minority group losing its home language in the process of acquiring the prestigious dominant language.

8.6 CONSTRAINTS TO THE RESEARCH

The main constraining factors to this study were; limited time for conducting research, interference on data collection, and the observer's paradox phenomenon. As regards to time limitation, this study was conducted for 3 months (March to February, 2008). It was not possible to extend this time frame as it would have interfered with the framework of study programme. As an ethnographic research, this study required that I spend sufficient enough time to enable me become 'native' to the field environment and see reality from the "insider's" perspective. Ethnographic researches usually take a long time to accomplish; to be effective, they ought to be prolonged and repeated (Aubrey, 2000). In previous research projects for example, Shaw (1989), spent two years studying youth culture in a Taiwan high school. Likewise Li (1992), investigating classroom sociology in China, spent an entire year in a school observing 'goings on' and thereafter returned to the school occasionally for the following two years. Elsewhere Reed (1990) investigated ideology education in a Chinese school two years. Limited research duration might have affected the amount of data collected but not the quality.

The second constraint resulted from the fact that the period when this research was conducted (the months of January to March) is farm clearing season, the time when

preparation of farms for planting is in progress. This is the time of the year when parents are fully engaged in farm work. They spend long hours in the farms, in some cases they relocated themselves to makeshift houses erected in the farms to avoid having to walk long distances every day. Houses are left under the care of grown up siblings, or other mature relatives. In this way normal family life interaction is interfered with.

This constraint interfered with data collection. As a result of this interference, most of the observation data was drawn from the host family which accommodated me during the fieldwork period. In any case on several occasions it was possible to observe some naturalistic encounters in the homes of the other focus group families, particularly on Sundays when the parents of those households stayed at home.

The third constraint relates to participant observer's paradox which faces most researchers engaged in ethnographic research. This relates to the impact the researcher's presence imposes on the participants and their behavior (Labov, 1972:113). I managed to solve this problem first; by incorporating the assistance of influential personalities to help in enlightening community members about the purpose of the research and array their apprehension about my presence in the community. Secondly, I recruited as research assistants two very socially integrated young people to help in locating and introducing me to the participants. As regards to the problem of families accepting me for home observation, I tried to established close relationship with the focus group families by visiting them regularly, until my presence in the homes became used to all members of the families. In this way I was able to observe family members' linguistic and cultural behavior in natural setting.

8.7 POSSIBLE AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH IN LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION

In this section I endeavor to suggest areas of research that future research ventures could investigate in the area of transmission and maintenance of minority languages.

- Examine patterns and realizations of intergenerational language transmission from the point of view of the children.

- Investigate micro social factors that cause children to lose home language competence as they start attending school. Are the reasons related with the school or the home?

- Explore the extent of intergenerational shift in language maintenance in the community and associated factors that augment or mitigate the situation.

- Probe the extent minority group communities desire to maintain independence and autonomy over their languages and use them to conduct public matters at the local level.

8.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the summary, results and implications of the study have been presented. The summary has reiterated the assumptions of the study, and the methodology used for data collection and analysis.

The results of the study have been presented which show that, the micro-social processes that contribute toward language transmission in Ndamba community fall into three broad categories of strategies; ethnic identity retention strategies, language use strategies, and language socialization strategies. Language socialization processes that facilitate language transmission have been analyzed into, parents socialization experiences, and siblings and peers socialization experiences.

Other strategies that also contribute toward language transmission are associated with parents' attitudinal predisposition namely; parents' aspirations regarding their children's future language use, parents' proficiency in the home language, and their pride and loyalty toward it.

The chapter has also suggested possible implications and contributions of the study to theory, practice, and to policy. Moreover it has reviewed the future viability of Ndamba on the basis of insights gained in the study.

Lastly the chapter has come to a close by describing constraints encountered in the course of the study. It has finished off by presenting suggestions of possible areas for future research.
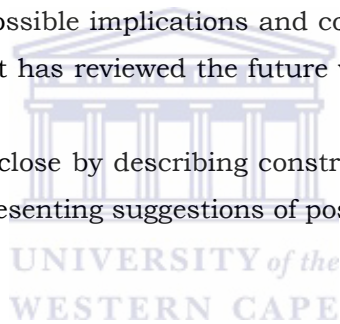
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I (a)

THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF TANZANIA
DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH, PUBLICATIONS
POSTGRADUATE STUDIES AND CONSULTANCY SERVICES

P.O. Box 23409
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
http://www.openuniversity.ac.tz

Tel: 255-22-2668992/2668445 ext.2208
Fax: 255-22-2668759
E-mail: dpgs@out.ac.tz

16.11.2007

To: The Regional Administrative Secretary
Morogoro Region

RESEARCH CLEARANCE FOR MR. PEMBE PETER LIPEMBE

The above named is a Lecturer the Open University of Tanzania and a Ph.D. student .

Mr. Lipembe is in the process of collecting data for his Ph.D. thesis by conducting interviews and collecting any relevant information from villagers in Kilombero district on a research titled:

"Investigating Intergenerational language Transmission: Language Socialisation of the child in a Diglossic Community – a Case Study"
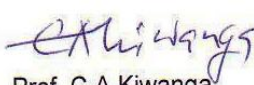
The research which will be conducted mainly in Morogoro region between dates 1st December, 2007 and 31st March 2008 may involve a few research assistants.

The purpose of this letter of introduction is to request your office to allow him to carry out the research by offering him or his assistants any assistance deemed necessary for him to achieve his objective of conducting the research.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation and assistance in this regard.

Yours sincerely,
THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF TANZANIA

Prof. C.A.Kiwanga
DIRECTOR
DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH, PUBLICATIONS
POSTGRADUATE STUDIES AND CONSULTANCY SERVICES
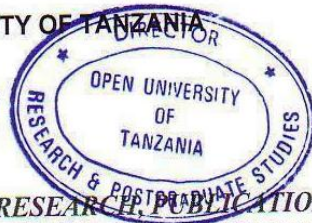
APPENDIX I (b)

Research Clearance Permit from Morogoro Regional Administration Authority

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
PRIME MINISTER' OFFICE
REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Telegraphic Address: ''REGCOM''   Regional Commissioner's Office,
Phones: 023 2 60 42 37/2 60 42 27   P.O. Box 650,
                                                     MOROGORO.

Fax No: 2 60 09 73
In Reply please quote:

Ref. No: AB 175/245/01/38   26/11/2007

District Administrative secretary
P.O. Box 34,
KILOMBERO.

**REF: RESEARCH PERMIT FOR MR. PEMBE P. LIPEMBE ON
"INMVESTIGATING INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE
TRANSMISSION: LANGUAGE SOCIALISATION OF THE
CHILD IN A DIGLOSSIC COMMUNITY – A CASE STUDY"**

Please refer to the above heading.

The Regional Administrative Secretary has a great honour to introduce to you
Mr. Pembe P. Lipembe the Lecturer from the open University of Tanzania who is at the
moment conducting research on "Investigating Intergenerational Language Transmission:
Language Socialisation of the Child in a Diglossic Community A Case Study".

The permission is **granted from 1st December, 2007 – 31st March, 2008,** and will cover
Kilombero District.

Please accord him with all necessary assistance to enable him accomplish this important
research findings.

D. J. Ndomba
**For REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY
MOROGORO**

Copy: Prof. C. A. Kiwanga
        Director
        Directorate of Research, Publications Post Graduate Studies and
        Consultancy Services.

"   The Open University of
        TANZANIA.

"   Researcher.

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APPENDIX I (c)

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

District Commissioner's Office,
Kilombero District,
P.O. Box 34,
IFAKARA.
13th December, 2007

Ref. No. M.10/34/117

Division Officers
Kidatu, Mang'ula, Ifakara, Mngeta and Mlimba
KILOMBERO DISTRICT.

REF: RESEARCH PERMIT FOR MR. PEMBE P. LIPEMBE ON "INVESTIGATING INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION: LANGUAGE SOCIALISATION OF THE CHILD IN A DIGLOSSIC COMMUNITY – A CASE STUDY"

Please refer the above heading

The District Administrative Secretary has a great honour to introduce to you Mr. Pembe P. Lipembe the Lecturer from the open University of Tanzania who is at the moment conducting research on "Investigating Intergenerational Language Transmission: Language Socialisation of the Child in a Diglossic Community A Case Study".

The permission is **granted from 1st December, 2007 – 31st March, 2008,** and will cover **Kilombero District.**

Please accord him with all necessary assistance to enable him accomplish this important research findings.

P.P.
E. T. Mmbagga
**DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY
KILOMBERO**

Copy: Prof. C.A. Kiwanga
Director
Directorate of Research, Publications Post Graduate Studies and Consultancy Services.
"   Open University
TANZANIA
"   Researcher.

<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px;">

An Outline of the in-depth interview protocol for parents with translation in Swahili

</div>

I am conducting a study about how children learn Ndamba. I would appreciate if you could answer the following questions for me as much sincerely as possible. There is no right or wrong answer to these questions. All that is required is your opinion. If ever you find any question too personal, please feel free not to answer it.

Maswali ya Hojaji kwa Wazazi
Ninafanya uchunguzi kuangalia namna watoto wanavyojifunza lugha ya Kindamba. Nitashukuru iwapo utanisaidia kwa kujibu maswali yafuatayo kwa ukamilifu. Katika maswali haya majibu yote ni sawa,hakuna jibu sahihi au lisilo sahihi. Kinachotakiwa hapa ni maoni yako. Una hiari ya kujibu kwa Kindamba au Kiswahili. Swali unaloliona kuwa ni la undani sana,unaweza kuacha kulijibu, ukipenda.

1. My name is Pembe, could you tell me what's yours?
1. Mimi ninaitwa Pembe, mwenzangu unaitwaje?

2. Can you tell me your age?
2. Unaweza kunitajia umri wako, tafadhali?

3. What is your occupation?
3. Unaweza kunitajia kazi unayofanya?

4. What is your level of education?
4. Umemaliza shule darasa la ngapi?

5. What ages are your children?
5. Watoto wako wana umri gani?
_____

6. In your understanding, how do children learn language?
6. Kwa maoni yako, unafikiri watoto wanajifunza vipi kuzungumza lugha?

7. What conditions promote language learning?
7. Unadhani ni mambo gani yanafanya watoto waweze kujifunza kuzungumza lugha?

8. What language do you use when speaking to children, spouse, and relatives at home?
8. Unapokuwa nyumbani,unatumia lugha gani unapozungumza na wanao,mkeo/mumeo,
   ndugu zako?

9. What language do your children use among themselves at play in the home?
9. Wanao wanatumia lugha gani wanapozungumza wao wenyewe?

10. What language do you dominantly use in your home?
10. Nyumbani kwako mnatumia zaidi lugha gani kwa mazungumzo?

11. Do you mix codes when speaking in the home? If 'yes', when/why?
11. Unapokuwa nyumbani huwa unazungumza kwa kuchanganya lugha? Kama jibu ni "ndiyo" wakati gani/kwa nini?

_____

12. What language can you express yourself best? Ndamba/Swahili?
12. Ni lugha gani unayoweza kuitumia kwa urahisi zaidi,Kindamba/Kiswahili?

13. Which language do you feel proud to speak? Ndamba/Swahili? Why?
13. Lugha gani unajisikia fahari zaidi kuitumia,Kindamba/Kiswahili?

14. Which language is important for you to speak, Ndamba or Swahili, why?
14. Lugha gani unaona ni muhimu zaidi kwako,Kindamba/Kiswahili,kwa sababu gani?

15. What importance is attached to Ndamba in community, why?
15.Unadhani Kindamba ni lugha muhimu kwa maisha ya kila siku hapa,kwa nini?

16. Do people lose interest in Ndamba language and culture? Why?
16.Unadhani watu wameanza kupuuzia lugha ya Kindamba na utamaduni wake?

17. Is there threat to Ndamba language and culture? (Do they have a chance for survival?)
17. Unadhani lugha ya kindamba na utamaduni wake viko hatarini kutoweka?

18. Is it important to preserve Ndamba language and culture?
18. Kuna umuhimu wowote wa kuhifadhi Kindamba na utamaduni wake?

19. Would you be concerned if Ndamba were to die? Why?
19. Utajisikia vipi iwapo iwapo Kindamba na utamaduni wake vitapotea?

20. How do you feel when children addressed in Ndamba answer you back in Swahili?
20. Unajisikiaje watoto wakiwasemesha Kindamba halafu wakujibu kwa Kiswahili?

21. What language would you prefer to use with friends outside the home?
21. Unapokuwa matembezini na rafiki zako unapendelea kutumia lugha gani ?

22. What language do you normally use for worship, to the doctor, govt. officials?
22. Kwa kawaida unatumia lugha gani,unapoabudu,zahanati,viongozi wa serikali ya kijiji?

_____

23. What language must your children learn, Ndamba/Swahili? Why?
23. Unataka wanao wajue lugha gani,Kindamba/Kiswahili?,kwa sababu gani?

24. To what extent are your children competent in Ndamba?
24. Unadhani wanao wanasema Kindamba sawasawa?

25. Which language do your child (ren) speak more predominantly at home, with peers?
25. Wanao wanatumia zaidi lugha gani wanapozungumza wenyewe?

26. Have children lost interest in Ndamba language and culture?
26. Unadhani wanao wanaona kuwa Kindamba na utamaduni wake vina umuhimu?

27. Why is it important for children to learn and master Ndamba?
27. Je kuna umuhimu wowote kwa wanao kukielewa Kindamba vizuri?

28. If someone said, Ndamba serves no practical purpose, it is not necessary for children
    to learn it. Would you agree? Why?
28. Mtu akikuambia kuwa Kindamba hakina maana yoyote,hivyo haina maana watoto
    kujifunza. Utakubaliana
    naye? Kwanini?
_____

29. Apart from home what other opportunities are there for children to learn Ndamba?
29. Ukiachia mazingira ya nyumbani, wototo anaweza kujifunza Kindamba namna gani tena?

30. What role does the community play in teaching Ndamba?
30. Je kijiji kinasaidia mtoto kujifunza Kindamba na utamaduni wake? Kwa vipi?

31. What opportunities are there in the community for children to learn Ndamba/culture?
31. Je kijiji kinatoa nafasi yoyote kwa watoto kujifunza Kindamba na utamaduni wake

32. What is the range of situations Ndamba is used in the local community?
32. Nitajie shughuli ambazo watu wanaendesha shughuli kwa kutumia Kindamba.

33. How would you ensure that Ndamba language and culture are preserved?
33. Ni njia gani zitumike kuhakikisha kuwa Kindamba na utamaduni wake haviwezi kupotea.
_____

APPENDIX III

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:10px; background:#e0e0e0;">

A Systematic Observation Sheet for recording Ndamba Parents' Language Behavior

</div>

Date _____ Day _____

Time Encounter Began: _____

Time Encounter Ended: _____

Interlocutor characteristics: [Age, Gender, Relationship, employment status]

Interlocutor:
No.1._____
_____
_____
No.2._____
_____

Others:_____
_____

Description of Encounter: [subject matter]
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Comment on Language Use: [Language choice, attitude, conversational code switching]
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

APPENDIX IV

<div style="border:1px solid black; background:#dddddd; padding:10px;">

PARENTS' RESPONSES TO INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

</div>

Interview 1   **MO1F**
Interviewee: Female, age 42 years; education level std. 4; occupation peasant; no of children 4 (age 12, 9, 6, 4 yrs.)
Village: Mofu
Date of interview: Tuesday, 15/January/2008
Place: Respondent's home

I am called Salima Ngumbi I am aged forty two years. My occupation is farming. I completed standard four. My children are these ones here, one of them is twelve years old another one is nine years, the third one is six years and the last one is four years old.

Children learn to speak Ndamba just like that; even this one speaks Ndamba that is mixed with Swahili, because when they are outside the home children speak Swahili a lot.

The language that we speak here at home is Ndamba, I speak to the children in Ndamba as well but when their fellow age mates come to play they diverge to Swahili.
The children learn Swahili at school and when playing with age mates but here at home I speak Ndamba to them

The language I find easy to speak is Ndamba. I speak Swahili with difficulty, I feel more relaxed when I speak Ndamba.
I also feel proud when I speak Ndamba because I can speak it well.
To me the language that is important is Ndamba because it is the language that can enable me to interact with my grandparents.
 Swahili is also important because when you go to the town, you have to speak Swahili. Besides nowadays we are no longer quite sure, we consider Ndamba to be important to us but lately in our community we are mixed with immigrants from different ethnic groups. Now we are unsure which language is more important.

The youth seem to give little regard to Ndamba language and culture but we the elders still speak Ndamba and pay respect to our culture.

As a matter of fact, Ndamba is vanishing; the main cause of the loss is the youth who don't like to speak the language. Furthermore many youths nowadays emigrate to different parts of the country when they are there, they don't speak Ndamba and as a result they forget it. That is the way how our language is sinking.
Ndamba is disappearing because fewer and fewer people nowadays speak it, when you need to speak the language, you find there are no people who can speak it with you. Few elder people still speak it but the youth don't.

Should Ndamba disappear, I will be disappointed. When I speak Ndamba to a child and he answers back in Swahili, I do not quarrel with them, I allow them to use any language they wish to speak.

When I go out to visit my friends the language I speak Ndamba but to their children I have to speak Swahili.

When I go to the dispensary I speak Swahili the same as when I speak to the local government leaders.
When I offer devotions, I say my prayers in Swahili as well.

The way it looks, my children will know Swahili most but my wish is that they could now Ndamba more because this is the language of our origin.

The form of Swahili that children speak is not quite correct, they mix with Swahili.

When my children play among themselves they mostly speak Swahili, the use of Ndamba is very minimal.

Children do not give much regard to Ndamba language and culture, they glorify Swahili because it the language they use at school. My wish was for them to know Ndamba but it seems they will not be able to master it.

When someone were to say Ndamba has no importance for children to learn, I would not agree with that contention because it represents the identity of my tribe.

Outside the house children have no opportunity to learn Ndamba and the village has no programme for teaching Ndamba to children.

Social undertakings which still remain the stronghold of Ndamba include; conducting of funeral rites or family celebrations like marriage and performance any communal work. For example when we go to fetch some water at the village tape, when we meet there we speak Ndamba.

We can preserve Ndamba by speaking it all the time like we do now, the problem is that the youth do not heed this condition, they like to speak Swahili.

Interview 1   **MO1F**

(Original text in Swahili)

Naitwa binti Ngumbi.Umri miaka arobaini na mbili.Kazi yangu kulima.Watoto wangu mimi hawa hapawa.Mmoja ana miaka kumi na mbili.

Watoto wanajifundisha lugha kawaida tu…hata ayu, kindamba chenyewe inakuwa huu mchanganyiko wa kiswahilewu.Kwa hiyo balabalaniko kote akuhimulila.

Lugha tukutumia pakayapa…handa naha tulongau, chindamba.Na vanavo tukudeta chindamba.Hinaa pavayisa vayao nga ava nahaa sui kazi ya chiswahili.

Kiswahili wanajifunza hukohuko shuleni, mimi ninapoongea na watoto naongea chindamba.

Lugha nguwona lahisi kutumia yiyi ya chindambayi, chiswahili tukubabaikababaika hela, lakini chindamba ndiyo zaidi.
Nguwona fahali chindamba, Kiswahili kundambukia kwa wayetuko tukuyenda ulumanga wuwu.
Lugha muhimu chindamba.Sababu nimeshazoea tayali, Ukayenda kula kulongalonga na bibi wuwowu…, kayenda kula kulongalonga na babu wuwowu.Ako kumjineko ndo tukuyenda kuwafuata ava mani,ee vafijanava sui ukulumanga wuwo,lakini twenga tu wandamba wuwowu.Kiswahili ni muhimu kabisa.

Sasa hivi tunababaika twe tuwona Chindamba ndiyo chene na muhimu, sasa hivi kuva mchanganyiko ndiyo maana tunababaika hapa.

Lugha ya kindamba na utamaduni wake…vakupuuza ava vijana nga ava vayetova, lika ya vakome bado tukalonga chindamba.Lakini uyise ukavawone nga ava naha.Hawa ndio wanabadilibadili.Payisa wayao da walonge wuliwuli.

Kindamba kwa kusema kweli kikupotea.Kwa kupotea kwake,si kama hivi ukuyaghamila na ava vayetu vafijanava kwa vayendako.Ayu kalonga Kiswahili na nga monga wa kwifakala,amonga wa mahengi akayisapa akulongela Kiswahili na wa apava da walonge chindamba? Bado akakuyumba na Kiswahili wuwu…ndiyo maana ikudidima lugha yetoyi.

Chindamba chikuyaghamila dandili mundu wa kuywanga nayi kwahela ee..ila kwa wakomiwakomi nahau nga twenga nahau aa ukuwesa kuywanga nayi… vayetu vafijana nga ava nahau ndiyo maana ikuyaghamila.

Kindamba kikipotea nitajisikia vibaya.
Nikisema Kindamba halafu mtoto ajibu Kiswahili…nguvawona wao tu wanavyoendelea wao.Kama mbona niwarizishi wenzangu hawa.

Panyenda kwa vaghanja vangu…pauwukapa ukuyenda nga kwa yula kamwali yula ngulonga chindamba, lakini kwa vana vake lazima ulonge Kiswahili.

Kuyenda kuzahanati Kiswahili,viongozi wa serikali ya kijiji,Kiswahili.

Sala yenzali Kiswahili.

Watoto wao watajua Kiswahili moja kwa moja.Mimi ningenda wajue kindamba kwa sababu ndiyo lugha yetu.

Watoto akizungumza kindamba sawasawa koti?, vakuchanganya na Kiswahili wuwowu.

Watoto wanapocheza wenyewe wakulonga lugha mchanganyiko hivihivi, sanasana kindamba kidogo lakini Kiswahili.

Watoto hawatilii umuhimu kindamba…awa Kiswahili, si lugha yao ya shuleni. Eeh mimi ningependa waelewe kindamba, lakini watu wenyewe ndiyo hivi tena.

Mtu akisema kindamba hakina maana kufundisha watoto…haina maana pano mbo kabila langu, sitakubali.

Watoto kujifunza kindamba nje ya nyumbani…hamna.Kijiji kufundisha kindamba …hamna.

Kindamba kinatumika zaidi kwenye misiba, kwenye sherehe kama vile harusi.Pavafika pala, nga twenga naha tilikala si tukuhimulila habali…chindamba. Hata tulikale pabomba tukuyenda uteka machi patuwonana…tukuywanga chindamba.

Tutahifadhi kindamba…kwa kusemasema, nga naha tuywanga nawowu.Lakini wenzetu vakutukanila,zaidi Kiswahili.

Interview 2   **MO2M**

Interviewee: Male, age 40 years; education level std. 7; occupation peasant; no of children 4 (age16, 12, 10, 5 yrs.)
Village: Mofu
Date of interview: Wednesday, 16/January/2008
Place: Respondent's home

I am Daris Mpole, I am aged forty years. I am a peasant and I completed standard seven. My children, the first one is sixteen years, the second one is twelve, another one is ten years and the last one is five years old.

Children learn to speak Ndamba by talking to peers or when the parent speaks to them and involve them in activities that lead to development language skills. They also learn through playing with their age mates.

When I speak to my children I use Swahili and Ndamba alternatively. The same is the same when I speak to my wife.
When relatives come to visit we speak either Swahili or Ndamba.

The language that we use most of the time here at home is Swahili. The language I find easy to speak is Swahili but I feel proud when I speak my tribal language, Ndamba.

The language that is more important is Swahili because it facilitates wider communication; you can speak to people of other ethnic groups.

Ndamba is important in the community as it facilitates interaction among ourselves and as a means of expressing of our culture when we use it in our traditional dances.

Nowadays people tend to look down upon Ndamba something that indicates that the language is in danger of vanishing in the near future.
Should Ndamba disappear, I would feel sad.

When I speak to a child in Ndamba and he answers back in Swahili, I feel offended.

When I am out with my friends we speak Swahili, most people nowadays are not interested in speaking Ndamba.

The language I speak when I go to the dispensary is Swahili because some staff don't know Ndamba, likewise when I speak to the local government officials.
I usually say my prayers in Swahili.

My wish is that my children could know Ndamba most because that is the way we will be able to maintain our customs and traditions.

The form of Ndamba that children speak is not correct; it is not the same as our ancestors used to speak.

When children play among themselves, they mostly speak Swahili.

Children don't show much interest in Ndamba because most of the time speak they Swahili at school and when they play among themselves.
If someone says it is a waste of time to teach Ndamba to our children, I think that person's mind is enslaved, because Ndamba is a symbol of our custom.

It is not easy for children to learn Ndamba outside the home because a child usually learns language from his/her parents especially the mother.

The village has no plans for teaching Ndamba to the children.

Social undertaking in which Ndamba dominates is during performance of ritual procedures. This practice which is usually conducted by elders in most cases is realized through Ndamba language.

One means of preserving Ndamba is for the government to introduce radio programmes featuring tribal cultures and languages. In this manner Ndamba stories, songs and customs could be preserved. #

Interview 2   **MO2M**

(Original text in Swahili)

Mimi naitwa Daris Mpole.Umri wangu ni miaka arobaini.Mimi ni mkulima.Nimemaliza shule darasa la saba.Watoto wangu ana umri mmoja ana miaka kumi na sita, mwingine ana miaka kumi na mbili, mwingine ana miaka kumi na mwingine miaka mitano.

Watoto wanajifundisha lugha kwa kuongea na wenzake au mzazi mwenyewe akiwa anamtuma vitu au kuongea naye mambo yanayomfanya mtoto aweze kujifunza lugha, kwanza michezo, pili maongezi.

Ninapokuwa nyumbani kuzungumza na watoto natumia lugha mbili; Kiswahili na kindamba. Lugha ninayotumia kuongea na mke wangu, inategemea muda; muda mwingine tukaongea Kindamba, muda mwingine tukaongea Kiswahili.Ninapoongea na ndugu zangu hivyohivyo, mchanganyiko.

Lugha tunayotumia zaidi hapa nyumbani Kiswahili.

Lugha rahisi kuzungumza ni Kiswahili.Lugha ninajisikia fahari kuitumia ni Kindamba.Kwa sababu nikija na mgeni wangu kama ni mundamba, basi naongea kwa raha sana.Hasa kama wenzetu wanaokakaa mjini huko wakifika nyumbani, unafika mahali unaongea naye kwa kindamba kama ndugu yako unaona raha sana.

Lugha ambayo ni muhimu ni Kiswahili kwa sababu ina mawasiliano na makabila mengine.

Kindamba ni lugha muhimu sana katika jamii kwa mawasiliano sisi kwa sisi pia kwa michezo na nini…kwa sababu kuna ngoma zetu nyingine huwa tunacheza kwa kuimba kindamba.

Watu wameanza kupuuza kindamba, hawatilii maanani….Kindamba na kweli kinaweza kutoweka wala si muda mrefu.Kindamba kikipotea sitajisikia vizuri.

Nikizungumza kindamba mtoto ajibu Kiswahili najisikia kwa kweli ni kosa sana, inatakiwa nizungumze kindamba na yeye anijibu kindamba vilevile.

Ninapokuwa matembezini inategemea; wengine kindamba hiki kwa kweli hawakipendelei sana.Kwa wale ambao wanaopendelea Kindamba nitazungumza nao Kindamba na wale wanaopendelea Kiswahili nitazungumza nao Kiswahili.

Ninapokwenda zahanati natumia Kiswahili, kwa viongozi wa serikali natumia Kiswahili kwani wengine mle Kindamba hawakijui.

Wakati wa kusali sala zangu huwa natumia Kiswahili.

Mimi nia yangu wanangu waelewe kindamba kwa sababu kwanza kudumisha mila na desturi za kindamba.

Watoto wanapozungumza Kindamba hawazungumzi sawasawa…kindamba cha kisasa hiki, siyo kindamba walichokuwa wanaongea zamani.
Katika michezo yao watoto wanazungumza zaidi Kiswahili.

Watoto hawakionei muhimu wowote kindamba, wao zaidi Kiswahili …shuleni huko….kweny michezo yao humo
Mimi napenda kabisa wanangu wangejua kusema vizuri kindamba.

Mtu akisema kindamba hakina maana kuwafundisha watoto…huyu anaonekana kama yeye ni mtumwa…unaona, hana maana kwanza kwa sababu kindamba ndiyo mila yetu sasa inafika mahali mtu anasema hivi mbona ni vitu vya ajabu sana.

Kujifundisha Kindamba nje ya nyumbani…eee kweli siyo rahisi kwa sababu mtoto mara nyingi hujifunza nyumbani penyewe akiwa na wazazi wake wawili, wa kike na wa kiume, lakini hasa wa kike kwa sababu ndiyo mlezi mkuu wa familia.

Kijiji hakina utaratibu wa kufundisha watoto lugha na utamaduni wa kindamba, hakina nafasi.

Shughuli ambazo watu wakikutana wanafanya kwa kindamba…zipo kama vile matambiko yale mara nyingi huwa yanaendeshwa kindamba, nyingine hakuna.

Njia ya kuhifadhi kindamba kisipotee…njia ninayopendelea mimi serikali ingefanya mipango pengine kuwe na vipindi maalumu vya makabila yetu ambayo ningetamani ifundishe mambo hayo.Kwa sababu kuna wengine mle waandishi wa habari watangazaji nao ni wandamba wengine wapogoro nini… kwa hiyo ikiwa kipindi cha wandamba basi analetwa yule kwenye kipindi kile kwenye maredio.

Interview 3 **MO3F**

Interviewee: Female, age 39 years; education level std. 3; occupation peasant; no of children 6 (age 20, 16, 12, 10, 8, 3 yrs.)
Village: Mofu
Date of interview: Wednesday, 16/January/2008
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Esta Matwegula I was born in 1969, my occupation is farming. I completed standard thee only. My first child was born in 1988, the second in 1992, the third in 1996, the fourth in 1998, the fifth in 2000 and the last child was born in 2005.

Children will learn language…foremost if you issue directives to them, like asking for water or food stuff,

you could tell him/her…..look I am tired fetch me some water…he/she will go for water

Conditions that promote language learning include parents speaking to their children in Ndamba all the

time, as children hear their parents speak; they imitate and so acquire the language.

The language that I speak to my husband and children is Swahili
The language I find easy to speak is Ndamba and I also feel proud to use it, because here in Mofu village Ndamba is the main language so when I speak it, I feel at home. We use Swahili when we have to speak to foreigners but our common language is Ndamba.

The language that is important is Swahili because it facilitates interaction with the foreigners; moreover you can use it when you have to travel to other places.
People do not despise Ndamba language and culture.

The danger of Ndamba becoming extinct is real because nowadays you can see that our children do not know the old type of Ndamba that our ancestors used to speak in addition they don't understand traditional songs and dances of our people, they just sing and dance modern dances.
Besides very few children can speak Ndamba that is why I think Ndamba is facing extinction therefore it is not easy for the children to know Ndamba.

It is important to preserve Ndamba because a majority of the elderly do not know Swahili therefore we have to continue to speak Ndamba. We will continue using Swahili as it necessary for talking to foreigners and a as means of communication when you visit other places.
There is little chance for Ndamba to disappear because it not possible for a language to disappear completely.

When I talk to my children I speak to them in Ndamba, only occasionally do I speak Ndamba to them.

When I am with my friends we talk most of the time in Swahili.
When I pray I say my prayers in Swahili,
The language we speak when we go to the dispensary is Swahili and we speak Swahili as well when we go the local government office.

I would like my children to know Ndamba but I would not obligate them to do so, it is important for them to learn Ndamba because it is awkward for them to speak Swahili only while everybody around them speaks Ndamba as well.

The form of Ndamba spoken by the children is no quite correct. When the children speak among themselves, they speak Swahili, I can say my children do not know to speak Ndamba …and they do not think it is important at all for them to speak Ndamba.
If someone said Ndamba is no practical importance and a waste of time to teach it to the children, I would agree with him, because as you see nowadays Swahili is wide spread and the children do not know it much…that is why I agree with the assertion that Ndamba is not important to the children.
Outside the house children may learn Ndamba when they are at play, if one of their colleagues there happens to speak Ndamba the rest will learn from him /her.

There is no plan in the village that leads toward fostering children to learn Ndamba.

Social undertakings in which Ndamba is dominant are mainly confined to funeral activities where the customary rites are normally conducted in Ndamba.

In my view it is not easy for Ndamba to vanish especially if you consider that our grandparents, the grandmothers in particular are not familiar with Swahili. For this reason Ndamba is there to stay; it will not die out.
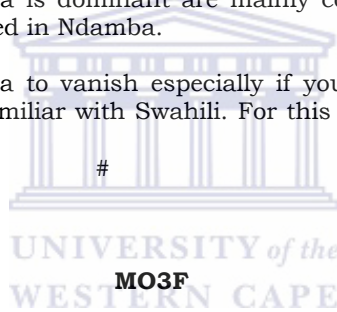
Interview 3   **MO3F**

(Original text in Swahili)

Mimi naitwa Esta Matwegula.Mimi nimezaliwa mwaka sitini na tisa.Kazi ninayofanya ni kulima.Nilirudia darasa la tatu.Mwanangu wa kwanza kabisa amezaliwa mwaka themanini na nane, wa pili amezaliwa mwaka tisini na mbili wa tatu amezaliwa mwaka tisini na sita, wa nne amezaliwa mwaka tisini na nane, wa tano amezaliwa mwaka elfu mbili na moja, na wa sita amezaliwa mwaka elfu mbili na tano.

Watoto watajifundisha lugha…kitu cha kwanza kama utawatuma kuomba maji au chakula kwa hiyo unaweza kumwambia …bwana nimechoka kanyeghele machi, kwa hiyo anaenda kuchukua maji.

Mazingira yanayomwezesha mtoto ajifunze lugha…ni kama hivi tunavyojumuika wazazi,tunakaa sehemu moja kwahiyo tunavyoongea kindamba na wao wanafanya nini..wanaiga.

Hapa nyumbani na mume wangu tunaongea zaidi Kiswahili,maana ukija kuangalia mme wangu mwenyewe Mhehe mimi mwenyewe mndamba
Ninapozungumza na watoto huwa nachanganya kindamba na Kiswahili.Kwa sababu wenyewe wanasema zaidi Kiswahili.

Lugha rahisi zaidi tukiwa peke yetu chindamba ndiyo zaidi.Lugha naona fahari kuitumia kindamba ndiyo zaidi. Ukija kuangalia hapa Mofu kitu cha kwanza kabisa chindamba.Kwa hiyo utakapoongea utajisikia kama vile uko nyumbani.Kwa hiyo ni kama lugha hii ya Kiswahili…hii kama hivi wageni wanapokuja unatumia Kiswahili lakini sanasana ni kindamba.

Lugha muhimu zaidi katika jamii ni Kiswahili.Kwa sababu wageni wengi wanaokuja,lazima ujue kuongea Kiswahili, huwezi ukaongea kilugha.Vilevile unaweza ukaenda kama vile.

Watu hawapuuzi kindamba…hapana.

Kindamba na utamaduni kupotea…sawa kuna kindamba cha zamani halafu na yaani kama vile tuseme nyimbo za jadi,vilevile watoto wa sasa hivi hawazijui nyimbo za jadi.Ukija kuangalia kwa mfano miziki na michezo mingine ya kisasa.
Watoto wenyewe kwanza mpaka sasa hivi ni wachache sana wanaojua kindamba,kwa hiyo kindamba kinapotea yaani kwa hawa watoto wa sasa hivi kuelewa kindamba si rahisi.

Kuhifadhi kindamba…umuhimu upo, ukija kuangalia wazee wengine viswahili hawajui kwa hiyo tabidi tuwe tunaendelea na kindamba vilevile.Kiswahili ni kama vile nilivyojibu mwanzo kuwa Kiswahili kinatakiwa kama vile tunavyokutana na wageni au tunavyoenda sehemu za mbali.

Kupotea kindamba…lakini sasa naona ni mala chache sana, lugha ipotee moja kwa moja haitawezekana.

Ninapozungumza na watoto…mimi huwa naongea Kiswahili ila siku moja moja tu huwa nanongea kindamba.
Ninapokuwa na rafiki zangu…tunaongea kama tupo wote lugha moja, tunaongea kindamba alafu sana sana Kiswahili.

Kusali natumia Kiswahili. Nikienda zahanati nasema Kiswahili.Kwa vingozi wa serikali tunatumia Kiswahili vilevile.

Nataka wanangu wajue kindamba…lakini sitawalazimisha au hawatalazimishwa, nataka wajue kwa sababu gani, kama hivi tunavyokaa sehemu moja…maana huwezi kuongea Kiswahili tu bila kuongea…nini, kindamba.

Watoto…hawawezi kusema kindamba sawasawa.
Watoto wanasema wao kwa wao wanasema Kiswahili hikihiki
Lugha ya kindamba wanangu wapa hawajui kwanza…hawatilii maanani.

Mtu akisema kindamba hakina maana kuwafundisha watoto…nitakubaliana naye kwa sababu ukija kuangalia sasa hivi yaani Kiswahili imeenea sana, kwani hata mtoto ukimwambia kitu fulani pengine hata haelewi kindamba, kwa hiyo si muhimu sana na wao wasahau kabisa Kiswahili, haitawezekana.

Nje ya nyumbani watoto wanaweza wanajifunza kindamba…eeh, anaweza akenda sehemu kama hivi ametoka hapa ameenda Misheni,kule kuna wengine wanajua kindamba, anaweza akajifunza.Au labda kwenye michezo ee kuna mmoja yule pale kama anajua sana kindamba Kiswahili kazi…nao wanajifunza, maana kwenye michezo watoto ndo wanakopatia.

Kijiji kufundisha watoto Kindamba…hakuna.

Shughuli ambazo kindamba kinatumika zaidi…ipo lakini kama kwenye misiba misiba hivi,kuna mambo mengine ya milamila yanafanywa kwa kindamba.

Kindamba kupotea si lahisi ukija kuangalia mababu, wakina mama mama hawa sawa ee…Kiswahili kujua si kweli, kwa hiyo kindamba bado kipo na hakitapotea kabisa yaani.

Interview 4   **MO4M**

Interviewee: Male, age 53 years; education level std. 7; occupation peasant; no of children (?) (last one is 3yrs)
Village: Mofu
Date of interview: Thursday, 17/January/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Pius Liyumba, I am aged fifty three years. I am occupied in farming and fishing. I completed standard seven in 1972.My last child is three years.

Children learn to speak language by examples from their parents and from peer group members as they interact in the home.

When talking to my wife and the children I speak to them using both Ndamba and Swahili, however the dominant language here at home is Swahili.

The language I find easy to speak is Swahili but I feel pride to speak Ndamba often when I travel I like to speak Ndamba with fellow Ndamba people in order to identify myself. Here at home I most often speak Swahili.

To be sincere the important language is Swahili because it has influence all over the place. Its dominance is associated with its use as the language of education; that the reason is why it dominates all over.

There is indication that Ndamba is starting to be forgotten. That is why you can see a majority of Ndamba speakers have now turned to speaking Swahili instead of Ndamba. One reason for this is that the language itself is closely related to Swahili.

My worry on the possibility for Ndamba to disappear is prompted by the fact that a majority of the youth do not speak Ndamba at all. The language is about to disappear.
It is important to take measures to preserve Ndamba because it will help us in future to know not only what the original form of the language was but also the source of it.

Should Ndamba vanish I will not be at peace with myself, because it will be like I have lost the connection to my origins.

When I speak in Ndamba and a child answers back in Swahili, I will feel quite alright so long as we have been able to understand one another.

When I am out with my friends I usually speak Ndamba with them.
When I go to the dispensary I speak Swahili and to local government officials, I have to speak to tem in Swahili sometimes when I meet one of the officials who speaks Ndamba, I speak in the language to him.
I usually say my private prayers in Ndamba.

The language which I would like my children to learn is Ndamba however since the language of education is Swahili, they have to learn it, were it possible, I wish the children could be allowed study their subjects in Ndamba.

When my children are playing by themselves the usually speak Ndamba.
The kind of Ndamba that children speak is not the correct form, they mix with Swahili. It is not like the form that we grown up people speak. I wish they could be able to learn to speak the correct form.

If someone were to say to me that Ndamba has no practical importance to the children, hence it is a waste of time to teach it to them, I would not agree with him because his ideas are not good for the future of my language.

The village has no programme for teaching Ndamba to the children.

Social undertakings in which Ndamba is dominantly used include farming work, fishing, while conducting these activities people speak Ndamba a lot.

We could preserve Ndamba by introducing publications in Ndamba. I have seen publications written in other languages like Nyakyusa, Bena and the like; I wonder why there are no similar publications in Ndamba. I would therefore suggest that there should be published newspapers and books written in Ndamba. #

Interview 4   **MO4M**

(Original text in Swahili)

Mimi ninaitwa Pius Liyumba.Kwa kweli nina umri wa miaka hamsini na tatu.Kazi yangu mimi zaidi sana ni kulima na uvuvi tu basi.Nimemaliza shule darasa la saba mwaka sabini na mbili.Mtoto wa mwisho nategemea ana miaka mitatu.

Watoto wanajifundisha lugha kutokana na mfano kwanza kutoka kwa wazazi na mfano mwingine unapokuja kutokana na kwenye lika lao, wanapokaa au wanavyoishi ndani ya familia ile.

Kuzungumza na mke wangu…ninapokuwa nyumbani sanasana huwa tunatumia tu tunachanganya tu lugha ya Kindamba na Kiswahili kidogo.

Mimi ninapozungumza na watoto huwa natumia pengine lugha ya kindamba na au pengine kwa Kiswahili.

Hapa nyumbani kwa kweli lugha zaidi sanasana tunayotumia ni Kiswahili.

Mimi mwenyewe kwa sasa hivi kwa sababu naielewa lugha zaidi sana iliyokuwa rahisi niona kama ile ya Kiswahili.
Lugha naiona fahali…kwa kweli kwa mfano ninapokuwa ugenini huwa naipenda sana kuitumia lugha ya kindamba.Hapa nyumbani mimi natumia Kiswahili.

Lugha muhimu…kwa kweli bwana hatuwezi tukaongopa maana lugha sasa hivi hii lugha ya Kiswahili imetawala.Na kutawala kwenyewe kutokana na nini, hasa zaidi mambo ya usomiusomi.Kwa hiyo maana yake ile lugha hii, lugha ya Kiswahili maana yake ndiyo imetawala zaidi.

Watu kuthamini kindamba… kweli hii lugha inaonekana kama kwamba kama vile inataka kusahaulika.Ndo maana unaweza ukaona asilimia nyingi hasa kabila la wandamba wanapenda sana kuzungumza nini…Kiswahili.Kwa sababu lugha yenyewe hii imeambatana na Kiswahili.

Kindamba siku moja kuweza kupotea…na mimi nakubaliana kwa sababu nina wasiwasi kwamba hata vijana wa sasa hivi naona hawana asilimia nyingi sana ya kuweza kuzungumza kindamba…na kiko hatalini kutoweka.

Umuhimu wa kuhifadhi kindamba…kwa kweli sababu zinaweza zikawepo kwa sababu hii inaweza ikatokea huko mbele tukashindwa kuelewa kama lugha yetu tulikuwa tunatumia lugha gani, au wazazi hawa walikuwa wanatumia lugha gani au tulikotoka tulikuwa kwenye chimbuko la lugha gani.

Kindamba kikipotea…kwa kweli nitajisikia si mtu wa starehe kwa sababu kwanzaile asili ya uzaliwa ule wa kabila lile kama litakuwa limetoweka,maana yake ni sawasawa kama zimepotea amri kumi za mungu.

Nikizungungumza kindamba alafu mtoto ajibu Kiswahili…aaa kwa kweli ninapozungumza kwa kindamba watoto wananijibu kwa Kiswahili, ninaona ni sawasawa tu kwa vile maadamu kama wananielewa.

Ninapokuwa matembezini…pale zaidi sana endapo kama kuna mwenzangu mmoja wa kindamba huwa pale huwa ninazungumza tu kindamba.

Zahanati kule kwa kusema kweli tunatumia lugha hihii ya Kiswahili.Viongozi wa serikali inaweza kuwa kindamba au Kiswahili maadamu tukihakikisha kwamba huyu mndamba mwenzangu.

Kusali… kwa kweli huwa natumia kwa sala ya kindamba.

Lugha ninayotaka watoto wajue vizuri zaidi….sasa nina wasiwasi kwa sababu nikisema kwamba ile lugha ya kindamba itumike zaidi maana kule shuleni kule wanakokwenda asilimia nyingi sana ni Kiswahili.Kwa kweli kwa mimi ningependezewa tu kwamba hata katika kuelimika kwa wale watoto,wangeweza kuelimika kwa kindamba.

Watoto wanapokuwa wao kwa wao huwa wanapenda sana kuzungumza kindamba.

Kwa kweli mimi ninavyoelewa tu kwamba kwa sababu sasa hivi lugha hii ya Kiswahili imetambaa na imesambazwa vizuri, ndo maana unaweza ukaona tu kwamba Kiswahili chao na kindamba chao wanachozungumzia inaonekana kwamba kama vile bado wanakisuasu, wanapenda sana Kiswahili…pamoja wanaongea kimchanganyiko kindamba, Kiswahili.

Watoto wakiongea Kindamba… kwa kweli hawakivuti kama jinsi tunavyokivuta sisi wazazi.

Kwa kweli mimi ningefurahia sana kama kweli kindamba wangekielewa vizuri.

Mtu akisema hakuna umuhimu kufundisha watoto kindamba…kwa kweli kwanza sitamsikia wala sitamkubali.

Nje ya nyumbani…kindamba watoto ni wepesi kukielewa kule shuleni, ee kule ni rahisi kujifunza na wanaweza kuelewa kwa vizuri tu.

Nafasi ya kijiji kufundisha kindamba …kwa kweli hakuna.

Shughuli ambako kindamba peke yake kinatumika…kwa mfano kama wakati wa kulima basi pale kindamba kinatawala sana, labda pengine wakati watu wanavua au wanafanya shughuli za aina fulani fulani pale watu wanatumia sana kindamba.

Njia za kuhifadhi kindamba…kwa kweli mimi kwa kuonelea endapo kama serikali ingeweza…maana kuna wenzetu wengine wamejiendeleza vizuri tu kuna vitabu pengine utakuta vimeandikwa kinyakyusa, kibena…sasa hii lugha ya kindamba kwa nini isichapishwe kama wengine? Kwa hiyo ningependekeza kungekuwa na vitabu, magazeti kama hivyo.

Interview 5   **MO5M**

Interviewee: Male, age 38 years; education level std. 7; occupation peasant; no of children 3 (ages 11, 8, 5)
Village: Mofu
Date of interview: Friday, 18/January/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

I am called Andreas Alfonsi Mbelekwa my age is thirty eight years old. My occupation is farming and I completed standard seven. My children; the first one is eleven years, the second one is eight and the last one is five years old.

Children can learn Ndamba depending on us parents if we speak our language with the children. So if we do not speak our language, children will not be able to learn it.
The condition that will promote language learning by the children is prolonged time of involving them to speak the language.

In my house I speak with my wife and children in Swahili even when relatives and visitors come to visit all of us speak in Swahili. In a few occasions I mix in some Ndamba when talking in Swahili.

Currently the language that I find easy to speak is Swahili and since I am no longer fluent in my traditional language Ndamba, I feel proud as well to speak Swahili.
The language that I consider to be important here in Mofu is Swahili.

To be honest Ndamba should be the important language here at Mofu but unfortunately it seems our parents somewhat constrained us from learning it, the outcome of which is that people of middle age like me do not speak Ndamba well enough.

Here at Mofu people look down upon Ndamba and its culture, were it not the case most of us would be able to speak Ndamba better.

There is danger that Ndamba might vanish here at Mofu if we would not make effort to speak it.
There is need to take measures if preserving Ndamba so that future generations may be able to know the language.

When I am out with my friends, like I said before, most people of my age do not know Ndamba so we speak Swahili.

At the dispensary, there is one staff who can speak Ndamba but the rest speak Swahili, so I have to talk to them in Swahili.
When talking to local government officials, I speak in Swahili. When I make my private prayers, I say in Swahili.

The language that I wish my children to learn is Ndamba because it is our traditional language.

The form of Ndamba that my children speak is not correct just as it is the case with me.

When the children play among themselves, they speak mostly Swahili.

It is important for the children to learn Ndamba because if they don't speak the language they would not be able to perform customary rites.

If someone said Ndamba should not be taught to children as it has no use to them, I would not agree wit him/her.

Outside the home it is possible for children to learn Ndamba when they are in play there they mix with other children who might know Ndamba, that way they could learn something from them.

The village does not have a programme of teaching Ndamba to the children.

In the past Ndamba used to be used dominantly I offering customary rites but lately even there it is no longer used, people now use Swahili as well in conducting this ceremony.

The way I see we could use to preserve Ndamba is to consult tribal elders and custodians to tell us the details of the language and culture. These should be documented and preserved. That way we would be able to preserve our language. #

Interview 5   **MO5M**

(Original text in Swahili)

Mimi naitwa Andreas Alfonsi Mbelekwa, umri wangu mpaka sasa hivi ni miaka selasini kitu kama na nane hivi.Mimi ni mkulima.Nimemaliza darasa la saba. Watoto wangu wa kwanza ana umri wa miaka kumi na moja, wa pili ana miaka minane,na huyu wa tatu mpaka leo hii anafika miaka mitano.

Watoto wanajifunza lugha kutokana na sisi wazazi kama tutaongea lugha ya kwetu.kwa hiyo sisi wazazi kama hatukuongea lugha ya kwetu, watoto hawawezi kujifunza lugha.

Mambo yanayosaidia watoto kumudu lugha...inatakiwa sisi kama wazazi tukae na watoto wetu aidha kwa muda wote ambao tunaupanga basi tuongee lugha, ndiyo watoto wanajifunza kutoka kwetu.

Ninpozungumza na watoto…zaidi kwa sasa hivi tunatumia zaidi Kiswahili ndiyo maana nasema lugha inaweza ikapotea hii.

Ninapozungumza na mke wangu natumia …nacho hicho hicho Kiswahili. Ndugu zangu wakija hapa nyumbani…tunaongea hicho hicho Kiswahili.

Siku moja moja huwa najaribu kuchanganya lugha maana yake naongea Kiswahili, nikiona hili hapa kwa Kiswahili silijui basi nitatumbukiza lugha ya kindamba.

Lugha ninaona rahisi…kwa sasa hivi ninatumia zaidi Kiswahili.
Lugha niayoona fahari zaidi…kwa utaratibu labda ingewezekana kama ningejua kindamba kiundani zaidi, basi ningeweza kuongea kindamba, lakini sasa kindamba chenyewe ndiyo hivi tena kinatutupa mkono…kwa hiyo mimi naona fahari zaidi Kiswahili.

Lugha muhimu…zaidi natumia Kiswahili.

Kwa hapa Mofu kwa kweli ni lugha muhimu sana kindambalakini ninachosikitika kidogokutokana na wazee wetu hawa wa nyuma pengine na wao katikati hapa walijisahau nacho kutufundisha sisi, kwa hiyo nacho kwa ujumla nacho naona kidogo nacho kinakufa.

Watu kupuuza kindamba na utamaduni wake…mimi nadhani ndo iko hivyo na kama kweli wangekuwa hawaipuuzi maana yake mpaka leo sisi akina yahe tungekuwa tunajua kindamba kiundani zaidi.

Lugha ya kindamba…inaweza ikapotea endapo kama kweli tutakuwa hatuzingatii kuongea lugha yetu. Umuhimu wa kuhifadhi kindamba kwa kweli umuhimu upo, kwa sababu yake kama kweli tutashindwa kuhifadhi kindamba kitapotea.Na kikipotea maana yake vizazi vijavyo nao watakuwa hawajui kuongea kindamba.

Ninapokuwa na rafiki zangu…mimi nafikiri nitarudi kule kule nyuma, kwa sasa hivi hapa wengi sisi vijana wa sasa hivi zaidi tunatumia Kiswahili.

Zahanati pale, mfanyakazi mmoja mndamba lakini endapo kama yeye ataniuliza kwa kindamba na mimi basi itabidi nimweleze kindamba lakini kama ataniuliza Kiswahili basi na mimi nitamweleza Kiswahili.

Viongozi wa serikali nao vilevile tunaongea Kiswahili.

Kusali kumwomba Mungu …ninatumia Kiswahili.

Lugha ninayotaka wanangu waimudu…mimi nafikiri basi kindamba ingekuwa muhimu zaidi kutumia, kwa sababu Kiswahili watatumia mashuleni huko najua nikichanganya na lugha ya kwetu itakuwa vizuri zaidi ajue kindamba.

Kindamba wanachosema wanangu ni cha wasiwasi kama ninavyoongea mimi.
Watoto wanapozungumza wenyewe wanatumia…ndiyo hii ambayo wanayojifunza ya Kiswahili.

Mimi naona kuna muhimu watoto waelewe kindamba na utamaduni wake.Kwa sababu asipojua kilugha maana yake tayari tambiko lake hawezi kufanikisha.

Mtu akisema kindamba hakina maana kuwafundisha watoto…siwezi nikakubaliana naye.

Nje ya nyumbani watoto wanaweza kujifunza kindamba….kwa mfano wanapokuwa kwenye mkusanyiko wa watu,kwa mfano nilipokuwa ninasoma mimi mweyewe,nafikiri lugha hii tulikuwa tunatumia sana miaka ya themanini na tisa themanini na nane,lakini mpaka baadaye walimu nao wakatoa kutokana na lugha hii tulikuwa tunaitumia sana kuliko hata Kiswahili.Baadaye kukatoka karatasi ya sema Kiswahili, kwa hiyo wewe unapoongea lugha wao wanakupa karatasi kwa hiyo baadaye hapo unapewa adhabu.Mtu wa mwisho anachukua karatsi kwa hiyo kila mmoja atamtaja wake nani kakabidhiwa…kwa hiyo kwa namna moja ama nyingine wale nao wametupotezea kidogo.

Kijiji kusaidia mtoto kujifunza kindamba…mimi naona hakisaidii lolote.

Shughuli ambayo…. kutumia lugha ya kindamba ilikuwa zaidi kweye matambiko, lakini bado wengi wamebezi (base on) katika Kiswahili, kwa hiyo nayo yenyewe hii naona nayo inapotea, kwa hiyo maana yake hawatumii lugha kwenye shughuli zao.

Namna ya kudumisha kindamba…mimi ninapofikiria kama kuna uwezekana basi wafuatwe wale wazee ambao kidogo wana umri mkubwa ndio wanaweza kueleza kiundani zaidi, ndo jinsi ya kuhifadhi lugha. Lakini kwa sisi vijana kama waleo hii, kwa kweli nasema tumepotea kidogo.

Interview 6   **ME1M**

Interviewee: Male, age 50 years; education level std. 7; occupation farming, fishing, carpentry ; no of children 3 (ages 25, 15, 4)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Monday, 28/January/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Mghangapi I was born in 1958. The work that I do, the main one is farming, the one that I was taught by my father and mother, also I am engaged in fishing. But work that I have some training in is carpentry. I completed grade seven. My first child was born in 1983, my second child was born in 1993, and my third child was born in 2004.

Children learn to speak language because they are born in my house, when I am at home where my child is born, I speak Ndamba, but when the child goes to school, he/she speaks Swahili.
Therefore the language that you speak at home, children will know it.

Here in this house frankly we speak Kiswahili and Chindamba, the language we were born with. In speaking we mix up languages, sometimes Swahili sometimes Chindamba. Like during the day, when the children have gone to school, you may try to speak Kiswahili. But when the children return home, particularly during the evening meals we tell them stories in Chindamba. That is why you can see our children are well conversant in Chindamba.

Personally the language that in which I can express myself best is Swahili, but the language I feel proud to speak is (this) my Ndamba language. The problem is other people corrupt me in using a foreign language, the people who come and go.

The language that I can speak here at Merera and be sure to be understood by everyone is Swahili.
If we mean to speak the truth, we must admit that here at Merera in the past there were only ourselves. Nowadays there are lots of newcomers are with us, therefore it isn't possible for you to speak Chindamba from morning to the night without speaking Swahili at all along the way, that way you won't be able to speak to anybody.

This is an obvious fact; nowadays it is not possible to hear the sound of drums. Ndamba culture could disappear completely.
The importance of preserving the Ndamba is there, I am looking with anticipation from you the experts. For example today you are the first person I have ever come across since I was born coming to inquire about Chindamba.

What I would like tell you is that, there is every reason to preserve Ndamba language and culture because otherwise I would be like a Nyakyusa person, who says *msokile* which means a person with no place of origin. Therefore I believe that if I don't speak Ndamba, if I forget to teach it to my children, it would mean that I am completely lost, that I belong nowhere.

It is necessary to preserve Ndamba, because Ndamba is a tribe and its speakers are there, they reproduce and eventually die.
Ndamba language exists, it should exist because we Ndamba people exist and we bear children and the children grow among the Ndamba.

It is quite possible for Ndamba language and culture to vanish, first because the tribe itself is small. In the past we used to live along the river flood plains and on river islets but nowadays we live on the

mainland where there are roads, railways, tarmac, that is why you can see our numbers is increasing very much. As a result of this you see this language is going to be completely lost.

When I speak to someone in Ndamba and they reply back in Swahili, I don't like that at all. I see that as quite an intimidation to my life.

Language that I use at work will depend on the situation, in the farm I understand well that the people I work with are fellow Ndambas, but when I am out making a chair or when I am engaged in roofing work or making a cupboard, I know I have to speak Swahili because…(inaudible)

When I pray I use Ndamba, at the dispensary I communicate in Swahili. To speak to the village government officials I use Swahili.

I really wish that my children to know Ndamba language and culture that is the reason why I had to come back home from the town. I have come back because of the children, even the children; I have reproduced them rather late.

When speaking to their peers my children use Ndamba, their form of Ndamba is not quite correct.
It is important for my children to know to speak Ndamba because it is the language that I, their father was born with.

Outside the home, children have no other means of learning Ndamba. This village since when I was born has had no programmes for teaching Ndamba to the children.

In the local community Ndamba is used in the activity of fishing also during work in the farms, there people use predominantly Ndamba language. Also matters of traditional custom are conducted in Ndamba. For instance when it comes to conducting ritual ceremonies, the priests are available, but they conduct the customary matters using Ndamba.

How to preserve Ndamba from vanishing, I think you the experts who are in the forefront should come up with strategies that would help sustain peoples memory about the language. These include writing school books; make it possible for books written in Ndamba to be used in schools the way it is for Swahili. There is even English in the schools. Here at Merera our children learn English, Swahili, but their language is not spoken at school.

Interview 6   **ME1M**
(Original text in Ndamba)

Nengapa Mughangapi.Umuli wangu nengapa moneka mwaka hamsini na nane.Kasi yangu ye gola, kweli ngomi kabisa ya kwanza ya kulima yamvundishili tati na mau, ya kuyenda kulweni.Lakini kasi yangu yakusoma kidogu ngugola kasi ya uselemala.
Malisha dalasa ya saba.Mwana wangu wa kwanza kawoneka mwaka semanini na tatu, mwana wangu wa pili kawonekana tisini na tatu, mwana wangu wa tatu kawonekana elfu mbili na nne.

Vana vyakwifundisha lugha kwa sababu ne monekela pakaya yangu.Pandikala pala kwa sababu mwana wangu kawoneka basi nguywanga filongo fila fya Kindamba, lakini payenda kushuli akudeta chiswahili. Kiluga chila cha udeta pakaya yu muzazi, vana vamanya kudeta.

Apa pakayapa kwa kweli tukuywanga Chiswahili na Chindamba chetu cha tuwonekili nacho.Tukuchanganya changanya, saa yingi Chiswahili saa yingi Chindamba.
Wakati ambao wa pamusi nga vana naha tangu malavila vakuyenda kushuli, pala na yuwe ukughayanika kudeta Chiswahili. Lakini pavawuya kaya ndilya yila ya pamihi yila kuna simo lazima tukuvasimilagha Chindamba. Kwa hiyo kuwona vana vetu vakolela nongwa ya Chindambachi.

Ni mwenebaha kwa kweli lugha lahisi ye ndumiya ni Chiswahili.Lugha ye mona fahali nga yiyi yangu ya Chindamba yi.Ava vakunyasinganya hela kwa sababu vengi vakuyingila na vakufuma.
Lugha kwa kweli nguwesa kutumia pa Melelapa kuywanga na vandu au akumbikanisha mundu kwa kweli ni Chiswahili.

Kwa kweli tukotoke kudeta uwongo, paMelela zamani twavele twavene weka, hinopawu kuna vandu vakuyingila vatangilili sana, kwa hiyo siyo muhimu yu uywangi Chindamba tangu malavila mpaka pamihi bila kuywanga Chiswahili ng'odo, ukuywanga na vandu ha.

Yaani ayi tukotoke kukana haa, masikuva hata ng'oma kupikanisha haa. Chindamba chikuwesa kuyaghamila kabisa.Umuhimu wa kuhifazi ili kikotoke kuyaghamila, nengapa nguvapikanisha mwayetu.Kwa mfano nalelowu ndo mala yangu ya kwanza yuwe kuyisapa kudasha Chindamba tangu ng'onikile, Hinopawu ne ngukuwombela kabisa kabisa umuhimu kuuvele sana, kwa sababu negapa nguwesha kuva nga Munyakyusa akuwomba msokile maana yake nini hana kwao. Hinopawu na nenga manya kabisa kuva pambota kuywanga Chindamba apa, pandivasiwa vana vangu Chindamba, basi nengapa nguwonekane nyaghamila kabisa kwamba ndiva popose pala. Sababu ya kuhifadhi Kindamba ipo,kwa sababu Kindamba ni kabila na hawa watu wapo,wanazaliwa na wanakufa.Chindamba kuchiveli lazima chive kuchikuveli kwa sababu mbona tuvandamba tukulela halafu kisha vana vakukula na vandamba.

Chindamba chikuwesa kuyaghamila,kwanza kabila yeneyi doko.Zamani pala twekalagha munyene,muchighunguli lakini hinopawu tuva mumilima mu balabala sya vandu siveli na leli,siveli na lami,hinopawu ukuwona tukutangala sana,kwa hiyo chitendo achi ikuwona ayi lugha ikuyaghamila kabisa.

Nenga pawomba chindama alafu mundu anyangule kwa Chiswahili, kwa kweli nenga ngudayilaa haa.Naona kama kwamba ananinyanyasa katika maisha.

Kukasi,ngulola na kasi yene maana kasi mfano ya kulima,ngumanya kabisa ngulima na va kabila yangu,lakini panyenda ngagole kasi ya chiti cha malimba au pengine kuezeka nyumba au kutengeneza kabati,basi lazima nywange chiswahili,kwa sababu….

Kusali ngutumiyagha Chindamba. Panyenda kuzahanati na serikali ya kijiji natumia Kiswahili.

Ngudayila sana vangu vemanye Chindamba ndiyo mana muya kumbwani, muya kaya kwa sababu ya vanava, hata pakule njelewa sana.

Pavaywanga vavene weka vana vakutumia Chindamba, lakini pavadeta Chindamba chikunyooka haa.

Ni muhimu wanangu wajue Kindamba kutokana na lugha ya mimi baba yao nilikozaliwa.

Nje ya hapa nyumbani hakuna njia nyingine ambayo watoto wanajifunza Kindamba. Kijiji tangu tuwoneke chikufundisha vana Chindamba haa.

Shughuli inayoendeshwa kwa Kindamba,nafikiri shughuli ya kwanza kabisa ni uvuvi, kulima inaindeshwa Kindamba.Mila na desturi inendeshwa Kindamba.Kuchawu apa pa tuvelepa kuna nongwa ya kutambika,va mbuye pavavelepa,ila mila sila sikuyenda kwa chindamba.

Njia ya kuhifadhi Kindamba kisipotee, ne ngawombeghe mu vakome vayetu muvele kulongolo, ni kutailisha mbinu sila ambasho mukuleta kumbukumbu ya vitabu fikwikala mu shuli, basi iwesekane na Chindamba mula mu shuli chiyingili, shuka lugha ya chiswahili yila, mbona kuna chingelesa chikuyingila mu shuli. Pamelelapa vana vetu vakwifundisha Chingelesa, Chiswahili, lakini lugha yao yila vakudeta haa kushuli.

Interview 7   **ME2M**

Interviewee: Male (grandfather) age over 70 years; education level (unknown); occupation peasant; no of children (unknown)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Tuesday, 29/January/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Undole
How children learn to speak Ndamba language? They have their father, they have their grandfather, and in this manner they must speak Ndamba.

Be it the child who is attending school or one that still crawls at home, he/she listens to what the father says to him/her.

There should be a habit of teaching children. If the child is a female; she should be given a pot and parents should condition her to cook or to fetch water. For male children, there should be a spear for him, a fishing rod for him. This is how Ndamba children are raised up. They are provided with real life objects.

In this house we speak to children in Ndamba, we call them using Ndamba…If it is Neta, they call her…Neta please come here…Neta fetch me some water…Neta go to your aunt and get me soap. They send her, when she comes she brings soap with her. This is the habit of the people of this house.

As regards to children having interest in Ndamba, this requires that you inculcate into the children the knowledge of their language and the habits of their language. The parent should make determined effort to explain to the children and get them used to the habits of the language.

Concerning the danger of Ndamba dying out, this issue I intended to confer with you Mr. Lipembe. Personally I am very much perplexed by this issue. The use of Swahili nowadays is much spread, Chindamba is not spoken. It now seems like everybody is a Swahili speaker. I see that problem.

There is need to preserve Ndamba. We must because if we continue speaking Swahili Ndamba language will vanish. Now that you have asked me about this I see that we have reason, now we are awake, we know we must speak Chindamba so that it remains the way it was in the past.

If Ndamba were to vanish I would feel bereaved, for there would no longer be anybody to talk to. If Ndamba were to die out I would be weakened, who would there be for me to confide with? When everyone around me is Swahili, everyone around me is English.

When I speak to a child in Ndamba and he/she answers back in Swahili, I forbid him/her right away. I would ask what course (attitude) was he taking, are you sure I understand Swahili? Do you intend to insult me?… I reprimand him like that and the child would finally understand and follow my way.

The language that I would like my children to learn and master well since I am Ndamba by heart is Ndamba language, Swahili is simply a communal language, my wish is that my children should speak Ndamba so tat I understand them well. Because I myself am Ndamba by birth.

The Ndamba that children speak when they are with me at home they speak Ndamba correctly. But when they are with their fellows, they resort to speaking mixed language, sometimes they speak Swahili, sometimes Chindamba. Moreover the form of Ndamba they speak is corrupted. It is not an acceptable form like the one I speak.

When children speak among themselves, they more often use Swahili.

If a person were to say Ndamba is not important for children to learn, if the person who gave that comment is a child I would ask him right away are you a Swahili? My origin is Ndamba, even though I speak Swahili but my language is Ndamba. What reason have you got for trying to kill my language? I am Ndamba and my language is this that I speak.

Concerning to the need to preserve Ndamba, I would like to ask those of you who are experts, now that the language is fading out, do as you are doing now, go around consult those of us who are still alive about the language and write it down on paper to keep record of it so as to ensure that the language does not perish.

With regards to the role of the community in promoting Ndamba, you are reminding me. There is need for us to come together and ask ourselves, what direction are we heading to, are we trying to become Ngoni or Swahili or else Nyakyusa? Why do we put so much emphasis on Swahili alone? Why do we debase Ndamba? The person who said we should all speak Swahili, do you think the person who said we should unite is a fool? At his place many people speak Swahili and now they require us to learn Swahili and unite with them. In this manner Ndamba will die out. Two or three elders should sit together and resolve that we have to keep our Ndamba language.

Litawa lyangu nenga Undole.Vana vadokwadokwa vakumanya wuliwuli vadete chindamba, tati wao kwavele, mbuyi wao kwavele, lazima adete chindamba.Mwana yuli wa chuli yula au mwana mkwava apikanila kucha nenga tati kang'mbela naha.

Mazoweya ya kuvafundisha vana.Nga vana vadala kuchivele chimbundi, vakuwesha kuzowesha kuteleka au kuteka machi.Kwa vana valumi, kuuvele mgoha wake, kuluvele lufighu lwake, kuyivele ndovano yake yila, kwa vana valumilumi ndiyo mazoezi ya Chindamba.Na udangilo wake vakudangilagha mumo.

Nyumba ayi,pa kudeta na vana tukutumia chindamba wuwu, pa kukema tukukema Chindamba wuwu,pavele Neta vakumkema Neta ee wisepa.Neta mwao kandolele machi.Neta yende kwa nahongao kula kandolele sabuni.Akumutuma pala, pawuya akuwuya na sabuni,Ndo mazowezi ya vananyumbayi kwa vana.

Kuhusu vana kuwona umuhimu wa Chindamba, yeneyi mpaka uvafundishe na vave na mazoweya kucha lugha yanguyi kumbe yiva nahau au mazowezi yangu ya Chindamba yiva nahau, yuwe mzazi na ukamilike kwa vanangutava kuvahimulila na kuvazowesha.

Kuhusu Chindamba kuyaghamila, fyene filongofi miyaa ngacheghe nikukonye miyangu Lipembe.Na nimwao na ngujinga wuwu.Chiswahili panopa nahau chikwila, chiluga ya chindamba chila vakuhimula haa.Ponopa naha yilinganalingana kuchau vaswahili, na nimwao naha nichiwona wuwu.

Muhimu wa kuhifadhi Chindamba lazima tuwe nawo, tupote kuva nao duhu ponopa yufe pa twisa kutumia Chindamba mbona luga yila ya Chindamba yila na iyaghamile.Ponopa naha na miyangu udashile nahau tuna haki, ponopa tuva mesolasima tudete Chindamba na luga ayi iyoshwe Chindamba nga dahile.
Nenga Chindamba pa yisa chiyaghamile tope ndiva mkiva, kumbe ngudeta na ghani.Pachiyaghamila Chindamba tu nenga tope ni mzaifu, kumbe nakonda na ghani? Na vayangu vose vaswahili na vayangu vose vangelesa.

Nenga padeta Chindamba, mwana anyangule Chiswahili ngumkana bahala ndicha nenga ponopa naha kwa uyenda koti? Mwao ponopawu paudeta Chiswahili ngupilikana? na ujoghole? tope ngumkalipila naha na mwisho akwisa angovekele nenga.

Luga liki vana vashoyivele zaidi,nenga zaidi kabisa na moyo wangu ni mundambawu ngadayileghe ponopa naha lugha yangu ya Chindambayi vashovelele vana vangu,i Kiswahiliyi mbona luga ya jumulia,lakini mwenepa ngudayila vadeteghe Chindamba na nimwene mbilikane.Kwa sababu ni mwene baha ni mzaliwa wa Chindamba.

Kuhusu Chindamba cha vadeta vananguta, patuvele na nenga bahala akukonda Chindamba cha kweli, kuvavele na vayao ako vabadilibadili na Chiswahili na vakujumba wuwu, mala vadete Chiswahili mala vadete Chindamba na Chindamba chene cha kukolofeka.Chikumanyika nga nenga wu ngondawu haa.

Vana pavaywanga vene kwa vene vakutumia sana Chiswahili.

Mundu pa detela Chindamba china maana ndili, mani kadetela nga mwana naha, ngumwangula bahala, ndicha nenga ponopa yuwe kuva muswahili? Lilongo lyetu ni mundamba na chiswahili changu nga achi nguwombelachi na luga yangu ngayiyi ngudetelayi, deta chiswahili? Nalelo pa kuwulagha yuwi luga ya nenga pa kudeta ukughulagha kwa masenteso liki, na ne ni Mundamba na luga yangu ngaayi ye detayi ya Chindambayi.

Habali ya kuhifazi Chindamba, ponopawu nga vayetu nga mudetawu, ponopa muvameso nga Chindamba da chiyaghamile na papo na yufwe tusighele nga mutukonya nahau, mwandike mu kalatasi yive kumbukumbu yighoye kuyaghamila lugayi haa.

Habali ya Chijiji, filongofi miyangu ukungumbushila, fyosefi ukungumbushila nimwawo na twikeme, mwayetu ee kwetuyendako kuvangoni? Kwetuyendako kuvaswahili? Kwetuyendako kuvanyasa? Mbona tukuwona tukudeta filongofi tukutughila Chiswahili weka yetu hela, chindambachi tukuchilekela liki? na yakondile yula kucha nenga safi tudeteeghe chiswahili.Yula Mswahili yatele nenga tuwunganike yula mpufi? Mbona kaya yake vatangala vaswahili avo.Na yufwe ponopa nahau vatung'ang'nika vacha nenga

twifundishe tuwungane na vene.Na yufwe naha wuwu chindambachi da chitoleke. Vakomi vavili vatatu tukwikala turekebishe tuve na luga yetu yiyi ya chindambayi.

Interview 8   **ME3M**

Interviewee: Male, age 32 years; education level std. 7; occupation, peasant; no of children 3 (ages 8, 3, 2)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Wednesday, 30/January/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Changupa I am thirty two years old my work is farming. I completed standard seven. My children; the first one is eight years old another one has three years of age and the third one is two years old.

Children learn to speak Ndamba through us grown up people, we teach them when we speak among ourselves and when we ask them to fetch things for us, in this manner children get used and learn to speak Ndamba.
Conditions that promote to learn Ndamba at home are that there should be peers for children to play with. Children learn very quickly when they play among themselves.

Here at in my house the language I use to speak to my wife is Ndamba, likewise I use Ndamba to speak to my children. When relatives come to visit more often we speak Ndamba but sometimes we use Swahili as well. We mix languages when the relative who comes to visit speaks Swahili, even though you might speak to him in Ndamba but very often you would find yourself drawing in Swahili. But overall the main language of communication in my house is Ndamba.

The language that I find easy to express myself in is Ndamba. But when I go out to speak with my friends the language that we use more often is Swahili.

Generally speaking I can say people debase Ndamba. Nowadays the way things are going it is very likely that Ndamba will vanish. The reason why the language will die is that we grown ups put much effort in teaching Swahili to our children, even when then they go to school teachers insist that they should speak Swahili.

If Ndamba were to die out people would not understand us, we would be like refugees, unable to tell our tribe.

When I speak in Ndamba and the child answers back in Swahili I would feel snubbed, in such a way that would make me decide to change and speak Swahili as well.

I would like my children to learn to speak Ndamba because this is our language of origin since we were born our parents had been speaking Ndamba.

The Ndamba that children speak is quite correct. The language that my children use while playing among themselves is Ndamba.

I like my children to know Ndamba because in future they should be able to tell their origin. Like now we ourselves can not really tell what our origins are, we are like a lost people.

When someone says it is not necessary to teach Ndamba to children would not agree with him/her. This is the language I was born with and everybody has ones own origins for me it is Ndamba.

Outside the home children learn Ndamba like when they go out to play football. There they speak Ndamba among themselves, only the younger children, the youth do not speak Ndamba.

Regarding the village community taking up responsibility to teach Ndamba language and culture to children...that is not yet done, because even village members themselves when they gather in village meetings they communicate mostly in Swahili. In the village gatherings if someone   happens to ask a

question in Ndamba the leaders would tell him to speak in Swahili because the gathering is a mixture comprising of speakers of other languages as well.

When making my personal prayers I use Ndamba. At the village dispensary people communicate mostly in Swahili.

Communal activities in which only Ndamba is spoken include funeral gatherings, when women are engaged in cooking they usually speak in Ndamba. Also when working in the farms when people are gathered in a group, there they usually speak Ndamba. But it is seldom for people speak to Ndamba when they are travelling.

To preserve Ndamba...we Ndamba speakers are determined to see that our language is preserved, to achieve this resolve in my view we need start forming groups, like arts performing groups and send their work to the media like radio Tanzania to broadcast it. The groups should compose all their work in Ndamba. When people come to listen to their performances, they would become familiar with the language and understand its importance. If we can not do this Ndamba will disappear because when someone speaks the language in public, it will sound unfamiliar to them might ridicule and laugh at him/her. To the contrary when people have the opportunity to listen to Ndamba songs and other genres, say on the radio they would be familiar with the language and recognize it as a proper language like any other.

Interview 8   ME3M
(Original text in Ndamba)

Litawa lyangu Changupa. Nina miyaka salasini na mbili, kasi yegola ya kulima. Malila dalasa ya saba.Vana vangu, wa kwanza ana miaka minane, monga ana miaka mitatu, mwana wa pili na wa tatu ana miaka mivili.

Kwifundisha kwa vana chindamba yaani yufwi twavene tuvakomi topi tukuvafundisha patuywanga twavene pala ukumtuma chindu achi, mwene pala ndiyo akushovelela kwifundisha Chindamba.
Mazingila ya kwifundisha Chindamba, yaani zaidi vananguta pavadinga vene kwa vene ndiyo pala vakwifundisha safi sana, kwasababu miyanga katolechi katolechi basi pala ndo vakwifundisha vene kwa vene vananguta weka.
Pakayapa kuywanga na mdala wangu zaidi tukutumiya chindamba na vana nawo tukudeta nawo chindamba.Pavesa valongo mala zaidi tukudeta chindamba mala chiswahili.Tukuchanganya luga kwa sababu pawesa kufika mlongo monga yaani akuywanga chiswahili, kwa hiyo paywanga chiswahili pala yuwe ukumjibu chindamba alafu yimonga ukuyendelela chiswahili.Lakini luga tukutumia sana pakayapa chindamba.

Nimwenepa luga yemona lahisi zaidi kudeta ni chindamba.Lakini panyenda mitaaniko kwa kweli tukutumiya sana chiswahili.

Kwa hinopawu vandu nguwona chindamba vakukipuusa.Kwa hinopawu kwa kweli kwetuyendelako chindamba lasima chiyaghamile.Kuyaghamika kwene kwasababu nga nahau yufwe tukuyenda vanava vadokwa tukuvafundisha sana Chiswahili hata pavayenda kushuli pala ukuwona valimu zaidi vakuvakazania vaywange chiswahili.

Ulasima wa kuvafundisha vana luga ya chindamba na utamaduni wake kwa uvele kwa sababu yaani hata vene ili maana vemanye chindamba.

Pachiyaghamila chindamba tukuwonekana kulonga yufwi vandu tukueleweka haa, yaani tukuva kulonga vakimbizi hela yaani hatuelewi kuwa tuna kabila liki.

Nenga padeta Chindamba mwana pa ayangula Chiswahili yani pala nenga nguwona kazalau ndo maana nguwomba na nenga dete chiswahili.

Ne ngudayila sana vanavangu vemanye kudeta chindamba, kwa sababu ay indo lugha yetu ya asili tangu yufwe tuwonekilwe wazazi wetu vaywangaa chindambachi

Chindamba cha vadeta vananguta...hinopawu vakudeta safi kabisa.

Vananguta pavadinga vene kwa venepo vakutumia zaidi chindamba.

Ne ngudayila sa vanagu vemanye chindamba kwa sababu hata baadaye, hata twavene baha hinopaa tukwidasha kuva vandamba asili yao zaidi koti? Kwa sababu hinopau tukuwona yaani kulonga tukuyaghamika wula.

Mundu padeta kindamba chahela maana kuvafundisha vananguta...da jumile haa, achi ndo tuwonikoli nacho na kila mundu kana sili yake ya chindamba...nanihi, lugha yake.

Nje ya pakaya vananguta vakwifundisha chindamba...mani nganahau pavayenda pampila pala vakwidetela chindamba vananguta weka.Lakini si vijana aa vananguta.

Kijiji kufundisha vana chindamba...kwa kweli bado, kwa sababu hata vene pavayenda pa mikutano vakuywanga zaidi chiswahili,kwa sababu pa vaywanga chiswahili pala,hata mundu pakudaa adashe swali,akudasha chindamba,vakuwomba...aaa bwana apa kwa sababu tumechanganyika hapa, kwahiyo tuywangi chiswahili.

Pakusali nenga ngutumiaa kabisa chindamba. Zahanati kula vandu vakudeta zaidi chiswahili.

Shughuli sikutumia chindamba weka...apa chindamba zaidi pauwona mu shughuli nga nahau pa misiba vamama pavekala pajiko naha ndo vakuywanga sana chindamba. Pauwukapo nga kufitava, kulimila nganahau basi mwikala chikundi mukuywanga sana chindamba.Si pamuyenda usafili au liki aa.

Kuhifazi kindamba...yaani yufwe hinopau vandamba tukudayila kabisa kabisa chindamba chetu chikotoo kuyaghamila, yaani apa hinopa tugole mpango angalau kuunda vikundi na fila fikundi fila tukuyegha ako kulongoko kama ledio Tanzania kufitangazatangaza.Kwa hiyo payimba pala yaani vatungee nyimbo sose chindamba.Kwa hiyo pavayimba vala basi kila mundu pala da awone kumbe chindamba china umuhimu, unaona... lakini paukosa kuchigola naha ndo maana chikuyaghamika kwa sababu mundu akuyenda kaywange chindamba pavandu akuona kwamba vakumseka.Kumbe payisa vayimbeyimbe muledio nahau basi vene vakumanya aah, kumbe ichi cha kawaida, kulonga vayetu.

Interview 9   **ME4F**

Interviewee: Female, age 32 years; education level std. 7; occupation peasant; no. of children 3 (ages 13, 9, 4)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Thursday, 31/January/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Sara Danda, my age is thirty five years. My work is only farming. I completed standard seven. My first child is thirteen years old, the second one has nine years of age and the third one is four years old.

Children learn to speak Ndamba through his/her parents, especially the mother. When you speak Ndamba to the child he/she would repeat what you have said. Moreover children learn to speak Ndamba when they play with their age mates.

The language that I usually use at home to speak to my husband and children is Ndamba.
When visitors come to my house, it depends if they can speak Ndamba I will speak to them in Ndamba, in a mixed group with speakers of other languages, we are compelled to speak Swahili.
Personally the language that I can speak with ease is Ndamba. When I meet a fellow Ndamba speaker I feel very proud to speak in my own language.

I don't think that Ndamba would die out easily in this village because people hold Ndamba language and culture with esteem. However should Ndamba language vanish one must feel deficient, imperfect because Ndamba is ones ancestry, when one loses it, he/she would be at a loss.

The language that my children use predominantly at home is Ndamba at school they speak Swahili.

When I speak to my child in Ndamba and he/she answers back I Swahili I would consider it scornfulness. I would feel much upset and must reprimand him/her to give reason for speaking to me in Swahili.

I would like my child to learn first Ndamba language, it is very important because he/she will be able to learn Swahili in future when he grows up.

When children play with their age mates they speak dominantly Ndamba sometimes they also use Swahili.

Should a person say that there is no practical purpose to teach Ndamba to the children, I would not agree with such an idea, I would consider a person with such an idea as a showcase.

In the community children have the opportunity to learn Ndamba because there they meet other people who speak Ndamba as well; there they learn other things they were not able to learn within the home from me. Because in every house people speak Ndamba.
The village has no programme for teaching Ndamba to the youth, it's only the homes that do so.

Communal functions in which the use of Ndamba prevails include liquor drinking festivals, funeral celebrations as well as when people come together for farm work.

We tell stories to our children. In the past grand parents were responsible for telling stories to the youth. Now that they are no more and since we learnt from them, we are now able to retell stories to our children we teach them. Stories taught moral lessons to the children.

We would be able to preserve Ndamba if each parent in their home were able to teach the language to their children, it will not disappear. Because here in this village we feel cumbersome to speak Swahili, we are not used to. Most of the time we speak Ndamba, therefore it would be quite hard for Ndamba to vanish around here. For once when you try to speak to our children here in Swahili they can only gaze at you unable to converse effectively with you.

Interview 9 ME4F

(Original text in Ndamba)

Litawa lyangu Sara biti Danda. Ne nina miaka selasini na tano. Kasi yangu nenga kulima hela. Malisha dalasa ya saba. Mwana wangu wa kwanza ana miaka kumi na tatu, wa pili ana miaka tisa na wa tatu kana miaka minne.

Vana vya kwifundisha kudeta luga na mzazi, sana mama. Paudeta yuwi chindamba na mwana akuwuyila chindamba. Vana vakwifundisha chindamba zaidi pa kudinga.

Pakayapa tukudeta chindamba na bambo wangu na vana...... valongo pavayisa kama vandamba tukudeta chindamba kama pana mchanganyiko lazima dete chiswahili.
Luga nguwona lahisi kutumia Chindamba. Yaani pandanganyika na mndamba miyangu panywanga chindamba ndo nguwona ufahali sana.

Chindamba kwa halaka hela kiyaghamile haa. Vandu apa vakuheshimu tu chindamba na utamaduni wake.
Pachiyaghmila chindamba lazima ujisikie vibaya kwasababu chindamba ndiyo chimbuko yako alafu chikuwesa kuyaghamila?

Vana vangu vakudeta chindamba na chiswahili vakudeta pavava ku shuli.
Nenga padeta chindamba mwana akujibu chiswahili zalau. Nikujisikia vibaya sana,na lazima nimwombewombe kwa sababu ya liki yuwe ukudeta chiswahili.

Kwa mwana kwanza katika luga mbili lazima amanye chindambachi, kwa muhimu sana kama Kiswahili kulongolo, kwa vayendako.

Vana pavadinga vakutumia zaidi chindamba pamonga na chiswahili.

Mundu padeta chindandamba chivahela maana kuvafundisha vana, nengapa jumile haa kwa sababu ni limbukeni.

Kukijiji vana vakwifundisha chindamba kula mbona vacha vatanganike na vandu vayao wuwowu,tofauti na nengapa ni vele apa, kula lazima vatanganyike na vayao vadete chindamba vakudeta, kwa sababu kila kaya lazima idete chindamba.
Kila kaya ikufundisha vana vake siyo kijiji.

Shughuli tukutumia chindamba nga nahau patuyenda pa kikundi cha kukusanyika pa uyimbi hata kufivembo, hata ukuyenda ukalime mahali kwikala mukusanyiko.

Simo tukuvasimulia vava vambuyi vetu vava vasova lakini yufwepa twepikanishaa kidogo kwa vambuyi vetu na yufwe naha vana vetu tukuvafundisha, tukuvasimulila.

Chindamba kila mundu pakwikala na vana vake pakaya chindamba akume...chiyaghamili haa, kwa sababu yufwepa kwanza kudeta chiswahili tukuwona tabu sana tushovelela haa, lazima tudete chindamba tuu. Hinapa kuyaghamika kuno kasi sana. Kwanza akayesha Kiswahili mani kudeta na vana vakuwesha kumulola kumeso hela.

Interview 10   **ME5M**

Interviewee: Male, age 29 years; education level std. 7; occupation, peasant; no of children (not known)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Thursday, 31/January/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Chibongolo Alfred, I am aged twenty nine years. My occupation is farming. I completed standard seven.

Children learn to speak Ndamba through their mother because the mother is the first person to hold the child. Subsequently the mother will begin to show items to the child and tell their names. In this way the child will begin to acquire language through his mother.

The environment that may help the child in the young age to learn language is to give the child practice activities that enhance the child's learning of language, in this way the child will be able to associate words and the particular objects or actions they stand for. The child begins to speak language in this manner.

In this house more often we speak Ndamba. To my wife and children I speak Ndamba. I think it is important to speak Ndamba because all of us here speak Ndamba and can understand each other very well in that language.
When the people I wish to speak to comprise of speakers from other languages, I will speak in Swahili so that everyone around can understand me.

In this village people do not debase Ndamba language we hold it with dignity.

The way I look at it, it will be vey difficult for Ndamba to get lost in this village because everyone even small children can speak the language more than Swahili.
Should it disappear I will feel grief because it would mean we have lost one of our customs, thrown it away in favour of a language that is not complementary to our tradition.
When I speak to a child in Ndamba and they answer back in Swahili, I would feel humbled because it would mean the child considers me backward and unable to speak Swahili.

When I am in the company of my friends we usually speak Ndamba, similarly when offering prayers, I do so in my language Ndamba.

When my children grow up I would prefer them to speak well my language because I am Ndamba. I see no problem for them to learn Swahili because it is a national language and everyone around here speaks it, they will be able to learn it easily. It is important that my child speak my language.

The form of Ndamba that my children speak because they are not mature enough is not the standard one. They can not speak the form that their grand parents used to speak.

When children play among themselves like this, they usually speak Ndamba.

When a person says Ndamba serves no practical purpose for children to learn, I would completely disagree with him. I would think that the aim of such a view is for us to lose our language. It would be forgotten because if we teach one child this language, he/she will teach it to the younger siblings. When the elder child has learnt my language and if I die he will be there to teach his younger brothers and sisters. Now if I fail to teach the language to my children when I am still around, the younger ones who are born after him will not know Ndamba, in this way the language will be lost.

Children are also able to learn Ndamba when they are involved in play; like when they play football or rope skipping, there children can develop their language skills.

In the village some language development measures are in place, in certain village subsections agents go around teaching children aspects of language to ensure that Ndamba is maintained. This is sometimes in the form of telling stories to the young children, getting them familiarized to traditional songs, at funeral celebrations children learn the special language used for such occasions. In this manner children are able to get acquainted to Ndamba language and customs.

When I wish to pray I normally do so in Ndamba, at the dispensary the language used there mostly is Swahili.

In order to preserve Ndamba, we grown up people should be firm in teaching our children the language that we have inherited from our ancestors. We have to intensify our resolve to acquaint them. The more we teach them the more they will be acquainted with the language. In this way Ndamba will not get lost because children will be using it all the time.
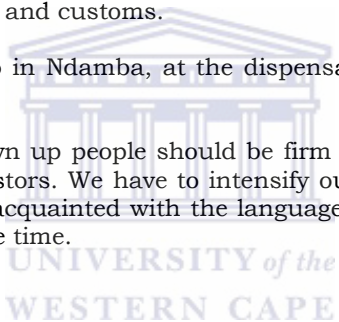
Interview 10   **ME5M**

(Original text in Ndamba)

Nengapa litawa lyangu Chibongolo, Alfred. Miaka yangu ishirini na tisa. Ne ngulima hela. Malisha dalasa ya saba. Nina mwana yumo hela sasa hivi anakaribia miezi minne.

Vana vakwifundisha luga zaidi kupitia kwa mama,kwa sababu mama ndo mundu wa kwanza katika kumuelewesha mwana jinsi yamkamula kumlola kwamba mwana wangoyu ponopa nimwombele chindu achi mana yake liki kwa hiyo pala ndo mwana akutola zaidi lugha kupitia kwa mama.

Findu ambafyo mwana akuwesha kwifundisha lahisi kutokana na umuli mdokwa nahau,ukuwesha kukumwombela,unyimbi chindu fulanu,akulola, ahaa chindu fulani mama akuwomba chindu fulani kumbe chila,bakuli.Kanyimbe sofulia akulola kumbe sofulia yila,ee ndo namna mwana jinsi ya kuywanga chindamba.

Apa pakayapa mala kwa mala tukudeta sana chindamba.Nenga nguwona afazali zaidi ndumiye lugha ya chindamba kwa sababu twawose tuvele apa twa vandamba na tukuelewana halaka sana.Kama pana vandu vachanganyika nguwona fahali nitumie Kiswahili ili kila mundu aelewe.
Kwa kweli kwa chijiji chetochi lugha yetoyi tukuipuuza haa chindamba na zaidi tukuikamulila sana chindamba, tukipuuza haa.

Chindamba kwa kweli kwa jinsi panola,kuyaghamila ikuva kasi sana,kwa sababu ponopau hata mwanguta nga ayu,yaani Chindamba akuywanga kiasi kwamba ukuwesa kumwelewa kabisa kuwa mwanangutayu chadeta chindu liki,tofauti kabisa na chiswahili.

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Kindamba pachiyaghamila, kwa kweli nitajisikia vibaya sana kwa sababu kwani itakuwa tayali yaani kuchau tuyaghamisha destuli yetu yila,ee tuiyasa yaani tukutola maswala va luga tofauti na yufwi jinsi tuvele.

Nenga panimwombela mwananguta chindanba mwene akudeta chiswahili, kwa kweli ngwisikia kalaha sana kwa sababu nenga ngumuwombela chindamba alafu mwene akudeta chiswahili wakati chindamba kachimanya yaani kuchau akubeza nenga kwamba chiswhili nichimanya ng'odo wula.

Panikala na vaghanja vangu lugha yetu tutumia zaidi chindamba.Pa kusali ngutumia lugha yanguyi ye nywangayi ya chindamba.

Mwana wangu pa akula ne nguwona afazali atole luga ya ne ni baba wake kwa sababu ne mndamba ponopawu kiswahiliki luga ya taifa kila mtu akuywanga na si lahisi akose kuimanya ila lazima atole sana luga ya ne baba wake.

Chindamba cha vadeta vananguta kwa sababu bado luhala lwake lukamilika uswanu ng'odo, chindamba chake kweli akudeta lakini cha mugati chila zaidi akimanyi ng'o. Atadeta chila ambacho nenga ngumuwombela, lakini si tuwomba chila adetagha babu wake au somo wake mwene hawezi kukijua.

Vananguta pavekala vene weka vakudinga nahau,luga yao zaidi vatumia chindamba. Vakuweza mwao nyimbe chikopo, mani mwao nyimbe liki basi vekala vakudinga.

Mundu padeta chindamba chahela maana kumfundisha mwana, kwa kweli jumile haa. Kwa sababu na ng'one nguchau vakudaya vaiyase luga yetuyi, yaani ifike sehemu mbaka tuivasiwe, kwa sababu kadili patumshowelesha ayu akuyendelela kushovela na vamonga vakufuma pambele vakwifundisha kwa ayu. Kwa sababu nengapa nimfundisha tayali ayu na nenga da nifwi akusighala ayu na ayu akuvafundisha vamonga. Sasa nikikosa kumfundisha huyu kwa muda huu wangu, wenzake wanaotoka nyuma hawatajua, kwa hiyo hapa itakuwa tayari lugha tumeshaipoteza

Watoto wanaweza kuwa wanajifundisha lugha kwenye michezo, pamonga pampila, pamonga vakudinga mchezo wa kujumba lughoyi, sehemu sila ndo vakwifundisha lugha.

Kijiji utalatibu wa kuvafundisha chindamba vananguta kwa kweli kuuvele, yaani kuna fitongoji, kwa hiyo humu yaani vakuyenda kuvafundisha vana nga avau ili waweshe kushovelela luga yao ikotoke kuyaghamila.

Yila yikuyendelela kwa sababu kwanza vakwifundisha vandu, achana na kusima lusimo akini kuna msambo wa mila, kuchivembo mwana akupata luga, kuwomba aa tumulili mwao maana yake liki, kwa hiyo mle namo vana vakwifundisha luga.

Padayila kusali ngutumiaa zaidi chindamba. Zahanati kula lugha ya kudeta zaidi chiswahili.

Chindamba ili kikotoke kuyaghamila yaani ikutakiwa kabisa kwamba ponopawu yufwe tuvakomi tuve imala sana vana ava ili lugayi yikotoke kuyaghamila haa, kwa sababu lugha yavatulekelili vase vetu.Kuchau jinsi watuyendelela kuvafundishawu ndo hivyo wanavyoendelea kuizoea.Haitapotea kwa sababu kila wakati wanakuwa wanazungumza.

Interview 11   **ME6F**

Interviewee: Female, age 37 years; education level std. 7; occupation, peasant; no of children 1 (age 9yrs)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Friday, 1/February/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

I am called Fidea Likonoka, my age is thirty seven years. I completed standard seven. I have one child of nine years of age.

Children learn to speak Ndamba, I teach them myself by urging them to speak in the language. I speak to them in Ndamba thus my children learn to speak Ndamba.

The conditions that promote children to learn to speak Ndamba including sending children to carry out certain minor tasks at home; like bringing me something…taking something to somebody…going to some place. That is condition for children to learn language.

Here at my home I speak Ndamba with my husband. With my child I usually mix languages, Ndamba and Swahili alike. I speak Swahili to the child especially when he returns from school and I discuss his homework with him.

The language that I can speak with ease is Ndamba and it the language I feel gratified when I speak.

I don't think that Ndamba could one day vanish because we speak it at home everyday and we still teach the language to the children. Besides we still use it all the time when speaking to the children.

People have not lost interest in Ndamba and its culture they hold it in the highest regard, for people regard speaking Ndamba as custom.

If I speak to a person in Ndamba and they answer me back in Swahili I don't feel good at all, I dislike such habit. I will have to reprimand the person that it is not acceptable to answer me back in Swahili.

Should Ndamba one day vanish I would feel sorrow that my language exists no more, I would lament that our children won't be able to speak it any longer. It would be very disappointing.

When children play on their own they usually speak Swahili, that way they are able to learn Ndamba very well.

When a person says Ndamba has no importance, I will not agree with him, it appears he is intent to see us lose our language.

Children learn to speak Ndamba when they use the language in interaction with their peers especially while playing among themselves

The village offers opportunity for children to speak Ndamba and familiarize with their culture so that they don't forget it. They learn traditional dances, for instance at the funerals people sing songs in Ndamba. Of late the main participants in these dances and songs are the youth themselves, elders very often go to sleep.

Grand parents tell stories to the youth; they usually sit with their grandchildren and tell the stories that were told in the past by our ancestors.

Personally when I want to pray or meditate I usually do so in Ndamba. When I go to the dispensary I speak Swahili.

Functions in which the use of Ndamba predominates include working in the farms like rice harvesting; there we speak Ndamba only, also at funeral functions. We esteem this language very much, we can not denigrate it.

Interview 11   **ME6F**
(Original text in Ndamba)

Ne Fidea Likonoka, nina miaka selasini na saba.Ne ngulima.Malila dalasa ya saba.Mwana wangu ayua kana miaka tisa.
Vana vakwifundisha luga… nikuvafundisha mwene, nguvaywangisha.Nguhimula chindamba na vana vangu vakuywanga chindamba.Mwana akwifundisha kumazingila kumtumtuma, katole machi, gole naha, twangi, yende gole kateleke. Mwana ndiyo akumanya.

Apa pakayapa sanasana tukudeta luga ya chindamba na vana vanguva nguvaywangisha chindamba na chiswahili mchanganganyiko.Ngudeta Chiswahili nahau mwana pawuya kushuli ngumdasha masomo ghala kwa chiswahili ndo ngumfundisha na kumwelimisha, apa yikuvaa naha.

Luga nguwona lahisi kutumia chindamba, nguywanga chindamba.Nguwona fahali kudeta chindamba.

Kindamba kiyaghamile ng'odo, mboni tukuywanga sana kila siku na familia yetu bado tukaifundisha hela, vana vetu vose mpaka ponopawu bado tukuywanga nao chindamba.

Vandu chindamba vakukiheshimu sana, mila na destuli syetu lazima tudete chindamba.

Panimuwombela mundu chindamba mwene ayanguli Chiswahili ne ngujisikia safi ng'odo.Ne ngulonga chindamba alafu anyanguli chiswahili, hata dayila haa.Nimwombawomba nengapa nikuywangila chindamba, ngudaya na yuwe uyangule chindamba.Iwezekane ng'odo unywangili chiswahili.

Chindamba na chighamile mani nahuzuniki sana, nasikitika... chindamba chighamila nahau, vana vetu vakushindwa kudeta kabila yetu, lazima nzikitiki saana.

Vana pavadinga ve kwa vene vakutumia zaidi chindamba.Vana vemanye sana chindamba.Mbona vamanyi chiswahili weka, chindamba vakushindwa da vashindwi kudeta pavawuya kukaya kuno.

Mundu padeta chindamba hakina maana ne ngujumila haa, ngumlaumu sana, akupoteza luga.
Vana vakwifundisha chindamba kwa kuywanga vene na vene nga nahau uyenda udinga vakuywanga chindamba.Hata mkomikomi kupita nahau mitaani akwiywangila chindamba.

Kijiji kikuvaelimisha sana vana vadeteghe Chindamba, kotoke kuchivasiwa haa.Vakwifundisha utamaduni wa ngoma,kuchivembo vandu vakuyimba chindamba safi kabisa,tena ponopau vavayimba sana ni vijana,vazee vakuwonja tu.
Vambuyi bado vakasima ee, akwikala naha na vasukulumundu akuvahimulila simu, sha vasimaa vambuyi pamlima,ee vakusima simu.

Kwa kusali ngutumia chindamba.Zahanati kula tukudeta zaidi chiswahili.

Shughuli ikutumia chindamba weka....pa kugola kasi, pakubena mpunga pala vakutumia likasha, pala tukuywanga chindamba weka.Pa uyimbi wa chivembo, kwa kweli yufwi lugayi tukuyiyendekesha na hatuiachii.

Interview 12   **ME7M**

Interviewee: Male, age 35 years; education level std. 7; occupation, peasant; no of children 1 (age 6 yrs)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Thursday, 7/February/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Matanji I was born in 1973, my work is farming. I have one six year old child.

A child begins to learn language starting..... with things that the parent tells the child to do at home, like....fetch me some water...bring me fire.
The condition in which a child learns language is one that involves the child in doing things. That way it becomes easy for the child to learn to speak language, it could be Kisukuma or any language.

Here at home with my wife and child I speak Ndamba and Swahili but more often these days we speak Swahili.

The language that I find easy to speak is Ndamba, the language I was born with. Actually I am very much used to speaking Ndamba, even when I travel when I meet someone from home, impulsively I find myself speaking Ndamba with them. We have to change and behave the way our neighbours the Sukuma do.

Generally speaking our people here hold Ndamba in high esteem, for that reason it is not easy for the language to die out. First because parents speak Ndamba, fathers and mothers hence it is not possible for one to forget how to speak it. From childhood one is acquainted with Ndamba.

When I speak to a child in Ndamba especially when we are somewhere away from home, he/she has to reply in Ndamba, I feel pleased that way, that is why it is important for everyone to know the language.

My child speaks Ndamba better than she speaks Swahili. Sometimes we have to remind her to familiarize herself with Swahili and gain proficiency in it because it is the language of education. She speaks Ndamba very well.

When I am with my friends we usually speak Ndamba. My child I would like her foremost to know Ndamba and then Swahili because Ndamba is the language of our origin.
The language my child speak while playing with friends is Ndamba.
The village has no provision for teaching Ndamba to the children

The language I speak mostly when I go to the store to buy provisions is Swahili. In personal meditation I use Ndamba. But when I go to the village dispensary I have to speak Swahili likewise when I have to speak to the local government officials, I use Swahili.

The range of activities in which Ndamba is dominant include farming, there people speak only Ndamba. Ndamba language and culture could be preserved if we parents are steadfast in ensuring that every time we speak with our children we do so using Ndamba. This way we will not lose Ndamba.

Interview 12   **ME7M**

(Original text in Ndamba)

Nengapa litawa lyangu Matanji.Nengapa moneka mwaka sabini na tatu.Nenga mkulima.Malisha dalasa ya saba mwaka tisini na nne.Nina mwana yumu ana miaka sita.

Mwana kudeta lugha, ukuanza ukuanzila na findu fya olokumlongela.....unyimbi machi, ...yende katole moto, kumdayila likolo lila yipuli, nywalike macheva.

Ili mwana aweze kujua luga yaani ikutakiwa mwana umwombele kwa kila chindu yu mkomi uimanyile,ukumwombela,kama musi mwao undolele musi wulw ndwange apa.Kama machi ukumtuma,kwa hiyo mwana ikuva lahisi kuelewa findu fila kwa sababu na kutokana yuwe mkomi si ukumfundisha,kucha kisukuma nahau.

Apa pakaya na mwana, chindamba tukudeta, chiswahili tukudeta.Lakini zaidi kwa ponopau Kiswahili. Lugha naona lahisi kutumia kindamba, lugha ambayo niliyozaliwa nayo.Kwanza nenga chindamba ngutumiya hata panzafili mladi pang'onana na miyangu wa kaya basi nguywanga sana chikaya kwa sababu lazima tubadili nga vayetu vasukumawu.

Watu kindamba wanakiheshimu.Kindamba kuyaghamila si lahisi.Kwa sababu kwanza wazazi ni wandamba, baba na mama.Kwa hiyo si lahisi yaani nisahau lugha ile.Kwa sababu tangia udogo kwamba kabla ya yote lazima uanza kindamba.

Panimdetela mwana kindamba kama tuva kuuhenja lazima ajibu kindamba, ndiyo ngujisika laha sana, ee kwa sababu yila kila moja amanye.

Mwana wangu anaongea kindamba kwanza kupita Kiswahili, pengine unafanya kumkanusha, jifunzege Kiswahili ili ujue kwa sababu unasoma, lakini kindamba anakiongea sana.

Na marafiki zangu tunatumia sana kindamba.Mwana wangu nataka kwanza kabisa aelewe kindamba alafu Kiswahili.Kwa sababu lugha asili huwezi kuacha.

Mwanangu anapocheza na wenzake anatumia kindamba hikihiki.
Kijiji hakifundishi watoto kusema kindamba. Hamna.

Lugha tunayotumia kwenye kununua vitu dukani zaidi ni Kiswahili.Kwa kusali kumwomba Mungu, natumia kindamba. Zahanati tunatumia Kiswahili.
Selekali ya kijiji hivyo hivyo, lugha ni Kiswahili.

Shughuli ya kijamii inayotumia Kindamba tu ni kama kulima, lazima udete chindamba… tuyende tukalime fitava, kubena mpunga…tuyende tukabene.Kule kinatumika chindamba zaidi.Kama vile una mkomi mwao ukuywanga chindamba …tuyende kuchitava tukabene.

Ili kindamba kisipotee, cha msingi kwa watoto sisi wazazi tuwe na msimamo kiasi kwamba tunapotaka kuongea na watoto tumtumbukizie na lugha ili ajue.Ndo hapo ndo huwezi kupoteza kindamba.

Interview 13   **ME8M**

Interviewee: Male, age 36 years; education level std. 7; occupation, peasant; no. of children 3 (age 7, 5, 3 yrs)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Friday, 8/February/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Fanuel Dombi, I was born in 1972. I am occupied in farming. I completed standard seven. My first child is seven yeas of age, the second one is five and the third one is three years old, I have three children.

Children learn to speak language when they are small with their mothers or when they are older while participating in plays in their peer groups. There it depends; they could learn Swahili or Ndamba. In addition when we the parents speak among ourselves the children listen and learn the language.
Furthermore children acquire language when we parents involve them in carrying out minor activities in the home; like sending them to do various house choirs. This offers children the opportunity to practice with the language.

The language we dominantly use in this house is Ndamba. My wife the children and I use it on a regular basis.
Personally the language I find easy to speak is Ndamba it is also the language I feel proud to speak.

Nowadays things have changed they are not the same as they used to be long ago. These days you find even old people engrossed in speaking Swahili. This portends the possibility of demise of Ndamba in the coming days. The main cause of language loss in our place is the mixing of languages which has come about after people of other languages came to live in this area. There much possibility of language loss in future.

If experts could be available to help us it would be a good idea to preserve our language. Because that would ensure there is something like a token for our children to see about our language.

Should Ndamba culture disappear, I won't feel right at all. Our traditional ways of life will be lost, and the trend toward that end has already begun; some traditional practices have already begun to ebb in this area.

When I speak in Ndamba and someone answers back in Swahili, I feel let down.

Outside the home when I talk to friends we normally speak our home language, Ndamba.

The language that I would like my children to learn first is the home language, the language of our tribe, Ndamba. The next one they will learn as they attend school.
Children speak quite correct form of Ndamba.

My children when playing among themselves or with peers they normally speak Ndamba. When children from the town come for instance here, they get problems to interact with my children. When those children speak Swahili my children just look at them, they can't answer back. They are not proficient in Swahili.

If someone said Ndamba serves no practical purpose for the children to learn, it could be the person who claims so is not Ndamba, for a true Ndamba speaker wont make such a claim.

Outside the home children learn Ndamba as they play with their peers and speak to other elders because about every household in this community uses Ndamba at home.

The village has no programme for teaching children Ndamba language or culture.

When I wish to offer personal prayers I say in Ndamba, at the dispensary the language of communication is Swahili, the same is the case when I have to speak with local government officials.

Social undertakings in which Ndamba is dominantly used include; local traditional functions like invocation to ancestral spirits, funeral celebrations, conducting traditional songs and plays. In carrying out these functions no language other than Ndamba is used.

We can preserve Ndamba language primarily by abiding to our traditional customs and values; we should also discontinue practicing western customs and dignify our own instead. If we breach these guidelines our customs will continue to disappear.

Interview 13   **ME8M**

(Original text in Ndamba)

Litawa lyangu Fanuel Dombi.Moneka mwaka alfu moja mia tisa sabini na mbili.Kasi yangu kulima.Malila dalasa la saba.Mwana wangu wa kwanza kana miaka saba, wa pili kana miaka mitano, wa tatu kana miaka mitatu, nina vana vatatu.

Kudeta luga vana,… vakwifundisha zaidi kwa sababu ni vana,inategemea pavava na mawao au inategemea pavadinga na vana vayau kama kiswahili na kindamba basi zaidi pavava na vayau.Kandi kadiri patuywanga yufwi na mwana pa ava pala na akupikanila,kwa hiyo tunamshovesha tole achi yeghe apa,tole chila yegha apa.

Apa pakayapa tukutumiya zaidi chindamba.Ne nimwenepa luga ngutumiya zaidi chindamba.Lugha nguwona fahali kutumiya zaidi chindamba.

Ponopawu tofauti kidogo na dahili, ponopawu hata vagogolo vakudayila sana zaidi chiswahili.Hatali ya kuyaghamila chindamba siku limo ee kuyivele.Chayaghamila zaidi inapokuja mambo ya mchanganyiko na vayetova vangutungu vayisawu kwa hiyo lazima kutakuwepo na utaratibu huo tu mbele ya safari.

Kama da tupate vatalamu tutashukulu zaidi, kwa sababu kuhifadhi da ive nyanyi zaidi hata vana vetova vatakuwa na kumbukumbu.

Kindamba pachiyaghamila nitajisikia nyanyi ha, maana hata dahili pala twasambagha linyala, ponopa hata linyana likuyanja kuyaghamila, twasambagha lyulu, hata lyulu likuyanja kuyaghamila.

Ne padeta chindamba miyangu akuyangula chiswahili kwa kweli ngwipikanisha nyanyi haa.

Pa nywanga na vaghanja vangu ngutumiya zaidi lugha yiyi ya kayango ya chindamba.

Vana ngudaya vemanye kwanza lugha yiyi ya pakaya ya kabila letu, ingine inayofatia mambo haya ya kushuli yawoku.
Vanava chindamba chao kinyooka.
Vana pavadinga vene kwa vene, ava zaidi chindamba.Hata vayao pavafuma kumbwaniko pa vayisapa vakushindana nao sana.Yaani pavadeta chiswahili ava vakuvalola hela.Kisawahili vakuwesha haa.

Mundu pawombela chindamba kina maana ng'odo…labda mwene kava mndamba ng'odo, kama mndamba kabisa aweshe kudasha swali nga ali ng'oo.
Va pavava kwingi, vakwifundisha kula kulingana na kudinga na vananguta vayao.Kwa sababu patwikalile vondapa kabila limo hela.

Kufundisha lugha watoto, utaratibu wa kijiji kwa kweli utaratibu huu bado haupo.

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Kusali nengapa ngusali kwa kwa lugha yangu, chindamba. Kuzahanati lugha yikutumika Kiswahili, hata kuselekali ya kijiji lugha ni Kiswahili tu.

Shughuli ambazo zinaendeshwa kwa kindamba tu…labda kwenye mambo ya mila, mambo ya pombe ya matambiko, kwayiva chivembu, siku za mwisho za arobaini, lindenda nini uyimbi.Shughuli zile kuyivele chindamba weka.

Tutahifadhi kindamba, zaidi kuzingatia mila, yaani kuachana na mila hizi za kizungu, basi kuzingatia zetu za kikabila, kama matambiko, uyimbi wa chivembo na nini ee yaani tunapovunja hizi basi na mila zinaendelea kupotea.

Interview 14   **ME9M**

Interviewee: Male, age 41 years; education level std. 7; occupation, peasant; no of children 1 (age 6 yrs)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Fiday,8/February/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Lucian Uhadi, I am forty one years old. My work is farming. I completed standard seven. I have only one child who is aged six years.

Children learn to speak language because all the time they are with you their parent; you speak to them using this same language. All the time we are with them. Because when we speak they are present; that is how they come to understand. Sometimes we practice them by issuing them directives to carry out certain minor tasks for us.

At home with my wife most of the time we speak Swahili. With children it is the same; sometimes we speak to them in Swahili sometimes we revert to traditional language, that's how we do we mix languages here.
We speak Ndamba mostly when we are at work, like working in the farm.

The language I find easy to speak is Swahili however the language I feel pride in speaking is Ndamba.

That there is danger that Ndamba might one day disappear is a fact. Because I see that our cultural fabric is weakened. Therefore there is need preserve our language because otherwise we might come to a point where it won't be possible for us to tell our origin.

When I speak to a child in Ndamba and he/she answers back in Swahili, it won't be a problem to me, it's fine so long as we understand one another.

I would prefer my child to know Ndamba first which is his heritage language. There is no difficulty of him knowing Swahili since it is taught in school as a subject. If a child does not know his heritage language, that is a matter of concern, as one can not claim to belong to any particular community if he/she does no speak the language of that community.

The form of Ndamba that is spoken by our children is no appropriate, in retrospect even the form which we grownups speak is also not quite correct; it is not the same form that was spoken by our ancestors say about fifty years ago.

Outside the home my child is able to learn Ndamba because the language is spoken all around the village. All the older children around here speak Ndamba.

As far as I understand the village has no programme of teaching Ndamba to the children and youth.

Social undertakings in which the use of Ndamba predominates include funeral celebrations because these functions are normally conducted by elders and these by rule do not speak Swahili. Consequently the discussions there are carried out in Ndamba.

Nowadays it not common for grand parents to tell stories to children as was the case in the past.

Interview 14   **ME9M**
(Original text in Ndamba)

Ne litawa lyangu Luciani Uhadi.Ne nina miaka arobaini na moja.Ngulima.Malila dalasa ya saba.Nenga nina mwana wumo hela kana miaka sita.

Vana vakwifundisha luga mbona…vana mbona muda wonda kuva nawo, kuywanga nawo na lugha yene yiyi ya chindambayi.Muda wose tunakuwa nao.Kwa sababu tunavoongea sisi na wao wenyewe wanakuwepo,ndo mana wanakuwa wanaelewa zaidi.Pamongapa hata kudaya chindu kumtuma,kandolele chindu Fulani.

Pakuywanga hasa kwa muda utangilili zaidi, tukuywanga chiswahili.Na vana nao wuwu nao pamonga tuywanga chiswahili pamonga mkuwuya kaya, basi.Luga tukuchanganya ee.
Muda wa kuywanga sana chindamba pamonga wakati tuva mukasi, pamongapa tuva muchitava…yuwe jehelepa,…yuwe kasole myembe.

Lugha naona lahisi zaidi Kiswahili, Lugha fahali ni lugha ambayo ni ya kindamba.

Kupotea kindamba,hatali hiyo ipo.Kwa ujumla utamaduni sasa hivi navyo nguvu zake navyo zinapungua. Umuhimu wa kuhifadhi kindamba upo,itafika mahali tutashindwa kufahamika wandamba walikuwa wanaishi wapi.

Nikisema na mtoto kwa kindamba, yeye ajibu kwa Kiswahili tatizo mimi siwezi kuliona ndiyo maana nimesema hivyo…tatizo siwezi kuliona.
Lugha ya kujua hasa kwanza ni kindamba ambayo ndiyo lugha yake, Kiswahili mbona hii ni kama somo shuleni kwa hiyo mtoto yoyote lazima ataelewa. Basi akisahau lugha yake, sasa pale ndiyo tatizo. Maana mtu anaweza akasema mimi mhehe, hata kamwene hujui,sasa wewe mhehe umezaliwa wapi.

Kindamba wanachozungumza watoto ni tofauti,kwanza hata hicho ambacho sisi ndiyo sasa hivi tunacho tofauti na cha miaka hamsini unachokuwa unazungumza. Mtoto wangu lugha anayozungumza zaidi kindamba.

Nje ya nyumbani kwangu hapa mazingila yote ni kindamba tu,nje anajifunza mbona hawa watoto wenzake ambao waliomzidi angalau miaka miwili mbele,lugha ni hii tu.

Jumuia kufundisha lugha vijana,huo utaratibu bwana mimi naweza nikasema haupo.Labda kama upo basi ndio mwanzo wenyewe ndio huu ambao wewe umekuja nao.

Shughuli ambazo kindamba kinatumika…labda misiba,kwa sababu misiba mara nyingi wanakusanyika wazee ambao umli umezidi,hao kumweleza habali ya Kiswahili inakuwa taabu.Kwa hiyo utakuta mjadala utakuwepo sanasana pale ni wa lugha tu.

Mababu siku hizi kusimulia simo, aaa hiyo hamna

Interview 15   **ME10M**

Interviewee: Male, age 46 years; education level std. 7; occupation, peasant; no of children 5 (age 21, 16, 15,10, 5 yrs)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Saturday, 9/February/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

I am Gallus Likwelile, my age is forty six years. My occupation is farming. I completed standard seven. My children, the first one is twenty years old the next one is sixteen years, the third is fifteen years the forth child is ten years and the fifth and last one is five years old.

Children learn to speak a language depending on the language that is used at home, because we speak Ndamba at home, the children learn Ndamba. If you speak Swahili at home children will not learn Ndamba.

In this house the language we use mostly is Ndamba When I speak to my wife and children I use Ndamba.

The language I find easy to speak is Ndamba and the language I feel proud to speak is my language Ndamba. When someone speaks to me in Ndamba I feel very delighted because when they speak to me in Swahili I find it very difficult to answer back in Swahili.

Truly many people nowadays tend to degrade Ndamba and its culture. The signal for that is the fact that many people increasingly speak Swahili instead of Ndamba. Moreover the large numbers of people who keep on coming to settle in our land make us get drawn to speaking Swahili more than Ndamba.

It is possible that Ndamba could die out, this would be the case because of the influence we get from the newcomers who keep on coming to live in this area. We speak to them in Swahili and in so doing we forget Ndamba.
There is a necessity for our people to preserve the Ndamba language.

If I spoke to a child I Ndamba and he replied in Swahili I would feel despised because I expect people to talk to one another using the language that is common to them. A child who answers in Swahili shows disrespect to the elder.

Should Ndamba vanish I would be very worried, it is frightening to lose something that one is used to. It is disturbing if the language one was used to speak is no longer there.

When I go out to talk with my friends, the language that we use more often is Swahili. That is why I told you earlier on that Ndamba may be in danger of dying out in this village. This is the situation that may cause the loss of Ndamba. A majority of your colleagues here like to speak Swahili, even if you intend to speak Ndamba, you might soon find yourself following them to speak Swahili. That is why when I am out with my friends I find myself speaking Swahili most of the time.

When I make my personal devotions, I say in Ndamba. Whereas when I go to the dispensary I speak Swahili, likewise when I have to speak to local government officials I speak Swahili.

When children speak Ndamba they produce a degenerate form of it. They speak Ndamba that is mixed up with Swahili. It is not the pure inside form of Ndamba.

When my children play with their colleagues they speak Ndamba because they are very much acquainted with the language.

In my view Ndamba is very important; it is just unfortunate that we are not able to spread it to different places for other people to learn it.

I do not agree with the view that Ndamba serves no practical purpose hence unnecessary for children. I think it is necessary that children should know Ndamba because as I was telling you, I speak Ndamba every time, now it would be a contradiction if my children spoke Swahili to me. I would like when talking to my children we should all speak Ndamba.
If we don't tech Ndamba to the children we will surely be going astray.

We can preserve Ndamba as we do now by using the language in traditional songs, songs composed using Ndamba make people to be more acquainted with the language.
I think another way would be for the government to allow children to be taught Ndamba at school. Because nowadays we find that teachers at school prohibit children to speak Ndamba within the school premises. Now I wonder if children are not allowed to speak Ndamba there, where else will the speak it? So they should permit children to speak Ndamba when they are at school.

Ne Galus Likwelile.Myaka yangu nenga alobaini na sita.Ne kasi yangu kulimagha.Malisha dalasa ya saba.Vana vangu…wa kwanza kana miaka ishirini,wa pili kana miaka kumi na sita,wa tatu kana miaka kumi na tano,wa nne kana miaka kumi na mbili, wa tano kana miaka mitano.

Kwifundisha kwake bambo pakuywanga pakayapa, tiywangehe chindamba na vana vakuwesa kuchimanya chindamba.Ngana pauywanga chiswahili, …..aaa….vana vachimanyi chindamba haa. Pakayapa yufwepa tukutumia zaidi chindamba, nenga na mdaa wangu tukuywangaa zaidepa chindamba na vana vakuywanga zaidi chindamba.

Kuywanga nengapa zaidi nshovelela sana chindamba.Lugha nguwona fahali kudeta, aaa nengapa kwa kweli lugha mundu pang'hombela chindamba nguwona safi sana kulikoni paywanga chiswahili, ngujiba sana hata namna ya kuyangula.

Kwa kweli ponopawu vandu vatangilili sana vakupuuza chindamba.Kwa sababu dalili yene yanghona nenga kucha vakupuuza, vatangalili vapendelea sana kuywanga chiswahili kuliko chindamba.Halafu zaidi vayetu vayisa vahenjava ee ava ndo vakushovelesha sana yufwe kuchileka chindamba tuywangee chiswahili.

Kindamba chikuwesa kuyaghamila, kuyaghamila kwene mbona da tushovele na vayetu vahenjava, vakesha uyisa kila sikova.Tukudeta nawo chiswahili na yufwe chindamba tope tukwivasiwa.

Umuhimu wa kuhifazi kindamba kuuvele.
Ne padeta chindamba alafu mwana akuyangula Kiswahili…kwa kweli nguwona lolee zalau naha, ee kwa sababu mundu muywangee lugha yila muishovelili kuywanga yila.Ponopaa yuwi ukuywanga chindamba alafu mwana akukuyangula chiswahili, ukuwona lolee kakugadulila wula.

Chindamba da chiyaghamile mani ngwipikanisha hofu sana kwa chindu cho ushovelili kuywanga alafu badaye shindwi kuywanga na mwao chindamba kwa kweli moyo wangowo nguwona hovyo kweli.

Panyenda uyendayendako na vaghanja vangu zaidi tukuywangaa chiswahili.Ndiyo mana hata kwanza kudasha, ng'homba chindambachi hatali ya kuyaghamila, hatali yene nga nahau.Kwa sababu vayako vatangilile vakudaa kuywanga chiswahili ponopa yu weka hela ukuywanga chindamba, mwishu na yuwi naha ukudumbukila muchiswahili,ee… ndiyu mana pa uyendayenda lazima ndumii sana chiswahili ili ulinganili na vayako.

Pangumuluva mulungu chindu mani ngusalaa kwa chindamba. Patuyenda zahanati tukudeta Kiswahili, kuselekali ya kijiji wuwula lugha yimonga hela, chiswahili.

Vana pavadeta chindamba… chindamba chao vakuhashahasha hela, ee vakuhasha chindamba, chiswahili mumu. Si chindamba chene chila cha mgati chila kwa hela.

Kwa vana vangu va mele nao apawu pa vadinga vakutumia chindamba.Kwa sababu nivashovelesha chindamba.

Kwa nengapa kwa dunia nzima, ikuonekana ina umuhimu ila kwa sababu tu tukushindwa namna ya kuisambaza na vayetu vamanyi chindamba.Lakini kwa kweli umuhimu kuuvele wa kuielewa chindamba.

Mimi umuhimu nguuwona kuuvele vana vangu vemanye chindamba,kwa sababu nga nahau mwene baha njhovelela kuywanga chindamba pambele vana vangu vaywangee chiswahili,ne ngudaya nimweni pa nywanga na vana vangu tuywangee chindamba.

Kupota kivafundisha vananguta chindamba…ne jumila ng'oo.Nguwona tukuyaghamika tope.

Njia ya kuhifadhi kindamba…nga wuwu nahau tukutumiya lindenda liki, vakusomola chindamba maana yake msambo wa chindamba wula ukugola mundu apotee kwivasiwa chidamba haa.Kwa sababu

Interview 16   **ME11F**

Interviewee: Female, age 25 years; education level std. 7; occupation, peasant; no. of children 3 (age 8, 6, 13months)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Tuesday, 12/February/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Marina Makoyola. My age is twenty five years, I am just a peasant. I completed standard seven. My children, the first one is eight years, the second is six and the third one is one year and one month.

Children learn language because I am their parent I am obliged to teach them to speak the language that I speak. If the mother speaks Swahili the child will learn Swahili as well. Likewise if the mother knows to speak Ndamba she will teach Ndamba to her child.
Home conditions that help children to acquire language include availability of playmates. A child learns language quicker if he is with age mates. In the course of playing a child imitates from other children.

Here at home, most of the time we speak Ndamba, all of us including the children.
The language I find easy to speak is Ndamba but I am proud when I speak Swahili because it is a language that is known to many people. You may even speak it to children and they can understand you.

In this village people do not devalue Ndamba, everybody here speaks Ndamba. For that reason think there is no danger that Ndamba might one day disappear.

When I address a child in Ndamba and he/she answers back in Swahili I feel degraded and disappointed. I would think the child considers himself refined and looks upon me as uncivilized. At that point I will have to reprimand him/her.

When I speak to my friends we talk in either Ndamba or Swahili it depends if my friends speak Ndamba I will do the same, if they speak Swahili likewise I will speak Swahili. Therefore much depends on the language preferred by my colleagues.

I would like my children to know both Ndamba and Swahili because when he goes to the town he should be able to speak Swahili there and if he is at home with us he should speak Ndamba.

The form of Ndamba that some children speak is good but some of them are not that proficient, there is a lot of Swahili influence in the way they speak. But generally speaking the language they speak can be understood.

When children play among themselves most of the time they speak Ndamba.

When a person says that learning Ndamba serves no use to children, I will not agree with him at all. Even if they could argue that Ndamba has no practical use for children in the community, still I think it is necessary for them to learn Ndamba because even if they might speak Swahili or even English when they grow up still it is necessary for them to know their mother's language.

When I pray to ask for something from my God I say in my language, Ndamba. When I go to the dispensary I speak in Swahili and also when I go to speak to local government officials, I speak to them in Swahili.

I am not aware whether the village has a programme for teaching Ndamba to the children.

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I am not aware of any social undertakings in which only Ndamba is used, maybe when elders of the village come together, say to settle a dispute or conflict, there they speak only Ndamba, besides this I am not aware of any other activity which does.

Interview 16   **ME11F**
(Original text in Ndamba)

Nengapa litawa lyangu Marina Makoyola.Miaka yangu ishirini na tano. Nimkulima hela.Malila dalasa la saba.Vana vangu, mwana wangu wa kwanza kana miaka minane, wa pili kana miaka sita na wa tatu kana mwaka mmoja na mwezi mmoja.

Vana vakwifundisha lugha…kwa sababu nenga ndo mzazi ingubidi nivafundishi vana vangu kauli yila ye nywanga nenga yila.Kama mama akuywanga chiswahili na mwana lazima amanye chiswahili.Kama mama kamanya kuywanga chindamba basi inabidi na mwana nimfundishi amanye chindamba.
Mazingila ya kaya…pave na mazingila ya na vamonga, ee pavadingadinga na vamonga, kama akudayila kumanya zaidi papikanisha vamonga vakudeta...aa kotoke kugola naha na mwene akuyesha kotoke kugola naha, ee ndo anajua.

Apa pakaya tukutumia… chindamba zaidi sana pakayetopa, ee twavonda na vana chindamba tu.
Ne chindamba ndo nguwona lahisi kupita vyonda.Nguwona fahali zaidi kutumia Kiswahili,kwa sababu Kiswahili wengi wanaelewa, hata mtoto mdogo unaweza ukamweleza Kiswahili akakuelewa.

Apa patuvelepa kwa hela mundu yapuuzia, twawose tukuywanga chindamba hela. Kwa hela, chindamba chiyaghamile haa.

Panimudetela mwana kwa chindamba alafu mwene ayangule chiswahili…kwa kweli ngwipikanisha kwamba kama mwanayu kazalau kwa sababu nenga nguywanga chindamba alafu mwene akujibu chiswahili, nguwona kwamba mwanangutayu akuwoneka mwene kayendelela sana kupita ne ni mzazi wake? Na pale itabidi nimkemee.Nenga panikuywangila chindamba na nenga dayila ujibu chindamba ka nikuywangila chiswahili basi na nenga ujibu chiswahili.Kotoke nenga nikuywangile chindamba alafu yuwe ujibu Kiswahili, kuwonekana yuwi mundu wa mjini sana ne mundu wa kuno.

Panywanga na vaghanja vangu zaidi nguwesa kutumia chindamba hata chiswahili.Kwa wakati wula panywanga na vashoga vangu labda vakuwesha kuva vaswahili na nenga nguwomba habali ya chiswahili, pavava vashoga vangu vandamba basi nguywanga nao chindamba, mladi tu manye ayu kamanya chindamba.

Kwa kweli ne ngudayila sana mwana wangu amanye chindamba na chiswahili, ee kwa sababu akuwesha kukulila mjini akudayila kumanya Kiswahili, akuwesha kwisa kaya kuno akudayila kumanya chindamba.

Vanava chindamba chao kwa kweli vamonga vakudeta sawasawa lakini vamonga vakuyanza kuyaghamilayaghamila, vakudayila sana chiswahili.Chindamba cha vadeta chikunyooka…ukuwesa kuelewa.
Vana pavadinga vene weka yao vakutumia zaidi chindamba.

Mundu padeta chindamba chahela maana kwa vananguta…kwa kweli jumile ng'odo kwa sababu kwanza hata mwene akuwesha kulonga kotoke kumfundisha chindamba ayu da atumie wakati liki,sawa hata kwa hela wakati,lakini kuna wakati wa kutumia mwana,akuwesha kuyenda kuulongolo akuwa mswahili, akuwa mwingeleza lakini akudayila baadaye amanye lugha ya mama.

Kusali sala sha kumluva mlungu balaka, ngusali…nikutumia lugha yangu ya chindamba. Kuzahanati lugha yetukudeta Kiswahili, ku selekali ya kijiji tukudeta chiswahili wuwowu.

Kijiji kikufundisha vananguta kindamba …kwa kweli bado hilo sijalifahamu.

Shughuli ambayo inatumia kindamba tu…kwa kweli hiyo nayo bado,labda niseme labda kwenye vikao vya wale watu wakubwa inawezekana kwamba …aa, apa tuva twavene tu vakomi weka,basi tuongee habali ya chindamba ili tudumishi mila yetu,ila bado kwa kweli sijawahi kuona.

Interview 17   **ME12M**

Interviewee: Male, age 38 years; education level std. 7; occupation, peasant; no of children 3 (age 7, 5, 2 yrs)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Wednesday, 13/February/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Joseph Livipa, my age…I was born in 1970. I am a peasant. I completed standard seven. My children, I have three children; the first one is in standard two, the second one is in nursery school and the third one is still an infant.

Children learn language from their mother because they stay most of the time with their mother at home. As they speak among themselves that's when children manage to acquire language. They may learn Swahili or Ndamba depending on which one is spoken more…but most of the time they speak Ndamba.

In my house we speak more Swahili than Ndamba, by estimation I could say that in ten domestic issues we discuss at home only two will be conducted in Ndamba, most are in Swahili.

Personally I find it easy to speak Swahili and I speak Swahili most of the time.

The way I see these two languages, Ndamba and Swahili there is likelihood that Ndamba could disappear because this language is no longer cherished by the speakers. They treat it as sideline language. Swahili dominates here, it has taken centre stage.

People these days seem to ignore Ndamba because they speak more using Swahili than Ndamba.

In my view I think it is very important to preserve Ndamba because when it is lost future generations will not know what language their ancestors spoke and there will be nothing around to show them of the language and culture. Therefore it is important to ensure that the language is preserved.

When I am in the company of my colleagues, mostly I speak Swahili.

I would like my children to become proficient in Ndamba because I know there is no problem with Swahili as they will learn that in school. But while they are here at home I would like them to grasp Ndamba.
When children speak Ndamba here at home, I see that they spoil it because the form they speak is not correct I guess the language could be coming to an end.
When children play among them they speak Swahili that is mixed with some Ndamba however by and large they speak Ndamba.

When I offer my prayers I usually say them in Swahili. When I go to the dispensary I speak Swahili there likewise at the local government office I have to speak Swahili.

I think it is important that children should know Ndamba because it the language of their origin, the must know it.

Outside the home when the children are away from me they mostly use mixed language but mostly speak Swahili. Their use of Ndamba is minimal in their plays.

The village does not have a programme of teaching children Ndamba culture and language.

Social activity in which the use of Ndamba predominates is matters related to funeral celebration including funeral dances and songs; all these are performed in Ndamba.

Regarding the preservation of Ndamba, I would be much delighted if priority was given to find experts who would assist in preserving the language so that its vitality could be restored.

Interview 17   **ME12M**
(Original text in Ndamba)

Ne litawa lyangu Joseph Livipa. Nengapa miaka yangu... moneka mwaka sabini.Nengapa mukulima. Malisha dalasa ya saba.Nengapa vana vangu, nina vana vatatu...yumongayu kava dalasa ya pili yumongayu kava chekechea, yumongayu kava kumuwongo.

Yila lugha vakwifundisha hasa kutokana na kwa mama kwa sababu mama mudu mrefu vakwikala pamo hela pakaya.Kwa hiyo pavaywangaywanga kwa hiyo lugha yila ndo vakwimanya sana, lugha ya chindamba na upande umonga pa vaywanga luga ya Kiswahili vakuimanya... ee lakini chindamba ndiyo vakuywanga sana.

Pakayangu kwa kweli tukudeta sana... katika maswali kumi va pakaya ukuwesha kuwona mswali mavili hela va chindamba, vatangala va chiswahili.

Ne katika chindamba na chiswahili, ne nguywanga sana chiswahili.

Kwa jinsi ne panola chindamba na chiswahili, kwa kweli chindamba chikuwesa kuyaghamika kwa sababu lughai ponopa nguwona ikwikala pambali sana, yaani inakaa pembeni kwa hiyo Kiswahili ndio kikutawala sana kushinda chindamba ponopau.

Lugha ya kindamba...kwa kweli ponopau nguwona kitau vakuipuuza kwa sababu vakuywanga sana chiswahili kushinda chindamba.

Kuhifazi kindamba...kwa kweli upande wa nengapa nguwona ni muhimu sana tuihifadhi,kwa sababu lughai paiyaghamika kwa kweli vala vesa baadaye da vashindwe pa kudasha mwayetu mwatumiyaa lugha liki na yufwi da tushindwi kuvalangushila,kwa hiyo inatakiwa itawala lugha ya kindamba,yaani irudi tena.

Nenga pandiva na vayangu hasa ngutumia Kiswahili.

Vana vangu...ne ngudayila chindamba vachimanyi sana, kwa sababu chiswahili chila ngumanya kwa sababu vakuyenda kushule kula vakuchimanya halaka sana somo la chiswahili.Ila pakaya ngudaya sana vamanye chindamba.

Vana pavadeta chindamba...yaani panola pakayapa nguwona chindamba chikuhalibika kwa sababu vakudeta chindamba ambacho tofauti na chila...ku nguwona chikudaa chiyaghamike.

Watoto wanapocheza wao kwa wao wanatumia Kiswahili mchanganyiko na kindamba kidogo sana, kingi Kiswahili.
Pa kusali kwa mlungu mala kwa mala kiswahili. Kuzahanati tukudeta Kiswahili, na kwa selekali ya kijiji chicho wuwu, chiswahili.

Chindamba ne nguwona china muhimu sana kwa vana...kwa sababu ndio luga ile ya mwanzo,kwa hiyo kina muhimu sana.

Nje ya mazingila ya nyumbani...watoto wanapokuwa kando na mimi mara nyingi wanatumia mchanganyiko tu, Kiswahili... hasa Kiswahili, kindamba kidogo sana katika michezo yao.

Kijiji...kwa utaratibu mi jinsi ninavyoangalia hapa katika kijiji hiki,utaratibu wa kusema kuna wasomi wa kufundisha watu wazingatie sana kindamba,hii naona haipo.

Shughuli ambako kindamba pekee hutumika...zile shughuli hasa huwa naziona katika kama shughuli za misiba,hasa wakiwa katika ngoma zile za misiba misiba,mara nyingi wanatumia kindamba kwa sababu zile nyimbo zinaelekea kindamba katika kuziimba.

Kuhifadhi kindamba…mimi ningefurahi sana kindamba sasa hivi kiwe kipaumbele ili itumike njia ya kuweza kupata watu wa kuweza kurudisha lugha hii ili iweze kuwepo kama lugha nyingine.

Interview 18   **ME13F**

Interviewee: Female, age 31 years; education level std. 7; occupation, peasant; no. of children 4 (age13, 11, 6, 1 yr)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Friday, 15/February/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

I am Binti Undole, I am thirty one years old. I am a peasant. I completed standard seven. My children, the first one is thirteen years of age, the second is eleven years, the third is six and the forth is one year old. Children learn to speak language.

Children learn to speak language through from prompts they get from their mothers when asking them, calling them, or telling them what to do.

Here at home my husband, the children and I most of the time speak Ndamba.

The language that I find easy to speak and am proud of is Ndamba.

Nowadays a majority of Ndamba people seem to discredit our language and culture. In this manner the language is in danger of disappearing because many people now have resorted to speaking the national language.

It is important to preserve Ndamba because otherwise the children that we bring up now would not know their language of origin.

Should Ndamba cease to exist, I would feel upset, frustrated because it is my language and I wouldn't like to see it die out.

When I speak Ndamba to a child and he responds in Swahili…it happens because nowadays at school or in their plays, children speak the national language. They are very conversant in Swahili, hence at home when you speak to them in Ndamba they might as well answer back in Swahili, it is normal what else can you do?

The form of Ndamba that children speak is mixed with Swahili, it is not accurate.

If a person tells me that there is no point teaching Ndamba to children, I would strongly disagree with him because if the child does not speak Ndamba how is he going talk to my grandfather who does not speak Swahili. Therefore the child has to know the two languages so that he may be able to talk with both his colleagues and the elders.

When I say my prayers normally I do so in my language Ndamba, at the dispensary I speak Swahili. When I visit the local government offices I have to speak Swahili.

Outside the home it is not possible for children to learn Swahili and its culture.
The village has no plan of action in place for teaching Ndamba to children.

Social undertaking in which the use of Ndamba is dominant includes the performance of local dance.

We would be able to preserve Ndamba if we parents would keep on speaking the language all the time.

Interview 18   **ME13F**

(Original text in Ndamba)

Ne litawa lyangu biti Undole.Nina miaka salasini na moja.Ngulima.Malila dalasa ya saba.Vana vangu, wa kwanza kana miaka kumi na tatu, wa pili kana miaka kumi na moja, wa tatu kana miaka sita na wa nne kana mwaka mmoja na mmoja.

Vana vakwifundisha kudeta lugha… kulingana na nimawao jinsi panivadasha au panimkema au panimwombela.

Apa pakayapa tukudeta zaidi chindamba na bamboo wangu na vanavetu.

Lugha nguwona lahisi kudeta chindamba. Ngwisikia fahali kudeta chindamba.

Kulingana na mzingira ya sasa, kwa kweli mila na desturi tumezisahau.Kindamba kwa kweli kikuwesha kuyaghamila.Kwa sababu sasa hivi wengi tunaitumia lugha ya taifa.

Kuna umuhimu wa kukihifadhi Kindamba …kwa sababu watoto tunaozaa sasa maana yake hata lugha hawataijua.

Kindamba pa kiyaghamila nitajipikanisha vibaya sana, kwa sababu kwanza ni lugha yangu na ngudayila haa iyaghamike.

Nenga padeta chindamba alafua ajibu Kiswahili…inatokea, kwa sababu sasa hivi watoto wengi wanazungumza lugha ya taifa na katika michezo yao au shuleni,sasa akishazoea tayali hata nyumbani hapa wewe umsemeshe kindamba,kwa kweli atajibu Kiswahili,sasa utamwambiaje?

Kindamba wanachozungumza watoto… wanachanganya na Kiswahili, si kindamba sahihi.

Mundu padeta hakuna maana kuvafundisha vana chindamba… ngujumila haa.Kwa sababu mbuyi wangu anelile nenga yula ponopa chindamba kachimanya haa…chiswahili.Ponopa akuwesha kuywanga na ayu chindamba alafu ayu kamanya haa.Kwa hiyo hawataelewana, sasa inatakiwa ajue lugha zote mbili. Kusali sala sya kumuwomba mulungu ne ngutumia lugha yangu ya chindamba. Kuzahanati tukutumiaa Kiswahili, na selikali ya kijiji, chiswahili.

Nje ya nyumba…kwa kweli haiwezekani mtoto anaweze kujifunza kindamba na utamaduni wake.
Kijiji utaratibu wa kufundisha watoto…hakuna.
Shughuli ambayo inatumia kindamba tu ni kama sangula, lindenda.

Namna ya kuhifadhi kindamba …sana sana wazazi, yaani sisi wazazi tuwe tunaitumia lugha ya kwetu.

Interview 19   **ME14F**

Interviewee: Female, age 40 years; education level std. 7; occupation, peasant; no. of children (age 21, 18, 13 yr)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Saturday, 16/February/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Helena Likwelile I was born in 1968. I am a peasant and I completed standard seven. My first child was born in1987, the next one was born in 1990 and the one following this one was born in 1995.

A child learns to speak Ndamba…when he is still young…when he begins to speak as a result of seeing and hearing the language from you (his/her mother). Sometimes I think….not from seeing anyone, he just speaks as that each child is already programmed by their creator to speak language, they do not necessarily have to hear it from their mothers for them to speak.

The language that we speak for the most part in this home is Ndamba, sometimes we mix up with Swahili. There is no problem because children understand Swahili quite well; they are so proficient in it you would think that we teach them Swahili.

The language that I find easy to speak is Ndamba even though I often feel proud when I speak Swahili; this is because we are used to thinking that one appears more important when they speak Swahili. We are conditioned to think that if one speaks Ndamba, he cannot speak Swahili therefore people take him/her to be backward, uncultivated. That is why we make effort to learn Swahili, but for the most part we speak Ndamba here.

People here have high opinion for Ndamba, they respect Ndamba language and culture because they speak Ndamba extensively.
It is not possible for Ndamba to die out, I am not sure... may be there are people who think so but in my view...well perhaps it could happen if the intermingling of speakers from different ethnic groups continues.

If I speak Ndamba and a child answers me back in Swahili, I will feel just alright because that makes me recognize that my child is competent in both Swahili and Ndamba.

I find the form of Ndamba that children speak to be just correct.

When I am out with my friends very often I speak Ndamba.

When I offer my devotion I say my prayers in my traditional language, Ndamba. When I go to the dispensary I speak Swahili and when I wish to talk to the local government officials, I have to speak Swahili as well.

I wish my children to know Swahili more because nowadays people coming different ethnic groups mix extensively, moreover people who speak Ndamba are very few compared to those who speak other languages. Besides when they grow up, the children may decide to live in different places where people speak only the national language. This situation makes it very essential for children to learn Swahili.

If a person claims that nowadays it is not important for children to learn Ndamba, I think I could agree with that because these days life has changed in our community. Even here at Merera you can see that in the past we lived by ourselves. People married just within our community. It was unknown for people from outside to come here to marry our daughters, we married within our own families. This no longer happens these days. Nowadays it is common for people to marry outside our community.
Besides nowadays we are mixed up; there are Bena, Hehe and Sukuma living among us. For this matter it is important that children should learn Swahili.

It is not possible for children to learn Ndamba outside the home; they learn language only at home.

The village does not have measures in place that help children to learn Ndamba and its culture.

Social activity in which Ndamba is dominant is funeral; when funeral services are performed in most cases people speak only Ndamba.

Interview 19   **ME14F**
(Original text in Ndamba)

Ne litawa lyangu Helena Likwelile.Miaka yangu... moneka mwaka sitini na nane.Ne ngulima.Malila dalasa ya saba.Mwana wangu wa kwanza kawoneka mwaka semanini na saba, anayefatia tisini na anayefatia tena tisini na tano.

Mwana akwifundisha kudeta lugha...yaani pa kanda hela pava mwananguta hela paanzi,payanza kutamka filongo.Akwifundisha kutokana na akukuwona yuwi,lakini mala nyingi ne nguwona akukuwona yuwi haa, akutamka tu mwene papangile ya kusema apangia mulungu.Kwa sababu mwana mdokodokwa

ukuwesa kugundua....akuwesa kugunduwa kucha ayu baba,si ave na luhala kabisa kucha ayu baba,ayu mama aa,lakini kutokana na tuseme mani mulungu hela akuwesa kutambua kucha baba,mama.Pengine akuwesa kumkema baba handa mama mladi mwene katamka,kucha ndamke baba au ndamke mama ee.

Kwa kuywanga…apa pakayapa hasa kabisa tukutumia lugha yetu ya chindamba. Ee kuna wakati tukuchanganya na Kiswahili, halafu mala ya pili hata vanava vakuelewa tu chiswahili,hata kwa siku monga kuva jamani leo tuanze Kiswahili,utakuta wanasema safi kabisa.Mladi yuwe tu uwombe,haya sema kwa Kiswahili,utakuta wanasema tu.Hawezi wakakosea au hii bakuli,mama kafanya hivi,hakuna.Utafikili kama tunawafundishaga Kiswahili kindamba vilevili.

Kwa ulahisi, mimi nasema lugha ya kindamba.Najisikia fahali chindamba,bali kutoka na mazoea ndio ukudeta achi lakini nguwona nguwesa kujangisha Kiswahili na nguchiwona nikisema naonekana pengine wa maana zaidi ee.Kwa sababu nguwesha kusafiri,akumanya kucha mundu ayu,ayu kaja kindamba, ayu kafuma ako ayu,Kiswahili kamanya ng'oo,ndio maana tukudaya kuifundisha Kiswahili.Lakini hasa zaidi tukudeta chindamba.

Lugha na utamaduniwa chindamba…apa zaidi ne nguwona vakuheshimu,kwa sababu mbona vakudeta sana, uhh wanasema sana kilugha.

Kindamba kuyaghamila…hakuna.Sijui labda kwa mawazo ya baazi,lakini kwa mimi kwa mawazo yangu,naona kindamba hakiwezi kupotea.Sijui… mchanganyiko ukizidi,ukizidi mchanganyiko wa makabila.

Yaani ne longe chindamba alafu myangu akujibu Kiswahili,mi nitajisikia vizuri tu,kwa sababu ngumanya kwamba mwana wangu kumbe chiiswahili kamanya na chilugachi kamanya.

Watoto wakiongea kinndamba…kindamba chao mimi naona kipo sahihi tu.
Nimwene paniva na vaghanja vangu…natumia zaidi kindamba.

Maana yake kuna kusali sala au kusali kwa kuomba…nikutumia lugha yangu ya chindamba. Kuzahanati tukudeta Kiswahili, na kwa selekali ya kijiji wuwowu, chiswahili.

Vana ngudaya vamanye sana Kiswahili, kwa sababu sasa hivi mchanganyiko wa makabila mengi sana, inawezekana hata hawa wandamba hawa wanaweza hapa wakawa wadogo, wengi sana kabila zingine.Kwa hiyo kama na wenzao wataelewana vipi wakati sawa wandamba hata yeye yule anaweza akaondoka hapa aende kuishi wapi sijui huko.Sasa huko hakuna cha mndamba hakuna zaidi inatumika luga ya taifa.Sasa itakuwa kazi.

Mundu padeta chindamba masikova chahela umuhimu kwa vana…ne nguwesa kujumila tu.Kwa sababu nguwona liki haa,yaani ponopawu maisha yatuyendelava,nguwona tafauti sana,kwa sababu hata paMelelapa zaidi twekalagha twavene weka,hata kumjini tuvakwitolela.Vandu vetolelaa baha kwa baha kwahela mundu afume ako ayise amtole mwana wa apa.Lakini ponopau mundu akufuma apa akuyenda Mwanza,monga akuyenda aku,unaona.Kwa hiyo nguwona sawa hela afazali amanye chiswahili,kwa sababu mundu zamani pala yava wuwu mbona twetolagha mumomu ubinamu liki,lakini masikova kwahela vandu vetola ubinamu,zaidi vakwitola ukumwona mundu akufuma akuyenda Bukoba koti koti koti…na apa zamani twekalaa bahapa, apa vaBena kwa vale kwahela,vaHehe kwavele kwa hela.Lakini ponopa vaSukuma.Lakini ponopa tuva uhh.. mchanganyiko, twitimbila chakachaka hela.

Vana vakuwesha kwifundisha chindamba nje ya pakayapa…kwahela, inatokana na pakayapa.
Kijiji hakina utalatibu wa kufundisha kindamba…hawawezi kusema jamani muwafundishe vanava chindamba.

Kwenye shughuli apa zaidi yaani …pauyenda nanii kuwa pala vandu vakudeta chindamba… shughuli kama nga msiba, pahali pa msiba.

Interview 20   **ME15F**

Interviewee: Female, age 28 years; education level std. 7; occupation, peasant; no. of children 4 (age11, 9, 6, 1 yr)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Monday, 18/February/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Binti Tagamba. My age is twenty eight years. I am a peasant. I completed standard seven. My children; one is eleven years, another one is nine years, the third one is six years and the fourth child is one year old.

Children learn to speak language by listening to me when I speak to them, when I tell them to do things in the house that is how children learn language.

The language I speak with my husband is Ndamba, when talking to my children I speak Ndamba as well because it is the language they know best. There are occasions when we change from Swahili to Ndamba because one can not just speak Ndamba the whole day, sometimes you have to speak some Swahili.

For me the language I find easy to speak is Ndamba and is also the language I feel proud to use…because everybody around here speaks Ndamba, therefore it is not feasible to speak Swahili while everyone is Ndamba.

People around here admire Ndamba Culture and language people speak Ndamba extensively because all the elders speak Ndamba all the time and the youth also speak Ndamba to a large extent.

The dangers for Ndamba to disappear…well that depends; take the case of Chita, there people now speak Swahili. There are Ndamba elders there but they do not speak Ndamba because they have changed speaking habits, they speak Swahili more. But for us we speak Ndamba more. That is why Ndamba does not fade out here; even small children are proficient in Ndamba.

When I speak to someone in Ndamba and he/she answers back in Swahili, as far as I am concerned it is alright, there is no problem because I know both Swahili and Ndamba.

When I speak with my friends we mostly use Ndamba.
When my children play among themselves, they speak Ndamba; we are all very much used to speaking that language.

My desire is that my children should know Swahili because that is the language they use in school; they study it and use it in school.

If a person says Ndamba has no practical importance and a waste of time to teach children I would think that is ridiculous because Ndamba is our origin.

When the children are out of the home, learning of Ndamba depends on the groups they mix with, if the other children speak Ndamba they will also learn the language.

The village has no programme for teaching Ndamba to the children.

When I go to the shop to buy grocery, the language I speak will depend on the people I meet there, if they speak Ndamba I will speak Ndamba, some shop owners do not speak Ndamba. When I go to the dispensary I speak Swahili and when I speak local government officials, I also use Swahili. When I say my personal prayers, I can do so in either Swahili of even Ndamba, it really depends.

I don't know what means should be used to preserve it.

(Original text in Ndamba)

Litawa lyangu Binti Tagamba.Miaka yangu ishirini na nane.Ne mkulima.Malila dalasa ya saba.Vana vangu …yumo kana miaka kumi na moja, monga kana miaka tisa, yumo kana miaka sita, yumo kana mwaka yumo ayu.

Vana vakwifudisha kudeta…panywanga nenga na mwanangutayu akuelewa.Nganahau ngumkema Luki, yise akuyisa.Kanyimbe chiutunga chila, sofulia au bakuli akuyegha.To pala tope akumanya.

Lugha tukudeta pakayapa na bambu wangu chindamba.Na vana tukwidetela yiyeyi ndio maana vakuelewa zaidi.Kuchanganya na Kiswahili…ikuweshekana, kwa sababu muda wose udete chindamba haa, ikufikia mahali tukuwesha kudeta chiswahili kidogo.

Lugha lahisi kutumia chindamba. Luga nguwona fahali yiyei ya chindamba…Kwa sababu twavose baha tukudeta chindamba, ponau si lahisi mundu uywange chiswahili wakati vosele amu vandamba weka.

Watu wanathamini kindamba…ni mala nyingi vakutumia luga ya chindamba kwa sababu vose vasee va apa kindamba vakuywanga sana,na fijana yukuywanga.

Kindamba kuyaghamila…inategemeana, kwa sababu ponopanaa nga naha kuChita,si ukuwona vaywanga chiswahili,lakini pala vagogolo va chindamba kwa hela…pavaveli? Lakini kutokana na mazoea. Pavaywanga sana chindamba au chiswahili ee, ponopau apa yufwe tukuywanga sana chindamba tokona chiswahili. Ndio maana ya hapa ipotei haa.Hata mwana mdoko kabisa umdashe yuwe ghani?…akuwomba kucha ne tunga.

Nikisema Kindamba kisha mtu akanijibu Kiswahili…ni sawa tu madamu nimeelewa.Kwa sababu Kiswahili nakifahamu na Kindamba nakijua.

Kuywanga na vaghanja vangu tukutumia chindamba hela.

Vana pa vadinga vene kwa vene vakudeta chindamba, si tushovelela chindamba apa, ee.

Wanangu nataka wajue zaidi Kiswahili, kwa sababu shuleni wanasoma Kiswahili na wanazungumza Kiswahili.

Mtu akisema Kindamba hakina maana kuwafundisha watoto…iweshekane haa, kwa sababu ni chimbuko letu.

Nje ya nyumbani…inategemeana, endapo kama wale wenzao kama wakizungumza Kiswahili na wao watazungumza, endapo watazungumza kindamba na wao wataiga, wazungumze kindamba.

Kijiji kusaidia watoto wajifunze kindamba…aa hii hamna.

Panyenda kughula chindu paduka…inategemeana, nguwesha kudeta chindamba au chiswahili, kutokana na mazowea.
Patuyenda zahanati tukutumia Kiswahili, kwa viongozi wa serikali Kiswahili wuwu.
Wakati wa kusali sala zangu nguwesha kutumia Kiswahili au pengine kindamba, inategemea.

Kuhifadhi kindamba…siwezi kujua kama tuhifadhi vipi, maana yake hapo tena sijui.

Interviewee: Male, age 42 years; education level std. 7; occupation, farming, fishing; no. of children 3 (age14, 7, 5, yrs)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Wednesday, 20/February/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Hango Likonoka, I am forty two years old, and my occupation is farming and fishing. I completed standard seven. My first child is fourteen years, another one is seven years and another one is five years old.

Children learn to speak Ndamba...I teach them myself, by speaking to them, sending them to do things and showing them things, they learn in this way.

Here at home the language I use most of the time to speak to my wife is Ndamba. I also speak Ndamba to my children. They are quite proficient in it.

The language I can speak easily is Ndamba when I am with the other family members but when a guest comes to visit I speak Swahili. When I go out of the home usually I speak Swahili, because most people I meet there do not speak Ndamba or just prefer to speak Swahili. But when I meet a fellow Ndamba speaker, we speak our language a lot.

In this village people hold Ndamba with high regard, Ndamba culture is exercised widely; for instance in traditional dances and other recreational occasions people use Ndamba. This shows that we do not ignore this language.

It is not possible for Ndamba to disappear here at Merera; you can observe even at school children are more proficient in Ndamba than Swahili.

When I spoke in Ndamba to a child and they answer me back in Swahili, I would feel annoyed. Because it may not make it possible for me to hide something from the hearing of an outsider.

When I am out with friends who speak Ndamba, I speak Ndamba to them.
I wish my children to learn Ndamba because when a situation arises that require them to speak Ndamba only, they should be able to do so.

The kind of Ndamba that children speak is not accurate; it is not like the sort I speak.

When children play among themselves they speak Ndamba to a large extent, sometimes they mix with Swahili.

It is important for children to know Ndamba because like our ancestors did, they could talk confidential matters in the presence of a stranger without him knowing what was said.

When a person says it is serves no practical purpose to teach Ndamba to children, I would disagree with that position because it is ridiculous. Ndamba is the language of our ancestry; we can not prevent passing it down to our children.

Outside the home children are able to learn Ndamba because all around people speak Ndamba, therefore if they go to play here in the neighborhood the language spoken there is Ndamba, wherever they go they hear Ndamba. In this way they continue to learn Ndamba.
The village has no scheme for teaching Ndamba language and culture to the children, no such measures are implemented.

When I go to the village dispensary I speak Swahili because there is a mixture of people from other ethnic groups, likewise when I speak to village government officials.
I say my private prayers in my language, Ndamba.

Social undertakings in which Ndamba is predominantly used include funeral ceremonials; however there often is a mixture of people from other tribes there, so some Swahili is used but during funeral dances, the language used then is Ndamba only.

In order to ensure that Ndamba does not vanish we have to make follow up just as it is the case here at Merera or Ngombo and Biro where Ndamba is very strong, in these places Ndamba is still used as means of daily communication I contrast to Chita where people nowadays communicate in Swahili alone.

Interview 21   **ME16M**
(Original text in Swahili)

Ne litawa lyangu Hango Likonoka.Ne nina miaka alobaini na mbili.Nenga baha kasi yangu ya kulima na kulopola somba ako kulwene. Ne malila dalasa ya saba. Mwana wangu wa kwanza kana miaka kumi na mcheche, ayu mongayu kana miaka saba.Na yumonga kana miaka mitano.

Vana vakwifundisha lugha…nenga bahapa nikuvafundisha ni mwene baha, nguvafundisha…padeta mwene baha machi na vene baha vakumanya ava machi, nguvatuma yeghe lutela, pavawona lutela pandola nenga pala na vene vamanya.

Nenga baha pakayapa ngutumia ka chindambachi na mdala wangu.Na vana na chindamba vamanya.Angavele baha mwana wangu yumo mbona akuchitova chindamba fibaya sana.

Lugha nguwona lahisi kutumia…nenga baha chindamba ngutumia lahisi sana, mbona kaya yangu, ila mhenja ngumuhimulila chiswahili.Panyenda mbele ya vandu lazima nywange chiswahili kwa sababu vamonga vandamba ng'odo eee lazima nywange Kiswahili.Lakini pandiwona mndamba miyangu, nga kina Chelikwe, aaa tukuywanga chindamba mpaka tukutofya, vakina Mbombwe.

Ng'odo kwa kweli vandu vakuwona chindamba chindu cha maana, mbona masikova kuchivembo lindenda, goli liki naha… hata vandu pavalanda uyimbi, vakuyimba nyimbo sya kinambandamba kidogo, eee kwa hiyo utamaduni tuivasiwa haa.

Kindamba kwa paMelelapa chiyaghamile haa, mpaka kuchuli kabisa, mwana chiswahili kamanya uswanu haa, zaidi akudeta chindamba.

Ne padeta chindamba mwana ayanguli chiswahili…aa, nguwona nyanyi ng'o.Nguwomba nenga ngudeta chindamba, yuwe ukudeta chiswahili.Paudeta chindamba na nimwao dete chindamba.Paudeta chiswahili na nimwao dete chiswahili, ponopa ngudetela chindamba ponopau da… da mbwepe au da nimfisili mundu? Ponopaa pauywanga chiswahili mbaka mundu wa pambali akumanya mbona.

Paniva na vaghanja vangu vandamba tukutumia chindamba.
Mimi napenda wanangu wajue kindamba zaidi, kwa sababu lugha yila kidogo kwifisa na mundu pa kudeta.
Chindamba cha vanangutava kiva tafauti, cha nyanyi haa, nga nimweneu?

Vana pavakudinga vene kwa vene vakutumia sana chindamba, vakuchanganya na Kiswahili.

Vananguta kwimanya chindamba… umuhimu upo, kwa sababu ayi…nitu ya vayetu va pakwandi,ee vagogolo va pakwandi vagitaa nahau.Hinopau kesa mhenja nahau ukuwesa kumfisa alo…tole lingambalyo vike kundambaloko kidogo.Hinopa muhenja akuwesa kumanya haa.Hinopa paudeta chiswahili,mhenja kumanya.

Mundu pacha kuvafundisha vana chindamba kupoteza wakati…ne ngujumila ng'odo, ngumwona shuka msisighi hela.Nguwomba wuke kwanza, hata kalibu yangu wuke kabisa, lugha ya babu wangu niileke kandi?

Nje ya nyumbani watoto… kujifundisha chindamba, pavadinga na vayao, kwa sababu apa zaidi tukudeta chindamba zaidi, kwahiyo hata ukuyenda apa jilanepa vakudeta..chindamba, pauyenda kuno chindamba.

Kijiji kufundisha watoto kindamba…aa kwa kweli katika mambo ya mila na destuli, hapa hatuna, apa kwa hela kabisa.

Patuyenda kuzahanati, pala lugha ni Kiswahili maana pala pakuva na vandu mchanganyiko, kwa viongozi wa selikali ya kijiji tukudeta kiswahili

Kusali kwa mlungu ngudeta kwa chindamba.

Shughuli ambazo zinatumia kindamba tu…yaani pakudetadeta, pamonga chifuma chivembo.Pala mchanganyiko, vakwihasha vandu ndimbilandimbila zaidi ikutumika chiswahili.Ila lindenda lyake vakukuva kwa chindambandamba.

Ili kindamba kisipotee…ni kufuatilia hukuhuko mfano wa Melela…zaidi Melela, Ngombo, Biro iki kindamba kwa kweli kimehifadhika, yaani kidogo vakudedeta, kuliko kuChita pala vakuywanga chiswahili weka.

Interview 22   **ME17M**

Interviewee: Male, age 46 years; education level std. 7; occupation, peasant; no. of children 5 (ages 22, 20, 10, 8, 4 yrs)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Saturday, 23/February/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Evarist Msaka, my age is forty six years. My occupation is farming. I completed standard seven. My children, the first one is twenty two years, the second child is twenty, my third is ten years the fourth is eight years and my fifth child is four years old.

Children learn language through us, the father and the mother, the way we speak to each other and to the children. In this way children imitate the language we speak and in so doing they acquire our language.

Conditions that that promote learning language include the commitment of parents to speak the language to one another and to the children. If we the parents speak Ndamba our children will speak Ndamba as well.

Here in our house the language that we speak most of the time is Ndamba. My wife, the children and I speak Ndamba most of the time. We speak Swahili in the event when a visitor who does not speak our language visits us, then we have to speak Swahili. But when the visitor speaks Ndamba we will speak Ndamba.

Because I was born at Merera, the language I find easy to speak is Ndamba because this is the main language here.
The language I feel proud to speak is Ndamba, even when I travel if I meet a fellow Ndamba on the way I will speak Ndamba with them and other people know that we are Ndamba people.

Frankly speaking in the recent years the youth who were born from the ninety's to the present do not look at Ndamba as their language at all, they even look down upon the Ndamba culture. Whereas those who were born in the eighty's and before that still glorify and admire the Ndamba culture.

The danger that Ndamba might vanish is real because as years go by the people who speak the language decrease, there are no new speakers. Another cause factor for the disappearance of Ndamba is the mixing of tribes. Nowadays you can see among us there are; Bena, Pogoro, Sukuma and the like ethnic people. As a result you see, at the present time it is not practicable for you to speak Ndamba when a Sukuma speaker is around, can you see that?

Should Ndamba vanish, I will feel very awkward; it would be like there were two of us and now my companion is lost. Because for me Ndamba is in my heart Therefore if Ndamba disappears all of a sudden, it will be very difficult indeed.

It is important that we should try as much as we can possibly do to preserve Ndamba language and culture.

When I speak to a child in Ndamba and he/she answers back in Swahili I would think that the child is idiotic or is being disrespectful.

When I say my prayer called 'kuluva makungu', I have to say it in Ndamba. When I am at the dispensary I have to talk in Swahili and to the village government officials, I also have to communicate with them in Swahili.

If I were to suggest to my fellow parents here at Merera, I would say the language that our children must learn is Ndamba because this is the language of our origin, it expresses our culture. When one speaks Ndamba in public, especially when you are in the town, everybody will know that you are Ndamba. In so doing we maintain our culture.

The type of Ndamba that children speak nowadays is not correct, the original Ndamba is lost, they mix with Swahili.

When my children come together to play with fellow age mates, they speak mostly Ndamba.

When someone says it is not important to teach Ndamba to children as it has no practical use for them, I wouldn't agree with him because if I teach my children the language, when they know it, they will keep it and it will not disappear.

Outside the home when children go to play at other homesteads, they still learn Ndamba because even there Ndamba is spoken and as they play they learn the language.

To say the truth the village of Merera has no language teaching scheme geared toward the development of Ndamba.

Social activities that are predominantly conducted using Ndamba include rituals to appease ancestral spirits, customary celebrations and traditional dances.

In my view as Ndamba is in danger of extinction, we could preserve it by writing books in Ndamba. We should find authors who could write books such as story books. In the years to come people will be able to read these books and they will be able to know about the nature of our language and its culture.

Interview 22   ME17M
(Original text in Ndamba)

Nenga baha litawa lyangu Evarist Msaka.Nenga baha nina miaka alobaini na sita.Ne kasi yangu nenga kulima.Malila dalasa ya saba.Vana vangu,mwana wangu wa kwanza kana miaka ishirini na mivili,mwana wangu wa pili kana miaka ishirini,mwana wangu wa tatu kana miaka kumi,mwana wangu wanne kana miaka minane na mwana wangu wa tano kana miaka minne.

Vana vakwifundisha lugha yila kutokana na nimwene tati wao au mawao jinsi panivatuma au patuywaga nao.Nga nau ngumtuma kandekele machi,akumanya mama katuma ngamtekele machi.Baba kanghomba ngatole munyo…unaona,jinsi ye nywanga ni mwene ni tati mundu na mamundu, basi mwana akuiga lugha yila kutokana na nimwene baha.

Lughai paudaya vana vefundishe hasa ikutegemea na nimwene ni tati wao na ma wao, jinsi ya kuywanga. Patuywanga chindamba na vananguta lazima vaifundishe chindamba wuwula.

Pakayapa kwa kweli yufwe lugha yatudetapa ni chindamba, nenga na vana vangu vonda tukuywanga sana chindamba.

Da tuywange chiswahili mani labda akuwesa afike mhenja…si mundamba, wa kabila lingi, a tukuwesa kuywanga nayu chiswahili.Lakini payisa mundambawu lazima tuywangi nayi chindamba.

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Lugha nguwona lahisi kudeta…kwa sababu ng'onekela paMelelapa na lugha yangu ngomi kabisa kabisa chindamba.

Lugha nguwona ya fahali…kwa nenga baha binafsi chindamba kwa kweli ngujisikia fahali sana.Hata pawikala pa uhenja pauyenda ukaywangi chindamba na mndamba miyako, kila vandu vakumanya vala vandu vala vandamba.

Kwa kweli nga miaka ayi tuvee nayo hinapa ayi, vijana vadokwadokwava vawonekili kuanzia miaka ya tisini kuyisa kunu, kwa kweli chindamba vakuchiwona kulonga wula si lugha yao ng'oo, unaona... hata utamaduni wa chindamba vakuuvasuavasua. Lakini vala vawonikili kuanzia miaka ya semanini kuwuya pasi kuno, kwa kweli chindamba na utamaduni wa chindamba vakali vakaushovelela.

Kwa kweli kwa kuyaghamila chindamba ikuwesekana, kutokana na jinsi miaka paiyenda, kwa sababu vala vana pavadeta chindamba vala veni vakuyaghamila…unaona na chindu chimonga chichangila kuyaghamila kwa chindamba, mchanganyiko wa makabila. Masikova kuwona kuna vabena, kuna vapogolu, tuna vasukuma, kuwona? Kwa hiyo hinapaa mundu kuywanga chindamba mbele ya Msukuma iweshekane haa, unaona.

Kuhifadhi kindamba…kwa kweli nga hinapawu jinsi patiyenda kwa ne lwangolu nguwona kwa kweli tugoli kila iwesekanafyo tukihivazi chindamba na utamaduni wake.

Kwa kweli pachiyaghamila chindamba da pate tabu sana, kwa sababu sawasawa mundu kulonga wula mkavele muvavili mwao yumo kayaghamila.Na ne wula chindamba chiyingila mu moyomu.Kwa kweli pachiyaghamila chindamba halaka halaka hela, kweli da tupate tabu sana.

Nenga panyisa nywange chindamba, mwana wangu akwisa ywange chiswahili wakati mwana wangu yula kamanya kabisa chindamba,alafu akulema kujibu chindamba chenywanga ne ni tati mundu chila,mwene akuyenda kaywange chiswahili,kwa kweli nguwona mwanangutayu kana luhala ng'odo? Au akuvunjia nenga baha heshima yangu.

Kwa kweli penipadaa kumluva mlungu hinapaa chindu, kwa kweli lazima nywangi chindamba, kulonga wula Mndamba akulonga liki akuluva makungu eehee, inabidi lazima nywabi chindamba, kuluva kwa chindamba. Zahanati tukudeta Chiswahili saelekali va kijiji nako chichi chiswahilichi.

Kwa kweli kwa vana va paMelelapa ava vandamba, nga ne lwangolu ngavele nguwombanila na vayangu vonda vana vangamanyili sana chindamba. Kwa sababu chindamba yaani kulonga wula asili, yaani kulonga mundu ukutangasa utamaduni wako, pa udeta chindamba hata mbele ya vayako, hata kavele kumbwaniko kusa dete chindamba kila mundu akumanya…ayu apayu mundamba, alafu kulonga tukudumisha liki?… utamaduni wetu.

Kwa kweli vana va masikoo vakudeta chindamba chinyokili haa, chindamba chila chiyaghamila.Vakuchanganya na chisawahili.

Vananguta vangoo, vana vangoo pavayisa vadingi na vayao vadokwadokwava kima chao chila,vakuywangaa sana chindamba.

Mundu pakudetela chahela maana,tukotoke kuvafundisha vananguta…kweli ngujumila haa,kwa sababu panyise kuvafundisha vana vangu chindamba,vadaa vachimanye ili chindamba chila chikotoke kuyaghamila,unaona…ndiyo maana nguvika bidii sana vananguta vadete chindamba.

Pavawuka pakayapa…chindamba vakujifundisha pavayenda kudinga kwa vayawoku, vakwifundishala kuko chindamba, unaona…

Kwa chijiji cha paMelelachi, kwa kweli vakufundisha ng'oo,tudete ukweli.

Shughuli situmie chindamba…kwa chindamba,nga kutambika,eehe mayimbi va mahoka vala, yenda vakapete machi,eehee.

Kwa kweli kwa nenga baha, kwa kuwa chindamba chikuwesa kuyaghamila,ili kindamba tuchiviki chikotoo kuyaghamila, kungapatikanili nga vandu vatungatunga fitabu vala,vatungi hasa fitabu fya chindamba,unaona… vya hadisi, unaona ili hata mundu pauyisa usomi hadisi ya chindamba, kwa kweli

chindamba chili chiyaghamili haa. Hata mundu baadaye miaka yonda kwisa mlonge ...yuwi chitabu achi somi, akusoma akuwona chiyandikilwi chindamba, kwa sababu kamanya na ne na mundamba, Akulola filongo fiyandikilwi mula, hata mwene munda mukusekelela.

Interview 23   **ME18M**

Interviewee: Male, age 47 years; education level std. 7; occupation, peasant; no. of children 2 (age26, 19 yrs)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Monday, 25/February/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Johan Malobola, I am forty seven years old. My work is farming. I completed standard seven. My children, the first one was born in 1982 and the other one in 1989.

The child that I have produced myself, because I speak Ndamba he/she must also learn to speak Ndamba. They will learn from me.
Conditions that help children to learn Ndamba at home include speaking to them most of the time in Ndamba. Also through asking them to perform some domestic activities and showing them things. Children will learn language in this manner.

Here at home the language that my wife and I speak most of the time is Ndamba. But our children we familiarize them in Swahili because some of them have already started school, so if we insist them to know only Ndamba, it will interfere with their study at school. For this matter there is time when I speak to them in Ndamba and time when I speak to them in Swahili.

The language that I find easy to speak is Ndamba and the language I feel pride in to speak is my language, Ndamba. This language I can speak anywhere where I find someone to speak to.

People around here seem to neglect Ndamba, they don't speak it much when they talk, and most often they use Swahili.

As time goes by there is real danger that Ndamba might become extinct, because nowadays Swahili has become very dominant. Sometimes you may even see fellow Ndamba speakers greet one another in Swahili. That is why I am drawn to conclude that in future the language might disappear.

There is need to preserve Ndamba because by doing so our children will be able to know how the language and its culture.

Should Ndamba disappear, I will feel mournful because I will have lost my original means of expression.

When I speak Ndamba to a child and in reply he/she speaks Swahili, I will feel disappointment; this would indicate to me that my child has not learnt our culture well.

When I make devotions I say my prayers in Ndamba. When I go to the dispensary I speak Swahili.

My children more often speak Swahili this is necessary for them because they are attending school so they must be familiar in it.

When my children speak Ndamba they speak it quite well. During play with their age mates the language that dominates is Ndamba.

If a person said that Ndamba should not be taught to children because it servers no practical purpose to them, I would disagree with him because Ndamba is our language of our origin it is necessary that our children should know it.

When outside the home children learn Ndamba as they participate in plays with their peer mates, in their age groups they have an opportunity to learn the language.

The village does not have in place a scheme of teaching Ndamba to the youth.

Social undertakings in which Ndamba is dominantly used include offering of ancestral rites and dance performances related to these rites.

We can manage to preserve Ndamba if you the experts could assist us to write books in Ndamba as here we do not have personnel who could do that work.

Interview 23   **ME18M**

(Original text in Ndamba)

Nenga litawa lyangu Johan Malobola.Ne miaka yangu alobaini na saba.Nengapa kasi yangu kulima.Dalasa yangu yemalishili ya saba.Vana vangu, wa kwanza kawoneka mwaka semanini na mbili na wa mwisho mwaka semanini na ngapi sijui.

Vana vakwifundisha kudeta lugha…mwana ye nimulelile ni mwene baha…mwene baha si nikudeta chindamba,basi na mwene naye akumanya chindamba.

Mazingila ya kuweza kwifundisha chindamba…kawaida yake kama mwana wako ukumkema, baada ya kumkema…ali lipapayeli.Tole lilipapaye basi unaweza kumpa kama papai akala,baadaye unaweza kumwuliza ..hii nini tea hii…hii papai, na mwena akuumanya.

Apa pakayapa na mdala wangu, tukutumia sana chindamba.Ila watoto mara nyingi tunawazowesha zowesha Kiswahili, kwa sababu vamonga vayanja kusoma shuli, ponopa yaani paudeta chindamba weka hela kushuli wanaweza wakakosea shuli.Pangudeta na vananguta nguwesha kuchanganya na Kiswahili naha.Yaani kuna nyakati naweza kusema…naweza nikaongea chindamba na nyakati fulani naongea Kiswahili.

Lugha nguwesha kudeta kwa ulahisi zaidi chindamba.Lugha nguwona ya fahali…kwa sisi hapa kabisa wandamba, mala nyingi lugha yako ndiyo yenye ufahali,hata ukuwesa kuywanga hata mwao afumile Dalisalam,ukimkuta kama mndamba,mkwikala pasi mkuywanga chindamba.

Vaponopau,chindamba mani vakuchilekaleka kidogo,vakudetadeta chindamba sana haa, zaidi chiswahili.

Ee, ponopa kwe tuyendako, mwisho wake chindamba da chiyaghamile.Kwa ponopawu zaidi chiswahili, ukienda ukitaka kusalimiana na mndamba mwenzako Kiswahili, unaona…sasa tunakokwenda huko inawezekana kikapotea.

Umuhimu wa kuhifazi kindamba upo…kwa sababu watoto da tuleleva inabidi lazima wajue, vachimanyi chindamba,cha wuliwuli,cha mgate.
Pachiyaghamile chindamba nitajisikia uchungu sana, maana ukukaa tu bila kuongea na mwenzako chindamba siyo vizuri sana.

Panimdetela mwana kwa chindamba alafu mwene ajibu Kiswahili…aa safi haa.,akisema Kiswahili siyo vizuri, zaidizaidi pengine aseme ile lugha yako ile ya kindamba,hata wewe kidogo utajisikia kumbe mtoto wangu naye bado chindamba akachielewa.

Kusali kwa mulungu…ngudeta kwa chindamba…ee mwao undange,ndve salama na vana vangu vave salama…kwa chindama.

Panyenda…kudispensali zaidi tukudeta chiswahili.

Vanavangu…kwa sasa hivi kimetawala sana kiswahli, kwa sababu wako shuleni, inabidi wajue sana sasa hivi Kiswahili.

Kindamba cha vadeta vananguta kiva…sawasawa.

Vana pavadinga vene vakutumia zaidi chindamba.

Mundu padeta tukotoo kuvafundisha vana chindamba... aa, ne jumile haa.Ayi chindamba ndiyo luga ya twenga pa,da amanyi ndo safi mbona.

Wakiwa nje ya nyumbani watoto wanajifundisha chindamba...kuna michezo yao,kama kwenye ...huko,kama viwanjani huko wakiwa vikundi vikundi basi wanajifundisha.

Kijiji kufundiasha watoto lugha...apa kwa hela.

Shughuli ambazo zinatumia chindamba peke yake.....moja tambiko, kwenye kutambika kule kama kuna kama pombe za mahoka, kule kinazungumzwa kindamba tu...vayangu kudaseko myenu munole.., basi pale kindamba weka.

Namna ya kuhifadhi kindamba...nga nahau afadhali mvayetu mututange muyandike fitabukwa sababu huku, watalamu huku hamna wanaweza kuandika vitabu hivi,vya chindamba hivi.Lakini kama wapo watu namna hii basi ingehifazi ile ingekuwa safi sana.

Interview 24   **ME19F**

Interviewee: Female, age 30 years; education level: not attended school; occupation, peasant; no. of children 2 (age9, 3 yrs)
Village: Merera
Date of interview: Tuesday, 26/February/2008,
Place: Respondent's home

I am Lusia Lilowoko and I am thirty years old. I am a peasant; I have not attended school at all. My children, one of them is nine years and the younger one is three years old.

A child learns to speak Ndamba by receiving training from his parents. This is achieved through parent-guided practices like giving directives and demonstrating to the child.
The language we speak most of the time in this house is Ndamba, usually we do not mix languages, and we normally speak only one language. The language that I can speak with ease is Ndamba.
The language that I feel proud to speak is Swahili because it a means through which I can interact with people who do not speak Ndamba.

People here do not despise Ndamba language; we speak this language a good deal. Even though we often shift to speaking Swahili nonetheless the language we speak a lot is Ndamba.

The danger for Ndamba to decline will come perhaps as we mix up with members of other incoming tribal groups. But if we were to remain by ourselves, it would be difficult for Ndamba to die out here.

If I spoke to somebody in Ndamba and he/she replied back in Swahili, I would feel insulted, crestfallen. I would think there must be a reason behind the behavior.

I would like my children to know Swahili because when they travel they should be able to interact with people of other places.
The kind of Ndamba that children speak is quite correct, plain, and intelligible.

During play in peer groups, children speak almost always in Ndamba.

When somebody says children should not be taught Ndamba as it has no use to them, I would not agree with this suggestion because it important that the child should know my language.

In the village there is no scheme for teaching language to the youth because there are no longer elders who could do this work.

When I visit the dispensary, I speak Swahili as there are a number of people there   who don't speak Swahili. When we speak to local government officials, we speak Swahili as well.
When making devotions, I say my prayers in Ndamba.

Children nowadays are not told stories as was the case in the past. In the past telling of stories served the function of teaching moral lessons to the youth.

Social activities that are conducted dominantly using Ndamba include conducting fishing work, there people most often talk in Ndamba.

Now that Ndamba is in danger of fading out, we must make effort with the help from you experts to preserve it. One means of maintaining the language would be to start teaching it as a subject in schools. Because there is real danger that in future people might forget to speak the original form of Ndamba.

Interview 24   **ME19F**

(Original text in Ndamba)

Ne Lusia Lilowoko. Nina miaka selathini. Kasi yangu kulima. Ne nzoma haa.Yumonga kana miaka tisa, mdoko kana miaka mitatu.

Mwana akwifundisha kudeta…ukumfundisha umwene umlelile, kwa kumkema, kwa kumfundisha…haya dete yuwe nenga ni mawako, akukukema yu mao. Haya dete ayu tatio, akukema…yu tate, haya dete ayu apa muhajao…yu mhaja, ayu apa nalumeo…akuwomba yu nalume wango, ndo mwana ukumfundisha naha.

Apa pakayapa…tukudeta chindamba.Tukuchanganya haa, nguwona zaidi chindamba.
Lugha nguwona lahisi kudeta chichindambachi.Nguwona nyanyi Kiswahili,kwa sababu hata mundu muhenja payisa chindamba kamanya haa kudeta, lazima udete chiswahili.

Vandu kindamba vakupuuza ng'o, lugha yene tudeta yiyi kila siku, vakuyiona ya maana.Ingawa vakujongajonga wuwu chiswahili, pavadeta zaidi chindamba.

Kindamba kikuwesa kuyaghamila…ne nguwona pengine labda tuwe mchanganyiko, lakini tuve vandamba weka apa, chindamba tuivasiwe haa.

Panimwombela mundu chindamba akujibu chiswahili, nguwomba kandukana,moyo wangu ukundama sana,kwa sababu ya liki myango mndamba alafu ayise adetee chiswahili.

Vanavangu ngudaya vajue sana Kiswahili, kwa sababu watatembea.
Vana pavadeta chindamba…kimenyoka kabisa safi, vakudeta nyanyi kabisa.

Vananguta pavadeta…vakudeta zaidi chindamba.

Mundu padeta chindamba chahela maana kuvafundisha vana…jumili haa.Kwa sababu lazima mwana aimanye lugha yangu mimi.
Kijiji ufundisha vananguta chindamba…kwahela, vakomikomi vadahili.

Panyenda zzahanati ngudeta Kiswahili maana kula kuna mkusanyiko wa vandu va makabila tafauti. Selikali ya kijiji tukutumia Kiswahili weka.

Pakusali kumwomba mulungu ngusali kwa chindamba.

Vana msakova kuvasimila somo…kwahela. Simo shasaidia kumafunzo, simo simonga sayisaa kuvafundisha vana jinsi ya adabu.Simo simonga syavafundishaa vana vakotoo kuva vefi,simo simoo syavafundishaa vana vakotoo kuva vagombi kwishusha na vandu,adabu mundu mukomi, adabu kumhishimu mundu yoyose yula yakupitili umuli, ndiyo simo sila syavaa naha.
Shughuli sya vatumia chindamba ngita panowu vandu pavayenda kulweni, kuyenda kusaka likolo…pala mukasi kusema kweli mukasi, pavekala vandu chikutumika sana chindamba.

Ne nguwona chindamba kita panowu pachiyaghamila, tugole kila njia pamongapa mwayetu mwikalile kutaliko, hata shuli ingawesikanile kucha ipatikani shuli ya kwifundisha chindamba tu kwa sababu ponopawu we tuyendawu chindamba origino (original) kwahela, chiva chindamba cha mchanganyiko.

Interview 25   **ME20M**

Interviewee: Male, age 45 years; education level std. 7; occupation peasant; no of children 4 (age 20, 10, 7, 5 yrs.)
Village: Mofu
Date of interview: Monday, 14/January/2008
Place: Respondent's home

My name is Donasian Mundanga I am forty five years old. My occupation is farming and I have completed standard seven. My children; the first one is twenty years old, another one is ten years another one is seven years and the last child is five years old.

Children learn to speak Ndamba because when we are at home my wife and I speak only Ndamba and the children learn the language from us when we speak to them, when they go to school their teachers teach them Swahili but here at home we teach them our language. As a result the children are very proficient in Ndamba.

Home conditions that promote learning include parents involving the children by speaking to them often, availability of age group mates who speak the language at home. With these conditions; children are able to learn Ndamba easily.

The language that my wife and I speak most at home is Ndamba. The language that I can speak with ease is Ndamba, when need arises for me to interact with other people who do not speak Ndamba, I can speak Swahili.

Here in the village people have much esteem for Ndamba language, even though they sometimes tend to look down upon traditional dances showing preference to modern music instead, but language we still respect it.

I am also apprehensive about the fate of Ndamba, it might disappear because of these people who come to teach our children to speak Swahili and degrade our culture.

It is necessary to preserve our language because in some places the language has almost disappeared, fortunately the situation for us is much better, we are still the bedrock, our ancestors have not moved from here. Ndamba language vitality is quite strong here, this will not be affected by the number of ethnic groups that have come to settle among us, we will not forget to speak our language, may be it would happen in future but not in the recent times.

Should Ndamba disappear I would feel as if my view is blocked, I am no longer able to see my path on which to move on. It would be like I have been placed in servitude.

When I speak to my child in Ndamba and he answers back in Swahili...normally I tell my children when we are at home that if they wish to speak the town language they should do it outside the home, here at home we must all speak only the language of our origin.

When I am out with my friends, I most often speak Ndamba. Even when I travel to the town if I find a fellow Ndamba speaker there, I always prefer to speak in our language.
When I offer prayers to my God, I always say the prayers in Ndamba. At the dispensary the language that is normally used is Swahili, likewise when I have to speak to the local government officials, I have to do so in Swahili.

I wish my children should learn best to speak Ndamba since there is no problem for them to learn Swahili, as it is the language they speak at school, they will learn it there.

The kind of Ndamba that my children speak is correct and quite comprehensible. When they play among themselves, my children most of the times speak Ndamba.

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I feel very pleased when I hear my children speak Ndamba, it is quite gratifying.

When somebody says that teaching Ndamba to children is a waste of time, I would not agree because I would consider such person as intending to eradicate my language and my tribe.

Outside the house children have further opportunity to learn Ndamba as when they participate in plays with age mates, there they learn many things especially new vocabulary.

Nowadays grandparents do not tell stories to the youth as was the case in the past because elders are finished, those who are remaining do not conversant with the ways of the past. However story telling was a very useful practice to the youth it enabled them to learn ways of the tribe.

The village does not have in place a plan of teaching children and youth community language and culture.

People in this village speak Ndamba only when we congregate to offer rites to the ancestral spirits or in remembrance of the dead. Also when conducting traditional dances and in social drinks.

In my view we could preserve Ndamba if you the experts could help us to write books, our language should be recorded so that when it eventually vanishes our grandchildren would be able to read it.

Interview 25   **ME20M**
(Original text in Ndamba)

Nimwao litawa lyangu Donasian Mndanga.Nengapa nina miaka alobaini na tano.Mwao kasi yangu mbona ya kulima.Mwao malila dalasa ya saba.Vana vangu yumonga kana miaka ishirini, yumonga miaka kumi, yumonga kana miaka saba na yumonga miaka mitano.

Kwifundisha kwa vanangutava kwa sababu nenga pavava apa pakayapa nenga ngutovangaa chindamba nenga na mwehe wangu.Tukutovangaa chindamba ponopa na vanangutava mpaka nalelou vakudeta chindamba chiveli nyanyi kabisa.Pavayenda kushuleko valimu vawo vakuvafundisha chiswahili, apa tukutovanga chindamba.

Hali ya pakaya kwifundisha…hasa kuvatumatuma findu, alafu kudinga na vayau vachimanyikishi ndo vananguta ndo vakushovelela zaidi kuhusu kudeta chene chindambachi.

Nengapa na mwehe patwikala pakayapa zaidi tukutovanga chichindamba.
Nenga lugha nguwona lahisi sana kuywanga ni mwene bahapa zaidi chindamba.Pa nduva na vayangu ambao vachimanyili ng'odo chindamba, nguywanga chiswahili.

Lugha ya chindambayila pala vakuitili maanani sana ila vakupuuza kidogo utamaduni wetu wa asili kuwona lindenda,twavele na mangongu.Ponopau vakutudabinganya ava veyetu vayisa na fimulimuli ava vasunguva,ndiyo maana kwamba kidogo apa tukuivasuwavasuwa lakini bado tukakumbuka.

Chindamba hata nenga nina wasiwasi chikuwesa kuyaghamila kwa sababu ava vayetu vesava vakuvafundisha hata vana vetu vadetee chiswahili na kuuleka kabisa utamaduni wetu tuvele nawo.

Sababu ya kuweza kuhifazi ayi ikuwezekana iva kuivele kwa sababu sehemu simonga vazidiwa kabisa lakini nangayufwi apa patuvelepa,yufwepa ndo paasili kabisa kwamba chizazi chetu bado chakaikala baha mpaka nalelou na chila bado tukaitovanga siyo lahisi hata vayingile makabila mangapi yufwe apa tuchivasuwe.Labda va kuulongolo lakini kwa miaka ayi bado sana.

Nenga kwa kwa kweli pachisa chiyaghamile chindamba nguwona kucha vangika kuusho hata njila ya kuyendela nguyiwona kandi haa.Kwa sababu mbona kuchau vamika kuutumwa naha.

Nenga padeta chindamba alafu mwananguta ayise ajibu chiswahili…mbona mwana wangu padeta chiswahili nengapa tuva tuvavili hela pala ngumwombela kabisa achi chimbwani chakochi kadetelele kukoku apa tudete chiwonikile tangu, da chimbwanichi katovangile kukoku.

Nenga pamuka apa pakayapa nguyenda kumbwani ngutanika na vaghanja vangu, tukudetaa chichindamba.

Nenga panimwomba mlungu kuwomba mwao unzaidili chindu fulani nengapa ngutumia lugha yangu ya chindamba. Kuzahanati kula tukuywanga sanasana Kiswahili.Na vajumbe va selikakali nawo kwa Kiswahili.

Vanavangu ngudaya sana vamanyi kudeta chindamba kwa sababu chiswahili hata pavayendako kushuleko vakudetaa chihi.

Ne vanavangu ponopa chindamba pavava apa vakunyamula safi kabisa.
Pavadinga vene kwa vene…daima vakutumia sana chindamba,chiswahili chidogo sana,vakuchanganya,lakini zaidi chindamba.

Vana pavadeta chindamba…nenga ngufulahi sana,maana pavadeta chila chindamba chila hata nengapa ngupekesuka.

Mundu padeta chindamba hakuna maana kuvandisha vananguta…jumili ng'odo kwa sababu ayu topi akuyaghamisha lugha yangu au kabila yangu.

Vana kwifundisha chindamba nje ya pakayapa…eeh vakwifundisha kula kwa sababu ya kudinga pamoo kuna vang'ongolo,vala vang'ongolo vala daima vakutamka kwa chindamba.Ponopa vene wakati wingi vakwifundisha kucha ayu ngolongosi ayu ng'ondwa…unaona,ponopaa fyonda fila findamba.

Ponopa vambuyi vakotoo kusimuli simo ponopaa vambuyi vene vapela,ponopaa vasighala vambuyi vafijanaila tu ni milandu ya apa na ala ya kuvawombela vana vetu, vakuvawombela, lakini vambuyi veni vabaki ponopa vachachi.
Simo sina faida sana kwa sababu vakuvafundisha vananguta vakotoo kugola filongo fya ofyo ofyo ndaa.

Utalatibu wa chijiji ponopaa vananguta vekale mahali tuvafundishee chindamba ayi apa kwahela.

Vandu vakudeta chindamb weka yake..kuchau pa uyimbi wa lipwela,haya uyimbi wa mahoka,haya pamonga ninihi ng'oma.

Kuhifazi chindamba…ee pamonga kwamba tuvawombe vayetu vetalamu ili vatungi fitabu…fikale mufitabu pamonga achi nache payisa kuyaghamila mani basi vese vasomeghe.

Appendix V

<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px;">

CHILDREN'S STORIES

</div>

Story 1
Narrator: Happiness
Age: 10 years
Village: Merera
Date: Monday, 28/January/2008

Hadisi, hadisi Avevele babayu . amtolili mdala, bibi mkubwa na bibi mdogo. Vayenda kufuva kuchihanji . mwana yula vamdumbushila . vayenda kaya ii, . vafika kula . bambu wake kamdasha, "mwana yoti?" kadeta kadumbukila muchihanji, . kadeta kamsaki Kufika kula akuyimba, "Mwasa, Mwasa, miyenu mwana wangu mumuwona"... "tumwona, tumwona, tumwona litanda lya kwanza, tumwona litanda lya pili", mpaka la kumi na mbili Kufika kumi na mbili kula <u>kasaaaka,</u> kampata mwana wake ka <u>nyanyiii,</u> lijini. <u>Kayenda kula, kasaka kampata mwana lijini duhu, . pamihi vawonja . mwana yula kamwulagha ma wake alafu mwene katugha . Hadisi yangu imeishia hapa

Story, story. Once upon the time there was a man. He married two wives, a senior and junior wife. One day the two wives went to wash clothes at river Chihanji. Accidentally a child slipped in the water and disappeared they returned home. When they reached home the husband asked "where's the child" she answered, "it slipped in river Chihanji" he said "you have to find it". She went to the river and started sing "Mwasa Mwasa have you seen my childing. The ghost replied "we have seen it at the first pond, then

Story 2
Narrator: Diana
Age: 11 years
Village: Merera
Date: Wednesday, 30/January/2008

Hadisi, hadisi Avele nchewe, avele simba, avele sungula avele na sheshe. Hinaha sungula kadeta wuli? "Yumwe tuyende kula tukasake nyama", <u>Vayeeenda, vayeeenda.</u> Vayiwona nyama vadeta nyamayi tuyiweshe ha *kunaniyu*...kubikula, tuyende tukalye tangu fulu.
Vayenda kula, kadeta "simba yuwi kimanya ng'odo. *kunaniyu*...kukwela? "ena", kadeta basi yuwi ghonje pasepa, duwule mlomo <u>daaawu</u> yufwe tukukuponeshela fulu. Haya vayegha na migongovele yao mivili. *Vakukwela* kumbindi *vakukwela* , *valya* fulu, <u>*valyaaa,*</u> pavalili vamalisha vatola ligongovele lya kwanza *vapaka* fulu, *vapaka* fulu vakumdangila. Vatola lya pili *Vapavaka, vapaka* vamdangila. Hinoo vene vasunuka, vatola nyama yao vawuka. Kayisa maa wake, maa wake kayisa kadeta wuli? "Simba kumbi wuli", kanyamala hela, "simba kumbi wuli", kanyamala hela. Kamdula ngumi ya kwanza, lifuma ha. Kamdula ngumi la pili lifuma ha. Kamdula ngumi la tatu, lifuma. Kamdula kandi ngumi la kwanza, lifuma ha. Ngumi la pili kamdula, lifuma ha. Kamdula ngumi la tatu ndiyo lifuma. Kadeta kumbi wuli? Sungula nenga baha kajanga wuli tukatole nyama kafika kadeta yuwe kumanya ng'odo kukwela wonje pasepa, tukudangile yuwe fulu, kumbe akadangileghe miganga. Hinopaa <u>vayeenda</u> kadeta, nalelo nenga baha nguyenda hadi kwa sungula*, nguyenda* pala *nguyenda* nga mmili. Haya vayeeenda, vayeeenda kamwona sungula, sungula kajenga nyumba yake ya <u>nyaaanyi</u> mlyango wake ligongovele. Vadeta chiganga baduke, chiganga baduke.

Mlyango wula ufughuka. Ponopa mwene baha kafika kadeta "hodi", kadeta "kalibu yuwe yani", "ne sheshe", kadeta "haya". Kamfughulila mlyangu wula, kafika pala kamuwona simba, nyumba yake mwene atimili na mabati, kadeta chiganga baduka, chiganga baduka. Nyumba yila yibaduka, mwene katuva. Katuva *mbilo mbilo* kamwona ndebo, kadeta ndembo mwawo mvughulili lukundolo, ndembo mwao mvughulili lukundolo, kayingila. Kadeta ndembo mwao njala ikutama, yuwi kadeta yuwi baha nenga

baha ngukufumisha, kadeta basi. <u>Kekaala</u> kadeta, ndembo ne njala ikutama. Kadeta dumule utumbowo, kalya kamalisha. Kadeta kandi, ndembo njala ikutama, kadeta dumule utumbowo, kalya kamalisha, ndembo kaponeka pasi, sungula *katugha mbilo, katugha mbilo* kayenda hadi kumilima. Hadisi yangu ipelela bahapa.

Story 3
Narrator: Fred Mchanya
Age: 14 years
Village: Merera
Date: Thursday, 31/January/2008

Hadisi, hadisi, Avele nganga, ngangayo apandaa machungwa pamo na milimao, apande michungwa pamo na milimao, milimao yila ikula na michungwa ikula, ilela, kayisa nyani. Akafiki nyani pala kayanza kunokola *kaalya, kaalya*, nganga kayisa hadi pala. Kufika pala kadeta ,haa michungwa yangopa kalya yani, ayu kalya nyani tuu. Leke nyende kaya, kayenda hadi kaya kekala, kekala kayisa na bunduki yake. Aaa kawona kalya kandi, kefisa. Nyani kayisa pala…*syesyele katila nganga   katila, syesyele katila nganga katila, nguli nguli nguli, mkila wa nyane, kuponela mingombe, nguli nguli nguli, mkila wa nyane, kuponela mingombe.*

Kafumbuka pala bwitu, kakwela kumbindi, akuyanza kulya. <u>Nanii</u> nganga kafumika pala, kawomba haya yuwi ukulya <u>minanii</u> yangu, katola kavika lisasi mu bunduki kamguma, kamguma nyani kadaka, katobola mkiyasa. Kayenda kwa daktari. Katola bunduki yila kabadilisha, kamgumila kutali mbiambia, akamgumili tayali, katola na nyani katola lisasi yila kataya mu bunduki kamguma <u>nanii</u>…nganga kambena pa lighulu katola bunduki yila ka<u>mnanii</u>…kadulila kunu, nganga kalila, mwene akusomola…*syesyele katila nganga katila, syesyele katila nganga katila, nguli nguli nguli, mkila wa nyane, kuponela mingombe, nguli nguli nguli, mkila wa nyane, kuponela mingombe.* Kayenda katole lisasi lila kamguma kandi, kamdula pa chenyi buu, mpaka chenyeli mutwi ligubutuka lyonda gubutu, kaponeka pasi. Kayenda katoli musi, kamtuta, kamtuta, kamtuta… kamwulaya, ka<u>nanii</u>…kambajanga bajabaja. Katola moto kamnyanya, katola munyu kataya. Kavanyopolela vagalu vake, kamupa kila moja na kipande chake.
Vagalu valya, vayenda kaya. Kufika kaya vekala vekala kayisa kandi, kayisa aloli kandi kawona jii, kaloli kandi kawona jii. Kawomba ayu nimpeja ayu, kwahela yumonga vanyani vamonga vakutila. Hadisi ipelela apa. Hadisei ikutufundisha tukotoo kuva vefi haa.

Story 4
Narrator: Veneranda Madeha
Age: 12 years
Village: Merera
Date: Friday, 1/February/2008

Hadisi, hadisi Kuna mfalume amtolili mdaa wake, . mdaa wakeyu valela vana, vanava   vavili, Mwinga na Chanja Napau vananguta vala <u>vakulaa</u>, chanja katolewa na Mulungu. Napau, <u>vekalaa</u> kumbindeko vatola valela mwana wao akukemewa Napawu Kamlunje <u>vayendaa</u>   napawu   mkina mama yula, nani Minga <u>kayendaa</u>   mpaka kwa maa wake kufika kwa maa Akulyaa liki, akulyaa nanii hela…akulya mitika,wake pala kananii…kadeta wuli haa "mwao mwana wangoyu ekali apa ni mwene nyende koti…niyende kusangila. Napa mwanangutayu kana masheliti masheliti vaki, akulyaa ugali ng'odu wala uji ng'odu. wala uji ng'odu". Akulyaa liki, akulyaa nanii hela…akulya mitika, machi vaki mitambaji na likolo lyaki lyula, hayaa. Kayenda kula kayenda kusangila ndili, kapata vasomba weka…akupata vanjoka weka, akupata na myula, akupata na vanjoka. *Nahapa kula vamtola mwananguta yula vammogha*, vamwusha linanii… akavele na nanii apa liguni. Napaa vamwusha liguni lilaa, vammogha nyweli, vatola vamlisha ugali, vamlandisha machi, vampakasha mafuta.

Napau mwene baha akupata vasomba weka, akupata…"kumbe mwana wangu aku vamnyoa? Au…vampaka nanii…nenga baha hinapaa nguwuya ngamlole mwanawangu. Hinapaa kufika pala vananii…mwana wangu kaa koti? Kamnyumbamu kawonja. Kufika pala kamwona mwana, akumbikula naha, akumkema…jii, kamwona mwana kasova, kadeta napau mama miyako napau kaya nguyenda ngadete liki kwa mlungu, si nguyenda ngafwe hela nenga. Kadeta yuwi yende hela, tayaku mweneyu tummogha haa, tushitukia hinapau ndo kamwua, hayaa. Napaa <u>kayeenda</u>, <u>kayeenda</u> kufika kula kwa

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mulungu. Kufika pala katola, mlungu kamdasha yuwi. Nanii kufika pala pa balabala hela kamwona shemeji, kamwona kaka wake, kufika pala, eti kaka mwao kwa mlungoku, napaa mdaa.. maa wangu pala, mwanayu ndili kamwulaya. Napaa nenga kwa mlungu nguyenda ngagole liki? Nguyenda ngadete liki, yuwe yuwe mashariti vake umtole umviki pa mlyango.

Mwene baha kufika pala kupumisha mlyango, puu. Hinopaa mwana yula akuponeka. Haya.Kufika pala, hinopaa yuwi kudeta wuli haa Mwana kumwulaya, mwana kumwulaya. Hinopaa haya.Kufika pala kamwolosha, katola mweni, kufika pala kadula hela mlyangu,puu. Kufika pala kalola.Kadeta wuli haa,Ha kumwulaya mwana mulungu kumwulaya mwana. Aa ayu mwanayu nimwulaya haa. Au ningamwulile linaniyeli lingababajukilili na nanii ningampakashili mafuta nahau na ningamyoveshili nahau mwanayu kumwulaya kukoku. Napau katola kamdula mdaa wake yula, kamdula mdaa wake yula, kamdula, kamdula na hadisi yangu ipelela apa. Hadiseyi ikutufundisha tukotoo kuva wawongo haa.

Story, story
Once upon a time the king married a wife
They got two children, Mwinga and Mwanja. The children <u>grew up</u> (for a long time), Chanja died went to live in heaven In they <u>lived</u> (for a long time) there in heaven They got a child called Kamlunje

Story 5
Narrator: Jamila
Age: 10 years
Village: Merera
Date: Saturday, 2/February/2008

Hadisi, hadisi,
Ndefu na moyo vavele lafiki, vekala miaka itangili. Siku limo ndefu kamwombela moyo, nimwawo nguyenda mwanja ngudaya kuyenda <u>akoo</u> kumofu kuvalola valongo vangu.Hinopa yuwepo uyise wikale pakayangopa unolelei mali syangu skotoo kuyaghamika .Kuwona minindiyi, mighuvayi ...kuwona munyumbamu muna kila kindu, kamwonyesha pala misandiku, migodolo migunila ya mpunga.Ulole vefi vakotoo kwisa kuhijapa, haya.
Ndefu kayenda mwanja wake, kumbele kuno moyo kacha haa ayu kanekela nenga findu fyondafi na nenga nahela mapesa, nguyenda kughula mbati mapesa.Kayanza kughula findu fila. Kayanza minindi <u>yoonda</u> kamalila, mighuva <u>yoonda,</u> kila chindu, nyuma yonda mbulete kabisa. Ndefu <u>kekalaako</u> majuva vatangili, kawuya. Kufika pala kawona mali syake syonda kwahela, kamdasha moyo mali syangu siva koo.Moyo kahela jibu.Ndefu kadeta lazima ulipi mali syangu katola bunduki yaki kadaya kumguma,moyo kuwona naha kayanza kutuva mbiyo, mbiyo.<u>Katuuvaa</u> kufika mahali kamwona mundu kadawula mlomo wake <u>dawuu</u> akugola mwayo.Moyo kufika pala kayingila mumulomo mula kwaa,mundu yula kafumba mlomo wake.Ndefu kufika pala kalemwa kuyingila mu mlomo mula, basi kacha nenga ngukuveta bahapa mpake ufumi ulipi mali yangu.Ndiyo maana mbaka nalelowu ndefu kavi kekala pamulomo , akumveta moyo bahala pala, afumi amlipi mali yake.
Hadisi yangu ipelela apa. Hadisei ikutufundisha tuvi vaaminifu, tukotoo kuva vefi haa.

Story 6
Narrator: Asteria Magoha
Age: 11 years
Village: Merera
Date: Tuesday, 5/February/2008

Hadisi, hadisi,
Pavale ngungulu na shungula, vakalaa pamo lakini vavele na uhanja haa.Kila siku vavele vakwigomba.Siku limo shungula aholili ne ngugungulu akumwuzi, na panimkamuli mani ngumdula mpaka ngumuwulaya kabisa.Sungula kaihola lakini da nimkamuli wuliwuli na mwene siku syonda akughuluka kumbindi hela.
Siku limo shungula kapata malifa, kacha manya ngungulu kadaya sana kulya nyama, hinopawu ujanja waki niupata. Neghonje pasi, nigole kuchawu ndifwa naha. Kavawombela vanyama vangi pamumuwona ngungulu mumuwombele kucha shungula kafwa, ese alye nyama.Vanyama vala <u>vamsakaa</u> ngungulu

vamwona. Pavamwonili ngungulu vacha, ngungulu kumanya wuli shungula kafwa tiyendi tukumulye nyama.

Ngungulu kacha sawa tuyendi. Pavakili kalibu ya shungula, ngungulu kamanya shungula kagola ujanja amkamuli, kacha, yumwi mmanya shungulayu kafwa haa? Tati wangu ang'ombili kucha shungula pafwili mani, mkila waki ukubinuka kumbindi.Mbona ayu mkila wake uwonja pasi? Kupilikana nahau, shungula kaihola aa kumbe nivasiwa kubinula kumbindi mkila wangu. Bahala pala kaubinula mkila waki. Ngungulu kuwona naha <u>kaseeka</u>, kacha kwaughonjili yuwi ne nyimukila kuko.Ngungulu kawuka mahala pala halaka. Hadisi yangu ipelela apa.

Story 7
Narrator: Fred Mchanya
Age: 14 years
Village: Merera
Date: Friday, 8/February/2008

Hadisi, hadisi.
Avele mfalumeyu atolili mdaa wake ajengili nyumba yake ya golofa <u>bombaa.</u>
Pajengili nyumba ya golofa avele na vana kumi na mbili.Vana vonda vatoloka kabakia yumo chambelo.Akabakii chambelo yula, kamtola, amvikaa <u>pambindee</u> akusona likeka.Pasepa kapanda <u>majanii</u> vandu vakupalilila, hinopa vandu tope vawomba "aa lakini mamayu yufwi tukumdayila sanayu ponoa tukumpata kwa njia liki kamanya haa kudetayu.Ayu bubu nda ayu".Kayisa shungula,kawomba ayu bubu haa ayu.Vabishana <u>wee</u> vabishana,kawomba ayu bubu ng'odo.Kawomba kama ayu bubu,nengapa...kayisa nanii, kayisa kiwongozi wao nanii, mwenyekiti wa vyumba kumi.Kufika pala kawomba nenga mwana wangu kaa pakaya pala,kama ayu bubu ng'o ne ngukupa mdala.Kawomba haya.Kayenda hadi kwa mfalume,kufika kwa mfalume kawomba, "mfalume ee nengapa ngudayila kibaluwa cha majani, cha kupalila majani".Haa majani, basi ne majani, pakayangu mboni machafu sana ngudayila umbalili.Haya, kufika pala kayanza kupalila.Kapalila, kapalila,mfalume kayenda kwa vafanyakazi vamonga kumwisho.Mwene kumbele kula kayanza kukipula majani, kipu, kipu, kipu, kipu.Kajibu mwanake yula vamwombee bubu yula, "haa! haa! baba baba, shungula huku anang'oa mahindi.Shungula kuno akutupula majanee, akutupula majani".Haa akutupula majani? Sungula ee nimpata mdala! nimpata mdalaa. Kayenda hadi kwa mfalume...nanii kwa mwenye kiti wa vyumba kumi kayenda pala. Kafika pala kawomba haya, "nipe mke wangu"Kamupa mdala, Hadisi yangu ipelela apa.

Story 8
Narrator: Leni
Age: 9 years
Village: Merera
Date: Monday, 11/February/2008

Hadisi, hadisi.
Kukijijechi vekalaa vang'ongolo.Vekalaa vasimba, vashungula, vanyati, na vandembo.Napawu vayishiwa machi.Vawomba shungula wise tukumbi litepu", shungula kalema, "shungula tukumbi litepu",shungula kalema.Vayaki vala vayenda <u>vakumbaa</u> <u>litepuu</u> halafu vateka machi vao vayisa kaya.Mwene shungula siku la kwanza kayenda pala,kateka machi vaki kayova, kateka kavika pambali.Katola kanya mulitepu mula.Siku la kwanza vamvika mlinzi simba,mwene kafika pala kateka machi vaki, kayova, kateka machi vake kavika pambali,akudaya anye mifi kamkamula.Kamkamuli, kamdanganya ne ngakusuki pala pa libiki pala.Kafika pa libiki pala,katola nywele sila katama,katama,kamwopela bahala,mwene kayenda kula kula kanya, katola kidumu chake, kayenda kaya.Siku la pili kaikala ndembo,kaikala ndembu,mwene kayisa pala kateka mchi vake , kayogha , kateka machi vake kavika pambali.Da akudaya anye naha , kambana.Kawomba nenga baha unekeshele nguyenda ngakupe bigijii, kamnoa noa nganji.Kamlekeshela mwene katola kidumu chake katuva mbilo.Kawomba,oooh ndembo, libungulu libaya, kunshindwa ne ni mwana mdoko hela.Katugha mbilu.Siku la tatu kayikala chindasi.Mwene kafika pala kateka machi <u>vakii,</u> nyanyi.Katola kayova, kayova katola kateka machi vaki kavika pambali.Ka kudaa anye naha kambana, kaghomba nenga daa nikupi chinogha nogha nganji kalema, kambana nahau wuwula.Kawomba nenga nguyenda ngakupi pipi, kalema, kambana nahau wuwula.Kamjabula pala, kavakema vahi, ne kunu sungula nimkamula.Vafika pala vamvika pambali pala pala.Ndembo katola lula yake kambija biriju.Kafumbuka unga weka.
Hadisi yangu imeishia hapa. Hadiseyi ikutufundisha uchafu mulitepu ukutakiwa haa.

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