



ASSESSING THE ATTITUDE OF THE ENDOGAMOUS AND EXOGAMOUS FAMILIES ON THE USE OF ETHNIC COMMUNITY LANGUAGES (ECLS) IN TANZANIAN URBAN SETTINGS

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ABSTRACT

The study aimed at finding the impact of the couples' attitude on the use of Ethnic Community Languages (ECLs henceforth) in urban centers, in Tanzania. The assumption was that, any attitude someone has towards something, might influence the act on such a thing hence the attitude of couples towards ECLs may have an impact on how they view and act towards them, which may in turn accelerate their survival or death. The study employed a sample of 10 couples from endogamous families and 10 couples from exogamous families who were selected through purposive sampling technique. The study revealed that, there were no major perceived differences on the attitude towards ECLs between the endogamous and exogamous families. It was also noted that, the future of ECLs is in vain since they are not transmitted to children born in these two family groups. Therefore, there is a possibility of having a new generation of children who know nothing about ECLs.

Keywords: Ethnic community languages (ECLs, endogamous families, exogamous families, attitude, Tanzania

INTRODUCTION

The post-independence Tanzania has seen a systematic discouragement of the use of Ethnic Community Languages ECLs. ECLs are the languages spoken by members of minority groups or communities within a majority language context. The term 'minority languages' suggests that the languages are spoken by only a small number of people or languages which are somehow intrinsically of less value than 'majority' languages. The term 'community language' avoids many of the negative connotations which these other terms have attracted, and draws attention to the fact that languages are used in a range of shared social and cultural contexts (Clyne, 1991).

In Tanzania, ECLs survive mainly in the rural settings where they are spoken but they are almost marginalized in the urban settings and public domains (Mpehongwa, 2010). Languages of Africa are put into three categories; the ex-colonial languages, the dominant indigenous languages, and ECLs. The first two categories are privileged in that they usually enjoy high social status and



prestige, utilitarian functions, and considerable socio-political power (Batibo, 2005). In contrast, the languages in the third category, although used by the majority (in terms of populations), in most countries, are often ignored, marginalized, or accorded low status. These languages suffer many disadvantages, including, a limited public use and often a history of socio-economic or political domination by a more powerful language group (Derhemi, 2002).

The ECLs found in Tanzania exist in a hostile political environment because several regulations and policies restrict their domains of use; for instance, they are not permitted in the schools, in the media, or in politics, and they cannot legally be used by any radio or television station. This means, broadcasting in a language other than Kiswahili or English is virtually prohibited (Muzale and Rugemalira, 2008; Mtallo, 2017). There are no newspapers published in ECLs, and registering a non-Kiswahili or non-English newspaper or magazine is quite impossible. This is evidenced in article 19 of the (URT, 2004) under section III.5 on ‘media content restrictions’ which states that, “Languages to be used in radio and television broadcast in the country is English and Swahili”. In addition, using ECLs in political campaigns would constitute a sufficient irregularity for the court to nullify an election. This attitude towards ECLs certainly accelerates the demise of the ECLs in favor of Kiswahili because their uses are seen as a retrogressive step in undermining the national unity and promotes tribal loyalty (Muzale & Rugemalira, 2008). In such a situation, it needs an individual will in maintaining and having a positive attitude towards them. This study aimed to see if, families still maintain a positive attitude towards ECLs despite all those obstacles.

The challenge facing speakers of minority languages in Tanzania is that, they often find themselves in a dilemma on the language choice. On one hand, they wish to maintain their linguistic, cultural and ethnic identities to preserve their origins and self-identities. On the other hand, they would like to integrate in the wider community in order to have access to education, highly paying jobs as well as interacting with the wider world through a widely used language. Opting for the first means marginalization and opting for the second leads to loss of identity. Batibo (2005) argues that the choice of whether to maintain a certain language or shift to another language remains an exclusive right of the people concerned. It must be free for them to choose whether to shift to benefit from the privileges enjoyed by the majority language speakers, or to continue using ECLs to have both self-identity and self-determination (Mtallo, 2017).

These arguments have necessitated this study to be conducted to assess the attitude of the endogamous and exogamous families in Tanzanian urban settings on the use of ECLs. This study is based on the assumptions that, on one hand, there is a tendency of speakers to have a negative or positive attitude on their own ECLs while at the same time they speak it. On the other hand, people may develop a negative or positive attitude towards their ECLs while at the same time they do not speak it or use it in their daily conversations. This comparative study, therefore, takes place to reveal how the situation is in the endogamous and exogamous families.

Problem Statement

There are several significant factors contributing to language endangerment. Among them according to Romaine (1995) is the extent of exogamous marriage, social class, educational

ISSN: 2408-7920

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background, settlement patterns, attitudes of majority and minority, government policy towards languages as well as the pattern of language use. All these factors seem to be dominant and significant in urban settings because people no longer speak their ECLs. This study then sought to check the attitude of speakers to see whether they view their ECLs negatively or positively. Studies on language shift and maintenance such as those conducted by Batibo (1992) and Romaine (1995) have shown that, where attitudes of speakers were lowly attached to their languages, there was a gradual process of language shift, and where speakers have positive attitude in their languages, then there was language maintenance.

In recent years, people have been migrating to urban areas to seek for jobs and education. Pantuliano (2011) insists that, urbanization has had a major impact on cultural attitudes and practices among migrants, particularly the young generations who increasingly question traditional values and customs. Despite the fact that some researchers have attempted to work on ECLs, there is limited study on the attitudes of exogamous and endogamous families in using ECLs, therefore this knowledge gap provides a ground that justifies a need for this study. This study therefore, aimed at investigating whether the attitude of these particular families (positive or negative) affect the use / acquisition of ECLs among their children something which may eventually contribute to language endangerment.

THE TANZANIA LANGUAGE PROFILE

Green (2011) ascertains that, Tanzania is one of the world's most ethnically fractionalized countries. The 1967 census, which was the last census to have questions about ethnicity, counted 125 ethnic groups. Today, Tanzania is said to have more than 128 languages. This section also presents the most complex linguistic portrait, owing to the number of languages and the functions assigned to various languages. Being a multilingual society, language use in Tanzania extends from ECLs through Kiswahili, the national and official language, to English, the official and international language.

Language Distribution and Function

In Tanzania, languages are assigned roles in complementary distribution. Thomason (2001) asserts that, often each language or variety in a multilingual community serves a specialized function and is used for particular purposes. The ECLs are acquired and used at homes and in informal domains. ECLs are acquired by the rural inhabitants and some individuals who try to maintain their vernaculars in the urban areas. The main users of ECLs remain in villages and they are mainly elders in the villages, women and those who do not know how to read and write, who still respect these languages very much not only to themselves but also to their children (Msanjila, 2003). In the majority of urban dwellers, ECLs have no communicative status, especially in the families where intertribal marriages have taken place (Sebonde, 2009).

Kiswahili is the first language of some coastal people and residents of Zanzibar, as well as the young generations of the urban inhabitants. It is a second language to more than 30 million rural Tanzanians (Lewis, 2009) in Sebonde (2009). It is the language that is prescribed by law for use in



most governmental business; it is used as the medium of instruction in all government primary schools and a subject in secondary and tertiary education. So it has a high status compared to ECLs. It is the first learnt in primary schools and used by the majority of people. It thus fosters unity and has become a symbol that expresses and mobilizes national pride. It is used in official day-to-day administration to ensure the smooth functioning of the political, social and economic systems of the nation. The Tanzania national educational website states that, the main feature of Tanzania's education system is the bilingual policy¹, which requires children to learn both Kiswahili and English.

English is not widely used as a language of communication for the majority of Tanzanians. English is essential, as it is the language, which links Tanzania and the rest of the world through technology, commerce and administration. English language is highly used for higher education, in diplomatic matters, foreign and other international business matters that go beyond national levels (Sebonde, 2009). English is used in higher learning institutions, which is accessed by only few people who get chances to join universities and colleges. Kiswahili and English were declared compulsory subjects in pre-primary, primary, and secondary education levels and were to be encouraged in higher education as subjects and medium of instructions.

Tanzania Language Policy before and Independence

Before Independence

Before Tanganyika (Tanzania, then after) got its independence in 1961, ECLs had high status and were much respected in the society (Msanjila, 2003). This was because of the reality that the system of colonial government of that time allowed ECLs to be used in local government administration communication so that it could reach to the people of all tribes. ECLs were used in meetings or rallies, councils of mediation, in churches, in adult education and so forth. The local languages had been used as the medium of instruction in early primary schools as presented by Roy-Campbell (2001) and Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1997). Since ECLs were allowed to be spoken at the lower level of administration in the villages, many ECLs were researched by the missionaries to the extent of being put into writings.

After Independence

However, after independence, ECLs were denied the freedom to be used in local village government administration (Msanjila, 2003). The reason for not using ECLs in local village administration was the fear that these languages might bring and accelerate tribalism and hence threaten the national unity. Though the language debate in Tanzania has been portrayed as being between African languages and English, in fact, the debate is actually between Kiswahili and English. This has been primarily due to the strong support of government language policy over the years, particularly early in its nationhood. Upon Tanzania independence, Kiswahili was not only promoted as both a national

¹<http://www.tanzania.tz/educationf.html>



symbol and a regional language of Africa but also it was given high status in the society and put under the management of BAKITA² in order to facilitate the need of science and technology.

Language Attitude

The question of attitude also depends on the way speakers view their language in relation to other languages. The language attitudes of the speakers play an important role as a strong resistance to language shift, and this is usually only possible if speakers have positive attitude to their language and hold it in high regard. Batibo (2005) comments that monolingual speakers usually have only one attitude towards their language because they have no other languages to compare it with. Such an attitude would normally be positive as they see their language as a central means for communication, socialization and ethnic identity. The more prestigious a language is, the more positive the speakers' attitude is towards it.

Wu (2005) when studying the attitude and behavior toward bilingualism for Chinese parents and children identified that Chinese parents share similar positive attitude toward maintaining heritage language but feel hopeless in some ways. They think it is important for their children to learn English for academic purposes while maintaining Chinese. However, because of the pressure from the mainstream society, they all agree that it is hard for their children to maintain proficiency in Chinese. The only thing they could do is to send their children to weekend Chinese schools or speak more Chinese to their children at home. Lewicki (2010) also conducted a research on the attitude of Bhutan-Nepalis toward Nepali language and participants had generally negative and at best neutral attitudes towards this speech. Many believed that only speaking the Bhutani variety of Nepali was a barrier to having a Nepali national identity. This belief opposes many of their other attitudes about language, ethnicity, and nationality that reject the correlation between language & ethnicity and language & nationality.

Furthermore, Diallo (2009) researched on the attitudes towards speech communities in Senegal and came up with the findings that, in terms of the positive attributes, the mother tongue, French, and English were highly rated. This showed the attachment of the respondents to their own mother tongue. The mother tongue speech community was the most reliable, the most sincere, the most honest, and the second most hardworking. Again, Dweik & Qawar (2015) conducted a research on the language attitudes among Arabs of Quebec and the findings revealed that the respondents had positive psychological and linguistic attitudes towards Arabic, English and French. Regarding Arabic, the respondents considered it vital in their social and religious interactions. The majority reported that they dream and express inner feelings in Arabic. They also believe that Arabic is a poetic and most beautiful language. These findings agree with Dweik (1986) who showed that positive attitudes towards mother tongue language stem from pride and culture. English and French share similar positive attitudes among Arabs of Quebec. They regard them as a symbol of their Canadian identity and a means that facilitates better opportunities and easier access to educational and formal interactions.

² BAKITA (Baraza la Kiswahili Tanzania) is an organ instituted by the government to run and develop Kiswahili in order to reach the highest level.



Sallabank (2010) when addressing the causes of language endangerment argued that an attitude is the key to whether languages are maintained or abandoned. Negative attitudes are often internalized by speakers, and the use of a minority language comes to be stigmatized, so that speakers feel ashamed of it. Speakers are then less likely to transmit the language to their children, leading to a self-perpetuating downward spiral due to the negative attitude attached to such language.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The study was a descriptive survey that used face-to-face interviews and questionnaires in collecting the qualitative and quantitative data respectively. In analysis, the study employed both qualitative and quantitative methods. Data obtained from the interviews were qualitatively analyzed by providing responses based on the research questions asked during the interview. However, data from the questionnaires were tabulated and calculated into percentages, which later on were interpreted based on the questions in the questionnaires.

Target Population

The target population was the families of workers from higher learning institutions residing in Dodoma Municipality. The respondents were couples who were born and raised in the rural settings, but later on migrated to urban areas for their jobs or were married to either husband or wife who is a worker of higher learning institutions. It was thought that this research sample would represent the other population elsewhere as it is likely that the nature of endogamous and exogamous families would be the same everywhere regarding that they live in urban areas. The study involved three main languages, which are English, Kiswahili, and ECLs of each respondent. Here the respondents were required to tell their attitudes towards those languages.

Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

The study employed purposive sampling in getting the informants for this study. Researchers knew at first the status of respondents whom they were going to visit i.e. either endogamous or exogamous families. Researchers surveyed few respondents from each institution who were already known as either endogamous or exogamous couples to identify other respondents of the same status. The sample size comprised a total of 10 couples from the endogamous and another 10 couples from exogamous families respectively, which made a total of 20 couples. The study purposely selected five endogamous couples at the University of Dodoma (UDOM) for interviews, five exogamous couples at ST John's University of Tanzania (SJUT) for survey, five endogamous families at the Institute of Rural Development Planning (IRDP) for survey and five exogamous couples at the College of Business Education (CBE) for interviews.

In order to get genuine information from the respondents, each respondent was asked to fill the questionnaire him/herself. They were encouraged not to look at their spouses responses, and to ensure this, the researcher sat near the respondent waiting for him/her to finish filling the

ISSN: 2408-7920



questionnaire. As for the interviews, each couple was interviewed separately from the other; they were asked to suggest for a separate place where only the interviewee and the interviewer would sit for an interview. The researcher(s) asked for their concern in order to tape record their responses for easy review in data analysis before each interview began.

Data Collection and Analysis

Interviews and questionnaires were administered in gathering primary data on the attitude of exogamous and endogamous families on the use of ECLs in Tanzanian urban centers. Data obtained through interviews were qualitatively interpreted by providing detailed explanations while the SPSS computer software was used to analyze the quantitative data obtained through questionnaires.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Respondents Acquired/Learned Languages

The following table presents the background information on the language that respondents acquire or learn as their mother tongue, second and third languages. The aim of this question was to know the status of the three languages among the respondents in order to justify the other findings as explained in the following session.

Table 1: Information on Respondents Acquired or Learned Languages

Languages	Language status in %											
	Mother Tongue				Second Language				Third Language			
	Endog		Exog		Endog		Exog		Endog		Exog	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kiswahili	2	10	2	10	17	85	18	90	0	0	0	0
English Language	0	0	0	0	3	15	1	5	13	65	18	90
Mixed Languages	3	15	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	10	0	0
Other Languages	15	75	17	85	0	0	1	5	1	5	2	10
I do not have	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	20	0	0
TOTAL	20	100	20	100	20	100	20	100	20	100	20	100

Source: Field Data, 2018

Table 1 shows that, from endogamous families, two (10%) respondents mentioned Kiswahili as their mother tongue, three (15%) respondents mentioned a combination of ECLs and Kiswahili, and fifteen (75%) respondents mentioned ECLs. In the exogamous families, two (10%) respondents mentioned Kiswahili as their mother tongue, one (5%) respondent mentioned a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs, and seventeen (85%) respondents mentioned ECLs.



The status shows that majority of respondents from both family groups mentioned ECLs as their mother tongues. The picture revealed from this study concurs with what other scholars found that since 80% of Tanzanians live in rural areas, most children start learning about the world around them in the mother tongue, which is the African tribal language (for example, see O-saki, 2005:50). The table further reveals that, from the endogamous families, seventeen (85%) respondents mentioned Kiswahili as their second language, and three (15%) respondents mentioned English. In the exogamous families, eighteen (90%) respondents mentioned Kiswahili as their second language, one (5%) respondent mentioned English, and one (5%) respondent mentioned Spanish as his second language.

The results in both families show that majority of Tanzanians use Kiswahili as their second language. This concurs with Rubagumya (2011:80) who asserts that, Tanzania citizens have access to Kiswahili and one or more ECLs. This is the largest group accounting for more than 90% of the population. Kiswahili is a second language for many, but also the mother tongue in a considerable area of the country, in particular along the coast and for many children growing up in the cities, towns and other cosmopolitan settings. Regarding the third language, the table shows that, thirteen (65%) respondents from endogamous families mentioned English as their third language; two (10%) respondents mentioned a combination of English and ECLs, one (5%) respondent mentioned an ECL as his third language, and four (20%) respondents claimed not to have a third language. From exogamous families as well, eighteen (90%) respondents mentioned English as their third languages, and only two (10%) respondents mentioned other ECLs to be their third languages. The results show slight differences between the two families. In the exogamous families, the number was higher by 90% compared to that of the endogamous families of 65%. It was also noted that in endogamous families some respondents claimed not to have a third language by 20% while nobody was noted from the exogamous families.

The Language(s) Mastered by Respondents

The following table presents the question, which was asked in the questionnaire for the aim of knowing which, among the three languages acquired or learned, were mastered by the respondents. The aim was to see if respondents have enough knowledge in only one, some or all the three languages which ultimately would have impacts on the other findings.



Table 2: The Language(s) Mastered by Respondents

Languages	Percentages			
	Endogamous		Exogamous	
	N	%	N	%
Mother Tongue (ECLs)	5	25	6	30
Mother Tongue and Second Languages (ECLs and Kiswahili)	3	15	1	5
Second Language (Kiswahili)	3	15	7	35
Third Language (English)	0	0	0	0
None of the Above	0	0	0	0
All Languages Above	9	45	6	30
TOTAL	20	100	20	100

Source: Field Data, 2018

Table 2 shows that, in the endogamous families, five (25%) respondents said that they master well their ECLs, three (15%) respondents said they master their mother tongue (ECLs) and second languages (Kiswahili), three (15%) respondents claimed that they mastered Kiswahili, and nine (45%) respondents claimed that they master all the three languages i.e. ECLs, Kiswahili, and English. In the exogamous group on the other hand, six (30%) said to master ECLs, one (5%) respondent said to master Kiswahili and ECLs, seven (35%) respondents said they master second language (Kiswahili), and 6 (30%) respondents claimed to master all the three languages.

The results from both families show slight similarities in language mastery in the aspect of mother tongue. There is also a slight difference within the two families on the claim made on the mastery of all languages i.e. mother tongue, second and third languages.

Couples' Levels of Understanding of ECLs

The following table presents the question asked in the questionnaire for the aim of knowing the couples' level of understanding of ECLs. The aim was to see if respondents had a good or poor knowledge on ECLs, which ultimately would affect the use of the language and even transmitting it to their children. Kiswahili and English were not included in this table by the assumption that, most Tanzanians comprehend well Kiswahili, and it is clear that English is a language of few elites but to most Tanzanians English is a foreign language.



Table 3: Couples' Levels of Understanding towards ECLs

Levels	Languages			
	ECLs			
	Endogamous		Exogamous	
	N	%	N	%
Very Good	9	45	3	15
Good	7	35	9	45
Moderate	4	20	6	30
Not Good	0	0	2	10
Total	20	100	20	100

Source: Field Data, 2018

Table 3 shows that, in endogamous families, nine (45%) respondents regarded their level of understanding of their ECLs to be *very good*, seven (35%) respondents said it to be *good*, and four (20%) respondents regarded it to be *moderate*. In exogamous families on the other hand, three (15%) respondents regarded their level of understanding towards ECLs as a *very good*, nine (45%) respondents regarded it as *good*; six (30%) respondents claimed it to be *moderate* and only two (10%) respondents claimed it not to be *good*.

The findings show differences within the two families. The difference is large between them on the aspect of the level of *very good*. The *good* and *moderate* levels also differ significantly. It was also noted that, two respondents from exogamous families claimed not to have a good knowledge of ECLs while no one claimed so in the endogamous families. This implies that couples may fail to speak their ECLs as well as teaching the languages to their children because they lack enough knowledge on their ECLs.

Couples' Decision to Teach ECLs and English to Children

The following table presents the responses to the question asked in the questionnaire and in the interview, which enquired to know the attitude of the couples' in teaching/passing both ECLs and English to their children.



Table 4: Decision to Teach/Allow Children to Learn ECLs and English

Responses	Languages							
	ECLs				English			
	Endog		Exog		Endog		Exog	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
YES	13	65	9	45	16	80	18	90
NO	7	35	11	55	4	20	2	10
TOTAL	20	100	20	100	20	100	20	100

Source: Field Data, 2018

Table 4 shows that, in endogamous families, thirteen (65%) respondents showed the desire of teaching their ECLs to children, while seven (35%) respondents said *no*. In the exogamous families, nine (45%) respondents showed the desire of allowing their children to learn their ECLs, while 11 (55%) respondents said *no*.

There are significant differences within the two families on respondents who are willing to teach their children their ECLs and those who are not willing to do so. The respondents who said *no*, claimed that, ECLs are not used anywhere in formal or official contexts. The languages do not help their children get job or be employed anywhere. Respondents insisted that ECLs are not even used at home because of the nature of the extended families, which include people such as house girls/boys and other relatives who might be non-native speakers of ECLs. It was also noted that children are surrounded by peers who speak Kiswahili all the time, hence teaching them ECLs will be wastage of time.

The same question was asked in the interview and some respondents from endogamous families suggested that children need to be sent to the villages to learn ECLs even though the process according to some of them seem to be difficult because during the holidays children stay in town for tuition³. On the other side, almost all respondents showed their interest on sending their children in the English medium⁴ schools where they pay a lot of money. This is so, probably, because English is said to have high status compared to ECLs as propounded in the literature.

On the side of English language, sixteen (80%) respondents in the endogamous families wanted their children to learn English and four (20%) respondents said *no*. In exogamous families, eighteen (90%) respondents showed the desire for their children to learn English and only two (10%) respondents said *no*.

³ Tuition in Tanzania are extra studies after those in the regular classroom

⁴ English academia schools are run mostly by private organizations whose syllabi are in English, and they are believed to provide quality education. They are also believed to build a good foundation for children base in spoken and written English compared to public schools.



The findings show no big difference between the two families. Majority showed a need for their children to learn English while the remaining number is insignificant. Those who are in favor of English claimed that, English is almost spoken worldwide; it is the language used at work (official language) which helps them to earn a living. The parents clearly indicated that, English is positively evaluated due to its potentialities in the future of their children.

They further argued that English should be learnt by children so that when they go in secondary schools, they do not face difficulties in learning subjects. It is termed as the language which can give children opportunities in employment and which carries their professions because it is an official and international language. This attitude manifested by respondents is partly caused by the language policy of the country which favors English and Kiswahili than ECLs as it was explained in chapter two.

Children’s Knowledge of ECLs

The following table presents the question asked in the questionnaire if respondents’ children know how to speak ECLs.

Table 5: Children’s Knowledge of ECLs

Responses	Languages			
	ECLs			
	Endogamous		Exogamous	
	N	%	N	%
YES	9	45	1	5
NO	11	55	19	95
TOTAL	20	100	20	100

Source: Field Data, 2018

Table 5 shows that, nine (45%) respondents from endogamous families admitted that their children can speak ECLs while 11 (55%) respondents said *no*. In exogamous families on the other hand, one (5%) respondent admitted that his children know how to speak ECLs while 19 (95%) respondents said *no*. The difference between the two families is that, majority of children from the exogamous families do not speak ECLs except one. Based on these results, the situation in the exogamous families is justifiable because couples do not speak the same language hence the process of teaching their languages to children might be difficult (Comrie, 2006:2). However, in the endogamous families there is significant number of children who speak ECLs.



Children’s Levels of Understanding towards ECLs

The following table presents the question asked in the questionnaire, which intended to explore children’s level of understanding in ECLs. The aim was to check the status and see if children learn the languages and reach to a certain level. The assumption was that, one may find some people admitting to know the language but at the level of greetings only. Others may say that, they can only speak few words in ECLs.

Table 6: Children’s Levels of Understanding towards ECLs

Levels	Languages			
	ECLs			
	Endogamous		Exogamous	
	N	%	N	%
Very Good	2	10	0	0
Good	1	5	1	5
Moderate	5	25	0	0
Not Good	2	10	0	0
Missing System	10	50	19	95
Total	20	100	20	100

Source: Field Data, 2018

Table 6 shows that, two (10%) children in the endogamous families were said to have a *very good* understanding of their parent’s ECLs, one (5%) respondent said to have a *good* level, five (25%) respondents mentioned the level of their children as *moderate*, and 2 (10) respondents showed that their children’s level on ECLs is *not good*. In the exogamous families, one (5%) respondent admitted that his child has a *good* level of understanding of ECLs while 19 (95%) respondents said that children do not understand their ECLs at all.

The findings further show that, the levels of understanding towards ECLs in both families were not good. In the endogamous families, the highest numbers of respondents fall under the *moderate* level. This shows that, most endogamous families are in phase three of bilingualism with L2 predominance. The situation in the exogamous families was worse because they are almost in phase four and five of restricted use of L2 and that it has dominated all spheres of life in the families. It is only one child who have a *good* level of understanding, the rest do not even speak the language. This situation is justifiable as stated earlier in the previous chapters that exogamous couples do not speak the same language hence it is also difficult for their children to know either of their languages.

The *Missing system* is shown in table, 6 as (50%) of the respondents from the endogamous families who did not answer anything on the levels set as options signifying that the situation



is worse in those families to the extent that children do not know anything concerning ECLs. The same situation was revealed in the exogamous families where 19 (95%) of respondents showed that their children do not understand their parents' ECLs. The number here is bigger compared to children from endogamous families who said that their children have a very good understanding of ECLs.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study aimed at finding out whether couples' attitudes (positive or negative) towards ECLs affect the learning of these particular languages to their children. In this study primary data were collected through interviews and questionnaires administered to a number of respondents who were the endogamous and exogamous couples living in urban centers. The study revealed that both endogamous and exogamous families use Kiswahili in almost all contexts such that most of the parents and their children have almost shifted from their ECLs to the dominant language which is Kiswahili, and that the future of ECLs is now in vain. The findings further apprehended that in few decades to come there will be a new generation of children born in these families who will be speaking only Kiswahili and English even though parents still show positive attitudes towards ECLs. Children born in these families will never show that attitude. They will be a new generation without ECLs since their mother tongue for most children born in urban areas will be Kiswahili.

As a key policy recommendation, it is now the time for the government to think on why we are focusing on the use of English and Kiswahili as languages of communications and medium of instructions while ignoring our true ECLs for identity formation and culture preservation. It is still questionable whether the idea that English is the language of technology and the language which links Tanzania and the rest of the world still valid in this century where other countries such as China have a good and developed science and technology, political and economic status without the use of English language (Sane, 2011:95). It is from this particular juncture where researchers pose the following question: *Why should the country ignore its own languages while at the same time embrace foreign languages which belong to the owners who enhance their culture and identity?* The best answer would be that; while learning and using other languages, the country should not ignore its own ECLs rather ECLs should be used as a ladder in studying other languages. In addition, there should be campaigns to educate people on the rationale for using ECLs in learning second languages and even to assist in comprehending to subjects taught in schools. This would help to create a new generation of Tanzanians who are proud of their languages, values, culture and heritage.

For researchers, it is recommended that, since the current study took place in urban setting, thus, similar studies should be done in rural areas to see if the same situation will be revealed. This may call upon stakeholders to advocate strongly on the importance of ECLs to the society and urge the government to take initiatives on how to revive them and set principles and regulations on how to handle them.



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