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THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF MULTILINGUALISM

IN UGANDA

A case study of the official and non-official language policy, planning and management of Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda

By

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Declaration

I have read and understood regulation 17.9 of the regulations for students of the School of Oriental and African Studies concerning plagiarism. I undertake that all the material presented for examination in this thesis is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person. I also undertake that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged.

Signed: Date   19-April-2013

Dedication

I dedicate this work to my children: Martina Grace Kirabo Nassozi and Tendo Matthew Mukasa, for giving me the reason to go on even in the darkest of the time. To my parents Margaret Kizza Kabuye and the late Benedicto Kabuye for loving me, believing in me and supporting me but also for teaching me the virtues of life. To you my father, I will always cherish the good times we shared, unfortunately you never waited to see me accomplish this long journey, may your soul rest in eternal peace. And finally, to all the people who never questioned but believed in me. Mother Mary you made this possible.

Acknowledgments

Abstract

This research is a sociolinguistic study that looks at the use of Luruuri, a minority language spoken in the Lake Kyoga basin and Luganda, a majority language spoken in central Uganda. It analyses the relationship between language management and maintenance, investigating both official and non-official language management. The main aim of the study was to question the role of language policy and planning in language maintenance, especially in maintaining languages in a stable multilingual setting.

The study follows the formal/traditional language policy and planning frameworks and the theory of language management inspired by the work of Bernard Spolsky (2009). Data was obtained through field work in Uganda, where various sociolinguistic research methods including ethnographic, sociolinguistic and linguistic analytical methods were employed. Data was analysed qualitatively in order to ascertain their sociolinguistic position and use.

Findings revealed increased prestige and status awarded to English, the language of all official communications, while local languages lack such functions. It also revealed increased dominance of majority languages over less used languages especially in the public domains which has impacted on the maintenance of such languages. Although local languages performed well in cultural-identity functions, they were affected by increased negative attitudes by especially the younger generation. All such cases as elaborated in the study indicated difficulty in maintaining languages and stable multilingualism.

Strategies to restore the language situation, including macro-level planning strategies to supplement grassroots language planning and maintenance, a multi-level language planning and policy strategy to promote the multi-glossic language use structures that exist in the language communities and prestige planning in order to restore the prestige of African languages, de-cultivate the negative attitudes and ideologies while sensitising the masses on the importance of policy changes and the likely effects of the current status quo are recommended.

List of Abbreviations

CBA: Cost-Benefit Analysis

CBS: Central Broadcasting Services

CP: Conservative Party

DP: Democratic Party

FGD: Focus Group Discussion

LMT: Language Management Theory

LPP: Language Policy and Planning

MLE: Uganda Multilingual Education Network

NAPE: National Assessment of Progress in Education

NCC: National Consultative Council

NCDC: National Curriculum Development Centre

SIL: Summer Institute of Linguistics

UBC: Uganda Broadcasting Corporation

UBOS: Uganda Bureau of Statistics

UCRC: Uganda Constitution Review Commission

UNCST: Uganda National Council for Science and Technology

UNEB: Uganda National Examinations Board

UNESCO: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UK: United Kingdom

UPC: Uganda People Congress

UPM: Uganda Patriotic Movement National Curriculum Development Centre

UPE: Universal Primary Education

WBS: Wavamunno Broadscasting services

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1   Introduction, purpose and scope of the study

This is a sociolinguistic study of language policy, planning and management in Uganda, investigating patterns of language use in different domains of communication. In this study, I analyse the official and non-official management of Uganda's official languages but also more specifically, of the two case studies of this research, Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda. The aim of investigating language use patterns and the language policy and management decisions is to analyse their effect on language maintenance, and specifically to determine whether such strategies boost or hinder language maintenance in multilingual settings. In this study I chose to study these two languages, Luganda and Luruuri because, Luganda provides an interesting case of language dominance, while Luruuri was chosen out of curiosity because of the uncertainty about its current status and use, with questions whether this language still exists and is still used or if it is already extinct.

Language policy is investigated in the main formal and informal domains of language use, such as individual and home language use, education, media and public language use. The analysis of both formal and informal, bottom-up (grassroots) and top-down decisions with regard to language use, ideologies and attitudes is provided. This study is largely qualitative, using mainly qualitative data research methods and analysis techniques.

The thesis gives a diachronic account of language use in Uganda (through pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times), with particular attention to Luganda and Luruuri-Lunyara, looking at the strategies of language management

employed in the different language situations and how these strategies have influenced language use and language maintenance. Language planning and policy in Africa, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, is characterised by the promotion of foreign languages through official policies. These are usually languages of the former colonial powers while the local languages spoken by the local people in homes and other informal domains are not recognised officially, nor do they have any function and status despite their potential communicative advantage. There is therefore a need to study language policy in Africa and particularly in Uganda, especially on the challenges of language planning and language maintenance, both at the macro and micro socio-linguistic levels. This need also arises because of very limited research in the subject area and also because of lack of attention to language planning and language use in the different domains particularly to assess the impact of the different language use patterns and planning strategies to the maintenance of these languages.

Language use in Uganda has previously received minimal research attention, especially the formal and informal language practices as investigated in this study, to provide a characterization of language use in the different domains. The only major socio-linguistic study available (i.e. Ladefoged et al. 1972) is in many ways out-dated because the country has changed significantly in a number of ways since the 1960s and 1970s, politically, economically, and also linguistically. However, there has since then been some research mainly in form of theses e.g. Chibita (2006), working on indigenous language programming and participation in Uganda, Openjuru (2008), on the rural community literacy in Uganda, Rosendal (2010), comparing the position of African languages in the official and non-official language management in both Uganda and Rwanda, and research projects like Tembe & Norton (2008) on promoting local languages in primary schools. This information is still fragmented and there is therefore still need to capture a systematic description of the current language situation in Uganda.

This thesis is divided into four major parts namely; part I which comprises of the introduction (chapter 1) which highlights the main lines of investigation and the methodology, part II which deals with the historical and background information and the language policy situation in Uganda (chapter 2) as well as with the theoretical frameworks of language policy and planning which are used in the thesis, to analyse language policy and planning in Uganda (chapter 3): Part III presents the major findings of the study about language use and management of Luganda (chapter 4) and Luruuri-Lunyara (chapter 5). The final section of the study, part IV has chapter 6 which presents the discussion of the major findings in line with theory and chapter 7, presenting the major conclusions and recommendations.

1.2 The main aims and objectives of the study

The main aim of this study is to investigate language policy, planning and language management in a multilingual setting to find out whether and how they relate to language maintenance in multilingual settings and how stable multilingualism can be achieved.

With stable multilingualism I assume that:

- Languages are embedded in a model in which multilingual practices are developed and maintained.
- Languages are not seen as rivals and threats to each other, but as elements of diglossic, triglossic or multiglossic structures of language use in the various domains.
- There is minimal or no dominance of languages and therefore no pressure is extended to smaller languages. Thus, equal status and prestige is awarded to languages in the different domains.
- Languages are allocated well defined functions which remain stable and unchanged in the various domains in order to increase their utilitarian value.

1. Domains of language use remain relatively stable (but may increase especially with the formation of new domains), intergenerational language transmission remains very active while the number of speakers also remains stable.

- To investigate language practices and language choices made by individuals and communities in order to understand how people choose between languages, and the factors and events that affect these choices and practices. The aim is to assess whether and how these choices and practices facilitate or hinder language maintenance and stable multilingualism.

- To investigate the role of language planning and policy in achieving stable multilingualism and the language planning and management strategies (official, non-official, and top-down and bottom-up (grassroots)) employed to maintain languages, the ideological dimensions in these planning efforts and the effects of this all on the specific languages and their users, questioning whether these planning efforts and ideologies facilitate or hinder language maintenance.

In order to address the aims and objectives of the project, the following main research questions were addressed:

1. Do people in multilingual settings maintain their languages, and, if so, why and how do they do so?

2. What processes/events affect language choice at different historical periods? That is, why and how do people choose between languages in different historically determined multilingual settings? Does this facilitate or hinder language maintenance and stable multilingualism?

3. What is the role of language planning and policy in achieving stable multilingualism? What language policy, planning and management

strategies (grassroots and macro-level) can be put in place to facilitate language maintenance and stable multilingualism? What are the ideological dimensions in these language planning efforts? What are the effects of such strategies and ideologies on the intended languages and how successful are these strategies in achieving stable multilingualism and language maintenance?

4. What is the current language policy and sociolinguistic situation in Uganda and how has this facilitated or hindered language maintenance and stable multilingualism?

5. What can governments or communities do to ensure that language policy reforms and language planning and management efforts are embedded and implemented successfully in speech communities?

6. What can governments or communities do to maintain their languages and to achieve stable multilingualism?

7. What can a theoretical analysis of language policy and planning contribute to the understanding of minority and regional languages in Uganda and Africa in general?

1.3 The main findings and claims of the thesis.

Stable multilingualism and language maintenance of less widely used languages today are threatened by several factors, especially by increased language contact as a result of increased mobility between communities and nations. However, the increased dominance of English, the official language of many African countries including Uganda, and main area languages such as Luganda have made it difficult to maintain the less used languages in order to achieve stable multilingualism. This increased difficulty of language maintenance in Uganda today can be attributed to a number of reasons:

1. The official and planned language policies do not support stable-multilingual maintenance because they mainly support the use of official languages (e.g. English). The un-official and un-planned policies also remain skewed in support of major languages like Luganda and a few popular varieties which are used in more public domains, thus facilitating

their use in dense social networks which eventually facilitates their maintenance (Milroy, 1987). On the other hand, minority languages like Luruuri-Lunyara remain threatened with very little official and un-planned support which leads to their decreasing use in different places and public domains. The sparse social networks as a result often lead to language shift towards directions of monoglot language use. Because of these processes, language maintenance and stable multilingualism remains threatened.

2. There have also been other forces identified today that are making language maintenance and multilingual management more complex. These include globalisation and the increasing development of social and economic aspirations, economic-social forces e.g. searching for a better life, politics, especially language politics, demographic factors and many other factors as illustrated by the discussion of the findings of this study in chapters four and five. Such forces have not supported the local languages and their use in public domains, and therefore, local languages remain largely confined to less prestigious domains which deny people access to meaningful areas of contemporary life through their own languages (also Yamamoto et al. 2008).

3. The official language support of a few and mainly foreign languages prescribed as the official languages of Uganda, has also affected the use of local languages especially in the official domains, e.g. education. This has had long term effects on the local languages because users lose the esteem and confidence to use them in such domains, because they are not considered good enough. Limited use of languages especially in public domains affects their maintenance while their use in public domains boosts their maintenance (UNESCO, 2003). This is because public use of languages boosts their utilitarian value in a community (Batibo 2005).

4. In Uganda there are very minimal central (macro) language planning efforts to support the use and development of local/indigenous languages. Policies like the mother tongue language education policy which can be considered the main initiative by government, have not been implemented

satisfactorily and thus have had very minimal effect on language use in education. The grassroots language support efforts investigated in this study (which have been the main language support system for local languages available) are also experiencing problems including lack of financial and professional means to manage the language planning initiatives.

While most people in Uganda use more than one language or variety, both formal and informal language planning activities have mainly focused on promoting single languages or varieties. There is no formal structure in place to support all local languages and varieties. The grassroots efforts to support languages also seem to favour and work towards promoting standard varieties but not all varieties spoken by the community. Language rivalry and language politics also do not seem to support multilingual language practices, especially with the attitudes and ideologies favouring some languages or varieties over others, and beliefs that some languages are better than others or some varieties are the correct forms. This seems to suggest that although multilingualism is a fact of life in Uganda, beliefs, ideologies and attitudes seem to support monolingual practices which affects multilingualism and the use of the un-supported varieties.

This study also found that language attitudes changed with age differences. Although older people (child bearing age and above) expressed very positive attitudes towards their languages, younger people were not positive about local languages but preferred to use English which they thought provided more opportunities like access to good jobs, success in education and other advantages. Young speakers of minority languages such as Luruuri-Lunyara also showed a preference to speaking majority languages like Luganda because of the perceived advantages over their language. The negative attitudes of speakers, especially of young speakers, towards the use of local languages, challenges and threatens maintenance of the local languages, especially intergenerational transmission of the languages in question.

However, despite the above situation, maintenance of the local indigenous languages is possible to achieve especially with focused and clear goals of language planning and management, with the aim of optimally utilising the local languages of the country and with policies that support the use of these languages in official and public domains.

1.4 Research methodology and data collecting methods

This section provides a review of the research methods used to collect data on language planning and language use in Uganda. Fieldwork was conducted in two phases, first was a pilot study in 2009 from June to July and from March to August, 2010. The places visited during fieldwork include Kampala, the capital city, and its suburbs, Wakiso district particularly Entebbe, Nansana, and Wakiso villages. Mpigi district, including Katende, kavule and Kyengera villages were also visited. All these places are mainly Luganda speaking areas. For Luruuri-Lunyara speaking areas, Kayunga district was visited including places such as Kayunga town council, Ntenjeru and Kangulumira. Luweero and Nakasongola districts were also visited during field work, particularly Nakasongola town council, Lwampanga and Wobulenzi villages. My approach to data collection was the 'multimethodical approach' proposed by Wodak (2006), or triangulation where different approaches and methods were used. A variety of empirical data was considered since language policy and planning is an interdisciplinary field which requires an understanding and use of multiple methods in exploring important questions about language status, language use, language attitudes and other elements of language policy and planning (Ricento 2006:129). Luganda and English were the main languages used during the interviews. These are the languages that I am fluent in, Luganda being my first language. However, it was noted that most interviews used both languages even where the interview was introduced in English, interviewees usually switched to Luganda.

These sections discuss the methods I used to collect data.

1.4.1 Ethnographic methods

Ethnography in the field of language policy and language planning is concerned with the community's point of view about matters concerning their language, and it focuses on the micro-level of language use and the interpersonal relationships, conversations and everyday life of the language users and their language (Canagarajah 2006). These methods included specifically using participatory observation, especially living in the communities where the fieldwork was conducted in order to capture first hand information about the language behaviour of the people in their community and the attitudes towards their languages. In order to understand the use of language in the different domains, participatory observation was used, especially in domains such as education, the courts of justice, in the media and in the public linguistic space. This method helped me to understand how language is used in the everyday life of these communities (the unconscious lived culture) including observing language attitudes and ideologies. Through participant observation, I not only observed the different language practices but also participated in different language related activities, cultural events, ceremonies and festivals, workshops particularly related to language and culture. With such a method, I was able to understand what really goes on in the community language practices and the use of different languages and their different functions in these communities.

Regarding the ethnographic methods, not speaking Luruuri-Lunyara was suspected to impact on the findings of the study, especially because of the risk of being determined as an outsider. However, because of the language shift situation that already exists in the area, using Luganda in the Luruuri-Lunyara speaking area was a very common phenomenon and therefore would not brand you automatically as an outsider since within the same community, using Luganda had become a very common choice. However, respected community elders such

as the local council administrators and the Buruuri kingdom officials were used in the study to win people's confidence.

I carried out an empirical study in Kampala and the surrounding districts, visited several places including primary schools, rural and urban, private and public schools (thirteen schools were visited altogether, three secondary schools for the focus group discussions (see section 1.4.3)). One of these schools was a girls' boarding primary school, one was mixed purely day school while the rest were mixed and both day and boarding schools. The rest of schools visited were primary schools, rural and urban, private and public schools. I also observed language use in markets and many other public places both in the rural and urban areas, to observe language practices, to talk to the people about these practices and find out the impact of these on attitudes towards the maintenance of local languages. In schools for instance, I observed classroom language practices, talked to the teachers about these practices and the impact of the new language policy on educational achievement. For this purpose, not only teachers, but also head teachers, parents and ministry of education officials were interviewed in order to understand the policy itself, and the reasons, attitudes and ideologies behind these practices.

Participant observation was supplemented by both formal and informal interviews, which were also both structured and unstructured in order to understand the actual interpretations of the language and policy issues by the users of these languages for whom the policies are intended but also who participate in these practices. These methods were quite important to this study because with them I was able to capture concrete details and narratives of the language practices in their context including discovering inside perspectives on linguistic needs and aspirations of these communities.

1.4.2 Discourse and conversation analytical methods

The research project also employed some linguistic analytical methods like discourse and conversational analysis (Wodak 2006), which were used to analyse conversations and interactions, stories, and discussion forums on the radio, TV, and the internet such as face book conversations. The analysis of such conversations and texts helped in identifying salient features of language use and attitudes in the communities, of policy statements, of the ideologies of the policy makers and the language communities towards their languages, the policies and proposed strategies of implementation and people's reaction towards all these.

1.4.3 General research methods

Other methods of research employed in this study included:

(a) A survey of general language use patterns and practices, and the language attitudes of the language communities where a questionnaire (with both open and closed questions) was administered to two hundred respondents in order to solicit opinions and ideas about language use in Uganda generally and about the specific language issues. The questionnaire included questions about the general language policy, the individual language use in social networks, the use of different languages in different domains, language attitudes and the linguistic aspirations or preferences of individuals. The language use and language attitude survey was carried out to provide an indication of the current community thoughts, beliefs, preferences and desires about language and to also document language use in social networks, and across domains like at home, in schools, at work and in religious contexts.

This survey helped me to understand the general language use patterns of the language users of the target group, the choices made by language users of the different languages and people's stated reasons behind these choices. This survey also helped to determine which languages are used in what domains and used

densely in social networks and which languages are sparsely used in the domains and other social networks. With this method, I was able to assess the status, value and importance of particular languages at the different levels of language use and functions in a community.

(b) Interviews were also conducted and these included semi-structured, narrative and in-depth interviews. In the semi-structured interviews I mainly used open-ended questions in order to understand the respondents' point of view on the investigated language issues. The narrative interviews were used as ordinary conversations which, according to Richards (2009), usually offer opinions and information that one would not have considered giving to a stranger. The in-depth interviews (intensive individual interviews) helped explore in depth and detail thoughts, opinions and views about language and language related issues in order to provide a follow-up on the earlier methods and provide a full picture of the language policy situation and language use in Uganda while also supplementing the information earlier provided.

This method was used to interview head teachers, teachers, language activists, educationalists and language users. Ten head teachers were interviewed, fifteen teachers, five Ministry of Education officials (three from the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC), and two from the Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB) and the National Assessment of Progress in Education (NAPE) as well as two professors who have been involved in the language policy discussions from Makerere University. Seven journalists were interviewed from radio (e.g. radio Simba, Bukedde radio), television (e.g. WBS T.V) and newspapers (e.g. Bukedde newspapers), three officials from Buganda Kingdom, three officials from Buruuli Kingdom, three central government officials, an official from the SYNOVATE research group formerly known as Steadman group plus several Luganda and Luruuri-Lunyara speakers. I was also able to interview a court judge, a lawyer, a court clerk and a court administrator who

files the court proceedings. I interviewed people who are participating in the different language planning activities, including members of the Luganda Language Association, members of the Luruuri-Lunyara Language Association, and some members from SIL-Uganda. With the interviews I was seeking people's views and opinions on different language related issues, such as the official and non-official policies, the local language policy in education, and the position of languages like English, Luganda, and Swahili in the public space.

Considering the sensitive nature of the language situation in the Buruuri area (see section 1.4.4) and the likely effect of using Luganda in the interviews with Luruuri-Lunyara speakers, a number of precautions were taken in order to build systemicity and handle the likely effects of the situation. However, because Luganda was already used in most peoples' linguistic repertoire, the likely effect of this scenario was minimised. Secondly, Luruuri-Lunyara speakers were also used during these interviews such that interviewees were given an option in case they preferred to speak Luruuri-Lunyara. However, the use of multiple interview methods such as the semi-structured, narrative and in-depth interviews to suit the different interview settings and for triangulation purposes also helped to regulate and provide systemicity to the process of data collection.

(c) Focus group discussions were also conducted. Three focus groups were formed from three different secondary schools, with students aged 18 years on average participating in these discussions. These focus group discussions were particularly centred on language attitudes and knowledge of the language policy situation (official and non-official) in Uganda and I particularly wanted to find out the language attitudes of the youth in order to understand and predict what the future holds for the local languages and especially the languages investigated. One of the three schools was a public girls' boarding school, one of the best schools in Uganda, the second was a private semi-urban mixed day school and

the third school was a rural private mixed boarding school. The data was mainly analysed qualitatively (with qualitative instruments and techniques).

1.4.4 Limitations

The major limitations of this study were the sensitive nature of the language situation and the language politics that limited access to respondents. In some situations respondents became confrontational, because they thought the study had hidden political motives, while in some institutions respondents were suspicious and refused to be interviewed. During interviews, a recorder was to be used to record the interviews and conversations in order to be transcribed later. However, many respondents refused to be recorded, because they were not certain how the data was to be used, although efforts were made to clarify the aim and objectives of the study. Two types of questionnaires had been prepared for this study, the general language use and attitudes questionnaire and the language specific attitudes questionnaire. However, because of the sensitive nature of the language situation, especially with the minority language (examples cited in chapter five), the latter was withdrawn. The data about language attitudes was therefore collected using other methods. These attitudes could be attributed to language politics and the sensitive nature of the language situation, but also the lack of exposure to sociolinguistic studies, which would create an experience and understanding of the aims and motives of such an inquiry. These limitations therefore influenced the way the study was conducted including making changes in the methods employed in order to obtain the needed information while avoiding violating the rights and confidence of the respondents. Notes were taken instead of using a recorder, and more informal interviews were conducted, which made the atmosphere more relaxed and friendly as opposed to formal and structured.

Summary

In this chapter, we have introduced the thesis, and defined the purpose and scope of the study. The aims and objectives of this study were also stated, including mention of the research questions that facilitated the inquiry into language policy and planning in Uganda. The highlights of the major findings of the study were provided and the methods used to obtain this information and how they were employed to obtain these results were presented.

Chapter Two

The Historical and Sociolinguistic Background of the Language Situation in Uganda

This chapter examines the historical background of the language situation in Uganda, highlighting some of the major developments in the political and sociolinguistic situation. The chapter provides the background to the chapters ahead and helps in developing an understanding of the sociolinguistic aspects to be raised in chapters four and five. This chapter describes the nature of Uganda's ethnic and linguistic complexity and the nature of language development, thus providing the background to contemporary language policy and language planning in Uganda. It starts with some background information about Uganda, and then provides a historical and political overview, highlighting the major landmarks in the political history of Uganda. It then discusses the sociolinguistic landscape of Uganda, providing an insight into its linguistic and ethnic nature, the language use, competence and literacy attributes, and the issue of language and national identity. Finally it provides an analysis of the nature and level of language development of the indigenous languages of Uganda.

2.1 Introduction and background

Uganda is a landlocked East African country, bordered by Kenya in the east, Sudan in the north, the Democratic Republic of Congo in the west, Tanzania in the south and Rwanda in the southwest. It has an area 241,038 square kilometres of which 197,323 is covered by land area. Uganda lies across the equator, about 800 kilometres inland from the Indian Ocean, between 10 29' South and 40 12' North latitude, 290 34' East and 350 0' East longitude. According to the 2002 population and housing census, the population was 24.2 million people. It is currently estimated to be 32.9 million people and predicted to rise to 34,131,400

by 2012 with 14.8% of the population living in urban areas (Uganda Bureau of Statistic 2011). Uganda is divided into four main geographical and administrative regions. The Central region houses the capital city of Uganda, Kampala, which is also the major commercial city, and Entebbe which hosts the major international airport. The Eastern region which has Jinja town, the former industrial city of Uganda, and Malaba/Busia the main entry port through Kenya since Uganda is a landlocked country. The Western region, with towns such as Mbarara, which is known for farming and animal husbandry while the Northern part of Uganda has districts such as Arua and Lira, a region which has in the past been terrorised by the notorious Lord's Resistance Army rebels. Below is the map of Uganda showing the major regions including some of the districts of the country.

Figure 1: Map of Uganda showing the major regions, towns and communication networks (Openjuru 2008)

Due to the introduction of local governance by the current government, the number of districts has significantly risen from 33 districts in the 1980s to more than one hundred today and the figure continues to rise. This map also shows the location of major towns, including the capital of the country, Kampala, and the major communication networks like roads.

Uganda is a linguistically heterogeneous country with different languages used in such a small space, which makes most Ugandans multilingual. Uganda has 45 indigenous languages; 43 living languages and two which are extinct (Lewis 2009). The multilingual nature of Ugandans has been illustrated by many scholars, e.g. Mazrui and Mazrui (1998: 134), who mention a house servant who speaks to her family in Rutooro, to her neighbours in Luganda, to the traders in Swahili or Luganda, to her employers in English and to a visitor in French, which she acquired from her former husband who was Rwandese. In this study I also interviewed a number of people who spoke a different language(s) in different settings or with different people. For instance a gentleman whose family originates from Bunyoro but migrated to Busoga when they were still young but is currently working in Kampala said he speaks Lusoga with his parents but still speaks Runyoro with his grandparents and other distant relatives. But he said he speaks more Luganda with his close friends, and English and some Swahili with colleagues at his work place. However, his wife originally comes from Busia and speaks Samia and at home the children speak Samia, Luganda (the area language) and English. This kind of language behaviour where several languages are used by an individual is a typical characteristic of many Ugandans.

2.2 Historical and political overview

At the time when the British colonisers seized control of the area which is now demarcated as Uganda, it was comprised of different self-governed kingdoms and chiefdoms, all of which existed and were governed independently of each other. At this time, all the major ethnic groups had developed their own governing systems headed by the kings (e.g. commonly known as the Omukama of

Bunyoro, the Kabaka of Buganda, the Rwodi/Rwot of Acholi) with the assistance from powerful councils of elders known as the Ludito Kaka in Acholi, the Lukiiko in Buganda, the Rukurato in Bunyoro (Odong 2000). By 1900's; all these kingdoms and chiefdoms, including the small tribal groups, were amalgamated by the British colonisers to form a protectorate. But during the time of the British rule, Buganda had an upper hand in the governance of the protectorate over the other groups mainly because it collaborated with the colonialists (see section 4.3 for a more detailed account).

In 1962, Uganda gained independence from British colonial rule with King Muteesa II (who was the king of Buganda) elected as the first president of independent Uganda. Although throughout the colonial period, Buganda struggled to obtain and maintain its position as an independent kingdom from the general governance of Uganda, its efforts did not yield any results and its dominance of the politics of the country also did not last long. King Muteesa II fell out with his Prime Minister Dr. Milton Obote, who overthrew him in 1966 and took over the presidency of the country while the king went to exile where he later died. In 1971 however, Idi Amin who was the military commander of the army overthrew President Milton Obote in a coup d'état and he became president while Obote fled to Tanzania. But President Idi Amin's dictatorship also came to an abrupt end in 1979 when he was overthrown in a liberation war led by Obote (in which the Tanzanian army participated) that saw Milton Obote come back from exile to participate in Uganda's politics once again. At the Uganda Unity (Moshi) Conference, Prof. Yusuf Lule was elected as president but just 68 days later, Prof. Lule was removed from power by the National Consultative Council (NCC), which he had allegedly tried to undermine. He was replaced by Godfrey Lukongwa Binaisa, a London-trained lawyer who had served in the Milton Obote cabinet as the Attorney General.

In 1980, a general election was conducted (the second election since independence in 1962). Four political parties participated in the elections and these included the Uganda People Congress (UPC), the Democratic Party (DP) (the two parties which were the major players in the elections), the Conservative Party (CP) and Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM). The elections were rigged in favour of the UPC party (led by Dr. Milton Obote) which saw Obote become president of Uganda for the second time (Odongo 2000). This caused a five-year bush war which eventually brought President Yoweri Museveni to power. Uganda continued to be politically unstable and in 1985, Obote was overthrown by the military again in a coup headed by General Tito Okello Lutwa, who was shortly overthrown by President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni in 1986 and who is still the president of the Republic of Uganda today. His long governance has been facilitated by a revision of the constitution to remove the two-term limit during his second term in office (2001-2006) and he has now been re-elected to the position of presidency for four consecutive times, the last elections having been carried out in February 2011.

2.3 Language in Uganda and the sociolinguistic dimensions

This section provides an overview of the language situation in Uganda, providing background on language and ethnicity in Uganda, the nature of language use and language behaviour, and the sociolinguistic profile of the official languages, plus that of both the major and minority languages.

2.3.1 Language and ethnicity

As already mentioned, Uganda has almost 45 indigenous languages; 43 living languages and 2 which are extinct (Lewis 2009). However, there have been discrepancies between different sources about the number of languages in Uganda. Although Lewis (2009) identifies 45 languages, Batibo (2005) mentions 35, the Ministry of Education (e.g. in the Uganda Primary Curriculum Review) identifies 63 (Rosendal 2010), while the constitution recognises 56 distinct ethnic

groups each of which has at least an indigenous language (Uganda Constitution, 1995). There has been a lack of any language questions in all the censuses conducted in the country, and the only independent research about language use in Uganda is that conducted by Ladefoged et al. in 1972. Thus many classifications of language use, and especially the estimation of the number of speakers of different languages, have been based on the ethnic populations with the assumption of a one-to-one relation between ethnicity and language. However, although this may be true to a certain extent, with language endangerment and shifting situations, plus the realities of language and identity relations, this estimation is likely to be far from accurate. Many of the local languages have dialects; therefore, with difficulties in language and dialect distinctions, it is usually difficult to know the exact number of languages in the country. Some languages, for instance, which were classified together as parts of a dialect cluster (e.g. Luganda, Lusoga and Lukenyi) by Ladefoged et al. (1972) are listed as separate languages by Lewis (2009). There has also been the case of language politics behind this situation, especially because some groups want to obtain political independence and recognition, thus claiming differences in language (especially if that group is classified as a dialect of a major language). This is because full status of a group's language would secure a degree of independence (Kloss 1952). This may be one of the reasons behind the planning and promotion of Luruuri-Lunyara (see chapter five for details) and the motivation for classifying it as an independent language and not as a dialect of Luganda.

In terms of language classification, Ugandan languages are divided into four major language groups, Bantu, Sudanic, Nilotic (which is itself sub-divided into Eastern Nilotic and Western Nilotic), and Kuliak (see Figure 2). According to Ladefoged (1972: 17), the first three language groups, i.e. Bantu, Sudanic and Nilotics are as different as say English, Chinese, and Arabic; and even the Eastern and Western Nilotic groups differ from each other as much as English and French. The Bantu language family is the largest language family in Uganda, comprising of almost a third of the languages of the country. Below is the map of Uganda showing the different language families.

Figure 2: The major language groups and the major language families in Uganda (Lewis 2009).

The Bantu language group	The Central Sudanic group	The Nilotic language group	Kuliak
-Luganda -Rukonjo -Bwisi -Soga -Amba -Ruhororo -Kiga -Bwisi -Rutagwenda -Nyankole -Gungu - Lugwe -Tooro -Ruuri -Rutara -Nyoro -Kenyi -Gwere -Luyia -Masaaba -Rwanda -Nyole	- Aringa -Kakwa -Ma'di -Lugbara -Lendu -Ndo	-Acholi -Pokot -Jie - Lango -Adhola -Ngadotho -Karamajong -Bari - Ateso -Nyangi (Ngapore) -Kakwa -Kumam -Arur - Labwor -Kupsabiny -Luo -Nyakwai	-Soo -Ik

Table 1: Showing the four language families plus the local languages (Lewis 2009).

In the Western Nilotic group, we have Lango, Acholi, Alur, Dhopadhola, Kumam, Labwor, Dhopaluo, and Nyakwai. Eastern Nilotic includes languages like Ateso, Ngakarimojong, Kakwa, Kupsabiny, Jie, Ngadotho and Nyang'i (Ngapore). The Ik language family is severely endangered and almost extinct (Lewis 2009 and Katamba 2006).

The major ethnic groups are the Baganda, who make up approximately 18% of Ugandans, the Banyankore making up 10 %, the Basoga, making up 8.9%, the Bakiga, 7%, the Teso (or Itesot), 6.7%, the Lango (Langi), 6.4 %, the Acholi, 4.9%, the Bagisu (Bamasaaba), 4.8%, and the Lugbara, 4.4% (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2005). These ethnic groups all have more than one million members, all together constituting about 71% of the Ugandan population (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2005). However, this trend has not always been this way. The Uganda Bureau of Statistics shows that different ethnic groups have had varying positions with regard to the percentage of their population. Although the Basoga have maintained their position as the third largest ethnic group in the country, other groups like the Itesot who were the second largest ethnic group in the 1959 census, were in 2002 found to be the fifth largest group and Banyankole who were the fourth largest ethnic group then, were in 2002 the second largest group. These varying trends in population can be attributed to several causes, including war, droughts and disease, but also to changing identities as a result of different socio-political forces.

It should however be noted that these classifications are becoming problematic, with years and years of migration, intermarriages, and other factors. These have resulted in a more dynamic development of identities to the extent that there is now the presence of a generation that no longer identifies with a single ethnicity but a number of them, and whose answer to questions about which ethnic group they belong to will depend on a number of things including who asks, the motive behind the asking and many others; all factors which will definitely affect the

results of such censuses. The example cited in section 2.3 for instance, a gentleman whose family originates from Bunyoro but migrated to Busoga when they were still young and who is currently working in Kampala, said he felt he belonged to all the three ethnic groups: Bunyoro, Busoga and Buganda. But he said he preferred or felt more strongly attached to Buganda where his home is, rather than the other ethnicity where he belonged. If he is in Busoga, and depending on who asks him, he is more likely to say he is a Musoga by ethnicity. While if he is in Kampala, he is more likely to say he comes from the Buganda ethnicity. This therefore shows that the seemingly simple question of which ethnic group someone belongs to may prove to be a more complex one than it appears. However, despite the different problems of classifying either ethnicity or language and their relationship to each other (i.e. not necessarily a one to one relationship), for the practical purposes of this study I assume that the number of members of an ethnic group correspond to the number of speakers. This is mainly because, this is how the data is presented in the main sources, and therefore without undertaking a comprehensive survey it is impossible to establish the real figures and the exact numbers of speakers (as opposed to members of the ethnic groups). This is also the case with table 2 below.

Below is the table showing the different language groups and their respective speakers of ethnic populations. As explained in the above paragraph, all the recent population censuses conducted assume a one to one relationship between language and ethnicity. However, although these figures may not be accurate in this respect, they can be used to give a rough idea of the population trends.

Ethnic group and language	Population in percentage	Population in millions
Ganda	18	4,130,000
Ankole	9.8	2.330.212
Soga	8.6	2,062,920
Kiga	7.0	1.679.519
Iteso	6.6	1.568.763
Langi	6.2	1.485.437
Acholi	4.8	1.145.357
Gisu	4.7	1.117.661
Lugbara	4.3	1.022.240
Others	30.7	7.340.257

Table 2: Showing language groups with more than one million speakers in Uganda and their respective populations (Lewis 2009)

The other 30% of the ethnic groups in Uganda can also be subdivided into three different groups;

a) groups with less than a million but more than 100,000 members, which includes Banyoro, Bakhonzo, Batooro, Alur, Bafumbira, Bagwere, Jhopadhola, Banyole, Banyarwanda, Madi, Basamia and Karamajong.

b) groups with populations of approximately 100,000, including the Sabiny, Bahororo, Kumam, Baruuri, Kakwa, Jonam, Bagwe, Pokot, Babwisi, Bakenyi, Bagungu, Batagwenda, Bamba, Bakuku, Kebu and Nubi.

c) groups with populations of less than 25,000 people, including So (Tepeth), Banyara, Batwa, Bahehe, Dodoth, Ethur, Mening, Jie, Mvuba, Nyangia, Napore, Ik (Teuso), Basongora, Lendu, Banyabindi, Babukusu, Chope, Batuku and Vonoma (the last with 119 people).

2.3.2 Language use and literacy

Language use in Uganda exhibits patterns of bilingualism, trilingualism and multilingualism with different languages used to perform different tasks in different domains of society. Formal domains like the school, administration and other formal sectors may require different languages from those required in social domains or for traditional functions. English, for example, the official language of the country is the main language in the formal sector including schools, the public and government communications and the judiciary; while local languages are mainly used for everyday interactions including shopping, home language use and interpersonal communications. This is a function of mainly regional languages (usually those of the wider communication) while the smaller languages, on the other hand, are mostly confined to people's homes, for specific cultural/traditional functions or usually very close-knit, 'in-group' associations. Because of this nature of language use, multilingualism in Uganda contributes to the identity of its citizens, where several individuals use up to seven languages in their language repertoire.

Some languages, such as English and to a certain extent the majority languages such as Luganda, enjoy a special status in the country. According to the 1995 constitution, English is the official language although people are allowed (by the constitution) to use their local languages in any domain of public life. However,

in 2005, the constitution was amended and Swahili was named as the second official language of the country. Although Swahili has been accorded this status, its official use is still highly symbolic, especially as a result of the formation of the East African community in which Uganda is a member. Code-switching between English and the main area languages in different regions of the country is a common phenomenon. There are also quite a number of minority languages still used in homes or amongst families and in traditional and cultural settings. This kind of scenario requires speakers to have at least three languages in their repertoire to be able to function effectively in society, thus resulting in a triglossic language use structure; with English and Swahili on top as the official (High) variety, Luganda and other regional languages as the lingua francas (could be High or Low depending on setting) and the language of limited use/minority languages as the Low variety (see Batibo 2005, for a similar classification of language use in Africa).

The degree of multilingualism however, varies from community to community. Research conducted in Uganda shows that some regions are more multilingual than others. According to Rosendal (2010), in Uganda multilingualism is widespread in regions like Teso and Lwo where only 27% of the population is monolingual compared to Buganda where almost 55% of the people are monolingual. 35% of the population in Buganda is bilingual (in English and Luganda, or Luganda and another local language), whereas 47% of the Lwo/Teso population is bilingual. Furthermore, only 1% of the people who speak Luganda spoke more than five languages compared to 4% of the Lwo/Teso who spoke more than five languages. This pattern is also supported by the survey conducted in this study, because the majority of the respondents who were bilingual and those who were practically monolingual in their social network were speakers of Luganda as their mother tongue or first language. Speakers of other languages as their first languages used more languages in their linguistic repertoire.

In education, Uganda has a Language of Education policy, which according to the government White Paper (1992), stipulates that in rural areas, the mother tongue will be used as the language of instruction from primary one to primary three while English is taught as a subject. Primary four is the year of transition when English is introduced as the language of instruction. From primary five to primary seven, English is the language of instruction and also a subject while the mother tongue is maintained as a subject. In urban areas however, English is the language of instruction and also a compulsory subject in all the primary classes while the mother tongue is taught as a subject. In secondary schools and tertiary education, English is the language of instruction and also a compulsory subject and schools are free to choose which local language they want to teach as a subject. Swahili was also introduced by policy as a compulsory subject in primary education, both in rural and urban areas although this has not yet been introduced in schools. The term 'main area language' (MAL) was introduced in the white paper, to mean the larger generalised language groups that could serve as regional languages. These were estimated to cover 80-90% of the population and would therefore be used to implement the mother tongue education policy in order to solve language problems in Uganda (Ward et al. 2006: 54).

The policy can further be illustrated in Table 3 below.

Class	Rural schools	Urban schools
Primary 1-3	-Medium of instruction is local language or the main area language (MAL). -English is a subject.	-Medium of instruction is English. -Local languages or MAL subjects.
Primary	-Transition from local languages as languages of instruction to	-English as the language of instruction.

4	English. -Introduction of Swahili as a compulsory subject.	-Introduction of Swahili as a compulsory. -Main area languages as subjects.
Primary 5-7 (in practical to P.6)	-English as language of instruction. -Local languages and Swahili as subjects.	-English as language of instruction. -Local languages and Swahili as subjects.

Table 3: Showing the nature of language in education policy, especially the mother tongue language policy in Uganda.

Emphasis, in terms of allocation of time and the provision of instructional materials, facilities and teachers, was however to be gradually placed on Swahili as the language possessing greatest capacity for uniting Ugandans and for assisting rapid social development (White Paper 1992: 19). The major education language reforms were also geared to promote appreciation and understanding of the value of national unity, patriotism and cultural heritage, with due consideration to international relations. The policy also aims at enabling individuals to acquire functional, permanent and developmental literacy, numeracy and communication skills in English, Swahili and at least one Ugandan language (Ward et al. 2006).

For the implementation of the mother tongue language policy in education, the main area languages were to be used and initially, five languages were recognised by the government: Luganda, Lwo, Runyakitara, Ateso/Ngakarimojong and

Lugbara. These languages possess fully developed orthographies, dictionaries and some literature. However, Lukonzo, Lusoga, Kupsubiny and Lunyole were also added to the list, thus extending the number of languages to nine. Today, the Ministry of Education says that all Ugandan languages are allowed to be used as languages of instruction in primary schools (personal conversation with Philip Oketcho, curriculum specialist for local languages (secondary education) at the NCDC, 23rd July 2010) as long as they have an orthography and literature which is approved by the National Curriculum Development Centre (interview with Mrs. Bukenya, local language specialist-primary at the NCDC, 24th May 2010). All the main area languages have attained some degree of development. They are all written languages, with a fully developed orthography, written literature plus radio and TV programmes. However, these main area languages operate on different levels of development. Some languages, like Luganda for instance, are widespread, and highly developed with a well established orthography, increased supportive literature and trained readers and teachers (it is taught from primary to university), newspapers, radio stations and extensive TV programmes and television stations dedicated to broadcasting exclusively in Luganda. Other languages such as Lugbara, may still be in the process of attaining such a level and, at present, there is little supporting literature and no or very few trained language teachers, and the orthography still needs revision and more testing.

However, as will be further discussed in chapters four and five, the policy has not been very successfully implemented because of a lack of structure and infrastructure, but also due to the ideologies and negative attitudes of the people, parents and also teachers. Because of this English has remained the medium of instruction in all years of many primary schools in both urban and rural areas. Code-switching and code-mixing with local languages like Luganda have been found to be a dominant practice by teachers, to facilitate understanding and effective communication or educational achievement (e.g. Majola 2006, Rosendal 2010).

The literacy rate of Uganda, according to Lewis (2009), is between 52% and 57%. However, the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2011) maintains that the literacy rate of persons aged 10 years and above in Uganda is 69% which means that 31% of the total adult population is illiterate. More men are found to be literate with a percentage of 76 compared to women with a percentage of 63. The rate of literacy is higher in urban areas than rural areas. Although Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2011) shows that the literacy rate in urban areas literacy rate was 86% while in rural areas it was 66%, some research conducted (e.g. Rosendal, 2010) shows a much wider gap between urban and rural literacy levels, i.e. 59.2% in Kampala compared to 11.7% in Kalangala (Rosendal 2010). Literacy levels and language competency in the younger generation are also not very encouraging. According to the National Assessment of Progress in Education report (NAPE), although the proportion of pupils (assessment of year three) rated proficient in English had increased from 34% in 2003 to 46% in 2006, and remained at 46% in 2007, less than half of the students possessed the desired competencies in literacy. In the same report, a similar pattern was found in year six (primary ends at year seven), where in 2003 only 20% of pupils were regarded proficient in literacy (English), although by 2007 there was a rise to 50%. It was also reported that both classes examined (year three and six) experienced difficulties in reading and comprehending stories. Only a few of the pupils of year three were able to write complete sentences in English while only 36% of year six could produce an original, continuous and relevant piece of writing with correct punctuation and spelling (NAPE, 2007).

However, according to NAPE, there has been a significant improvement in year three's English literacy between 2008 and 2010, with more pupils attaining the proficient rating of 57.6%, while that of year six in 2010 remained at 41.5% (NAPE 2010). NAPE has also recently started assessing local language literacy and nine languages were tested, including Acholi, Ateso, Lango, Lukonzo, Luganda, Ŋakarimojoŋ, Lusoga, Runyankore-Rukiga, and Runyoro-Rutooro. The performance of pupils in local languages was highly correlated with their

performance in English. However, some languages like Runyankore-Runkiga, Luganda, and Runyoro-Rutooro registered a higher proficiency in local language literacy with 71%, 61%, and 51% respectively than other languages like Lango, Acholi and Lusoga whose performance were 26%, 24% and 14% respectively. This discrepancy in performance was also experienced in English literacy, and could be attributed to a number of reasons including a lack of trained teachers-something which affects some districts more than others (rural districts more so than their urban counterparts).

The practical realities of literacy related problems are evident in all sects of Ugandan life, from the political and economic realities to the daily struggles in people's lives. Such examples include not only pupils who at the end of their primary education are unable to communicate in English, resulting in poor educational performance, but also citizens who are non-functional in their official language which leads to a trail of other problems including lack of political participation and lack of access to political, economic and health information and knowledge that is usually provided in the official language. One instance of this appeared in an article published in the New Vision newspaper of 27th May 2011. The article reported that the swearing-in ceremony of elected local politicians (councillors) turned out to be a daunting task for some who fainted as they struggled to say the required oath in English.

"Some councillors shook in terror as they sweated while tongue-twisting words. Some good Samaritans tried to guide them on how to pronounce the words, but even then, the councillors still blundered with the pronunciations. Many said "I solomonly" for "I solemnly swear", while others pronounced allegiance as "illigengy" and faithful as "featherfull". One district councillor in Kibaale, said, "I …… swear that I will be fool and be true oranges to the republic of Uganda and that I will slave, protect and defend the Constitution."

In Mpigi and Teso, some women councillors were reported to have fainted when they failed to read the oath script and the audience laughed at them. The article goes on to say that the event, because of its embarrassing nature, turned out to be a blame-game as the Minister of Local Government blamed the district chief administrative officers and sub-county chiefs for not translating the oath into local languages for councillors to understand. The minister also blamed judicial officers for presiding over swearing-in ceremonies where elected leaders failed to read the oaths, questioning why the councillors should be forced to swear in English.

This, however, shows the difficulty of the country's language situation especially with regard to the policies which support languages that are understood by only a few educated elites. If the local politicians cannot even read a simple oath, then one wonders what happens during council meetings and political debates which are usually conducted in the official language, the language in which all top-down communications come.

Figure 3: pictures of the division councillor in Soroti municipality who failed to

take the oath in English (Naulele, 2011)

As observed by Omoniyi (2007), such examples illustrate the practical implications of institutional insistence on the use of colonial languages like English or French. This lack of competence in the official languages, as he emphasizes, doesn't only inhibit effective communication but potentially undermines development programmes generally.

2.3.3 Language and national identity in Uganda

Language is the central feature of any culture or group of people. It is the medium in which they think, learn and communicate. Language is a very important and powerful symbol for any society because it is in the centre of any sector of a society's development and although there are other markers of group identity, such as clothing, food, religion, age, geography, and many others, language has a special role, partly because it facilitates and organizes an individual's thought process but also because it establishes social relations (Spolsky 1998, Fishman 1999). It serves for its speakers as an identity marker like a traditional costume or a special cuisine, thus identifying people who belong to a certain group. Graham (2005) also emphasises this by saying that through stories and dialogue, language provides means to negotiate meaning which individuals draw on in order to create a sense of personal identity. Language is a major instrument of national integration, as well as the basis of human communication. Thus without language, social interaction is almost impossible.

Language in simple terms can be looked at as a systematic means of communicating by the use of sounds or conventional symbols including accents, speech styles and even the non-verbal communication used by a speech community. Identity on the other hand, is the individual's knowledge that s/he belongs to certain social groups together with the emotional and value significance to him or her of the group membership. Because language carries

extensive cultural content, often endowed with the highest and innermost expression of people's identity cores, it serves as an important instrument for protecting collective identity and communal cohesion (Edwards 1985, Fishman 1999). Uganda like many other African countries e.g. Malawi (Matiki 2009), a language that a person speaks is most commonly associated with the ethnic group that the person belongs to. This therefore means that indigenous languages are not only used to communicate between people but are also indicators of people's ethnic identities. It is against this background that the search for a coherent national identity in Uganda through a national language policy provides an interesting case in sociolinguistics. National identity in Uganda, like in other Sub-Saharan African countries, is a relatively new phenomenon mainly fuelled by the creation of a modern Ugandan nation state which in turn has also fuelled the search for unity, cohesion and collective identity. Because of the heterogeneous nature of Uganda, with the existence of numerous indigenous languages and ethnic groups, the search for a national language has become an important element for the country, especially in view of the perceived advantages that come with it, including being able to use it for national identity purposes, for national mobilisation and also as a rallying point for every person in the country.

A single national language is often argued to solve the perceived problem of disunity and lack of cohesion which is often said to be caused by multilingualism. However naming one language as the nation's national language is problematic and not an easy task in a multilingually complex society such as Uganda. This is mainly because:

1. Ugandans are strongly attached to their indigenous languages and ethnic origins which have made it difficult for a single national language to emerge naturally, while selection of one local language to perform this duty becomes difficult because people are not willing to accept any language other than their own.

2. Luganda, which might have qualified for such a role due to its demographic profile and historical role in administration and other public functions, was not considered to be ethnically neutral. Although it is widely used in the country (two thirds of the Ugandan population is estimated to understand or have some knowledge of Luganda, Rosendal 2010), it has been rejected several times as the national language by other ethnicities because this is viewed as a gesture of favouring only the group of Ugandans who speak Luganda.

The result has therefore been to maintain English as the only official and national language since independence (1962), while after a very long discussion and deliberation by parliament Swahili was made the second official language. However, no local language was able to gain national status.

After independence, while other East African countries like Tanzania adopted Swahili as the symbol of their national identity, mobilisation and their rallying point, Uganda seemed not to have much choice other than English since Swahili and Luganda, which was widely used within the country at the time, failed to emerge as the country's national languages. The use of these two languages had been hampered by both ethnolinguistic politics and attitudes that made it difficult for either to be chosen and maintained as the country's official or national languages. Both languages had served before, particularly during the colonial government, as the official languages, but Swahili, which was adopted by other East African countries as a national language, was marginalised in Uganda, considered the language of the uneducated, the language of thieves and slave raiders (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998, Nsibambi 1971) and the language used by the army to torture innocent people (see section 2.3.4). Luganda on the other hand, which has had a long history as an academic language, as the language of the government administration and known by the majority of Ugandans, also became unfavourable especially with speakers of other indigenous languages who thought making Luganda the national language was an act of favouring or linguistic empowerment of the already powerful Baganda, at the expense of other ethnic groups (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998:132).

However, although English was such an admired language with a high status in society, maintaining it as the sole official language never solved the problem, especially that of language exclusion within society, because people could not operate in the official language. At the time of independence, only 21% of Ugandans were able to speak and understand English (Ladefoged 1972:25). The desperate nature of the situation can be exemplified by a quotation from the president of the country at the time, Dr. Milton Obote, who failed to deal with the language situation (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998: 99).

"Obviously I have no alternative to using English, but I lose a lot especially as far as the party is concerned. Some of the greatest and most dedicated workers are those who do not speak English. And yet the party leader cannot call his great dedicated worker and say 'thank you' in a language that a man will understand. It has to be translated."

(From Mazrui & Mazrui 1998: 99)

However, because there have not been any restrictions with regard to the use of local languages in the public space, people have continued to use any language they wish to use anywhere, at any time. People use their local languages and varieties although English is maintained in the formal domains, while regional languages are used more in the public space as the national lingua francas, in domains and functions such as shopping, public rallies and many others. However, because of the small number of speakers, limitations do exist for the use of minority languages in the public space. The only domain in which these languages are actively used is in the home or family and traditional and cultural functions. This has therefore caused some of these languages to be endangered as their speakers are shifting to bigger language groups which are dominating the public space. A good example is the case of Luluuri-Lunyara (approx. 150,000 speakers), a language which was formerly spoken in the four districts of Luweero, Masindi, Nakasongola and Kayunga, but is now only spoken in parts of

Kayunga and Nakasongola, while in the district of Luweero and a big part of Nakasongola, speakers have completely shifted to Luganda (Vander Wal and Vander Wal, 2005) and Masindi speakers are shifting to Runyoro.

This discussion shows that although English is admired and respected, people still love to speak their local languages (Mukama 2010). English, by virtue of its special position as the language of the former colonial government, enjoys both the privilege of being the only 'foreign' language which is used officially in educational institutions and administrative transactions, as well as in formal domains used by government officials and the educated elite. In informal settings, however, the most relevant languages become the local languages as individuals usually use one of the many in their language repertoire depending on who they are speaking with or the occasion or function, or the purpose of the communication, and many other determining factors. Through these language practices, despite the official policy supporting foreign languages, local languages have become not only the source of identity, mobilisation and strength but also the voice of the population because of their communication value (see Rosendal, 2010) which is considered essential for national identity.

Personal observations during fieldwork also show that current trends are pointing towards an 'ecolinguistic revolution', where vernacular languages (especially the majority languages) are encroaching on domains which were formerly dominated by English, and other dominating languages. In the 1970s, 80s and early 1990s English dominated the media (newspaper, radio and television broadcasts), courts of law, popular music, theatre, local administration, and many other domains of public life. Today, however, there is a shift from English to other regional languages like Luganda and Runyakitara. For example, artists who formerly used English in their music have been seen shifting to local languages especially Luganda. Several radio stations (FM) and television stations broadcasting in local languages have been introduced. This shift has often been rewarded with sudden

popularity and success in the industry which most probably would not have happened if these artists maintained English as the language of their operation. Muranga (2009) seems to hold the same view by emphasising that some of these famous artists and writers wouldn't have enjoyed this fame if they did not write or sing in their mother tongue. In the city still, popular radio/television stations and programmes are the ones broadcasting in Luganda and the popular upcoming film industry also mainly uses Luganda and a few other main area languages such as Runyakitara. Of course we cannot ignore globalisation as a popular force in maintaining English, because it is promoted by different programmes such as the European and American films and soap operas which remain popular.

Swahili, the second official language, has been the official language of the army and police for years, but recent observations show that it is only used symbolically, while in practice, there has been a shift from the use of Swahili to English and Luganda. Luganda used to be the church and school language in parts of Eastern Uganda and other central minority language areas, since the only translated bible and hymn books were in Luganda. However, with more translations of the bible, into Lusoga in 1998, and Lusamia-Lugwe in 1999, and language revival programmes such as Luruuri-Lunyara (see chapter five), people are now using their own languages in different domains including the church. This kind of revolution may be going on even in other parts of Uganda because of the increasing number of bible translations, language planning and literacy developments. This has raised the status of local languages to some degree, and although English is still desired and admired, the desire and need to use local languages in particular domains still exists and symbolises Uganda's national identity. This pattern of language use in Uganda is typical and contributes to the national identity. According to Reh (2004), the use of more than one language (as illustrated in the pictures below) serves for identity purposes and signals the equality of all the linguistic and cultural communities.
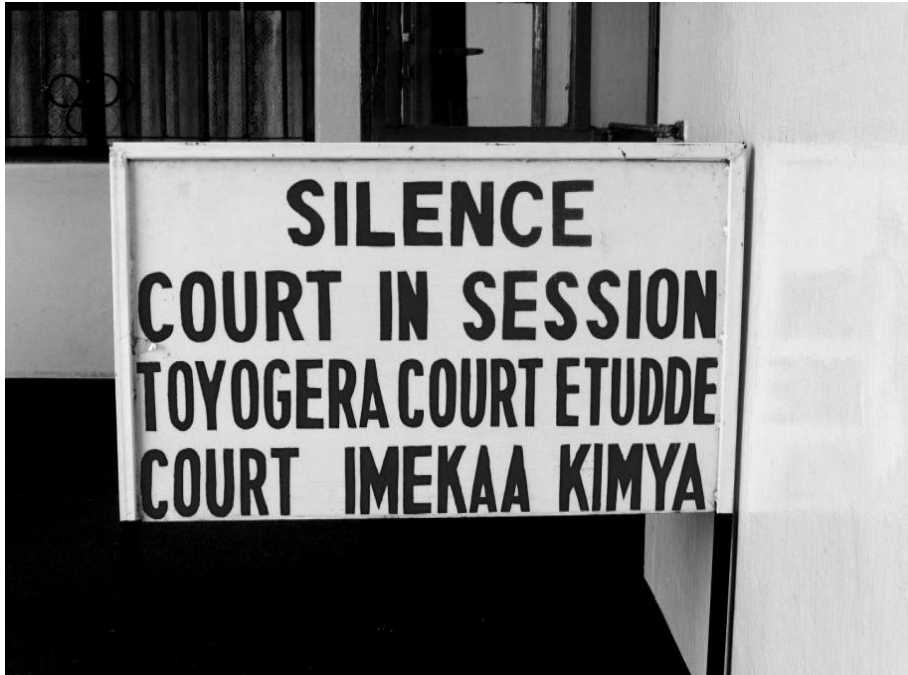
Figure 4: Poster found in the corridors of Buganda road court room, in Kampala city. Picture was taken on the 4th of May 2010 during observations of language use in the courts of law. The notice is written in three languages, English on top, followed by Luganda and at the bottom Swahili.

Figure 5: Poster of a private clinic found in Nakulabye, a surburb of Kampala the capital city.

The picture was taken during field work, on the 15th of June, 2010. It is written in four languages: English at the top followed by Luganda, then Runyankore-Rukiga and finally at the bottom is the name of the clinic in the Amharic language (Rukasa Medical Clinic).

2.4 English and Swahili: The official languages of Uganda

English, as already mentioned, is the official language of Uganda, and has been since independence. The only sociolinguistic data about the use of English in Uganda (Ladefoged 1972), showed only 21% of Ugandans were able to hold a conversation in English. Many people would agree that the percentage of people today who can hold a conversation in English may be just slightly higher than that because in practice, English is primarily acquired through school, thus limiting its acquisition to only school going people. Secondly, after school, people tend to lose their fluency in English easily because it is not used in daily language communication. As already mentioned, English is considered the language of socio-economic ascent, development and thus a high economic status is equated with being able to speak English well (Myers-Scotton 1972). Although local languages are strongly valued for identity and solidarity purposes, English is very highly rated in terms of status and prestige. In Uganda, English gained its status as the language of the former colonial masters, but also from its position as the sole official language of the country for several decades. However, this status was also gained because it was used by government officials and also by the princes and sons of aristocrats (Mazrui and Mazrui 1998). Mazrui and Mazrui cite an example of King Muteesa (II), commonly known as King Freddie, who was admired by his Buganda subjects for speaking English with a British accent. This therefore led to the association of English with a higher social class and contributed to its high status and prestige.

English, an ex-colonial language, and Swahili, an African lingua franca, share the characteristic of both being the most influential trans-ethnic languages in East

Africa (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998:125). English in Uganda, like in many other former British colonies, has held a dominant position as the sole official language since independence until 2005 when Swahili was named the country's second official language. It is the language of instruction in schools (both in urban and rural areas), the language used in the media and any part of the public arena, and also the language of political and social discourse (Katamba 2006). Despite the introduction of the local language policy in primary schools, English still dominates all official domains and communications. And as discussed in this study (see chapters four and five), it was found that because of implementation problems, schools in even rural areas still use English as the major language of instruction in primary education.

The maintenance of English as the only official language in the country and the prestige associated with it has consequently led to two classes in society: Those who can use it easily, in other words those who are included (Bamgbose 2000) and the majority who are by default excluded because they cannot operate in the language. The high status of English is aided by social attitudes towards this language and its perceived value in society. Myers-Scotton (1972), in a study on the choice of a lingua franca in Uganda, found that in Uganda, English is considered a language of the socio-economic ascent and is valued as useful. This coincides with the research conducted by NAPE (2007), which also states that 81.6% of pupils (year six primary school pupils) thought English was an important and useful language in life. This is because being able to speak English well is usually equated with a high economic status in Uganda.

Although it can be looked at as a language of exclusion, English has also been considered a language that has the ability to unite the ethnically diverse Ugandans. This is because people from diverse language backgrounds are able to use it to communicate easily and freely without any prejudices. But because of the lack of a national language, English emerged as the *de facto* official and

national language of the nation, the language for political, economic, judicial and social deliberation, and the language for upward mobility. Consequently, the use of English has taken root in all official and formal domains and has therefore become the fore-runner in language planning activities. It is the language of instruction in schools (apart from those that follow the local language education policy), the language of the judiciary; the language that has for so long dominated the national media (although FM radio stations broadcasting and television stations in Luganda in central Kampala are becoming common), and the language of official government documents and communication such as the constitution and all bills. For instance, although the national radio transmits in all 22 local languages on top of English and Swahili, transmission in English takes the lion's share of programming airtime, which is eight hours of broadcasting a day while the remaining time is shared by the 22 local languages (Chibita 2006, Rosendal 2010).

English, like Swahili, has also received different statuses and planning in the three East African countries. While in Uganda it has maintained a very high and prestigious status, this has not been the case in Kenya and Tanzania. Although in Kenya English was still maintained and used in official domains like in parliament, and the judiciary, its status was not as high as that of Swahili, while in Tanzania, English was dropped in favour of Swahili as the official and national language. However, this difference in the status of English in the East African countries is not long lived because recent trends indicate a change towards increased significance of English in East Africa. In Tanzania, the value of English has been increasing as more Tanzanians now look beyond Tanzania's borders for employment and business opportunities while in Kenya, especially in the education domain, English is increasingly been introduced at a much earlier stage than before (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1993). However, this doesn't mean that English is increasing status against Swahili, especially in Tanzania.

All in all, English still holds a very high status and prestige in Uganda, as an official language, and as a language that Ugandans consider to be the way to

success and better living. This however, has reduced the functional qualities and utilitarian value of indigenous languages leading to adverse effects such as language shift and negative attitudes towards local languages.

Swahili, on the other hand, is the second official language since 2005, spoken by approximately 35% of Ugandans as indicated by Ladefoged (1972). However, Swahili in Uganda has experienced major challenges that have led to a drastic decline in its use. It is used far less today than both Luganda (the most widely spoken L2 next to English (Lewis, 2009)) and English (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998). Although it is the East African lingua franca, and has been the official language for the military since the era of the King's African Rifles (1902 - 1960s), its use in the country is still minimal and mainly occupies a symbolic rather than functional position in the country because of the different historical and political factors.

Whiteley (1969) is one of the scholars who wrote about language use in East Africa, particularly about the factors and processes which influenced Swahili as a national language. Among the issues discussed includes the spread of Swahili from the coast of East Africa into the interior, as far as Uganda. The ideologies that developed about Swahili, as a language of slavery and bondage and its association with Islam made Swahili a possible rival to Christianity. Its formalisation and the efforts by various institutions to increase its use in education and other domains were more effective in other East African countries but not Uganda. Whiteley (1969: 70-71) discusses how Swahili failed to attain equal status in Uganda like the other East African countries. In Uganda for instance, as described below, Swahili was opposed by the Baganda especially from the Kabaka of Buganda, Sir Daudi Chwa and the Uganda Bishops, who preferred Luganda to Kiswahili.

The proposal to make Swahili a national language of Uganda was opposed several times by Ugandans and mostly the Baganda (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998: 133). After a struggle to maintain the status of Swahili in Uganda as the country's

official-national language in 2005, the 1995 constitution of Uganda was amended and Swahili was renamed as a second official language. The article states that:

"*Swahili shall be the second official language of Uganda to be used in such circumstances as parliament may by law prescribe*."

(The Constitution Amendment Act 2005).

However, between independence and 2005, the position of Swahili in Uganda had been uncertain. According to Mazrui & Mazrui (1998: 96), there have been recurrent debates over several years on the possible promotion of Swahili to the national language of Uganda. Two regimes under Milton Obote (1962-1971 and 1980-1985) failed to deal with this question, leaving English the *de facto* official and national language of Uganda. At the time, Swahili was more of a language of economic than political participation. It was used by traders who used to trade not only in Uganda but also in other East African countries. In 1972, the government of Uganda, under the dictator Idi Amin Dada, declared Swahili the national language, and introduced it as a major language of Uganda's radio and television. The military rule of Idi Amin increased the use of Swahili amongst Ugandans. In radio and television for example, employees were ordered by the government to use Swahili as one of their languages for the first time. The increased use of Swahili in Uganda is supported by Myers-Myers-Scotton's (1972) study in Kampala which showed that Swahili was the Ugandan lingua franca with the largest number of speakers at the time. However, the return to the civilian politics in the 1980s with Milton Obote as president reduced the role of Swahili in national political life.

Swahili later became a very important language within Uganda's armed forces creating a linguistic bond among people from diverse cultural backgrounds. The status of Swahili in the armed forces and police in Uganda at the time, was

originally purely instrumental. It was the language of command and order. The adoption of Swahili as a military lingua franca, facilitated communication in the armed forces of Uganda who were at the time (1960s to the 1980s), multi-ethnic, largely uni-regional (from northern Uganda) and were not well educated so that English was not a choice, a situation which facilitated the instrumental need for a lingua franca like Swahili. The uni-regional nature of the Ugandan army eventually created sentimental attachment to Swahili, virtually as a northern lingua franca (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998:132). Until today, Swahili is spoken in Northern Uganda more than other parts of the country.

In Kenya, Swahili was accepted as a neutral language devoid of connotations of power because its native speakers constitute an ethnic minority that is neither politically nor economically domineering (Githiora 2008: 243). In Tanzania, it was idealised as the carrier of African and Tanzanian values, linked to racial pride, freedom, anti-colonialism, a symbol of national unity (Topan 2008: 257-258). However, in Uganda Swahili became marginalised because it was used by undisciplined soldiers (in the periods of political unrest, 1970-1985) who terrorised local people. This created negative associations with Swahili, connecting it to the times of political unrest. For instance, words like *"funguwa"* which means 'open' would leave everyone in a house terrified and running for their life because it was used by army or police patrols when invading private homes. Baganda are the strongest opposition to the proposition of Swahili as the national language because many of them preferred to see their own language, Luganda, rather than Swahili become the national language. There was also a case of language competition, where they perceived Swahili as a rival to their own language, and they thought it would eventually threaten the use of Luganda in schools (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998:132). Secondly, because it was widely used as a language of command in the army especially under the military regime, many people, especially from southern Uganda who historically were not associated with the army, were not comfortable using Swahili because they viewed Swahili as a language of command rather than a language for social interaction.

However, under the regime of President Museveni (the current president of Uganda) Swahili was given a new impetus in Uganda's national life. Apart from declaring Swahili as second official language of the country and using it as a military lingua franca, the government of Uganda is trying to expand the role of Swahili in national life. According to the government's White Paper (1992: 19), for instance, Swahili is recommended to be taught as a compulsory subject to all children in primary and secondary schools both in rural and urban areas. The White Paper emphasises that allocation of time, provision of instructional materials, facilities and trained teachers will be provided to fulfil this strategy. The government also believes that Swahili possesses the capacity for uniting Ugandans and for assisting rapid social development (White Paper 1992:19). However, like with the mother-tongue policy, the Ministry of Education is struggling to implement the teaching of Swahili in schools. In addition, due to the lack of trained teachers schools have been reluctant to implement the policy. Unlike countries like Tanzania where Swahili has been institutionalized at different levels and domains of language use including education and research with such institutions like the institute of Swahili research, national Swahili council, in politics and in the everyday lives of the people (Githiora 2008, Topan 2008) the government of Uganda has done nothing more than just mere pronouncements about the official status of Swahili in the country.

However, attitudes are gradually changing positively around the use of Swahili. The main indication for this change is the formation of the East African federation and the role and status acquired by Swahili as the regional lingua franca. This has meant that access to opportunities in East Africa requires addition of Swahili to one's linguistic repertoire. In this study for instance, most people interviewed (see chapter four) indicated that Swahili is the other language they wanted to learn because of its increased demand as the official language of the East African region, a language which can enable them to access job and business opportunities in other East African countries. Regional migrations have

also increased the chances for Swahili to participate in the public linguistic space. It has also become popular in urban hip-hop music.

2.5 Language development and the indigenous languages of Uganda

As already mentioned, there are 45 indigenous languages in Uganda, 43 living and 2 extinct (Lewis 2009). Only a relatively small number of these languages are developed, a few are partially developed and the majority are not developed at all. Most of the Ugandan languages are still oral, with no standard orthography, and thus do not possess any form of written material. The main area languages, which include Luganda, Lwo, Runyakitara, Ateso/Ngakarimojong (these were initially thought to be very similar and therefore considered as one but are now treated as separate languages) and Lugbara to some degree, possess developed orthographies and some written material although some of these languages' orthographies still need further revision and testing. Although substantial work has been carried out to develop the local languages of Uganda, especially in terms of producing orthographies and literacy materials, it is reported that 20 or more language groups in Uganda still have orthography problems. Some orthographies are non-existent, while others are inadequate (Nzogi 2011). This means that almost half of the country's languages have orthography problems that need immediate attention if these communities are to attain literacy in their own languages. This can be demonstrated by the map below (map prepared by SIL Uganda).

ORTHOGRAPHIES (WRITING SYSTEMS) OF UGANDA
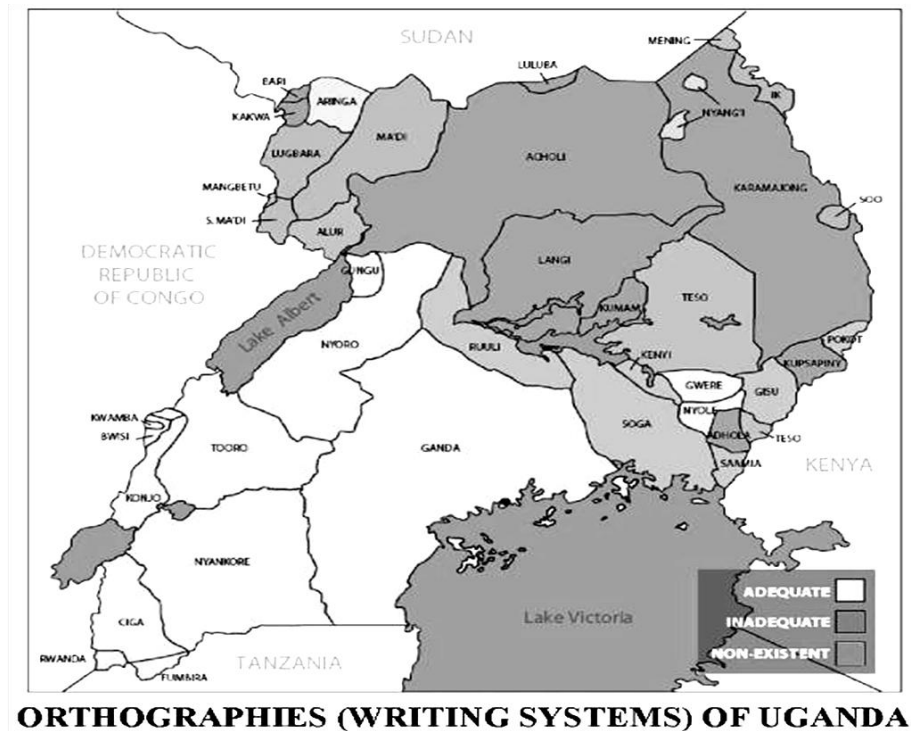
Figure 6: Map of Uganda showing the level of orthography development and needs (SIL 2011)

The map above shows that languages like Luganda, Runyankole, Lukiga, Lugwere, Lunyoli, Lukonjo, Rutooro, Lwamba, Lubwisi, Runyoro, Lugungu, Nyangi and Aringa have adequate orthographies, some of which were developed during colonial times while others like that of Aringa, Lunyoli, Nyangi and Lugwere are more recent developments. The second group of languages are those which have inadequate orthographies. These orthographies are inadequate because they still need to be revised, approved and also accepted by the communities they are intended for. Some still have spelling inconsistencies, others, e.g. Langi, have two orthographies, neither of which has been accepted, while others still need standardisation and harmonisation to represent the dialects. Languages that fall in this category include Langi, Acholi, Karamajong, Madi, Lugbara, Kumam, Bari, Kakwa, Kupsapiny, and Japadhola. The third category is for languages which do not have an established orthography in place. This group

includes languages like Arur, Luruuri, Itesot, Lukenyi, Lugisu, Pokot, Samia, Soo, Ik, and Mening, to mention but a few. Although there is a lack of information about the exact stage of language development, there are reports of some sketches with regard to orthography development and most if not all these languages are being taught in schools, especially in primary schools.

This data shows evidence that some languages have undergone more development than others, and even those languages that are considered developed, especially those that have had a well established and accepted orthography for some time now, are not at the same level of development. Some languages have more literature and literacy materials, more radio and television programmes broadcasting in these languages, several newspapers and a generation of people educated in and about these languages (e.g. Luganda), while others may have just a few radio programmes and some literature.

Although other languages like the western Runyakitara cluster have also benefited from such media and linguistic development, most of the northern languages as described in the above account are yet to attain such a level of development. This kind of inconsistency in language development can be attributed to the lack of central language planning. The different language specific grassroots initiatives are uncoordinated and missing the organization and direction with regard to what needs to be done, or what is lacking and what is not. However, this discrepancy in linguistic development between the northern and southern languages also reflects the intellectual life of the country especially in the socio-economic and political power relations which could have provided a systematic structure of language planning to be followed in order to produce more even results. That situation usually results from absence of central planning, but is also a reflection of the historically contingent patterns of power and influence as also highlighted by the historical background of the sociolinguistics of Luganda (see chapter four). This has therefore let to an imbalance with regard

to the development of local languages, with some languages needing a lot to be done while others have attained a certain degree of development.

Although the status of indigenous languages in Uganda is still low, as in many other developing countries, people are becoming more aware of the importance of developing their languages and therefore there has been some effort towards this. In Uganda, where there is minimal central language planning by the government, language activists are trying to make a difference by developing orthographies, writing language materials and literature, writing dictionaries, translating books from English into local languages, including instructional materials in schools, and developing terminologies and vocabulary. However, although resources to support language development are scarce and the government lacks the will to support these activities, some substantial work has been done at the grassroots level to develop local languages.

Among the language development agencies that have made a considerable contribution to the development of Ugandan indigenous languages is SIL (formerly the Summer Institute of Linguistics), a US-based, Christian NGO which has been engaged in language development work for more than 70 years. Members of SIL are mainly involved in producing grammar sketches, orthographies and literacy materials, mostly for the small and unwritten languages. In Uganda, for instance, SIL has been present for almost eleven years working on over thirteen languages including Lunyole, Lugwere, Lugungu, Lubwisi, lwamba, Aringa, Ik, Luruuri-Lunyara, Kupsapiny, Lufumbira, Ndrulkpa, Ethur, Ma'di, and Langi. Other language planning agencies include the specific language-cultural development groups, such as the Luganda Language Association (Ekibiina Ky'olulimi Oluganda) and the Luganda Teachers Association, the Luuruuri-Lunyara language and cultural association, plus the district language boards which are supposed to be helping in the implementation of the local language policy in primary schools. However, many of the language

boards are struggling and inactive because of lack of financial provision in the national budget to do language planning work, lack of technical support for orthography and materials development and the language politics. Members of the district language boards are not appointed by the government but there are provisions in the White Paper on how these boards can be formed. The district language boards should include the district education officer, the chairman of the education committee, two authorities in each language, two practicing teachers with a background in language or linguistics, the chairman of the headmasters association in a district, and three prominent authors with works in the relevant language. Districts that speak the same language are to have one regional language board; while in a district where different languages are spoken, those who do not speak the major language of that district but make-up at least 20% of the district's population, should be represented on the board.

Another exciting language development agency that seems to show the way to a brighter future for the Ugandan languages is the Uganda Multilingual Education Network (MLE), which was formed in 2009 comprising of a group of scholars (language specialists and linguists from universities and higher institutions of learning), NGO representatives and government education personnel (e.g. officials from the NCDC), and also organizations and individuals who are interested in language, multilingualism and education issues and who share a common concern for the use of Ugandan languages in schools. The MLE Network mainly focuses on maintaining multilingual education beyond the formal education setting, the survival of languages throughout the entire education system and to influence language practices in the classrooms where the language of instruction is of concern. The planned activities for the network include advocacy, especially in the area of language in education, research in the area of multilingual education in Uganda, and monitoring the implementation of strategic plans and policies by the Ministry of Education, including the mother tongue language policy. The network is currently researching the district

language boards to find out why most of them are inactive and how they can be boosted to do what they are meant to do.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at Uganda's background as a country including its location and physical make-up. We have discussed the political history of Uganda highlighting political development through pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times. The chapter also discussed the language situation and sociolinguistic dimensions, providing a brief account of the ethnic composition and multilingual nature of Uganda, the language use and literacy (language competence) issues, and the sociolinguistics of the official policy. Finally, the chapter discussed language development and the indigenous languages of Uganda, analysing the nature of language development available and the level of language development attained by the local languages. This discussion was aimed at providing background information to the discussion provided in chapters four and five.

Chapter Three

Theoretical approaches to language policy and planning

This chapter discusses the theoretical background to the study of language policy and language planning in Uganda. It introduces key terms and the different theoretical concepts and arguments. The theoretical background provided in this chapter is needed to contextualize and situate the analysis of contemporary language policy and planning in Uganda, which is developed in the following chapters.

3.1 Introduction

Language planning comprises the measures or practices taken with regard to supporting languages in a particular community. These are the conscious but also more often the unconscious efforts that aim at changing the linguistic behaviour of a speech community. According to Haugen (1987), language planning can include anything from proposing a new word to proposing a new language. Similarly, language policy may refer to all the language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community or polity (Spolsky 2004). These are the decision making processes that may be taken by a government or a head of an institution or a language planner or anyone who assumes power or responsibility over language matters in a speech community. Language policy can be looked at as any decisions or actions which affect language use and these decisions may be overt or covert or may be made consciously or sometimes unconsciously (Sallabank 2011). According to Mesthrie et al. (2009), language policy is the more general linguistic, political and social goals underlying the actual language planning process.

Language policy is usually (but not necessarily) an official, top-down decision making process directed towards languages, while language planning usually

takes the bottom-up direction which includes grassroots measures to support languages (Sallabank 2011). In reality however, both language policy and language planning can assume bottom-up or top-down initiatives and this is common more often in developing countries where there is minimal or even no existing framework for central language planning or policy (see chapter four, five and six for illustrations of this). Most of such activities happen in a haphazard, unplanned way. According to Spolsky (2004), there are mainly three components of language policy and these include:

- **Language practices**; these include the languages used by speech communities, those permitted or prohibited and in public or private domains and functions.
- **Language beliefs and ideologies**; these are a set of thoughts or ideas an individual or a group of people have about language. This may include, for example, what language(s) people think should be used and those they think shouldn't be used.
- **Language management**; this is the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy usually, but not necessarily, written in a formal document about language.

According to Spolsky (2009), language management has three major areas of activity:

1. Attempts to modify the status and the uses of a language variety or variant, e.g. making the language 'official' or 'national language' or making it the language of instruction in schools.

2. Attempts to change the corpus or actual form of a language variety;

3. Efforts to modify the number and nature of speakers of a variety, especially by enabling or encouraging new speakers to learn it, through, for example, introducing it into domains like schools, media, and many others.

These components are useful in analysing language policy and planning experiences because language policy exists even where it has not been made explicit or established by authority (Spolsky 2004, Bamgbose 2000). In such a situation therefore, the nature of the language policy of a particular group must then be derived from a study of their language practices or beliefs.

Language planning and policy efforts may be top-down, official policy towards languages, or bottom-up, grassroots measures to support or to suppress languages. Language policy therefore, occurs at different levels, from individual or family level to institutional, national or international levels. However, language policy can also assume another form, and that is of 'benign neglect' where the state of language issues is left as it is and not interfered with. This is usually a result of the complexity of the language situation such that certain polities may decide to ignore the language situation instead of assuming responsibility for its management or improvement. In Uganda for instance, the current language policy has an element of 'benign neglect', especially with the failure of the government to name a national language while the constitution review commission also failed to make a decision on this (also section 2.3.3).

However, the lack of a clearly stated, explicit, or written policy does not necessarily mean an absence of policy. As mentioned earlier, in case policy is not explicitly stated, it can be extracted from real language situations. This according to Spolsky (2009) is the 'real policy' or the '*de facto*' policy. This means that although a language community may not have a written or stated policy, their language practices or beliefs portray the nature of their lived policy. Such a policy is rather straightforward and usually meets no resistance from the public (as is usually the case with a written policy, typically top-down, or with legislation) because it is the practice that has been indirectly agreed up on by the language users in a community.

According to Spolsky (2009) language policy is all about choices: Choices which enable a bilingual or plurilingual to choose, consciously or unconsciously, which

language to use in a particular circumstance. However, even if a person speaks only one language, there are still choices made between dialects, varieties, registers or styles to be used by this individual. As illustrated in chapters four and five, in many homes in Uganda, a language used at home is different from that used at work or at school. A Luganda speaker, for instance, may speak Luganda at home and in the market while s/he might speak English at the work place. A Luruuri speaker on the other hand can choose to speak Luruuri at home, Luganda at the market or a communal gathering and English at the work place or school. For a monolingual Luganda speaker however, choice could be between a formal (standard) dialect of Luganda which can be used with one's parents or on a talk show on TV while *'Luyaaye'*, the urban-youth variety may be chosen to speak with friends. This is because it is appropriate to use the standard variety in formal domains while in informal and in-group relations a non-standard variety would be preferred to be used. This is what language policy is all about.

Originally, language policy and language planning were associated with post-colonial language and literacy policy, including the choice of a national language and its standardisation (Rubin & Jernudd 1971). This was however followed by criticisms for treating multilingualism as a problem and promoting national languages as tools for unifying and building nations, while ignoring the reality of linguistic diversity and also the state of minority languages (Tollefson 1991). However, recent developments have channeled interest in language planning and development, and a change in thoughts about linguistic diversity, especially viewing it as a positive reality that enables people to remain in touch with their own history and cultural heritage, and also to restore inherited knowledge (Wright 2004).

There have been arguments about the terms 'language planning' and 'language management', as used in the field of LPP, especially with preferences of one term over the other. Spolsky (2009) for instance, argues against the use of the term

'language planning' in preference for 'language management' saying that the term planning carries negative connotations because it was used in the 1950s and 60s in the post-war era in the attempt to correct social problems. Sallabank (2011) on the other hand, argues that management also has connotations that imply a static approach and managing a status quo (not typical of the field of LPP), while planning has a more forward direction of events/thinking. I personally look at both terms as significant for the description and categorisation of the subject and practice of LPP and for this reason I will maintain the use of both terms, because of what both terms contribute to the subject, namely the state of dealing with or controlling the linguistic state of affairs (management) and the process of putting in place measures or practices in order to support languages (planning).

3.2 Orientations in language planning (Ruiz 1984)

Ruiz (1984) suggests that basic orientations towards language and its role in society influence the nature of language planning efforts in a particular context. He proposes three orientations; 'language as a problem', 'language as a right' and 'language as a resource'. The first two orientations have been predominant in the attitudes towards language planning in society internationally while the latter seems to be attracting less attention (see also Djité 2008). Earlier work on language planning seems to have taken on the approach of problem solving, especially with regard to multilingualism and its perceived associated problems. However, with the recent growing emphasis on minority rights and language endangerment, language as a right has gained much importance. The term 'orientations' in this sense was used to refer to common tendencies or attitudes towards 'language and its roles or languages and their role' in society, because as Ruiz (1984:4) puts it, these are basic to language planning. Orientations in language planning determine the way we look at language and the related language issues including which questions to ask and the conclusions we draw from the language situation. The different orientations towards language planning

result in different policy positions, and thus have significant impact on policy formulation.

3.2.1 Language as a problem orientation

As already mentioned, this attitude towards language in society tends to see local languages as the cause of problems, thus considering language planning as a way to solve such problems in order to 'correct the language situation'. Multilingualism, for instance, has been linked with problems such as lack of social cohesion, poverty, and other social problems. In this respect still, language as a symbol of ethnic identity has been viewed as the cause of ethnic conflicts, and minority languages as a disadvantage to their speakers. In contrast, monolingualism or assimilation to majority languages was seen as the ideal that would liberate the disadvantaged minority language groups (Fishman 1978). Luganda for example (as discussed in chapter four), use of the central variety (standardised and written) was emphasised, while other regional varieties such as Lusese or Lukooki were looked at as incorrect and as such were discouraged from being spoken in public. On the same token, English in Uganda has been emphasised in official public domains, especially in education, while local languages have been discouraged, because they are seen as disadvantageous to users, thought to prohibit attainment of good results in education, and consequently eventual success in life including attracting job opportunities. However, as noted by Haugen (1973: 40), language diversity is not a problem unless it is used as a basis for discrimination.

3.2.2 Language as a right orientation

This language orientation views local languages as a basic human and civil right. There are several examples of language rights that have been proposed (Ruiz 1984), some of which include effective participation in government. Effective participation in governmental programmes involves using the languages of

speakers in all programmes, thus enabling them to participate in processes like voting or elections, participating in political debates and other civil rights. It also includes the right to use ethnic languages in legal proceedings. Macais (1979 in Ruiz 1984) suggests two kinds of language rights, namely:

- The right and freedom to use your language without discrimination
- The right to use your own language(s) in the activities of community

Language rights affect a wide range of issues and formal processes including, as already mentioned, voting, civil service, education and examinations, judicial and administrative proceedings, public employment and the right to and enjoyment of personal freedom.

The use of most Ugandan languages in some domains like the courts of law can illustrate the language as a right orientation. As will be illustrated in chapters four and five, the use of Luganda or Luruuri in the courts of law is guided by the courts' principle that all people have a right to access the law in the language they understand (that is why the court provides translations into local languages), but not because of the ideology that the local languages possess a communicative function that will facilitate effective communication. If that was the case (that Ugandan languages are used in such domains because they possess a communicative function) then these courts of law would mainly conduct court sessions in these local languages. Another contributing factor to the emergence of the language-rights orientation is the concern for rights on a trans-national level, especially the protection of minority groups and their languages. However, seeking affirmation of these human rights often leads to confrontations between language activists and the governments involved. Confrontations also exist at the grassroots level between local activist groups or the local ethnic communities causing divisions, tension and hostility from some groups towards others, as illustrated by the case of Luruuli and Luganda. This is further discussed in chapters four and five.

3.2.3 Language as a resource orientation

The language as a resource orientation underlies language planning efforts that look at local languages as resources, not only for their speakers but for society as a whole. It assumes language is a resource to be managed, developed and conserved, a valuable asset and stock that can be drawn on, which makes multilingualism and bilingualism assets in any community (Bamgbose 2000). The logic of language planning is to recognise language as a societal resource due to the communication and identification values attached by the community to one or more languages (Jernudd & Das Gupta 1971). By viewing language as a resource, linguistic diversity is seen as an advantage to society because it increases the skills of society as a whole, in such situations as international communication. People skills or improved conceptual skills in science are also related to multilingual ability (Kessler & Quinn 1980 cited in Ruiz 1984) thus advantages from language.

Language as a resource orientation also helps to prevent inter-group conflicts, because if society recognises that language is a resource to be tapped and developed in order to attain higher skills and development, then people will need all languages available to them including the small and stigmatised languages since these are societal resources. Secondly, multilingualism will be a source of communal support and an enrichment of the socio-cultural life of a community. This is because, acquiring more than one language in such a situation will become a drive and a resource or trait to be sought after rather than a mistake that needs to be corrected (or a point of division and stigmatisation as has been alleged), thus contributing to social cohesion and cooperation. If language is a value system that guides society about how people live and relate to one another (Taylor 1996: 10 cited in Graham 2005) then multilingualism is useful to both the community and its individuals.

The language as a resource orientation also aims at helping to reshape attitudes towards languages and language groups, thus encouraging language maintenance which may enhance the status of subordinate groups who are typically the minority. This is also enhanced by the fact that in this orientation, language minority communities are regarded as important sources of expertise, thus bridging the status gap between high prestige and low prestige languages. However, this orientation has received criticism by scholars like Fishman (1974: 83) who argue that language is an odd kind of resource for cost-benefit theory to handle (as will be discussed later in this chapter), precisely because of the difficulty of measuring or separating it from other resources. However, I do believe that language is a resource that can be measured, probably not in the way land or other economic resources are measured but through the advantages it confers, like the communicative function and value enjoyed by its users (this is also supported by work on language and development, e.g. Djite (2008)).

Ruiz (1984) concludes by suggesting that language planning can benefit from a variety of approaches, although in some circumstances, some approaches are better than others. This is because different circumstances need different approaches, thus cooperative language planning efforts will benefit the linguistic situation. However, because the first two orientations (language as a problem and language as a right) promote ideologies that affect local languages in multilingual settings, including looking at multilingualism as a problem, the African language environment appears to be best understood and promoted through language as a resource planning. This will yield not only positive attitudes towards local languages (which will help to reverse the low esteem they are held in) but will also reduce tensions between local linguistic and ethnic groups.

3.3 The process of language planning

As discussed earlier, language planning is a process that involves activities aimed at changing linguistic behaviour. Haugen (1966) introduced a four stage

framework for describing the process of language planning. This framework looks at language planning as a linear, step by step process of implementing language changes as opposed to a haphazard unplanned way of making language changes. The framework suggests that language planning consists of four stages: Selection, codification, implementation and elaboration.

The process of language planning starts with choosing between a number of varieties, what Haugen (1987) refers to as linguistic alternatives. Most language planning activities involve choosing a linguistic form or variety over others and promoting them as the accepted norm. It is usually the prestigious dialect or the language of power which is selected to fulfil functions such as official or national or even administrative language. After selecting a variety or language, a standard form of the selected language or variety is created, a stage referred to as codification. Under this stage are the three sub-stages graphisation (development of writing systems), grammatication (process of writing grammars) and lexicalisation (process of word formation).

At the implementation stage, books, newspapers, and all kinds of written material are produced in the selected and newly codified language/variety. This stage also involves the introduction of this language to new domains and in many cases the education sector has been on top of the list to provide a learning environment for the language. Although it is linguists who are usually involved in the previous stages of selection and codification, it is usually the government which oversees implementation. Implementation measures range from encouraging and supporting the use of the selected and codified language, to vigorous legal enforcement of a language policy.

The last stage is elaboration which, as already mentioned, involves developing terminology and stylistics for the codified language to meet the continuing

communicative demands of modernity and technology. Elaboration involves producing and disseminating new terminology through a variety of methods including coining, direct translation, borrowing and many others.

The above four stage process of language planning is aimed at answering the question 'what do language planners do?' However, another model has been suggested to answer 'how language planners make their decisions?' One of the models suggested in the LPP literature is the 'Rational Choice Model' based on Jernudd and Das Gupta's (1971) characterisation of language as a natural resource that can be rationally and systematically planned. Within such a framework, language planning is seen as a decision making process in which conscious choices are made between alternatives. The decision procedure has five important steps:

- Problem identification and fact finding

- Specification of goals (development of a language policy)

- Production of possible solutions, cost-benefit analysis of the alternative solutions and rational choice of one solution (decision-making stage)

- Implementation of the solution

- Evaluation of the solution, that is, comparing the predicted and actual out-comes

The model is a problem solving model which considers language planning as a measure to solve language problems. The first step in the model is to identify them. Some of the common language problems experienced today by communities which need to use their languages in modern domains include lack of codification, modernisation and graphisation, especially of the unwritten languages. Problem identification is followed by fact finding, including conducting a national census or surveys to investigate issues such as patterns of

language use and choice; the degree of bilingualism; trilingualism and multilingualism and also, most importantly, language attitudes in a given speech community, which is key to the success or failure of any language policy and language planning activities. However, this stage has a number of limitations especially in the developing world, which severely affect the quality of language policies implemented. Financial constraints and also lack of time to conduct the necessary research in order to establish facts about language use in a country or community dominate the language planning experience (Rubin & Jernudd 1971, Mesthrie et al. 2009). Secondly, because of the complex nature of this subject, there is no guarantee that the surveys conducted will yield the required or needed answers as there may not be a straightforward answer to a simple question such as 'what is your mother tongue?' (Also see section 2.3.1).

After identifying problems, the language planners will go on to specify the aims and goals of their intervention, for instance, what their language plan aims to achieve in line with the earlier specified problems. This kind of specification is like a blueprint for the language planning activities which leads to the development of a language policy and a plan of action.

Stage three involves a cost-benefit analysis, which aims at identifying, quantifying and evaluating the monetary consequences of different business alternatives (Mesthrie et al. 2009: 383). Cost-benefit analysis encourages language planners to identify problems, specify goals and also to clarify the solutions and consequences. However, as has been mentioned already, scholars such as Fishman (1991) have argued that language is such a unique resource that it is not easy to calculate in monetary terms. Secondly, because many language planning activities are carried out over a long period of time, usually not defined by the language planners, accurately calculating the costs and benefits of such activities becomes complicated.

This Rational Choice Model has been criticised mainly because of its assumption that language planning activities are conducted by a central authority, which coordinates the process required for reaching a rational and informed decision. However, this has been viewed as Eurocentric because although language planning in the developed countries is often initiated and implemented by governments, in Africa language planning is usually done by non-governmental institutions like language academies and language societies formed by the elites and people with a passion for language. Secondly, language planning is a 'messy process, ad hoc, haphazard, and emotionally driven' (Cooper 1989: 41) and not a formal, rational, step by step process, and therefore this model fails to describe the reality and instead assumes an ideal situation.

3.4 Frameworks in language planning and language policy

Language planning activities mainly fall into two categories namely, those activities that attempt to modify the language itself and those that attempt to modify the environment in which it is used (Baldauf 2004, Hornberger 2006, and Ricento 2006). These classifications lay the foundation of the traditional frameworks proposed in the language policy and planning literature (Cooper 1989, Kaplan and Baldauf 2003, Baldauf 2004) which can be used for the analysis of the four language planning situations and experiences, (a) status planning, (b) corpus planning, (c) acquisition planning and (d) prestige planning.

3.4.1 Status planning

Status planning refers to the allocation of functions to languages or literacies in a given speech community. Status planning is mainly concerned with the choice of languages or varieties that will become the official or national language(s) of the community, or the medium of its institutions. Just as languages change over time, the functions these languages serve for particular communities also change (Cooper 1989). However, although most of the changes which occur in the

functional allocation of the community's languages are spontaneous, some language functional changes are deliberate and are a result of language planning. Some of the functions (or statuses) allocated to languages (Cooper, 1989) include:

- The official language which is a legally designated appropriate language for all politically and culturally representative purposes on a national basis. It can also be the language which a government uses as a medium for its day to day activities and for symbolic purposes (statutory, working and symbolic official languages). English and Swahili in Uganda are examples of languages allocated this function.

- The provincial function, where the language serves as a provincial or regional official language. In this situation the official function of a language is limited to a smaller geographical area such as a province and not the whole nation. The use of Bemba in the northern province of Zambia or Nyanja in the Eastern province is an example of the provincial function.

- The wider communication function fulfilled by a linguistic system that is predominant as a medium of communication across language boundaries within a nation. This can also be divided into indigenous and non indigenous languages of wider communication (Ferguson 1966). The use of Hindi in India and Swahili in Africa has been seen as good examples for this function.

- The international function: This is a function allocated to a linguistic system as a major medium of communication, which is international in scope. Such functions may include diplomacy and international relations, foreign trade and tourism. Status planning for languages as international languages of wider communication includes determining what foreign languages to teach in school.

- The capital function is a function of a linguistic system as a major medium of communication in the vicinity of a national capital.

The language spoken in the national capital is not always a result of planned status planning, because such locations are an important factor in language spread. However, the official language of the national capital may be or is usually planned. Luganda in the case of Uganda is the language that fulfils the capital function, and this is a result of unplanned processes (see chapter four, sections 4.4 and 4.5). Usually, a *de facto* capital language grows through urbanisation and often spreads to be the *de facto* national and prestige language

- The group function of a linguistic system is its use as a medium of communication among the members of a single cultural or ethnic group such as a tribe or a settled group of immigrants. A linguistic system with such a function may serve as an informal criterion for ascertaining group membership and identity.

- The educational function is another function that a linguistic system can fulfil as a medium of primary or secondary education, either regionally or nationally. This refers to languages other than those that have official or provincial function. It is the subject of the most common status planning activity, as educational systems always have to make formal choices about the medium of instruction for schools.

- The school subject function is where a language is commonly taught as a subject in secondary or higher education. The aim for such a function includes teaching students to read texts in a sacred script or to enable students to obtain employment requiring knowledge of a second language, among others.

- The literacy function is the use of a language for literary or scholarly purposes. Although a number of language planning activities are usually directed towards promoting literacy and scholarly functions, such efforts are usually unlikely to succeed because of factors such as ideologies and symbolism (Fishman 1982). This is so especially when those efforts are directed

towards the promotion of vernaculars as scholarly and literacy languages. This is mainly because, as discussed in chapter four, in the use of Luganda in the education domain language ideologies that exist in language planning and use have not favoured African languages to fulfil this function (see chapter four, section 4.6.3 for a more detailed discussion). However, Luganda as described in chapter four, used to fulfil this function in different parts of Uganda, e.g. Eastern Uganda.

- The religious function is where a language is used primarily in connection with a ritual of a particular religion. Many missionary organizations, for example, preferred to use local languages as the medium of instruction because they saw them as the best way to convert souls and to spread religion (Cooper 1989). Missionaries have also been (still are, e.g. SIL) responsible for providing writing systems (e.g. producing orthographies) throughout the world, and have been the first to carry out systematic analyses of many local languages.

- Cooper (1989) also identifies two further functions as targets of status planning and these are the work and mass media functions. This is where governments control the media, determining the languages in which the media is conveyed. Some governments would also determine how many hours of radio or television programming are broadcast in different languages. They may also determine the language of work through the constitution. In the 1970s for instance, the government of Uganda under the leadership of Idi Amin, declared Swahili as the official language and the language of media and daily interactions (Mazrui and Mazrui, 1998). Every journalist was ordered to speak Swahili.

It should also be noted that the association of such languages to these functions is usually as a result of indirect or unofficial (as *de facto* policies) processes, rather than direct and official processes, as implied in the above illustration. English for

instance is a formal work language (e.g. office and administration as opposed to working in a local market) in many African countries, and it carries this function without the involvement of any government planning.

However, although Cooper (1989) lists these functions as separate, in practice (as also experienced in the findings of this study), there is usually an overlap, with languages fulfilling several functions at the same time. Luganda, for instance, is a language that fulfils several functions including the provincial, wider communication, capital, group, and the school subject functions. English and Swahili (in Uganda) on the other hand, fulfil the official, the international/regional, the educational, and the school subject and literacy functions.

Status planning has taken different directions in different countries. In some countries, especially the 'state nations' (political states composed of diverse ethnicity or history, culture, norms), the process of status planning began with the growth of political and economic supremacy of a group within a particular territory (Wright, 2004). The language of the dominant ruling group typically became the language of exchange and the language of the capital. Its usage and spread were reinforced because of a number of reasons namely:

- Those who were ambitious learnt the language of power and mobility.

- Greater contact among fellow citizens changed language customs and practices thus enforcing the use of a dominant language.

- The ideology of nationalism persuaded the majority to accept the dominant language.

The official language in such contexts was not imposed by planning but the variety that became the *de facto* dominant language of a territory did so through a

protracted political process, developing with the political and economic strength of the speakers of that language and their influence (Wright 2004: 44).

In 'nation states' (political entities associated with people united by common descent, history, culture, or even language) however, status planning has been more overt than in the previous cases. In the earlier stages of struggles to achieve separate statehood, the question of a national language was central to the process, which led to more conscious policy making. Nationalist movements had to build a case to demonstrate that the group was distinct and should be treated as such. One of the elements that was (and still is) used to emphasise this separate identity was the choosing of a national or official language. Although there is a symbolic element in the choice of an official state language, its utilitarian purpose goes beyond the symbolic purpose in the way that other symbols such as a flag or an anthem do not. Apart from providing a common medium of communication to the nationals of any country, it also facilitates maintaining cultural identity, all of which cannot be fulfilled by other symbols like a flag.

Status planning is mainly the attempt by a government or anybody of authority to secure official recognition of a language or a variety. It may also include domain expansion where a language or variety that was only used, for example, at home is now used in legal and governmental fields. Status planning has been seen as an essential framework for success because it can cause revaluation of a previously low-status language if the status of that language is improved and, since governments are involved, more time, funds and resources are usually provided than those which private groups and individuals would have at their disposal (Edwards & Newcombe 2005a).

However, status planning has been criticised for being symbolic rather than functional and its effectiveness has been questioned when compared to grassroots

activism (see Kamwendo 2005, also Swahili in Uganda see chapter two and four). Secondly, it has been observed that it is the dominant languages that have taken over the status domain, as it has been easier for governments or the language planning bodies to promote official recognition of already dominant languages rather than of minority ones. In some cases, status planning has created apathy or resentment in speech communities, especially when the language policy decisions taken are not supported by people's attitudes and their language practices, as illustrated by the case of Luruuri and the earlier imposition of Luganda (see chapter five) or the mother tongue education policy (see sections 4.6.3 and 5.3.6).

3.4.2 Corpus planning

Corpus planning refers to the efforts directed towards developing the adequacy of the form or structure of a language. Such efforts are aimed at elaborating on language so that it can be used in all functional domains. Usually corpus planning is a stage that follows the implementation of status planning because when a language or a language variety is chosen for a communicative function that it has not served previously, the need for designing codes and structures to serve these functions arises. These are attempts by authorities to modify or document a language or a variety. According to Wright (2004: 48), although this language intervention is primarily top-down it is largely successful, which is unusual as most top-down language policy and language planning (such as local language education in Africa) are usually ineffective. One usually successful element of corpus planning is standardisation and orthography development which, as will be seen in the study of both Luganda and Luruuri, has met minimal resistance as people are usually very eager and excited to write their languages. However, it should be noted that, like other language planning initiatives, successful corpus planning (e.g. acceptance of the orthography and the actual use of it) can only be attained if the planners work with communities at a grassroots level. Not doing so may lead to inadequate, unsuitable or unusable orthographies, a factor which according to Richard Nzogi, a SIL official (personal communication, 14th July

2010), has affected many Ugandan languages. Corpus planning activities may include one or a set of the following: Standardization, graphisation, codification, orthography development, modernisation/elaboration and terminology development, production of dictionaries, grammars and language learning materials (see also section 3.3). These aspects of corpus planning are discussed in more detail in what follows.

Standardisation

Standardisation is the process of developing and agreeing upon the literary or standard form of a language. It is the process of acceptance of one variety of a language throughout the speech community as a supra-dialectal norm (Ferguson 1968: 31). A standard language is one that has a single, widely accepted norm which is felt to be appropriate, with only minor modifications or variations for all purposes for which the language is used (Ferguson 1962); even though this is only an ideal, as Ferguson puts it (1962: 10), because it is quite impossible to secure perfect uniformity (Cooper 1989). The standard form is usually the basis for a literary language which lets all speakers or readers understand everyone who communicates in that language. Standardisation occurs when a language is put to a wider range of functions than previously and is used in wider contexts, typically for the spread of literacy, education, government and administration, and in the expansion of the media (Mesthrie et al. 2009).

In the case of the presence of many dialects or varieties of the same language, standardisation involves deciding on a variety that will allow all speakers (of the different dialects) to communicate effectively and understand each other. Standardised, written languages are often held in higher esteem than non-written ones. By language standardisation linguists usually mean the written codification of a particular spoken language or dialect with the aim of establishing this language as the dominant means of communication for a given group or territory, usually also reflecting economic or political power. Standardisation denotes several levels of overcoming dialectal differences and also entails prescriptivism, especially in education. It also includes consideration, not only of which variety to choose, but also of which domains the language should be promoted in.

The aim of corpus planning at the national level is for citizens to exhibit minimal variation of form in terms of language use and maximum variation of function of a particular variety. This means that there should be a minimum of misunderstanding within the community of communication and a maximum of efficiency in all areas of national life. However, standardisation has been criticised especially because it imposes use of a particular variety over others such that language diversity is destroyed.

Graphisation

Graphisation is the first step in corpus planning. Graphisation is the development of a writing system for a previously unwritten language, in other words it reduces a language to writing (Ferguson 1968). In such efforts, answers to questions with regard to issues like which writing system to use and whether to use an existing system or to invent a new script are crucial to the success of corpus planning. If the planner(s) decides to invent a new script, other questions that are also crucial will arise including choosing between a syllabary, in which each symbol represents a syllable, or an alphabet system in which each letter/sound represents a phoneme. There are several issues and factors that corpus planners need to consider in order to develop an effective and adequate writing system, for example how easy the system is to learn, to read and to write or to reproduce by modern printing techniques. However, the acceptability of the writing system may also be influenced by sociolinguistic factors like religious affiliation or demands for similarity with or difference from the writing system of another language (Cooper 1989: 129).

Codification

Codification is the process of standardising and developing a norm for a language. It also includes language documentation and description for less studied languages. Codifying a language can vary from case to case and also depends on the stage of standardisation that already exists. It means developing a writing system, setting up official rules for grammar, orthography, pronunciation, and syntax, and publishing grammar books, dictionaries and similar materials that

provide guidelines for the use of a language. Like other corpus planning measures, it is usually undertaken by a body constituted by the state, such as academies, which are key institutions for conscious planning, or even individuals, especially linguists. Imposition of the national standard throughout the national territory is achieved through codification and standardisation of orthography and grammar by central bodies. However, even where there are no formal academies, there may still be efforts towards corpus planning in that dictionaries and grammars may be produced by elites to promote the norm throughout the territory (Wright 2004). Codification often happens due to new inventions, changes in values or other cultural influences that take place in a society which may require a language to be styled up to fit the new inventions.

Orthography/Spelling/Literacy

A written form is necessary in order to teach a language beyond oral communication and to use that language in various domains of formal function. Since the major aim of corpus planning is to make the functions of language broader, this can only be successful if the spelling system to be used is agreed upon. The lack of an accepted orthography makes it difficult for linguists to produce documentation, and for the language to be used in formal sectors like education. This is another aspect of graphisation because after choosing a writing system, the orthography and spellings are then developed in order to facilitate the language's written form.

Elaboration/Modernisation

This refers to the process through which a language becomes an appropriate medium of communication for modern topics and forms of discourse (Cooper 1989). If a language is to be used for any purpose, it has to contain vocabulary to express the necessary concepts for the functions it is set out for. In other words, new knowledge and technology demand new terms. Elaboration includes developing new terminology or vocabulary. This can be achieved through borrowing, invention or direct translation. In many African languages for instance, there have been attempts to counter the incursion of English terms by

the conscious development of terminology to provide language in areas where new concepts are entering national life, such as in scientific research or democratic governance and technology. However, as argued by Cooper (1989: 154), modernisation (and also standardisation) is an ongoing process among even the most 'developed' of languages. In this respect, central planning has not always proved effective while grassroots or unplanned innovation is often highly successful.

Corpus planning has been used as a measure of differentiation of languages. Kloss (1967) introduced the terms Ausbau *(Ausbausprachen)* and Abstand (*Abstandsprachen)* to explain the linguistic dimensions of difference among languages (Wright 2004: 48). *Abstandsprachen* are languages by differentiation, they are naturally different, clearly differentiated from others. *Ausbausprachen* on the other hand are languages by elaboration, planned by emphasising features which help to distinguish a language from the related languages or varieties.

Abstand languages are not closely related to neighbouring ones and such languages are clearly identifiable as separate from those around them. Ausbau languages, on the other hand, started out as dialects on a continuum and if they have come to be recognised as languages distinct from dialects adjacent to them, this has been so because they have gone through or experienced a process of elaboration and extension in a number of domains and registers that has not happened to neighbouring varieties. Corpus planning however helps such languages to emphasise features that distinguish them from related languages and also gain political recognition (through status planning) for languages whose speakers are politically independent. It is easier for a variety to develop into an *Ausbausprache* and this is also linked to struggles of political independence (Kloss 1952).

3.4.3 Acquisition planning

Acquisition planning is also referred to as language in education planning and these are the language planning efforts directed towards influencing the allocation of users or the distribution of languages by means of creating and improving opportunities to learn them. It refers to the organised efforts to promote the learning of a language (Cooper 1989). These are the policies and strategies introduced to improve citizens' competence in the language designated as 'national', 'official' or medium of education (Wright 2004: 61). This also includes the choice of foreign languages to be taught in school. In some places revitalisation or maintenance of endangered languages through schools is also a measure of acquisition planning, where schools are used to promote the revival and use of these languages.

Examples of goals of acquisition planning (Cooper 1989) include acquiring a language as a second or foreign language, reacquisition of a language by a population for whom it was once a vernacular and language maintenance in order to prevent further erosion of a language, since maintaining language acquisition ensures its use by the next generation. The methods usually employed to attain the above goals include the creation and improvement of the opportunity and incentive to learn. The opportunity to learn methods can also be divided into direct and indirect methods. Direct methods include classroom instruction, provision of materials for self instruction and radio and television programmes in the target language, while indirect methods include shaping and remodelling the learners' mother tongue so that it is more similar to the target language than in its original form.

In nationalist ideology education is viewed to be the business of the state and a national affair. In order to cultivate social cohesion and vertical national integration policies like 'education for all' through the standard national or official language are implemented. In such a case therefore, education is not

solely aimed at facilitating individual children's development, but a national system that includes inculcation of national unity, social cohesion and acquisition of a national language and a national identity (Cooper 1989). For instance in ex-colonial countries, which are mostly multilingual, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic, languages like English or French are often used as the only languages in education. One of the reasons often given for this is to promote unity while limiting or avoiding inter-ethnic friction and to also increase access to knowledge and other resources mainly accessible in English. However, the policy has been criticised as the source of persistent problems like high illiteracy levels, low economic development, problems in governance and many others (Djite 2008, Wolff 2006).

It has now become common knowledge that children learn most effectively in their home language, with quite a number of advantages, including skills advancement and motivation to learning (Alidou et al. 2006). In many African countries, for instance, there has recently been a move towards introducing a mother-tongue language policy in education where school children are introduced to learning in their home language as opposed to using English, French, Portuguese or some other national language as a language of instruction which for a long time had been the common pattern on the continent (Batibo 2005, Alidou et al. 2006).

3.4.4 Prestige and image planning (Kaplan & Baldauf 2003)

Finally, prestige (image) is another type of language planning that is significant for successful language planning and policy implementation, especially for minority languages. The main task of 'prestige planning' is to promote a positive view of language(s). It is intended to challenge negative attitudes towards languages and internalised ideologies of deficit, and is necessary for other aspects of language planning and management such as orthography reforms or standardisation and language education policies to succeed. The term 'prestige planning' was coined by Haarmann (1984, 1990) to define activities aimed at

promoting a positive attitude towards a particular language. In prestige language planning it is argued that it is not only the content of planning activities that is important, but also the acceptance of the planning efforts which is its main concern. Language planning in this framework mainly involves promoting the acceptance of a low status language or variety as a legitimate mode of expression, and provision of opportunities for speakers and learners to use it (Sallabank 2005). One of the activities of grassroots prestige language planning is the organisation of language festivals which are one of a few forums for speaking and hearing these languages or varieties publicly. However, macro-prestige planning may involve governments conducting campaigns to educate the public about new policies in order to create their acceptance of these (e.g. the case of Somali, see section 6.3).

3.4.5 Approaches to language planning

Two approaches to language planning have been introduced in the language policy and language planning literature, especially by Neustupný (1974). The two approaches include the policy planning approach (on form) and the cultivation planning approach (on function). According to Haugen (2006), the policy planning approach attends to matters of society and nation at the macroscopic level, emphasising distribution of languages and literacies and is mainly concerned with standard languages. In contrast, a cultivation planning approach (on function) is seen as attending to matters of languages or literacies on a microscopic level, emphasising ways of speaking or writing. Among the activities grouped under the policy planning approach in status planning are officialisation, nationalisation, standardisation of languages and also proscription of languages in particular domains; while cultivation planning approach activities include language revival, maintenance and spread, interlingual, international and intra-national communication.

3.4.6 The Language Management Theory (Spolsky 2009)

In this section I introduce language management theory as described by Spolsky (2009) and I will discuss this in detail as it will be important for my analysis of language planning in Uganda. Although Spolsky provides an account of the processes of language management at different levels and in different domains, like the family, work place, or the religious domain, in this section I mainly discuss the family domain as it is central to language planning or management and it exemplifies the forces that may come into play in the different domains of public or social space.

The theory of language management (LMT) refers to a wide range of acts of attention to 'language problems' including problems arising in language in the narrow sense (e.g. its syntax, its vocabulary, e.t.c.) but also in the broader sense to include all language use and language contact settings (Neustupný & Nekvapil 2003). According to Spolsky (2009), language policy is all about choices, about languages, language varieties or dialects, styles and even registers to be used in different settings. If a person is bilingual or plurilingual, this person has to choose which language(s) to use in a particular situation. However, this does not mean that monolinguals have nothing to choose from because they will have to choose which dialects or styles to use from the inventory. This choice can range from lexical items or grammatical patterns, dialects or styles to spellings and punctuation (in writing), or sounds and pronunciations (in speech), which all together constitute recognised languages. The choice of which language, dialect or sound to be pronounced or used may be chosen willingly or imposed/ dictated by certain language situations. The goal of a theory of language planning according to Spolsky is to account for the choices made by individual speakers on the basis of rule governed patterns recognised by the speech community of which they are members. Some of these choices are a result of management, reflecting the conscious and explicit efforts to control the choices. Jernudd & Neustupný (1987) refer to language management as a range of activities or acts of paying attention to 'language problems' which may include the whole language

problems (in the narrow sense of language like lack of orthography) and also additional problems that affect issues like discourse, politeness and communication in intercultural contact situations.

The theory of language management (Spolsky 2009) is mainly based on two assumptions:

- While language policy is intended to account for individual choices, it is a social phenomenon, depending on the beliefs and consensual behaviours of members of a speech community.

- Language policy has three interrelated but independently describable components namely, practices, beliefs and management.

Language management in this model is analysed through observation and analysis of language use in different domains. Spolsky argues that each domain or social space, like a home, a school, church, or a workplace has its own policy, with some features managed internally and others under the influence of forces external to the domain. For instance, language management in the family is partly under the control of the family members with choices made by the language managers (who in this particular case will be the parents or the guardians), but its goals are regularly influenced by the outside community. A usual example of this situation is the influence from the language in education policies, where parents adopt languages used at school in their homes with the aim of improving their children's performance at school or to fit in the society. Secondly, regular language choices made by an individual are determined by his or her understanding of what is appropriate to the domain. The idea of a domain was introduced by Fishman (1972), and according to him a domain is defined by three characteristics, namely participants, location and topic; where the participants are characterised by their social roles and relationships in a particular setting.

In the family domain for example, participants are labelled with kinship terms like father, mother, brother, sister, aunt or uncle, grandfather or grandmother, while in the school it is the typical roles: Teacher, pupil/student, principal. In the work place we have participants as bosses, employees, employers, foremen, workers, clients or customers. However, in some circumstances, because we participate in these different domains on a daily basis, for instance, you might be a parent and a teacher and a catechist in your church, an individual may be a participant of different roles in different domains which can be conflicting. This leads to questions like how do I speak to my son if he is my employer. Or a situation that I experienced when I was growing up, how do I speak to my parent (mother) who is my teacher?

A domain has a typical location which is usually its name. A domain connects social and physical reality with people and places. The physical aspects of the location are also relevant in describing a domain. For instance, the country-side has fewer obvious places for sign posts than the city. However, it is argued in this model that social meaning and the interpretation of the location where the participants are, is very relevant to language choice. In other words, participants may use different languages or varieties depending on the location and the social relationship between participants. The discomfort at the lack of congruity between participant and location can be an interesting case in point, for instance when 'introducing my professor to my parents at home' (Spolsky 2009:3). Another aspect typical for a domain is selection of a topic. Selection of topic involves asking questions about what is appropriate to talk about in a particular domain. For instance, it has been noted that employers and employees usually switch languages when they turn from business discussions to social matters.

This exemplifies appropriateness of aspects like subject of conversation or discussion and social relationship to language choice. Spolsky mentions communicative function as another element of a topic, in topic selection, and it

means the participants' reason for speaking or writing about such a topic. Regular language choices made by an individual are determined by his/her understanding of what is appropriate to the domain and what is not, and such understanding is based on consensual linguistic behaviour in a community. For instance, which language or variety is appropriate to use at home, at one's work place with employers or with employees, or in the city with a stranger asking for directions.

The second assumption of LMT is the interrelationship and interdependence of the three components of language policy mentioned earlier: Language practices, language beliefs and language management or planning. Language practices are the observable behaviours and choices by participants with regard to the use of language or the linguistic features or a variety chosen. This is what people actually do with their languages. This is what Spolsky (2009) calls the 'real policy', although participants may be reluctant to admit that it is the policy.

Language beliefs on the other hand, are the values or firmly held opinion or conviction about a named language, varieties and features. For example, a variety that is associated with one's principal membership group, like one's nation, ethnic heritage, educational class and others is likely to have the highest value for that person while some other varieties may be stigmatised or low status because of their perceived minimal value. The status of a language may be derived from factors like the number of people using the language, the importance of the users or the socio-economic benefits from using the language. It should be noted that although they sound almost similar, language belief is not the same as language practice: Language beliefs do not directly imply language practices as people may continue using particular varieties despite holding hostile beliefs. The use of a stigmatised or minority language like Luruuri despite the negative attitudes towards it is an example of this.

Language management (or planning) on the other hand, is the explicit and observable effort by a person or a group that claims authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs (Spolsky 2009). Neustupný, Jernudd & Nekvapil (1997), propose that language management starts with the individual and this kind of language management is what they call 'simple language management', while organised language management ranges from a micro level (e.g. individual or a family level) to the macro (such as a nation-state) level. The most obvious form of organised language management is a law established by a nation state determining aspects of the official use of language. Another common example is the requirement to use a specific language as the language of instruction in schools. Language management on a micro level like in a family domain may be exemplified by examples of immigrant parents deciding to (or not to) maintain their language.

The theory of language management assumes that each of these three components constitutes forces which help account for language choice. Language beliefs, for instance, explain the values that help to account for individual choices, while language practices on the other hand facilitate language learning and proficiency, and thus establish necessary conditions for language choice. However, of the three components of language policy, language practice is the cardinal factor because it provides the individual with proficiency in a particular language which is needed, or which facilitates the choice of which language is used. A language cannot be used or chosen if the speakers are not proficient in it, even if the attitudes or beliefs are positive. As Spolsky (2009: 6) argues, proficiency in a language, whether spoken or written, sets a necessary limit for language choice, and provides an instrument for implicit language management. Members of a monolingual family for instance, are limited in possibilities and choice which are open to a bilingual or a trilingual family. However, the other two components are also crucial in language choice because the beliefs of a person about a variety or language, which are based on perceptions of its use or users, affect or account for their language management decisions. This influence or change can also be

external however as a consequence of societal influences or the effects of prestige planning.

This multilevel analysis portrays the complexity of language policy and planning and the different language practices, beliefs and management choices at the lower levels, which need to be taken into consideration for successful central language planning. This model entails a number of defined speech communities (a group of people sharing a language or a variety), social levels, and domains, ranging from the family through various social structures up to and including nation states and supranational groupings, each of which has the pressures of language choice, provided by internal and external language practices, language belief systems and ideologies, and language management efforts. Spolsky recognises the difficulty in accounting for human behaviour such as language use and thus suggests the importance of social networks as principal components that need to be taken into consideration in accounting for language-behavioural conventions.

3.5 Language use in the different domains of a speech community

The concept 'speech community' is used in this study but it should be noted that it is now challenged because of the increased mobility of populations. Although language planning or management may occur at different levels including the macro (the national level and above), micro (small organisations/grassroots), and meso (the intermediate stage) levels, and also many other levels in an unplanned way, it has become evident that higher level planning, e.g. by central government, often fails to accommodate the existence of policies on other levels. However, that does not mean that these levels or their management efforts do not exist. Actually, their existence most of the time dictates the success or failure of the language management efforts from the higher level. A good example is one that Spolsky (2009) cites of the efforts of the Malaysian government to establish Bahasa Melayu as a national language in the official and educational domains which has not prevented the spread of English in domains like the business

world. Another example is the situation of some African states or nations insisting on English or French as the official/national languages, while at the grassroots level, and in unofficial domains, local languages continue to be used. This has not made the situation any better in terms of better education, better health conditions and political and economic stability. The struggle to establish and implement Swahili as an official language by the central government of Uganda up to today exemplifies a contradiction of language policy and practices that existed on different levels in the country. As discussed in chapter four, Swahili has in the past been resisted by Ugandans mainly from the central region, and its success as the country's second official language today is questioned by the position of languages like Luganda at the grassroots.

Spolsky acknowledges the existence of external forces outside particular domains and their ability to influence language choice and practices in these domains. Practically, individuals are participants in several domains of a community, which means they are familiar with the language practices and beliefs of a number of different domains. They also have different roles in different domains which gives them reasons to favour the values of one domain when they are in another. This however provides insight into language management decisions and language choices that such an individual will make. People who, for example, travel to cities for better opportunities often return to their places of origin with the city lingua franca which is then learnt by others in the village as a prestigious language. Language management also provides examples where language practices are imposed on to lower domains such as in the one mentioned earlier where a school language policy influences language use in a home domain.

3.5.1 Simple and organised language management

Before we tackle language management in a family, we need to first define the two elements of language management, 'simple' and 'organised', which according to Jernudd & Neustupný (1987) are crucial in the theory of language

management. According to them, language problems originate from simple management from which language management is transferred to organised management. Simple language management, or individual language management, refers to managing language problems as they appear in individual communication acts like spellings or pronunciation while organised language management on the other hand occurs at different levels, with more than one person participating in the process. According to Jernudd & Neustupný, language management starts with an individual deviating from the norm in a communication act. In this situation, the norm is flexible and subject to continuous adjustment, which is the definition of Fishman's (1991) social space. In other words, a person performing a communicative act realises s/he has made a mistake (deviated from the norm) which may be wrong pronunciation, wrong grammar or any mistake in language use.

The deviation may be noted (sometimes followed by immediate correction), which may later be evaluated and an adjustment plan selected which may then be implemented. This may include attending language classes, or conscious efforts to choose the right words. However, language management at the individual level also involves more complex elements of management such as language choices or language planning agency (see sections 4.5 and 6.5.1). If more than one person is participating in the process of correcting 'language problems', e.g. drawing a plan of action, then that is the organised management which is a more complex level than the simple one. However, simple and organised language management are not independent of each other, because decisions taken at the simple language management level can affect language management at the organised level (e.g. the story of Eliezer ben Yehuda and his contribution to the revival of Hebrew by permitting only Hebrew and not any other language to be spoken in his home, Spolsky 2009). But also decisions taken at the organised language management level can directly influence simple language management, for example, the use of the official language of the school or a work place by an individual in other domains.

3.5.2 The family and language management

In describing the theory of language management, I chose to talk about language management in the family domain because this domain is very central in language management, directly and indirectly influenced by other domains of language use. It is the domain that initially influences or moulds one's language use. As already mentioned, language management involves choices made by language managers who have authority and power over others to influence them in terms of language behaviour and attitudes by choosing which language(s) to use. In the family unit, parents determine which languages their children will acquire and speak. Although a family has different definitions, in this section I focus my attention on a traditional nuclear family. Usually, it is the parents' and especially the mother's responsibility to pass on the language to children. As Fishman (1991) argues, intergenerational transmission is an individual decision made by parents which comes as a result of their choices with regard to the language behaviour of their children. However he recognises the influence of societal and institutional factors which are crucial in influencing parental decisions.

With such conscious decisions to determine what language(s) the child or children would speak in a home come positive results like increased language vitality and language maintenance through intergenerational transmission, which is all facilitated by home use of the particular languages; or instead effects such as language shift, endangerment or even loss. Different efforts or methods have been adopted by parents to manage their children's language behaviour including preparing their children for school by speaking a standard language at home (with the belief that the children will have less difficulty in acquiring the formal language when it comes to school time) or by strictly controlling the home environment and banning other languages, allowing only the target language to be spoken. Some parents have changed homes or environments taking their

children to places where there are speakers of the target language (e.g. a Teso speaking parent who took his child back to the village to live with grandparents away from the Luganda speaking environment (Sprenger-Tasch 2003) while avoiding places that will influence language behaviour.

However, although as Spolsky mentions, language choice for couples who speak the same language at this level of management is easier (in that it is not an issue or it is straightforward), because of limited choices, if these parents speak different varieties or if they speak a language different from the area language then language management becomes an issue. The influence of external forces therefore and the influences from the different domains of language use will affect the language management decisions even with parents who speak the same language. Secondly, because children's language follows different developmental patterns, parents usually correct their children since they have more knowledge of the conventions of the language than their children. This may include simple pronunciation corrections, vocabulary or complex sentences or discourses. But children may also choose to speak in a certain way, as part of their own linguistic identity, thereby making language management choices.

For bilingual and plurilingual parents, the choice is much wider and more complex if we consider all these factors. This still comes back to the parents to make a decision about which language(s) should be acquired by their children, and these decisions will depend on reasons influenced by ideology and attitudes. Spolsky (2009) mentions a common practice for bilingual parents deciding to each speak a preferred language with the child with the belief that young children will learn a language more easily if it is associated with a specific speaker. In some cases, however, this preferred language is the prestigious or status language (e.g. English in Uganda) which is preferred for status reasons (e.g. to look posh or stylish), but also to increase the chances of the children's success in education and in life (e.g. getting a good job).

External influences on a family play a crucial role in determining the success of language management in the family. These external forces may include peers, the social neighbourhood, or school policies: 'As long as the home domain is closed, parents have the power to manage the language of their children but once it becomes open to the outside pressures of peers and schools, the family becomes the site of language conflict that reflects conflict in the outside society, with children often rejecting their parents' language' (Spolsky 2009: 22). Other important aspects that influence language choice in a home are the status of the family (the managers) and the status of the language chosen (or pending to be chosen) in the wider community. Lower status families are more prone to choosing the language of wider communication over their ancestral (minority) language because of the advantages that may come with it as opposed to high status families. In the same respect, a language of a higher status is more likely to be chosen by parents over a language of a lower status as illustrated by the case of Luganda and Luruuri in chapters four and five, if these parents have competence in the language.

In conclusion, language management in the family domain begins when the parents or any family member with authority decides to make certain decisions about the language choice and use of other family members, usually children but also other family members. These decisions may be aimed at correcting the unsatisfying language performance or proficiency (for instance if children no longer speak their mother tongue) or modifying the existing language practices. Language management in the family domain is a crucial element of language planning and policy and a central feature that determines language maintenance. The family is the beginning and end of many language planning activities, and the end result of the whole process as many language planning activities aim at changing language behaviour in a family (Spolsky 2009). The language revival campaigns for instance, aim at reviving and achieving intergenerational transmission of endangered languages, which is an aspect of language use that

goes back to families and if families fail to speak the language in question then the language revival efforts cannot be considered successful.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter I have provided the theoretical background to the study of language policy and planning in Uganda presented in the following chapter. I have discussed the key terms and concepts in language planning and policy and have introduced different theoretical language planning models which are the basis of analysing language policy and planning processes. I have also discussed the language management theory by Spolsky (2009) which provides the main basis for the analysis in my study.

Chapter Four

The sociolinguistics of main area languages in Uganda: The case of Luganda

In this chapter, I describe the use of Luganda in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Uganda, showing the case of a language used as a national lingua franca, spoken by the majority of Ugandans as the second language next to English. In this brief account, I explain the forces behind the promotion of Luganda as a main area language and a *de facto* national language. However, despite the strength of Luganda in various domains of use, the language has failed to attain official and national status in the country, and is still struggling in the area of prestige planning**.**

4.1 Introduction

Luganda is a Bantu language, from the larger family of Niger-Congo, spoken primarily in south eastern Uganda (Buganda region), along the shores of Lake Victoria, up north towards the shores of Lake Kyoga. Luganda is spoken by the biggest linguistic group in Uganda, the Baganda who constitute 18% of the population (4,130,000 people) (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2005, Lewis 2009). It is the most widely spoken indigenous language and the most widely spoken second language next to English. Baganda are both numerically and geographically the primary ethnic group of the capital city of Uganda, Kampala. Although this is the primary area of use for Luganda, its use has spread to other parts of the country, mainly in the urban centres, where it is used as a business language, a prestige language and also as the medium of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication. Luganda has several dialects, which include Lusese, spoken in the Ssese Islands found in Lake Victoria, Lukooki spoken in the region towards the Uganda-Tanzania border, and Lunabuddu spoken in Masaka district and Luvuma. As will be described further in the following sections, despite the

strength in the use of Luganda, all its dialects apart from the central standard dialect are severely endangered and some like Lukooki and Lusese are almost extinct (Lewis 2009).

The variety spoken in the central, capital area is the standard variety which is used in official domains, learnt at school, and also used in traditional settings plus all official dealings of the kingdom of Buganda. Among the other varieties of Luganda is an urban-youth language which has become increasingly popular. This variety is commonly known as *Luyaaye*, a word which in the past had negative connotations referring to the manner or language of a person who increasingly becomes involved in crime. But today the youth use the term *muyaaye* to refer to a 'friend' or 'mate'. This variety has become increasingly popular with young people, and the urban population especially because of its solidarity and in-group functions. The variety has also become popular with the urban hip-hop music, which has played a part in reducing the negative attitudes. The language receives a weekly newspaper column in the popular Luganda daily 'Bukedde newspaper' under the title '*Munakibuga Omuyaaye*' which writes about how people in cities like Kampala use language.

This chapter is arranged into the following sections: Section 4.2 and 4.3 provide background information about Buganda, the region where Luganda is spoken as the mother tongue in the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial state. Section 4.4 provides a historical account of language policy and the language practices looking at the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial use of Luganda. In 4.5 then I look at the official and non-official language planning and management of Luganda while 4.6 looks at the use of Luganda in the different domains of language use, analysing current language practices. Section 4.7 discusses the language attitudes and official policy setbacks and finally section 4.8 concludes the chapter.

4.2 Buganda: Pre-colonial times

The kingdom of Buganda is located in the south-central region of Uganda, astride the equator, and at the source of the great river Nile. The kingdom of Buganda is the largest of the traditional kingdoms in present day Uganda and is home to the nation's political and commercial capital, Kampala. The current King of Buganda is King Ronald Mutebi II, who became the 36th king of the kingdom in 1993 after years without kingdoms in Uganda which had been abolished by the former president, President Milton Obote (Hancock 1970, Karlstrom 2001). The Kingdom of Buganda emerged as a clan-based state on the shores of Lake Victoria over 700 years ago, with originally only six clans (Ssewanyana 2008). During this time, Buganda was not uniform in culture, language and even clans like it is today. History suggests that present day Buganda had heterogeneous origins mainly due to various waves of migration (Kiwanuka 1965: 116). Below is a map of Uganda showing the location of the kingdom of Buganda.

Figure 7: Map of Uganda showing the location of the kingdom of Buganda
(Buganda government: www.buganda.com)

Figure 8: Map of Buganda showing the different counties and regions

(Buganda government: www.buganda.com)

During the pre-kingdom era, Buganda was composed of unorganised groups of people with a few original people who resided in isolated communities or clans, but each organised by a chief who was not obliged to be loyal to other chiefs of

the different clans or communities in the region (Mukherjee 1985: 89). They had not been united into a single political entity but were organised into groups called *ebika* (clans) which until today are the most important traditional and political units in Buganda's culture. The clan leaders known as *abataka*, ruled over their respective clans and all clans were equal, no single one was superior to another.

Kintu was the first King of Buganda, whose origin has been traced to different places including Mount Elgon (Eastern Uganda), the Western Nilotic Luo speaking region and also Bunyoro (Reid 2002, Kaggwa 1927, Green 2010). Kintu amalgamated and unified these clans into one organised political and ethnic entity (Buganda) which became one of the largest and most powerful kingdoms in East Africa. Kintu later abandoned the kingdom, left the throne vacant and disappeared when he felt he couldn't handle the pressure of defending the throne and keeping the kingdom united (Wright 1971: 191). He was then succeeded by his son King Chwa I Nabakka who ruled Buganda until towards the end of the thirteenth century. These two kings, Kato-Kintu and his son Chwa Nabakka, are the founders or fathers of Buganda, and as Mukherjee (1985) puts it, Kintu and Chwa were the precursors of monarchy in Buganda rather than fully fledged kings themselves.

For the first 200 years of its discernible history, Buganda remained a comparatively small and insignificant kingdom, prone to attacks from its strong neighbour, Bunyoro (Reid 2002). In these days Buganda was like a distant appendage of the kingdom of Bunyoro Kitara, and it is during the time of King Kimera who was the third king (1275-1330) that Buganda was able to gain full independence from the Bunyoro kingdom (Mukherjee 1985: 89, Ssewanyana 2008). However, during the 17th century, the kingdom embarked on a territorial expansionist policy and developed a centralized political system. By the early nineteenth century, Buganda had reached its greatest territorial extent, from the original three counties of Kyaddondo, Busiro and Mawokota to gaining more

counties mainly from the Bunyoro kingdom including Buddu, Gomba, Busujju, Kyagwe, Kooki, Ssese, Buvuma, Kkooki and Kabula (Reid 2002).

4.3 Buganda: Colonial and post colonial times

By the nineteenth century, Buganda was at a higher stage of development than any other society in Uganda (Mukherjee 1985). At the beginning of King Muteesa I's reign (1856-1884) Buganda had a complex and highly bureaucratic socio-political structure as reported by several Europeans who passed through Buganda in various capacities between the 1870s and 1880s (Reid 2002). Mukherjee (1985) describes Buganda during this time as a society living under a central monarchy with governmental machinery resembling a feudal system. However, it should be noted that before the British arrived in Buganda, Arabs and also Nubians had already visited this land for different purposes including trade and commerce (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998, Mukherjee 1985: 93). The kingdom had clearly developed, with high standards of living, and with well developed infrastructure including roads and bridges with central governance to manage this all.

The government included royal tax collectors as well as armies that travelled swiftly to all parts of the kingdom and to newly conquered lands, plus a royal navy of outrigger canoes on Lake Victoria. John Hanning Speke (1827–1864) was the first European person to come to Buganda in 1862. He was followed by missionaries, who arrived in Buganda in 1877. However, after the death of King Muteesa I in 1884 and the eventual succession of his son King Mwanga II, the kingdom went into an era of unrest as the new king failed to manage the affairs of the kingdom like his father had (Wright 1971). The religious camps (both Christians and Moslems) broke into rivalry. The king failed to contain the situation and he therefore attempted to put a ban on all foreign religions. Many of the converts were martyred during 1885-1887 because they refused to follow Mwanga, saying they had a superior king in heaven. Eventually, the king lost all

popularity and support from his subjects. During this period, the religious groups became political affiliations and they attacked and overthrew King Mwanga in 1888.

With the help of Captain Frederick Lugard who was the officer in command of East Africa, Britain took over Buganda, taking advantage of political unrest. Britain then allied with Buganda and began to enlarge their claim by conquering the rest of present day Uganda. While other regions in Uganda like Bunyoro resisted colonisation, the chiefs of Buganda collaborated with British colonialists to invade and colonise these areas. It is during this period that the formation of the Ugandan protectorate took place. Because Buganda collaborated with Britain, the Buganda chiefs negotiated a separate deal with the colonial masters, granting the kingdom a large measure of autonomy and self-governance within a larger protectorate. As a result of the negotiations, one half of Bunyoro's conquered territory was awarded to Buganda. However, in 1964 after Uganda's independence from Britain, these counties reverted back to Bunyoro following a referendum in these particular counties (Kiwanuka 1965). During British colonial rule (1894–1962) Buganda was incorporated into the larger colony of the Ugandan Protectorate. Buganda chiefs offered services during the colonial period as administrators over their recently conquered neighbours, as local tax collectors and labour organisers in areas such as Kigezi, Mbale, and Bunyoro. Wherever they went, they insisted on exclusively using their language, Luganda, and on planting bananas, their staple food (Reid 2002). Reid also mentions that the Buganda chiefs were very interested in preserving Buganda as a self-governing entity, in order to continue the royal line of kings and securing private land tenure. They also encouraged and engaged in missionary work, attempting to convert locals to their form of Christianity or Islam. This in turn caused resentment against Buganda by the people who were being administered, an attitude which still exists today.

Uganda gained independence from British colonialism in 1962, and during the pre-independence period the country had formed three main political parties, namely the Democratic Party (DP), the Uganda Congress Party (UPC) and the Kabaka Yekka (KY). The latter was formed shortly before the elections, mainly as a political movement to advance the interests of the kingdom of Buganda in the emerging new nation, Uganda. At the time of independence in 1962, the Uganda People's Congress and the Kabaka Yekka formed an alliance to defeat the Democratic Party, and these two later formed a coalition government where Obote, who was the head of UPC, became the prime minister while the King of Buganda, King Muteesa II, was nominated and became the first president of Uganda. The relationship between Obote and King Muteesa soured in 1964 when Obote facilitated the bill in parliament that provided a referendum to return the counties of Buyaga and Bugangazzi (that were given to Buganda by the British colonialists) to their former owners Bunyoro. The population in these respective areas voted for returning the counties back to Bunyoro, an act which annoyed the government of Buganda and which also caused them to threaten to withdraw from the alliance made earlier in forming the central government (Hancock 1970, Mudoola 1996).

In 1966, President Obote dismissed the president and vice-president, suspended the constitution and assumed the presidency. In reaction, the Buganda kingdom, through its parliament known as the *Lukiiko*, passed a resolution asking the Government of Uganda to depart from its land. On May 24th, 1966 the Uganda Army under the command of Col. Idi Amin, attacked the palace of the King of Buganda. Many royalists were arrested and imprisoned and a state of emergency was declared in Buganda. The palace was set ablaze, and many centuries old cultural treasures destroyed. The Kabaka fled to exile in Britain where he died in suspicious circumstances three years later. In September 1967, a new 'republican' constitution was created, declaring Obote as the president of Uganda and abolishing all kingdoms in Uganda. The entire infrastructure that belonged to Buganda was repossessed by the central government while Buganda as a

kingdom became inactive and ceased to exist (Hancock 1970, Mudoola 1996). This situation lasted for the following twenty years, until the political changes in 1986.

The new government formed in 1986, headed by President Yoweri Museveni, led to the formation of a new constitution through which Buganda and all the other kingdoms in Uganda were restored. On the 31st July 1993, Buganda Kingdom received its new king Mutebi II, the 36th king of Buganda. Although Buganda today has its own government headed by the king and its own parliament *Lukiiko*, the constitution of Uganda does not allow the king and his parliament to participate in the central or national politics. However, because of the autonomous and central position Buganda had assumed during colonial times, its physical location in the capital of Uganda, and the demographic position as the largest ethnic group in Uganda, Buganda has been advantaged in the political history of Uganda. Although Buganda is not as politically and economically influential as it used to be, it is still fighting for this central position in the current politics of Uganda. On several occasions, the Buganda government and the Ugandan government have had conflicts which have often sparked off riots and demonstrations in Uganda's capital Kampala. One of these riots happened in September 2009 when the king was refused permission to visit Kayunga district to celebrate the Youth's Day. This particular riot lasted for almost a week and approximately 30 people died.

4.4 Language policy and language practices in Buganda: An account of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial use of Luganda

Bantu languages historically became widely spoken in sub-Saharan Africa from around 300 BC (Marten & Kula 2008). Like many other societies, Buganda emphasised the use of their language and also most importantly passing it on to their children. Before colonialism, Buganda had gone through several linguistic developments including invasions of immigrants in its earlier period of existence,

movement of people and trade among the neighbouring regions both local and long-distance and later, colonial rule; all these processes made the earlier residents not as homogeneous both in origin and language as may be assumed (Kiwanuka 1965). These processes facilitated language contact, shaping the linguistic situation in the region and in particular Luganda the regional language. Language shift and language change therefore was experienced earlier than colonial times; and some of the effects included inclusion of foreign words into Luganda from other Bantu languages but also from language groups like the Nilotic group (Kiwanuka 1965, Stephens 2007).

Buganda also traded with the Middle East Arabs and by the second half of the eighteenth century slave trade between the East African coastal inhabitants and those from the interior of East Africa led to the spread of Arabic and Swahili amongst other languages and varieties to this region (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998). By the time the missionaries arrived, Swahili and Arabic were the foreign languages spoken in the area, especially in cases where people didn't speak Luganda or the local languages. According to Bishop Mackay's records for November 1878, when he arrived in Uganda he found Swahili widely understood as he was able to frequently read to the king and the whole court of Buganda the word of God in Swahili (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998). For a while, Swahili was used as a transitional medium for the Christian Gospel, linking European Christian vocabulary with African 'vernacular'.

According to Mazrui & Mazrui (1998), for a brief while, Christianity came to be identified partly with the knowledge of Swahili and the ability to read in that language. Eventually, in Uganda there developed a movement of people, mainly Baganda chiefs who desired to replace Swahili with their home language Luganda. One of the reasons for this was the ancient association of Swahili with Islam, so that the language was seen to have become dysfunctional to Christianity. However, another reason for the un-popularity of Swahili in

Buganda was its association with the slave trade, and the slave raiders, so that people regarded it as a language of people who sold their beloved ones. As an example, King Mwanga, during his reign as king of Buganda, became very unpopular in his kingdom because he promoted the use of Swahili, and used the language all the time, which many people did not approve of. But Buganda chiefs have been reported to have been concerned about the way Swahili was taking over domains that were previously dominated by the use of Luganda, like religion, education and commerce (Nsibambi 1971, Mazrui & Mazrui 1998).

The period that followed the coming of the Europeans and the subsequent colonization of Uganda saw a discussion of a working language policy conducted by both the Christian missionaries and the colonial administrators, with special interest in the languages to be officially used in church and promotion of Christianity, in administration and also in educating the people. The options were between Swahili, the coastal-trade language, English, the language of the European Christian missionaries and colonialists, and Luganda, the Bantu language which seemed to have been equally strong in the region. Luganda was encouraged through the government policy of 1912, to be used as the official language in Buganda and in all official government dealings besides English (Ssekamwa 1997). However, the continued discomfort with Luganda by many people from other regions led to the policy being revised.

In 1928, Swahili was confirmed as the official and dominant language, to be especially used in education and administration in the protectorate. Talks about the East African federation had begun and language was part of these talks which led to the promotion of Swahili as the East African lingua franca (Chibita and Fourie 2007). However, as Mazrui & Mazrui (1998) explain, those who proposed and fronted Swahili underestimated the opposition that was soon to be unleashed. Buganda, backed by King Daudi Chwa, opposed the introduction of Swahili as the official language of Buganda. The Uganda bishops, both Catholics and

Protestants, submitted a long memorandum against Swahili as the official language, putting forward a strong case for Luganda. The memorandum was sent to the colonial secretary in London, through the governor in Uganda. In administration, Luganda won over Swahili because Buganda chiefs were employed widely as administrators in various areas of the country other than Buganda. The language in turn was used as the language of administration and as the medium of instruction not only in Buganda but also in other parts of the country (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998). It was the missionaries' policy to use the local languages as languages of instruction, with the view that the child would achieve better results when they first master concepts in their local languages before they are introduced to the foreign language. Secondly, it had become compulsory for missionaries to first learn Luganda and also pass an exam of the same language as decided by the Church Missionary Society which was the dominant missionary society in Uganda (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998).

However, both the missionaries and administrators later thought it was important to promote English at higher levels of education as a more effective way of training the 'African mind'. The use of Swahili at this time no longer depended on official policy but on the continued practices to use it as a trade and urban language. However, because English was mainly acquired from school, it acquired the prestige of the imperial language, forming a particular class of people in society, particularly the educated elite. However, despite the prestige that came with the use of English, Buganda politicians addressing public meetings in Kampala normally used Luganda in preference to both Swahili and English (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998: 183). This may have been power versus status related, where English was given the upper primary role and status while Luganda was reserved for the lower status functions, like the case of English versus Swahili in Kenya (Githiora 2008).

Because Baganda, the native speakers of Luganda, were a privileged group under the colonial administration, Luganda expanded in use all over the country, more so than other indigenous languages. Baganda were allowed to retain considerable influence and prestige including working as administrators even in other parts of the country during colonial times. Their language in turn commanded derivative prestige and was retained in the different parts of the country even after the end of the colonial administration. Many of the workers who came to the capital of Uganda, Kampala, felt the need to learn Luganda and when they went back to their respective villages, they took with them a new language acquired from the city. Luganda was also the main language in church as the Church Missionary Society, the main missionary society in Uganda, employed a single language policy as the best method for unifying the church and integrating the various parts of the protectorate (Hansen 1984). Thus emphasis was put on the promotion of Luganda as the primary language of the protectorate and even missionaries were obliged to pass language examinations in Luganda. All these factors contributed to the spread of Luganda beyond the immediate confines of the kingdom of Buganda. However, it was not a smooth move as it was reported that some of these efforts, especially using Luganda to spread Christianity, met resistance in some parts of Uganda, especially in Bunyoro and Ankole (Green 2010).

Although Luganda remained (and still is) the most widely spoken second language in Uganda, it also battled with attitudes that hampered its emergence as the country's national language. In the national language debate, Luganda has been considered an option, proposed several times but repeatedly turned down by other ethnic groups (Bernsten 1998, Mukama 1991, Mazrui & Mazrui 1998). It should be noted that in Uganda language is usually equated with ethnicity as each ethnic group has a language that it identifies with. Proponents of Luganda as Uganda's national language argued that Luganda has had a long history as an academic language, as the language of the government administration and was already known by the majority of Ugandans. Therefore the government would not have a big burden when it implemented it as an official/national language.

However, making Luganda the national language of the country is seen by speakers of other languages as linguistic empowerment of the already powerful Baganda, at the expense of other ethnic groups (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998: 132). This resistance from speakers of other languages was sparked by the idea that Baganda, who were favoured by the British colonisers and given special opportunities to develop, would once again be given a higher status among other ethnic groups (Bernstein 1998). This attitude still prevails in the public as many people interviewed during fieldwork felt that it was not fair on other local languages to make Luganda a national language. Speakers of other languages interviewed preferred their own mother tongue over Luganda as official/national languages, although in practice many of them spoke Luganda fluently.

Although Buganda opposed Swahili in preference to Luganda, their own language become a national language of Uganda, their effort up to today has not yielded fruits. Luganda, according to Mazrui & Mazrui (1998: 119), is regarded with suspicion and hostility by most non-Baganda and according to them, its demographic might is still located within the confines of Baganda ethnicity, a factor that has failed Luganda to attain an admirable and neutral position like Swahili in Tanzania or Kenya. Secondly, Mazrui & Mazrui (1998) contend that although Baganda were very influential economically, politically, well placed in the liberal professions and relatively better educated than other ethnic groups, they were not powerful in the armed forces. Their demilitarisation made them politically vulnerable and thus they never acquired in Uganda the powerful status enjoyed by the Amhara in Ethiopia, a factor which has affected their language. I however believe that as opposed to Swahili which was accepted in Kenya and Tanzania as a neutral language because its native speakers are a minority, the political, economic and demographic power and influence of the native speakers of Luganda has inhibited its attainment of a neutral position in the official language policy of the country.

This study found that this resistance towards the nomination of Luganda as the official/national language does not come only from speakers of other local languages. Indigenous speakers of Luganda also considered making it the official or national language a disadvantage. They preferred to see Luganda remain their secret language and not the language of the public space. Baganda are known for being inspired by a strong sense of ethno-nationalism and linguistic patriotism (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998, Muranga Kamugisha 2009) and this love for their language, culture and nation has inspired and facilitated the maintenance of Luganda. Buganda has also not been able to regain its political influence and strength since colonial times and because of the vulnerable nature of their situation today, language has become not only their source of mobilisation and strength but also their voice, thus playing a significant role as a symbol of Buganda identity.

However, despite all this, many people have clearly shifted to Luganda partly due to its continuous use by government officials and many politicians in unofficial domains, but also due to its use by many institutions like the media and telecommunication houses, and the general public. In the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s English dominated the media, courts of law, popular music, theatre, local administration, and many other domains of public life. Today, however, there is a shift from English to Luganda and other regional languages like Runyakitara, and others. For example, artists who formerly used English in their music have been seen shifting to local languages, especially Luganda. Swahili is another language that local artists are trying to make songs in, which I interpret as a symbolic move for recognition in East Africa and also in Africa. This shift has often been rewarded with sudden popularity and success in the industry which most probably would not have happened if these artists had maintained English. Muranga (2009) seems to hold the same view by emphasising that some of these famous artists and writers wouldn't have enjoyed this fame if they did not write or sing in their mother tongue.

The FM radio stations in Kampala particularly have a preference for airing Luganda songs rather than songs in other local languages, a debate that has been on the airwaves encouraging these stations to open doors for songs in other local languages. In the capital Kampala, popular radio and television stations and also programmes are the ones broadcasting in Luganda. For example, research conducted by Synovate research group (Bukedde Publications July 2010) suggests that the most popular radio and television stations in Kampala were those licensed to broadcast purely in Luganda. Recently, the government has facilitated the opening up of two television stations that broadcast purely in Luganda, with Luganda commentaries of English programmes. The upcoming film industry has also facilitated the use of Luganda, making the ground more fertile for language use and maintenance. Official press conferences are now conducted in two languages, English, the official language, and Luganda, the majority language. Of course we cannot ignore the forces of globalisation that have resulted in the popular teaching and use of English as medium of instruction in official domains including schools, other government and non-government institutions, but also the teaching and using of English in homes. Parents are increasingly teaching their children English and demanding more access to it in view of the global advantages this language is often assumed to offer (see also Hornberger and Vaish 2009).

More recently, Luganda and other local languages in Uganda received official status in the education domain when the government of Uganda, through the Ministry of Education, adopted a new language education policy (see Section 2.3.2 above, for a detailed discussion of the policy). In this policy, both Ugandan languages and Swahili were to be included in primary and secondary education. Ugandan languages were to be used as the medium of instruction from primary one to primary three in order to provide school going children access to information and knowledge in their mother tongue (or first language). However, the policy was restricted to rural areas and did not extend to allowing the use of Luganda and other local languages in the urban areas, as English was to remain

the language of instruction from primary one to primary seven while the local languages were to be only taught as subjects. Although the policy is still experiencing difficulty in implementation and negative attitudes (see section 4.6 on the domains on language use), this official status in education facilitated the increased production of reading materials in Luganda, allowed official use of the language in classrooms, and also boosted the development of academic vocabulary, an aspect of language planning that still faces further challenges.

4.5 Official and non-official language planning and management of Luganda

Luganda is one of the first African languages to document indigenous history in the 1900s through several writings of Apollo Kaggwa who was then the prime minister of Buganda (Kiwanuka 1965). These writings attracted status and prestige to the language. By the 1930s, Luganda was widely known in the southern and central part of Uganda, where it was learned as a second language by many people who came to the region for work on cotton and coffee plantations (Heine 1970). The official standardisation and development of Luganda plus the production of the orthography did not occur until 1947, although grammars, translations of the bible, evangelical and catechist literature and other related works were produced and used earlier by the missionaries in spreading Christianity, and in the earlier education and literacy work. This therefore shows that prior to the more structured language planning in Luganda, there were some earlier language planning initiatives by missionaries and other scholars during colonial times since they were often confronted with problems of how to use Luganda to spread Christianity. Therefore, decisions such as how to write the different sounds in Luganda were made earlier before the official development of the orthography, although this needed to be revised later. The discrepancies in spellings that existed between the Catholic and Protestant missionaries for instance, resulted in two writing systems for Luganda which caused a lot of confusion. Some of the missionaries and scholars who pioneered such planning in Luganda include Alexander Mackay, John Doulas Chesswas and others. Alexander Mackay for instance, pioneered the translation of the ten

commandments, the bible, and also initiated a literacy programme for all people who wanted to be baptized, and this increased the rate of literacy in Luganda (Ettien 2012).

In 1947, a Luganda standard orthography was developed and accepted by the Buganda government as well as the Protectorate government. The variety spoken in central Buganda (where the King lives) was chosen to be the standard variety. In 1950, the Luganda Language Society, commonly known as Ekibiina Ky'olulimi Oluganda, was formed through the efforts of the late Michael Bazzebulala Nsimbi who is today regarded as the grandfather of the Luganda language. The society, a non-governmental organization, was run on a voluntary basis, dedicated to the teaching and promotion of Luganda. According to Nsimbi (1955), there were detrimental effects of colonialism on the culture and the language of the Baganda. He particularly points out that Luganda was becoming corrupted through code-mixing, mainly with English and Swahili, which he thought was destroying the language, making it lose its original flavor, and which would eventually lead to the loss of the language (1955: 8). This view about the purity of languages was strongly embedded in 1950s ideas about languages, maintaining that they needed to stay pure and unaffected by language contact or borrowing which, according to Nsimbi, was a negative effect and needed to be avoided at all cost. However, this is an unrealistic way of looking at language, considering the fact that languages constantly change and also evolve as a result of contact with other languages.

The language Society has also helped to nurture and promote writers writing in Luganda who have been able to publish books on different topics. Many well-known authors such as the late Solomon Mpalanyi, Phoebe Mukasa, Hugo Ssematimba, C. Kalinda, Prof. Walusimbi and of course the late Michael B. Nsimbi himself, were all members of the Luganda Society, and have contributed a lot to the production of literature and reading materials in Luganda. Among

other activities the society has engaged in regular radio programmes to promote the teaching and learning of Luganda and the culture of the Baganda. They organised Luganda language competitions and quizzes aimed at encouraging people to use Luganda. Apart from writing and publishing Luganda books, the society promoted the teaching of Luganda in schools at all educational levels. The association also worked closely with the Ministry of Education to produce training materials and examinations in case trained teachers were unavailable.

In 1976, the Luganda Society with special help from two of its members, Prof. Livingstone Walusimbi and Dr. Michael Bazzebulala Nsimbi who was the chairman of the society at the time, wrote a proposal to Makerere University council, proposing to introduce teaching Luganda at the University. According to Prof. Livingstone Walusimbi (interview conducted on 25th May 2010), the proposal met a lot of resistance from the members of the university council who thought this was a waste of time and finances. However, after several meetings and inquiries, they were later allowed to introduce the subject to the university. A Luganda language curriculum was established for the first time at Makerere University, which was the only university in Uganda at the time. A high school curriculum was also introduced in 1979 and a curriculum for the National Teachers' Colleges (training secondary school teachers) was established in 1984. At this time therefore, Luganda was taught at all levels of education, including the university. Today, other indigenous languages including Luo and Runyakitara (a combination of Runyoro, Rutooro, Runyankole and Rukiga) are being taught at the university, and proposals to teach more local languages not only at the university but also in secondary and primary schools are yet to be implemented. University teacher training is also needed in order to teach languages at school.

According to Prof. Livingstone Walusimbi (interview conducted on 25th May 2010), the teaching of Luganda at Makerere university has made progress from only teaching one student at the beginning, to more than 200 students in an

academic year today. In 1988, the Luganda Teachers' Association was formed to facilitate communication and training of Luganda teachers, and the curriculum for teacher training colleges (training primary school teachers) was established in 1994. However, it should be noted that all this happened at a time when the central government did not have a coherent policy towards the teaching of indigenous languages. Secondly, the establishment of these structures has facilitated an expansion in the use of Luganda as an academic language, and also as a language of reference and example for other local languages.

The Kingdom of Buganda also played a role in the planning and management of the use of Luganda in the different domains of people's lives. In 1964 for instance, the King of Buganda, King Muteesa II, specifically appointed a special officer as inspector of schools in Buganda to ensure that in all its counties, Luganda was used by the people and taught in schools. A special envoy headed by Professor Livingstone Walusimbi, who was appointed inspector of schools was given the duty of encouraging and motivating both teachers and pupils to study and develop Luganda. Because King Muteesa II was the head of state since independence, from 1962 to 1966, his position facilitated the financial and political boost of language planning towards Luganda, that other languages may have missed out on. This kind of language planning from central governments is significant since it can provide the financial means that may be difficult to obtain by individuals. Luganda being the first indigenous language in Uganda to be written and to be studied and taught as early as the colonial time, followed by its use in the administration and education attracted both status and prestige. This in various ways favoured the use of Luganda as opposed to other local languages in various formal domains in Uganda, especially in domains where written communication was required.

In education for instance, because many people consider the written language as the correct language (Sallabank 2011) Luganda was (and still is) used in different

parts of Uganda apart from Buganda as the language of instruction in schools and the language of official-local communications, including conducting local meetings, writing wills and agreements and settling various disputes. This in turn has resulted in different controversial language attitudes where, on the one hand, in non-Luganda speaking areas, especially in Eastern Uganda, speaking Luganda signifies having gone to the city (it is a seen as a city language) or 'having made it' and also being educated, since the language has been used for a long time in such areas as the language of instruction (see Tembe & Norton 2008, Sprenger-Tasch 2003).

In summary, this section has discussed the official language planning initiatives from the government of Uganda and from the Buganda government to develop Luganda including the development of its orthography. However, the section has also highlighted the non-official language planning initiatives from individual efforts to contribute to the development of Luganda. This includes the importance of simple language planning, and how individuals can make significant contributions to the planning of a language. The section highlights the major stages during the process of planning that have been achieved over time but also the language planning agencies that initiated the process of planning for Luganda. Among the language planning stages mentioned were corpus planning through which the orthography and other literatures were planned to be produced, and acquisition planning efforts through introducing the teaching of Luganda in schools and at the university. All of these efforts promoted status and prestige that must have influenced the use of Luganda in various domains.

4.6 The current language practices: Luganda and the domains of language use

In this section I discuss my major findings, especially the language use patterns in the different domains and also the reasons and ideologies behind these choices. The reason behind this is to show the current language situation, in order to

assess the previous and current language planning and management strategies. This section will highlight the bilingual, trilingual and multilingual language patterns to show the different languages used to perform different tasks and functions in different domains of society, showing the interaction between languages, especially between Luganda and other official or non-official languages. Below are tables illustrating the number of languages used by the respondents in the survey.

Table 4: The linguistic backgrounds of the informants: The languages spoken across the sample

Language	No. of respondents
1. Luganda	192
2. English	186
3. Swahili	60
4. Runyankole	58
5. Rutooro	22
6. Lusoga	33
7. Rukiga	32
8. Runyoro	26
9. French	13
10. Arabic	4
11. Kikuyu	1
12. Luruuri	16
13. Lugbara	2
14. Ateso	10
15. Ngakarimojong	5
16. Jopadola	5
17. Kinyarwanda	8
18. Lugisu	4

19. Italian		1
20. Samia		7
21. Lugwere		5
22. Lunubbi		3
23. Lukooki		3
24. Luo		3
25. Lunyole		2
26. Alur		2
27. Acholi		3
28. German		2
Total		**200**

Table 5: Number of languages (multilingual patterns) used by the respondents in their linguistic repertoire

No. of languages	No. of speakers
One	0
Two	64
Three	69
Four	36
Five	12
Six	12
Seven	4
Eight	2
Nine	1

4.6.1 Individual and home/family language use

Language policy and language management occurs at different levels. The individual and family levels are believed to be fundamental stages and actually the starting point in language policy and management as noted by Spolsky (2009) (see Section 3.5.2, above), although they are also influenced by top-down policies. The decision by parents or guardians in the family to determine what language to speak with their children is one of these language policy and language management decisions. However, as noted by different language policy scholars (e.g. Spolsky 2009), the findings of this study show the complex nature of individual and family language management, especially because of the

existence of different forces including social, economic, cultural, central and institutional language policies and ideologies, peer pressure, and many other factors. Such factors were therefore found to affect language use in the home, impinging on the intergenerational transmission of the mother tongue in these families, a factor that has been determined as crucial in language maintenance (Fishman 1991).

In the present study, I surveyed 200 respondents who I randomly sampled in the capital city of Uganda, Kampala, and the surrounding areas. The findings show that there were three major categories of language use (self reported by respondents), bilingual individuals/families, who used only two languages (mostly Luganda and English), trilinguals, who used three languages, and multilingual individuals who used from four to many more with the highest number of languages used by an individual among the respondents being nine (see table 5). No respondents were found to be monolinguals, although while describing their language repertoire, some, especially the speakers of Luganda who were not employed in formal employment (where English was used), were shown to be practical monolinguals, because they used only this language throughout their social network. Many still maintained the use of their mother tongue with parents and relatives, most especially those who spoke Luganda as their mother tongue. Most bilinguals were mother tongue speakers of Luganda, whose other language used was usually English.

However, there were cases which provided evidence for changes or shift in language use. Eighteen cases showed that their mother tongues were not evident in their current language repertoire. Thus, although they still recognised their mother tongue or first languages, they did not use them. Another group of thirteen cases had totally shifted to other languages. What I found interesting with this group was that people mentioned the different languages they used, but then later in the questionnaire expressed their origin and their original mother tongues,

their interest in re-learning these languages, and also regret for not teaching them to their children. One of these respondents for instance said he spoke three languages, English, Luganda and Lusoga, but when asked what language was important to him and the one he would like to pass on to his children, this respondent mentioned he is originally from Bunyoro and it was Runyoro, his mother tongue, that he would love to see his children speak. However, his family stopped speaking this language when they moved to the central region, the Luganda speaking area.

This example shows how difficult it is for families to maintain their mother tongues in regions where these languages are not the languages of wider use because, as it illustrates, children easily pick up the language widely spoken outside their home, which can cause failure to maintain the home language unless parents (as the language managers) put measures in place to help support and maintain the use of the home or mother tongue. However, as mentioned by Milroy (1987: 19), people use language in a manipulative way in order to fulfill their needs, desires and wishes. So some of these cases may be a result of a conscious choice to mention some languages and not others (especially depending on who is asking or where this person is) because, as Milroy (1987) suggests, language highlights or affects people's position in society, demarcating general social group or class. This is because individuals are not static and do not use language in a static manner. Therefore in some circumstances people will speak some languages that they think will enhance their status in society, e.g. languages of wider communication, while in other instances, especially when they want to enhance their identity or in-group status, they may speak a minority or low status language.

Individuals therefore tend not to use a low-prestige or stigmatised variety when they think it will affect them negatively or affect their position and status in society. Therefore, people whose mother tongues or first langugues are

stigmatised may use other languages in order to create a desired, more positive image. However, it should be noted that due to this dynamic, the prestige of a linguistic variety is not static, it can also change. This therefore shows the difficulty in language maintenance and the possible cause of language shift. At the same time, this dynamic shows what can be achieved with language planning that is specifically aimed at improving the prestige and status of a given language which seems to be lacking in Uganda (this will be discussed further in this chapter and chapter six).

This study shows that Luganda was strongly used in families where it is spoken as a mother tongue, through all generations, including being heavily or densely used in people's social networks as opposed to other local languages. It was the only local language that was commonly used by the respondents formally and informally at their work places (e.g. business places, offices, media places, schools and factories) with their colleagues in addition to English. It was also the language used by workers with their work support group, for example the office messenger or the cleaners, while English was used with the top people like the bosses. This also highlights the hierarchical nature of language use in different domains, showing that language practices do not only vary between domains but also hierarchically within a domain, showing formal and informal language use but also the existence of multilevel language practices.

In terms of home language use, especially between parents and their children, it was found that 20% of respondents said they used and preferred to use only English with their children, while 33.8% said they only used their mother tongue (a majority of whom were speakers of Luganda), and 40.6% used both their mother tongue and English. 5.6% were using the language of wider communication with their children and not their mother tongue or first language. Two languages were mainly cited in this category, Luganda and Swahili. This data shows that the majority of the respondents were using both English and

mother tongue with their children. Because of the pride and prestige associated with the use of English, and the perceived advantages, there is a likelihood of parents emphasising English more than the mother tongue. In reference to Fishman's (1991, 2001) intergenerational disruption scale (GIDs), this is level seven where parents no longer transmit their language to their children although they still use it with their elders. But the danger in this as Fishman (1991, 2001) mentions is that if children do not learn a language from their parents, the possibility that these parents will be able to pass on the language to their children is very minimal or nonexistent.

The second biggest number of respondents claimed they used only their mother tongue with their children while 20% of the respondents had stopped speaking their mother tongue to their children and were using English only. This category shows interruption in the intergenerational language transmission, and the likely cause of language shift. The 5.6 % also show a shift in language use from mother tongue or first language to using the language of wider communication. This can be illustrated by the figure below.

Language use between parents and their children

- main area lang. e.g.Luganda; 5.60%
- English; 20%
- mother tongue + English; 40.60%
- mother tongue; 33.80%
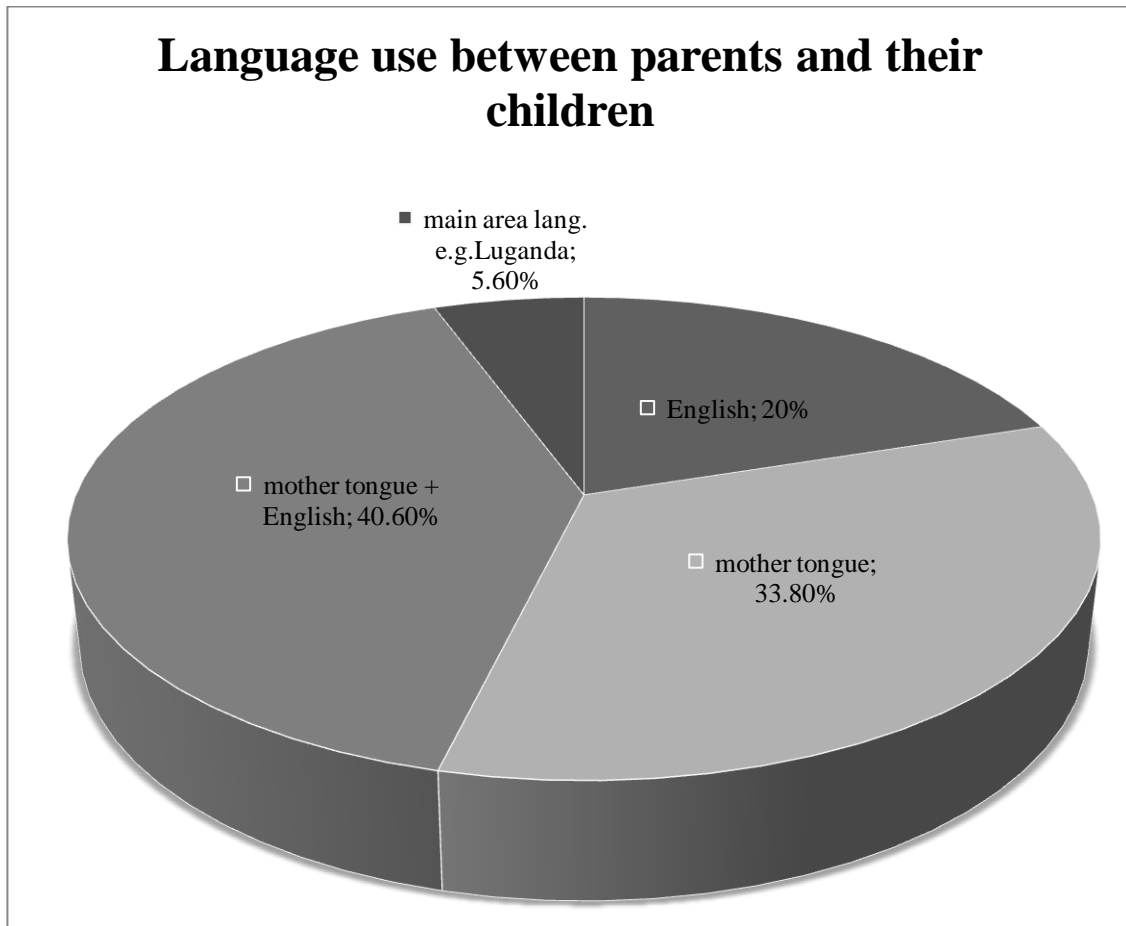
Figure 9: Languages use between parents and their children

As observed during this study, English has increasingly become important to families, especially urban middle class families, who look at this language as a vehicle to success. However, although rural and low income families continue to admire and appreciate the use of English, and the status and prestige associated with it, its use was not a practical solution to their needs. They therefore continued to use their mother tongue or first languages in their homes. Approximately 30% of respondents said they preferred English over their first languages or mother tongues. Reasons given for this choice include that English was the official language and the language used in school and other formal settings therefore was necessary to become successful in education, to get a good job, and to act as a lingua franca amongst people of different linguistic origins. However, others thought it was an international language, the language of

advancement (or upward social movement), a language that would unite people of different linguistic backgrounds, but also a language that would earn them status and respect in the eyes of others. The text below is a conversation reported by one of the parents that took place with his son. The conversation was in Luganda but the parent directly quotes his son in English (text in italics is Luganda, and texts in square brackets are my English translations and interpretations):

Parent: *Leero kumakya mbadde mu motoka nga nzigya ne mutabani wange, n'ambuuza*. [This morning I was in the car coming with my son and he asked me…]

Son: "Daddy why are all these people walking?"

Parent: *Nemugamba nti batambula kubanga ba dereva ba taxi baali mu kwekalakaasa*. [And I told him that they are walking because the taxi drivers are on strike].

Parent: *N'ambuuza nti* [He then asked me…]

Son: Won't the police arrest them? …

It is interesting to see that in this dialogue the parent, consciously or unconsciously, maintains the nature of the original language use between him and his son as shown in the transcribed text although the conversation with the researcher was conducted in Luganda. This may give us a glimpse into the nature of language choice and practice between these two individuals and possibly in their household which clearly shows the use of English by the children with their parents. Similar patterns of language use especially in the urban middle class families were observed during field work, where parents used English with their children and not the local language. However, without such practices, it is

difficult to maintain languages and stable multilingualism will definitely be difficult to achieve.

Because Luganda today is the language of wider communication, and, next to English, the most widely spoken second language in Uganda (Lewis 2009), it has in many ways become one of the languages used by most families in the capital area. It has turned out to be the play language which children use with their play mates and as a result has been taken to homes that previously did not speak Luganda. Parents who speak other languages have noted the shift in their children's language use from their mother tongue to Luganda. There have been difficulties for children in maintaining their mother tongues or first languages in areas where these languages are not spoken widely in the region (e.g. speaking Lunyara in a Luganda speaking area). As also reported by Sprenger-Tasch (2003), dominant languages like Luganda have made it difficult to maintain the use of other languages in families and as Batibo (2005) noted, it is very difficult for minority languages to survive and to also be revived successfully if the dominance of some languages still exits. However, the change in children's language behaviour has also been a result of the conscious efforts by parents to make sure their children acquire a language or a variety with the intention of improving their children's lives, including improving their chances of success in school, employment opportunities, and ultimate success.

Stigmatisation of the local languages has also led to change in the language behaviour of children especially those of the school going age, but also in other domains and social groups where some languages are not accepted. The story of some children who did not wish their parents (who cannot speak English) to visit them at school for fear of being bullied because they were speaking Luganda, showed to what extent language stigmatisation can cause problems for these children. This is what one of the respondents said about this situation:

"If you were found speaking Luganda, you were named 'a local G' [meaning local girl or uncivilised person]. We [whose parents didn't speak English] also couldn't use the public telephone booth at school to speak to our parents because of the way we were treated, by the time you finish the conversation, everyone is laughing and saying how local you are speaking 'staunch Luganda' [i.e. with no code-mixing or code- switching]".

The school also labeled people who spoke local languages 'worst speech offender', a label which was usually followed by punishment. According to this respondent, this experience was isolating, as no one wanted to associate with a 'local G'. However, it was also found also parents who didn't speak English felt isolated in such English dominated domains. One of the respondents commented that his father vowed never to go back to his secondary school because the first day he went to attend a parents' meeting, it was conducted only in English. However, one would think that because Luganda is the language of wider communication, and used in more domains than other local languages (as will be discussed later in the chapter), its speakers would not experience such stigmatisation. However, from the quote mentioned above and from what was mentioned by some respondents, it appears that this attitude is also experienced with Luganda. This quote from one of the respondents may tell us more about this ideology:

"I don't like to speak Luganda because it is for people who don't go to school".

As this quote seems to suggest, this could be the reason behind the stigmatisation of Luganda in some English dominated domains: Because English is mainly acquired in school, most illiterate people will not be able to speak English but will speak Luganda, which associates Luganda with illiteracy.

Mixed marriages have also been a challenge to language maintenance. As I observed during my fieldwork, there was confusion as to which language to use in the home or to teach the children. One of the respondents I talked to during fieldwork, who spoke Luganda as her mother tongue while her husband's mother tongue was Itesot, said they used English with their children because they failed to decide on which of their two languages to use. She particularly thought that speaking both languages (Luganda and Itesot) to the children would be very confusing, while choosing Luganda was not fair since children in most Ugandan cultures belong to the husband's ethnicity. However, this could also be partly because as mentioned earlier in this section, the general desire from the public to choose to speak English rather than local languages.

One respondent said that she preferred to speak English because when she does, she feels respected and not thought to be illiterate. It appears that since English is mainly acquired formally through education, fluency in such a language will be interpreted as literacy and high educational achievement while lack of fluency will easily be associated with illiteracy and low or sometimes even no educational achievement. Although this portrays the success of status planning of the English language, in multilingual communities where the official language is different from the local languages and where status is only enjoyed by the official and usually non-indigenous languages, this affects the use of the local languages as it causes negative attitudes to develop towards them. Although formal language planning by governments is usually accused of not being very effective, English and its use in Uganda is mainly a result of planning and management especially from the central government, and especially through status and acquisition planning (but also favored through pre-independence history, and through the global infrastructure of English, both in terms of status and in terms of the associated international English teaching industry).

Respondents who preferred to use English over the local languages mentioned its neutrality and its ability to unite people of different linguistic backgrounds. English is however, mainly acquired through education and is used and maintained in particular domains, especially formal domains. It has therefore become increasingly inaccessible to different kinds of people especially those who are illiterate and did not have a chance to acquire it or even use it. Because of such circumstances therefore, and many others described in this chapter (e.g. section 4.6.5 on language use and the judiciary), I conclude that (as also mentioned by Bamgbose 2000), English is not as neutral as is assumed and it is one of the causes of power and social-economic divisions in society.

In summary, this section has discussed individual and family language behaviors, explaining the language choices made by different individuals or families in terms of language use. In this section I examined the complex nature of these choices and the attitudes and ideologies behind them. The data presented in this section is also discussed in line with the major line of inquiry which is the possibilities of language maintenance in multilingual communities and the nature of language management in these domains, but also most importantly highlighting the contribution of individual language management to language maintenance.

4.6.2 Luganda and media (print and broadcasting)

As described in the earlier sections of this chapter, the dominance of Luganda over other languages in the central region of Uganda has been created by different planned and unplanned forces, including the language of the capital Kampala, the region where most economic, political and social activities take place. This in turn has created the need for various official and non-official governmental and presidential communications and other national communications (see Chibita 2006). All official government press conferences for example, as explained by Mr. Kafeero, a journalist and television presenter at

Wavamunno Broadcasting Services (interview 23rd May 2010), are conducted in the two languages English and Luganda; English is usually the first language to be used and immediately after the conference is over, it is conducted once again in Luganda. Although government has tried to disseminate information in the named main area languages (see chapter two for details of these languages), especially in written communication, English and Luganda take centre stage.

Luganda has a history of newspaper publishing dating back to the 1930s when newspapers such as *Gambuuze, Baana ba Kintu, Uganda eyogera, Buganda nyaffe, Tuula nkunyonnyole* and *Matalisi* were established to help people express their thoughts and ideas in the period of colonial government. Most newspapers at the time were published in Luganda, and people used these papers to contest and express their dissatisfaction with the political, economic and social inequalities exhibited in the colonial regime (Chibita & Fourie 2007). In the subsequent political times, government dominated the media, supervising all private media which in turn weakened it. Today, Luganda has two daily newspapers, namely *Bukedde* and *Kamunye*, and two weekly newspapers, namely *Ggwanga* and *Ddoboozi,* plus several magazines. *Bukedde* is the government-supported newspaper while the rest are privately run.

The broadcast media, on the other hand, did not start until 1954 and unlike print, the broadcasting services were initiated and maintained solely by the government until 1993 when the National Resistance Government embraced a liberalisation policy for the air waves (Chibita 2006). The Uganda Broadcasting Service, as it was called, initially did not have any local language programmes, but only broadcasted in English as only British people were employed. Occasionally translations would be made by a few Africans who were employed later. However, after independence in 1962, local languages were brought on board, including Luganda, Runyoro/Rutooro, Runyankole/Rukiga, Lwo, Ateso and Lugbara. Before the liberalisation of the airwaves, different languages were

awarded airtime slots, and Luganda is reported to have been awarded more prime time slots due to economic considerations, as Luganda programmes had more listeners and thus attracted more sponsorship than other local languages (Chibita 2006). With the liberalisation of the media in 1993, many FM radio stations sprung up, which saw the media situation change from the monopoly of the government to ownership by private enterprise.

The availability of several FM radio stations, some of which are registered to broadcast in only Luganda, has brought more advantage to Luganda over other local languages, especially in the central region of Uganda and the capital city Kampala. The list is long but some of the well known radio stations that broadcast purely in Luganda include Bukedde FM, Star FM, Simba FM, Beat FM, Kaboozi FM, Buddu FM, and Radio Buganda (CBS FM). According to the newspaper *Bukedde* (26th July 2010), research by the Synovate research group showed that the most listened to radio stations are those that broadcast in Luganda and on top was Bukedde FM (a station related to the Bukedde newspaper) with 58%, followed by Star FM, a government affiliate of the Uganda Broadcasting Service with 47%, then Simba FM with 45%, Beat FM with 42%, Kaboozi FM with 30% and Buddu FM with 24% of listenership. Buddu FM is followed by Capital FM which broadcasts mainly in English with an audience of 24%.

These statistics show that in radio broadcasting, the most popular or listened to radio stations are broadcasting in Luganda. Although there may be other factors contributing to this, all these stations have one thing in common, namely the language of broadcasting, which shows that the common person can and is listening to these stations. However, the English broadcasting radio station, Radio Capital is listened to by only 24% of the population. It was also observed that most English broadcasting radio stations have a sister radio station that broadcasts in Luganda. For instance, Capital Radio (English) is a sister radio of

Beat FM (Luganda), Kaboozi FM, a Luganda broadcast radio, is sister radio to Radio One, an English broadcasting radio, Star FM, (Luganda) is sister radio to Radio Uganda, a government, majorly English broadcasting radio.
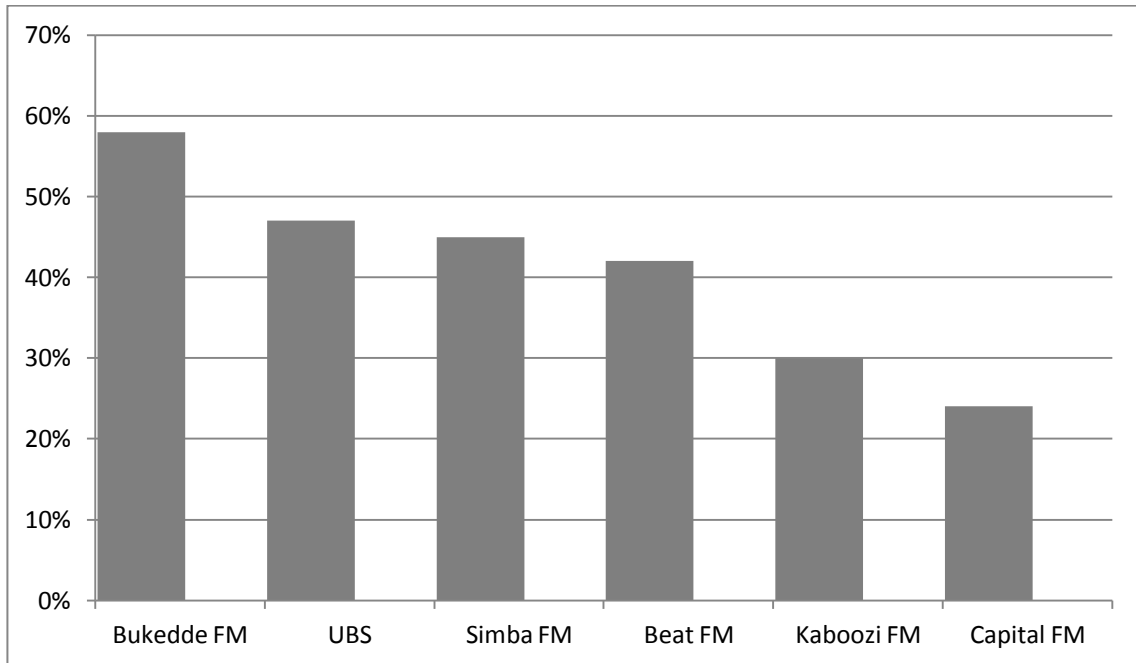
Figure 10: Percentage of listenship in FM radio stations in Kampala. Capital FM is English only FM radio while the rest are broadcasting only in Luganda.

What is evident is that the different stations assume different names and thus different identities but do not try to create an overall general identity as one broadcasting company. This kind of language use in the media shows that the two languages, Luganda and English, both have a significant position and function in the region, and most likely targeting different audiences: Those that prefer to use Luganda and those who prefer English, usually the social elite. This could be the reason behind the establishment of two radio stations to serve the same purpose but broadcast in two different languages. The use of languages like Luganda in the media is good for language maintenance as it boosts the use of language in

such domains while also enriching its status and prestige as the language of wider communication. This status and prestige is particularly enriched when people are able to listen to their favourite programmes, and also participating in call-in programmes in their own language, which are popular in all these stations.

In television broadcasting, there are currently three television stations broadcasting in Luganda. Although the Uganda Broadcasting Corporation, the major government television corporation, has a few programmes running in Luganda, including the 7 o'clock news broadcast and a few other shows, the liberalisation of the airwaves saw the establishment of television stations (e.g. Wavamunno Broadcasting Services and National Television) that allocated more broadcasting time to programmes in Luganda. However, in 2009 two television stations, both affiliated with government institutions, were set up. These are Bukedde Television and Star Television. These two stations are popular among the locals, as they broadcast purely in Luganda, and English programmes are interpreted with a Luganda voice-over. These stations (including the FM radio stations) have promoted Ugandan music and Ugandan films, most of which are using Luganda.

The media has significantly contributed to the bottom-up language planning and management of Luganda in Uganda. The Buganda kingdom, for example, and the Luganda Language Society, through Buganda radio have programmes to promote the use of Luganda and encourage contributions towards the development of the language, including encouraging people to write books, organising language quizzes and festivals. The most popular of the language programmes are the language quizzes and festivals, hosted by many Luganda radio and television stations in Kampala. The most popular include '*Engule ya Simba*' [Radio Simba crown] hosted by Radio Simba, '*Omuzira mu bazira*' [the bravest of all] hosted by CBS radio, and '*Awakula ennume*' hosted by WBS television, which is a Luganda proverb which means there can never be only one strong or brave

person. The first two programmes aim at general language competence of individuals while the latter particularly aims at terminology development and language modernisation.

The 'engule ya Simba language quiz' for instance started in 2002, and runs every year for close to three months. This is a Luganda quiz radio show based on the culture of the Baganda, their customs, norms, and language, their history and current affairs. Participants are required to show knowledge of all the mentioned subject matter and the winner of the crown gets the title 'Ssengule' for a man and 'Nnangule' for a woman, meaning the 'crown bearer'. In an interview conducted with Mr. Ssendi, the secretary of the programme (interview on 27th May 2010), he said that the major aim of this programme is to educate and raise awareness of the language and culture of the Baganda, but also to entertain the public through language. Mr. Ssendi opinioned that the political, economic and social changes do impact on language, causing it to change or decay. The programme aims at restoring Luganda to its former glory, limiting language 'decay' while encouraging its use. He says that the programme has had a positive impact on the public as, according to him, people are more interested in the language, while even non-speakers have gained interest in the programme.

It was observed that many of the language development programmes such as discussed above had purist attitudes towards language, an attitude which assumes that an absolute standard of correctness should be maintained, while condemning and resenting language change and mixing. To such language planners, code-switching, code-mixing and language change is seen as deliberate action by the new generation to lose the old forms of language. In Luganda for instance, there is a tendency to shorten sentences with infinitives by deleting the infinitive marker *ku* in such sentences as *nja kunaaba* ['I will bathe'] and geminates the initial sound of the verb root as in *njannaaba*. However, although such new constructions are used by speakers, they are usually not encouraged by these

language programmes. Such language planners encourage people to maintain the old form through advocating particular forms of language, especially the old forms while condemning newer forms of language as non-standard, or as the 'wrong' use of language. However, as Aitchison (2001) notes, no language is better than any other and therefore all the varieties used by speakers, including new and old forms, are equally important. The language of Shakespeare's time is no better and no worse than that of this generation, they are just different. In the same interview, Mr. Ssendi seems to suggest that language change is not a good thing, but a negative process that needs to be restored. To this effect however, Aitchison (2001) says that over the centuries, language like everything else gradually transforms itself. She asserts that if in this world humans grow old, tadpoles change into frogs, and milk turns into cheese, it would be strange if language alone remained unaltered although the public typically has negative attitudes to language change.

The winners of 'the engule ya Simba programme', on top of being awarded the crown, are rewarded with prizes. The official prize from the station is usually money, but there are also various prizes from local businesses. These prizes are mainly aimed at improving peoples' lives, and also the communities they are in. The past winners for instance, used the money received as a reward to make their lives better including starting businesses, building schools, paying tuition fees for those still in school, building houses, to mention but a few. This has in turn raised the esteem of Luganda and its users, because such programmes inspire people to be proud of their heritage and language, inspiring them to use it more, a factor that is very crucial for language maintenance. This is a classic example of prestige planning (see section 3.4.4) and it can change the negative attitudes of the speakers of any language. It is also an example where communities or even private entrepreneurs get involved in language policy and language planning, especially through funding for LPP activities in some local contexts. Other local languages have also been inspired by such programmes as the case of Luruuri-Lunyara demonstrates (see Chapter five).

These language planning related activities (e.g. quizzes, language festivals) exhibit elements of corpus, acquisition, and prestige planning, and are therefore very essential for language maintenance in multilingual communities. As already mentioned, one of the factors affecting the use of local languages, including Luganda, in some domains was the low esteem they were held in. Therefore, any language planning efforts that involve the speakers of the language to boost the value of these languages within society are bound to yield positive results and increase its use. Despite the purist ideologies portrayed by the language planning objectives, these efforts are particularly important to language maintenance and the local languages, especially to the minority languages, which definitely benefit. But in the long run, coordination and real planning is needed to attend to specific language needs in the community (e.g. developing orthographies, literature), and also to develop language in order to cater for younger users.

However, these purist tendencies with respect to language planning, especially the negative attitude towards language variety, may exclude certain speakers of the language. I observed this tendency during fieldwork, as some speakers, especially the second language speakers or even some youth, felt Luganda was a difficult language to use correctly during normal conversations or even while studied at school.

Figure 11: Pictures of the contestants of one of the popular language quizzes *Engule ya Radio Simba* (Engule ya radio Simba production 2010)

The pictures in figure 11 were taken by Mr. Ssendi Peterson during the 2010 *Engule ya radio Simba* language quiz. The first picture shows the winner of the quiz while the second shows the contestants during the quiz show in the radio Simba studio.

4.6.3 Acquisition planning and management: Luganda in the education planning

4.6.3.1 General practices and attitudes

As already mentioned, Uganda's education system has a language education policy which allows the use of local languages as medium of instruction in the first three to four years of primary school and as classroom subjects in later years (primary four to six) when English is adopted as the language of instruction. In the urban areas, English is maintained as the medium of instruction and local languages as subjects (see chapter 2 on the historical background and also section 4.4 in this chapter). In secondary school and university, English is the only medium of instruction, while local languages are offered as subjects, with schools deciding on which languages to teach. Luganda is taught at all levels of education while efforts are now being made for other regional languages like Runyakitara and Luo, which are taught at the university, to also be taught at the lower levels of education.

Although this is the situation according to the language education policy, the practical realities in Ugandan schools are quite different. In the empirical study carried out in Kampala and the surrounding districts (see section 1.4), in the urban areas of Uganda, more especially in Kampala, the city area where research was conducted, English was used as the medium of instruction and also the language of communication between teachers and the children, while the local languages were not taught as the language policy suggested. During fieldwork, I found that private schools had zero tolerance towards the use of local languages at school while the government schools in practice were found to use both Luganda and English informally while in formal situations English was used more. The private schools were found to have strong restrictions towards the use of Luganda and other local languages and were still enforcing the old 'Stop speaking vernacular' policy, including punishing children who were found to be speaking in their mother tongue. In practice therefore, as medium of instruction,

and also communication, private schools operated an English only policy because of the belief that the English language is better and because as private schools they are not obliged to follow government policies.

However, although government schools also showed a preference for using English over Luganda and other local languages, in practice all schools visited used both English and Luganda. In classrooms teachers were found code-switching between English and Luganda as medium of instruction and communication, while on the compound children were observed using Luganda and very minimally English. One of the teachers of a government school interviewed in Kampala said they were putting in more efforts to make sure their pupils spoke English like those in private schools. This is because she thought it did not portray their school well for their pupils to speak Luganda all the time. Regarding teaching local languages, this teacher thought it was embarrassing for their pupils to take home Luganda homework for instance, while those from the neighbouring private schools took home English homework. This nature of language use (especially of preference for English) in this domain seems to confirm the ideology of English being associated with success and educational achievement. That is why even in public schools where the policy is not restricted to English, there is a preference to follow the private schools' practice.

According to a press release by the Ministry of Education (Bukedde newspaper, 21st June 2010), the local language policy in education has resulted in better performance of the children, including achieving better reading skills and improving classroom participation. Some teachers and head teachers interviewed were aware of the advantages of teaching in local languages, including effective communication and increased student participation. However, they pointed out that negative attitudes of the parents, who they said thought teaching in local languages was a waste of time and would lead to poor results, resulted in failure to implement this policy. There was not enough prestige planning to persuade the parents and schools to positively welcome the policy as a way to improve the education standards. While the Ministry of Education has given head teachers

and their deputies the mandate to implement the language policy, the negative attitudes towards local languages have made different schools adopt different interpretations and adjustments to the policy. One head teacher interviewed said he continued (secretly) teaching Luganda as a subject but did not tell parents (by not indicating the examination results of this subject on the term reports), because they had resisted the policy, while another head teacher said he decided to return to English medium of instruction since parents were not happy with the new policy and decided to change schools for their children which left his school almost empty. This therefore shows that many teachers are the agents of the local language policy, supporting and implementing it at the classroom level, but face opposition from parents' attitudes and perceptions. But as one Ministry of Education official commented in the interview, head teachers have also sabotaged the policy, discouraging teachers from implementing it and not taking the initiative to educate parents who seem ignorant about its benefits.

However, because Luganda had an advantage over other local languages in Uganda, in terms of usage, development and also materials, the perception of the language in other regions is more positive, with the effect that in other parts of Uganda (apart from Buganda) parents would prefer that their children be taught Luganda and also prefer to have Luganda used in education, rather than their local languages (also in Tembe & Norton (2008). In other words, in many other parts of Uganda, Luganda became widely recognised as the *de facto* language for literacy, and most probably more achievable than English since it was not only used in the education domain like English but also used by the public. Such language behaviour and attitudes are widespread, showing parallel attributes between the urban-rural continuum and the hierarchy of languages in terms of attitudes, from English to Luganda and to other local languages.

This in return has led to the decline in status and use of other languages in the education domain in such areas, most especially the eastern parts of Uganda,

although, as discussed in earlier sections, other parts rejected the introduction of Luganda in the local schools. However, although Luganda has a long history in education and strong language practices in other domains, the attitudes towards its use in education today compared to English are not supportive at all. Today, despite the fact that Luganda is a language of wider communication, English remains a strong rival as a result of its status and use in the region plus its association with the higher social class (e.g. its use by the princes and sons of aristocrats earlier during the formation of Uganda), factors which have led to the marginalisation in use of all local languages in the formal domains (Mazrui and Mazrui 1998).

This supports Batibo (2005) who notes that today no language apart from English is entirely safe because English, which has become the world's language, threatens the smaller languages of the world. This appears to be true when we look at Luganda. The negative attitudes towards the local languages, and the ideologies behind the prestigious use of English in the school domain, can be illustrated by the text below a conversation on face book, one of the social networks on the internet (accessed on 20th September, 2010). The discussion was in response to an article published in Red Paper, a Ugandan tabloid, about the then Minister of Education Namirembe Bitamazire and her education plan, including the local language policy in education in which the minister encouraged teachers to use local languages in teaching (Luganda is written in italics, in square brackets are the English translations and interpretations, and in italics with round brackets are the stage directions or explanations of the actions in place):

A: The hon. Minister for education is encouraging teachers to teach in vernacular *mbu* [that] this makes the students understand concepts properly.

B: Oh my God, where is our fate in the near future? Does it mean we no longer need the official language (*English*)?

C: Me too am so shocked about that plan broda [brother]...*ndowoza* [I think] when the foreigners come here they must start straight away with learning vernacular first...*mbu* [that] a new law.

B: Heheheee (*laughter*)... which vernacular are they going learn? That minister is running mad I swear, the ugliest plan the world has ever seen.

A: Let them make Alur be the only vernacular, then there it will work out... but with all these multi dialect country, no way!

C: Yes Alur language could be the best.

B: WHY?

C: Because Alur has a clear accent and it does not affect the second language. For instance, in some languages 'r' is pronounced as 'l', therefore in the case of 'erection', they say 'election' which may be taken for another thing.

The conversation was conducted in two languages, mainly English and some Luganda (in italics). This illustrates the lack of enthusiasm in the population about the use of local languages and confirms the prestigious status of English in the country. In this text, it also seems to be suggested that some languages are inherently better than others, because some languages inhibit good second language acquisition especially the acquisition of correct English pronunciation. Luganda is one of those languages that do not have the phoneme /r/ in their phonemic inventory but /l/ as already mentioned. As found out in this study, this is one of the reasons why most parents thought teaching in local languages will limit the chances of speaking English properly. Although the interlocutors are code-mixing, using Luganda words and English in the conversation, there seems not to be any interest in local languages. This also illustrates the attitudes and ideologies behind the maintenance of English in domains like education and its position as the official language.

4.6.3.2 Classroom language practices

In this section I will talk about the classroom practices in Ugandan schools. I focus on the rural public primary schools, which are similar to most public schools including those in the urban regions with just slight differences. Although most public schools both in the urban and rural areas employed a bilingual, code-switching policy in class, using English as the major medium of instruction and Luganda as the language of translation and understanding, rural schools were found to be using more local languages (Luganda in the area where research was conducted) than the urban schools. It should be noted that the language of translation in the central region is Luganda which is the regional language. However, in other parts of the country, other regional languages such as Runyakitara in western Uganda, or Acholi and Langi in northern Uganda are usually used. In Mitiyana district for instance, in one of the rural public schools, I observed one teacher at the school assembly talking to pupils only in Luganda, a practice found to be common in rural schools but which is not observed or even tolerated in the urban schools (especially private schools). In this kind of communicative setting, the school assembly seemed to require formal language use, that is English. With bilingual language practices, the teacher usually begins the lesson in English but ends up translating everything into Luganda. The teacher whose class was recorded below said Luganda helped him to teach his pupils effectively because most of them struggled to understand well when only English was used as the medium of instruction. The text below was recorded during one of the classroom observations of the language practices, and it exemplifies typical language practice. Although this particular class was in a village school in Mitiyana district located in central Uganda, other teachers in public schools admitted to such practices in class. The recorded class was a year seven (end of primary) English class.

Teacher: Today we are going to learn about verbs, we are going to learn about what…?

Class: Verbs

Teacher: So get that book where we are going to write the verbs.

Teacher: But before we see these verbs we need to know the meaning of the word verb…the meaning of what?

Class: Verb

Teacher: Aha…what is a verb?

Pupil A: Verb is a number

Teacher: No it is not true; a verb is not a number.

Pupil B: A verb is a doing word

Teacher: Very good, a verb is a doing word. Class what is a verb?

Class: A verb is a doing word.

Teacher: (*Translates into Luganda*). *Verb kye kikolwa…kye kki*? [A verb is called 'ekikolwa'… it is called…?]

Class: *Kye kikolwa* [is verb]

Teacher: (*continues to speak in Luganda*) *Ekikolwa kye tuyita verb, kye tuyita tutya*? [Verb (ekikolwa) is what we call verb, is what we call…?]

Class: Verb

Teacher: So who can give me an example of a verb you know?

Teacher: Anyone to give me an example of a verb?

Pupil C: Learning (*teacher repeats the word learning and writes it on the board*)

Teacher: That word learning comes from which word?

Teacher: (*translates the question into Luganda*). *Kiva mu kigambo ki?* [Comes from which word?]

Pupil D: Learn

Teacher: (*translates into Luganda*). *Kiva mu kigambo 'learn' kiva mu kigambo ki*? [It comes from the word 'learn'; it comes from which word…?]

Class: Learn (*teacher writes learn on the board*)

Teacher: Learn *kino kitegeeza ki? Kitegeeza Ki*? ['Learn', what does it mean?]

Class: (*murmuring*)

Teacher: *Tulina* 'learning' *ono* [We have 'learning']

(*He writes on the board*), *ne tubeera ne* 'running' *ono* [and we also have 'running'] (*he writes running on the board*).

Teacher: They are different words, they are different what?

Class: Words

Teacher: We have got 'learning', all of you…

Class: Learning

Teacher: Running, all of you…?

Class: Running

Teacher: Are they the same?

Class: No

Teacher: They are not the same, they sound as if they are the same but they are not the same.

Teacher (*translates sentence into Luganda*) *Biwulikika nga bye bimu naye nga si bye biki*...? [They sound the same but they are…?]

Class: *Si bye bimu* [They are not the same].

Teacher: *Si bye bimu*, 'learning' *ekisooka kitegeeza kuyiga* 'Running' *eky'okubiri kitegeeza kukola ki…?* [They are not the same, the first word, learning means…and the second word running means…]

Class: *Kudduka* [to run]

Teacher: *Kitegeeza kudduka* [it means running], very good.

Teacher: Can you clean the blackboard?

Class: *silence*

Teacher: Can you clean the blackboard? (*Teacher repeats question pointing at pupil X*)

Pupil X: No

Teacher: No? *Kitegeeza osobola okusiimuula ku lubaawo* [it means can you clean the black board]?

(*There is laughter in class while pupil X says yes. Teacher laughs too*)**.**

Class: (*A few pupils talked to each other in Luganda while laughing*) *Amuzzeemu No, agaanye.* [He has replied no, he has refused].

(*Class continues while teacher gives pupils an exercise to do*).

In the above text, the teacher introduces the lesson in English and a few sentences later starts to translate back every sentence he speaks into Luganda and English. The two main languages used in this class were English and Luganda, and the teacher endeavours to translate every sentence and every word into both these languages. However, it was observed that when the teacher was talking to individual pupils (e.g. 'can you clean the blackboard?') and not the whole class, he used English and the pupils used English too, while the pupils used Luganda between themselves, such as in the last section of the text where the pupils talked to each other about the other pupil who failed to understand the instruction from

their teacher. Although all teachers interviewed admitted to practicing this bilingual, code-switching practice, some teachers, especially those in the urban schools said they were not committed to translating everything but only in situations where they thought the children needed to understand. But a study conducted by Majola (2006) found that most urban schools followed this practice in classrooms, and teachers used Luganda as much as English while conducting lessons.

However, although this was found to be common practice, different schools and teachers had different policies or practices. In some schools, particular teachers used English only, while others used more Luganda than English. One teacher gave an example of his former school where the school director (who is usually the proprietor of the private school) employed a Luganda only policy in her schools when addressing the school assembly, the teachers' meetings and also talking to individual teachers and pupils. When asked what the reason might be behind this policy, the teacher thought that the director was not fluent in English. But this could also have been due to a personal preference of one language over the other, or a resistance towards using the official language. This illustrates the existence of personal or individual language policy or practice, where an individual decides to or not to speak some languages, but within the bigger conventions of accepted or not accepted linguistic norms. This exemplifies the existence of multi-level language policies and practices within the domain of language use.

The bilingual English-Luganda language practices in schools or classes are evidence of policy that has originated from both the practices. It also signifies the importance of both languages to the participants in this communicative act. It is clear that the teacher in the example above is moving back and forth between the two languages, where if a statement is made in English, he translates it into Luganda; and if he makes a statement in Luganda he translates it into English.

The significance of this, as mentioned by the teacher in the subsequent interview, is to facilitate effective teaching and communication, but also to follow both the official and the non-official policies and practices. However, such practices are significant to the local languages because these languages are not given provisions in the official language policy (only in the first three years of primary). These practices provide a platform for local languages like Luganda to be used in official domains including education which would formally be dominated by the official language English. This definitely increases the status and prestige of the local languages, influencing language attitudes in a positive way, which will boost language maintenance. Thus the use of local languages in various domains such as education will boost the maintenance of these languages, unlike situations where these languages are limited to particular settings or domains. These examples also show the complex and multilevel existence of language policies, at the individual, group, regional and national level, which is not reflected in the official policy of Uganda which prescribes English and Swahili to be used.

However, although it is used in more domains than other Ugandan languages, Luganda still has language planning limitations or setbacks, especially in the field of corpus planning. Mesthrie et al. (2009: 372), for instance, classify it as a young standardised language, which can be understood to mean it is not fully standardised to be used in all domains, most especially in science and technology. According to some researchers working on terminology development in Luganda (Namyalo 2010), Luganda lacks the terminology to articulate science and modern technology, despite the fact that the language has enjoyed a very rich and long history of use in education and other domains. This means that today it will be very difficult for Luganda to be used as a medium of instruction for subjects like science, technology and even mathematics. There has also been resistance towards terminologists as some language users have found the terms developed unnatural, different from what they are used to in Luganda, and some think their language is being spoilt because some of these terms do not sound like 'their'

traditional Luganda (Namyalo 2010). This attitude was found with older people who believed the young generation is spoiling their language by 'polluting' it with English words and other kinds of pronunciations and by coining words that do not sound like the language they know (see also section 4.5 and 4.6.2 for more examples about purist attitudes and tendencies towards languages).

4.6.4 Language and religion

Religion is a domain that also presents different preferences in terms of language use and practices. These practices and preferences have not always been the same because of changes in the attitudes and ideologies of the language users and differences between religious institutions. For instance, when Christianity was introduced to Uganda, Swahili was the language first used for evangelism, because it was already being used in the region. But later, Swahili became more associated with Islam than Christianity to the extent that the Christian missionaries with the Baganda chiefs thought Swahili was not fit to be used for evangelism. They instead adopted Luganda as the language of the Church, education and also for other official communications in the protectorate (Mazrui & Mazrui 1993). Luganda thereafter became the main language in church as the Church Missionary Society employed a single language policy as the best method for unifying the church and integrating the various parts of the protectorate (Hansen 1984), while the White Fathers also mainly used Luganda in their evangelism work and also made it the main language of catechism. Because of this decision, emphasis was put on the promotion and development of Luganda as the primary language of the protectorate.

Religious materials were written, including translations of the bible, while the missionaries were also obliged to pass language examinations in Luganda. All these factors contributed to the use of Luganda in the church beyond the immediate confines of Buganda. Due to this policy, in some areas in Uganda (e.g. Busoga and other eastern parts), Luganda has since then developed a central

position as the language of the church. However, some regions like Ankole, Bunyoro, and others were dissatisfied with the policy. They therefore resisted the use of Luganda in favour of their own regional languages (Hansen 1984, Chibita & Fourie 2007). Luganda's position in church was also facilitated by the fact that it was already written while other local languages were not yet written, and did not have a translated bible or hymn books. Therefore in areas whose languages were not yet written, or which did not have a bible translation, church readings and hymns were read in Luganda while, depending on the preacher, the preaching would be in either the local variety or Luganda.

In the central region however, Luganda is still a dominant language in the traditional churches like the Catholic Church and the Protestant churches. The church today seems to operate a more general language policy aiming at using the languages that the people use (languages of public use). In the Catholic Church for instance, more churches in Kampala and the suburbs have started English only masses or services while originally only Luganda was used. Some parishes in Kampala offer other communities who speak other languages and have a reasonably sized population, the opportunity to have church services in their mother tongue. While the traditional churches have specific slots of time for the different languages used, the Pentecostal churches usually use different languages (English and Luganda, or other languages depending on the setting or community) with constant interpretation from one language to the other. The main language here will be what the preacher is comfortable with. Different methods are used by different religious institutions to award time slots to the use of local languages including Luganda. Other language development efforts include provision of written materials in terms of hymn books, the bible or other religious materials, which is ultimately a contribution to corpus planning.

The Islamic religion on the other hand has been known to promote the use of Arabic in the mosque and by Moslems. There exists a special relation between

Moslem people and the Arabic language, based on the belief that this is the language that will allow effective communication with God. Some interviewees expressed their desire to speak and learn more Arabic because they said they wanted to be able to speak to God in the only language he understands. Some children also reported their parents taking them to Arabic classes and encouraging them to speak Arabic at home. This is an important element of the Moslem culture, and parents take their children to special schools (the Madrasas) to learn Arabic.

Among all respondents, when asked which language they preferred to use while praying, many respondents said they preferred to use their mother tongues or first language. One of the reasons they gave was that they were comfortable and at ease when they used these languages in their religion. However, a smaller number preferred to use English. One of the youths interviewed made an interesting remark about saying his prayers in his mother tongue Luganda, saying it was a very difficult and complicated language and he believed if he prayed in his mother tongue, God would be bored. He therefore prefers to pray in English which has words that sound good, giving examples of words like *the almighty*, *the omnipotent* and many others as opposed to the Luganda words *Gguluddene* ('God of all Gods'), *Kabamba ggulu* ('creator of heaven') which he thought did not sound very pleasant. Such negative attitudes affect the use of local languages in some domains particularly because their speakers believe these languages are not good enough to be used in them.

Language use in the religious domain gives local languages a chance to be used by the people in their communities. It is one of the domains that will boost a language's prestige and status in its community because religion is something that people are passionate about. This also has other positive effects, including favouring language maintenance. However, as in other domains, the negative attitudes towards the use of local languages in this domain were found in some

young people, who commented that they preferred English led church services. According to some, English led services had modern sound, especially from the music and instruments played, and thus were more attractive than the local language services, e.g. in Luganda, which were more traditional and therefore to them not very 'cool'.

4.6.5 Language use and the judiciary

In the courts of law and other legal spheres, especially in urban areas, English is mainly used while Luganda also plays a significant role. As already mentioned, when the missionaries arrived in Buganda (Uganda), Swahili was the language of the court. With the opposition and hostility that developed towards Swahili, English and Luganda later replaced it. Today, according to one court administrator of the Buganda-road court (interview conducted on 14th July 2010), the court in Uganda operates a bilingual policy where English is the main language of communication as the official language of the country but where the importance of the regional languages in effective communication is also recognised, such that in Buganda, Luganda is recognised as a language of communication in the courts of law. However, the court also recognises the need and the right to be represented in a language that the person is well conversant in, a language through which this person will feel fairly represented. The court then provides interpretation services by the court clerk. However, if the court clerk is not conversant with the language to be interpreted into, then a special translator is brought in.

During fieldwork, some time was dedicated to observing language use in the courts of law. This was done from the 1st to the 11th of June 2010 and on the 13th, 14th and 15th of July 2010. The courts observed included Buganda Road Magistrates courts (Courts 1, 2, 3 and 4) and the Kampala High court. During the observation, different cases were presented including several burglary cases, rape cases, a murder case, and several land and property ownership cases. During my

observations, there were only three cases where no translation from English to Luganda was needed, out of the forty cases observed all together; two of the defendants were of Asian origin while the other was from Buganda. All translation was mainly into Luganda. This shows that there is a high number of people who need to be served under the courts of law but are not conversant in English, the official language. Although the court makes fair access to the law a priority, especially through providing translators, there is a need to provide this service through the language people understand and not through translators who, as observed in different cases, failed to provide accurate translations. This led to the judge in one case, and the prosecutor in another, to translate their own communications. Secondly, in the light of the numbers of people who require the translation services, questions about the quality and equality of access with respect to language can be raised. Some of the court clerks for instance, who were supposed to do the translations, were not first language speakers of Luganda, and did not have any linguistic training whatsoever, which was evident in the quality of the translation as they too admitted to the difficulty they experienced while translating.

On several occasions, the prosecution team was not content with the quality of the translation from the court clerk, so the relevant lawyer decided to switch from English to Luganda so that he could ask the questions directly or translate/interpret his own questions, an act that was common in the courts of law. This raises the question that, if the lawyer speaks Luganda which the defendant speaks too, why then go through the trouble to use English and involve a translator (who might not do a very good job, such that the lawyer has to translate his own words). Although some judges and their team seemed conversant in Luganda, the regional language, they often insisted on the use of English, the official language. However, in one court session, the judge used Luganda to speak directly to the defendant and it turned out that this particular case had been on the judge's table for quite some time. The defendant had apparently repeatedly complained of not being ready, or not feeling well, so that

this time round, the judge told the defendant that she would not close the day without his defence and she succeeded in making him talk.

It was reported by the court administrator (interview conducted on 13th July 2010) that the language situation is manipulated to suit people's needs in the courts of law. For instance, there have been cases of people who have claimed to speak languages that are not common, expecting that the court would have difficulties in providing translation. Secondly, prosecutors have also maintained the use of English despite their knowledge of the regional language, or even other languages; an act which looks to be power related. Because English in such circumstances facilitates the formation and maintenance of social class in the community, it is possible that lawyers exploit this sociolinguistic prestige; English is a language that gives them more authority and power over the complainants and defendants, so its use is aimed at making the whole process intimidating and thus to their advantage. But also as Githiora (2008: 236) puts it in the case of Kenya, English is the language of power and its deployment often serves to establish formality and social distance between interlocutors. This was clearly illustrated in the court during the different cases, where those who did not need translations, the defendants showed some degree of confidence as opposed to the cases where they did not speak English and they were clearly terrified had no confidence at all.

In rural areas also, the same pattern of English as the main language of communication and Luganda as the language of translation was followed, although there were some isolated cases where Luganda was used as the main language of communication. This depended on the judge who decided which language to use and how to use it, especially if s/he is fluent in the area-local language. In some regions, like eastern Uganda, where Luganda has been used in most official domains since colonial times, and in other minority language regions, e.g. Buruuri area (see chapter five), Luganda is used as the official

language and as the language commonly used in the courts of law as the main language of translation, while the local languages of the region are used whenever required. According to Mr. Kamya (interview conducted on the 4th August 2010) Luganda in this region is taken by people as their official language and is used commonly in this domain. By this he meant that in areas where people in Kampala or other regions used English, in Nakasongola, Luganda was used instead. However, English was also still used as the main language of the court.

Unlike other domains that have shown some divergence from the official policy in practice, by allowing individual language practices to be incorporated in the main official policy or practice, in the judiciary, there seemed to be a degree of rigidity especially towards the use of English. The leading participants in this communication domain feel they need to follow the official language as stipulated by the constitution, while maintaining the use of translation services where there is need. This however, has been so despite the questions raised on the effectiveness of the communication and fair/just representation of people in this domain. This hierarchical nature of language use, where the judge and his team use English while the rest use Luganda or the local language assumes the status and prestige of English and not with the local languages.

4.7 Language attitudes vis-à-vis the general language policy situation

This section concludes the discussion on language management in Uganda by presenting the general language policy trends in the public, and the beliefs and ideologies behind the different practices. It discusses the language attitudes found in the public and in particular in the youth. During fieldwork, three focus group discussions were conducted with students in three schools (see section 1.4.3 for more details about these) to find out more about language attitudes especially in the younger generation. Some of the information provided has been mentioned in

earlier sections but for the purpose of emphasising certain points these ideas are discussed again.

4.7.1 General language policy situation

The planning and management of the use of Luganda has not always been a successful journey with setbacks related to ideologies and attitudes. Because local languages in Uganda have not been awarded any official status other than in education and without any official or financial support from the government, the process has been complicated. Most of the language planning work has been done at the grassroots level by local people who wish to contribute to language development but lack sufficient funds and capacity to influence changes in the community. Although there have been some small examples of financial support from the business community backing some language planning activities, these have mainly focused on such activities that have financial returns, such as those that lead to advertisement of their companies. This support is therefore skewed towards activities that mainly affect these companies, such as the radio and TV programmes, but not language support in schools or even language documentation.

Luganda has however been advantaged over other indigenous Ugandan languages, by the historical turn of events; including its early use by the colonial government in different domains such as religion and evangelism, education, the media, government administration and also its official status in the pre-colonial period. As a result Luganda has become widely used in different parts of Uganda, and learned as a second or even third language by the majority of the people in the region. The strategic location of Buganda and the use of Luganda in the capital city area have in turn changed the status of Luganda to become a city and aspirational language to many people in different parts of rural Uganda who aspire to come to the city for a better life and opportunities. Secondly, the privileged position of the Baganda under the colonial administration facilitated

the spread of Luganda beyond the immediate confines of the kingdom. As already mentioned, the policy employed by the administrators to use Luganda in administration and other communications in the different territories also facilitated not only its maintenance but also its use.

The prestige Buganda enjoyed during the colonial administration, including its chiefs working as administrators in the colonial government in parts of the country besides Buganda, in turn influenced and attracted prestige to Luganda. Other factors that cannot be ignored for their contribution to the current status and prestige of Luganda are the formal and informal language planning and management activities by the different people and language planners who, as Mazrui & Mazrui (1998) put it, were inspired by a strong sense of ethnolinguistic nationalism and therefore were not willing to see any other language apart from Luganda become the official language of the country.

However, other language management strategies employed to maintain the use of Luganda in different domains, such as the formal and informal corpus planning, where the orthography was developed and the standardisation process, all facilitated its prestige and use in different domains. The language festivals and quizzes have also been a very good prestige language management strategy which has improved language attitudes but also educating the public about the different language forms and uses. All these factors have contributed to present language practices, use and maintenance of Luganda in the different domains, facilitating its current status and use. Because of this however, some people still believe Luganda should be Uganda's official and national language, as illustrated in the article 'Does it matter what language you speak?' by Kavuma (*The Observer* 13th October 2010), where he says:

"The members of parliament are conspicuous by their silence in the House due to their inability to articulate views in logical and accurate English. In spite of the high illiteracy rates in the country, it is claimed that English is

understood by very many Ugandans. If that is the case, why then should parliamentary candidates not address rallies in English, the language they will use in Parliament if elected? What's the point in 'blowing' [speaking] all your Luganda, spiced with convincing jargon, during campaigns to try and impress the electorate … yet you can't even translate your Luganda into intelligible parliamentary English? Uganda is polluted by politics of tribalism which is clouding MPs' judgment when they rejected Luganda as a national language because "Baganda will boast"! I am not aware of any other nation incredibly boastful and jealously proud of their language more than the English. Yet the civilized world has accepted English as indispensable".

In the above quotation, the writer accuses the members of parliament for the language policy situation; as they do not use these official languages with the people they represent, nor are they fluent in these but they do nothing about it. The writer also mentions tribalism as the reason why Luganda has not become Uganda's official or national language, since speakers of other languages do not support this in preference to their own languages. This belief came up during fieldwork as the reason behind the rejection of Luganda as the national language. This is evident in the quotation from one of the respondents below:

"Luganda is widely used in Uganda, but because of tribal conflicts that may occur when and if made a national language, it has been ignored. I think Luganda deserves to be given a chance"

However, making Luganda the national language of Uganda seems to be as controversial as the current policy because Luganda on its own is not representative of the language practices, and certainly would not be the solution in such a multilingual setting where Ugandans speak forty three and more languages.

4.7.2 Language attitudes

Information on language attitudes was mainly obtained, as mentioned earlier, through three focus group discussions (see section 1.4.3, for more details) which were conducted to find out more about the existing language attitudes especially in the younger generations. However, this was also supplemented by the formal and informal interviews and observations conducted during fieldwork.

The current language attitudes of young people do not show much evidence for enthusiasm towards their mother tongues, including Luganda. The results of the focus group discussions from the three schools showed that these young people thought that local languages, Luganda included, were not good enough in this modern world. They thought these languages did not have a high value, as they would not be able to secure them a good job, or help in their aspirations, but because they are not encouraged to speak these languages either at home or in schools. One of the students in the middle class mixed school said that speaking local languages like Luganda caused poor performance in education and that her parents did not allow them to speak Luganda at home (which she said was their home language) while she had the duty as the older child to teach the younger children to speak good English. Below are some of the views expressed during these discussions.

> "How can I conduct good business in my Luganda, my Luganda will influence the way I pronounce English, for instance, I will say *lead* instead of *read*, *gaalo* instead of *girl*, and besides we are not really united in Uganda"

This statement was made by a girl from the upper class girls' boarding school. In this quotation there are two beliefs expressed. Firstly that local languages influence the way one speaks English which is not seen as a good thing. And secondly, the lack of unity in Uganda is mentioned, an ideology that has been

advanced mainly by politicians to make people believe it is the result of the multilingual nature of Ugandans (and that speaking English would reverse this).

In all the schools, it was realised that the students felt ashamed to speak local languages. However, this feeling appears to be more common in higher and middle social class families than the low class families. In the semi-urban public school, which attracts more lower class students, although there was a sense of admiration for the English language and a preference to maintain it as the medium of instruction, the attitudes towards the local languages, especially Luganda, were found to be more positive than in the other two schools, with some advocating Luganda as the official language. One of the aspects noted was the language used during the discussions. The groups were told to use any language they preferred and in this particular school, students were excited to use Luganda in the discussions, which they used fluently, as opposed to the other two schools where the students insisted on using English in the discussion. In the middle class mixed boarding school, it was also observed that students code-switched between the two languages, English and Luganda, but used English more than Luganda. The boys were more comfortable using more Luganda while the girls used more English.

In one school (the upper class girls' school) I was told of the story of the telephone nightmare where, after school, girls lined up on the only telephone booth in the school to call their parents because they are not allowed to have mobile phones. For those girls whose parents could not speak English, but only Luganda, it was a nightmare. To be heard by fellow students speaking Luganda on the telephone would attract bullying and also name calling. It was also mentioned that such students would even advise or trick their parents into not visiting them at school because of their fear of being heard speak Luganda. Some parents also expressed the same fear to visit their children in such schools

because of the worry of not speaking English since these schools are English only speaking environments (also see section 4.6.1 above).

The shame in speaking their mother tongue was also experienced even with other respondents as it can be realized in the quotation below.

"so many people don't like and feel inferior to use their mother tongue thinking that people will think they are illiterate, yet they are educated. For that reason I prefer to use English, than to speak Luganda.

There was also an attitude of Luganda not being good enough or being too archaic for particular functions and domains and only suitable for local and traditional functions. Examples include, a boy who thought Luganda words were not fit to be used in prayer (discussed in more detail in the language and religion section, see section 4.6.4 above), and the derogatory nickname 'local G' (see section 4.6.3 above). These examples were both made by pupils from high class schools, two of the best schools which are usually attended by students from the high socio-economic class. They show how the use of local languages was interpreted by students from higher socio-economic back grounds to be not modern, which to them is definitely not a good thing. However, despite the negative attitudes, some encouraging statements or positivity about the local languages was found. One of the statements was:

"Okay we need English but we need our languages too to keep our identity, because this is who we are…"

This sense of ethnolinguistic identity makes people associate with their languages and ethnicity and in many ways is what has kept many Ugandan languages strong

and continued to be used in different domains today. Almost 90% of the people interviewed felt their mother tongues played a significant role in their lives; they felt their languages sounded homely, gave them comfort during communication and they wanted to use them if circumstances allowed. If this is how people think about their languages, then in evaluation of the government policy this means that ignoring people's languages and not giving them functionality in their communities (what the current official language policy is doing) means ignoring people's identity and sense of comfort.

Language politics however has caused this sense of identity that exists in the different ethnic groups to be viewed negatively. Local languages have been accused of creating ethnic tensions, because in Uganda a language that a person speaks identifies them with ethnicity. Although in reality, there is no one to one relationship between language and ethnicity, there is a tendency to associate one's language with their ethnicity. With the tensions between different ethnic groups, some caused by historical events and others by politics, language has become a link, used by many people and especially politicians to their advantage. This has also been a reason behind the support of the current official language since the local languages are believed to enhance inter-tribal conflicts and disunity. This can be exemplified by the 2009 riots in Kampala city, which were caused by the act of police stopping the King of Buganda from attending youth day celebrations in a former territory (county) of Buganda. The rioters used language to identify who was from Buganda and who was not by asking '*Tambula nga omuganda*' which is literally translated as 'walk like a Ganda'. This is a traditional way of introducing oneself by citing one's lineage, mentioning where one comes from, one's grandparents and clan and it is supposed to be cited in a particular way and during traditional functions. Those who failed to answer this question were terrorized which scared people. Such acts show how languages in this environment are used to enhance ethnic tensions and divisions. This is a challenge which needs to be specifically addressed by language planning in Uganda, especially through multilingual language policies

that can enhance inter-tribal, inter-language and inter-cultural communication, an act that can definitely enhance cooperation and unity.

The attitudes towards Luganda in Uganda remain controversial. On the one hand, Luganda remains a highly prestigious and widely used language, advantaged by its geographical position as the language of the political and economic capital, Kampala, but also because of the historical and demographic factors discussed in this chapter. In other parts of Uganda, the ability to speak Luganda indicates that the speaker has been to the city and to 'have made it' (see Sprenger-Tasch 2003). Secondly, to those who aspire to move to the city it then becomes an ambition to learn the language of the city in preparation for the new adventure, in search of a better life and opportunities.

This can be illustrated by the quotation below from one of the respondents of this study.

> "I have seen people who are non-Baganda feeling proud of speaking Luganda, but not any other Ugandan language. Secondly, Luganda is the language mostly spoken in the capital city of Uganda and it is the only local language which is spoken in almost all the parts of the country. It is the language of Ugandan music, the language of road transport almost all over the country with expressions such as *mumaso aho*, *tugende batwale* ('stop, let's go take them') pronounced with the Luganda accent are pervasive. It is also trendy to borrow popular expressions from Luganda such as *bicupuli* ['fake'], *kiwani ['a lie']*, *kumalako ['*determination'*]*, etc…"

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described the sociolinguistics of Luganda, characterising its use in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times. I described the language policy, planning and management process of Luganda, investigating the

language planning and management strategies employed by the language managers or planners or agencies in managing the use and maintenance of Luganda to the present day. I also investigated the language use patterns of Luganda in the different domains including home use, school or education, the media, and others, in order to understand the use of the language in various domains, and the attitudes, beliefs and ideologies behind these practices.

The findings as illustrated in this chapter indicate that the sociolinguistics of Luganda and especially its current status and use, can be attributed to the direct and indirect language planning and management. This includes the planned and unplanned efforts by the colonial government, by the language planning agencies mentioned and the grassroots efforts and activism by all the stake holders. This has helped in corpus planning, including producing literature, devising the orthography, and also, most importantly, the advocacy work to promote the use of Luganda in the different domains especially the formal domains which is an important aspect of prestige planning. It is also important to note that the different language practices demonstrated in the different domains of language use illustrate the existence of multilevel language policies and practices in the different levels of language use, which do not have provisions in Uganda's official language policy.

Chapter five

The sociolinguistics of minority languages in Uganda: The case of Luruuli-Lunyara

This chapter discusses Luruuri-Lunyara, a minority language of Uganda, spoken to the west of the river Nile, in the Lake Kyoga basin region. The chapter describes the case of a small language whose speakers, for different reasons, are shifting to speaking Luganda and other regional languages like Rutooro. In this chapter, I discuss the language practices of this language, including the language attitudes and ideologies, and the language planning and management efforts to sustain its use. The data is presented in comparison with other regional languages like Luganda, discussing the position of such minority languages in the national linguistic place. The implications of this comparison for the theory of language policy and planning vis-à-vis language maintenance in multilingual settings are also addressed. I will also attempt to analyse the linguistic vitality of Luruuri-Lunyara using Giles, Bourhis and Taylor's (1977) framework. In this framework I assess the vitality of Luruuri-Lunyara using the three variables of status, demography and institutional support (and the results show a very low vitality of the Luruuri-Lunyara language community), but will also assess the vitality of this ethnolinguistic group using the findings of this study, especially on the historical dynamics and the in-group perceptions.

5.1   Introduction

Luruuri, or Luuri as referred to in some texts, is one of the minority languages spoken in Uganda by about 160,000 people (Lewis 2009). It is classified as Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern Narrow Bantu, Nyoro-Ganda (J.10) (Lewis, 2009). Other languages in the J.10 group of Bantu languages are Lukiga, Luganda, Lugungu, Lugwere, Lukenyi, Runyankole, Runyoro, Rutooro, Lusoga, and Lusinga. Luruuri was originally

mainly spoken in the districts of Nakasongola, Masindi, Luweero and Kayunga. However, Luweero district is now mainly a Luganda speaking area, parts of Nakasongola and Kayunga are also following the same trend while Masindi is a Runyoro speaking area. The historical change in language use gives a glimpse into the status of Luruuri, how the language has become less widely used and its usage more restricted. This is due to a combination of factors, such as a shift of its former speakers to the main languages Luganda and Runyoro, and the change in demographics caused by factors like urbanisation, as well as historical and economic factors.

Luruuri has three main varieties, including western Luruuri spoken in Masindi district and eastern Luruuri spoken in Nakasongola district (Lewis 2009). Lunyara is the third variety of Luruuri mainly spoken in Kayunga district. The eastern Luruuri spoken in Nakasongola district is strongly influenced by Luganda, with a lexical similarity of 70%, while the western variety is influenced by Runyoro, the main area language of the region, with 71% lexical similarity (Vander Wal & Vander Wal 2005). The Ethnologue does not mention Lunyara as a dialect of Luruuri, but Ladefoged et al. (1972) says Lunyara shares 91% of lexical features with Luruuri (i.e. western and eastern Luruuri) while Vander Wal & Vander Wal (2005) believe that 90% intelligibility exists between these two language varieties (i.e. Lunyara and eastern and western Luruuri). Many Baruuri talked to during this study thought that the western variety spoken in Hoima district was the true Luruuri, which coincides with the belief of their origin being from the Bunyoro kingdom before the annexation by Buganda during the later years of colonialism. In this study, I adopt the compound name Luruuri-Lunyara to refer to all the three varieties of Luruuri (western and eastern Luruuri, and Lunyara) especially because of arguments that Luruuri (eastern and western Luruuri) and Lunyara may be possibly two separate languages, incorporated for convenience or for political reasons.

∴∴∴∴ Luruuri speaking area

Figure 12: Map of Uganda showing the location of Luruuri on the language map of Uganda (Lewis 2009)

5.2 Historical background of Buruuri-Bunyara

Buruuri and Bunyara are part of the seven 'lost counties' (Buyaga, Bugangaizi, Buweekula, Bugerere, Buruuri, Singo, Bulemeezi (Rugonjo)) which were donated by the British colonial masters to the Buganda kingdom in 1900 as a token of appreciation for its collaboration with the colonialists (Kiwanuka 1968). Buganda chiefs and aristocrats received land titles to most of the land in these 'lost counties'. During this time (1900-1960), Buruuri, which is present day Nakasongola district, and Bunyara, which is present day Kayunga district, were

ruled by Buganda chiefs. During this time, the Baruuri-Banyara were subjected to the Kiganda ways of living, including adopting cultural practices and language. But before that, Baruuri-Banyara, according to Isaabaluuri (2004), was part of the Bunyoro-Kitara kingdom from the early days of the Batembuzi (the early kings) rule. Like Buganda, pre-colonial Buruuri were organised and lived in small groups as clans, where each clan occupied and lived together in a village. Baruuri-Banyara were both agriculturalists and pastoralists. When the British arrived in this region, unlike the Baganda who collaborated with the British, the Baruuri-Banyara under the Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom resisted the colonial masters. This resistance from Bunyoro-Kitara culminated in a vigorous war, in which the Baruuri collaborated with the Banyoro. Mwogezi reports that the British employed a scorched earth programme in Buruuri after realising Buruuri were the main producers of food for the Bunyoro-Kitara resistance army (Isaabaluuri 2004), which aimed at weakening the group thus dissolving the resistance. During this time, they burned every food crop in the land leaving the farmlands bare.

A combination of such factors as war, hunger partly caused by the scorched earth programme and epidemics like smallpox, made the community weak and vulnerable and prone to attacks from neighbouring stronger communities. These factors eventually caused the region to become unattractive, causing people to migrate to other parts of the country including Buganda, which as the area of the capital of Uganda had more employment opportunities, and Bunyoro. It is alleged that Buganda had earlier annexed Buruuri from 1832 to 1856, but later lost it to Bunyoro until it was given back by the colonial government in the 1900 agreement (Kiwanuka 1968). Thus from that day onwards, Buruuri-Bunyara ceased to be an independent political group and officially became part of Buganda. The political annexation of Buruuri by Buganda led to the loss of Buruuri ethnic autonomy.

Buganda employed its own administrators and judicial, political, religious and educational heads in the Buruuri/Bunyara region and these were all Baganda chiefs. Buganda employed an assimilation policy in which people from such annexed regions were made to adopt new identities, including having Kiganda names, and following new traditions and customs, including language. In this era, Buganda chiefs are accused of having forced the Baruuri/Banyara to denounce their ethnicity 'Baruuri' and forced to say they are "Baganda" and that there was no such an ethnicity as "Baruuri" or such language as Ruruuri (Isaabaluuri 2004). According to one elder in Nakasongola (interview conducted on 27th July 2010), the Buruuri ethnicity ceased to exist at that time, to the extent that even at birth or death registration, one could no longer be identified as a 'Muruuri' but was identified as a 'Muganda', since there were no longer provisions for the former ethnic group.

The use of other indigenous languages was banned, while Luganda was emphasised as the official language of the kingdom, including all the annexed areas, and was also used as the official language in education (or schools), churches, public offices and administration, plus all the other social interactions (Isaabaluuri 2004). In a memorandum submitted by Mubende Banyoro Committee to the commission of privy councillors appointed to investigate the issues of the 'lost counties', the committee mentions cases of suppression of their mother tongue, saying their language has been banned from courts, churches, offices and schools where their children are being taught in Luganda. They also give an example of a woman by the name of Eyengonzi who failed to give evidence in Luganda and was remanded and later fined (extracted from Isaabaluuri 2004). The Mubende Banyoro Committee was formed in 1918 to fight for the rights of the people in all the seven lost counties. But the Baruuri's voice was not heard even in the seven lost counties, and thus not much help was received from this movement. In the 1930s, another patriotic movement known as 'Baruuri Kwebeera' was formed to specifically address the needs of the Baruuri people. However, this also failed to yield better results and the help the Buruuri

people needed. The major objectives of these trusts or associations were to demand that the indigenous people in the lost counties be allowed to speak their mother tongue, follow their cultural norms and also appoint chiefs of their own from their own region Buruuri (Kiwanuka 1968, Isaabaluuri 2004).

Bunyoro Kingdom and the Mubende Banyoro Committee had tried to regain the 'lost counties' but the colonial government postponed this issue until after independence. In 1964, a referendum was held for the people of Bunyoro to decide whether these counties remain with Buganda or be reverted back to Bunyoro. The people voted for only two counties to be reverted back to Bunyoro, Buyaga and Bugangayizi, while the rest (including Buruuri and Bunyara) stayed under the management and control of Buganda. However, things were bound to change with the new government, the national resistance government, headed by President Museveni in 1986. It brought some light to the existence of minorities and marginalised groups in Uganda, including the Baruuri, giving them recognition and rights to participate in the different levels of national decision making processes, enshrined in the national constitution of Uganda. Both Buruuri and Bunyara were recognised in the 1995 national constitution as distinct and independent indigenous communities in Uganda and were given two independent districts, Nakasongola and Kayunga which were formerly part of other districts. These new political demarcations allowed this region to be represented in the national parliament.

Nakasongola and Kayunga districts, the primary locations where Luruuri-Lunyara is spoken today, were originally part of other Buganda districts namely, Nakasongola was part of Luweero district and Kayunga, the Lunyara speaking area, was part of Mukono district. In 1997 and 2000 respectively, the two regions were made independent districts. This has politically empowered the region, and the people, making the Baruuri-Banyara more independent from the dominant groups of the region but also benefiting directly from the national budget and

other government projects through decentralisation. The region elects its members of parliament, and people participate more in the governance of their own region than before.

In 1994, the Baruuri/Banyara cultural trust was formed in order to have a body that would advance the needs of the Baruuri/Banyara and to also mobilise and unite the Baruuri/Banyara (Isaabaluuri 2004). It is through this cultural association that the two groups elected their cultural leader, who was later crowned as the Isabaruuri (King) of Buruuri, Isaabalongo Mwogezi Butamanya Mubwijwa. Around the same time, the Banyara also elected their leader, the Isaabanyara. Both communities reclaimed their independence from Buganda; and the Cultural Trust, with the leadership of the Isabaruuri, encouraged people to speak their language Luruuli-Lunyara and to practice their culture. So despite the preceding hundred years of assimilation, some people still saw themselves as ethnically Baruuri, and were therefore determined to revive their ethnolinguistic community. This situation was also strengthened through the political and economic advantages of the political independence gained by the region at the time. Although both communities seem to be politically independent of each other, both with different districts and cultural leaders, they see themselves as one cultural-ethnic community, similar and working together to revive their language and culture. However, although this was the common understanding by most members of the community, I also observed some sense of confusion among a few members who thought that considering these two communities to be the same was political propaganda as they were otherwise two independent ethnic-cultural communities probably with a similar cause.

5.3 Language choices and practices: Factors, processes and events that have affected the use of Luruuli-Lunyara language over time

In this section I discuss the language choices and practices related to Luruuri-Lunyara, discussing the factors and processes that have influenced or affected the use of the Luruuri-Lunyara language over time, and analysing the language management decisions and strategies made by the language agencies to boost and encourage language maintenance.

5.3.1 General language practices

Luruuri-Lunyara is spoken in four districts of Uganda namely Luweero, Nakasongola, Masindi/Hoima and Kayunga. Although this is the case, only two districts are currently actively speaking Luruuli and that is Nakasongola and Hoima districts. People in Luweero district and Kayunga district, a Lunyara variety speaking area, have shifted to Luganda, and the two districts are today a Luganda speaking area. There have been varying reports about the number of speakers of Luruuri-Lunyara with one of the estimates saying it is spoken by only 150,000 people (Vander Wal & Vander Wal 2005) while the 2002 Uganda census shows that there are 160,132 Baruuri and Banyara combined out of the 34 million Ugandans (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2011). It should be noted that there has not yet been a language question included in the national census, but only a question about ethnicity. The ethnicity data is sometimes used to estimate the linguistic population, yet the two features, language and ethnicity may not necessarily have a direct one to one relationship. This therefore means that the mentioned speakers of Luruuri-Lunyara may not actually all be speakers of this language, and because a significant number of ethnic Baruuri-Banyara have shifted to Luganda and Runyoro, the number of speakers of Luruuri-Lunyara is likely to be much smaller than estimated.

The historical legacy of domination (including social, political, economic and also linguistic domination) from the dominant groups in Uganda and Buganda particularly, has sparked off a trail of problematic characteristics of the sociolinguistics of Luruuri-Lunyara in Uganda, as with many other minority languages. The Luruuri-Lunyara language, as a result of the domination became neglected, abandoned and very marginalised. Like many other minority languages in Africa and Uganda, Luruuri-Lunyara has largely remained a family/home language, and a cultural medium for the Luruuri-Lunyara culture. This has eventually made the language socially and demographically inferior with very minimal prestige in its society, and with mainly cultural (solidarity/in-group) and symbolic functions. However, these functions according to some respondents have increased with the recent political status and recognition.

This trail of events and experience has led to many speakers feeling inferior to those who speak other bigger languages like Luganda and Runyoro. My field observation showed that the speakers of Luruuri often did not use their language in the public domain, and thus they used other widely used languages like Luganda. This has eventually led to a number of speakers shifting to these languages in terms of both language use and self identity. This is reflected in the attitudes shown in the interviews I conducted. Different respondents mentioned reasons why they thought people no longer spoke Luruuri-Lunyara, including that it is a language for culture and traditions but not for modern life, and that it provided no opportunities. One respondent said he thought Luruuri-Lunyara was a concoction of different varieties, and therefore to him, it was not a language like other languages such as Luganda. A young female respondent said her parents did not teach them Luruuri because they felt 'it was a language of the wrong', used in witchcraft and other dubious practices.

However, although the use of Luruuri-Lunyara was limited, especially in public domains, thus contributing to the decline of the use of Luruuri-Lunyara, one of

the factors that have strongly kept this language to continue being used until today is its use in the home domain. As many language policy scholars (e.g. Fishman 1991, Spolsky 2004) have agreed, language use in the family or home domain is a very important if not the most significant part of language maintenance and very crucial for language survival (see section 5.3.3 for more details about language use in this domain). This is because it is through this domain that language is consistently and reliably passed on to the next generation. This also shows the relationship between status and solidarity values, in a way that although Luruuri status was very low, its value in terms of solidarity rates high, which is why it continued to be used in close relationships. However, the revival of Luruuri culture and political participation since the 1990s has also boosted the use of Luruuri, creating a positive image which had been fading away. According to officials from the Isabaruuri office (interview on 12th July 2010), the use of Luruuri-Lunyara today has significantly increased when compared to its use ten years ago. According to them, ten years ago, in places like Nakasongola town council, one could not speak Luruuri-Lunyara at all in public. Speakers were very shy and ashamed to use Luruuri-Lunyara in public places, an attitude that developed after years of domination and assimilation from Buganda, as opposed to today, where the use of Luruuri-Lunyara is now possible in different domains (see sections 5.3.5 and 5.3.6 for examples of this).

5.3.2 Multilingualism and the use of Luruuri-Lunyara

The regions where Luruuri-Lunyara is spoken, especially Nakasongola and Kayunga districts, are highly multi-ethnic and multilingual regions. According to the 2002 national census (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2005), the independent ethnic groups recognised as living in the area include Baruuri-Banyara, Baganda, Basoga, Bagisu, Banyarwanda, Acholi and Laŋŋo. Many people interviewed in this region were highly multilingual, with a language repertoire ranging from three to four languages on the lower side to eight to nine languages on the higher side. Among the languages repeatedly exhibited in these linguistic repertoires are Luganda, Luruuri-Lunyara, and Runyoro. Swahili was also mentioned by a

number of people as being used. Luganda was mainly used in all the official domains, including the public communication sphere, local or village meetings, in the courts and other domains of public life. English was also mentioned as being used in the public domain, but mainly between the administrators rather than between locals. As one interviewee (interview conducted with the district inspector of schools on 4th August 2010) stated, "here, it is assumed that every one speaks Luganda because people take Luganda to be their official language."

Luruuri-Lunyara is still purely an oral language, not yet written. Its orthography is still being prepared by the Luruuri-Lunyara district language committee which is composed of members from the Luruuri-Lunyara cultural trust, education officers and local elders interested in language issues. The language is highly used in the oral language practices, especially in rural areas with limited use in functional domains. However, I found that a significant number of families were still speaking Luruuri-Lunyara in their homes, a factor that has significantly increased the chances of the language's survival.

Although this factor works towards the advantage of language survival, the lack of function and use in other domains, and in particular in the public and modern domains, has counter-balanced the advantages realised through intergenerational language transmission. This is especially because this use results in low status and prestige of the language, eventually negatively influencing its use, and thus limiting its continued survival. In the hierarchy of language use, Luganda is mostly used in the public domains and administration, and in the socio-public space including in the entertainment domains. In terms of language use among the different age groups, I found that Luruuri was mostly used by the older generation, while amongst the young people Luganda was found to be the main language used. This is because, young people, especially those who have not succeeded in education, aspire to go to the city (Kampala) and have opportunities in industries that may not require English qualifications but Luganda, for

example the music and entertainment industry (as all the most popular entertainment is being transmitted or translated into Luganda), shop and market vending, and other lower positions in formal establishments.

English on the other hand is mainly used at the district headquarters, by the administrators and educational officers who have embraced it and use it as the official language of the country. This includes especially executing official duties such as conducting meetings, receiving official guests and some official communications. However, I observed some official written notices being communicated in Luganda, which exemplifies a diglossic language use in some domains, and also confirms the status and function of Luganda in this region as a *de facto* official language. In social settings (and more relaxed situations), people used mainly Luganda, as one respondent noted, "in order to make sure everyone is included", especially if the group participating in the communication act is big, while in smaller interactions, language choice depended on whether the interlocutors knew each other well, and which language they would be more comfortable with. Written communication, on the other hand, is mostly dominated by English for the public-official and administrative domains while in more local settings, Luganda is used to write wills, minutes of local meetings and agreements. This is mainly because Luganda has been written for such a long time, and has a tradition of being taught in the schools, with also a substantial amount of literature available in this region including daily and weekly newspapers.

Many, including the Buruuri cultural leader Isabaruuri Isaabalongo Mwogeza (2005), have mentioned that the main reason for the decreasing use of Luruuri-Lunyara and the declining number of Luruuri-Lunyara speakers in the past is the previous dominance and harsh tendencies of the rule of Buganda and the Baganda chiefs. After taking over the land of Buruuri from the colonialists, the Baganda chiefs abolished the use of Luruuri-Lunyara and Buruuri cultural

practices, and instead promoted the use of Luganda and its associated cultural practices. This, as discussed in the previous chapter, is supported by the observation that Buganda chiefs who acted as colonial administrators employed an assimilation policy, including promoting the use of Luganda in other parts of the country, a factor that enhanced the use of Luganda in all parts of the country where Baganda chiefs acted as administrators. However, emphasising this as the only reason for the current language situation in such areas as Buruuri/Bunyara is too simplistic. Shift of languages, culture and identities is not only because of these often painful historical legacies but also because of the lack of socio-economic opportunities the use of such languages is perceived to offer (Batibo 2005). Because of this therefore, speakers develop negative attitudes and are likely to adopt the more widely used languages to use in their daily lives, for their children's education, for job seeking purposes, and general wider communications, because they consider them advantageous over their own. This, as mentioned by Batibo (2005) and others, is the main reason behind the decreasing intergenerational transmission of such languages, leading to a decreasing number of speakers, thus giving rise to language shift and language death. This was confirmed to be true by this study because now that Nakasongola district is getting more developmental programmes, as also noted by Mr. Kamya the district inspector of schools (interview conducted on the 4th August 2010), the use of Luruuri-Lunyara is increasing.

As mentioned earlier, although the use of Luruuri-Lunyara was threatened, I found (through the interviews I conducted) that its use did not completely stop but continued as a home language in some families. Therefore, although its use in the public sphere was banned (by the Baganda chiefs), people continued to use their language in homes, in traditional domains and in other in-group settings. In areas that are inaccessible and in remote areas that lack modern communication lines, especially those near Lake Kyoga and other locations like Kalongo in Kyabujongo county and Nabiswera in Budyebo county, the language shift has not progressed as much as in the more urban areas of Nakasongola and Kayunga

districts. It was reported that there are still some monolingual Luruuri-Lunyara speakers in some rural areas, especially those who have not gone to school, or who have not moved to other language speaking places (personal communication with Ms. Nannyombi, an SIL official, 24th August 2010).

However, in more accessible areas, that is those that are linked with modern road and communication lines, especially near the district administration headquarters, the language repertoire is different with English and Luganda being adopted as the new administrative languages used to communicate with and between district officials and also when communicating with the community. Although there were sporadic uses of Luruuri-Lunyara I observed, especially between people who knew each other, and its functional use in the kingdom of Buruuri as already mentioned, it was English and Luganda that were found to be used at the district head quarters, and Luganda in the rest of the urban and sub urban Nakasongola district.

Mr. Kamya, the district inspector of schools (interview conducted on the 4th August 2010), and other respondents, reported that the regional status and general attitude towards Luruuri-Lunyara had changed in recent years, especially because of events such as the recognition of Baruuri-Banyara in the 1995 national constitution as an independent ethnic group (separate from Buganda) and the installation of the cultural leaders shortly after, both of which boosted the group's cultural identity and pride. The cultural leader of the Baruuri, the Isabaruuri, immediately started on the journey of educating the people about their history, culture and language, which had an impact on the use of Luruuri in the last ten years. Some Luruuri-Lunyara speakers when interviewed said they were happy with Buruuri-Bunyara maintaining their ethnic independence, happy to use and maintain their language and culture. One middle-aged male respondent said that he was at first sceptical about the whole Buruuri-Bunyara language and ethnic revival, thinking it to be all politics. However, he said he had now realised the

positive results of the whole process of revival. Also the Prime Minister Isabaruuri's office said (interview conducted on 4th August 2010);

> "It is very important for us to speak Luruuri in order to strengthen our heritage and our culture, all of which shows who we are. Some of our people have chosen to speak English and others have decided to become 'Baganda' thinking that speaking Luruuri-Lunyara is a shameful experience, intended only for low class people. This was caused by the Baganda chiefs' propaganda that Baruuri people (meaning those who refused to change to Buganda ways of living) are wicked people so should not be associated with".

In the above quotation, the Buruuri prime minister talks about the reasons why the use of Luruuri-Lunyara declined and the shift to using Luganda, and how the negative attitudes towards the use of Luruuri-Lunyara developed. But he also emphasises that speaking Luruuri-Lunyara is important for the people to strengthen their culture, identity and heritage. However, some speakers thought that although Luruuri was essential for their identity as Baruuri, speaking Luganda is more appropriate today since it is used by everyone everywhere. Luganda (and English too) was seen by these respondents as a more appropriate language to use, as it is well established and used in modern communications.

5.3.3 Individual and family/home use of Luruuri-Lunyara

Findings from field interviews and observations showed that individuals in Buruuri, especially in Nakasongola where research was conducted, used more than two languages in their communicative repertoire. This is a result of the nature of the multilingual complexity of the area, caused by a number of ethnic groups or cross-border migration into this area (Figure 12 shows Buruuri-Bunyara surrounded by big and major ethnic groups such as Buganda, Bunyoro,

Laŋŋo and Busoga, making the region vulnerable to cross-border/regional migrations). Some of the main languages spoken as a result on top of Luruuri-Lunyara, Luganda and English, include Runyoro-Rutooro, Runyankole-Rukiga, Langi (Lango)/Luo, Lusoga and Swahili, which is mainly spoken in the army barracks region near Nakasongola town. As illustrated in the language map (see map 6) these are languages that surround the Luruuri-Lunyara speaking area. As a result, the people in the area have acquired most of these languages and all respondents interviewed used most of these languages in their daily communication, and in their social networks. Swahili was also reported to be used as the main language of interaction especially in the army barracks zone and the Nakasongola trading centre. As discussed in chapter two, there is a relationship between the army and the use of Swahili which was cultivated by historical factors (see section 2.3.4). English as the official language of the country would then be added to the list, although it is mainly acquired in school and still used in domains mainly accessed by the educated. It therefore still remains only in the circles of the educated and the high class citizens, usually limited in number in rural and newly developing towns.

Selecting which language to use will depend mainly on the two or more people engaging in the communication exchange. All the languages mentioned above would be used in all oral communications, especially with friends and people in other social networks. In situations where written communications are required or in cases where the people involved in the communication act are not familiar with one another or are not close acquaintances, Luganda is used as the language of communication (not Luruuri-Lunyara), and English might be used too, but only in formal situations and mainly by the elite. During the interviews, in formal settings like the government and district offices, or schools, I used English as the language of interview but in all cases the interview language changed to Luganda during the course of the interview, while in other domains like home and individual interviews we used Luganda and I did not need an interpreter. This may be because respondents accommodated my linguistic background or that

Luganda is the language used in semi-formal settings, such as a meeting with a person you have never met. According to Vander Wal and Vander Wal (2005), 88% of the Baruuri reported using Luruuri with friends while an average of 66% reported using Luruuri in their daily lives.

However, I found Luruuri was only used in close network associations, especially in the family with close relatives, close friends or associates, and other similar situations. All the respondents I talked to said they would only use it in situations where they were sure the other partners in the communication act were Baruuri and conversant or liked to speak Luruuri since some Baruuri do not speak the language (some respondents mentioned friends or relatives they knew who were Baruuri but no longer spoke Luruuri, and would therefore speak Luganda with them). This therefore meant that, fewer people would actually be able to use Luruuri-Lunyara in their social networks because of the diversity in ethnolinguistic backgrounds of their acquaintances and also because of the shift in language use. This also shows that Luruuri-Lunyara may not have a dense social network usage in comparison with other languages like Luganda. This situation is a common feature in language shift contexts which is caused by factors like lack of status of a language and also lack of confidence of the speakers to use their language.

Luruuri is mainly used in homes, amongst family members. According to the research conducted for SIL by Vander Wal and Vander Wal (2005), 88% of the Baruuri children do speak Luruuri at home while 69% are learning Luruuri as their first language. Although most of the Baruuri confirmed this research and also said that a number of children were still monolingual in Luruuri before going to school, those who spoke the Lunyara variety stated that the use of Lunyara by children had decreased tremendously as many children and their families increasingly spoke Luganda at home and in other domains. However, like many adults, many children were observed to be bi-, tri- and multilingual in Luganda

and other local languages like Runyoro and Lusoga which they used with their friends in their play groups. I also observed during the field trip in Nakasongola and Kayunga districts that although parents said they used Luruuri at home with their children, and also used Luruuri with the fieldwork assistant, they spoke Luganda to their children, and in a few cases where parents spoke Luruuri-Lunyara, their children responded in Luganda. Some parents reported that they did not teach their children Luruuri-Lunyara because they are in mixed marriages, and therefore used Luganda at home. This is a sign of language shift, and clearly the parents of these children were not aware of or concerned about this situation.

The language practices in homes in the rural areas are very practical and real. However in the urban areas, families are increasingly speaking Luganda rather than Luruuri. In mixed marriages, the use of Luruuri has declined as some families have taken on the other languages and not Luruuri. However, in these marriages, the chances for maintaining Luruuri were high if the mother in such a marriage was likely to continue speaking Luruuri to their children, while for marriages where men were the Baruuri, Luruuri was not spoken in the family. This is likely to be the case because women spend more time with children than their male counterparts. However, women usually want to associate with high status languages thus also being agents of language shift, therefore even when they are spending more time with their children, there is a chance that they may not speak Luruuri-Lunyara to their children. This has been so especially for women in disadvantaged positions because by learning the new language, they are also assuming a higher status.

5.3.4 Luruuri-Lunyara in the public space

Luruuri-Lunyara shares many characteristics with other minority languages that are used minimally in the public space and allocated no function at all in the public domains. One of the factors that has disadvantaged the use and function-

allocation of Luruuri-Lunyara in the public space is the fact that Luruuri-Lunyara is not yet written, with its orthography still in the process of being prepared. This implies that the language is unable to be used in formal and written communications. Because of the lack of an approved orthography (orthographies are approved by the national curriculum development centre), Luruuri cannot be used in any public written communication. Therefore communications like a will or an agreement, writing of minutes in a village meeting, and many other public communications are commonly written in Luganda.

However, I found that for traditional and cultural functions, such as the king's coronation festival which showcases cultural activities like dances, singing, art and craft work, Luruuri-Lunyara is used actively. Also in situations where the king and other cultural leaders addressed the community, Luruuri-Lunyara was used, and people are now encouraged by the king through the Luruuri-Lunyara cultural trust to at least open their meetings or functions like weddings or burial ceremonies, with a word or two in Luruuri. One Luruuri motto that people have been encouraged to use is 'Isabaluuri amamaale' which is translated as 'long live the king', to replace the Luganda version, 'Ssaabasajja awangaale', that people used before the break-up. This nature of language enhances the regional and functional/group status (Cooper 1989) of such minority languages, especially boosting their prestige through targeting negative attitudes. A possible risk arising from the situation is that the language situation may turn into or contribute to political disputes, that may result in violence and which may affect language planning initiatives. Secondly, this kind of language use (e.g. chanting mottos at meetings or using opening or closing words) is more symbolic rather than functional, and this may not be enough for a language whose use still needs to be cultivated in the public domains.

The Luruuri-Lunyara Language Association, the Cultural Trust and the Office of the Isabaruuri, the three different agencies working on Luruuri-Lunyara revival,

have tried to influence the use of Luruuri-Lunyara in the public domain, while also sensitising the public to the advantages of using their language, including enhancing ethnic and cultural identity. The Buruuri-Bunyara cultural and language associations are encouraging people to use their language as often as possible. The local council executives at the village level for instance, were encouraged and are reported to be using Luruuri-Lunyara in the opening speech of the village meeting. However, as noted in chapter three, this kind of bottom-up (or meso) language policy is complicated and its effectiveness is still questioned (e.g. Sallabank 2011). However, as I have already noted, I found that Luganda was the language used in the village meetings, functions and ceremonies although sometimes a few words were occasionally in Luruuri-Lunyara. Previously, such functions would be opened by the Buganda anthem but recently, a Buruuri anthem was made and people are now encouraged to use it instead of the Buganda anthem. The political campaigns have also offered an opportunity for the use of Luruuri-Lunyara when during the political rallies candidates had to speak in Luruuri to show that they were part of the community or that they support the cultural and ethnicity of the Baruuri-Banyara. This was not formally required, but it was necessary for the success of one's campaign.

I found during the field interviews that the political candidates who failed to address a rally in Luruuri-Lunyara, did not become popular with the electorate, because this signified that they were not part of the community while those who successfully addressed the public in Luruuri-Lunyara or at least attempted to do so would be received with cheers and attention and regarded as part of the community. This gesture is a clear example of a relationship between language and identity, because speaking Luruuri-Lunyara to the people signifies in-group identity, showing that 'you are part of us'. However, this also shows the relationship between status and solidarity, especially the solidarity function of the language, as often, even if a language scores very low on the status vs. prestige ladder, the score is high for the solidarity scale, and significant for in-group identity (e.g. Giles 1977, Sachdev 1995). Therefore, although Luruuri-Lunyara

has a low national and regional status, its prestige scores high in terms of solidarity and in-group identity. This is why people who do not or cannot speak Luruuri-Lunyara in this particular setting are not seen as part of the community and therefore as not worth being their representatives in parliament and other political offices. This is a clear example of language being used to express a certain aspect of identity.

5.3.5 Luruuri-Lunyara and the church/religion

Apart from Masindi district where Runyoro is mainly used, Luganda is used as the language of the church. It is the language of the bible in Buruuri-Bunyara and also the language for the hymns since the hymn books are still written in Luganda. The cause for this, as already explained earlier, is that Luruuri-Lunyara is not yet a written language and therefore there are no bibles or prayer books written in this language, and Luganda bible, hymn books and prayer books are instead used. However, the language used during preaching or during the church service would depend on the priest or the preacher. Field observations showed many priests switched between Luganda and Luruuri, although there were several cases where the whole service was conducted in Luganda. The association of particular languages with some religions, e.g. the case mentioned by Batibo (2005) of the association of Islam with particular languages such as Swahili, affects other languages because people shift to these languages from their own indigenous languages in order to fulfil spiritual needs. During the observations I sensed a similar case with the use of Luruuri-Lunyara, where there was a tendency for the cultural practices to be seen as un-Christian practices, thus condemned by the church, which in my view directly affects language and its use in this domain. One of the respondents interviewed who said her family mainly spoke Luganda although they were Baruuri, said they were told by their church that Luruuri was a language for witch-craft and therefore discouraged from using it. Also relevant is the example mentioned earlier where an interviewee stated that her parents associated Luruuri with uncouth practices. Followers of such churches are discouraged from using some aspects of language including names

that are regarded as evil. Such practices may be dismissed as superstition, but do have considerable effects on the attitudes of the speakers, who may lose confidence in a language that is seen as one with sects that are not pure in the eyes of God. This practice is also experienced with Luganda where some cultural practices, including ceremonies such as naming ceremonies and even certain names, are seen as not suitable in some religious sects.

According to the deputy Isabaruuri, the different churches and church ministers are today being urged to encourage the use of Luruuri-Lunyara in church especially by incorporating the language into the church proceedings (interview conducted on 4th August 2010). He said many have responded well and are willing to adjust, and gave the example of the Seventh-day Adventist church, which has responded by writing a hymn book with one hundred songs of praise in Luruuri-Lunyara. However, my observations showed that the language practices in churches were still dominated by Luganda, with Luruuri-Lunyara having limited functional use in this domain.

5.3.6 Luruuri-Lunyara and education

Luruuri-Lunyara being a minority language with a very small population of speakers (less than 1% of the Ugandan population), its use in schools, especially as a language of instruction, has in the past been seen as impractical. English was the main language of instruction in the schools in the Buruuri-Bunyara region as in other parts of Uganda until 2007, when the government implemented the 'mother tongue' language of instruction policy according to which indigenous languages were to be used as languages of instruction.

Because the policy first considered implementing the regional languages which were developed to a certain degree, in Nakasongola and other Luruuri-Lunyara speaking areas, Luganda was adopted as the language of instruction. In practice

however, before the implementation of the mother tongue language policy in primary schools (i.e. before 2007), both Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda were used in the schools of the area as the unofficial languages of instruction or classroom language practices, because with English as the language of instruction, learning and communication in the classrooms had been very difficult. Although Luruuri-Lunyara was not written by 2007, it was used especially in the rural schools where a considerable number of children who go to school are monolingual in Luruuri-Lunyara. Because of this, children found it hard to adjust to the school environment when instructions were given in a language different from what they knew. In the classroom, teachers usually introduce concepts or instructions to the children in Luruuri and then translate them into Luganda and English. There was no particular policy with regard to classroom language practices, apart from making sure that all these three languages are used in order to include all children in the classroom communication. According to Mr. Kamya, the inspector of schools (interview conducted on 4th of August, 2010), some children encountered Luganda for the first time in class when they started school, which made their adjustment to the education environment more complicated than it should be.

Because of this situation, in 2008, a Luruuri school pilot project was started in Nakasongola district by the district education office in correspondence with the local language policy, in which eight government schools were selected on sub-county level, one school in each county. In these schools, Luruuri was to be introduced as a language of instruction in primary one. Initially, teachers were given training on the tentative orthography, and also on methods to handle the new thematic curriculum in Luruuri. However, although it was hoped that more training could be provided to teachers and to extend the programme to cover two more years of mother tongue language of instruction (primary two and three), it was found that lack of funds to do this and to support materials development in Luruuri has hindered the progress of the project. In this project, teachers were expected to improvise and also become more innovative in order to sustain the project with the use of Luruuri (interview with district inspector of schools on 4th

of August, 2010). However, the difficulty entailed in teaching literacy in a language that is not yet written and which does not have a regularised or standardised vocabulary to articulate the subject matter with no reading materials whatsoever is obviously overwhelming. But it should also be noted that this has been an 'ages-old' debate in Africa, that African languages cannot be used particularly in education because they are not developed enough (e.g. Bangbose 1994, 2000). Of course there are problems, but there are also a number of questions that such a situation raises, e.g. is it better to use a different language which is not a mother-tongue with better development, or to use a mother-tongue with less development? How much development of the language is needed before a language can be used in education or before the advantages of mother-tongue education are realised?

The project should be assessed not only in terms of the advantages experienced in the classroom, but also from another angle and that is the effect it has on language attitudes in the community. I realised during the interviews that respondents seemed to be proud of the current use of Luruuri-Lunyara in education, to the extent that it brought joy and pride. In such a case therefore, such projects are bound to significantly boost the status and prestige of the Baruuri-Banyara and that of their language Luruuri-Lunyara, better achievement thus supporting its use in similar public domains. Secondly, the project is a practical move towards restoring the use of such threatened languages. Since the implementation of this programme in 2007, little progress has been made because it is still running only for the first year of primary. I found that the programme did not have a stable source of funding to sustain it which has inhibited its growth and establishment in other classes of primary school. The programme needed some kind of evaluation to assess its progress, the teachers needed more training on handling mother tongue language instruction, especially on how to deal with the issues that came up during the process, such as the language attitudes, the terminology, orthography or the spelling dilemmas. According to the district inspector of schools (interview conducted on 4th August 2010), there is a need for

more teachers to run this programme since those who are willing to do this are few. This is a consequence of complications of the government policy that sends civil workers to different regions, meaning that teachers in this particular region may be coming from other regions and may therefore not be speakers of Luruuri, but also because of the language shift situation. Lack of reading materials like text books is also a challenge for the project. One of the officials of the Luruuri-Lunyara Language Association reported that materials are being developed to support the mother tongue education policy although the Ministry of Education's National Curriculum Development Centre has not yet recorded any single book or reading material developed in Luruuri-Lunyara (personal conversation with Mrs. Bukenya, head of language-primary section NCDC, on the 29th July 2010). This is one of the weaknesses of top-down language planning, especially when such plans remain abstract and are not implemented. Unless some further support comes quickly, hope may be lost by those at the grassroots level who are trying to implement the policy and are putting effort into language maintenance and language use management.

The policy met resistance in sub-counties that are mainly Luganda speaking areas. One of these mentioned in the interviews was Kakooge sub-county and Nakasongola town council which have both shown major language shift to Luganda, and therefore did not see why children should be taught through Luruuri-Lunyara. This has been a common attitude of parents and to the mother tongue education policy as also reported in the case of Luganda. The practical reality for teachers is the availability of a regional language that is reasonably developed, with reading and teaching materials available for use in the classroom setting. As one teacher explained during the interview, Luganda is used as a model language, where if a teacher comes across a problem of terminology, she/he will first want to find out how this was handled in Luganda and if no Luruuri-Lunyara term is found, then usually the Luganda term is adopted. With such a reality, the temptation to use Luganda in the classroom is very high although such a practice may have negative effects on the maintenance of

Luruuri-Lunyara and on the educational achievement of children who start school mainly monolingual and who are not able to communicate in Luganda.

It was found that people interviewed, especially the language planners, and those interested in linguistic matters such as language board members and members of the cultural society, as well as the prime minister and the district inspector of schools, were very confident about the language in education policy that supports the use of local languages in schools as the ultimate language management strategy that will boost the use of Luruuri-Lunyara, and its maintenance. As one official said (interview with the Katikkiro of the Buruuri Kingdom, 4th August 2011):

"This is the law set by government and if that is what the law says then no one, including parents can change this. Therefore, those who would not like to teach their children Luruuri-Lunyara do not have any choice about that because this is law and no one can change that".

This quotation shows the confidence of the official in the mother tongue policy to bring change in the current use and maintenance of Luruuri-Lunyara. The official also seems not to be concerned about the attitudes of the parents and their ability to resist this kind of policy. The quotation also illustrates the ignorance or complacency regarding the lack of effective implementation of this policy and lack of funding to support its planning activities. Many scholars today have realised the weakness and unreliability in such language-education policies which are mainly top-down, dictative strategies to introduce local languages in schools, but which usually do not have pre- and post-research and evaluation to find out what may and may not work, nor appropriate implementation strategies modelled to address attitudes for the success of such policies or 'prestige planning' to address the negative attitudes (Sallabank 2011). Although this should not

undermine the strength of the education domain as a language management strategy, especially as a means of language acquisition, it alone may not be the only or best means to language maintenance. Other strategies and language management plans are required to be put in place to restore the use of such vulnerable languages as Luruuri-Lunyara. However, the pilot project considered only Luruuri variety (eastern and western Luruuri), otherwise the Lunyara variety has not yet been implemented in schools.

In summary, although Luruuri-Lunyara has been introduced to the education domain, mainly as a language of instruction in some schools in Nakasongola district, the limited use of Luruuri-Lunyara in other public domains, the practical realities of orthography and language development limitations plus the negative attitudes amongst other factors, have majorly affected its successful use in the education domain. However, for a language like Luruuri-Lunyara, its introduction to the education domain is likely to bring more advantages than only classroom/education advances including boosting the local status and prestige of the language, which will increase the esteem of its usage by the people and combat the negative attitudes of its users.

5.4 Luruuri-Lunyara language planning and management: The official and non-official practices

My observation during the field study showed there were very minimal formal or explicit efforts made in order to encourage and sustain the use of Luruuri-Lunyara in the various domains of language use, especially in the public and social domains. However, as already mentioned, in the home/individual language use, the management strategies adopted by parents, particularly their choice to use Luruuri at home, are efforts to maintain Luruuri-Lunyara.

According to one member of the Luruuri-Lunyara Language Association, apart from taking every opportunity to encourage people to speak Luruuri-Lunyara, there is nothing done in terms of language development at the moment (interview conducted on 5th August 2010). This respondent said that only one book has been written in Luruuri-Lunyara but he mentioned that they are encouraging people to write and that people have begun to do so. About two years ago, the orthography was developed based on the Roman script by SIL in association with the Luruuri-Lunyara Language Board and the process was complete by early 2011. The orthography is now being tested and according to one SIL official, testing is supposed to go on until 2012 while consultations are conducted by SIL and the Language Board in regard to matters concerning developing the Luruuri-Lunyara language including translating the bible. However, a spelling guide trial was published in 2011 by SIL which has been the one used in the mother tongue pilot project.

Apart from the policy that allows the use of local languages in schools for the first three years (Government White Paper 1992), which is the policy behind the implementation of Luruuri-Lunyara language of instruction in some public schools in Nakasongola district, there is nothing more put in place for minority languages in terms of language development by top-down, government supported initiatives. There is no financial or any other kinds of support to make such local language projects, especially for smaller languages, take off. At the grassroots level, there have been several efforts to work on both the language and its environment. There have been mainly two groups that have been planning and promoting the use of Luruuri-Lunyara, namely the Luruuri-Lunyara Language Association which is also the District Language Board, and the Luruuri-Lunyara Cultural Trust which is headed by the Baruuri cultural leader, the Isabaruuri. The main task of these associations has been to plan for the use of Luruuri-Lunyara, to motivate Baruuri/Banyara to use their language, to work on developing the orthography, and to work with SIL on developing language materials, including

translating the bible into Luruuri-Lunyara which will boost the use and prestige of Luruuri-Lunyara in religious meetings and in church.

The Baruuri/Banyara Cultural Trust on the other hand is more concerned with the political and economic situation of the Baruuri with the aim of finding ways of improving the status and prestige of the Baruuri, but also supporting the cause for the development of the Luruuri-Lunyara language. This is because, in turn, the cultural identity of the speakers of Luruuri-Lunyara will be boosted (see Ruiz 1984), which will help the community to define how they are different from Buganda and therefore deserve to be treated as independent from Buganda. However, I observed that both associations have become more focused on political activities than real language activities, which can be interpreted as using language as a means to an end, with the end being political motives. My observation during fieldwork is that some people, including the officials from the Buruuri-Bunyara Cultural Trust, were very consumed with the rivalry between them and the Buganda Kingdom, making sure Buganda officials, including the king, do not have access to the Buruuri-Bunyara. Divisions between people who supported the language-ethnic revival and those who did not also seemed to have taken a toll on the situation. This is a case of language politics that usually occurs between two language groups during the process of language planning and an example on non-linguistic factors coming into play when developing languages. However, this also relates to the language-ethnicity identity link and how this can be abused.

Lack of funds was repeatedly mentioned by different members of the Language Association Committee and the Cultural Trust as a factor that has hindered their effort to develop Luruuri-Lunyara and to do more than is done at the moment. A case mentioned was the idea of a cultural/language festival for Luruuri-Lunyara which was organised in 2008 by the two associations, and financially supported by both the Isabaruuri and the local government. However, although the event

was very successful, the committees have not been able to organise the event again because of lack of funds.

Another opportunity that the Luruuri-Lunyara language has received that is hoped will boost the language and its use by the public is the establishment of a radio station, UBC Buruuri 107.0 FM. The radio station aims at giving a voice to the Baruuri, and time to broadcast using their language. A programme that is broadcast twice a week (aired for one hour per programme), entitled 'Akaamu Kaamu', literally translated as 'what is mine, is mine', is dedicated to teaching the public the Luruuri-Lunyara language and culture. It includes features such as naming and what the Kiruuri names mean, since as reported people were no longer naming their children with Kiruuri names but using Kiganda ones. However, other languages are also used in broadcasting on this station, including Luganda, Runyoro and Runyankole, all of which are large languages in Uganda including in this area. Development of local language media as part of a larger language development effort can be a significant force in enhancing prestige and perceived value of an endangered language (Lewis 2001). However, only two hours per week for Luruuri-Lunyara does not seem to be enough airtime for promoting and revitalising Luruuri-Lunyara, while the rest of the time is given to larger languages which have more stable use and vitality.

Since Luruuri-Lunyara is a relatively young language to be used in the public domain, its allocation of just a few hours a week of radio airtime may not be enough to equip it with the strength to compete with other languages in the media. Because the radio station broadcasts in Luganda, which has had years of development as a media language, more air time needs to be allocated to Luruuri-Lunyara as a language management strategy to encourage its use. Secondly, the revitalisation and promotion of Luruuri-Lunyara would benefit from more interesting programmes on radio, rather than lessons or cultural information. Luganda language radio includes, for instance, dramas and plays, comedy,

storytelling, language quizzes and other popular programmes but also the cultural education programmes, which can all be more effective in promoting the language since a bigger audience is included rather than only a single cultural programme which may not even appeal to some people, especially the young.

With the new radio station, speakers of Luruuri-Lunyara are given priority in interactive programmes, especially the listeners who wish to call in and send greetings in Luruuri. This is a good strategy in cultivating and also maintaining language use in different domains. The station recruited fluent speakers of western Luruuri who will be able to run Luruuri programmes, and also give an example of the standard use of Luruuri-Lunyara. However, some of the respondents were not sure about the variety of Luruuri used by the radio presenters, saying it did not sound like the Luruuri they spoke. Others thought it sounded like 'old Luruuri' that is no longer used or spoken by Baruuri, yet others said it sounded more like Runyoro and it had more Runyoro vocabulary, i.e. was closer to the western variety. I established during the interviews that the western variety which is spoken in Masindi district and mainly influenced by Runyoro was favoured by the language planners and is likely to become the standard language. In one of the interviews, one official from the Buruuri said he believed the western variety is the most correct form of Luruuri and not eastern Luruuri which is influenced by Luganda, which is why it should be the one to be used in formal settings including the media.

These are some of the realities (or problems) of language standardisation, where a particular variety is favoured over other varieties that are spoken in the region. My assumption for explaining this choice is the historical ideology that Baruuri-Banyara was originally part of the Bunyoro Kingdom but annexed by Buganda during the colonial times. This therefore, is consistent with the movement to establish an independent identity for Buruuri-Bunyara, to make this ethnic group different from Buganda. Therefore, the eastern variety spoken in Nakasongola,

which is mainly influenced by Luganda, is in this sense not likely to be chosen. This is an example of non-linguistic factors (e.g. historical vs. political factors) influencing core linguistic factors during the process of language policy and planning and in this case, the cultural/ethnic identity has influenced the language development and standardisation of Luruuri-Lunyara. This is also a wish to be different from Luganda, the case of 'Ausbausprachen' planning (see section 3.4.2) and shows what usually happens during struggles of political independence (Kloss 1952).

Lunyara, the variety spoken in Kayunga district, has also got local language groups in the villages that work on language in more informal ways including teaching each other meanings of words, proverbs, singing Kinyara songs which are no longer in use and other cultural practices. The main purpose for this initiative, as established during the interview with the official in the Isaabanyara's office, was to create the basis for starting language quiz programmes like the *engule ya radio Simba* Luganda language quiz mentioned in chapter four (see section 4.6.2). The groups get together in the evening to discuss language related issues and also have some fun. However, because of financial constraints, these groups have gradually diverted from the initial aim of being language pressure groups to becoming drama groups, so as to be able to entertain the community on different occasions in order to get some money to support them. However, being a drama/entertainment group has consequences, including the need to use not only Luruuri-Lunyara as originally planned, but also Luganda in order to appeal to a bigger audience. This is another example of non-linguistic factors affecting linguistic choices. In this case, the speakers of Lunyara who are showing concern about the deteriorating use of their language and want to come together and do something about it, also want to have some money in their pockets in order to have a better life. Eventually, one aim may override the other, and the financial motivation, which is likely to yield more tangible results quite quickly, may become the winner. But the process of preparing drama

activities entails language developmental activities aimed for a real purpose and is likely to be more effective than just a language meeting.

These aspects of grassroots language management in Luruuri-Lunyara (e.g. story telling by the local language-drama groups, cultural language programmes on UBC Buruuri by the language association) so far sound more like 'folklorization' a term which is used to denote the use of local languages in irrelevant or non-functional domains (Yamamoto et al. 2008). This is mainly because this group is mainly involved in reviving cultural practices, storytelling, performing cultural dances, teaching each other proverbs and idioms to mention but a few. This was mainly observed more with the Lunyara variety than with eastern and western Luruuri. According to Yamamoto et al. (2008), folklorization is usually accompanied by ethnic rebirth and awareness among ethnolinguistic minorities when they become increasingly interested in their heritage languages. This kind of trend denies people access to meaningful and contemporary use of their languages in other domains of their daily life. With the case of Luruuri-Lunyara therefore, promoting and developing in areas such as in vocabulary development, working on the grammar and other aspects of planning are also important in order for the language to be used in domains other than cultural one.

Because Luganda is the language associated with urban life, the language used in local business and for shopping, I found that in Nakasongola district, Luruuri was minimally used in the trading centres while Luganda is used more. It is in these urban areas that more people had shifted to Luganda than in the rural places. All the people interviewed used Luganda when shopping and discussing business although my observation showed two instances where Luruuri was used in a market and I later established that in both instances, the people involved in the communication act knew each other pretty well and therefore had the confidence to use Luruuri-Lunyara. At the radio station (UBC Buruuri) Luruuri-Lunyara was

also observed to be used while at the district head quarters Luganda was used more than Luruuri.

5.5 Luruuri-Lunyara: The language attitudes

From my observations and from the interviews conducted, I found that the Baruuri-Banyara had a positive attitude towards their language. This was also reported by the sociolinguistic survey conducted by SIL (Vander Wal & Vander Wal 2005). All the people interviewed for this study (who had not yet shifted to Luganda), expressed their love towards their language and culture. This is exemplified by what Mr. Ssenkatuuka, the Mugwerwa (prime-minister) of the Isabanyara's office, said (interview conducted on 17 July 2010):

"We love our language very much because it strengthens our culture and our identity. This is who we are…"

The Baruuri/Banyara I talked to during the study (mostly adults of child bearing age and above) believed their language was still important today, especially to them as a cultural group because they felt that being a Muruuri/Munyara means one has to be able to speak their language. This therefore means that although it is used minimally in public domains, Luruuri-Lunyara is still significant especially as a symbol of cultural and ethnic identity. According to Mr. Butamanya, a primary school teacher in Nakasongola primary school (interview conducted on 20th July 2010),

"At first I thought this was political circus but I have now realised that if I am a Muruuri I have to speak my language Luruuri and I would prefer to use it because it shows who we are. How can I say I am a Muruuri if I cannot speak Luruuri".

This shows that Luruuri-Lunyara, although it is not used much in the public domains and is clearly a minority language, still plays a significant role and has a special position in the Buruuri-Bunyara ethnicity as a symbol and indicator of cultural and ethnic identity.

However, it was also clear in the interviews (and is demonstrated in the quotation from Mr. Butamanya above) that the positive attitude to Luruuri-Lunyara is a more recent development especially as a result of Luruuri-Lunyara cultural and Language association work to promote its use. But in the earlier period of Luruuri-Lunyara revival, attitudes were more negative and many Baruuri were sceptical, thinking of it as a political confrontation between Buruuri-Bunyara and Buganda that they did not want to be part of. Although this attitude still exists with some people, as discussed in this chapter, Mr. Butamanya says that a significant number of people have realised the advantages of speaking their language and therefore are becoming positive about the Luruuri-Lunyara revival.

However, there were also 'voices' or 'opinions' that Luruuri-Lunyara sounded un-intelligible, especially the western variety which was used on the radio (the people interviewed mainly spoke Eastern Luruuri). For example, one respondent said that he was not sure about the vocabulary they used especially on the radio. According to him, the words used on the radio and those used to promote Luruuri-Lunyara did not sound like the Luruuri he knew. He said it seemed to him as if he was learning Luruuri all over again, because the words he knew were said not to be correct/pure Luruuri which to him was very confusing. This respondent also thought Lunyara was a different language and not the same as Luruuri. Therefore, for the cultural trust to promote these two varieties as one language did not make sense. The thought that the Banyara were a different ethnic group and did not share the same ethnicity as the Buruuri, was found in several responses.

This state of confusion seems to be caused by the co-existence of different varieties in a language, and the preference and promotion of one variety over the other (standardisation process). However, it is also likely to be similar to the Luganda case as discussed in chapter four (see section 4.6.2 for more details) where grassroots language planning initiatives take on puristic tendencies by advocating particular forms of language use, especially old forms which are no longer in use, with the belief that language change is not a good process for language and needs to be reversed. These language planning methods (where old forms, which are no longer in use are promoted and revived, or where a different variety (e.g. western Luruuri) is promoted) are likely to be problematic because they suggest that one variety is better than the others, an ideology that is likely to affect the state of language variety and multilingualism, because people will opt for the 'correct form'.

Another attitude expressed during the interviews was the preference of Luganda over Luruuri-Lunyara because of the existence of literature and other written materials, such as newspapers. One respondent said that although he loved his language, Luruuri-Lunyara, Luganda sounded more beautiful and expressive and he preferred to use it in most domains, especially the public and formal domains, e.g. in education and administration. One of the reasons this respondent gave for this preference was that there are no books written in Luruuri-Lunyara, or newspapers publication while Luganda has a number of written books, including interesting novels. Another reason for some respondents' preference for Luganda over their own language is that Luruuri-Lunyara is still confined to limited domains, while Luganda is used in all public domains. This attitude usually develops as a result of lack of utilitarian value of language which develops as a result of a language lacking any function in official and public domains. It has also been mentioned that people have a tendency to think a written language is the correct or best form of language (Sallabank 2011) and therefore would prefer to use it rather than their as yet still oral variety. Such negative attitudes are

usually the result of the limited use of minority languages in functional domains, which causes their speakers to lose interest and confidence in using them.

In urban areas, where Luganda is more dominant, the attitudes towards Luruuri-Lunyara are not positive. Luganda is used in most domains of language use (see Chapter 4), including the social and entertainment domains, popular music, and in the up-coming film industry including the translated and interpreted Nollywood, Bollywood and Hollywood films. Luruuri-Lunyara is therefore only restricted to traditional-cultural occasions. In this situation, Luruuri-Lunyara is dominated by the dominant languages Luganda and to a lesser extent Runyoro. This I believe is the main reason behind people shifting to Luganda, and the loss of pride and confidence towards identifying with and speaking Luruuri-Lunyara. This is also echoed by Yamamoto et al. (2008), who emphasise that the use of a language in urban contexts, education, religion, technology and modern economic transactions heightens its prestige within the speaking community. They see language shift as something which frequently accompanies the transition from tradition to modernity, a situation which seems to be exhibited by the language shift in the urban areas of Nakasongola and Kayunga districts, and in the negative attitude towards Luruuri-Lunyara, which to some respondents signified tradition.

However, although the general view from the Language Association, the Cultural Trust and some Luruuri-Lunyara speaking people was that Buruuri people were positive about their language and that they wanted to continue using it in their daily lives, there were concerns about its decreasing use especially among the youth. In interviews it was found that young people were not keen on using the minority language. Girls for instance were reported (also observed) to feel shy to be seen by boys speaking Luruuri because, as reported in some interviews, they thought it would make them look like low class people; while to the boys, speaking Luganda showed that they were from the town and not from a village.

The existence of these attitudes in the youth is very likely to affect future intergenerational language transmission. To many of the Baruuri-Banyara, speaking only Luganda showed that one was not born in Buruuri/Bunyara but in another region, which also signifies a symbolic function. Although this was a disadvantage especially when the speaker wanted to be part of the 'in-group', it also attracted a higher class association which is something some people, young people especially, enjoyed and aspired to.

In summary, this section has discussed the general language attitudes towards Luruuri-Lunyara and its use in the different domains. It has highlighted general trends in the different generations' beliefs, attitudes and ideologies towards Luruuri-Lunyara, and also towards the language planning initiatives. I have described the reasons behind the beliefs and attitudes towards the use of Luruuri-Lunyara in order to understand the effect of such circumstances towards languages especially minority languages and their use.

5.6   Language politics and language use in Buruuri

According to Ndhlovu (2008), language policy is always about political power plays. This is usually as a result of the exclusionary post-colonial nation building politics and negative perceptions about linguistic pluralism and cultural diversity which are always at the forefront in the language policy making process. However, the planning of Luruuri-Lunyara has also taken place amidst several factors, including most especially the politics of language mainly shaped by the historical experience of the pre-colonial and post colonial politics, but also the ideological preoccupations. Language ideologies, as described by Winford (2003), are deeply rooted sets of (usually subconscious) beliefs about the way language is and is supposed to be. These factors have however made the process of Luruuri-Lunyara language planning very complex. Apart from the lack of political will by the central government to directly support the language planning activities, the planning of Luruuri-Lunyara is experiencing language conflicts

originating from the prior governance of this region by the kingdom of Buganda (see section 5.2). Efforts to create Buruuri as an independent political and cultural entity, and the subsequent development of their own language, Luruuri-Lunyara, have thus become a very sensitive issue, causing divisions within the community.

While some Baruuri-Banyara fully support the efforts by the Baruuri-Banyara Cultural Trust and Language Association for the group's independence and ethnolinguistic revival, a section of Baruuri-Banyara population oppose the whole idea, thinking that these are rebellious actions against their king, the king of Buganda. In June 2010 for instance, a group of Baruuri paid a visit to the King of Buganda and stated (Nakalema 2010: 10)

"...We are not supporting the 'rebellious' people because on the 19th May 1898, 121 years ago, our ancestors accepted to join Buganda and we cannot find any reason to change this…"

In this news article, the anti-Buruuri-Bunyara independence group said that those who are fighting for the independence of Buruuri-Bunyara were just being driven and influenced by political ambitions and recognition. These divisions were also observed during fieldwork especially when the pro-Luruuri-Lunyara revival supporters were interviewed, they did not want those who did not support the ethnolinguistic revival to be spoken to, and the reverse was also true. This division was also observed to affect language use amongst individuals and families in such a way that those who supported the language and cultural revival were more positive to the use of Luruuri-Lunyara, while those who were against revival were not observed to use Luruuri-Lunyara, or even to be positive about the language.

The blame game in the language situation has also dominated the language revival discourse. Buganda and its chiefs who replaced the colonial administration have been accused by Buruuri-Bunyara kingdom officials of being responsible for the negative attitudes towards Luruuri-Lunyara and the eventual deterioration in the use of Luruuri in official domains such as the administration, courts of law, and other domains. According to several officials interviewed, this started when Buganda annexed Buruuri-Bunyara and discouraged this territory from using Luruuri-Lunyara, while promoting Luganda as the regional language. Those who resisted the change were blacklisted in society and were accused of many stigmatised actions, including being witches, while the language they spoke was not recognised as a real language. However, although this could be true and could have contributed to the deterioration in use of Luruuri Lunyara, there are other factors (as discussed in this chapter) which could also have contributed to the sociolinguistic situation, especially the prestigious use of Luganda in the different regions and domains, which inspired more Baruuri-Banyara to learn the language, and to use it in order to enjoy the privileges associated with it. Language shift in many Sub-Saharan countries has been the result of a combination of factors including language contact, therefore historical reasons alone could not entirely account for the language situation.

Another argument which has emerged in the revival of Buruuri-Bunyara ethnolinguistics is the politics of division, between Buruuri and Buganda and the people. One of the aims of language planning and revival especially in Africa where multilingualism and multilingual language practices are a reality, should be to encourage and develop the use of these multilingual language practices already used by the people in the different domains. In the case of Luruuri-Lunyara language revival for instance, it would yield more positive results and understanding if people are not discouraged from using Luganda, which they have been using for over the last one hundred years. However, they should be encouraged to continue to revive Luruuri-Lunyara. But what seems to be understood by the people is that Luruuri-Lunyara revival intends to replace the

use of Luganda, which to most people sounds like a political ambition. The support of minority groups by the central government has also been interpreted as a stratagem to weaken Buganda kingdom. This is because Buganda is one of the largest kingdoms in Sub-Saharan Africa (see section 4.2 and 4.3), and this argument suggests that its strength has been considered a threat to the current political situation. To some people therefore, Buruuri does not exist, but it is a political make-up to fulfill individual and political motives, such as weakening the Buganda Kingdom.

The exclusionary post-colonial nation building ideologies have also been observed in the choice of varieties to be used in the formal/official settings. According to the findings, it was clear that the western Luruuri, a variety spoken in Masindi district was preferred to be used in the formal domains, and was the variety used on UBC Buruuri. It is also likely to be the variety to be developed as the standard dialect. This choice is influenced by the historical factors, (see section 5.2) which influenced the choice of western Luruuri, and not eastern Luruuri which may not facilitate the independent nation building, especially independent from Buganda. However, as already mentioned, in such efforts of language planning and language revival, it is necessary to recognise and promote linguistic and cultural plurality, but promotion of particular forms or varieties as the correct or preferred forms discourages plurality and could be the very reason for the deterioration in use of Luruuri-Lunyara.

5.7. The ethnolinguistic vitality of the Luruuri-Lunyara language community

Ethnolinguistic vitality can be defined as the power that makes a language community behave as a collective, active and distinctive group in situations with other groups of different ethnolinguistic background (Giles et al. 1977). Although this is the case however, it should be noted that ethnolinguistic groups in many situations today may not be exclusive, especially with multilingualism where

individuals have changing group memberships, and that groups can be constituted in different ways. In stable multilingualism therefore, languages and language groups cannot be seen as rivals and as threatening each other but as elements of multilingual and multicultural entities and practices. This therefore means that in a multilingually complex situation like Uganda, ethnolinguistic groups such as Buruuri-Bunyara cannot be considered exclusively distinctive because of the multilingual and multicultural situation. However, their vitality may still be assessed on the strength and activeness of a group as a collective entity that shares cultural and linguistic values, and their ability to continue living from one generation to the next.

The vitality of a language is challenged when individual speakers abandon it and shift to a new language (Yamamoto et al. 2008). According to Yamamoto et al. (2008), the decision to stop speaking and transmitting one's heritage language to younger generations is a personal choice but such decisions in a community may lead to the language vanishing and the consequences may impact on the whole community. According to Giles et al. (1977), groups which have low or zero vitality are more likely to stop existing as a distinct group (active and strong), while those groups that have high vitality are likely to continue to exist as independent and distinctive groups. The ethnolinguistic vitality theory by Giles et al. (1977) assesses the ability of the ethnolinguistic vitality of a group to account for language maintenance and shift, especially with respect to minority language groups, by considering three major factors to define and analyse a community's vitality. These factors are status, demography and institutional support. It is these three factors that will help to assess the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Luruuri-Lunyara language community, in order to work out the chances for this linguistic community and its language to continue to live as an active and strong language group. However, this framework is mainly aimed at macro-level assessment and is based on out-group impressions to assess an ethnolinguistic group's vitality. Otherwise, there is always a need to include the in-group's perception of its own

vitality, which is often likely to be higher than the out-group's assessment, as in the case of Luruuri-Lunyara (also see Rasinger (2010) for a similar observation).

As already discussed, Luruuri is and has been for some time a shrinking language, only used in a limited number of public domains and in a decreasing number of geographic locations. The home is the main domain in which the use of Luruuri-Lunyara has been maintained in the region to a certain degree. However, as discussed earlier (see section 5.5) the attitudes of the young people show that the inter-generational transmission of Luruuri-Lunyara may not be secure apart from in just a few homes where it is still used. This shows the continued importance of Luruuri-Lunyara for the formation and maintenance of Baruuri-Banyara cultural identity. This is the main reason why, despite years of emphasis on Luganda in this territory as a result of the colonial practices, Luruuri-Lunyara has retained some degree of use in the region. As mentioned by Giles et al. (1977), language as a form of in-group speech can serve as a symbol of ethnic identity and cultural solidarity, as language manifests ethnicity. Thus it is usually used to strengthen, emphasise and show inter-group membership and remind people about their cultural heritage.

5.7.1 Status factors as means of assessing the language vitality of Luruuri-Lunyara

Status factors, according to Giles et al. (1977), refer to all prestige variables of the linguistic group in the inter-group context. They are all those factors that include the ethnolinguistic group's social prestige, its economic and socio-historical status as well as the status of its language and culture locally and internationally (Sachdev 1995). There is a relationship between the status of a group and its perceived language status. Usually, in minority language situations, minority groups associate their language with their low status and therefore may

choose to abandon their language which they may consider backward and not fully functional as a way to overcome this situation (Yamamoto et al. 2008). The higher the status and prestige of an ethnolinguistic group, the more vital the group is. But if an ethnolinguistic group has very low prestige or status, their chances of existing as an active, strong and independent group in inter-group contexts are very slim. Usually, more dominant language groups such as Buganda/Luganda (see chapter four) are likely to enjoy considerable social status relative to less dominant and minority groups in society (Sachdev 1995). This seems to accurately characterise the Luruuri-Lunyara language situation. As already mentioned, the historical background of the Baruuri-Banyara (see section 5.3) has contributed to their minoritisation, leading to the loss of their ethnic independence, and in turn affecting their ethnolinguistic status.

Because it is not possible to avoid language communities coming into contact with each other, if in such a contact situation one language group is more dominant and stronger than the other politically, economically, socially, and religiously, the awareness of the uniqueness of the stronger group is heightened (Yamamoto et al. 2008), while the awareness of the uniqueness of the weaker group is lessened. This causes increased language esteem for the dominant group while decreasing for the non-dominant group. This may lead to the weaker group to shift to the dominant language and culture, and in some cases assimilate to this group, although it can also lead on the contrary to language revitalisation movements, which are efforts to save the last unique elements of unacculturated people. This may explain the negative language attitude towards the use of Luruuri-Lunyara, and the low language esteem in Nakasongola and other Luruuri-Lunyara speaking areas, and the gradual shift from the speaking of Luruuri-Lunyara in these areas to speaking Luganda, one of the dominant languages in Uganda. The historically subordinate position of Baruuri-Banyara is likely to have damaged the group's prestige and esteem as an independent ethnolinguistic group. This low prestige and esteem can be seen in the lack of confidence that is exhibited in individual language choices (see section 5.3.3),

and in the divisions in the ethnic group (see section 5.6) which was not observed in the use of Luganda.

The low economic status of the region can also account for the minority situation of Buruuri-Bunyara and the subsequent low social status and prestige of the group. Nakasongola being mainly a rural area with the inhabitants mainly subsistence farmers, producing what is consumed at home, has not helped the economic situation. Low economic status in turn affects the general status of the group as they cannot demonstrate economic independence and the status of their language whose use is limited to just a few domains. In addition, the economic situation in Buruuri caused the local people to migrate to Buganda in search of better opportunities, which could also have contributed to the current social linguistics. As will be discussed in the next section, demographic and institutional support factors also affect a group's status (Sachdev 1995).

5.7.2 The Demographic factors as a means of assessing the language vitality of Luruuri-Lunyara

Giles, Bourhis & Taylor (1977) define demographic factors as the numbers of group members, and their distribution throughout the territory. Among the demographic factors or variables considered in this approach are human population, birth rate, mixed marriages, intergenerational transmission, immigration and emigration. A linguistic group is likely to have vitality when its demographic factors are favourable (i.e. high population, high birth-rate, high intergenerational transmission, etc.), as opposed to a group whose demographic trends are not favourable to group survival (small population, increased mixed marriages, low birth rate, minimal or no intergenerational transmission, etc.). The demographic factors are divided into two categories, distribution and numbers. As already discussed, Luruuri-Lunyara is spoken by a population of approximately 160,000 people out of a population of 30,900,000 Ugandans. This comes to a percentage of less than one percent of speakers compared to the whole

country which leaves the group without substantial demographic power, thus making it more vulnerable. Secondly, because the districts of Nakasongola and Kayunga, which make up the majority of the Luruuri-Lunyara speaking region are rural, with very poor infrastructure and limited employment opportunities, many people have moved to the capital city Kampala and other urban centres. This has led to language shift but also made the members of this ethnolinguistic group spread over the country, making it difficult for them to come together for a common cause.

Other demographic factors that are negatively affecting the vitality of Baruuri-Banyara include the economic situation, a high infant mortality rate caused by poverty and lack of health facilities, and a high rate of mixed marriages caused by the multi-ethnic nature of the region. During research it was mentioned by respondents that in mixed marriages, the members of the families ceased to behave like Baruuri, including speaking Luruuri-Lunyara. According to Giles et al. (1977), the increased rate of ethnolinguistic inter-marriages between the in-group and the out-group reduces the chances of the vitality of the ethnolinguistic group. This has also been identified in this study where heritage languages have not been maintained in mixed marriages, and the dominant local languages or English have been chosen in these circumstances. This therefore shows that the vitality of Buruuri-Bunyara is very low when it comes to demographic factors, and therefore its chances of existing independently in inter-cultural contexts are very small.

5.7.3 Institutional factors as a means of assessing the language vitality of Luruuri-Lunyara

Institutional support is considered to be support for the language (and the ethnolinguistic community) from the various institutions of the nation, region, or community. This kind of support can either be formal or informal, where formal support is usually provided by the official government or as institutional support

in terms of established policy or rules and materials to support a language and its use in different domains. Informal support on the other hand is the unofficial everyday language support from institutions usually at the grassroots level and often organised by language support groups or pressure groups. Such groups help to put pressure on the out-group which in return helps to secure and safeguard the interests and desires of the in-group. Giles et al. (1977) also point out the importance to ethnolinguistic group, especially if it is a minority group, of having a significant number of representatives at the decision making level of the country, in business, and the state's legislature. The result of little or no representation will be that it is more difficult for such an ethnolinguistic group to survive as a strong and active entity than those which have permanent representation at these different levels of a country's decision making.

According to Giles et al. (1977: 316), a linguistic minority is only vital when its language and people are well represented both formally and informally in a variety of institutional settings, including domains like the mass media, parliament, the different governmental departments, education, religious institutions, and in the work environment. One hundred years and more of Luganda use in the administration and legislature in Buruuri led to a subsequent decline of Luruuri-Lunyara in all these domains of language use. However, Luruuri-Lunyara has language support groups, namely the Buruuri-Bunyara Cultural Trust and the Luruuri-Lunyara Language Association which have done considerable work in educating local people about the importance of their language and also working on the orthography and other written documents. Furthermore, SIL International has provided a considerable amount of support for Luruuri-Lunyara, including helping in preparing an orthography, writing and publishing a spelling guide used currently in the Luruuri-Lunyara schools project and translations of the bible, which may facilitate the gradual change of language use in the religious domains and increase the prestige of the language.

Nakasongola and Kayunga districts, the primary locations where Luruuri-Lunyara is spoken today, were made independent districts in 1997 and 2000 respectively from the former Luweero (which included Nakasongola) and Mukono (which included Kayunga) districts. This has politically empowered the region, making Baruuri-Banyara more independent from the dominant groups of the region, but also able to benefit more directly from the national budget and other government projects through decentralization. It has also more importantly led to the creation of a new domain (district administration) where Luruuri-Lunyara can be used. In terms of parliamentary representation, both districts have more representation than before, seven members of parliament altogether. However, if compared to the approximately seventy members of parliament from Buganda, who are the majority in the parliament, and whose demands for Buganda as an ethnic group dominate the political debate, then Buruuri-Bunyara still needs more institutional support and representation in this domain. The established FM Radio (UBC, Radio Buruuri) can also be considered as an element of institutional support, especially from the government of Uganda but, as already mentioned (see section 5.4), only a few hours of air-time allocated to Luruuri-Lunyara as opposed to the other major languages such as Luganda, Runyoro, and Runyankore-Rukiga will not facilitate its maintenance in a multilingual setting. For the maintenance of Luruuri-Lunyara in such a multilingual setting, and in order to achieve stable multilingualism, Luruuri-Lunyara needs to be allocated similar hours of airtime and also treated as equal to the other languages.

The assessment of institutional support factors shows that Buruuri-Bunyara has received steady institutional support which has had a positive impact on the use of Luruuri-Lunyara. This support includes the establishment of the new districts and parliamentary constituencies which has boosted institutional support in terms of direct representation in the higher level of decision making of the Baruuri ethnolinguistic community. This is supported by what was mentioned by some respondents with regard to the increase in the use of Luruuri-Lunyara in the past

ten years as opposed to the last one hundred years. However, this support is still needed in a variety of institutions, not only political and governmental but also in other settings such as the social and religious institutions, where, as already mentioned in this chapter, the language lacks representation. Therefore, although there is such representation and support, it is not to the level that Giles et al. (1977) believe would yield a high ethnolinguistic vitality since this kind of institutional support is mainly experienced in some but not all the domains.

5.7.5 Historical dynamics and the in-group perceptions of Luruuri-Lunyara language vitality

Although the previous factors may show a low or decreasing vitality for Luruuri-Lunyara, the historical dynamics and the in-group perceptions of this language shows a case of increasing vitality. While it is true that in the long term, especially in the past one hundred years Luruuri-Lunyara has lost ground to Luganda and other surrounding major languages like Runyoro because of the dynamics of the ethnolinguistics and political situation discussed in this chapter in the last ten to fifteen years, the status and support for Luruuri-Lunyara (probably not demographically), has presumably increased. The use of Luruuri-Lunyara today and in recent years has tremendously changed. According to Mr. Kamya, the district inspector of schools (interview 4th August 2011), ten years ago, you would not find any person speaking Luruuri in Nakasongola district. He (also noted by the Katikkiro of the Buruuri Kingdom) noted that the use of Luruuri-Lunyara has tremendously increased in the last ten to fifteen years and that many people who never wanted to speak Luruuri in the public are gaining the confidence to speak it. Also, because the orthography is being developed, its completion in the near future is likely to change the language situation for the better. For instance, the use of Luruuri in schools (especially as the medium of instruction), in churches, because it will facilitate the translation of the bible (which is currently done by SIL) and the writing of hymn books, in the administration such as the districts, and other official domains is likely to be boosted. This is because it will facilitate the production of materials needed for

schools and other formal communication settings. Decentralisation, a political move by the current government to create local governance is also likely to influence the overall economic and political situation in both Nakasongola and Kayunga districts in the near future, thus more likely to create space (domains) for the use of the local language (Luruuri-Lunyara) which was not evident before the formation of Nakasongola and Kayunga districts. This was also noted by Mr. Kamya when he said that Nakasongola town is now more exciting than it used to be before it became an independent district. Today it has better infrastructure: New buildings, better roads, reliable transport to Kampala the capital city and other places, so the environment is more positive. This kind of development yields more positive attitudes towards the region, the people and is likely to influence the esteem of the people and the ethnolinguistics positively.

Luruuri-Lunyara is also still significant to the Baruuri-Banyara as an ethnic group and thus its use has continued, in homes and the traditional domains, especially in the rural areas. To a great extent, this is the reason why, despite the many years of contact, and influence from the promotion of the use of Luganda, Luruuri-Lunyara is still used and still lives. The support received by the Baruuri from the current government, including establishment of districts, being recognised as an independent ethnic group in the national constitution and having a cultural leader who is supported by the government, have all helped to boost the esteem of the Baruuri-Banyara as an independent ethnolinguistic group, which has positively changed the way people think about Luruuri-Lunyara (see section 5.5). Therefore, the significance of Luruuri-Lunyara in the formation of Buruuri identity, plus the new developments and support for the region and for the development of the language including the orthography, writing books, teaching it in schools and speaking it in public are all likely to influence the Luruuri-Lunyara sociolinguistics positively in the near future.

Summary

In summary, the above discussion, and especially the analysis of the three variables, that is, status, demography and institutional support that comprise ethnolinguistic vitality indicate a low vitality of the Luruuri-Lunyara ethnolingustic community. Although this low vitality therefore implies according to Giles et al. (1977), that the chances that Buruuri-Bunyara will continue to exist as an active, strong and independent group in inter-ethnic group contexts are very minimal, the historical dimensions and in-group perceptions indicate a reversed trend of events suggesting instead increasing vitality and thus increasing chances for Buruuri's existence as a strong, active ethnolinguistic group. However, it may not necessarily be distinctive and exclusive of other ethnolinguistic groups such as Buganda or Bunyoro, because of the multi-cultural and multilingual situations in Uganda and many other African countries today.

5.8 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have looked at Luruuri-Lunyara language use in Uganda and I have described Luruuri-Lunyara and its geographical and demographic settings. I have provided the historical background of Luruuri-Lunyara and discussed the existence of the Baruuri-Banyara ethnicity in the pre-colonial state through colonial and post-colonial times. I have also discussed the language choices and practices related to Luruuri-Lunyara, the factors behind the use or absence of use of Luruuri-Lunyara in the various domains, highlighting the general trends of its use in multilingual contexts. I have further characterised the use of Luruuri-Lunyara in the different domains of language use such as the individual and home use, its use in the public space, and in the religious and educational domains. The official and non-official language planning and management of Luruuri-Lunyara has been discussed, highlighting the efforts and strategies adopted to manage the linguistic state of Luruuri-Lunyara at the grassroots, but also the current language attitudes and their contribution to the current sociolinguistics of Luruuri-Lunyara.

In the pre-final section of the chapter, I assess the ethnolinguistic vitality of Luruuri-Lunyara, using Giles et al.'s (1977) framework of linguistic vitality, in which I find that the ethnolinguistic vitality of Luruuri-lunyara is very low. However, the assessment of its use today and the recent political, social, economic and cultural developments (for historical dynamics see section 5.7.5) shows that the chances of Luruuri-Lunyara continuing to exist as an independent ethnic group in inter-group contexts are good.

As mentioned by Fennell (1981: 36-39), if there is a territory in which a particular language is usually spoken, and it is contracting continually through language change (and language shift), it is only the people of that territory who can stop this language from contracting by deciding to put into place the mechanisms to prevent this. However, the enthusiasm to develop strategies for reversing language shift is often lacking in minority groups. Many groups are also not usually aware of this process of language shift. Therefore, establishment of mechanisms to reverse language shift and endangerment, needs not only grassroots support but also macro-support from the central and local governments, especially in establishing institutions that support and develop endangered languages, to provide the financial support badly needed by local language support groups and to encourage local groups to develop and maintain the use of their languages.

Although most state initiated language revitalisation programmes, such as in the case of Irish (Fennell 1981) have failed (see section 3.1 and 3.4.2 for a similar discussion), Luruuri-Lunyara language programmes would need the support of the government in their effort to change the course of events, most especially to facilitate access to financial assistance needed to implement language development plans such as the language in education plans, since such funds cannot easily be obtained by individual people. However, it is true that government and many other types of macro-language support are usually

ineffective, and may contribute to making local people passive, or may cause resistance by the local population to the planning programmes. But grassroots efforts by the different Luruuri-Lunyara language planning agencies do need more financial, political and structural support which can only be provided by the government and effective language planning can be achieved when such typical top-down governmental language planning support and initiative involve the local population and the grassroots language planning agencies (see section 3.4.2). Therefore, for successful language planning, both micro and macro language planning and planners have to work together in order to yield successful results. Prestige planning also needs to be utilised in order for all the stakeholders to understand the important questions in this process. Otherwise continuing to work in such a vacuum without any form of structural or financial support would make the Luruuri-Lunyara language planning process quite complex.

Chapter Six

Realities and implications of language planning and language policy to the indigenous languages of Uganda and Africa in general

This chapter discusses the findings of chapters four and five, providing a general overview of language planning in Uganda and discussing the implications of these findings for the local language situation. The chapter discusses the major empirical findings of the thesis, presented in the preceding chapters, in relation to the main theoretical arguments and other planning programmes in Africa.

6.1 Language planning and policy in Uganda: A discussion of the general views

As discussed in the previous chapters, the analysis of language policy and planning in Uganda presents different dimensions of planning and management activities aiming at solving language problems and influencing language use. At the grassroots level, language management efforts are undertaken by communities, language planning agencies (e.g. Luruuri-Lunyara language and cultural association or Luganda language association) and organisations to support and maintain the local languages; these are considered bottom-up measures or strategies. There are also top-down official and non-official decisions and strategies at the governmental (and/or the organisational) level present to support language use in particular domains. Although it has been noted by some language policy scholars (e.g. Romaine 2002, Sallabank 2011) that there is not a straightforward causal connection between language policy and planning activities and outcomes, the language situation in Uganda and in particular the

two case studies researched, seem to result from planned and unplanned language policy and management. I would therefore suggest that to a certain degree, there are causal relations in language planning and management activities and outcomes, and these may be either direct or indirect outcomes.

However, the lack of a straightforward causal connection between language management strategies and their outcomes can be attributed to the different contexts in which language planning takes place. Reactions or responses by the different communities involved in language management can be either resistance to the planning efforts, or acceptance of the changes introduced through the planned or unplanned language policy. What Sallabank (2011) and other LPP scholars are trying to say may be that you cannot guarantee the results or effects of language policy and planning, because of the different contexts in which they are implemented. The existence of a good language policy and a good plan does not necessarily imply effective implementation. This therefore means that although these efforts will have outcomes, they may not be predictable ones. But that aside, it is evident in the two case studies of Luganda and Luruuri-Lunyara that language management and planning if implemented are certainly bound to affect the languages in question.

The use of Luganda, for instance, in domains such as the media (both private and public, in radio, television and print media), the entertainment domain and public space, local businesses and the local administration is not an accident but the result of deliberate strategies to manage the use of this language in different domains. Other Ugandan languages (especially the main area or regional languages) are also strongly used in such domains in other regions of the country (Rosendal 2010). The use of main area languages such as Luganda in most public domains (as described in chapter five) clearly shows that local languages still have the communicative value that has been for a long time ignored by the official language policy that emphasises English as the main official or national

language. This does not mean however that Luruuri and other minority languages in Uganda, which have not benefited from being employed in such communication functions of public language use, are of less value than the major languages of the country.

It should be noted that despite people's continued use of indigenous languages in the different domains, as illustrated in chapters four and five, the high status and prestige attributed to English in Uganda negatively influences their use and also gives rise to negative attitudes in the linguistic communities that then see local languages as not being valuable in some domains. The government's emphasis on the status of English implies to the language users that some languages are inherently better than others. Because English is mainly acquired in education, early unsuccessful exit from education also affects one's ability to fluently speak English. Despite this fact however English has continually threatened the use of Uganda's local languages, especially in the official or formal domains. For the main regional languages like Luganda which have successfully been used in public domains like the media, education, and in people's social networks, English is the main (possibly the only) threat to their use while the smaller languages like Luruuri experience a double threat from English but most directly from the local regional languages like Luganda. The perceptual salience of English in the official and other social domains naturally impels and favours a shift towards English wherever possible (Adegbija 2001). This is mainly because English has assumed a central role in many official domains including education, the administration in both the government and private institutions, and the judiciary, to mention but a few.

The use of English in these domains, especially by the social elite, means that being able to use and speak English usually means power over those who do not speak it, power to access the resources that others cannot, power to obtain a good job and eventually a better life, which may not be accessible to those who do not

speak English. Inability to speak English, on the other hand, often leads to the non-English speakers' inability to obtain a good job, but also their inability to voice their political, economic, and social or health concerns. Unfortunately because of this, as Adegbija (2001: 285) asserts, the official dominance of these ex-colonial languages (such as English in Uganda) is a potent language shifting trigger, constantly pulled by the desire of every individual to rise on the vertical and horizontal social and economic ladder. This is the reason why many disadvantaged people and communities are increasingly demanding access to English, and are introducing English to their children as early as possible, so that their children can join a work force that mandates knowledge in this language (also see Hornberger & Vaish 2009) thus securing a better future. This is also the reason why the local language education policy has been opposed by parents who believe it is English which is needed in the education system.

On the other hand, however, the example of Luganda shows the significance of official and non-official, top-down and bottom-up language planning and how a language can benefit from such efforts. It presents a case of a language that has significantly enjoyed both top-down and bottom-up language planning efforts, including both status and prestige. This also shows that although most work described in the case studies is at the micro or grassroots level, top-down macro-level language planning strategies are very significant, too, and highly required to enhance and support the micro-planning activities through legislature, a support system and structure (especially in domains dominated by official languages), but also support in terms of finances and resources to facilitate these activities, since finances or resources are typically very scarce at the grassroots level. As also noted by Omoniyi (2007: 536), micro-level language planning should not be treated as an alternative to macro language planning but rather as a complementary model. He ascertains that macro language planning can benefit from micro level research and practices which eventually closes the gaps between individual, groups, regional and national aspirations. Secondly, micro-level

language planning can be used to implement and reinforce macro language planning in such cases as the mother tongue language policy in Uganda.

The two case studies presented in this work provide an insight into the importance of grassroots language planning and policy efforts in communities, although some authors (e.g. Baldauf 2008) question whether these should be classified as language planning and policy or should be taken to be other kinds of linguistic or social behaviour. Although primary research in the field of language planning and policy has mainly been focused on macro level language planning work with specific interests in government interventions in language situations; in African countries, where there are minimal efforts by governments to promote and maintain local languages, basic language planning has been done by local communities and organisations at the micro level. In this respect therefore, grassroots efforts have been major strategies and have been significant in reviving and maintaining the use of local languages like Luruuri-Lunyara, and have also been significant in promoting and maintaining even the regional languages like Luganda.

However, one of the major stumbling blocks towards grassroots strategies in language policy and planning observed in the present study is the sensitive nature of language related issues in Uganda (or the "language politics"), such as the conflicts between local people about the revival of Luruuri-Lunyara, which has made language policy and planning developments more complex than expected. This sensitivity of language related issues can be attributed to many factors, some of which are political or even simple language competition that culminates in more complex social or political problems. In addition, in the pre-historic and historic era, many of Uganda's cultural and ethnic groups had cultural and civil conflicts with each other, characterised by continued civil wars and political unrest some of which continued even through the colonial and post-colonial times. This was also facilitated by some groups like Buganda collaborating with

the colonial governments while others did not, and also from the power negotiations during the independence period, which may have resulted in political imbalances.

6.2 Language management and policy and the ideological dimensions in the regional and minority languages of Uganda

As already mentioned (see chapter three), language planning is the act of propagating measures or practices about which language(s) or varieties are to be or not to be used in a particular community or polity with the aim of changing the linguistic behaviours of a speech community. Language policy on the other hand, is the practices, beliefs and decisions of a community or a polity with regards to languages or varieties. Language policy includes language practices (what language people use or don't use), beliefs and ideologies about these languages, and language management, which is the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan about the relevant languages. Previous work (e.g. Sallabank 2011 and Ricento 2006, etc.) suggests that language policy is mainly the official top-down directive of a government or any organisation that has or claims responsibility over people with respect to a particular language or languages, while planning is the bottom-up grassroots support of the local languages.

However, the findings of this study presented both in chapters four and five show (in accordance with work such as Spolsky 2009, Baldauf Jr. 2008, Liddicoat & Baldauf Jr. 2008) that both language policy and language planning or management exist at all levels, right from the individual level up to the largest level of language planning and management, including the governmental level and even higher levels like regional federations and unions. This therefore implies that both language policy and language planning can be top-down and bottom-up, with the ability to take on both official and non-official directions, and can be planned, conscious directives or unplanned. The decision by some

parents to stop speaking their home language with their children for example (as described in chapters four and five), or to decide which languages to use with their children, are individual decisions taken by these parents in their home domain but which are likely to affect the language of the community (bottom-up language policy); while also plans and initiatives to support, restore and maintain the use of local languages have also been initiated at such simple management levels.

Although language management (activities put in place to attend to language problems) occurs at different levels and in different domains as illustrated in chapters four and five, the findings in both chapters have shown that forces of language management of language in a particular social setting or domain do not come from only sources internal to a domain, but also external; which makes the whole language planning process a more complex phenomenon. The choice of which languages are used in which domains therefore seems to be a result of these management processes which directly or indirectly affects them and the attitudes towards these languages. At the individual level for instance, a person who lives in multilingual Kampala where Luganda is the major regional language used by people in the different domains while other languages are used on different levels of communication, such as the individual or home, or in Nakasongola and Kayunga towns where Luganda, Luruuri-Lunyara, and other languages are spoken, will have several languages in their linguistic repertoire to be used in their daily communications and the choice of which languages are used where, with whom and for discussing which topic will depend on a number of factors. Among the choices a person may have are one's mother tongue or first language, the regional language (if different from the former), or even the official languages of the country, English and Swahili among others. The use of these languages may be influenced by a number of factors including the domain (domain includes the participants, the physical location and the topic of discussion) in which this individual is participating at that moment but also the intentions of both communicators (i.e. how the communicators are perceived and

how they want to be perceived), and which language(s) are seen as the most acceptable in a particular domain, all of which constitute the language management process.

In Kayunga or Nakasongola districts for instance, a young girl talking to a young man, may opt to use another language and not Luruuri/Lunyara if they want to show off a more modern elegant image, but may chose to speak Luruuri to their parents which may show a more traditional/conservative image. Similarly, in Kampala, as some respondents acknowledged, the use of English shows one's status (e.g. being educated, social and economic prosperity) or is aimed to attract respect from the public; while in particular settings like villages, a local language might be used to show solidarity and harmony, or a bigger language like English used to show a higher social status or power (i.e. involving status vs. solidarity). Local languages are usually high on the solidarity hierarchy while official and foreign languages score high on status.

Language management as discussed in chapter three can be categorised as either simple language management or organised language management. Simple language management means the management of language problems as they appear in individual acts of communication (on an individual level) while organised language management is where more than one person is participating in the language management process, usually based on the collective thought or ideology of the planning person or organisation about a particular language. Language problems are assumed to originate from simple management and then are transferred to organised management (e.g. Neustupný & Nekvapil 2003). But because language management occurs at different levels, as illustrated in chapters four and five, language problems can also originate from and be managed at different levels, including originating from the organized management level. The need to communicate within a group of people with diverse linguistic backgrounds in multilingual Kampala for instance, can become the origin of

language management initiatives to manage this language situation although this does not refute the significance of the individual level in language management and its position in this process.

As discussed in the previous chapters, English and Swahili are the official languages of Uganda. However the actual language practices displayed in the different domains at the grassroots level are quite different from the official policy. As shown, English is used mainly in the official domains while in the social, traditional and non-official or public domains, local languages are predominantly used. If local languages are predominantly used in several domains while Swahili is minimally or rarely used both in the official and public domains, and English mainly used by only a section of the whole population (mainly the educated and social elite), it becomes interesting that the official policy only recognises languages which are very restricted in terms of use in the country overall. However, as Spolsky (2009) notes, forces within and from outside of a domain may be responsible for such decisions. The choice of Swahili as the second official language of Uganda has been attributed to several forces including the formation of the East African federation in which Uganda is a member and where Swahili is considered the official language. Baldauf Jr. and Kaplan (2004: 6) also noted that language planning and policy occurs amidst a combination of factors including language ideologies which develop as a result of wider socio-political, historical and power relations, forms of discrimination and nation building. These language ideologies dominate language planning efforts, creating and reflecting attitudes and myths towards languages, and especially local languages. These can also be seen as the reasons behind the official language policy choices and the discrepancies between the official policy and non-official language use in Uganda.

People's language beliefs also indicated that some languages are naturally and inherently better than others. This is exemplified by the preference to use English

in official domains and the attitudes expressed by the respondents about their local languages and the preference to use English over local languages. Also the preference and directives to use main area languages, which are considerably developed, instead of the home or minority languages, which are basically not yet developed and written, shows the belief that some languages are not good enough for particular functions or domains. Such attitudes and preferences were found to be rooted deep in people's and communities' belief systems and would need to be understood before any language planning and policy would be implemented. The consistent promotion and use of particular varieties such as standard or prestigious varieties and not other regional varieties also exemplifies this ideology. Thus as Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) put it, language planning has tended to assume modification of one language, while ignoring the interaction of other languages in a community and the non-linguistic factors (i.e. the ecology of the linguistic environment). These factors are exemplified by both cases presented in this study, i.e. Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda, whose users interact with multiple languages within the same community, but choice is made to use and promote specific varieties.

Such choices have been backed by beliefs such as 'some varieties are the most correct or original forms of the language in question' which discourages the use of other varieties. The standardisation of Luganda's central variety for instance seems to have followed the same belief while other varieties were considered not fit to be used in formal settings. The central variety used in central Buganda (Mengo in the capital city area) where the headquarters of the kingdom of Buganda are located (and where the king of Buganda's official home is), has been considered the most prestigious, original variety and the most correct of all the varieties of Luganda; and was therefore chosen as the standard variety, developed, written and used in all formal and written communications. As a result, the other (close to seven) varieties (see chapter four for details about this), are now severely endangered and some close to extinction because they are considered incorrect forms of the language, despised by the users, regarded as

incorrect and not fit to be used in formal settings. These are some of the ideologies in language planning and policy that directly or indirectly affect stable multilingualism and the support for local languages.

The planning and management of Luruuri-Lunyara also shows the initial stages and the emergence or development of such ideologies that regard some varieties as more correct than others. In chapter five it was shown that the western variety spoken in Masindi (Bunyoro) where Baruuri-Banyara are originally said to come from (Isaabaluuri 2004) is seen as the more correct and original form and it is thus promoted for use on the Buruuri radio and in the traditional domains. The eastern variety, on the other hand, is seen as the Luruuri-Lunyara more influenced by Luganda and therefore not the correct form, and not a preferred variety to be used. Such choices made during the language policy and planning activities are not only based on language but usually influenced by other aspects of life including politics, history or social tendencies. The preference for the western dialect of Luruuri-Lunyara for instance and not the eastern dialect is a choice influenced by both history and politics. The historical events that happened between Buganda and Buruuri and the choice to establish and emphasize Buruuri-Bunyara ethnic identity and independence from Buganda in this case influenced the choice of a variety that is influenced by Runyoro and not one influenced by Luganda. But of course the use of the 'royal' Luganda dialect as standard Luganda, as discussed in the preceding paragraph, is also another example of the political motivation of language planning. These examples therefore indicate that language planning and policy usually has different goals motivations other than language maintenance such as promoting linguistic unity through enhancing the use of standard varieties but not promoting linguistic diversity which should be the primary goal in language planning and policy.

The education domain also provides a set of thoughts and beliefs which are mirrored in the language in education policies and in the attitudes shown by the

stakeholders in the education domain. From the data presented in the previous chapters, it is clear that teaching and learning English has been a priority in the education sector. The inadequate implementation of the mother tongue policy also provides an indirect indication of the influence of ideologies that strongly believe in English as the only solution to multilingualism, to development and better opportunities in life. However, it should be noted that other ideologies that may have influenced such options in policy and planning include the belief that English is more neutral than the local languages and therefore will provide a 'solution' to multilingualism and will enhance unity while discouraging tribalism and ethnic tension or conflict.

In summary, there are different attitudes and ideologies behind the planning and policy for both the majority and minority languages, which shows the nature and characterisation of language management of both Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda. In the above section, I have discussed the nature of language policy and management initiatives, specifically considering the different levels and directions of language management (e.g. from simple to organised management, or internal vis-à-vis external management of language issues) as portrayed in the findings and how these policy and management decisions affect the choice and use of the different languages, especially the local languages.

6.3 How language planning and policy in Uganda relates to other cases of language planning especially in Africa

Language policy and planning in Uganda is not so different from other language policy and planning initiatives in other African countries, although some differences may be observed in the different situations and methods employed. Like Uganda, most African countries have not employed explicit language policies that favour active public use of the indigenous languages especially the

minority languages but instead supported the use of English (or other ex-colonial languages such as French, Portuguese, etc) in the official domains. As Bangboose (1991) and Batibo (2005) have observed, language policies in Africa have been characterized by various problems, especially declaration of policies without any implementation while in countries where there are explicit policies, they have not been based on linguistic research or consultation but on government decree. Secondly, most African governments have chosen to support majority languages while nothing much has been done to support language use and maintenance of minority languages especially in the official and public linguistic place. In this section, I choose to talk about the language situation in Botswana and Somalia, mainly because the former country has English (and Setswana) dominating the language policy situation. I am relating this to the Ugandan situation especially to find out how the minority language situation is being managed and the general language policy and planning situation. I also choose Somalia mainly to discuss the implementation of Somali as the official/national language of Somalia to see if there are lessons to be taken on board in relation to the Ugandan situation.

Botswana is a country of the population of 1.7 million people, with 28 languages spoken with in the territory. English and Setswana are the official and national languages of the country respectively (Batibo 2005, Lewis 2009). Unlike Uganda where the chosen second official language, Swahili, is not an indigenous one, in Botswana, Setswana the national and second official language is an indigenous language spoken by the majority of Batswana. According to Batibo (2005: 70) 78.6% of the whole population speaks Setswana as their first language while 90% or more of the population are second and third language speakers of Setswana. Although there are several other languages, Setswana is the language of daily use while English is the language of prestige, and the language of all official functions of the state including all official documentation (Andersson and Janson 1997: 171). Like many other African states, Botswana clearly emphasises the importance of national unity as the main aim behind the choice of the official/national language policy. Like in Uganda where Swahili was chosen as a

language that has the power to unite Ugandans (see section 2.3.4), in Botswana, the enhancement of the use of Setswana has been a way of fostering national unity and national cultural identity (Smieja 2003, Nyati-Ramahobo 2004). However, there seems to be a slight difference in the approach of developing national unity through national language planning. In Botswana it is clear that an assimilation model was adopted, where linguistic diversity (and thus use of minority languages, Nyati-Ramahobo 2004) was discouraged because it was viewed as a threat to national unity. In Uganda, although national unity is encouraged through the adoption of such languages as English and Swahili by the national constitution, room for other indigenous languages especially the dominant languages exists especially at the local/regional levels. The constitution allows other languages to be used as a medium of instruction in schools or for legislative, administrative or judicial purposes as parliament may by law prescribe and the use of indigenous languages in any domain of public life is allowed. This shows that unlike Botswana which follows an assimilation policy, Uganda adopts an assimilation-tolerance model, because of the provision of room to use other local languages although there has not been any formal commitment by the government to develop these languages or to create space for their use in formal domains. The difference between the two policies is that while the assimilation policy formally prohibits or discourages multilingualism (especially the use of minority languages), assimilation tolerance does not prohibit multilingualism but does not do anything to support it.

Language use in education and other domains like the media also follows the same model of assimilation. Emphasis for instance, is placed on the development and use of English as the language of international communication, opportunities and business, and to a lesser extent Setswana, which is developed as the country's national language. The national council of education first recommended the use of Setswana as the medium of instruction from standard one to standard four while English is taught as a subject. From standard five up to tertiary level English is the medium of instruction while Setswana is taught as a subject (Nyati-

Ramahobo 2004). However, the policy was revised and the number of years for teaching Setswana was reduced from four to only one, since the council thought the former policy denied children the chance to master the language, which was required for better achievement in primary years (NCE 2 1993 in Nyati-Ramahobo 2004). Although the latter policy has not yet taken effect (thus the former policy is still followed where Setswana is used up to standard four), it is clear that there is a significant difference between the two policies followed by Uganda and Botswana. It is clear that Botswana's policy does not tolerate the use of other local languages (especially the minority ones) in education as Nyati-Ramahobo (2004) mentions, some of which (e.g. Ikalanga) were banned from being used in the education system.

However, there have been several revisions in the education policy to accommodate the minority languages. Today, junior secondary school students are allowed to take one of the local languages as a subject of study other than Setswana (Smieja 2003). This is a positive effect for the minority languages, especially because they previously lacked any platform, an opportunity that most minority languages in Uganda also need to boost their prestige and use. A gradual change in the government's attitude and ideology towards other languages apart from English and Setswana has also been observed (Smieja 2003). The national Setswana language council for instance was changed to Botswana languages council, which reflects recorgnising the existence of other languages in the country besides Setswana. This is positive reinforcement towards the use of minority languages and the maintenance of multilingualism in the country. There have also been efforts to form language planning agencies to develop the local minority languages and associations such as the Kamanakao language association, the society for the development of Ikalanga language, and many others have been formed (Nyati-Ramahobo 2004). However, their use in such domains as education are still very minimal if not non-existent and it is feared that not all minority languages will receive this privilege, especially use in education (Batibo and Smieja 2000). Because of the lack of implementation of

such policies in Botswana (Batibo and Smieja 2000, Nyati-Ramahobo 2004) minority languages in Botswana still lack public function.

The classroom practices on the other hand as reported by Arthur (2001), seem quite similar to the practices reported in Uganda's classrooms (see section 4.6.3.2). Although emphasis in both countries, especially in education, is placed on the use of English as medium of instruction, a study by Arthur (2001) indicated classroom practices that are characterised by bilingual code-switching between English the official language and Setswana the national language. However, because of the prestige associated with the use of English, the attitudes towards the use of local languages in education and other formal domains are negative. Therefore, although Setswana is widely used in the country, English dominates in education (Smieja 2003). Arthur (2001) also reports that the majority of the teachers interviewed preferred to use English in education despite their observation that there was a need to use the local languages. However, those who advocated for minority languages were seen as tribalistic and engineers of ethnic conflict (Nyati-Ramahobo 2004), a belief that has been used to discourage multilingualism while promoting monolingualism especially in foreign official languages which are considered to be neutral. This is also similar to the Ugandan situation, where teachers, parents and pupils also preferred to use English in education (see section 4.6.3) over the use of local languages.

The use of local languages in the media is also still very minimal or non-existent as emphasis in this domain is again on English and to a very small extent Setswana. English is the main language of the newspapers, while Setswana and Ikalanga occupy only a few pages and columns respectively of the English papers. According to Smieja (2003), there are only two newspapers, the Botswana Daily, a government news paper publication and the Reporter, a privately owned newspaper publication where a few pages (at most two) are published in Setswana while the rest is in English. The language of broadcasting,

judiciary and government communication has also been mainly English and to a lesser extent Setswana. This shows the overwhelming importance attached to English the official language, a language that Smieja (2003) believes is understood by no more that 25% of the population but not Setswana in which case is understood by almost 95% of the population.

In terms of language use and practices, Botswana citizens are at least bi- or trilingual with Setswana always being part of their linguistic repertoire. According to Smieja (2003: 317), the language use patterns indicate that Setswana mother tongue speakers in general speak (or know) only two languages, English and Setswana. While minority language speakers use at least three languages, their mother tongue, which they use mostly at home plus Setswana and English which they use in public and official domains respectively. This triglossic pattern is quite similar to the Ugandan situation (and many other African languages, Batibo 2005) where speakers of Luganda are usually bilingual in English and Luganda while speakers of other languages (not necessarily only minority ones) are tri- or multilingual with their home language(s) plus English and Luganda or even other majority languages (see section 4.6.1). While there are grassroots efforts to develop and maintain minority languages in Botswana, the analysis of the use of local languages in the different domains in Uganda (as discussed in chapters five and six) shows more involvement of local languages in the public linguistic space in Uganda than in Botswana. However in both situations there are very minimal or no efforts, especially from the central government, to establish and support the use of minority languages in the major public domains.

Somalia on the other hand is an African country that provides a very interesting case of the language planning and implementation of an African language in formal domains that is rarely observed in Africa. Located at the horn of Africa, the eastern most part of Africa, Somalia was formed in 1960 out of the union of

two colonies i.e. a former British Somaliland which occupied the north and Italian Somaliland which occupied the south (Appleyard and Orwin 2008). According to Lewis (2009) thirteen languages are spoken in Somalia and they are all living including English and standard Arabic. Somali, the official language, is the mother tongue of more than 95% of the Somali people (Warsame 2001), and can be understood by at least 95% of the people who inhabit the horn of Africa (Laitin 1977). This shows that Somalia is relatively linguistically homogeneous (a monoglot state) an attribute that is rare on the African continent where linguistic diversity is a norm. Although that is the case, there are five dialects of Somali spoken in Somalia and these include the central dialects of May and Digil, the Northern dialects (Af Maxaad Tidhi), the Benaadir dialects, spoken in the southern coast and some parts of the southern central Somalia, and the Ashraaf dialect spoken in Mogadishu (Appleyard and Orwin 2008). However, the common dialect (standard or common Somali) is spoken and understood by all Somalis, and is used in domains such as broadcasting and all written communication.

After independence, English, Italian, and Arabic were used in the official spheres, including education where English dominated as the language of instruction and the language of the textbooks, the administration and religion where Arabic was predominantly used (Laitin 1977, Metz 1992, and Appleyard and Orwin 2008). Although there were several attempts by the government to write Somali, the process stalled at the decision about which script to adopt. The committee appointed to deal with these decisions had recommended the Latin script but this was resisted amidst demonstrations in favour of Arabic, especially for religious reasons (Warsame 2001). In 1969, a military government (the Supreme Revolutionary Council) under the leadership of Mohamed Siyad Barre, seized power and conducted a revolutionary campaign (a nationalistic movement) through which a number of changes were dictated. One of the major aims of the revolution was to make Somali the national language of the nation. A new linguistic commission made up of twenty one members was appointed and given

the task of writing text books for elementary schools, Somali grammar, compiling Somali language dictionaries and developing terminologies. The choice of which script to use in writing Somali was to remain a political decision (Warsame 2001). In 1972, Somali was announced the official/national language of the republic of Somalia and the Latin script/alphabet was decreed to be used to represent Somali (Warsame 2001, Appleyard and Orwin 2008). Somali then replaced English, Italian and Arabic which were used in the official spheres.

After the announcement of the official policy, the government launched a massive campaign which included not only educating the masses about it, targeting mainly the negative attitudes and resistance towards the Latin script, it also aimed at making every Somali national literate in their national language. In order to implement this policy, the education system was standardised, all private and foreign owned schools nationalised while the Quranic education was made an integral part of schooling (Metz 1992, Warsame 2001). The ministry of education appointed 15 author committees, which consisted of 268 Somali teachers and curriculum development officers who were responsible for writing text books and revising the school curriculum to suit the practical needs of a Somali child. Because most foreign language books usually reflect a foreign culture, the text books for teaching foreign languages (English and Arabic) in Somalia were rewritten to include content that reflects the Somali culture. The education system was also changed to suit the people of Somalia, and the changes made included making Somali the language of instruction in schools, making primary education compulsory, and replacing textbooks and syllabuses with ones written in Somali. In 1977, Somali was introduced in the first year of secondary education and the entire curriculum was changed. In the new curriculum, emphasis was put on how the teaching content reflects the national culture and tradition.

The Latin script was eventually introduced as the system to write Somali. The campaign to implement all these policies was divided into two phases, the urban

literacy campaign (1973-1974) and the rural literacy campaign (1974-1975). The urban campaign started with ministers, principal secretaries, directors and all civil servants. All civil servants were given a deadline by which to become literate in Somali. After three months all officials were to be tested, they were to be given three chances to pass and if they failed all three times they would be subjected to retirement (Warsame 2001, Metz 1992). The rural literacy campaign comprised other elements of development including developing skills, and immunisation against human and animal diseases, all aimed at overcoming underdevelopment. The rural campaign took place for a full year, and the schools were closed down in order to free teachers for the campaign. The literacy programme had several shortcomings; a very minimal volunteer capacity since villages have very few literate people and the nomadic pastoral lifestyle made access to the population tricky. The villages were also inaccessible due to poor road networks.

However, the government established a concrete structure to implement the campaign and policy, and these included inspection offices, district committee for rural development, and other committees both at the districts and villages in order to have access to the grassroots, while teachers and students were also mobilized to teach the public about the new script. All these structures facilitated the success of the campaign, and as a result the literacy level increased from 5% to 60% (Warsame 2001). At the end of the campaign, 262,955 books were produced for elementary, intermediate and secondary schools, and 1,202,525 books for the public, primarily intended for adult education. The number of schools increased and students' enrolment also increased. The education system greatly improved, while Somali language instruction became of great advantage to the students as opposed to the use of foreign languages. It should be noted that while Somali was being promoted aggressively, the learning and teaching of English and Arabic also continued and is still popular, as a way of maintain linguistic links to the world. Although the literacy rates increased significantly after this massive campaign, and the years that followed, the subsequent political unrest in Somalia has affected the education system directly but also even other things such as the

general economic growth. According to Metz (1992), schools ceased to exist following the fall of the dictatorship government. The use of Somali has gone through much upheaval but in the various administrative areas, it is still today used as the official language, while Arabic, English and Swahili are also used in other domains (Lewis 2009).

The planning and development of Somali as the country's official and national language, and its development as the language of education in the Republic of Somalia, provides important lessons for most African countries which are struggling to make explicit decisions and policies about the use of African languages in public domains and more importantly the implementation of such policies. However, because Somalia was/is comparatively homogeneous linguistically, it may be quite challenging to implement this model in a linguistically diverse society like Uganda. However, there are a number of lessons to be learnt from the Somalia experience especially with regard to implementing language policies. One of major lessons is prestige planning (e.g. the language campaigns) which helps the population to understand why certain policies are necessary and to restore prestige of local languages. Secondly, Smieja (2003) acknowledges the importance of conducting a series of descriptive linguistic studies, such as ethnographic studies of the relevant communities' language practices to ensure just and efficient language planning. This is because it is important to consider what people think and believe about their languages, in order to implement language policies successfully. It is the only way language planning and development will represent the social and cultural needs of the society and the real life relevance of their languages. The standardization of the education system could also favour the implementation of the mother tongue policy. This is because, as noted in the earlier chapters, the education system has sabotaged the implementation of the mother tongue policy since some schools such as the private schools have the option not to follow the policy.

But the dictatorship government of Major-General Mohamed Siyad Barre implemented such policies without much consultation with the relevant communities which is not ideal to language planning and policy in Africa. Appleyard and Orwin (2008) also make a very important observation about the language experience in Somalia that needs to be learned by most African states. Many African states have discouraged multilingualism, with the belief that it causes disunity and lack of social and national cohesion while monolingual language policies are promoted in order to promote unity and social/national cohesion. However, Somalia a country that is comparatively linguistically homogeneous with a shared single culture and religion, has sadly been torn apart by severe domestic conflicts and violence in the recent years, thus has not enjoyed any national unity and cohesion that is thought to result from linguistic homogeneity. This clearly shows that the ambition by various Africa governments to promote monolingualism may not necessarily lead to national unity as thought.

Language planning in Uganda as exemplified in the two case studies presented in this study, i.e. Luganda and Luruuri-Lunyara, and also as characterised in the general language situation discussed in chapter two shows the typical struggles most African nations go through in making decisions about local language use in public domains. The language in education policy in Uganda (and also the case of Botswana as presented in this section) also exemplified the struggles many African countries go through in implementing new policies. These struggles then result in more complex scenarios, including teaching with a language that is not yet codified, such as Luruuri, public resistance to the policy because of the negative attitudes which usually persist in the absence of sensitization, and also the lack of a standardised system followed by the country (e.g. different education systems) which usually results from lack of strong implementation strategies. However, the planning of Somali as exemplified in this section shows how a government can successfully plan to develop an African language to be used in official and public domains. This kind of government conviction and

support or central language planning is the kind of support that most African languages (including Ugandan ones) need to be maintained in such multilingual complexity and used in official and public domains. Secondly, this kind of support, where every resource is pulled together, is the support that the revival of languages like Luruuri-Lunyara need (also see section 5.8) to survive the dominance of majority languages such as Luganda and to have function in the public space.

6.4 Language vitality, maintenance and stable multilingualism: The future of Ugandan languages

This section discusses the analysis of factors affecting the maintenance of the local languages in Uganda, reflecting on the current status and use of both Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda. The section also presents an analysis of the linguistic vitality of both Luganda and Luruuri-Lunyara, assessing the state of their endangerment or maintenance using the UNESCO (2003) ethnolinguistic vitality assessment to predict the future of these languages.

6.4.1. Language maintenance and stable multilingualism

One of the major questions my research is trying to address is whether the use of Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda in multilingual Uganda can be maintained in a stable multilingual setting, in such a way that these languages are used equally and positively in all the different domains, and how language planning and policy facilitates achieving this aim. As Batibo (2005) states, although language maintenance is easier in a monolingual situation where speakers have only one allegiance, it can also take place in a bilingual or multilingual situation if there is enough stability in the use of these languages in the various domains for a stable diglossic, triglossic or even multiglossic structure. Stable multilingualism therefore is not easily achieved especially in a situation where languages are not accorded equal status and use. This situation according to Batibo (2005) is the

major cause of language shift as influence and pressure from dominant languages exert pressure and influence to minority languages thus making language maintenance very difficult. Language diversity is essential to human heritage because each and every language contains the unique cultural wisdom of its people (UNESCO 2003). Maintaining local languages, and especially encouraging the assignment of functions (use) and domains to them will therefore boost the maintenance and preservation of the wisdom and knowledge engraved in each and every local language.

The data presented in the previous chapters seems to confirm what other authors have expressed about the language situation in the African setting (e.g. Adegbija (2001: 286), Batibo (2005), Bangbose (1994 & 2000)), which is mainly characterised by the inferiority complex syndrome associated with African languages, the official neglect of indigenous languages and their lack of use in official domains which appears to have become engraved in Uganda's and other African government institutions; all factors I regard as the main source of threat to the existence of the African languages. As Batibo (2005) mentions, national language policies may help to preserve and maintain local languages, especially where these policies visibly support the writing of these languages and their use in public and socio-economic spheres which will definitely increase their status and prestige. But the state of language use in most African states (as also seen in the case of Uganda) is the lack of explicit language policies that favour public use of indigenous languages and their implementation especially in places where such policies exist (Batibo 2005). This therefore means that if this state of affairs continues unchallenged, the maintenance of these languages and stable multilingualism will only remain a dream. The challenges and constraints affecting African languages do not result from coincidence but from a number of factors both internal and external, which include historical events and economic state of affairs, ideologies and the negative attitudes from within and outside of the language communities, and the lack of institutional support.

Both Luganda and Luruuri are facing more or less similar challenges of lack of institutional support and negative language attitudes and ideologies. However, Luganda has enjoyed more advantages as a more powerful and functionally dominant language, mainly because of its history during the formation of the Republic of Uganda and its geographical and demographic advantages, thus attracting speakers of other languages to shift to its use. On the other hand, Luruuri has not benefited from these factors, its history and its location in the rural plain lands of Nakasongola and other scattered regions, plus the small population of speakers have not facilitated its use and maintenance. This is because factors like the low number of speakers of a language often result in language shift, especially when the speakers are scattered over various locations as is the case for Luruuri-Lunyara. Some of the effects of this factor include the limited use of the language in social networks (since in a particular region or area there is a very small number of speakers), and as Milroy (1987) and others have realised, this has devastating effects on the language including language shift and endangerment while the dense use of a language in social networks, as is the case for Luganda, leads to increased language maintenance. During the interviews, one respondent said he did not have people to speak with in his language, so much so that he eventually lost fluency in it, and that the level of his vocabulary in his language has gone down. Such an act of speakers shifting from a minority to a majority language is a survival strategy for speakers of small languages when they realise that their languages are threatened by extinction. Although we may argue that this situation may change with the increased availability of modern social network infrastructures such as mobile phones and the internet, the effect of the scattered population is likely to affect use of any language even with the availability of modern social infrastructure. If a language has already lost use on the ground (i.e. when language shift has already occurred), such modern infrastructures are unlikely to change much. Observation of language use on social networks such as face book shows that it is usually the dominant languages which are used, such as Luganda, English, Runyakitara, and not languages like Luruuri-Lunyara unless in very close-knit or in-group situations.

As many scholars have ascertained (Fishman (1991), Adegbija (2001), UNESCO (2003), etc.), a language that is deliberately used in the home and the public sector which its speakers are proud to be associated with, has a vibrant associated culture that is consciously promoted and brought into prominence and which the younger generation is eager to use and be associated with, can never die. However, a language that is restricted in use, both in the private and the public sectors, in family, local, regional and national settings, which its speakers are ashamed of, which has no vibrant culture to boast of or exhibit and which the younger generation would rather forget, is already dead even if apparently living. I cannot say Luruuri-Lunyara is dead. Its use in some places and by some people as was observed during the fieldwork, and also the efforts by the language association and the cultural trust cannot be underestimated. However, the findings discussed in chapter five, and the vitality assessment both in chapter five (see section 5.7) and six (see section 6.3.2) shows us that the state of the use of Luruuri-Lunyara is in danger, especially since many of its speakers feel that they would rather use other languages.

6.4.2 Factors in language vitality assessment

In this section, I discuss the vitality of Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda based on UNESCO's (2003) vitality assessment. Another vitality theory is selected in comparison with Giles et al. (1977) because it is more recent and detailed. UNESCO (2003) mentions nine factors that provide assessment of the general sociolinguistic situation of a language including its vitality and the state of endangerment. These factors are:

1. Intergenerational language transmission
2. Absolute number of speakers
3. Proportion of speakers within the total population
4. Trends in existing language domains
5. Response to new domains and media
6. Materials for language education and literacy

7. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status
8. Community members' attitudes towards their own language
9. Amount and quality of documentation

However, it is important to note that, according to UNESCO (2003), all these factors are equally important in assessing the situation; therefore a language's sociolinguistic situation cannot be assessed on its performance on only one or two of these factors. So in the following sections, I use these criteria to assess the vitality of Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda.

1) Intergenerational language transmission

Intergenerational transmission is the first and most important factor in evaluating language vitality, because it ensures a language is transmitted to the next generation and thus is assured of speakers. It basically requires assessment of whether the language is being passed on from one generation to the next. The UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages (UNESCO 2003) presents a six point scale on which we can assess the vitality of any language including its endangerment, and these six points are discussed below. At the highest point on the six grid scale is 'safe', where the language is transmitted from generation to generation without any interruption. However, it should be noted that a stable (safe) language can also be threatened in a situation where, although intergenerational transmission is secure, other varieties have seized certain contexts because of the multilingual situation.

The second position on the scale is the unsafe state of affairs which is fulfilled when a language is transmitted from one generation to the next by most but not all families in a language community and as a result not all children or families of a particular community speak their language as their first language. But also, if the language is restricted to specific social domains such as the home, and not

used in other official-public domains like the school or administration, the language is not safe. The third point is one that shows a language is definitively endangered and this is when the language is no longer learned as a mother tongue by children in the home. At this stage, parents may talk to their children in the language while the children may not necessarily reply in the same language. The language is severely endangered when it is only spoken by grandparents (point four) and older generations and critically endangered when it is used by the great-grandparent generation or not used in every day interactions (point five). And finally the language is extinct when there is no one who can speak or remember the language (point six).

Looking at these point scales, although Luganda seems to be performing well in a number of domains, including transmission from one generation to the next, we cannot confidently say it is safe because of the increasing number of families or parents who have chosen to teach their children English but not Luganda for various reasons such as the hope of better chances of success at school and in life and the belief that access to modernity requires English. Luruuri on the other hand is somewhere between the unsafe and the definitively endangered. The research conducted by SIL (Vander Wal & Vander Wal 2005) showed that 88% of the children spoke Luruuri at home, 87% spoke Luruuri while playing and 69% of the children did not speak any language other than Luruuri. This data qualifies Luruuri as unsafe according to the UNESCO parameters since most families but not all do speak Luruuri-Lunyara at home with their children. However, my findings as presented in chapter five indicate that Luruuri-Lunyara is an endangered language because although the parents interviewed reported that their children were fluent and spoke Luruuri-Lunyara, field observations showed children mainly spoke Luganda in their homes even when their parents spoke Luruuri-Lunyara and also while playing. My experience during fieldwork in Nakasongola town council (and also in Kakooge sub county) and the neighbouring villages is that in homes Luruuri-Lunyara was mainly spoken by parents while children mostly spoke Luganda.

2) Absolute number of speakers

The total number of speakers of a language can also be used to assess the level of a language community's vitality and the language vitality. Small speech communities are always at risk because they are more vulnerable to various forces both natural and unnatural than one with a larger number of speakers (UNESCO 2003). The vulnerability of a small language group is likely to cause its merger with a neighbouring stronger group, causing it to lose its own language, culture and identity. The vulnerability of a small language group also lies in the risk of such a group in case of any disaster such as war, disease outbreak, natural disasters like floods or famine, because small groups are less likely than bigger groups to survive such disasters.

The lack of a recent language survey on Ugandan languages and the lack of a language question in the housing surveys makes it difficult to determine the absolute number of speakers of both Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda. But one thing is certain that Luganda is a majority language with the largest language group in Uganda while Luruuri-Lunyara is a small language group. The estimated number of Luruuri-Lunyara speakers is 160,000 people, which is less than 1% of the population of Uganda. However, because of the language endangerment and language shift situation, the number of speakers is likely to be much smaller. Although it is larger than languages like Ik which have about 10,000 people (Lewis 2009), Luruuri-Lunyara is a small language group and it is in this respect that it is vulnerable from the forces of the dominant language groups, which are a major cause of language shift and death (Batibo 2005). It is these forces which may easily affect both cultural and linguistic existence and independence of this group and which are likely to cause the speakers to shift to using larger languages. As mentioned in chapter five, the size of the population of Buruuri-Bunyara is one of the factors that delayed its cultural-political independence, including having very little representation in the national parliament, such that

very minimal or no influence can be obtained from the national decisions in favour of the group. Such factors have affected the eco-linguistics of Luruuri-Lunyara (and other small groups) affecting the confidence of the speakers of this language. The political advantage of having a bigger population is experienced by Buganda, where its representation in the national parliament (e.g. the Buganda caucus) is bigger than other language groups and has therefore influenced directly or indirectly decisions in favour of Buganda.

3) Proportion of speakers within the total population

The proportion of the speakers within the total population of the language group can also tell us more about the vitality of that language or the ethnolinguistic group. If the whole group speaks the language in question, then the language is vital and safe. If most but not all people speak the language (with a small population not speaking it) the language is not safe. If it is the majority who speak the language, but with a large minority who do not, then it is definitively endangered. If it is the minority that speaks the language, the language is severely endangered while it will be critically endangered if very few people speak the language, and the language is extinct if there are no longer any people who speak the language.

Again, in terms of proportion of speakers in the language group, Luganda is still not safe because there are families and individuals who have chosen not to speak Luganda, based on attitudes and ideologies discussed in chapter four. It is also only spoken by 18% of the whole population of the country, as a first language, and by another approximately 1,000,000 speakers as second language (Lewis 2009). This is about a quarter of all Ugandans, but far from the whole population. Luruuri-Lunyara, on the other hand, is severely endangered because it is the minority who speak this language. As discussed in chapter five though, there are some regions, especially in the villages, where Luruuri-Lunyara is still vital, with the majority of the people using it in their daily communications. However the

UNESCO categorisation does not seem to consider such situations, or classifications of different ratings in different regions.

4) Trends in existing language domains

This factor measures the vitality and endangerment of a language based on the extent of the use of the language in different domains (where the language is used, with whom the language is used, and the range of topics for which a language is used). This is because the use of any language in different domains directly affects its transmission to the next generation. This is then measured on a six-point scale which includes the highest level called international use (5), where the language of the ethnolinguistic group is the language used actively in all domains of communication and for all purposes. At level 4 is multilingual parity where one or more languages and not the language of the ethnolinguistic group is the dominant language of all the official domains. At level three is the dwindling domains, where the non-dominant language(s) lose ground to the dominant language(s), to the extent that parents begin to use a dominant language at home and children become semi-speakers of their language. At level two, the language is used in only a few limited domains, usually ceremonies, rituals, festivals and community and traditional gatherings. Level one is highly limited domains, where very few individuals in the community, especially cultural or ritual leaders use the minority language only on special occasions. The final level is where the language is not spoken anywhere at any time.

Trends in the existing language domains indicate that Luganda's vitality is on level four of the vitality scale (multilingual parity), because it is English that is used in most official domains including in government institutions, public offices and education, although Luganda continues to be used in public domains, in the traditional and religious institutions, local markets and social places. The reason why Luganda may not be safe at such a level is because of the tendency for people to shift to the official language or to the language used in the official

domains (which is English) as the means of attaining social and economic opportunities as a survival strategy or for social enhancement. Luruuri-Lunyara, on the other hand, seems to be transitioning from the dwindling domains where parents begin to use the dominant language in their homes while their children become semi-speakers of their own language, to the limited domains where the language is used in highly formal ways for symbolic use (such as in the traditional domains for identity and solidarity purposes). The characteristic of the symbolic use of Luruuri on this scale was observed when for instance at the Buruuri radio station, visitors were welcomed and greeted in Luruuri-Lunyara but later switched to either English or Luganda in other discourses. Local council meetings and local political rallies were also started off with Luruuri greetings and then proceeded in Luganda. However, in the urban areas, where the majority of the population have now shifted to using mainly Luganda, Luruuri seems to go down to almost level two because it is used in very limited and restricted domains, usually mainly by cultural leaders. The characteristic of all the three stages cutting across this language may indicate a process of endangerment or revival that a language is going through and it is not clear the assessment scale distinguishes the two.

5) Response to new domains and media

This factor aims at assessing how a language responds to new domains which emerge as an ethnolinguistic community's living conditions change. Among the new domains that endangered languages are usually introduced to are the internet, media (including television and broadcasting), schools and other modern developments in the community. Languages which are used positively and enthusiastically in the new domains will rank higher than those that are challenged in this respect because they eventually become irrelevant as the community moves towards modernity. A five level scale is also applied to this factor to assess the vitality of a language in terms of response to new domains, where on level five the language is used in all new domains while at level one, the language is used in very few new domains.

We cannot say Luganda is used in all new domains as it is yet to be developed most especially in the scientific and technological fields, e.g. terminology development, and is thus unable to be used in advanced scientific and technological domains. However, Luganda is used in most new domains, such as the internet, and new social media like Face book, in schools as both a subject and as a medium of instruction (officially and un-officially) up to the university level. The media is another domain with increasing use of Luganda, including print media, radio and television, cinema and theatre, films and music. This makes Luganda score a two on the scale. However, Luruuri on the other hand comes much lower on the scale (between level two and one) as it is used in some but very few new domains. There are two new major domains that Luruuri has been introduced to and these are education and media, particularly radio broadcasting.

However, although introduction of any endangered language in these two domains, the media and education, would raise hope in the process of planning and implementation of Luluuri-Lunyara, in the education domain, the use of Luruuri-Lunyara has not progressed from the first year of primary due to a number of difficulties. Its use in the media, particularly on the radio (UBC Buruuri) on the other hand has received very positive feedback from the community but the time allocated to broadcasting in Luruuri is still not enough (see section 5.4). This is why, although the use of Luruuri-Lunyara in the media would give it a potentially high ranking, the time limitations result in limited exposure to the new domains, which would rank it at only level two on the vitality scale (UNESCO 2003: 11).

6) Materials for language education and literacy

Language acquisition and education are very important for language vitality and since any language needs speakers, one way to ensure maintenance of speakers of a language is through using the language in education. For this factor too, five points are presented to analyse the level of accessibility a given language community has to written materials. This in turn indicates the ability for a given language to be retained in a written form but also its ability to facilitate not only its acquisition but also modern communication, as opposed to only traditional-oral communication. At level 5, a language has an established orthography, a literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media. A language that can be used or that is used in administration and education also fulfils the characteristics of this level. Luganda has a relatively long history of writing and media publication, with an orthography developed in the early 1940s when the language became used as the language of the colonial administration, all of which boosted its use in various domains. The situation of Luruuri with regards to access to written materials by the community ranks very low on the scale, although there are efforts today to change this. The only written materials developed in Luruuri-Lunyara are the spelling guide and a tentative orthography both developed by SIL which are being tested, but there are no mother tongue materials available in this language. This lack of an established orthography and also written materials has hindered the successful establishment of this language in domains like education and the media.

7) Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use

According to UNESCO (2003), linguistic attitudes can be a powerful force that can lead to both promotion and loss of people's languages. These attitudes range from individual attitudes, to the attitudes of the community, institutions and governments. The attitudes of institutions and governments towards languages are usually implicit, but are manifested in the policies and support towards the

languages. The general tendency for African governments is to promote the use of English especially in the official domains such as schools, government administration, the judiciary and other public domains while the local and minority languages are not supported especially through official policies or even in practice. However, whether overt or covert, these national policies directly impact on the language attitude of the communities. With regard to the degree of official support and attitudes towards Ugandan languages the assessment of the current language situation in Uganda shows characteristics of various levels of vitality.

UNESCO identifies five levels to assess the vitality of a language with regard to governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including its official status and use. These levels are: Level five where all languages are supported, valued as the country's assets and protected by law and policy, level four, where non-dominant languages are explicitly protected by the government, and ethnolinguistic groups are encouraged to maintain and use their languages especially at home, level three, where the dominant groups' language is the language of interaction and the *de facto* official language while the non-dominant languages do not have any prestige whatsoever. Level two, where the use of non-dominant languages is discouraged by governments while encouraging shift to the dominant languages especially through providing education in the dominant languages, level one, where the dominant group's language is made the only official/national language through an explicit language policy by government while the languages of the non-dominant groups are not supported or recognized, and finally the lowest level (0), where the use of minority languages is prohibited.

The language situation in Uganda and the language use patterns as discussed in the previous chapters, specifically in chapters four and five, exhibit patterns of passive assimilation (level three) where Luganda, the language of the dominant group is the language of interaction and the *de facto* official language while

Luruuri-Lunyara, the language of a minority, is rarely used as the language of interaction in public. Passive assimilation indicates an attitude by the governments of no concern or commitment to the current language situation, especially the lack of use of the minority languages in the public domains and thus not doing anything to support or revive the use of these languages. The dominant languages will then gain high prestige while the minority languages do not enjoy any prestige, which is usually a factor that contributes to the passive assimilation of speakers to the dominant language (with people abandoning their low prestige languages), like in the case of Luruuri-Lunyara. The results of the study also show evidence of active assimilation (level two) because the national education in Uganda is mainly provided in the official language and although the government provides multilingual education in the first three years of education, there has not been a system established to support the minority languages and their continued use in this domain since they lack established orthographies, written materials and literature to support their use. It is the dominant languages that have benefited from this policy since they had already attained some degree of development and therefore were able to be used in such a domain. The 'survival of the fittest' environment therefore makes the already stronger majority languages even stronger while the minority languages may not survive the pressure. The explicitly formulated official policy which supports English (an international language) and Swahili the (regional dominant language), and the lack of a national policy that supports the local languages looks to be a characteristic of forced assimilation (level one).

A country's languages that are fully maintained and supported by the government through explicit policies that value them as a country's assets will be ranked higher on the vitality scale than those that lack any support, as they are likely to be abandoned by the speakers because of their lack of function, importance and relevance in people's lives. This study revealed no formal support of the local languages by the government but only from the local language associations whose capacity to support and maintain these languages, is minimal. Language

attitudes, whether positive or negative, are bound to have an effect on language use in society, resulting in increased or decreased use. In cases of decreased language use, members of a language community usually abandon their language in order to increase their chances of a better life. The negative language attitudes of the speakers and government for instance towards the use of the local languages in Uganda reported on in chapters four and five have affected the use of Luruuri-Lunyara, causing speakers to lose confidence in using their languages, because of the ideologies of the associated disadvantages. If such communities would be assured that no language disadvantages the person who speaks it (Annamalai 2003) and that maintaining and using both languages (the local language and the dominant or official language) will allow even better chances in life (UNESCO, 2003), then language shift, endangerment and death would be minimised.

8) Community members' attitudes towards their own language

Each linguistic community has attitudes towards its language(s), some of which include very positive attitudes where a community sees its language as an essential part of their identity and has the willingness to promote the language to ensure its use in the present and next generation. On the other hand, the attitudes of a community towards its language may not be very positive, as some communities may feel ashamed of their own language, and may hold the belief that their language is useless and therefore does not need to be promoted. According to Batibo (2005: 107) speakers hold the key to the continuation or abandonment of their language, its transmission or not to their children, and the expansion or reduction of domains in which they are used. A positive attitude of a community towards its language usually indicates the value of this language to the community, as a symbol of its cultural value and identity but presumably also of its usefulness. However, communities (and individuals) may develop negative attitudes especially when the speakers of a particular language view the use of their language as backward and as a hindrance to the survival, development and the well being of the community especially in today's global village.

On the five point scale, level five is for a language that is valued by all members of the language community and which all speakers wish to see promoted, while at the very other end of the scale is the level at which no one cares about the language of the community because speakers prefer to use the official or dominant language of the country. Local languages in Uganda are still widely used especially in unofficial and public communications and domains, media and entertainment, with a strong positive feeling towards these languages as the peoples' mother tongues and sources of cultural identity. However, the study revealed a number of speakers who felt that these local languages were useless in this era of the global village, and showed more positive attitudes to English as the language of the world market, and therefore as the language to be loved and used. The difference between the attitudes of the majority and minority may be in terms of numbers, where languages like Luruuri-Lunyara have proportionately more people who no longer care about their languages than Luganda; but interviews conducted suggested that both languages had speakers who no longer believed in their languages or people who believed their languages were only fit to be used in cultural contexts and not in other domains, and an increasing number of parents who think neither Luganda nor Luruuri is good enough for their children. The negativity was more prevalent in the younger generation and school children who seem to believe that since English is the language for education, it is the language for modernity and development. UNESCO emphasises the contribution of language attitudes towards the vitality of a language, and more especially the effect of negative attitudes to any language's vitality, which is the main cause of language shift and endangerment as people abandon their languages in search of better life chances and opportunities. However, although UNESCO mentions the contribution of the attitudes of the government, the institution and community in general to the vitality of a language, the findings of this study show that the attitudes of particular age groups in the community are very significant in maintaining this vitality. Furthermore, the difference in language use mentioned earlier between villages and towns with respect to Luruuri-Lunyara use is also manifested in the difference in language attitudes. In Nakasongola town council

for instance, most people didn't believe in Luruuri-Lunyara and its revival because they thought it was not useful, an attitude that may affect the use of this language in the future. Intergenerational transmission, for instance, will be definitely affected by the attitudes of the younger generation who, although their parents still speak the ancestral language, feel these languages are not helping in their ambitions to get a better life; attitudes which will affect the use of the language by the next generation and also the vitality of the language.

9) Amount and quality of documentation

The last factor is that of assessing the degree of documentation and the urgency of documenting a language. In doing so, one needs to assess the type, quantity and quality of the existing written and recorded audiovisual materials that exist in a language in order to determine the need to document the language in question. UNESCO identifies another five level point scale to assess this, where at the highest level (five), a language has comprehensive grammars, dictionaries, extensive texts, high quality audio and video materials and all sorts of written and recorded materials and texts, and at this level, the language is doing very well in terms of documentation. At level four (good), there are just adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts and, literature and media but there is still room for more. At level three (fair) are adequate grammars, dictionaries and texts, literature but no everyday media. The fragmented level (two) has some grammatical sketches, word-lists and texts useful for limited research, while at the inadequate level (level one), a language has only a few grammatical sketches, short word lists and fragmentary texts and at the zero level, the language is not documented.

The assessment of both languages, Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda, shows the varying degrees of documentation that exists in the two languages. Luganda for instance, is at the good level (level two), because it has adequate documentation, including grammars, dictionaries, literature and every day media. However, it does not qualify to be at the highest level of documentation, because it still lacks

enough documentation for instance to successfully implement the mother tongue language policy in education. This therefore shows that although there exists a number of texts and documents in the language, there is still room for more, especially in terms of literature in the different subjects to support education. Luruuri-Lunyara on the other hand, has some short word lists, an orthography that is being developed and tested, some spelling guides but no grammatical sketches yet. Because Luruuri-Lunyara has started the process of documentation, we can say it has recently moved to level one, and this shows how urgently the language needs documentation especially if the ethnolinguistic community is to increase its vitality.

6.4.3 Summary and evaluation of the vitality assessment findings

In the above section, I have discussed the vitality of Luganda and Luruuri-Lunyara based on the nine factors proposed by UNESCO (2003). All factors have been analysed on the basis of a five point scale, to show whether the language's vitality is safe, unsafe, endangered, or whether the language is severely or critically endangered or even extinct. The table below shows the summary of the vitality assessment of Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda. The analysis shows that although in chapter four, Luganda was reported to be performing very well in terms of language use in the different domains, UNESCO's linguistic vitality criteria show that Luganda is not safe and therefore if the situation is not improved in terms of official language support, government policies, substantial documentation and its use in the science based domains and the judiciary, its vitality and maintenance is likely to be affected. Luruuri-Lunyara on the other hand, according to the UNESCO vitality assessment, is severely or critically endangered because of the use of this language in just a few domains, the fact that it is used by a minority and has no official support in terms of its use and maintenance, plus the absence of sufficient documentation required to boost its maintenance and use in various domains.

Based on the UNESCO linguistic vitality criteria, the summary analysis presented below provides a linguistic analysis of the vitality of both Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda. However, this analysis provides general or overall impressions of the status of the languages but does not take into account the specific regional contexts which are likely to yield different results if considered in the analysis. For example, in the case of Luruuri-Lunyara, rural villages showed higher language use and more positive attitude impressions than urban areas, an element that is not considered in the analysis. In such regions, Luruuri-Lunyara seemed vital, and was used by a high number of people, a factor which may not be considered in measuring the general overall vitality. Future research therefore needs to assess rural and urban language use of minority languages like Luruuri-Lunyara separately, to provide an explanation for their relation and also an insight into the process of language shift and endangerment and linguistic vitality. Although the outcome might be the same, there will probably be differences with respect to number of speakers and community attitudes. Secondly, like the Giles at al. (1971) criteria used in chapter five, the UNESCO system also does not address the historical dynamics, therefore fails to portray the current linguistic situation with regard to the state of endangerment or revival. The UNESCO vitality assessment looks to be more effective in a monolingual situation than a multilingual one and so it does not take into consideration the multilingual nature of some communities. It may not therefore be entirely adequate in analysing the vitality of the linguistic situation in Africa.

Scale of assessment of language vitality and the assessment of Luganda's and Luruuri-Lunyara's vitality

Assessing language vitality and endangerment	Safe	Unsafe	Definitively endangered	Severely endangered	Critically endangered	Extinct
Intergenerational transmission	Transmission is not interrupted	Transmission is by most but not all families/language restricted (Luganda)	No longer learned as a mother tongue in the home. (Luruuri-Lunyara)	Only spoken by grandparents & older generations	Only used by great-grandparents & not in everyday interactions	No one can speak or remember the language
Absolute number of speakers	Big speech community (Luganda)	Relatively big speech community	Small speech community (Luruuri-Lunyara)	Very small speech community	Just a few people left who speak the language	No one left speaking the language

Proportion of speakers within the total population	The whole group speaks the language	Most people speak the language **(Luganda)**	Majority speak the language	Minority speak the language **(Luruuri-Lunyara)**	Very few people speak the language	People no longer speak the language
Trends in existing language domains	Language is used actively in all domains of communication	Two or more languages are used in most domains **(Luganda)**	The non-dominant language(s) loses ground to the dominant language(s)	Language is used in only a few domains, e.g. ceremonies and rituals **(Luruuri-Lunyara)**	Very few individuals in the community use the language	The language is not spoken anywhere
Response to new domains and media	Language is used in all new domains	Language is used in most new domains **(Luganda)**	Language is used in many new domains	Language is used in some new domains	Language is used in very few new domains **(Luruuri-Lunyara)**	Language is not used in any new domains

Materials for language education and literacy	Established orthography, literacy tradition, writing in the language is used in administration and education	Written materials exist and children are developing literacy in the language. **(Luganda)**	Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school but literacy is not promoted through print media.	Written materials exist, but only useful for some. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum	A practical orthography is known to the community and some materials are being written **(Luruuri/Lunyara)**	No orthography available to the community

Governmental and institutional language attitudes	All languages are supported, valued and protected by law and policy	Non-dominant languages are explicitly protected by government. Ethnolinguistic groups are encouraged to maintain and use their languages.	The dominant group's language is the language of interaction and the *de facto* official language. Non-dominant languages do not have any prestige **(Luganda, Luruuri-Lunyara)**	Non-dominant language use is discouraged by governments and shift to the dominant languages encouraged through, e.g. education in the dominant languages	Dominant language(s) are the only official/national language(s) through explicit government language policy. Non-dominant languages are not supported.	Use of minority languages is prohibited.

Community members' attitudes towards their own language	All members value their language and wish to see it promoted	*Most* members support language maintenance. **(Luganda)**	*Many* members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or support language loss.	*Some* members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or support language loss **(Luruuri-Lunyara)**	Only *a few* members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or support language loss	*No one* cares if the language is lost; all prefer to use a dominant language.
Amount and quality of documentation	Comprehensive grammars, and all sorts of written materials. High quality audio and video	Adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature , media, and still room for more	Adequate grammars, dictionaries and texts, literature but no everyday media.	Some grammatical sketches, word-lists and texts useful for limited research	Only a few grammatical sketches, short word lists and fragmentary texts **(Luruuri / Lunyara)**	The language is not documented

	recordings	**(Luganda)**				

Table 6: Summary of the factors in assessing the language vitality of Luganda and Luruuri-Lunyara

6.5 From theory to practice: Realities, implications and the way forward for the minority and regional languages in Uganda and Africa

In this section, I discuss the key elements of the frameworks of language planning and some insights into the theory of language management in relation to the data presented in chapters four and five, in order to provide a closer understanding of some of the leading arguments in this study.

6.5.1 Contribution of theory to the understanding of the state of language planning in multilingual settings

As already discussed (see chapter three), language planning can be seen as a deliberate effort to change linguistic behaviour (Cooper 1989) while language policy is the language practices and management decisions taken by a community or the agencies of a particular language including the government. However, it has become clear that language planning never occurs in a vacuum, as is also clearly shown by the findings of this study. Although language planning and policy as a discipline may seem to be concerned with corpus planning, aimed at improving the language in question and its use in various domains, practical realities usually indicate that other factors (including those that are non-linguistic) come into play during the planning process. Therefore, for successful language planning, these factors have to be considered, thus planning for language as a whole. These factors can be categorised as language ecology (i.e. no language exists in isolation of other languages and its environment). Language ecology considers maintenance of linguistic diversity to be essential in order to maintain languages. Traditional language planning methods therefore, such as language standardisation are not considered significant since such

methods damage language diversity and will therefore eventually affect stable multilingualism.

According to Mühlhäusler (2000), in language ecology there are no boundaries between linguistic and non-linguistic factors and the interaction of multiple languages in a community is considered, as is language and all that it comes into contact with directly or indirectly. If we refer back to the sociolinguistic situation of Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda for instance, we can understand the sociolinguistic situation clearly by analysing the social, historical, economic and political factors. The analysis of these factors therefore, can help in the process of language planning, especially if stable multilingualism is to be promoted and achieved. The political situation in Buruuri for instance (the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times) and the economic situation affected the use of Luruuri-Lunyara in different ways. The pre-colonial, tribal and regional wars between Buruuri and Buganda at different times (see section 5.2), and also during the colonial times when the Buruuri lost its independence to Buganda, all affected the use and maintenance of Luruuri-Lunyara and the current sociolinguistic situation. The economic status of Baruuri-Banyara as subsistence farmers and workers on the coffee and cotton plantations did not boost their region economically, which made people migrate to Buganda where more economic activities were being set-up by the colonial government. On the same token, it was noted how the constitutional and political recognition of Buruuri as a legitimate and independent ethnic group (see section 5.7.5) have also contributed to the restoration and revival of the use of Luruuri-Lunyara. These factors have all affected the use of Luruuri-Lunyara thus causing the speakers to shift to the use of the dominant languages, whose use dominates the public domains.

The use of Luganda has also been boosted in status and prestige as the language of the capital, and the language of literacy in various parts of Uganda because of a combination of such factors as the case of Luruuri-Lunyara. The status and prestige

gained from its use as the language of the capital, and the official, educational, literacy and religious functions that it performed during the colonial and post-colonial days have all benefited its use, creating a status that is unique to its use (as described in chapter four) but also contributing to its maintenance. The coexistence and cooperation of all such factors, although maybe complex, usually determine the maintenance of the languages in question as in the case of Luganda, or affects their maintenance as in the case of Luruuri-Lunyara. However, this fluidity of linguistic and non linguistic factors as shown in the above discussion and the inter-relationship between the two shows the importance of language ecology and the need for it to be considered in the language planning process.

Language ecology, especially the interaction between different languages in a community, needs to be considered in the traditional process of language planning and policy if stable multilingualism is to be achieved. According to Mühlhäusler (2000), ecolinguistics considers the coexistence and cooperation of the different languages in a complex relationship rather than languages suppressing or exploiting each other. The status planning where some languages have been awarded higher status than others, or even the standardisation of one variety over the other are examples of the traditional process of language planning that discourages stable multilingualism rather than encouraging it. The selection of standard Luganda for instance (see section 4.5 and 6.2), is likely to have led to the endangerment of other Luganda varieties, a trend that seems to be followed by the selection of standard Luruuri-Lunyara. Because in language ecology the interaction of the various languages or varieties is considered during the language planning process, multilingual practices are considered as a norm and are promoted, which results in the maintenance of stable multilingualism. If this approach is adopted, Luganda and Luruuri-Lunyara cannot be seen as rivals, or Luganda cannot not be seen as a threat to the maintenance of Luruuri-Lunyara (which is the case at the moment), but as an element of the community's multilingual practices.

Although status planning is likely to produce devastating results as pointed out in the previous paragraph, and has also been criticised by scholars like Kamwendo (2005) of being more symbolic than functional (e.g. the case of Swahili as the second official language in Uganda), the data provided in chapters four and five indicates that the status and function allocated to English as the official language of the country, the main language of education and literacy, and the main and formal language of the government institutions, has strongly affected the use of local languages in various domains, especially in formal settings. We cannot say this is just by coincidence, since it reflects the ideologies that emphasise English and ignore the practical advantages of the local languages. I therefore strongly believe that if local languages (from area languages to the minority languages) are allocated more functions and status in the different domains including formal domains such as education, administration and media their use and prestige will improve. This according to Batibo (2005: 108) will increase their utilitarian value and thus will enable these languages to gain a higher social status and prestige.

Acquisition planning, and especially the language in education planning, is another framework that would be able to boost the prestige of local languages and facilitate language maintenance and stable multilingualism if implemented well. But as discussed in both chapters four and five, and as also experienced by many other African countries (see section 6.3 for the case of Botswana) such policies are yet to produce what they are supposed to. And as discussed in those sections, the problem mainly lies with the implementation of this policy. Besides implementation, the most important aspect (framework) of language planning not emphasised in most African countries is prestige planning. It is disappointing to observe such policies like the language in education, which will promote multilingual practices and the community's wellbeing, failing because of a lack of positive attitudes towards it and

the languages, not only from parents but also from the educators themselves, the headmasters and the teachers who, according to the ministry, are supposed to be implementers of this policy. Although local agencies at the grassroots, such as the language-cultural trusts and societies and other language planning agencies (see section 2.4), have tried to create and promote a positive view of the local languages in different regions, central and official prestige planning especially from the government is needed to conduct the required campaigns to promote this as in the case of Somalia (see section 6.3). It is important for this kind of planning (and probably other types of language planning) to be conducted centrally by the government since it has access to finances that cannot easily be obtained by the grassroots. Like Baldauf Jr. (2008) points out, the success or failure of language planning efforts also depends on the nature of the language planning agencies who are central to language planning developments.

Another aspect of language planning noted by many scholars (e.g. Hornberger (2006), Sallabank (2011), Spolsky (2004 & 2009)), is the messy and haphazard nature of its process, even though language planning and policy theory seems to suggest a linear, thorough, planned process. Luruuri-Lunyara for instance has been introduced to the education domain as a language of instruction although the orthography had not yet been approved, and no mother tongue language materials were available to be used in classes. A discussion of Luganda, however, shows that its use in writing pre-dated the development of an official orthography. From the nineteenth century, Luganda was used in the religious domain as the language of the church and the bible (which was first translated in 1887), and the publication of books like the Apollo Kaggwa's account of the history of Buganda in 1901 as well as the use of Luganda in the media in the early days of the colonial government; this all happened before the official orthography was developed and accepted in 1947. These examples show that language planning activities are not implemented linearly but haphazardly.

Language ideologies are another significant factor in language planning and policy, which, as discussed in chapter three, usually determine the direction in which the language planning and policy activities and process will develop. As discussed earlier (see chapter three), Ruiz (1984) identifies three main orientations towards language planning, namely, language as a problem, language as a right and language as a resource. However, the data described in chapters four and five indicates mainly features from the language as a problem to the language as a right ideology. It is evident that the emphasis on English by the government and its institutions, or the emphasis on standard Luganda, are characteristics of the language as a problem ideology. In the language as a problem ideology, multilingualism is not developed because it is considered as a problem, and as a cause of other problems such as lack of social cohesion and poverty (see section 3.2.1). As a result, governments promote monolingual policies, especially the use of English and other ex-colonial languages in order to solve such problems. Language as a right is a very much deserved ideology in the African setting. Linguistic communities like the Buruuri-Bunyara have for various reasons been denied the chance to use their language especially in the public domains, yet there is evident value of this language as a symbol of cultural identity and as a tool of communication. However, this orientation usually leads to confrontations not only between governments and the language activists but also, as I experienced during fieldwork, tensions and conflicts between the local ethnolinguistic communities (e.g. dominant vs. minority groups), and divisions between a single ethnolinguistic group like the Baruuri, where some people do not seem to agree on what the cultural-language activists suggest.

According to Ruiz (1984), different circumstances need different approaches or orientations to language planning. On the African continent including Uganda, the language as a resource orientation has not been considered an aspect of language planning. The main reason why the resource orientation ideology is absent in Africa

is the language politics and the status maintenance syndrome (Alexander 2003) of the political elite who have power-status advantage over the masses of the local population, thus maintaining their political and economic advantage. This may be because many African governments are probably not prepared to handle the independence, development, empowerment and wellbeing of the local African communities that are likely to result from the language as a resource planning. This language planning can yield not only positive attitudes towards the local languages, reversing their low esteem, but also drastically reduce tensions between the local linguistic groups thus promoting social cohesion and cooperation in society and the local communities. This is because the language as a resource ideology sees local languages as a resource, not only to the individual speakers, but to society as a whole, because of their identity and communicative value, but also, indication of linguistic diversity as an advantage to society.

Finally, language management is another element of language policy and planning that provides an interesting insight into language choices (and decisions) and language ideologies all of which come together as a plan to promote and maintain a language. However, in a multilingual, multicultural and multiethnic context with the official, foreign languages different from the local languages, the choices made about local languages and whether to use them or not will determine their fate. As discussed earlier (see chapter three), language management theory indicates a relationship between beliefs and ideologies and the consensual behaviours of a speech community (Spolsky 2009) but also the interrelationship between beliefs and ideologies, the language practices and the state of dealing with or controlling the language situation, to account for the language choices made by a community or individuals in a speech community. This management takes place on different levels from an individual level (simple language management), through the more organised or complex levels of family level (micro), meso or intermediary level (organisation or work places) to the macro level (nation-state). Language management at the individual level is seen as simple management, and as mainly discourse based

(Nekvapil & Nekula 2006), where a speaker deals with his or her own speech to make a more appropriate communicative contribution, including correcting his/her own speech by, for example, replacing non-standard pronunciations with a more standard one. However, the findings of this study show that simple language management is as equally complex and organised as the organised language management, especially in multilingual communities. Language management is not only 'in-discourse' management, but also conscious planned effort to manage the language repertoires, including conscious (but also sometimes un-conscious) efforts to maintain some varieties while shifting from others, and also dealing with daily language choices to use one language and not the other.

Most participants (if not all) in this study reported still speaking their mother tongue with their parents but used other languages, such as English, with friends or at their work places. One participant during an interview said she chose to speak Luganda when she was in a village (also consciously choosing the words carefully, avoiding code-switching and code-mixing with English) in order to fit in, while another participant said she chooses English when in a village setting and in her home area which did not have many learned people in order to gain respect and enhance her status as an elite in the region. Otherwise, if she spoke Luganda like everyone else, no one would see the difference between her and the other locals. This shows that even at the simple language management level, individual choices to maintain or shift from some languages to other languages are as complex as choices at a more organised level especially because of the different reasons behind these choices, such as to be included in the 'in-group' or to enhance and define one's identity. Although Spolsky (2009) acknowledges that language management is a social phenomenon that depends on the beliefs and consensual behaviour of a speech community, some language choices are not consensual like the latter example. However, whether consensual or not, these individual choices eventually affect the maintenance or shift of the community's language and will eventually affect the multilingual language practices.

The choices between languages or varieties are sometimes not very obvious or straightforward, because typical participants in some domains or locations may be participants in another domain or setting altogether. In this study for instance, it was found that different languages were used with different people within or outside a domain. For example at the work place people used a different language with their boss (usually the formal language, e.g. English) as opposed to with their colleagues and support workers, while also different language choices were made with their parents, relatives, or friends. However, in a different setting, such as meeting one's boss at a local socio-cultural ceremony (e.g. a burial ceremony), I wondered whether the formal/official language English would still be chosen, or the local lingua franca Luganda or another smaller or local language. 80% of the respondents when asked this question thought that since it was their boss they would not speak to him/her in any language other than English, while the rest thought if they were certain s/he spoke the local language, they would speak to him/her in this. One of the responses was:

"It depends, if my boss speaks Luganda, I will speak to him in Luganda, otherwise it will be English. However, if I sometimes speak casually or informally to my boss, I will speak Luganda. But if I have never interacted casually or informally with my boss, then English is the language to use. My boss is my boss whatever the situation, even at traditional settings."

This response obtained during the interviews shows that this is how English becomes increasingly used in more and more domains, because it is sometimes used at particular times and between particular participants in domains where local languages are expected to be fully used.

Another respondent said:

"To be honest with you, if my boss is a Muganda, or when I am sure he speaks it, I would straight away use Luganda even if he is not a Muganda. Just imagine if we have lost somebody, there is no way I can speak to him in English at a funeral, talk about our cultural functions like *Kwanjula* ['engagement ceremony']. I cannot! There is time and place for everything. English is used at the work place, not at such other cultural or traditional functions in the village. *Oluzungu lulina we lukoma* ['the use of English has a limit']".

In language management, the decision or choice of which language to use in any communicative act or policy is governed by the principle that the speaker or the participants understand what is appropriate and what is not appropriate under the circumstances (consensual behaviour). However, it should also be noted that such choices are usually governed by underlying ideologies and attitudes about which languages should be used where and with whom. The above responses show the different beliefs and ideologies of what is appropriate and what is not. For instance some believed it was appropriate to use English with their bosses even if the setting did not require the use of a formal language, while others believed a local language should be used at the traditional ceremony, no matter who one talked to. However, other underlying ideologies in the above responses depended on aim or purpose or function versus status. While some respondents were eager to preserve the status of their bosses by maintaining the use of English, even in an informal setting others believed particular languages are crucial in fulfilling certain functions, e.g. attending a funeral. This all indicates how underlying language ideologies and beliefs determine language practices and management decisions.

Other factors also emerged as responsible for the choice of language, such as the relationship between the speakers (close-knit or distant). Some respondents pointed

out that if they had a close relationship with their boss, they felt that they were able to use the local language with them, while they would not be able to use this if the opposite was the case. This also highlights the relationship between status and solidarity in terms of local language use, and in-group versus out-group dynamics. As already mentioned, since local languages rank high on the solidarity scale, they are used in close tie relationships to enhance solidarity while English is used in distant relationships thus maintaining formality.

In the domain analysis of language management, the topic of discussion also proved to be critical and significant in determining language choice, especially of which language can be used to communicate about a particular subject more effectively. A discussion with secondary school students showed that English was always used in and outside their classrooms but they said their teachers used Luganda when they wanted to make a joke or to tease some students who were naughty. The point is further illustrated by the examples cited in chapter four, e.g. where an individual used English in his prayer because he felt the Luganda words did not sound very good and probably worried that his prayer would not be answered. All this illustrates the significance of the domain inspired analysis of language choices and language management initiatives and how this helps us to understand and account for language choices and language behaviours of a speech community. These language choices as illustrated by the above examples account for individual choices between languages and varieties and the circumstances that determine these choices, such as the nature of participants, the location or setting, and the activity or topic. These factors contribute to the understanding of the language management theory and the understanding of the nature of multilingual language practices in speech communities.

6.4.2 What can then be done to ensure stable multilingualism and language maintenance?

It is estimated that 90% of the world's languages spoken now will die out before 2100 if current trends continue (Krauss 1992). Secondly, millions of children in Africa today speak a different language at home from the language used as a medium of instruction and of major communication in school (UNESCO 2003). This means that apart from many African languages being in danger of extinction, a number of children are being left behind in terms of educational access and achievement because of linguistic barriers. These children therefore face the prospect of diminishing life chances in many aspects of their life, including employment, health and participation in the political processes and their general wellbeing (Adama & Glanz 2010). Although the official languages (which are usually foreign in the African context) have been promoted with the belief that they will enhance unity instead of diversity, they have led to linguistic marginalisation and linguistic exclusion in education and in other domains of daily life while also hindering social and economic aspirations.

Africa has been characterised as a naturally multilingual continent. However, this natural multilingualism has not been reflected in the national language policies of many African nations including Uganda. There are no language policies that explicitly favour active public use of the indigenous languages, while even where such policies exist, e.g. South Africa and Namibia, implementation has always failed (Batibo 2005). This has also been the case with the local language in education policies adopted by many African countries including Uganda. A number of factors have contributed to this state:

- Lack of political will to change the status quo including lack of a systematically laid down strategy to implement such policies if they exist

- Lack of resources and linguistic materials to enhance language use in public domains especially because not all the languages are written

- Negative language attitudes and ideologies that have influenced the use of the local languages and the implementation of language policies

However, despite this situation, language policies that support the use of African languages in the public are very much needed in order to preserve and maintain them. According to Batibo (2005: 108), where national policies visibly support the codification of languages and their use in public and socio-economic spheres, the utilitarian value of those languages increases, giving them a higher social status and prestige. However, one thing to consider for successful policies, especially in maintaining stable multilingualism, is to avoid linguistic dominance at any cost (Annamalai (2003), Batibo (2005)). Annamalai (2003) proposes that the three units of language policy, that is the individual, the community and the country, are motivated by different desires which are likely to influence language choices and therefore this needs to be considered in formulating and implementing policies. While an individual's motive to learn, use and maintain a language may be inspired by mobility and opportunity, the community and country's motivation may be inspired by unity and identity. Given this premise, policies formulated by governments solely without research and consultation from communities and the population may not be relevant to the public. Thus in order to represent these three dimensions language policies can formulated at different levels, e.g. regional or domain based (as illustrated in the domain based analysis of language use and practice in Uganda), in order to suit the different language practices, community

ambitions and individual needs. Such a policy would be an example of equal distribution of functions of languages across regions and across different levels of communication within domains and regions, a characteristic that is critically important in a multilingual linguistic ecology. Most importantly, such domain or region based policies are likely to encourage multilingual practices, and languages will be easily allocated functions since such policies are developed from the triglossic or multiglossic practices in the different domains, a prerequisite for stable multilingualism (see section 1.2). This is most likely to raise the functional, economic, social and cultural value of all languages such that the dominance of the majority languages versus the minority languages will be eventually reduced. Such a prerequisite allows a policy to become flexible, especially in accommodating the changes and needs of different communities.

This regional or domain oriented language planning also indicates the importance of language ecology, because for language planning to be successful it has to take into consideration the ecologies of the local language. It is this kind of planning that will make any policy relevant to the people it is aimed at. A policy therefore that advocates diverse multilingual practices the socio-cultural patterns including the whole relevant linguistic environment, will have a higher chance of being effective in addressing people's needs and desires. Such a policy I believe will make stable multilingualism a more practical phenomenon since it will not only allow communities to maintain their languages but also individuals who require mobility in their own country to fulfil their desire to expand their linguistic repertoire in order to fulfil their needs.

The effect of negative language attitudes to language maintenance has been echoed by various studies, e.g. Batibo (2005), UNESCO (2003). However it will be difficult to implement policies that support local language use while these attitudes still

prevail. But with prestige planning, the confidence to use local language will be boosted. It will educate language users about the importance of maintaining and using these languages, but also to enlighten them about the potential of the local languages for communication across different domains, especially the modern domains. It is important that people are enlightened about the aims and objectives of the policies that support local languages. This was one of the strategies adopted in implementing the official use of Somali (see section 6.3) and the government aggressively campaigned in order for the population to understand why such a policy was formulated. If the intentions and reasons behind such local language policies are made clear, the chances of success of such a policy are very high. This is because, as Batibo (2005) stated, as also realised in this study, no one desires to lose their language. Therefore if the intentions of the policies and planning are clearly explained, resistance of the public to such policies will be minimized. However other types of planning are also needed besides prestige and status planning: Corpus planning in order to codify the languages and acquisition planning in order to use these languages in education, will all reduce the negative attitudes towards these languages but also facilitate their use and maintenance.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the salient features of language policy, planning and management highlighted in the findings of this study. I have discussed the ideological dimensions portrayed in the language management of both the major and minority languages like Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda. I have also tried to relate the language planning experience in Uganda with other countries such as Botswana and Somalia and found that most countries in Africa are struggling to implement policies that encourage the use of local languages in public domains, although Somalia showed an example of successful implementation such policies. I have discussed the

principles of language vitality and maintenance according to the UNESCO (2003) parameters of language vitality through which we found that Luruuri-Lunyara is a severely endangered language in need of urgent attention in terms of reversing the language endangerment, while Luganda's vitality is also regarded as not safe despite its increasing use in public domains. In the final section of the chapter, I discuss how theory informs the findings of the study and how it helps us to understand the language situation in Uganda and make recommendations of what needs to be done to maintain multilingualism in Uganda and Africa today.

Chapter Seven

Summary, conclusions and recommendations

7.1 Summary of the major discussions of the study

The study has looked at the language policy situation in Uganda, analysing language use patterns of both the major and minority languages, investigating language management and maintenance. In chapter one, I presented the major lines of investigation of the study, highlighting the major aims and objectives and the methodology employed to conduct this research. In chapter two, I discussed the general language situation in Uganda. I discussed the historical background and the language situation, highlighting the major sociolinguistic dimensions in language use. I also discussed the status of local languages in Uganda, including their level of development. Chapter three presented the major theoretical frameworks, discussing the process of language planning, the traditional language planning and management frameworks and the language management theory.

In chapters four and five, I presented the two case studies of this study, Luganda and Luruuri-Lunyara. In these two chapters, I discussed the historical background of the two languages, including their use in the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial/post modern era. I also presented a domain based analysis of the language use patterns of both Luganda and Luruuri-Lunyara, presenting the strategies employed to manage the use of these languages in the different domains, and the attitudes associated with them. Chapter six presented a discussion and analysis of the general findings of the study in relation to the major theoretical arguments of language planning and policy

and the theory of language management. In this chapter I also presented an analysis of the linguistic vitality of both Luruuri-Lunyara and Luganda using the UNESCO (2003) language vitality assessment criteria, which shows that Luruuri-Lunyara is a critically endangered language while Luganda, although it seems to be doing much better, is also not safe.

7.2 Conclusions and Recommendations

This study has established the difficulties of language maintenance, especially with regard to minority language use, which are decreasing in use especially in the public domains. Although the use of Luruuri-Lunyara has slightly increased in a few domains recently, its maintenance and vitality is still in a critical danger. This is especially because of the speakers' negative attitudes which affect intergenerational transmission, and the increased dominance from English and more directly from majority languages like Luganda. The lack of official support towards the maintenance of local languages from the central government has also significantly contributed to the language situation. The study revealed the difficulty African languages face today in comparison with English and other European languages, the increased negative attitudes associated with their use, which are rooted in the different institutional and communal beliefs and ideologies. However, this should not underestimate the identity and communication value of local languages as illustrated by the findings of this study especially with regard to their use in the different domains, which is the very reason why their use needs to be maintained and boosted even in domains where they are not currently used.

This study therefore reveals that the maintenance of local languages in a stable multilingual setting in Uganda today is very difficult, nearly impossible. This as illustrated by the findings of the study has been caused by a sequence of interrelated

and interdependent events. These include language policies and planning that does not support multilingual practices, language competition, rivalry and dominance, lack of defined function allocation to local languages especially the minority languages, unstable language practices which are likely to affect stable multilingualism such as in the education domain and the social, religious, economic, historical and demographic factors that have affected language choice. It is not easy to point to one or two causes of this, but as shown in this study, it is a sequence of interrelated events or causes and effects that result into changes in the traditional language behaviours of a group under the influence of another which may result into language shift (the ecology of language shift, Mackay 2001). Language policy and planning on the other hand, especially the unplanned bottom-up support for languages has been a major force in the maintenance of Ugandan language. This is because as illustrated in this study, there is significant lack of official, top-down support, and the policies and planning that is existing is skewed towards maintaining a few languages and varieties (e.g. standardisation and officialisation), with ideologies and beliefs such as language purism, and the problematisation of multilingualism. All such factors have affected the nature of language planning and policy towards these languages and eventually affected their use and maintenance. Although visible advantages of language planning, especially the grassroots language support was found in this study, the linguistic vitality assessment conducted indicated that no local language (both majority and minority) was safe. Every language was in danger of endangerment and extinction, which is likely to affect future multilingual practices, and stable multilingualism in Uganda (and also other African countries as observed by Batibo 2005).

The domain related analysis of language policy and language use employed in this study has illustrated the existence of language policies at different levels of language use and the significance of grassroots language management and individual management to maintain languages. The study also revealed the significance of the

heterogeneity of language communities, highlighting the existence of multi-level linguistic practices in different communities and domains and the function of such practices, which all contribute to stable multilingualism (i.e. multilingualism may not be a problem after all). This study also reveals the significance and need for a domain analysis of language planning and policy in order to understand and contribute to the theory of language management. This is because, the domain related analysis reveals detailed language practices at different levels and the significance of such practices in language maintenance.

However, for language maintenance especially of the less used languages like Luruuri-Lunyara and stable multilingualism in which all languages gain equal status, prestige and use to be achieved two main strategies need to be considered. These are;

- o Formulation of policies by the government to support the use of local languages especially in the public domains. This needs to be done in order to allocate function and promote these languages in all domains of language use. These policies also need to encourage the multilingual language practices that already exist in the communities by providing a structure through which these practices are used.

- o Strategies of implementation need to be given a central role and especially prestige planning. Like in the case of Somali discussed in chapter six, prestige planning may be able to solve most of the implementation problems including resistance and negative attitudes. This planning (including consulting and involving linguists (not politicians) and conducting sociolinguistic research) will provide answers to what and how governments need to support the development and use of local languages.

In terms of research, especially sociolinguistic research, there is a significant need for a large scale quantitative sociolinguistic study of the language situation and use, to show the current trends in language use, and the exact numbers of the speakers of these languages. This would reveal the actual level and degree of endangerment of languages like Luruuri-Lunyara and other less used languages.

Appendix 1

Questionnaire for language use and language attitudes

Dear respondent, this questionnaire is designed to understand language choices and language attitudes in multilingual settings. You are kindly requested to participate in this study by answering the following questions.

1. How old are you?

Under 18 ☐   18–30   ☐   30–60   ☐ Over 60 ☐

2. Are you: ☐ male? Or ☐ female?

3. Level of education?

....

3. Occupation (or former occupation if retired)?

....
..

4. How many languages do you speak? Name them in order of acquisition (first or mother tongue, second language, third language).

....

....

....

5. How do you rate your proficiency or fluency in these languages? High, average or Low?

- ....
- …...................................
- ....
- ....

6. What languages do you use with?

    I.   Your spouse/ partner/ girlfriend/ boyfriend. ....

    II.   Your children……………………………………………………..

    III.   Your parents……………………………………………………

    IV.   Your siblings…………………………………………………..

    V.   Most of your relatives…………………………….........................

    VI.   Your friends……………………………………….....................

    VII.   Your colleagues at your work place……………….........................

    VIII.   Your boss…………………………………………………….

    IX.   Your clients………………………………………….....................

    X.   Your doctor or health carer ……………………………………………

    XI.   Your Priest or spiritual leader ………………………………………....

    XII.   Your teacher or your children's teacher…………………………….

    XIII.   In your leisure time (e.g. at an outing) ....

7. What languages do you use (or prefer to use) when?

- Shopping……………………………………………………
- Discussing business………………………………………….
- Praying……………………………………………………
- Discussing your children's home work ……………………
- At functions or ceremonies e.g. burial, wedding, cultural, etc. …………………………………………………………………
- Talking with the one you love…………………………………….
- Settling disputes………………………………………………….
- In a political debate..
- Listening to the news…………………………………………..
- Other settings (name them and the languages you would prefer to use)…………………...

…………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………….

8. Are there other languages you feel you would like to learn?

……………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………

9. Why?

....
....

10. Do you feel in any way that your language behaviours have changed over the years? E.g. you are speaking more languages, stopped speaking some languages, changing the languages you speak with people?

....
………………………………………………………………………………..

Why?

…………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………

11. If you were given a choice, what languages would you prefer to use?

....
....

Why?..
....

12. What languages (or dialects) do you feel sound?

- Beautiful………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………

- Ugly…………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………

- Ridiculous……………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………

- Quaint(strange but interesting/ attractively old fashioned)

…………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………..

- Homely……………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………

- Unintelligible (impossible to understand)……………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

13. What languages do you feel define who you are (your identity)?
…………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………

14. Why?
…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………

15. What language(s) do you feel are an important part of your heritage?
…………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………

16. Why?
…………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………

17. What languages would you like to make sure your children or the next generation to learn?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

18. Why?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

19. What languages do you think if they died out you wouldn't be bothered or you wouldn't be affected ……………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………..

20. Why?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

21. What languages would you like to be our official and national languages? List them in order of priority, with the first being the most favourable.

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

22. Why?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

19. What languages would you like to be taught in schools?

- In primary………………………………………………………………
- In secondary……………………………………………………………
- University and tertiary level……………………………………………

20. Why?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

21. What languages would you like to be used as the medium of instruction and examination in schools?

- In primary………………………………………………………………
- In secondary………………………………………………………………
- University and tertiary level…………………………………………...

22. Why?

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

Please feel free to write any other comment about language use in Uganda and any other issue related to the questions answered above that you would like the researcher to know here.

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

This questionnaire is anonymous but the researcher would be very interested in any other comments you may have. If you would be interested in speaking to the researcher, please put your name and address or phone number here and when you are most available:

…………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………

Appendix 2

Focus Group Discussion

Topic: Language policy and language planning in Uganda

Background:

- Uganda has 43 living languages and 2 are extinct (some say we have 63 living languages).

- Language policy: English is the official language and Swahili is the second official language.

- In school, lower primary mother tongue medium of instruction and English in the rest of the school.

- In the 70's research showed approximately 20% of Ugandans were able to speak English and approximately 30% could hold a conversation in Swahili (Ladefoged, et al.).

Guiding questions to the discussion:

- Self introduction, stating number of languages spoken and where or when they are used and something interesting that has happened to you related to language.

- a) What is your say about our official language policy?

b) Should it be English and Swahili? Why?

c) If we were given chance to select our official/national languages, what languages would you suggest and why?

- Do you think our local languages are still important today? Discuss.

- Our political leaders say that our local languages are the cause of our problems. E.g. poverty, poor academic performance, lack of unity and nationalism, and many others. What do you say?

- What languages do you suggest to be used (and taught) in the following places and why?

  1.   Home

  2.   School (primary, secondary, tertiary/ University)

  3.   Work places, hospitals, and other public domains

  4.   With special friends

- What do you think are some of the language related problems we face in our country (even here at your school or at home) and how should we overcome them?

- Should we maintain our languages (keep them alive)? If yes, why and how? If no why not?

- What languages do you think are not that important, to Ugandans and therefore wouldn't mind if they become extinct?

ǹnda National Council For Science and Technology

(Established by Act of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda)

UNCST

Your Ref:...........................
Our Ref:.................SS.2245   *Date:*20/05/2010.........

Ms. Nakayiza Judith
C/o Makerere Institute of Languages
P O Box 7062
Kampala

Dear Ms. Nakayiza,

RE: RESEARCH PROJECT, "LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE PLANNING IN UGANDA"

This is to inform you that the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) approved the above research proposal on **July 9, 2010.** The approval will expire on **July 9, 2011.** If it is necessary to continue with the research beyond the expiry date, a request for continuation should be made in writing to the Executive Secretary, UNCST.

Any problems of a serious nature related to the execution of your research project should be brought to the attention of the UNCST, and any changes to the research protocol should not be implemented without UNCST's approval except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the research participant(s).

This letter also serves as proof of UNCST approval and as a reminder for you to submit to UNCST timely progress reports and a final report on completion of the research project.

Yours sincerely,

Jane Nabbuto
for: Executive Secretary
UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS P.O. BOX 7168 KAMPALA, TELEPHONES: 254881/6, 343934, 343926, 343943, 344026, 230048, FAX: 235459/344012

ADM 154/212/01

August 4, 2009

The Resident District Commissioner, Kampala District
The Resident District Commissioner, Wakiso District
The Resident District Commissioner, Mpigi District
The Resident District Commissioner, Kayunga District
The Resident District Commissioner, Nakasongola District
The Resident District Commissioner, Rakai District
The Resident District Commissioner, Jinja District
The Resident District Commissioner, LuweroDistrict

This is to introduce to you **Ms. Judith Nakayiza** as a Researcher who will be carrying out a research entitled **"Language policy and language planning in Uganda"** for a period of **03(three)** years in your district.

She has undergone the necessary clearance to carry out the said project.

Please render her the necessary assistance.

Alenga Rose
FOR: SECRETARY, OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Appendix 5

These are pictures of billboards advertising mobile companies taken during fieldwork in Kampala city in 2010. The advertising slogans are in both Luganda and English

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