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Language Skills for Higher Education in Tanzania

*Josephat Rugemalira**

Abstract

This paper examines the language proficiency problem in higher education in Tanzania and shows that this is a familiar problem in countries that use a foreign or second language in education. It argues that the much utilized 'University of Dar es Salaam Model' of Communications Skills courses has not had the expected impact on this problem and calls for a radical departure from current practice. The paper proposes two policy options to the higher education establishment in Tanzania with regard to the issue of the languages of education. The first option requires the establishment of a strict filtering mechanism in order to exclude all applicants who do not possess the English language skills required in an English medium university. The second option seeks to develop a bilingual language policy for higher education. This would allow partial use of Kiswahili in the system e.g. in lectures, seminar discussions and examinations, even while most literature has to be accessed in English.

Key words: *language proficiency, English medium university, strict filtering mechanism, bilingual language policy for higher education, Kiswahili*

Introduction

The problems arising out of the use of English as a language of instruction (LOI) in secondary and tertiary education in Tanzania are well-documented (Criper & Dodd, 1984; Roy-Campbell & Qorro, 1987; UDSM, 1999, 2004; Brock-Utne & Desai, 2005). The consensus is that the learners at all levels are held back from realizing their full potential on account of the language barrier. Although the post independence LOI debate has been going on for half a century, the failure to resolve the issue serves to underline the complex nature of the problem; it is not evidence of mere ignorance on the part of the education administrators / experts; nor is this failure simply an illustration of the lack of resolve and daring on the part of the politicians.

Already in the Second Five Year Plan 1969–74 the government expressed a concern regarding the continued use of English in secondary and higher education when the primary level had already converted to Kiswahili medium (Tanzania Government, 1969:152).

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By the early eighties the Makweta commission (Tanzania Government, 1982:209) actually set the year 1985 for a change to Kiswahili medium beginning with Form One, i.e. the first year of secondary school. This proposal was not implemented and subsequent policies have remained equivocal on the LOI question (Tanzania Government, 1995b:52, 2014b:38).

The LOI problem is not unique to Tanzania but is a serious public policy issue in multilingual societies. It is more acute in post-colonial states, but is increasingly becoming a headache in rich but small countries as English progressively becomes the language of higher education in Europe because of the global dominance of the USA (Dearden, 2014:3, Coleman, 2006:1; CIMO, 2009:2). In Sweden, for instance, students can access university education in the mother tongue viz. Swedish; but in a country with a population not exceeding 10 million people even this language is under pressure from the imperative to 'internationalize' higher education, i.e. offer courses in English and so attract foreign students and academics. Spain has a Spanish medium higher education system and yet is under pressure to catch up with the global competition to sell the service within and abroad using English (University World News, 2013). In Iceland, where the total population of less than 300,000 speak the national language i.e. Icelandic, the English menace is even more acutely felt, even though Icelandic is used in the education system up to university (Hilmarsson-Dunn, 2009).

The language malaise in Malaysia is instructive. The post-independence expansion of education went hand in hand with the promotion of the national language (Bahasa Malay) as LOI. The initiative was introduced in 1967, ten years after independence, at lower levels of education and culminated in the conversion to Malay medium at university in 1982. However this policy was reversed in 2003 when English as LOI was reintroduced for science and mathematics at all levels of education. A further reversal came in 2009 when Malay was reinstated (Chan et al., 2015), and a subsequent modification in the form of a “Dual Language Programme” to allow some mix in Malay and English in some schools has been reported (*Daily Express*, 5 November 2015).

Many other countries in a similar predicament have not been as bold (or unstable) regarding the LOI policies and have largely stuck to English. And in each case the language problem has refused to go away irrespective of the number of years of teaching English as a

subject or its use as LOI [Coleman 2011]. In Hong Kong, 98 percent of the population speak Cantonese (Chinese) as their first language; English, the school language, is spoken as a home language by less than 1 percent of the population. Research has shown that:

pupils with high language proficiency scores performed better in both the English and Chinese versions of the achievement tests. However, when tests were set in English only, pupils with low English language proficiency tended to perform at a lower level than those taking the same tests in the Chinese or the bilingual versions. ... There appears to be a threshold for English language proficiency at and above which the use of English as the teaching medium is feasible. There also appears to be a level below which pupils suffer an educational disadvantage if English is used as the medium of instruction. ... Pupils of low English proficiency preferred their teachers to use more Chinese, and *bilingual texts and tests improved their test scores* (Hong Kong, 1986:28-9).

Turkey, which has never been ruled by the British or Americans, teaches English to everyone from primary school to university, but the results are dismal. “The entry level of most students is too low to benefit fully from [English medium instruction], even after a year of preparatory school” (British Council, 2015:5). Myanmar, like Turkey, has a viable national language (Burmese) that could fulfill the LOI function, but it has chosen to suffer the English disease (British Academy, 2015:5–6). India, with its many well-developed indigenous languages (Hindi, Malayalam, Bengali, Kannada, Telugu etc.), as well as its own established Indian English, provides another case that fits the pattern in the LOI jig-saw puzzle (Jayaram, 1993). South Africa, with a sizable population of native speakers of English who should provide a model for learners, and in spite of its very progressive language policy, also ends up with a LOI problem as complex as that of Tanzania (South Africa Govt., 2002; Brock-Utne et al., 2004). The government of Rwanda boldly ditched one colonial language (French) in favour of another (English) but may have in reality jumped out of the frying pan only to land in the fire (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010; Kagwesage 2013). Although neighbouring Kenya and Uganda may seem to be faring better than Tanzania on the LOI issue this layman’s impression does not stand up to scrutiny and may at best be a reflection of a relatively more effective educational performance than just good LOI policy/outcome

(Namuchwa, 2007; Uwezo, 2011¹; Kembo-Sure et al., 2016). “Universities have voiced concern about receiving freshers who can hardly write, read, and hold discussions in English. This problem is not unique to Kenya” (Barasa, 1997:5).

Existing Policies and Practices

The current education and training policy (Tanzania Government, 2014b) affirms the decades-old status quo: Kiswahili remains LOI at primary level, while English is the LOI at secondary and tertiary levels, and may also be used at lower levels from nursery to primary school. There have been pronouncements in recent years to the effect that English would go further down into all primary schools as LOI,² reflecting the increasing influence of the pro-English forces. In Zanzibar the official policy does mandate the use of English as LOI from Standard Five (Maalim, 2015) even though the implementation may have been delayed or suspended till a time when there will be enough teachers with the requisite skills. And while there are English medium primary and nursery schools, there are no Kiswahili medium secondary schools or universities in spite of the expressed wishes in the education policy that appropriate measures would be put in place to ensure the sustainable use of the language at all levels of education and training (Tanzania Government, 2014b:38).

In order to address the problem of students' poor command of English, higher education institutions have almost universally adopted the University of Dar es Salaam ‘model answer’, viz. Communication Skills [CL] courses (Rugemalira, 1990). Initially introduced in 1978, the CL courses were a compromise solution to a problem that by today's standards was only emerging. The main solution consisted of essentially a study skills course whose basic assumption was that the *students had an adequate mastery of*

¹ “While Kenyan children had acquired better numeracy and literacy skills, they did far from well. In Standard 3, roughly two out of three children failed to pass the Uwezo tests for English, Kiswahili and numeracy. These results are cause for concern, as the expectation is that 100% or all children in Standard 3 should be able to satisfactorily complete a Standard 2 test. Only when pupils reached Standard 7 did almost all of them acquire basic Standard 2 numeracy and literacy skills, *though in Tanzania half of Standard 7 pupils were still unable to do the Standard 2 English test*” (Uwezo, 2011:24).

² “The government is planning to introduce English as a medium of instruction from Standard Three in a bid to raise the confidence of Tanzanian job seekers in the East African common market. Education and Vocational Training minister Shukuru Kawambwa said recently the poor background in English language made Tanzanians fear East African job market. ‘Tanzanian education is not inferior as people think. The problem we face is poor background in English language, we are going to make sure that in three years English will be the medium of instruction’, said the minister” (*The Citizen*, 21 October 2010).

English and the course sought to teach students how to study efficiently. The main skills included note taking, summarizing, reading strategies, library and reference skills, report writing, and oral presentation skills. A supplementary product in the battery of services offered by the Communication Skills Unit consisted of the Intensive Grammar Programme (IGP) meant for a minority of students who had failed the English University Screening Test (UST). The contents of the course were laid out in a custom made workbook and in effect were an outline grammar of English to be covered in ten hours spread over ten weeks.

Even in the formative years of the CL courses it was clear that the formula was not working: the courses were unpopular with the students; the instructors wondered what it was that they were supposed to be teaching; and the university community at large saw no improvement in the students' "communication skills" (Osiston, 1982; Msuya, 2011). Yet it is this formula that has largely been scaled up over all tertiary educational institutions in the country. The duration varies from one to four semesters. The content is a merger of the original CL study skills package with the IGP type material. In some cases instructors have chosen to focus on 'communication' and subjected students to theories of communication (sender, receiver, channel, sign, obstacles to communication!) – an interpretation that even the founders of the programme would have regarded as outlandish.

Obstacles to Cracking the Language Problem

Massification of education: In all education systems, the provision of education on a mass scale has repercussions on the quality of service. This is so because massification rules out the exclusivity associated with serving an elite whereby those who cannot meet the standards of the select few are weeded out. Even in English native countries the increasing numbers of non-native students has resulted in the need to institute various measures to handle them, viz. language centres and language screening policies (e.g. Australian Government, 2013).³ In the post-colonial societies the imperative of an expanded education system clashes with the desire that *every* citizen access the prestigious global language and become a member of the *imagined international community* communicating in English. Even in countries like Turkey where mass education up to university can

³ Massification of higher education in the developed countries is much more formidable as these countries aim to enroll 50% of the relevant age group in the universities (cf. Coleman, 2006:3).

be accessed in the local language (Turkish) the clamour for English is a challenge because mass English proficiency cannot be guaranteed.

Tanzania's post-independence expansion of primary and secondary education was facilitated by the conversion to Kiswahili as LOI at primary level. However the floodgates remained locked at the secondary level, and this by design: the vision of Education for Self Reliance (Nyerere, 1968) was of the rural masses content with Standard Seven schooling and only a select few going on to secondary school and fewer still to university. Until the mid 1980s the primary to secondary school transition rates were below 5%. Only the community secondary schools of the past ten years have raised that rate to above 50% (Tanzania Government, 2014a).⁴ And in higher education, it is only in the last twenty years that non-government universities were even allowed to exist (Tanzania Government, 1995a:13). So if the English skills of today's university students appear to have deteriorated compared to the students of the 1970s and 1980s, part of the answer has to do with massification: while more numbers can be accommodated in a science or history classroom, it does not follow that similar numbers in an English classroom will result in mass English competence.

Inappropriate theory of second /foreign language learning and teaching: A major problem for the English Language Teaching (ELT) industry has been the popular belief that the best way – the cheapest and easiest way - to teach English is to use it as LOI. It is taken as a self-evident truth that requires no demonstration as this typical formulation on the situation in Myanmar shows:

The prevalent view among local policy makers and university administrators when discussing the restructuring and revitalization of the national education system is that *instruction should be given in English*. This reflects a widespread perception in Burmese society that *English is the most important foreign language for university students to master...* (British Academy, 2015:4).

⁴ “The transition rates from primary to secondary, that is, proportion of standard seven finalists selected to join secondary (Form 1) education, has increased from 36.1 percent in 2004 to 59.5 percent in 2012 Since the proportion of primary school leavers selected to join secondary education depends on the *Std VII pass rate which has been fluctuating from year to year*, the transition rate has also been fluctuating though with an increasing trend” (Tanzania Government, 2014a:36).

The English as LOI policies are in effect based on a *wish* to master the language⁵ when in fact sound educational policy should be based on choosing a LOI because the students, and their teachers, have undisputed mastery of it. But sound policy is clouded by the predicament of post-colonial systems of education whereby education is equated with mastery of the language of the colonial master (UK),⁶ or the current global master (USA).⁷

The Canadian immersion model (Baker, 2001) and the Content and Language Integrating Learning (CLIL) approach promoted by the European Union (Coleman, 2006) do share with the LOI model of ELT the assumption that practice in authentic contexts of use promotes language learning by maximizing the amount and duration of exposure. But these models work for a tiny fraction of self-selected ELT subjects even within particular countries; the personal characteristics of these learners and their families, as well as the human and material resources available to them, make a comparison with the vast educational systems of countries that adopt the LOI model meaningless. The Sri Lanka example is a case in point: in order to implement the English as LOI policy, some schools had to deploy their best teachers of English to teach other subjects for select classes because the other subject teachers felt incompetent when it came to using English; this meant that most pupils could not be taught the English subject because the teachers would be overloaded (Lindberg & Narman, 2005).

Studies have shown that the LOI function does NOT improve mastery of English. Criper and Dodd (1984:43) found that “less than 20% of the [University] sample tested were at a level where they would find it easy to read even the simpler books required for their academic studies.” These were the cream in a system that had exposed them to English as subject for at least *nine* years in primary and secondary school, and to English as LOI for *six* years of secondary school. Twenty years later Brock-Utne (2005:236, 246) found that the “English of Forms 6, 4, and 1 students is inadequate.... the difference between the three levels is very small,” and that “there are some Form VI students... whose English is not

⁵ See also Lindberg et al. (2005:320) on Sri Lanka: “English is now being *reintroduced as an optional medium of instruction*.... as a response to the fact that a large majority of the Sri Lankan population can still *manage English so poorly*.”

⁶ See accounts from some countries: Lindberg et al. (2005) on Sri Lanka, and Coleman (2011:7) on characterizing the availability of English in Pakistan as an “urgent public requirement.”

⁷ Brown, Paul. (2014). The Problem of English Dominance in Higher Education Globalization. (<https://paulgordonbrown.com>)

much better than the one displayed by students in lower secondary school levels of education.” Again after so many years of learning English and using English as LOI, the best of the crop, having reached the peak of the educational pyramid, could still not function in English.

Almost in tandem with the LOI belief of language learning, is the 'tell and memorize' practice in ELT. Even well-educated people appear to believe that all that is needed to fix the English problem is for teachers to tell the learners what the rules of grammar are and get the learners to memorize them. The IGP list of ten grammar topics is an extreme illustration of this practice, all the more inexcusable because it was done by ELT experts who should have known better. The English syllabuses at primary and secondary school levels are largely lists of language structures to be covered in a given period. Even when there are good textbooks, the dearth of good English teachers dooms the whole ELT endeavour: good English language teachers are invaluable! None of the ELT departments in the universities has even started to address this problem. At one time the A-level English syllabus was a reflection of the university linguistics lectures, apparently drawn up on the assumption that it is preparation for university entry.

When, as expected, there is less than satisfactory results in a 'tell and memorize' approach to ELT the response will be to do more of the same. That is why in virtually all the countries with a LOI problem the number of years for teaching/learning English is relatively high – typically beginning in the early years of primary school and lasting through the duration of higher education, with dire consequences for failing English⁸. It may be argued that, after an initial critical investment in time and effort, success in ELT diminishes with the amount of time invested in it. Even specially designed programmes i.e. English for Specific Purposes courses, designed for particular types of learners (e.g. by occupation or discipline) have not been shown to make a difference in comparison with general language programmes (Master, 2005).

Every normal human child will literally pick up the language used around him or her effortlessly. The child does not need any tuition for this, and any attempts at tutoring will be ignored. This genetic endowment does not depend on the intelligence of the parents or of

⁸ cf. this report about Rwanda's higher education: *The New Times* – Pass English or repeat: How best can universities deal with proficiency tests? (Solomon Asaba, August 19, 2015)

the people raising the child. So a baby born to Kiswahili speaking parents and adopted at birth by Chinese speaking people will acquire Chinese as his/her mother tongue or first language. If the baby is kidnapped by monkeys and is raised by them, this child will not acquire any human language. But by the age of *three to four* years any normal child will have mastered the intricate rules (i.e. the *grammar*) governing the language used around him/her. The vocabulary may be limited, and we all learn new vocabulary the rest of our lives, but the abstract rules constitute the critical skill. And this natural ability of humans to acquire the first language must be activated during a particular period - the so called 'critical period'. If by the age of ten to twelve a human has not been exposed to natural language, then language acquisition may never happen, or not satisfactorily so.

Adding another language (second language - L2) after the first has been acquired is a different kind of business altogether. That is why there is a whole industry around language teaching/learning - teachers, schools, books and all types of teaching/learning materials; there are language promoters - to tell you which languages are worth learning, which ones will give you linguistic capital.

Second language learning does not proceed in the same way as first language acquisition since the original biological programme has already been modified by the first language. And that first language can sometimes be a help and sometimes a hindrance in the learning of L2. There are various factors that come into play resulting in differential achievement rates among L2 learners, such as the level of motivation and effort, styles of learning, an aptitude for languages, and personality traits. Also there are factors associated with the material and social conditions of teaching and learning.

Success in L2 learning is itself a relative concept. It is not usually considered necessary that every L2 learner must attain the same level of performance as a native speaker in all domains of use of the language in question. Even a famous polyglot like Pope John Paul II could deploy only a subset of his reputed language skills very well (Boston Globe, 2005). But this is often a bone of contention in the ELT industry - what is the standard of success? An easy example relates to the standards of pronunciation: the books say that learners in Tanzania should learn to speak like the Queen (Elizabeth II of UK; they call her accent 'Received Pronunciation'). But the people preparing these materials do not even approximate the queen's speech! Similar examples relating to rules of word formation and

sentence construction raise controversial questions about what to regard as errors and bad learning, what to regard as legitimate variation in a local version of English.

Success Stories?

The small Nordic countries, particularly Sweden, Finland, and the Netherlands have a reputation for their success in the ELT business. In Sweden apparently you may be excused for failing all other subjects at school, but NOT Mathematics, Swedish, and English! And it also appears that this formula for success in the teaching and learning of English is not replicated in connection with other languages of their neighbours like German, French or Russian. Schools in England offer second language options from primary level but the proportion of students taking up these chances to learn a language from the continent (German, French) has been declining, and achievement levels are not encouraging (BBC, 2005). In the USA schools offer students a second language option. In higher education in particular, many colleges require a student to take at least two semesters of a second language course and pass before they can graduate. And a common PhD requirement in the USA is evidence of reading knowledge in one or two second languages, although this requirement may be lapsing because of the dominance of English in the publishing industry.

The moral in this overview of practices in various countries is that success in second language learning is an elastic concept. From the masses that go through these L2 courses *only a fraction of the learners develop a lasting functional grasp and go on to make any significant use of the language in question*. In particular it is worth noting that these various education systems do NOT require the learners to use the L2 in learning other subjects. In higher education, in countries as diverse as China and Sweden, the increasing marketisation and competition using English as LOI targets a select elite (among staff and students) that seeks to be internationally mobile. The vast majority of learners may ignore or actively resist Englishization of higher education.

On the other hand it may be possible to assess how well the education system, and higher education in particular, has empowered the learners. For instance, to what extent do the youth in China, Taiwan, or Korea gain mastery of skills and spawn new ideas as they progress through the education system, and what contribution does the LOI have in the process? And to what extent do

Tanzanian learners master the skills and grasp the ideas encountered in the schools and universities and then take the learning further with creative confidence? It has been suggested “that the failure of education to have an impact on development indicators in many African countries is due not to the lack of availability of education but, rather, to the ineffectiveness of the education which is available. The ineffectiveness of education, in turn, can be partly attributed to language policy” (Coleman, 2011:3).

Gaps in the Language Component in Higher Education

Besides the LOI problem facing higher education, there is an unappreciated potential for language education and innovation. The languages (being part of the humanities / arts disciplines) have suffered a general neglect, being perceived as irrelevant to development and not priority areas for investment, in comparison with the sciences. They are regarded as not subjects that will result in tangible products, and without a contribution to make in the eradication of poverty. Even as the indigenous languages (other than Kiswahili) are reluctantly kept out of this discussion, it is clear that the education system concerns itself with only two languages, viz. Kiswahili and English. The study of French involves such a small number of learners that most people do not know that it exists in the system. Chinese is only now just pushing itself in on account of the enterprising nation out to make its impact on the planet in line with its economic muscle. In the large universities (viz. Dar es Salaam, Dodoma) the language departments largely exist for the purpose of producing secondary school teachers. A traditionally science based university like Sokoine University of Agriculture, or the public administration based Mzumbe, can only establish language departments if they establish education programmes with English and Kiswahili as teaching subjects. But of course they all have staff in small language centres/units to offer Communication Skills courses as already noted.

These arrangements are extremely narrow and provide very little room for the nurturing of literary talents. Nor do they allow students in the various disciplines who have an interest in languages to do optional courses to develop such interest, e.g. an engineer who takes a language option or as some kind of minor subject. But what is even more troubling is the climate in which science students are raised to look down upon the languages as not worthy of their time and talent. The current arrangements fail to make use of a *creative* potential that goes with a holistic perspective on knowledge, de-emphasizing

the disciplinary boundaries between the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural and applied sciences.

Policy Recommendations

Strict filter: Establish a strict screening mechanism for English language competence so as to admit students who have the requisite skills to study in English. The UST of the 1980s at UDSM could be a useful benchmark; it was a simple test, but it would probably weed out more than half of the applicants today. Use of a TOEFL⁹ standard would be catastrophic! The later UDSM tests during the matriculation era were also simple but they did not differ significantly in their results from the National Examinations Council of Tanzania (NECTA) results and so they were not useful tools for identifying those students who could study effectively using the English language (Osaki, 2008).

Special arrangements may need to be put in place to offer pre-entry intensive English courses to unsuccessful candidates for six to twelve months. These do not need to be part of university establishments. Careful planning is crucial with provision of requisite investment in materials and personnel for the courses to be effective. It is important to avoid the Turkish model which has a preparatory year of English language before university, and also sustains the teaching of English throughout the duration of university studies; this would be too wasteful (British Council, 2015).¹⁰ It is also not recommended to adopt the Rwandese arrangement that teaches English alongside the academic subjects at university and withholds the degree for failing English: the language skills should be acquired and proved to have been acquired before embarking on university study.

Even if the whole higher education system does not adopt this option, a few enterprising (perhaps private) universities should have the

⁹ Test of English as a Foreign Language

¹⁰ Experiences from Turkey are worth keeping in mind (British Council, 2015:73, 78):

“Preparatory school classes are usually compulsory but noncredit-bearing. Teachers frequently complained that students felt they were at the preparatory school because they had to be, rather than because they needed or wanted to be, and students echoed this view in their comments on the questionnaire. All universities enforce a rigid attendance requirement, and failure rates because of inadequate attendance reach ten percent in some universities....

...Teachers in one foundation university claimed that they were pressured by management to inflate exit exam marks to allow students to ‘pass’ and move on to their undergraduate studies. This practice is fairly common in other countries where there are preparatory schools but only one example of this practice was encountered in the current project. Nevertheless, this example further emphasizes the need for rigorous testing and ethical standards.”

freedom to go this way. [If it were not for the ‘curse’ of sucking the private universities into the students’ loans system some private universities would already be doing this – the way some private secondary schools were groomed into elite institutions!]

Prospects: This is a politically delicate option because too many applicants would be kept out of the university system. There were protests on the streets in Malaysia in 2009 because of the English requirement for science and mathematics in the schools and universities. And if the test standards are lowered in order to allow more applicants to pass, the whole purpose will be defeated. If only some [elite, private] universities use the filter some form of “linguistic apartheid” (cf. Coleman, 2011:9) will develop whereby those who have the social capital to obtain good English skills will access higher quality tertiary education in an exclusive language; the rest will be condemned to lower quality education in institutions where both instructors and students are struggling to make sense of the curriculum and the educational materials.¹¹ Indeed there already does exist a sentiment against English medium primary schools because they are perceived as catering for the rich and powerful while the children of the poor masses are relegated to decrepit Kiswahili medium public schools (Rugemalira, 2013).

Caution is also in order regarding the effectiveness of a remedial intensive programme. Many learners subjected to this more-of-the-same treatment are psychologically unprepared to invest the effort in a new learning. The level of their grammar after so many years of instruction may have reached a plateau and *fossilized* into an inter-language - a stage short of the perfect grammar of the native speaker that is judged as inadequate (Han & Selinker, 2005). Additionally it is doubtful that the requisite investment in materials and human resources will be forthcoming at the appropriate level of quality and quantity. For instance, for the programme to have any chance of success, teaching ought to be organized in small classes of 20 to 30 students per teacher rather than in lecture crowds of hundreds of learners.

Bilingualism: Evolve an appropriate bilingual policy that allows deliberate partial use of Kiswahili in the system e.g. in lectures, seminar discussions, and examinations, even if most literature has to

¹¹ In Malaysia a class and ethnic divide is reported whereby *lower class Malay* students study in public Malay medium universities, whereas *middle class Chinese* students go to private English medium universities (Puteh, 2010).

still be accessed in English. Allow code-switching and code mixing modes of presentation e.g. in an essay written in Kiswahili, accept insertion of English 'technical terms' (Treffers-Daller, 2005). The arrangements would require an attitudinal and policy relaxation of the ban on code-switching in lectures and discussions.

Code-switching (CS) is prohibited because of the belief that the LOI function of English serves to teach the language and so, by engaging in code-switching, the teacher and the learner are adulterating the language and developing bad linguistic habits (Atetwe, 2013). Also in the purist linguistic tradition, CS is regarded as evidence of laziness and linguistic lack of discipline. But it has already been noted that the LOI role does not enhance language learning (but jeopardizes the learning of the content subject matter). And a positive view of CS celebrates the user's readiness to bring all of his/her *linguistic resources* into play in order to communicate (Zakharia, 2010).¹² Even good bilinguals do not have an equal mastery of the languages in question, and particularly in speaking, some words or constructions from one language may be more readily available than those from another language. This will be particularly so in the case of technical terms.

This view of CS would seek to discourage the translation mode of CS where the instructor says every sentence in English and then repeats that sentence in Kiswahili. It is unnecessary and wasteful, unless the point is to explain some text from the reading materials. And this is where the instructor can feel challenged because it is important to explain a concept in a language that the learners can grasp and to make sense of definitions, laws and principles in plain language. It is not the case that such statements consist solely of 'technical terms' that have not yet been coined in Kiswahili.

Such a development would have the salutary impact of mustering the considerable skills in Kiswahili that most students in Tanzania

¹² "While commonplace language management in Lebanon seeks to separate languages in the classroom, creating discrete areas for usage, a heteroglossic approach would favor translanguaging. This approach recognizes the linguistic repertoire of students and allows them to draw from that repertoire as they interact with each other, with the educational materials, and with teachers and other school staff. In this way, students are allowed to draw on their strengths in both languages as they negotiate meaning. In the classroom, such practices signal to students the value of the mother tongue as a significant resource for developing the second language. Whereas commonly held notions of languages view code-switching as a deficit in student bilingual competence, *translanguaging allows for an active engagement of the student's bilingual resources*. Furthermore, purposeful use of code-switching by teachers can be productive, when it is part of an intentional set of practices that address language asymmetries" (Zakharia, 2010).

bring with them to university study. It would formalize much of what is already going on in the teaching and learning process at secondary and tertiary levels (Brock-Utne, 2004). It would also help de-emphasize the significance attached to the English language in the education system (*‘english = education’*). This depreciation would be a good result because it would help us move towards an improved conception of what ‘education’ is all about.

This option may help many of us accept the fact that most Tanzanians will work and live in a predominantly Kiswahili speaking environment, that they will be able to access more and more materials / information in Kiswahili as the regional lingua franca, that they need just enough knowledge of English to interpret some of the information into Kiswahili in order to function effectively and communicate within their work / life situations. It will also help us accept the fact that most Tanzanians will not be diplomats abroad, international businessmen/women, or university academics. The change will set the standard of being educated linguistically to be proficient in Kiswahili. And yet this arrangement does not close the opportunities for many people to learn English and become sufficiently proficient to be able to use it in English speaking contexts as academics at international conferences or diplomats at the United Nations.

Caution: The strongest opposition to this option is the galloping Englishization of higher education globally, even in the large economies of Germany and France, at least at the level of the master's and doctoral degrees. Although the EU policy seeks to promote several languages for an integrated Europe, English has effectively become the dominant language in an increasingly marketized higher education system (Coleman, 2006). Since this trend is global, a move that diminishes/cuts back the use of English in Tanzanian higher education might derail attempts by local universities to compete for resources (research funds) and talent (academic staff and fee-paying students) globally.¹³ And if local branches of foreign based higher education institutions have to follow the same arrangements, there will be fewer such institutions wishing to set up camp in Tanzania.

¹³ “Based on data from UNESCO, during the period 2000-2012 university enrollment of internationally mobile students has almost doubled rising from 2 million to more than 4 million students. Additionally, it is estimated that these international students represent approximately 2% of all tertiary enrolments globally” (Theodoridis, 2015:2).

Language centres of excellence: Establish language teaching and research centres of excellence in some universities. Admissions into such programs are to be highly selective, based on language competence. The core mission would be to produce language teachers, language teaching materials, language curriculum developers / syllabus designers, publishing editors, translators and interpreters. Such centres would conduct research on language in education, and language teaching and learning. The centres could spearhead the setting up of translation initiatives of books and journal articles from English into Kiswahili and centrally archive/digitize scholarly materials produced in the universities and in this way they would take positive steps to participate in the creation of internet content and make materials available to a growing Tanzanian audience in Kiswahili. They could develop IT applications to language materials - including spell-checkers and grammar checkers for Kiswahili, translation assistants for Kiswahili into/from other languages, dictation machines, and reading machines.

For this latter type of endeavour in the IT realm it will be necessary to exert influence on the education ministry planners and policy makers to overhaul the subject combination system so as to make it more flexible and blur the sharp distinction between science and arts subjects, e.g. allow the possibility of an A-level 3-subject combination that has 2 science subjects and one arts subject and vice versa, e.g. Mathematics, Physics, Kiswahili; English, French, Mathematics; Biology, Chemistry, History; Economics, Mathematics, Fine Art etc. In similar vein, it will be helpful to overhaul university curricula to allow greater interdisciplinary courses e.g. teachers with a science and arts subject combination, B.Sc. with a Mathematics major and English minor, B.Sc. Engineering with a minor in Fine Art, B.A. Languages with a minor in Law, M.D. with a minor in social anthropology, B.Sc. Geology with a minor in political science etc. Even when such alliances have an eye on employability, they should also seek to enhance the student's *learning and adaptability* abilities as well as the cultivation of a wide range of the student's talents and interests.¹⁴

¹⁴ Note the case of Ben Carson, the famous neural surgeon, who, after high school went on to do science at Cornell University, but could have equally done music! Or consider the case of a friend of mine from our graduate school days in the USA, who did a PhD in Linguistics, taught Linguistics as Assistant Professor for some three years, before going to medical school to become a doctor!

English syllabus overhaul: It is important to exert pressure on education planners (Tanzania Institute of Education) to overhaul the language teaching curricula at school level to give serious treatment to the development of reading skills – via a **reading programme** component in the syllabus from primary school to A-level. A central weakness in the current syllabus is the absence of any reading worth the name – even in the Kwahili syllabus. For academic purposes at least, reading skills are indispensable in language learning, besides the added advantage that this will promote a reading culture in the society.

Conclusion

Tough decisions must be made if some progress is to be made. Temptations to sit and wait in the hope that matters will improve would be delusional; there will not be any improvement as the history of the past forty years has demonstrated. Decisions will be tough because they are likely to involve theories and practices that are controversial and unresolved, or research findings that are amenable to alternative interpretations. Controversy may arise because decisions may appear to favour / advance the interests of particular sections of society at the expense of other sections e.g. elites vs the masses. Disagreement on the best course of action may arise out of differences regarding goals and priorities, or regarding the value of a particular outcome. For instance, the LOI function of English is often associated with people who place a high value on the acquisition of this language while the opponents would appear to place a higher value on efficient mastery of the content subjects.

Viewed in this way, it is unlikely that there will be a perfect solution from experts. That is why the politicians have so often been blamed or praised for maintaining the status quo. Even irrespective of their own personal inclinations, they have been forced to read and interpret indicators from conflicting constituencies - mainly the elites and privileged members of society, the masses with a love-hate relationship to the English language, and the multinational powers with a vested interest in the continued dominance of English. Nevertheless this paper has indicated that at this particular juncture a change of course is imperative.

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The Definite Article in Swahili

*Rodrick Gregory Ndomba**

Abstract

This paper contributes to the debate on whether or not Swahili nominals have overt determiners to qualify for DP analysis. It has been concluded in some circles that Swahili nominals are not amenable to DP analysis for lacking determiners – definite articles. It is assumed in this paper that what appear to be articleless DPs in Swahili are underlyingly headed by the D node which always remains empty except in cases when D is occupied by the prenominal demonstratives base generated in a lower position inside the DP structure. The strongest evidence in Swahili comes from asymmetries between prenominal and postnominal demonstratives whereby the prenominal demonstratives are said to be anaphoric and postnominal demonstratives deictic. Assuming that the prenominal demonstrative is base generated below D, the conclusion must be that the demonstrative appears in the prenominal position following the raising.

Key words: *Swahili nominals, DP analysis, definite article, articleless DPs in Swahili, pronominal demonstratives, postnominal demonstratives, DP structure*

Introduction

Carstens (1991, 1993, 2008) argues that nouns in Bantu languages such as Swahili lack overt determiners – definite articles, comparable to the articles in languages such as English. Hence, noun phrases are analyzed as articleless DPs headed by an empty D node – a null D. It is under this assumption that the raising of N(oun) to D(eterminer) position in Swahili DP structure is explicated under Carstens' (1991, 1993) analysis.

It has also been argued vehemently that Swahili nouns just like nouns in many other Bantu languages are not analyzable as DPs but NPs. A tendency to favour NP analysis can be observed in studies which have focused on analyzing the structure of noun phrases as NPs rather than DPs in Bantu languages (Lusekelo, 2009, 2013; Ndomba, 2006; Rugemalira, 2007). Lusekelo (2013), for instance, claims that nouns in Bantu languages like Swahili are better analyzed as NPs and not DPs. The reasons given include the fact that Bantu nouns are bare – articleless, and they head their modifiers in the order N>DET>MOD contrary to English order DET>MOD>N (Lusekelo, 2013:27). Lusekelo (2013) observes that

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determiners in Swahili nouns appear postnominally in a position not related to definite article like *the* in English. He also points out that rarely the determiners precede head nouns in Bantu languages such as Swahili. The rare case in which determiners in Swahili precede head nouns is illustrated in (1) (author's morphological parsing).

1. *W-ale* *wa-zee* *wa-pole.*
2 those 2 elder/old-person 2 kind
'Those kind elders.'
2. *Wa-zee* *w-ale* *wa-pole.*
2 old-person/elder 2 those 2 kind
'Those kind elders.' (Lusekelo, 2013:24)

In (1) – (2), the demonstrative *wale* 'those' appearing prenominally and postnominally serves as the determiner with a deictic force. According to Lusekelo (2013), the prenominal and postnominal demonstratives have nothing to do with the definite article. Rugemalira (2007) assumes with Lusekelo (2013) that determiners in Bantu nouns can appear either prenominally or postnominally. Rugemalira (2007) argues that the distributive quantifier – *each/every*, in many Bantu NPs are determiners which appear prenominally only as in (3) – (5).

3. *Wó n-ndu.* [Mashami]
each 1 person
'Each person.'
4. *Buri mu-ntu.* [Ha]
Each 1 person
'Each person.'
5. *Kila m-tu.* [Swahili]
Each 1 person
'Each person.' (Rugemalira (2007:138))

The other determiners – the demonstrative and the possessive, according to Rugemalira (2007), appear postnominally in the order illustrated in Mashami (6) – (7).

6. *N-ndú u-lya wá-kwa.*
1 person 1 that 1 of mine
'That person of mine.'
7. *Ikusáro lyilyá lyákwa.*
5 thought 5 that 5 of mine
'That thought of mine.' (Rugemalira, 2007:138)

Rugemalira (2007) argues that the postnominal demonstrative and the possessive are determiners despite the restriction that the possessive cannot precede the demonstrative. He points out that the same pattern is observed in Swahili where the postnominal demonstrative and possessive are determiners. Examples (8) – (9) are illustrative.

8. *Mtu wangu yule.*
 Noun. Poss. Dem.
 ‘That person of mine.’
9. *Yule mtu wangu.*
 Dem. Noun. Poss.
 ‘That person of mine.’ (Rugemalira, 2007:142)

Given the article less nature of Swahili nouns, what remains to be established in Swahili nouns is which of the identified categories of determiners can function as the definite article like the one found in English DP. Since the article is the only category which is attested to occupy the head of the Determiner Phrase (DP) uncontroversially and cross linguistically, what is also to be said is whether or not the identified categories in Swahili occupy D slot in DP structure.

Considering the universality of the DP category, we need to posit if article less nouns in Swahili project a DP above NP. Studies have established that articleless nouns are DPs assumed to have null determiners (Chen, 2004; Cummins, 1998; Portefield & Srivastav, 1988). Carstens (1991, 1993) points out that the Swahili nouns are DPs with null Ds. According to Carstens (1991, 1993) noun initial Swahili DPs are derived by head-to-head movement of the Noun from its base generated position to D. Thus, Swahili nouns are said to project DP above NP. In the similar way, it is argued that languages including Polish, Czech, Hindi, Indonesian (Cummins, 1998; Portefield & Srivastav, 1988; Veselovská & Janebová, 2014), Slavic languages like Polish and Croatian/Serbian/Bosnian (Progovac, 1998; Rutkowski, 2002; Trenkic, 2004), and Chinese (Chen, 2004) which lack articles project a null D. The next section provides a brief note on DP hypothesis which forms part of the core discussion in this paper.

The DP Hypothesis

Abney's (1987) DP hypothesis assumes that nouns project higher functional categories – D(eterminers) which head their own phrases called Determiner Phrases (DPs). The hypothesis also assumes that there are restricted classes of items that have been considered to occupy D and the most instantiations of the position of the D are the articles – in English there are indefinite and definite articles. This view suggests that nouns are not heads of the phrases traditionally referred to as noun phrases (NPs). Instead, articles are taken to be the head of this projection, dubbed determiner phrase or simply DP.

According to Longobardi (1994), this observation suggests two positions about the structure to be assigned to the projections of determiners. First, the former which assumes alongside Jackendoff (1977) that nouns are heads locates determiner phrases inside noun phrases (NPs), particularly in their specifier positions as schematically hypothesized in (10).

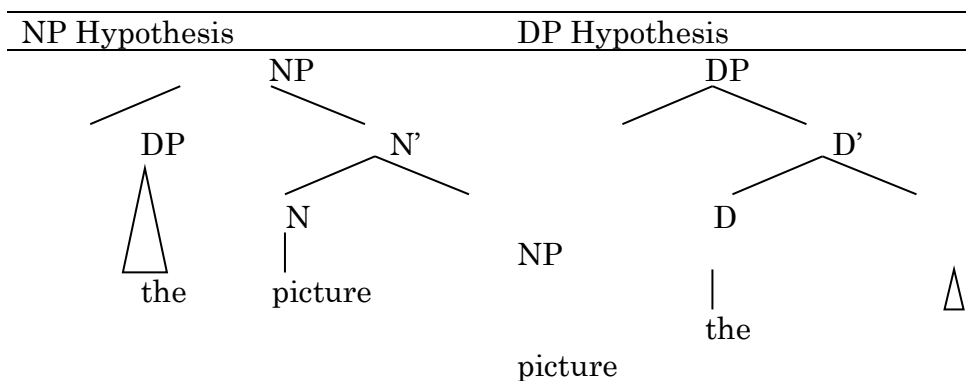
10. [NP DP [N'N]]

Second, the latter position which assumes that the article is the head conceives the whole nominal construction as coinciding with DP and NP as the complement of the head D (Abney, 1987). The latter conception is hypothesized in (11).

11. [DP [D' D NP]]

The two conceptions are illustrated in (12).

12. NP versus DP



In (12), distinct notions on NP and DP are illustrated. The NP hypothesis assumes that the DP is included in NP structure while the DP hypothesis assumes that the NP is included in DP internal structure. In contemporary state of linguistic theories DP hypothesis

has proved more plausible than its predecessor – NP hypothesis. The motivation for DP hypothesis is a conceptual parallel with the structure of clauses – CP-IP-VP (Chomsky, 1986b). The issue at hand was that functional categories like C(omplementizer) and I(nflection) fit the X-bar schema, and head XPs with complements and specifiers; hence the same should be expected for functional heads like D as the head of DP internal structure.

The assumptions that all languages share underlying phrase structure, suggests that DPs should be projected both in languages that have articles and in those that do not. Progovac (1998:165) points out that ‘even Serbo-Croatian (SC), a language without articles, projects a DP on top of NPs in argument positions.’ Some researchers object this fact pointing out that DP hypothesis is inapplicable to nouns which lack articles. Lusekelo (2013), for instance, claims that nouns in Eastern Bantu languages should be analyzed as NPs but not DPs. One of the reasons for this observation is that the N(oun) in Eastern Bantu languages nominal expressions occurs to the far-left – hence NPs, contrary to English whereby the N(oun) is preceded by the articles (Determiners) – hence DPs.

The intention of this paper is to argue that Swahili DPs project a determiner in DP structure and that there is a category which corresponds to the definite article appearing in D. The evidence of this argument comes from observing the distribution of demonstratives – prenominal and postnominal, in Swahili. The next section attempts to describe the distribution of demonstratives in order to posit whether or not Swahili subscribes to DP analysis.

Determiner Demonstratives in Swahili

Carstens (1991, 1993, 2008) points out that Swahili DPs lack overt determiners – articles, in comparison to other languages such as Spanish – a Romance language, illustrated in (13) – (15).

13. *La casa bonita.*
the FEM house pretty FEM
‘The pretty house.’ (Carstens, 2008:153)
14. *El niño pequeño.*
the MASC child MASC small MASC
‘The small boy.’ (Carstens, 2008:160)
15. *La niña pequeña.*
the FEM child FEM small FEM
‘The small girl.’ (Carstens, 2008:160)

The examples in (13) – (15) illustrate that Spanish and English have definite articles. Spanish has two definite articles – *la* for FEM(inine) nouns and *el* for MASC(uline) nouns while English has *the* as the sole definite article. The nouns in the two languages are in sharp contrast from Swahili nouns in (16) – (18).

16. *Uharibifu wa mfalme.*
14 destruction of 1 king
'The destruction of the king.' (Carstens, 1991:84)
17. *Mti wa mkulima.*
3 tree of 1 farmer
'The farmer's tree.' (Carstens, 1991:120)
18. *Usomaji wa Juma wa kitabu.*
14 read-NOM 14 of 14 of
'Juma's reading of the book.' (Carstens, 1991:120)

In (16) – (18) Swahili nouns are bare – nouns without definite article attachment, contrary to their English equivalent translations. Carstens (1991, 2008) points out that Swahili nouns project null Ds since they lack determiners. She concludes that nouns raise to D to fill the empty slot. In a different view, Rugemalira (2006) points out that demonstratives and possessives in Swahili are determiners, noting however, that possessives can only appear postnominally while the demonstrative can appear pre- and post-nominally. It is unclear under Rugemalira's view how Swahili DP, for instance, come to project determiners postnominally and prenominally. Nevertheless, should Swahili nouns project determiners of some kind the landing site for N would be posited either in or below D. However, the assumption that D is specified for definite articles makes nouns in D definite under Carstens' (1991, 1993) analysis.

de Velde (2005) analyzes the prenominal demonstrative and the postnominal demonstrative distinctively. According to de Velde (2005), the prenominal demonstratives are not 'demonstrative proper' but definite articles. According to de Velde (2005), the prenominal demonstratives are quite widespread in many Bantu languages such as Swahili, Chaga, Giryama, Digo, Nyamwezi, and Dciriku. He also argues that in these languages prenominal demonstratives have the same function as the definite article in western European languages; examples in Swahili are provided in (19) – (21).

19. *Hiki kitabu.*
 7 this 7 book
 ‘The book (that I introduced into your conversation).’
20. *Hicho kitabu.*
 7 that 7 book
 ‘The book (that you introduced or mentioned).’
21. *Kile kitabu.*
 7 that 7 book
 ‘The book (known to both of us).’ (de Velde, 2005:467-437)

According to de Velde (2005), the pronominal demonstratives *hiki* ‘this’ (19), *hicho* ‘that’ (20), and *kile* ‘that’ (21) are used as the definite article ‘*the*’. Ndomba (2017) suggests that pronominal demonstratives are likely to be used when there is specific reference to an entity or idea mentioned previously while the postnominal demonstratives are used when pointing at something – deictic function (see Carstens, 1991; Dryer, 2007; Givón, 2001; Trenkic, 2004). The contrast between the deictic demonstrative and anaphoric demonstrative is illustrated in (22).

22. *Mu-uguzi a-li-wa-pa maziwa watoto wale. Wa-le wa-toto*
 1 nurse 1 Past. 2 give 6 milk 2 child 2 those. 2 those 2 child
wa-li-kuwa wa-na-njaa.
 2 Past. are 2 be 9 hungry

The nurse gave those children some milk. The children were hungry.’ (Ndomba, 2017:122)

The postnominal demonstrative *wale* ‘those’ in *muuguzi aliwapa maziwa watoto wale* ‘the nurse gave those children some milk’ is deictic since it serves to point at a location – a place where the children were – far from the speaker and the spoken about – third person plural. On the contrary, in the pronominal position in *wale watoto walikuwa wana njaa* ‘the children were hungry’ the demonstrative is not deictic but anaphoric and is translated as the definite article. However, the demonstrative would be deictic if it followed the head noun.

The pronominal demonstrative points to the shared knowledge among participants in contextual discourse and is based on something that was mentioned earlier. In this accord, the pronominal demonstrative functions as the definite article in Swahili

while the postnominal demonstratives are deictic. This finding is similar to the analysis of definite article via demonstratives in Serbian (Trenkic, 2004). In this study, Trenkic (2004) points out that it is often assumed that in languages that do not have a definite article, demonstratives are used when a definite reference has to be made absolutely clear adding that for this reason, Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian demonstratives are regularly identified in contrastive studies as potential translation equivalents of the English definite article. Similarly, in Swahili the prenominal demonstrative is assumed to be the equivalent of the definite article in an article language like English.

Givón (2001:6) and Carstens (1991) point out that demonstratives are deictic. In addition, Dryer (2007) shows that demonstratives indicate proximity and non-proximity of location of the referent in relation to the position of the speaker and hearer. Trenkic (2004) points out that the basic function of demonstratives is to identify referents for the hearer by pointing at them and that demonstrative systems cross linguistically make three-tier person-based distinction which encode ‘near me (speaker – Person 1)’, ‘near you (spoken to – Person 2)’, and ‘near her/him (spoken about – Person 3)’ deictic reference. In terms of deictic forms present, languages are categorized broadly into two. First, languages which distinguish between *this/these* introducing ‘near me’ or speaker reference and *that/those* introducing ‘near you’ or spoken to reference. Second, languages which make three-tier deictic distinctions; *this/these* introducing ‘near me’, *that/those* introducing ‘near you’, and *that/those* introducing ‘near her/him’ references.

Classical Armenian, according to Lyons (1999), is a language with a three-tier person-based demonstrative system. In this language, the distinction is found in the affixed definite articles as well as demonstratives as in 23.

23. Three-tier person-based demonstratives in Armenian

Definite article		Demonstrative	
–s	the ‘near me’	ays	this ‘near me’
–d	the ‘near you’	ayd	that ‘near you’
–n	the ‘near him, etc.’	ayn	that ‘near him, etc.’

Source: Lyons, 1999:55

Similar to Armenian, Swahili, a Bantu language under study, has three-tier person-based demonstrative system. Since noun expressions in Swahili are based on gender and noun class prefixes,

demonstratives must agree in number and gender with classes to which they belong as illustrated in 24.

24. The three-tier person-based demonstrative system in Swahili

Cl	Prefix	Example	Gloss	Demonstratives		
				Person 1	Person 2	Person 3
1	m(u)-	Motto	Child	hu-yu	hu-yo	yu-le
1a	Ø	Baba	Father	hu-yu	hu-yo	yu-le
2	wa-	Watu	persons	ha-wa	ha-o	wa-le
3	m-	Mti	Tree	hu-u	hu-o	u-le
4	mi-	Miti	Trees	hi-i	hi-yo	i-le
5	ji-	Jiwe	stone, eye	hi-li	hi-lo	li-le
5a	Ø	Panga	matchet	hi-li	hi-lo	li-le
6	ma-	Mapanga	matchets	ha-ya	ha-yo	ya-le
7	ki-	Kiti	Chair	hi-ki	hi-cho	ki-le
8	vi-	Viti	chairs	hi-vi	hi-vyo	vi-le
9	N-	Nyumba	House	hi-i	hi-yo	i-le
10	N-	Nyumba	houses	hi-zi	hi-zo	zi-le
11	(l)u-	(l)ubao	timber	hu-u	hu-o	u-le
12	ka-	Katoto	small child	ha-ka	ha-ko	ka-le
13	tu-	Tutoto	small children	hu-tu	hu-to	tu-le
14	u-	Uwizi	Theft	hu-u	hu-o	u-le
15	ku-	Kuimba	singing	hu-ku	hu-ko	ku-le
16	pa-	Pahala	Place	ha-pa	ha-po	pa-le
17	ku-	Kwahala	place	hu-ku	hu-ko	ku-le
18	mu-	Mwahala	place	hu-mu	hu-mo	m(u)-le

Kihore et al. (2012), point out that the main demonstrative agreement is *h-* which is realized as *hu-*, *ha-*, and *hi-* for first and second person. The forms of the agreement harmonize vowels of the noun prefixes of respective stems. Thus, the agreement is *hu-* in Class 1, Class 3, Class 9/10, Class 11, Class 13, Class 14, Class 15, Class 17, and Class 18 because the vowel is *-u*. The agreement is *hi-* in Class 4, Class 5, and Class 7/8 when the vowel is *-i*. The agreement is *ha-* in Class 2, Class 12, and Class 16 where the vowel is *-a*.

Unlike the agreement forms meaning ‘near me’ and ‘near you’ which *h* appear as prefixes, agreement forms meaning ‘near her/him’ *-le* appears as a suffix. An instance of the three-tier person-based

demonstratives in class 1 are *hu-yu* ‘this (speaking), ¹⁵*hu-yu-o* ‘that (spoken to), and *yu-le* ‘that (spoken about). The plural forms are *ha-wa* ‘these (speaking), *ha-o* ‘those (spoken to), and *wa-le* ‘those’ (spoken about).

However, the observed redundancy in agreement forms in Bantu nominal classes has impact in the list of demonstrative forms. As Carstens (1991) observed it is a weakness of the Meinhoff noun class system which is assumed in literature. In (24), mismatches and overlaps can be observed between demonstrative forms for classes 1 and 2 on the one hand and; classes 9 and 10 on the other. Furthermore, there are overlaps in classes 3, 11 and 14. The demonstratives must agree in number and gender with respective noun heads as illustrated in (25) – (27).

25. *Wa-toto ha-wa hu – end - a shule.*
 2 child these 2 1SM HAB go Fv school
 ‘These (here) children attend school.’
26. *Vi-ko hi-vyo vi – me – uzwa - a.*
 8 pipe those 7 7SM PERF PASS sell
 ‘Those (near you) pipes are sold.’
27. *Ma-shamba ya-le ya - me - me - a mazao.*
 6 farm 4 those 4SM PERF grow 6 crop
 ‘Those (near her/him) farms have (grown) crops.’

It can be observed that there is proper agreement between demonstrative and respective head nouns on the one hand and between Subject Markers (SMs) and the head nouns on the other. Observing the demonstratives, it can be seen that *-wa* in *hawa* (25) agrees with the head noun class prefix *wa-*, *-vyo* in *hivyo* (26) agrees with noun class prefix *vi-*, and *ya-* in *yale* (27) agrees with noun class prefix *ma-*. As noted earlier, agreement is as well maintained between Subject Markers (SMs) on verbs and respective subject head nouns where SM *hu-* in *huenda* ‘go/attend (as in school)’ agrees with *watoto* ‘children’ in (25), SM *vi-* in *vimeuzwa* ‘have been sold’ agrees with *viti* ‘chairs’ (26), and SM *ya-* in *yamemea* ‘have grown’ agrees with *mashamba* ‘farms’ (27). Based on these facts; lack of agreement between demonstratives and respective head nouns as in (28) – (30) leads to ungrammaticalities.

¹⁵ The surface form of *hu-yu-o* is *hu-yo* following the dropping of the vowel of the agreement, according to (Kihore et al., 2012).

28. **Wa-toto ha-ya hu – end - a shule.*
 2 child these 6 1SM HAB go Fv school
 ‘These (here) children attend school.’
29. **Vi-ko hi-zi zi – me – uzw - a.*
 8 pipe those 10 7SM PERF PASS sell
 ‘Those (near you) pipes are sold.’
30. **Ma-shamba wa-le wa - me - me - a mazao.*
 6 farm 2 those 4SM PERF grow 6 crop
 ‘Those (near her/him) farms have (grown) crops.’

(28) – (30) are not well-formed in Swahili because of wrong agreement forms. The Well-Formedness Conditions (WFCs) requires that the demonstratives agree in gender and number with the noun they refer to. In this respect any kind of disagreement leads to ungrammaticality. Thus, class 6 demonstrative *haya* ‘these’ does not agree with class 2 head noun *watoto* ‘children’, class 10 demonstrative *hizi* ‘these’ does not agree with class 8 head noun *viko* ‘pipes, and class 2 demonstrative *wale* ‘those’ do not agree with class 6 head noun *mashamba* ‘farms’.

Commenting on the function of the demonstratives in Bantu languages (see Swahili illustrations in (19) – (21)), de Velde (2005) notes that the use of these demonstratives as the definite article is part of a gradual development towards grammaticalization into full-fledged definite articles. Chen (2004), de Velde (2005), and Heine & Nurse (2008) concur with Greenberg (1978) who points out that the definite articles evolve stage-by-stage through the grammaticalization of the demonstratives.

According to Greenberg (1978:61) the process of grammaticalization begins when “a purely deictic element has come to identify an element previously mentioned in discourse” adding that “the point at which a discourse deictic becomes a definite article is where it becomes compulsory and has spread to the point at which it means ‘identified’ in general.”

Diessel (1999) and Greenberg (1978) assert that when anaphoric demonstratives develop into definite articles their use is gradually extended from non-topical antecedents to all kinds of referents in the preceding discourse. In this context, it is observed that “in the course of this development, demonstratives lose their deictic function and turn into formal markers of definiteness” (Diessel, 1999:129). Chen (2004) summarizes Greenberg’s view in (31).

31. Greenberg's Stages of grammaticalization of deictic functional categories

Stage 0		Transitional		Stage 1
Situational deictic		Anaphoric	>	Shared knowledge association
>				

Source: Chen, 2004:1147

The analogy in (31) is significant because it provides clues for the affinity between demonstratives and the definite articles. The fact that the definite articles emanate from demonstratives provides strong evidence to support views which suggest that under certain conditions demonstratives function as definite articles. In order to place demonstratives in this line of argument, the discussion begins with the shared assumption that demonstratives are primarily deictic (Brugè, 2002; Carstens, 1991; de Velde, 2005; Dryer, 2007; Givón, 2001; Kihore et al., 2012; Ström, 2015; Trenkic, 2004). Ström (2015), Dryer (2007) and Kihore et al. (2012) point out that demonstratives indicate the proximity and non-proximity of the location of a referent in relation to the position of the speaker and the hearer. Ström (2015) and de Velde (2005) show that prenominal and postnominal demonstratives in Swahili and many other Bantu languages have semantic or pragmatic difference, adding that postnominal demonstratives in some languages like Bankon have emphatic value. de Velde (2005) illustrates that prenominal demonstratives found in languages such as Bankon, Nkore, Kanyoka, Bemba, and Bolia are emphatic while postnominal demonstratives have no emphatic value. The assumption that the demonstrative can be emphatic pre- and post-nominally does not constrain the assumption on the definite article coding. Another view of looking at the demonstratives which is shared by de Velde (2005) who points out that postnominal demonstratives in some languages like Swahili can be referred to as 'proper demonstratives' meaning that they serve a deictic function – to point to an object. These are illustrated in (32) – (34).

32. *Ki – tabu hiki.*
 7 book 7 this
 'This book (at my place).'
33. *Ki – tabu hicho.*
 7 book 7 that
 'This book (at your place)' or 'the book already mentioned.'
34. *Ki – tabu kile.*
 7 book 7 that

‘That book (far from us).’ (de Velde, 2005:436)

The examples above show that postnominal demonstratives ((32) – (34)) are deictic. In Swahili, deictic demonstratives appear in three-tier person-based forms representing proximity with the speaker (Carstens, 1991; de Velde, 2005; Kihore et al., 2012). The forms of the demonstratives distinguish between ‘speaker’ (first person), ‘spoken to’ (second person), and ‘spoken about’ (third person). The demonstratives illustrated in (32) – (34) fall under the same analysis expressing the notion of distance in addition to the deictic force – *here (near/with) the speaker* (32), *there (near/with) the spoken to* (33), and *there (near/with) the spoken about* (34). In saying (32), for instance, it is assumed that the object under discussion is either on the speaker’s hand or nearby. Unlike (32), in saying (33) it is assumed that the speaker refers to an object held by or is near the spoken to. In saying (34), it is assumed that the object under discussion is far from both the speaker and the spoken to.

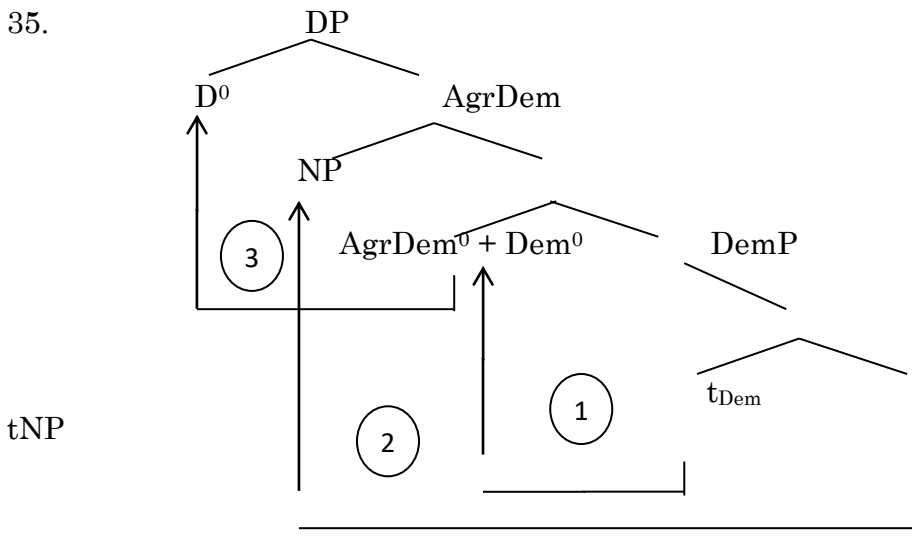
The postnominal demonstratives illustrated above differ from the prenominal demonstratives in (19) – (21) which are said to be anaphoric – used as definite articles. This fact is in line with Krifka (1995) who considers the prenominal demonstratives in Bantu languages as definite articles. Ström (2015) suggests that in Swahili the prenominal position of the demonstrative is an innovation which triggers the grammaticalization process of the demonstratives into definite articles. However, demonstratives in Swahili are not yet grammaticalized as definite articles like *the* in English. The next section attempts the derivation of Swahili nouns in DP structure.

Deriving Determiner Phrase in Swahili DP

Giusti (1995, 2002) observes that in DP structure only articles – definite and indefinite, are indisputably considered to occupy D heading NP. Commenting on the status of D, Progovac (1998:166) states ‘articles seem to be the only category which occupies the D, uncontroversially and crosslinguistically.’ This view suggests that D is associated with the class feature for the definite article. According to Giusti (1992, 1995, 2002), evidence for the prominence of articles on the D comes from demonstratives and possessives which are said to co-occur with articles in many unrelated languages such as Hungarian, Javanese, and Italian.

Shlonsky (2004) observes that in Beirut Arabic, the appearance of the demonstrative in prenominal position stems from obligatory

movement of the demonstrative. Shlonsky (2004) argues that in this language full prenominal demonstratives like *haydi* ‘this’ are heads which undergo movement from Dem^0 to D^0 . In this view, *haydi* (with its variants – *hayda*, *hool* for the masculine singular and plural forms) occupies a head position lower than D and enters into a specifier head relation with an XP in Spec/Dem (or in SpecDem) which is followed by further movement of Dem to D as illustrated in (35).



Source: Shlonsky, 2004:1502

In (35), Shlonsky (2004) argues that the full postnominal demonstrative, *haydi* moves from Dem^0 and projects Agr.Dem (movement indicated by 1), the NP (or an AgrP containing it) is then raised to Spec/AgrDem (movement indicated by 2). Finally (movement indicated by 3), AgrDem⁰ undergoes head movement and adjunction to D^0 . Shlonsky (2004) illustrates that the movement in 1 is of the sort postulated for other agreement – including functional heads in the nominal domain. The movement in 3 is unique to demonstrative heads. According to Shlonsky (2004), in many languages, the presence of a pre-nominal demonstrative precludes the appearance of a definite determiner. It is also noted that such demonstratives are akin to Levantine Arabic’s *hal*, which may only appear prenominally as illustrated in (36) – (37).

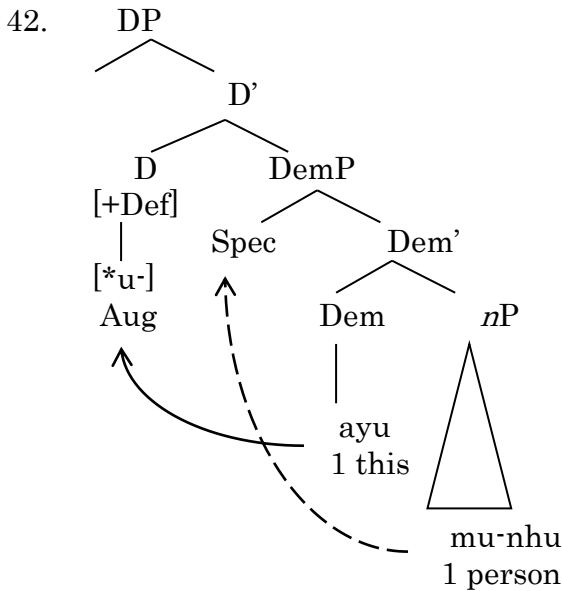
36. *Hal bint.*

This girl

37. **(*) bint hal.*

complementary distribution. The augment is deleted when the postnominal demonstrative raises to D as illustrated in (40) – (42).

40. *Ayu mu-nhu*
 1 this 1 person
 ‘The person.’
41. **Ayu u - munhu.*
 1 this Aug 1 person
 ‘This the person.’ (Ndomba, 2017)

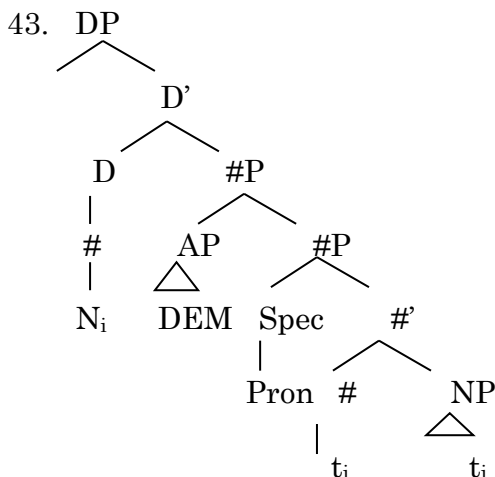


In (42), the augment in D blocks the raising of *nP* to Spec DP in the assumed way. The postnominal demonstrative *ayu* ‘this’ is base generated in Dem below D. The postnominal demonstrative *ayu* raises from Dem⁰ to D⁰ resulting into the order [Dem>>nP]. In D, the demonstrative functions as the definite article. Since the augment and the prenominal demonstrative in Gogo are in complementary distribution, the raising demonstrative deletes the augment and occupies D. It can also be observed in (41) that the co-occurrence of the prenominal demonstrative and augment is impermissible.

The analysis pursued in this section is in line with Shlonsky (2004), Brugè (1996) and Brugè and Giusti (1996) who show that prenominal demonstratives in many dialects of Arabic (including Egyptian and Moroccan Arabic) are heads which undergo movement from Dem⁰ to D⁰. Nevertheless, since Swahili is not an augment language, the

prenominal demonstrative becomes the only category that can appear in D as the definite article.

Carstens (1991) points out that the demonstratives in Swahili can appear prenominally or postnominally, and that post-nominal demonstratives are adjuncts to #P located below D. This view is illustrated in (43).



Source: Carstens, 1991:107

In (43), the demonstrative (DEM) is an adjunct to #P. According to Carstens (1991, 1993), the above derivation is only explicable assuming head-to-head movement of N to D (notice the traces 't') and the movement of Num across the demonstrative in X⁰ would violate the Head Movement Constraint (HMC) (Baker, 1988; Carstens, 1991; Chomsky, 1986a; Ouhalla, 1999; Travis, 1984). In (44), the Travis (1984) HMC formulation is adopted.

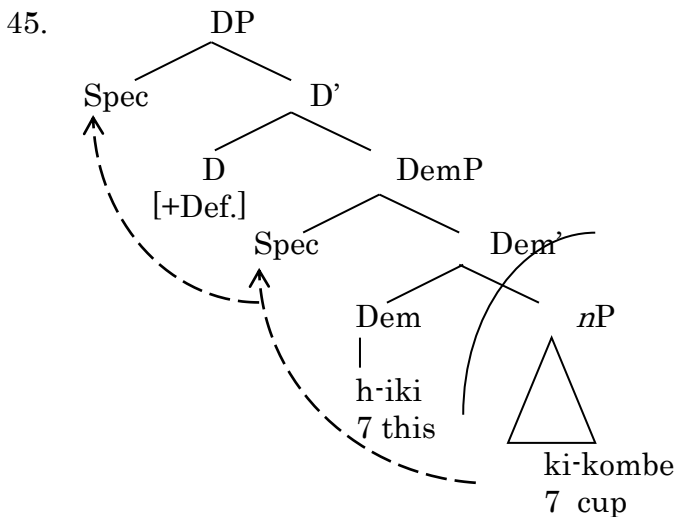
44. Head Movement Constraint

An X⁰ may only move to the Y⁰ which properly governs it (Travis, 1984:131).

In (44), with the demonstrative as the adjunct to NumP the N-to-D Head Movement Constraint becomes inoperative. Carstens (1991) also notes that the alternative syntactic lowering of the demonstrative to adjoin to NumP would equally not be plausible in that it would not be structure preserving. In this sense, Carstens (1991) concludes that demonstratives are adjuncts to #P and in that position the demonstratives precede all lexical arguments of Num

and they can undergo optional raising to Spec DP. According to Carstens (1991) both postnominal and prenominal demonstratives are not in any way analyzed as determiners – definite articles, but deictic categories.

de Velde (2005) classifies the demonstratives in Bantu languages into two. First, postnominal demonstratives serve a deictic function by showing relative location or distance of the referred entity in relation to the participants taking part in contextual discourse. Ndomba (2017) derives base generated demonstrative in Swahili in (45).



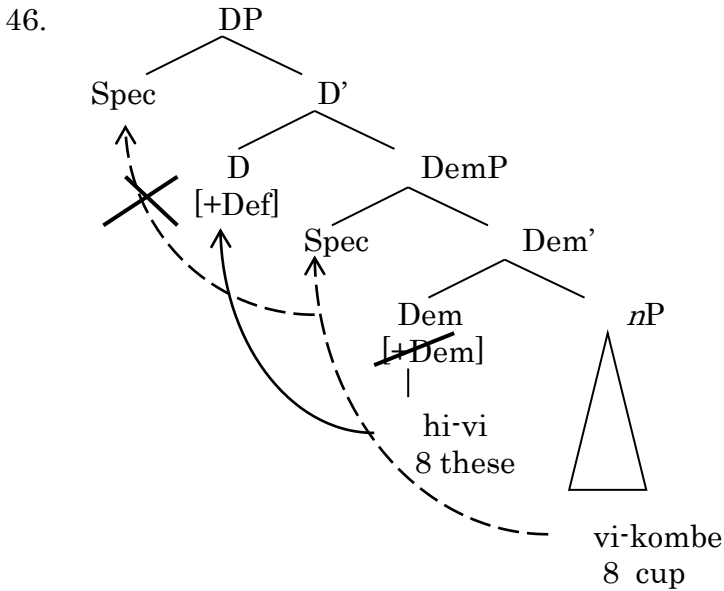
Source: Ndomba, 2017:127

In (45), the postnominal demonstrative appears below D in a position not associated with the definite article suggesting that the demonstrative is the ‘proper demonstrative’ – deictic, according to de Velde (2005). The underlying structure relations between the Swahili *kikombe hiki* in (45) and the English equivalent *this cup* are the same. The only difference is the Swahili surface where *nP* raises to Spec DP via Spec DemP. In Spec DP, *nP* is able to check its relevant features in D via Spec head relation. Since D is null, the features are checked against D itself at LF contrary to when D is occupied in which case the features would be checked against the occupant. It was mentioned in the former derivation (38) that the raising of the demonstrative to a specifier position was explicable to avoid violating TMC. However, in (40) such a violation is inoperative since the demonstrative is no longer in the adjunct to NumP as in Carstens’

(1991) derivation. With the demonstrative under Dem below D, *nP* obligatorily raises to Spec DP resulting in the order *n* Dem – with the demonstrative encoding deictic force.

Second, prenominal demonstratives function as the definite article like *the* in English. de Velde (2005) clearly points out that the prenominal demonstrative is used as the definite article in some Bantu languages like Swahili. Commenting on the difference between the prenominal demonstrative and postnominal demonstrative with regard to their respective positions in DP structure, Ström (2015) argues that the prenominal demonstrative position in Swahili is an ‘innovation’ accompanied with bleaching out of ‘deictic’ force or features of the prenominal demonstratives themselves. Shlonsky (2004) indicates that demonstratives are base generated below D as illustrated in (45).

According to Shlonsky (2004) for the demonstratives to appear in D they must have raised from below D. Ström (2015) notes that the prenominal position of the demonstrative in Bantu DPs is an innovation meaning that it is not canonical. This view suggests that the prenominal appearance of the demonstrative is the result of some modification in the canonical DP structure. Sacleux (1909:130) quoted in Ström (2015:139) assumes with Lusekelo (2013) that in Bantu DPs ‘it is not common for the demonstrative to precede the noun’. Ström (2015) and Heine and Kuteva (2002) indicate that the prenominal order of the demonstrative is part of the changing process toward the grammaticalization of the demonstrative. I assume alongside the related literature that the prenominal demonstrative appears in D where it functions as the definite article. Since the prenominal appearance is assumed to be an innovation, it is assumed that the prenominal demonstrative appears in D following its raising on a par with Shlonsky (2004). Ndomba (2017) derives the prenominal demonstrative in (46).



Source: Ndomba, 2017:128

In (46), the Dem raises obligatorily to D. The raising of Dem is triggered by the strong definite article feature in D. Hence, with the demonstrative in D, the raising of *nP* to Spec DP is blocked and consequently the *nP* lands in Spec DemP. The derivation above confirms the view that only articles – definite and indefinite, are indisputably considered to occupy D heading NP (Giusti, 1995, 2002). This observation presupposes that even in Swahili nouns, D position is assumed to possess an abstract definite article feature [+Def] alongside other relevant features of *nP* in D irrespective of whether or not the language has determiners.

This finding confirms Roberts and Roussou's (2003) hypothesis on grammaticalization of demonstratives into definite articles; a process which amounts to changing in category membership of the functional head immediately above, assuming the hierarchy [D–Dem–*n*]. Nevertheless, one might wonder why not base-generate the anaphoric demonstrative under D as with the definite article in English. The only current possible explanation could be that the demonstrative in Swahili is not fully evolved as a grammatical category – a definite article, as in languages like English or French which have full-fledged grammaticalized articles – definite and indefinite.

Conclusion

This paper has argued that Swahili nouns are equally amenable to DP analysis just like nouns in article languages such as English. I have illustrated that D in Swahili DPs is either empty or occupied by the demonstrative; the only category which may occupy D, uncontroversially and crosslinguistically. In this position, the demonstrative functions as the definite article in a language like English. However, different from the definite article which is base generated in D in English language the pronominal demonstrative appear in D following movement from a position below D as illustrated.

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Asymmetrical Power Relations within Local, Regional and International Languages in Rwanda: In whose Favour and at what Expense?

*Abubakar Kateregga**

Abstract

This paper argues that the new role and status currently ascribed to English in Rwanda is tending towards creating 'asymmetrical power relations' between English, on the one hand, and other languages used in the country on the other. The study identifies the latter to include Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili and French. In short, the implementation of a policy of promoting English as one of Rwanda's official languages and language of instruction may end up being successful though at a regrettable cost, in the future. Accordingly, the promotion of English will lead to three major problems. The first one is to relegate the use of other languages to a position of inferiority and 'endangerment'. The second imminent problem is that of excluding local and regional languages (Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili) from the epicenter of Rwanda's national development. The third problem could be a conflicting situation between various language speaking communities, leading to unnecessary polarizations and tension among different language-speaking communities. The paper develops the problems of language conflicts between major and minor languages borrowing some examples from the US, Canada, Belgium, the European Union and South Africa. It analyses language planning mechanisms and suggests a way forward for Rwanda. It is inspired by Patten's (2002) three-stage model of 'language recognition' by states characterized by 'official multilingualism', 'language rationalisation' and 'language maintenance'. The model analyses the challenges of giving public recognition to a particular language or set of languages.

Key words: *multilingualism, bilingualism, mother-tongue instruction, language policy and planning, language functions, language education*

Introduction

When Rwanda joined the British Commonwealth in 2009, some measures were introduced to fast-track the implementation of the English as a language of instruction in the country's schools and institutions of higher learning. Some of the reasons that motivated Rwanda to become an English-speaking country were majorly political and economic in nature. By joining the East African Community (EAC), Rwanda wished to be at par with all the other member states in all spheres (economic, linguistic, political, etc.) in

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order to benefit from all the advantages of economic integration. However, probably, there could have been other political reasons for embracing English as a national language which, arguably, are not the focus of this paper. As a result of embracing English, the use of French - which was formerly one of Rwanda's official languages and language of instruction - has reduced in importance and become a mere taught subject in secondary schools. Henceforth, English has started showing early signs of domination in the fields of education, politics, administration, diplomacy, commerce, the media and press, etc. Although the steps taken by government seem plausible, it is important to argue that local and regional languages should be accorded more importance in policy formulation and implementation, given the role they play in national development.

Despite the above higher acquired status for English, several minority languages in Rwanda seem to be threatened with lack of a level playing field. Do the latter need to be protected? Why should they, anyway? Who should protect them and how? Who are the final winners and losers in this linguistic undertaking? This paper attempts to provide some missing links to these questions. It describes the power-relations that exist between languages in some countries of the world. It also analyses the uses, roles and functions of other languages other than English in Rwanda. It argues that in order for Rwanda's minor languages to survive the test of time, especially in the current globalized world, there is need for urgent strategic language planning. In other words, the paper addresses the issue of promoting English without compromising minority languages.

Objective

The objective of this paper is to analyse the current power-relations between languages used in Rwanda. It shows the extent to which minor languages are trying to cope with the current situation and to show how this has impacted on the development of the country. The paper describes the specific roles and functions of major and minor languages in Rwanda with the intention of designing a coherent language policy.

Research Gap

Many African governments have tended to de-emphasize the role played by languages in development. This is contrary to the reform agenda of the African Union (AU) that advocates promoting African languages to contribute to development and scientific research. AU is

in favour of acquiring and disseminating scientific knowledge, technology and research findings in local languages, in addition to promoting Kiswahili as a language for 'African Renaissance' by disseminating it to be used in all African educational systems and carrying out evidence-based research (Ouane & Glanz, 2010). Despite these high sounding phrases, nonetheless, there are no deliberate supportive mechanisms in many African countries to use the mother tongue as a tool for education and scientific enquiry. Limited research continues to be manifest on the role of languages in development in general and local and/or regional languages in particular. The present study is conceived in the framework of filling this research gap.

Despite changing the language of instruction from French to English, Rwanda still has a big community of French users within the country and abroad to whom French will continue to perform several gregarious functions. Thus, the policy introduced to promote English may be plausible, though probably it has led to a situation where all languages used in Rwanda are no longer on a level playing field. English seems to be on a dominating trend while the other languages like Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili are on the lower scale of being dominated. This paper does not argue that all dominating languages may be devoid of benefits. On the contrary, it shows that minority languages should be protected and adequately supported because they serve a variety of functions in daily routines. In Rwanda for instance, languages like Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili or French still have particular roles and functions they continue to play. Hence, language planners should design and adopt a deliberate, coherent and inclusive language policy to protect them to avoid possible tension and friction in the future

Literature Review

Models Explaining Public Recognition of Languages

In many countries, linguistic pluralism can raise many challenges and concerns. These may range from ethical, political and legal considerations, regarding which language(s) should be used, recognized and retained by government to conduct public business and/or to access public services in schools, hospitals, courts of law, legislature, making advertisements, voting and so on (Patten, 2002). Public recognition is achieved when the selected language(s) is/are used to access such services. Those who subscribe to the liberal egalitarian theory (Rawls, 1971; Dworkin, 1977) suggest that the

best solution in handling the problem of linguistic pluralism may be to adopt a 'public disengagement' approach whereby each language should be given freedom similar to that exercised in religious 'freedom of worship'. According to Dworkin (1977), liberalism is defined as a commitment to the principle of 'rough equality' according to which resources and opportunities should be equally distributed to all languages used in the country so that the same share of whatever is roughly available is devoted to satisfying the ambitions of each language.

On the other hand, there are those who are opposed to public disengagement, arguing that, in language matters, it is impossible to avoid the use of language because public services and government business must, after all, to be delivered in, conducted and accessed via the use of one or several languages. Patten (2002) thus proposes three models that help to appreciate the challenges involved in public recognition of languages by states. These include: official multilingualism, language rationalisation and language maintenance.

In official multilingualism, each of the various languages spoken in the country is given equal public recognition. It is based on the liberal egalitarian theory according to which similar valuable institutional spaces and resources which are officially given to speakers of one language in the community (schools, hospitals, social services, research) are also given to speakers of other languages as well. According to this model, linguistic pluralism is handled in the same way as religious pluralism. Public institutions are supposed, therefore, to devote similar resources to each of the languages in the country. Official multilingualism is used, for instance, in federal institutions in Canada, Belgium, and Switzerland as well as in the institutions of the European Union. It has advantages of, among others, accommodating communication needs of minority speakers; it also provides a symbolic affirmation and value to all communities, leading to identity promotion for all language communities, given that language is a central and defining feature of peoples' identity.

The second model is language rationalisation. To rationalise is to make a working method more effective, usually by combining or stopping particular activities to increase its efficiency. Language rationalisation is an offshoot of official multilingualism. It involves a program of promoting 'convergence' on a privileged public language (or set of languages) by limiting or denying recognition of some other

languages in some spheres of language use. Priority here is given to adopting a language policy that leaves people as equal as possible with respect to some aspect or aspects of their social, economic and political lives. Its advantages include enhancing social mobility, facilitating democratic deliberation, and encouraging the formation of a common political identity as well as increasing the efficiency of public institutions.

The critique leveled against language rationalisation is that it may not be able to prevent a shift from some selected languages in preference of one dominant language. This is a big challenge of official multilingualism because the latter ends up not ensuring the survival of vulnerable languages which are originally supposed to be protected and safeguarded. If left to operate without checks and balances, official multilingualism ends up being tolerant to the dictates of social forces, thus leading to a linguistic convergence that promotes a privileged public language or group of languages and as such, limits or denies the recognition of other languages. Language rationalisation is born from the weaknesses of official multilingualism. It deals with the issue of equality from a non-language point of view (Patten, 2002).

The third approach is the language maintenance model which is also a reaction to the inadequacies of official multilingualism. The challenge of official multilingualism is that equal recognition of selected languages does not necessarily imply equal chances of success in the performance and survival of these languages. Equal recognition of languages may not guarantee that a significant number of speakers of the selected language or languages will retain their importance in key spheres of language use (Laponce, 1984; Laitin, 1998). Language maintenance is, therefore, a policy of selective language recognition, adopted to promote the maintenance of some vulnerable languages in the community. It is linked to the idea of equality that satisfies speakers of different languages. It also focuses on social interests such as symbolic affirmation and identity promotion. In this sense, equality is measured in terms of how these interests are satisfied.

Consequences of Language Domination and Marginalisation

In multilingual countries with no proper language planning mechanisms, minor languages can end up being marginalised by major ones with serious consequences (Wardhaugh, 1998). In countries like Uganda where there are 57 linguistic groups, it was

impossible, for example, to “upgrade any indigenous language to national status because doing so was bound to be interpreted as favouring one language community at the expense of others.” (A. Nsibambi, 2000:2). Instead, in order to circumvent the above problem, they opted for foreign languages like English or Swahili to be Uganda’s official/national languages respectively (Nsibambi, 2000). In countries where the linguistic playing field is not level, an escalation of linguistic differences can lead to controversies, polarisations and tensions (Wardhaugh, 1998). This has been amply demonstrated in Belgium between the Walloons and the Flemish, but also in Canada between French speakers in Quebec and English speakers in that country where claims for language rights have become the order of the day. As for Spain, separatist tendencies threatening to tear the country apart have also been manifest among the speakers of Catalan (Wardhaugh, 1998).

In the US, a language debate has been going on for some time now whereby activists of the English language have been pushing for the “English only” policy while the Hispanic communities are opposed to it. Activists of Spanish argue that in some states or federal governments where Hispanic communities constitute the majority, the latter should be allowed to use their language to access public services (education, social services, etc.) and to conduct public business such as voting in Spanish but not in ‘English only’. In the European Union, the desire to forge common institutions and a shared identity have been severely complicated by linguistic diversity and demands for linguistic space from many minority language communities. They have made protests, arguing that translation is always imperfect inconvenient and expensive. Activists of minority languages have continued to demand that their languages should be standardized and used in the public sphere (Patten, 2002).

Hence, while making language policies, planners should take trouble to identify all possible social factors that can hinder the successful implementation of language policies (Kasozi, 2000) and include these in their planning framework (Cooper, 1989). Failure to do so may lead to unnecessary social tension and frictions.

Language Planning: for whom, how and why?

Wardhaugh (1998) sees ‘language planning’ as one of the solutions to the problems met by minor languages. Language planning is defined as a deliberate, conscious, long-term and sustained effort by

government to alter a language's function in society (Weinstein, 1980). The above effort involves a number of things - mobilization, use and assessment of resources, complex decision making processes, assignment of different functions to different languages, etc. (Wradhaugh, 1998). The processes that seek to alter the status of a language (status planning) can lead to promoting particular languages to a higher status though at the same time compromising others. On the other hand, a given country may wish to directly interfere in the language matters of its population with the aim of changing the internal condition of a particular language (corpus planning) (Wradhaugh, 1998). Status planning may aim at broadening roles, functions or uses of a language in government circles, trade and commerce, public education, and so on. In this case, the status of a language altered by government may start being considered as official, national or even both.

There are many discontented language-speaking minorities in the world complaining about and demanding for fairer and/or just language rights. When a minor language acquires a new status, new measures can be taken through 'corpus planning' to develop and standardize it, empowering it, as it were, to serve all possible functions in society. This can be a very costly exercise because it involves the use of hefty resources to ensure standardization and quality of a written orthography for that language, establishing new sources of vocabulary, producing dictionaries and written literature in that language (Kasozi, 2000; Nsibambi, 2000).

Many African countries have generally grappled with the above language problem given their multi-ethnic and therefore multilingual nature (Parry, 2000; R. Nsibambi, 2000). The former have tended to favor linguistic pluralism of promoting English as their official language and/or language of instruction while relegating local or indigenous languages to lesser functions.

Only in Tanzania and Kenya has the process of "vernacularization" succeeded in favor of Swahili which has served to cement national unity in those countries (Wradhaugh, 1998:348). On the other hand, Uganda's implementation of a pro-Swahili policy has continued to meet with opposition and many social challenges, notably challenges that depict tension between the speakers of Luganda on the one hand and Swahili advocates on the other, the latter being considered socially negatively as a language of repression (Kasozi, 2000:26-27). Another strong argument explaining the poor implementation of

language policies in Uganda is given by Nsibambi (2000:21) who asserts that in African countries, language matters are never a priority in the allocation of government resources:

[...] our country, like many other African countries was misruled for decades and in an attempt to emerge from an economic political and social quagmire, everything seems a priority. Since to most people, the issue of a national language is not a matter of life and death, it tends to be neglected in the allocation of resources. Even English, which is accepted without question as the official language and enjoys the support of foreign donors, is inadequately resourced [...].

Other studies (Parkama, 1995:42; Phillipson, 1992) warn against overreliance by African countries on English or French which they accuse of perpetuating 'linguistic imperialism'. They propose de-hegemonizing the use of English so that the standard forms of English should also give space to and accept colloquial forms of African English.

The argument in favor of language planning is that it can lead to decisions that can help to boost and transform minority languages. This is because an official neglect of any given language can lead to sentiments of discrimination and tension (Wradhaugh, 1998). This is demonstrated in Canada where French speakers of this minority language have been agitating, though with limited success, for their own separate nation. This, after the Quebec federal government realized that they got a raw deal from the Canadian bilingual policy. Canadian bilingualism has proved to be an issue of controversy with demands for language rights in both French and English speaking territories (Wradhaugh, 1998).

In an attempt to solve this problem, the Canadian government responded by appointing a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and an Official Languages Act of 1969/1988, leading to a Commission of Official Languages which was charged with the implementation of the findings arrived at. The outcome was that French speakers in the minority were granted some language rights in the entire country so as to preserve the bilingualism policy in the country. Unsatisfied with the implications of this policy, the federal government of Quebec tried to restrict the use of English in public education, thus restoring French unilingualism, which was seen as a violation of language rights in the Canadian constitution. The

French–English polarization later led to separatist tensions which were defeated in the national referendum of 1995, implying that the minority language issue in Canada is far from being solved (Wradhaugh, 1998).

In Belgium, similar tensions have always existed between two languages—French and Flemish—used on Belgium soil. Thus, some elements of language discrimination were harbored by the speakers of the majority language—Flemish. At one time, “Flemish was banned from government, law, army, universities and secondary schools” (Wradhaugh, 1998:352). However, a linguistic and social parity was later established after introducing some measures of language status planning. These included policy and constitutional measures in which Belgium was reasserted as a bilingual country and Brussels recognized as a bilingual city and giving each territory occupied by either the Flemish or Walloons the right to use their own language in all spheres of life.

South Africa is yet another example of countries where the problem of language inequalities has been accorded national importance, notably after apartheid (Kateregga, 2013). The studies conducted by Webb (2002 a, b and d) on the language question in South Africa shows various language planning mechanisms and strategies. Before apartheid, only English, and to some extent, Afrikaansⁱ exclusively dominated all spheres of ‘essential’ activities. As a result, the remaining 80 South African languages were relegated to the periphery. Bantu languages only served minor and insignificant functions such performing wedding and burial rites as well as servicing cultural parties.

The first phase of language planning consisted of tabling a language bill in Parliament—*The South African Languages Bill*. The second stage was to provide a legal framework in the national constitution. The third phase was to produce a researched paper—the LANGTAG report of 1996—on the implementation of the integrated national language policy. Accordingly, 11 South African languages were retained—out of 80—to serve official functions. This choice was based on 4 linguistic families: Bantu-Nguni language family, Sotho-Venda family, Songa-Shangaan and the Afrikaans-English family.

The goal of the SA language policy is fivefold: (1) To promote the culture of linguistic parity and tolerance between indigenous languages and English (2) To change people’s mindset *vis-à-vis* indigenous languages (3) To enhance the economic capacity of local

languages by transforming them to become instruments to access jobs and education. (4) To support minority languages to become instruments of human rights and cultural identity. (5) To preserve the South African ethno-linguistic diversity so that all languages could contribute to national development (Kateregga, 2013).

Capacity enhancement of Bantu languages aimed to empower them to gain a prestigious status and to serve in high function contexts. The South African government has taken measures to standardize them and has embarked on producing written orthographies and vocabulary enrichment as well as teaching these languages in schools. As to whether the South African government has successfully achieved the above goals is not the objective of this paper.

Methodology

This is a qualitative study underpinned by a survey design. It relied on statements voiced by various categories of respondents who tried to construct a multiplicity of meanings associated with language issues in Rwanda. The research dealt with reality that is socially constructed, whereby the respondents were supposed to interpret and make meaning out of what was investigated within given situational contexts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

The study was intended to generate views, opinions and attitudes from various categories of respondents from the College of Arts and Social Sciences (CASS), civil servants and residents of Huye, Rwanda's second largest town which is regarded as a university town because it hosts several universities and institutions of higher learning. The respondents included university and secondary school students, high school teachers, university lecturers and selected civil servants, parents, and town residents.

Data was collected from a total of 100 people who participated in the study with the help of questionnaires and semi-structured interviews which were administered to three categories of respondents: 80 respondents answered questionnaires while semi-structured interviews were administered to 20 respondents. The questionnaire and interview content reflected several themes: language domination, language planning and policy, language roles and functions, minor and major languages in Rwanda, language curriculum, how to protect minor languages, perceptions of Rwandans on languages in national development, and so on. The themes retained were based on their frequency in the current

language debate on language policy and use rate in the literature reviewed.

Respondent sampling was done basing on a general assumption of being knowledgeable about and interested in language matters although some few were also selected on the basis of their role in society as parents whose children may be interested in studying and specializing in language studies. In this connection, two sampling methods were preferred - purposive sampling and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling was used because, apart from a few participants from a few university lecturers whose level of understanding and interpreting language issues was relatively high, not very many participants outside university were interested in and amply informed about language issues. As for the snowball method, it was used for triangulation purposes to supplement the above sampling technique and credibility. Some interviewed colleagues helped in the identification of other informants within and outside the university. The respondents were free to choose between being interviewed either in either English or Kinyarwanda.

One of the limitations of the sampling methods chosen was that some of the selected respondents claimed to be having limited knowledge on the subject under study saying that only language teachers/specialists should be interviewed. On the other hand, those who seemed to be knowledgeable on language issues, that is those employed in government departments, were not very free to discuss government policies relating to languages. They claimed that what they were giving was a personal opinion but not an official version on such matters.

Given the qualitative nature of this study, a thematic approach was deemed relevant in the analysis of the data.

Findings

The objective of this paper was to describe and analyse Rwanda's linguistic landscape by identifying power-relations between major and minor languages in the country and to show how this has impacted on the development of the country. It describes specific roles and functions of languages used in Rwanda with the intention of proposing an appropriate language policy for the country. In achieving these objectives, six major themes were identified for analysis from the data collected. These included language roles and functions, language awareness in Rwanda, dominating and dominated languages, Rwanda's language curriculum, the role of

language in national development and language planning strategies in Rwanda.

Theme 1: Language Roles and Functions

The respondents (abbreviated as R1, R2, etc.) were asked to compare the roles and functions of various languages used in the country and to show which languages they considered to be playing more important roles than others. This is how they reacted:

- R1: “University and school employees in Rwanda prefer to use Kinyarwanda in transacting many routine activities and academic business such as giving and/or responding to instructions in work places.”
- R2: “Kinyarwanda is used while making speeches during major social events such as graduation parties, marriage ceremonies as well as in political meetings.”
- R3: “Students mainly use Kinyarwanda to discuss academic assignments even at university. They only use English in writing assignments.”
- R4: “Most students use Kinyarwanda to conduct telephone conversations and some find it more practical to send casual telephone messages (SMS) and e-mail messages to friends than using English.”
- R5: “Many students rarely use Kiswahili or English at campus; those who do are mostly students who originated from Congo DRC or Tanzania.”

A close look at these statements shows that although Kinyarwanda seems to be associated with low context functions that are not directly associated with national economic development such as ordinary oral conversations and speeches during social events, its gregarious role is outstanding and ubiquitous. High prestige functions reserved for English or French such as conducting school lessons and lectures as well as writing official documents are reserved for English which is mastered minority elites. As for French and Kiswahili which currently play an insignificant role - because the former is no longer the language of instruction following the policy which replaced it with English in 1998 - they are still spoken by a significant number of interlocutors. As shown by the above statements, Kinyarwanda seems to be creating strong social ties between many interlocutors in the country and thus helps to

preserve social identity and solidarity between Rwandans at many socialization levels such as family, peer groups, religious and political congregations. This makes the above local language more socially practical and relevant than English, French or Swahili which are foreign in nature because they will never adequately fulfill the above functions for Rwandans. We need to point out that, unlike many African countries, Kinyarwanda is Rwanda's lingua franca used to transact economic and political business, and as such, this language should be strengthened to forge a bond of nationalism, patriotism and national unity and identity. Given that each of these languages plays separate roles, it means that no language should be left behind but instead should coexist though, probably, with unequal roles. In other words, however important English may be in terms of its prestigious functions, it will never succeed alone in Rwanda.

Theme 2: Importance of Learning Languages

On this theme, the respondents were asked to show the importance and relevance of learning of languages for Rwandans and how these should be taught. Their reactions are summarised as follows:

- R6: "All studies from nursery and primary should be given in English because this helps to synchronise Rwanda's system of education with that of EAC countries assumed to have a better education system."
- R7: "I support of a bilingual language curriculum that combines both English and French in nursery and primary but at university, English should dominate."
- R8: "Bilingual education is very good for Rwanda because it can prepare our children to compete for international jobs in the EAC, AU and UN."
- R9: "When applying for international jobs, newspapers always quote that 'knowledge of English and French is as an added advantage'."
- R10: "I don't support my child learning in Kinyarwanda alone at nursery school because young children have a potential of learning at least six languages."
- R11: "More scholarships and more foreign aid currently given to Rwanda are from English-speaking countries compared to France and Belgium combined."

R12: “Compared to the other EAC countries, Rwanda has an advantage because it generally enjoys a good background of French and English. This could be exploited to Rwanda’s benefit.

These findings reveal that many respondents are aware of the importance of leaning languages, both local and foreign. Many of them agree on one point that learning foreign languages can increase employment opportunities. Although some seem to favour an English-oriented curriculum, others are for a bilingual one. According to them, the scope of language learning seems to be restricted to only English and French. None of them seems to be interested in learning and teaching of mother tongue to children. To them, being bilingual means the ability to master English and French for purposes of getting employed in international organisations. They seem not to be aware that according to many existing studies on foreign language leaning, children learn other languages better if they already have a mastery of their mother tongue. The above findings show that the respondents poorly rank mother tongue in Rwanda’s language landscape. The negative attitude towards mother tongue is associated with a colonial mentality. There are many schools in Rwanda where speaking of mother tongue is sanctioned with punishment. Children are therefore, by school regulation, supposed to communicate in English or French alone. This practice is also carried forward by the wish of many Rwandan parents who get satisfaction when their children are more fluent in English or French than in mother tongue.

Theme 3: Dominating Versus Dominated Languages

The respondents were also asked whether they felt that some languages in Rwanda dominated others and to suggest the consequences of this scenario. They had mixed reactions as shown below:

R13: “Kinyarwanda still dominates but this is just in the short run because English will soon overtake Kinyarwanda in the long run and other languages will be threatened.”

R14 “Government and foreign donors are putting a lot of funds to support English. For example, in 2010, the government recruited 600 teachers of English from Uganda and Kenya to promote the English Language Mentoring program.

- R15: Knowledge of English is very useful in the banking and telecommunication institutions which are controlled by rich multinationals.”
- R16: “Even with local petrol stations which formerly used to advertise their product in French, they have now switched to English!”
- R17: “In Radio and televised broadcasts, Kinyarwanda and English programs dominate French or Swahili programmes.”

These findings reveal that although English has a recent history in Rwanda, it is poised to dominate Rwanda’s linguistic landscape. It is used as a language of instruction in schools; it is used in the broadcasting and telecommunication fields, in advertisement and in government and multinational institutions like banks. Government tenders and job advertisements are dominantly quoted in English in the English daily (*The New Times*). Even in the Kinyarwanda newspaper—*Invaho Nshya*—English advertisements are conspicuous. There is currently no single daily written in French in Rwanda. In Huye town where this study was conducted, many posters, billboards and signposts along the main roads and streets, especially those displaying government policies on HIV/ AIDS, family planning, gender issues, environment appear in Kinyarwanda with many upcoming ones in English.

While Kinyarwanda still dominates the local print media—*Imvaho nshya, Izuba, Gasabo, Ishema, Rugari, Rushyashya, Umusingi*—French signposts have significantly faded out. The few that still exist advertise petty businesses like small-scale restaurants, secretarial services for students and stationer’s shops. French can also be found in hardware shops, motor-vehicle garages, electrical shops and carpentries where items like: *quinquillerie, ampoule, traverse, triplex, fer à béton, serrure, H/S*, are still referred to by their French names. There is no newspaper, signpost or advert written in Kiswahili despite the latter being elevated to the status of Rwanda’s fourth official language.

According to the above statements the consequence of Rwanda’s current language scenario is that if nothing is done to boost other languages (apart from English), the former will only remain as a mere footnote, that is to say official languages which are practically not empowered to serve any important function.

Theme 4: Rwanda's Language Curriculum

The respondents were asked to suggest the best language curriculum for Rwanda's schools. Most of their reactions focused on Kiswahili whose teaching seems to be having several problems compared to other languages. They had this to say:

R18: "I think that Kiswahili should be integrated in the primary curriculum."

R19 "Government should advertise and hire languages consultants and experts to do this job."

R20: "I think languages are quickly learnt at a young age, therefore English, French and Kiswahili should be compulsory at nursery and primary levels."

R21 "Many students have lost interest in language options because government gives limited bursaries to humanities."

R22: "Kiswahili serves as Rwanda's language for the army and therefore needs to be strengthened in the curriculum."

R23: "In order to improve the teaching of Swahili, Rwanda should hire teachers from Tanzania and Kenya to train Swahili teachers."

R24: "Lack of appropriate reading materials in English or Kiswahili" in which case government should spend more money" on this item."

Many of the statements above suggest that there has been no language curriculum review in the country. They also single out the problem of teaching Kiswahili in Rwanda. Kiswahili is the regional lingua franca in the East African Community. It is the national language for two EAC countries—Tanzania and Kenya. Article 137 of Chapter 29 of the EAC Treaty stipulates that Kiswahili shall be developed as a lingua franca of the Community while English shall be the official language of the EAC. The African Union has already promoted it to the level of being one of its working languages (Ouane and Glanz, 2010). Nonetheless, Uganda, which is a member state of EAC has never succeeded in implementing a Kiswahili teaching policy because, among other things, there is lack of qualified teachers and teaching materials for Kiswahili in that country. Since 1992, Uganda committed herself to implement the teaching of Kiswahili in all her secondary schools but this has never been implemented due to lack of trained teachers and inadequate teaching materials.

According to the above statements, Kiswahili has a lot of relevance to Rwanda's social, political and economic interests. If Rwanda wishes to learn from Uganda's experience, it can improve Kiswahili teaching by introducing it in its primary curriculum. It should concentrate on training its own Kiswahili teachers first before embarking on the project of teaching it. The government therefore needs an urgent national debate on how to promote and sustain a sound multilingual situation in the country.

Theme 5: Role of Languages in National Development

The researcher asked respondents whether they felt that learning of languages has a contribution to Rwanda's national development. Their answers were mitigated:

- R25: "I think languages don't have a direct and immediate linkage to development.
- R26: "Learning of languages is a liability compared to learning of science subjects."
- R27: "Instead of studying languages, my child should study marketable disciplines like management, law or science studies."
- R28: "I think local language is important because it is used by the masses it to implement government policies."
- R29: "English is a global language used in all emerging countries like China, India, and South Africa and Dubai and many Rwandans go there for commerce and trade, and English can be useful."

The responses from the above respondents are divided: some think that languages are associated with development while the majority does not share that view. However generally, the respondents do not seem to adequately justify their statements, hence described as lacking adequate awareness in terms of linking language with development. The statements also raise a general problem of mindset among Rwandans who feel that colonial languages are better than local languages. Overall, no respondent seems to associate development with culture and yet culture is an ensemble of attributes: customs, norms, values, attitudes of which language is an important part. Yet, these days Rwanda has realised that meaningful development is one associated with homegrown initiatives or indigenous knowledge systems (IKS). Kinyarwanda is one of the basic homegrown or indigenous resources which should be

strengthened because, as revealed in the above statements, Rwanda's civil servants and politicians use it to interact with local communities to implement government policies for purposes of national development. From this set of statements, it seems that education stakeholders in Rwanda have not adequately used career guidance departments in schools to advise students on the various job profile requirements. The statements seem to give overall importance to English as a tool for international trade. In order for the English curriculum to actively contribute to development, it should be reviewed to include English for business purposes.

Theme 6: Language Policies and Planning

When asked what should be done to improve the current language situation in Rwanda, the respondents voiced a concern that all languages, apart from English, seem not to be given due attention. They were also concerned with the absence of a coherent national language policy which handles all languages used in Rwanda.

R30: "People should stop despising those who specialize in local languages."

R31: "Rwanda's academy in charge of Culture and Languages (RALC) should start a sensitization campaign in all schools in the country on the importance of all languages."

R32: "Local and foreign languages should be treated equally because, if well learned, all languages can complement one another."

R33: "There should be a national language policy but not simply a policy for promoting English only."

From the above statements, three major points emerge: that those who study and specialize in local African languages are generally despised by the Rwandan society; that the public is not aware of the importance of studying languages in general; that there is no coherent and comprehensive national language policy that harmonises the teaching of local and foreign languages in the country. The statements also reveal that there is no deliberate strategy by government to link African local languages to the epicenter of development. It is also suggested by these statements that the existing policy on teaching languages seems to be asymmetrical, that is to say it favours some languages (especially English) at the expense of others. In other words, English seems to be threatening local and minor languages. This scenario, according to

the above statements, has created a sense of frustration and despondency in studying languages, especially French, Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili. The statements blame this on the lack of a comprehensive language policy in the country.

Discussion

The findings of this study show that Rwanda should support English out of ‘institutional’ reasons (Calvet, 1987). English enjoys many institutional advantages as echoed by the above author and justified by the findings of this paper. English is now Rwanda’s language of instruction and doubles as a regional and international lingua franca that links Rwanda with her new EAC partners. The English language also has other numerous advantages in the international arena because it mediates international politics and trade in countries within and outside Africa. The findings of this study have established that for many Rwandan students, English seems to have an edge over French given the number of scholarships available to study in English speaking universities abroad. However, despite all these advantages, there are still many domains in Rwanda where English scores zero: it is an elitist language, spoken and understood by a very small percentage of Rwandans. The majority of Rwandans find it more practical to use their mother tongue while transacting social, political and economic business. This study has also shown that the new regional block that Rwanda has decided to join (EAC) is aware of the importance of an African lingua franca in achieving national and regional development. Hence, EAC has strongly lobbied and succeeded in making Kiswahili an official working language for the African Union. Rwanda is therefore left with no choice but to accept and promote Kiswahili alongside other languages used within its territory. Although there are no current available statistics on the use of Kiswahili, it seems that the latter is spoken and understood by many more Rwandans than English and French combined. This therefore implies that the country can easily translate the benefits of Kiswahili into Rwanda’s development.

On the other hand, the findings of this paper have also shown that Kinyarwanda must be promoted not only for its ‘gregarious’ functions (Calvet, 1987) but also for its sociocultural functions. It is the mother tongue for all Rwandans, and as such, helps in maintaining and preserving unity, solidarity and social identity between all Rwanda’s sub-communities. The findings have also shown that all government programmes permeate to the grassroots via Kinyarwanda. This language therefore has an important political function.

Although many respondents in this study (especially parents) seem not to be aware of the importance of the mother tongue in early childhood development (ECD), the government should sensitise them on this importance so that, as stakeholders in the educational undertaking, they should be on the same page with government in supporting instruction of and in Kinyarwanda at lower levels of education. Studies already exist elsewhere (Keshubi, 2000) which support the view that mother tongue instruction at early stages of development helps learners to gain self-confidence and to express themselves spontaneously. Other studies have shown that in many developing countries, many children start losing their self-confidence and self-esteem at nursery and early primary stages. Yet others show that any attempt to use foreign languages as a medium of instruction during early stages of learning may be detrimental to the child's mental development (Bagunywa, in Keshibi, 2000). Based on similar considerations, the present paper advocates for mother-tongue instruction in Rwanda's in nursery and lower primary cycle.

As a reflection of the objective of this study, the government of Rwanda should seek to uphold the principle of 'rough equality' between all the languages on the territory (Dworkin, 1977). In other words, a reasonable number of resources and opportunities should be 'roughly' equally availed to the all the languages used in Rwanda to avoid a situation of discontentment and social friction among Rwanda's various language speaking communities as illustrated in some countries. In this context, Kinyarwanda should be supported for its importance in early childhood education (self-esteem, children's mental development, social identity). As for Kiswahili it is both a continental and regional lingua franca with a number of trade-related benefits. French is also important for Rwanda due to political and diplomatic reasons. The country still needs to maintain her ties with her historic and colonial past. There is a big community of French speakers in Rwanda which is still a member of the Francophone countries. The findings of this paper resonate with the AU program that urges African governments to enhance and support the use of African local languages in education and research (Ouane & Glanz, 2010). In this perspective, the 'AU language reform agenda' that advocates for the multiplication of reading materials in local languages and the promotion and dissemination of Kiswahili as a 'language for African Renaissance' should be conceived to cover other languages like Kinyarwanda. Finally in achieving all the above language initiatives suggested in this paper, there is need for strategic planning for languages used in Rwanda so that minority

languages are protected from the threat imposed by major ones, in this case English.

Conclusion

This study aimed at analyzing power-relations between the languages used in Rwanda. In achieving the above goal, it was found that power relations between various languages used in Rwanda are asymmetrical. They seem to be favouring English to the detriment of French, Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili. The findings of this study have shown that Rwanda does not have a coherent and comprehensive national language policy that states clearly the roles, functions and reasons why these languages should be supported and protected. This has led many Rwandans to develop a negative mind-set towards studying mother tongue and Kiswahili, the latter being one of the most promising Africa's *lingua francas*. In short the paper has argued in favour of the country's minority languages (Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili) which should be protected and developed because they can help to achieve a number of social economic and mental benefits: cultural cohesion, national unity, social cohesion and identity, trade, self-confidence and self-esteem. In order to promote these languages, the findings of this study have shown that there is need for a national debate on languages whose end result should be to set up a national language policy that is supportive of African languages. The policy should also be inclusive with an intention to change people's mindset on the learning and teaching of these languages in schools. Secondly, there should be a curriculum review intended to streamline the teaching of Kinyarwanda and Kiswahili at nursery and primary levels. Thirdly, government should concentrate on training teachers and providing teaching materials for these languages to offset the challenge of inadequate trained teachers. Lastly, research and publications on mother tongue and Kiswahili should be funded to enhance a positive public image for these languages. All these initiatives would go a long way in avoiding negative sentiments towards studying African languages and reducing conflicts among different language speaking communities. In this way, national development would be achieved.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are made in view of the research findings in this study:

- 1) Rwanda's should debate a national language policy that seeks to promote Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili and French.
- 2) There is need for a coherent language curriculum that links nursery and primary and higher institutions of learning;
- 3) The university should take a leading role in teaching and conducting research on language matters.
- 4) Minority languages in Rwanda should be protected to avoid creating conflict between communities that speak different languages.
- 5) Government should support writers of and publishers in local and regional languages.

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Repetition in University Classroom Interaction: A Case Study of the University of Dar es Salaam

*Erick Nikuigize Shartiely**

Abstract

This paper investigates how lecturers use repetition to perform different functions during classroom interaction at the University of Dar es Salaam. The data encompass eight recorded lectures and interviews with the respective lecturers teaching first year students in the Departments of Political Sciences and Public Administration and Sociology and Social Anthropology. The objective is to identify, describe and analyse how lecturers apply repetition as a communication strategy to convey information at a sophisticated level of academic rhetoric to facilitate knowledge delivery. Discourse analysis (DA) approach facilitated the identification and analysis of repetition as a discourse strategy of lecturers, and as part of spoken registers that are generically used in university teaching in Tanzania. The findings indicate that lecturers used phrasal and clausal types of repetition to achieve cohesion, topic continuity and emphasis. This paper extends knowledge on how multilingual speakers utilise various techniques in facilitating delivery and understanding of knowledge.

Key words: *discourse analysis, discourse strategy, repetition, lectures, lecturers*

Introduction

Repetition in language use, -the practice of speakers of repeating their own utterances, appears in many forms and serves several functions. However, while there is a keen interest in repetition behaviour, there is lack of empirical method of establishing quantities, characteristics and functions of repetition in discourse (Van Lancker & Wolf, 2015:2). This paper investigates how lecturers use repetition as a classroom discourse strategy to perform different functions during classroom interaction in a higher education context of Tanzania specifically focusing on the University of Dar es Salaam. As it is the case for societies once colonised by the British, language policy in Tanzania positions English as the language of instruction (LoI), particularly in higher learning. English in Tanzania is a second language for the majority of Tanzanians who have had an opportunity to benefit from secondary and higher education where the language is a mandatory LoI. Hence, it is important to consider how the various linguistic resources of multilingual lecturers get

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utilised in the transfer of information and development of new knowledge. Kaur (2012:594) observes that in multilingual interactional settings where English acts as lingua franca (ELF)¹⁶, multilingual participants rely on various interactional practices to negotiate meaning and arrive at a shared meaning and understanding. Repetition makes one such interactional practice that is common in utterances aimed to perform various functions in interactional discourse such as expressing emphasis, clarifying a point and achieving topic continuity (Steeb, 2008: 56ff; Hsieh, 2011: 154ff; Rabab'ah & Abuseileek, 2012: 445). Indeed, as Kaur (2012:594) reiterates, repetition facilitates the production, comprehension and interaction process.

This paper is a spin-off from a PhD study (Shartiely, 2013) that sought to establish how lecturers of the University of Dar es Salaam employ various types of repetition in facilitating the teaching and learning process. The study involved eight recorded lectures and interviews with the respective lecturers that constituted data for identifying, describing, documenting and analysing interactional strategies that lecturers employ in conveying new information at a relatively sophisticated level of academic rhetoric, and in facilitating the interaction between them and their students. In focus were the language choices lecturers make in teaching undergraduate students with linguistically diverse backgrounds.

Altogether, Tanzania has more than 120 ethnic languages, which serve for many as mother tongue before acquisition of Kiswahili, the national language and language of instruction in the country's public primary education system. Discourse Analysis (DA) approach facilitated the identification and analysis of discursive features of lectures as part of spoken registers generically used in university teaching.

This study based on the understanding that lectures constitute one of the discourse genres such as interviews, telephone conversations and oral narratives. Such genres, according to Leftein and Snell (2011:41), are relatively stable ways of using language resulting from recurring situations in different areas of social activity. Discourse genres serve both as resource for fashioning utterances and establishing constraints that affect how those utterances are understood and judged by others. They encompass a range of social

¹⁶ Jenkins (2009: 200) defines the concept as "the common language of choice among speakers who come from different lingua-cultural backgrounds".

and semiotic dimensions, including thematic content, compositional structure, styles, lexical items, interactional roles and norms, interpersonal relations and evaluative frames (Leftein & Snell, 2011:41). Therefore, there is a need to study how lecturers use language during the academic activity of teaching to identify the types and functions of their use of repetition, and thereafter, establish the possible advantages of their classroom practices in the teaching and learning process. Moreover, this study considered a lecture as an instance of an oral narrative that involves, as Defina and Johnstone (2015) clarify, narrative clauses that recapitulate a sequence of events leading up to their climax, the point at which the suspense is resolved. These clauses refer to events in the world of the story and, in the world of the telling; they create tension that keeps auditors listening (p. 154).

Previous Studies

Many studies conducted on the language of classroom interaction in Tanzania (cf. Mwinsheikhe, 2009; Rubagumya, 2008; Qorro, 2006) focus on the linguistic competence of teachers and students in primary and secondary schools. They then treat linguistic practices such as repetition as problematic on the part of the teachers. In contrast, this paper considers the communicative and discursive organisation of lectures from a different angle. It describes how repetition in the language of classroom interaction at the tertiary level usually serves as an L2 for most speakers to facilitate, as Tannen (1987:47ff) observes, interaction and interpersonal involvement.

There are several studies on different types and functions of repetition. These studies have dealt with speech management (cf. Allwood. *et al.*, 1990), communicative functions of repetition in classroom interaction (cf. Bjorman, 2011; Hsieh, 2011; Kaur, 2010; Knutson, 2010; Viaño & Conejos, 1996) and oral narratives (cf. (Defina and Johnstone, 2015; Genç, et al, 2009; Yemeniçi, 2002). Yemeniçi (2002) establishes that speakers use three major types of repetition, namely lexical, syntactic and discursal or thematic repetition in conveying different types of information. Generally, all these types of repetition facilitate coherence in interpersonal involvement (Tannen, 1987). Steeb (2008: 56ff) asserts that repetition functions as a means for attaining emphasis, for indicating iconicity and for reiteration, thereby serving as a cohesive tie. Furthermore, Hsieh (2011: 157) attests to how repetition helps a speaker clarify or explain a point to achieve topic continuity.

Literature on discourse analysis provides various ways of distinguishing types of repetition from one another. Tannen (1991) presents three manifestations of repetition, viz. exact repetition, paraphrase and repetition with variation. This is, for example, when a question morphs into a statement and vice versa, and when there is a change from a single word to a phrase or a change of person or tense. In principal, Tannen (2007) generally characterises two major types of repetition, that is, synchronic repetition, which occurs within same unit of discourse, and diachronic repetition, which occurs across different units of discourse. Then there are sequential types of repetition, whose major ones are ‘self repetition’, by which the speaker repeats the whole or part of his or her own previous discourse (cf. Leftein & Snell, 2011; Tang, 2015; Fung, 2007; Allwood *et al.*, 1990) and ‘other repetition’, which allows the speaker to repeat the whole or part of the respondent’s discourse (cf. Knutson, 2010; Tang 2015). The third sequential type is ‘resumptive repetition’ whereby the speaker reverts to and resumes a previous discourse after some discourse digression (cf. Quick, 2007). In this study, the lecturers used all these three sequential types. Although ‘self-repetition’ was the most frequently occurring type, there was also a significant number of ‘other repetition’ and ‘resumptive repetition’ that occurred in the classroom interaction. The analysis here does involve instances of these three types of repetition. However, the analysis of this paper considers repetition at two formal levels of phrasal and clausal repetition (cf. Table 4.1).

With regard to function, Tannen (1989:47ff) treats repetition as an unmarked communicative behaviour, or a naturally occurring linguistic strategy applied generically. Such a strategy enables speakers to communicate smoothly while reducing the load of information listeners have to process. Concerning teacher repetition, Viaño and Conejos (1996:129) assert that repetition in classroom interaction is just as functional and communicative as it is in other less structured kinds of discourse. They further note that teachers repeat themselves to increase the input, especially when giving information and correcting (Viaño & Conejos, 1996:133). Moreover, Knutson (2010:15) observes that repetition makes a massive contribution to successful interaction. Viaño and Conejos (1996:134) present a list of teacher repetition functions aimed to achieve cohesion, perform self-repair, fill gaps, underscore a point, provide and ask for information and turn taking. Quick (2007:1) similarly considers the functions of repetition but collapses all the separately identified functions of repetition into two main actions, the ones

highlighting prominence and the ones enabling cohesion. Generally, repetition “helps speakers create a sense of continuity without consuming much of their conscious encoding capacity” (Tang, 2015:94). It is one of the resources that speakers prefer to mitigate misunderstanding (Urmeneta, 2013: 339).

Methodology

A purposive sampling procedure facilitated the identification of eight participants, four from each of the departments of Political Sciences and Public Administration and of Sociology and Social Anthropology. These were two of the largest departments in the then College of Arts and Social Sciences of the University of Dar es Salaam, both in number of enrolled students and staff. The college has since been split into two campus colleges of Social Sciences (CoSS) and of Humanities (CoHu). The study involved two instruments of data collection namely observation and interview whereby I observed eight lectures and conducted interviews with the respective lecturers. The recording of both sets of data preceded the transcriptions and subsequent analysis. The careful scrutiny of transcripts of the lecture data helped to identify regularly recurring repetitions. The lecture and interview data were then uploaded into qualitative data analysis software (Nvivo). Accordingly, the transcripts were coded to recognise all marked types of repetition. This process facilitated the classification of the regularly occurring repetition as marked forms in the discourse and that function not only as cohesive devices, but also as pedagogical instruments. The interview data supplemented and helped to check the empirical data obtained from the lectures. They particularly provided information on how lecturers consciously use repetition to facilitate the learning experience of students in lectures, the reasons for the use of such repetition, and their view on the usefulness of this strategy.

There are a variety of aspects of discourse that have been investigated within the field of Discourse Analysis Studies. The data of this study indicated that not all of the general units of discourse would be pertinent to or theoretically interesting to this analysis. Therefore, the division here is as follows: first, the paper analyses the two most widely occurring types of repetition as they were applied in the lectures; second, the paper presents insights gained from the interviews with the lecturers. Analysis also focuses on the lecturers’ comments on and, in some cases, justification of their use of repetition.

Findings and Analysis

After both the lecture and interview data were uploaded into NviVo and coded in accordance with the categories of repetition recognised as relevant, the types of repetition, which are analysed in this paper, were then scrutinised according to how they occurred in sentences, paragraphs or ideas presented. The results for sets of data in this relatively small closed corpus are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Results on the Use of Repetition by Lecturers

Repetition	LPsc.				LSoc.				T
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
Clausal	39	4	21	14	14	11	44	13	160
Phrasal	29	8	15	30	12	14	17	10	135
Grand total									295
NB:	LPsc. Means Lecture in Political Science LSoc. Means Lecture in Sociology								

Table 4.1 indicates that all the eight lecture hours with an average duration of fifty minutes each added up to four hundred minutes. In these lectures, the lecturers used repetition in 295 instances. Statistically, this means that in every 1.36 minutes there was one repetition.

Overview of Repetition in Lectures

Out of those repetition occurrences, 160 (54%) were clausal repetitions whereas 135 (45%) were phrasal repetitions. In this paper, the analysis focuses on repetition generally, before looking at the two types of repetition under review distinguished by their syntactic form. The paper then provides a brief theoretical overview of the functions of repetition. It relates the occurrence patterns of the particular discourse strategy to the lecturers' interview comments on their generic uses of repetition in their classroom interaction with students.

The following excerpts exemplify the various repetitions evident in the data collected. As Table 4.1 illustrates, the lecturers used repetition often and generically. Three examples are provided here, namely those illustrating how repetition¹⁷ is used in typical functions to mark emphasis (excerpt 1), topic focusing (excerpt 2), clarification

¹⁷ In the excerpts, due to the need to select and illustrate clearly, only pertinent parts of a longer unit have been given. The convention [xxx ... xxx] will be used to indicate the omission of some text.

of ideas and creating cohesion in a longer chunk of discourse (excerpt 3).

(1)

- i. He dared to declare to the council that ... these are the words which he said; he
- ii. said: We white people have not come to this country ... we have not come to
- iii. this country to raise the native ... to raise the native to the scale of
- iv. civilisation ... this man declared himself ... the white man declared himself ...
- v. the white man declared himself that his aim was not to civilise ... (LPsc.1)

In excerpt (1), the lecturer seems mechanically to repeat the underlined expressions. Essentially, the repetition has a goal of stressing certain content, in this case, what the white man said (at the meeting of the Legislative Council). The lecturer provides a background to the topic and the rest of the utterance; the emphasis is on what the white man said at the meeting regarding his relationship with the indigenous people. Moreover, the lecturer introduces the emotive verb *declare* in (line i) then changes to a neutral one *said* in (lines i-ii). Thereafter, she quotes verbatim what the white man said in (line iii) before reverting to the emotive verb *declare* in (lines iv-v) and clarifies the point of emphasis that the white people's core mission was *not to civilise*. Through such repetition, the lecturer gives prominence to the topic, thus performing the emphasis discourse function. Additionally, the lecturer accomplishes cohesion, and thus topic continuity through the repetition of the expression 'he said' (lines i-ii) and the expression 'the white man declared himself' in (lines iv-v). Excerpt (2) reveals how lecturers use repetition to ensure that students focus on a topic:

(2)

- i. ... we will look at Max Weber on Religion ... and today we want to broaden
- ii. that spectrum ... to understand ... the role of religion in the development
- iii. of Western capitalism. So, that is our topic today. We are broadening from
- iv. last lectures ... Weber was able to explain that religion was one of the factors

- v. that led to development ... of Western capitalism
So, that is our topic today. (LSoc.3)

In excerpt (2), the lecturer uses repetition to establish a connection to the content of the previous lectures. He introduces the topic and then draws the attention of the students to the topic of the day by referring to something that was discussed previously and explains how they are going to *broaden* the scope of the topic (line i). Thus, the lecturer provides information on how the topic is going to be handled in relation to the topics introduced in the previous lectures. This functions as an important focusing device as it makes students aware in advance of what to expect in the current lecture. Through repetition, the lecturer does not only attain cohesion by using the anaphoric reference marker *that* (lines iii and v) but also uses the strategy to draw the students' attention by clarifying how the current topic relates to the previous one. Excerpt (3) presents how lecturers use repetition to clarify a point or process.

(3)

- i. We are dealing with the concept of social identity ...
the concept of social
ii. identity in the process of growing up ... the process of
growing up is
iii. considered ... it is considered as a process of
enculturation ... some view
iv this process of enculturation as more passive ...
(LSoc.4)

Excerpt (3) also illustrates how the lecturer deploys repetition to clarify a point and engender cohesion and topic continuity in a long stretch of speech. He introduces the phrase *the concept of social identity*' (line i). Then he situates it in the context of *the process of growing up* (line 3). He further defines it in the context of the process of growing up: *[I]t is considered as a process of enculturation* (line iii). Finally, he concludes by highlighting how some people view the process of enculturation: *... a passive process* (line iv). By means of repetition, the lecturer provides a smooth link between different ideas and concludes a topic logically instead of just mentioning isolated points.

Discussion

As Table 4.1 illustrates, there were two major prominent types of repetition in the data addressed in this paper, namely clausal and

phrasal repetition. A careful analysis illustrates that both types of repetition served three major functions. These functions were to reiterate the speakers own discourse ‘self-repetition’ (cf. Allwood et al., 1990), resume to a previous topic after a digression, interruption or some other interlude, which is akin to ‘resumptive repetition’ (cf. Quick, 2007) or to re-voice a respondent’s discourse so as to expand a dialogue, which amounts to ‘other repetition’ (cf. Knutson, 2010). Nevertheless, the analysis provided here works with the established order of classification of clausal versus phrasal repetition, grammatical constructions that served as vehicles for repeating the content that the lecturers meant to impart in the students’ minds.

Clausal Repetition

Table 4.1 indicates that there were 160 instances of clausal repetition in the eight lectures. Statistically, this means that in the 400 minutes of lecture time there was one instance of clausal repetition every 2.5 minutes.

As the term suggests, a clausal repetition involves the repetition of a whole clause. The *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2005) defines a clause as a group of words that contains a subject and a verb, but which is usually only part of a sentence. There is a distinction between independent clauses such as *she went home* and dependent clauses such as ‘because she was tired’ in the sentence: *She went home because she was tired*. They differ because an independent clause can constitute a sentence by itself and, thus, can convey a complete idea whereas an independent clause cannot.

As the major function identified for repetition as a rhetorical device is to emphasise a point and continue a topic to achieve both prominence and cohesion (Quick, 2007), emphasis in causal repetition is on the whole clause not on isolated words. Biber (2006) finds typically class lectures to be oral texts less made up of a series of relatively short independent and dependent clauses. Excerpt (4) demonstrates the repetition of independent clauses.

(4)

- i. Thomas Hofs is praised ... his political thinking is praised for logical clarity of
- ii. arguments ... he is praised for producing logical clarity of arguments ... when he was
- iii. talking about his concept on the law, natural law ... he is credited for understanding

- iv. that no justice without law ...

(PSc.3)

Excerpt (4) indicates how the lecturer repeats independent clauses for cohesion and prominence purposes. The strategy also gives the lecturer a variety of means for expanding the topic. By means of repair *Thomas Hofs is praised'... His political thinking is praised* (line i) and *he is praised for logical clarity ... he is praised for producing logical clarity of arguments* (line ii) and the expression *he is credited for understanding that no justice without law* (lines iv-v). This finding tallies with the observation made by Allwood *et al.* (1990:1) that classroom practices such as the repetition and change of already formulated content or expressions functionally assist an individual in managing his or her memory as well as articulating a point. Specifically, the repetition of the clauses by the lecturer here enables him to perform the task of what Biber (2006) calls *elaborating information*. As Kaur (2012) comments, this kind of repetition helps the students comprehend the content delivered by the lecturer.

Excerpt (5) illustrates how lecturers use repetition of dependent clauses.

(5)

- i. Whereas power, whereas power is the ability to influence the behaviour,
- ii. whereas power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others, whereas
- iii. power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others, authority is the right
- iv. to do so, authority is the right to do so.

(LPsc.4)

Excerpt (5) illustrates how the lecturer uses repetition of dependent clauses strategically. First, he draws students' attention, hence creating suspense through repetition of the dependent clause *whereas power* and then removes the suspense by introducing the independent clause *is the ability to influence the behaviour* (line i). In line (ii), the lecturer elaborates the point of the meaning of power by extending the clause in (line ii) by addition of the words ... *of others*. He repeats the modified clause (lines ii-iii) before he introduces the contrast between the concepts *power* and *authority* (line iii), which he repeats with emphasis ...*authority is the right to*

do so (line iv). This corresponds to what Biber (2006) observed when examining the language of university registers that, although dependent clauses are linguistically complex and thus associated more with written than with spoken English, in university registers they are more common in spoken than in written registers. This repetition pattern, as Viaño and Conejos (1996) argue, increases the amount of input while mitigating for comprehension problems. In lines (i-iii), the lecturer makes an important distinction between the two concepts by selecting the parts to introduce first to capture students' attention, then by repeating the parts still with some suspense until he concludes by introducing the distinction in the second part (line iii) and repeats it plainly (line iv). This helps the lecturer using repetition, as Johnstone (1994) remarks, to underscore the distinction between *power* and *authority*, thereby emphasising the need for students to grasp this distinction.

Phrasal Repetition

The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2005) defines a phrase as a group of words, especially when they are used to form part of a sentence, such as walking along the road and a bar of soap. As opposed to clausal repetition, the emphasis in phrasal repetition is on the phrase. The most frequently used phrases in this study were noun and verb phrases. Biber (2006) reports that in spoken university registers noun and verb phrases are used with equal regularity. Excerpt (6) illustrates the lecturers' use of noun phrases.

(6)

- i. We are dealing with the concept of social identity...
the concept of social
- ii. identity in the process of growing up ... the process of
growing up is
- iii. considered ... it is considered as a process of
enculturation ...
- iv. some view this process of enculturation as more
passive ... (LSoc.4)

Excerpt (6) illustrates how a lecturer uses repetition of noun phrases to clarify and expand a point. The lecturer introduces the phrase *the concept of social identity* (line i). Then he situates it in the context in *the process of growing up* in (line ii). He further defines it in the context of the process of growing up it is considered as *a process of enculturation*' (line iii). Finally, he concludes by focusing on how

some people treat the process of enculturation as *a passive process* (line iv). This excerpt demonstrates how the lecturer makes use of nouns to provide a smooth link between different ideas and conclude a topic instead of just mentioning isolated words. Biber (2006) has established that in academic discourse much of the referential academic information is packaged in noun phrases. This linguistic practice facilitates, as Steeb (2008) Hsieh (2011) Rabab'ah and Abuseileek (2012) state, expression of emphasis, clarification of a point and thus achieving topic continuity. These practices assist the lecturer in achieving the academic goal of imparting knowledge while allowing a smooth process of learning by students.

Excerpt (7) illustrates how lecturers repeat verb phrases to emphasise activity.

(7)

- i. We will look at Max Weber on Religion ... and today we want to broaden
- ii. that spectrum ... to understand ... the role of religion in the development of
- iv. Western capitalism. So, that is our topic today. We are broadening from
- iv. Last lectures. Weber was able to explain that religion was one of the factors
- v. that led to development ... of Western capitalism. So, that is our topic today.

(LSoc.3)

In excerpt (7) the lecturer introduces the topic and then draws the attention of the students to the topic of the day by referring to something that was discussed in the previous meetings and indicates that they are going to expand on it in (line i). Then, using repetition of the verb 'broaden', the lecturer provides information on how the topic is going to be handled in relation to the previous lectures. As noted earlier, this functions as an important focusing device; it makes students aware of what to expect in the current lecture in advance. Through repetition of the verb phrase, the lecturer does not only attain cohesion using the anaphoric reference marker 'that' in (lines iii and v) but also uses this strategy to focus the students by clarifying how the current topic relates to the previous lesson. As observed earlier, this also matches with the argument that repetition in discourse functions in expressing emphasis, clarifying a point and achieving topic continuity (Steeb, 2008; Hsieh, 2011; Rabab'ah and

Abuseileek, 2012). This implies that students are in a better position to grasp, internalise and fully understand the content that has been clearly and exhaustively repeated to them.

Lecturers' Motivation for Use of Repetition

This section relates the lecturers' use of repetition observed to their interpretations during interviews. As explained earlier, the interview data were collected to supplement and check the empirical data obtained during the lectures. After reading the lecture transcripts and identifying the most notable repetition practices, an interview was conducted with all participating lecturers specifically to seek information regarding their reasons for using repetition in the way that they actually did. Notably, the interviews were not based on the sub-types of the types of repetition identified because it would have involved technical aspects that were not necessarily obvious to the respondents. Considering the sensitivity of the topic, which on the surface appeared intrusive into lecturers' linguistic competence, I had to avoid the use of questions that implied a probe into the participants' linguistic knowledge. Generally, all the eight lecturers reported that they use repetition to facilitate the learning process. Three major themes emerged from the data: The lecturers use repetition to link topics (excerpt 8); to revise or re-emphasise a previous lecture or lecture content (excerpt 9); and to clarify a point (excerpt 10).

(8). Lecturers use repetition to link topics

This [repetition] makes it possible for students to recognize links when learning ... I do these things [repetition] believing that repetitions are both important and helpful for students learning any subject and help them to link topics ...

(LSoc.1)

According to excerpt (8), the lecturer uses repetition to create linkage not only within one subject but also across subjects and topics. This implies that the lecturer does not only repeat content to create topic continuity and cohesion during lecture sessions but also necessarily repeats content in other related fields of knowledge and at different levels of education to help students realise the connection between the knowledge acquired in lower levels of learning and that acquired from other courses at university. This is in line with what Guo (2017) reiterates that

repetition functions as a bridge between reality and memory. Therefore, this practice is likely to help students apply the knowledge they acquire in different situations, thus actively engaging in the learning process.

(9). Lecturers use repetition to revise or re-emphasise a previous topic

You know repetition ... normally when you introduce a subject matter there are different approaches. You can start from where you left the other time and when you are concluding, as a way of recap, you can go back to what you have covered in that lecture session as a matter of picking up the basic elements that you would like students to internalise and grasp. I repeated as a way of re emphasising.

(LPsc.4)

Excerpt (9) implies that the lecturer purposefully uses repetition to help students internalise the content taught. He acknowledges that repetition assists him to choose the type of teaching approach to use such as revising the previous topic. The lecturer also uses repetition to conclude the topic or summarise the content, thus emphasising the basic points for students to grasp. Systematically presented content facilitates internalisation and processing of knowledge among students for ready retrieval from memory for specific academic purposes such as answering examination questions. This corresponds to the observation that the major function of repetition is to emphasise a point and to increase comprehensibility and accessibility of a prior talk by providing the hearer with additional information (Kaur, 2010).

(10). **Lecturers use repetition to clarify a point**

If you used certain concepts or certain vocabularies, you need to change them so as to make them easier so that they can understand you. ... You can actually see that by the manner you have taught this student has understood. You can see the facial expression. If it indicates that students are still not understanding, then you repeat that point but by giving some more examples or by repeating in different language and so on; so that they understand.

(LSoc.3)

Excerpt (10) illustrates how the lecturer uses repetition in response to the students' behaviour that signifies non understanding of the subject matter. The lecturer does not only repeat the concepts but also provides examples and varies the linguistic choice to simplify the students' grasping of the content. This finding reflects the observation that repetition helps the speaker in clarifying a point and achieving topic continuity (Steeb, 2008; Hsieh, 2011; Rabab'ah and Abuseileek, 2012). This practice is very useful as it is likely to facilitate students understanding of the subject matter thereby improving their learning.

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated how repetition is a characteristic feature of bilingual speakers' speech, in this case, in the classroom interaction process. It has demonstrated how bilingual lecturers at the University of Dar es Salaam use repetition as a discourse strategy for facilitating classroom interaction. The findings reveal that lecturers use repetition to facilitate students' comprehension of lesson content. Lecturers achieve this goal through the use of two types of repetition, namely clausal and phrasal repetition. They repeat to accomplish such functions as clarifying, emphasising, linking, focusing and continuing a topic. However, the study is incongruent with many speculations that bilingual speakers use repetition more often than monolingual speakers due to lack of fluency that makes them take longer than native speakers in planning and processing L2, thereby forcing them to seek strategies such as fillers, hesitations and self repetition (cf. Dörnyei and Scott, 1997). Conversely, the paper has reiterated the importance of repetition that has been acknowledged in different studies. For example, it functions to tie ideas in a discourse together (Yemeniçi, 2002), it makes a stretch of language integrally and coherently a

whole in meaning (He, 2014), hence adding a poetic flavour to the language (Tannen, 1991). Generally, this paper illustrates that lecturers purposefully use linguistic resources such as repetition to facilitate classroom interaction. As Tannen (2007) has pointed out, repetition creates texture and coherence in a text or conversation. This paper also concurs with literature on the functions of repetition in classroom settings that indicates that teachers mainly use repetitions to mitigate comprehension problems. Watterson (2008) treats this practice as an effective strategy in facilitating listener understanding. Bjorkman's (2011) study on the use of ELF in a Swedish university established that the major function of repetition was to emphasise a point. Kaur (2010) commends repetition for increasing comprehensibility and accessibility of a prior talk by providing the hearer with additional information. Generally, Norrick (1987) regards repetition as an inherent tool in conversation that helps speakers repeat their own conversations and echo conversations of their interlocutors, as facilitates production of coherent speech. On the whole, it facilitates task completion and rendering of discourse coherence.

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The Linguistic Landscape of Muhimbili National Hospital in Tanzania: Its Implication for Access to Information

*Paschal Charles Mdukula**

Abstract

The paper examines the nature of linguistic public signs that constitute what is popularly known as Linguistic Landscape (LL) at Muhimbili National Hospital (MNH) in Tanzania to explain their implication for access to information in the hospital. The study employed the socio-linguistic theoretical framework to examine the nature of the LL of MNH and its implication for access to information as presented through public signs at the hospital. Data for this study constituted photos/public signs from the hospital premises and interview narratives from hospital clients and staff. The data were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Findings show that the LL of MNH is more controlled by top-down than bottom-up actors in which there are three visible languages: English, Swahili, and Chinese. The most preferred language patterns do not guarantee access to information to hospital clients in the public space of the hospital, since some clients fail to understand what is communicated through the signboards placed in the public space of the hospital. They use unfamiliar language pattern(s), mostly in English. This lowers further their participation in promoting health and taking responsibilities of their health concerns while at the hospital.

Key words: *linguistic landscape, Muhimbili, public space, sign*

Introduction

Linguistic tokens constitute what is popularly known as Linguistic Landscape (LL). These have become an integral part of cities and institutions' built environment manifesting the representation of written language(s) in the public space. Written languages range from tiny handwritten pieces of paper expressing notes of welcome to huge advertising billboards put up *in a public hospital promoting healthcare services* (Gorter, 2006:55 *emphasis added*). These linguistic tokens show where an individual is, which language is accepted and, therefore, to know for him/her to navigate well and access various services.

One can appreciate the same when visiting public health facilities such as Muhimbili National Hospital (MNH) in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. He/she will be invited with different visual linguistic signboards around the hospital compounds. These are meant to

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welcome, direct, inform, warn, instruct, and educate hospital clients and the hospital community in general, as they navigate their way through the hospital. However, from a socio-linguistic standpoint, very little is known about whether such linguistic signs in health facilities effectively accomplish the intended function of promoting access to information to the majority of Tanzanians visiting such public hospitals. This paper is a part of a large research-based study that was conducted at MNH in Tanzania between 2016 and 2017.

Why Study the LL of a Public Health Facility?

Although language is spoken and heard, it is also equally represented and displayed through signs for functional or symbolic purposes in public space (Ben-Raphael et al., 2006; Landry & Bourhis, 1997). For the language displayed in the public space to achieve its communicative purposes, it has to be informative and comprehensive to the readers. The language displayed in the hospital's public space is important in enabling access to relevant information for the clients to navigate their way through the hospital's public space. Such a language is geared towards welcoming, directing, informing, warning, instructing, and educating those who seek access to the services provided. Consequently, this helps them make informed decisions about their health plans, healthcare services, rights and responsibilities as well as rules and regulations to follow while navigating their way through the hospital (Schuster et al., 2016).

Nevertheless, no traceable research has explored the LL of public hospitals in Tanzania to determine how it promotes access to information in public hospital settings. Few studies have focused on the LL of medical facilities elsewhere such as Botswana (Akindele, 2011), Malawi (Kamwendo, 2004), the US-Mexico border (Martinez, 2014), South Africa (Saohatse, 2000), and Israel (Schuster et al., 2016). These studies have not looked at the role of the LL in promoting or hindering access to information in their respective hospital settings.

The General Socio-linguistic Situation in Tanzania

Tanzania is a home to many languages used by various people to share and meet their communicative needs in different formal and informal domains. These languages range from ethnic community languages to foreign languages (ECLs) (Petzell, 2012:24). Generally, the linguistic situation of Tanzania is triglossic. There are ECLs, Swahili (spoken by almost 90% of all Tanzanians), and English (Qorro, 2009; Rubagumya, 1990).

The exact number of languages spoken in Tanzania is not clear, though many scholars note that more than 120 languages are spoken in the country. The most recent survey of linguistic situation in Tanzania estimates that 150 languages are spoken in the country (LOT, 2009). The surveyed 150 languages are mostly spoken rather than written. The majority of their speakers are illiterate in the languages.

As for foreign languages, English and French, among others, are spoken by relatively a smaller number of people in Tanzania (Biswalo, 2010; Rubagumya, 1990; Tibategeza, 2009). These people learned these languages in school because they are not publically spoken in informal settings. Nonetheless, Chinese has recently been used in the public space; this shows the dynamics of language contact. As mentioned previously, Swahili is the most widely spoken language in the country. , Likewise, English is the most dominant foreign language, and it is an official language in Tanzania, just like Swahili. In terms of use, the three language groups can be said to fulfil both instrumental and symbolic functions in different settings (Landry and Bourhis, 1997; Ben-Rafael et al, 2006). These are summarised in the following table.

Table 1: Tanzania's Linguistic Repertoire

Language	Instrumental and Symbolic Function
Swahili	Medium of instruction, press, modernity, economic opportunities, communication within Tanzania, identity and national unity, national language, and a lingua franca
English	Judicial system, medium of instruction in secondary and higher education, modernity, parliament, documentation, and international communication
Ethnic community languages	Local communication in informal settings and ethnic identity

Source: Researcher, 2017

Accordingly, this paper aims at addressing the nature of the LL and the way it affects access to information at MNH in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. To achieve these objectives, the paper was guided by two research questions: i) What is the nature of the linguistic landscape

of MNH? ii) To what extent does MNH's LL promote or hinder access to information in the provision of healthcare services?

Conceptualisation of Linguistic Landscape

Studies on Linguistic Landscape (LL) in the public space are relatively few in the field of socio-linguistics. Those focusing exclusively on the medical field are even scarcer. As a discipline of study, LL gained a radical momentum in the 21st century after a seminal paper by Landry and Bourhis (1997:25). These scholars defined LL as “the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the LL of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.” In simple language, LL is a visibility and saliency of language as well as its distribution on linguistic objects in the public space. The use of written language in the public space is the focus of LL studies being used to fulfil information or symbolic functions (Backhaus, 2007; Gorter, 2013; Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

On the other hand, Yavari (2012:16) defines ‘public space’ as a place par excellence where different languages come into contact. A public space can be a small street, a territory, a commercial centre, or a public institution *like a medical facility in a city* (emphasis added) (Gorter, 2013:19). Being a place where different language groups come into contact, the public space offers LL actors an opportunity to use and identify with the language(s) which affects them in terms of how they access the information expressed in those languages. Literature shows that language use and practice in healthcare delivery systems is one of the important aspects that play a central role in providing therapy, curative drugs, administrative information, and general information that promotes health to clients (Akindele, 2011; Kamwendo, 2004; Martínéz, 2014; Saohatse, 1997; Spolsky, 2004; The Joint Commission, 2007). Commenting on the importance of public signs in health facilities, Schuster et al argue:

Hospital signage is a critical element in the patients’ and visitors understanding of directions, instructions and warnings in the facility. In multilingual environments, organizations need to make sure that the information is accessible in the languages of the people who consume their services (Schuster et al., 2016:23).

This means that studying accessibility of language on signs in the public space that is shared by diverse linguistic population in the country is essentially an important aspect in socio-linguistic studies, because language is supposed to serve the people in their communicative endeavours and accommodate their linguistic needs while trying to access the social services provided.

Constructing the Public Space through Linguistic Landscape

According to Landry and Bourhis (1997:25) and Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:10), linguistic landscape encompasses the visibility of languages on objects that mark the public space such as road signs, street name buildings, places, and institutions, advertising billboards on commercial centres as well as personal visiting cards in public institutions. Such signs for these linguistic objects are issued to the face of the public either by public authorities such as government agencies and associations acting independently without restrictions from the state. Public authorities normally act under the control of legal limits of local and central policies (Backhaus, 2009; Ben-Rafael et al., 2006). However, signs issued by both public authorities and private entities offer themselves to the public walking through and are supposed to use such signs while navigating their way through the facility. The issuance, coordination, and practice of these signs in the public space are done by different social agents.

Linguistic Landscape Actors

Understanding the linguistic landscape of a place means understanding the key actors who make the landscape flourish in a given environment. It is also meant to understand the ideologies behind language choice in the public space as explicitly or implicitly practised by social agents (Bever, 2010:67). For a LL to exist and get shape, there must be actors that are closely involved in creating, advancing, and shaping it. The current study adopts the categorisation by Backhaus (2007) and Gorter (2006). These scholars categorise these agents as top down actors and bottom up actors.

Top-down Actors

These bodies work on behalf of the government. In the context of this study, these include medical insurers and medical supporting agencies such as NHIF and Abbot Fund; medical institutes such as Muhimbili Orthopaedic Institute (MOI) and Jakaya Kikwete Cardiac Institute (JKCI); medical bodies such as Medical Society of Tanganyika (MST), Midwives Association, and the Muhimbili

management and staff. Commenting on top down - bottom up distinction, Ben-Rafael et al. note the following:

...The main difference between these two wide categories of LL elements resides in the fact that the former are expected to reflect a general commitment to the dominant culture while the latter are designed much more freely according to individual strategies (Ben-Rafael et al., 2016:10).

According to Ben-Rafael et al (2006) and Gorter (2006), the official language policy is normally reflected on top down items than bottom up items. This means that the language expected to be seen in the LL will be the one stipulated in the official language policy of the country. However, the extent to which this is the reality with regard to hospitals' public spaces in Tanzania is a matter of discussion.

Bottom-up Actors

These individuals or private companies are not controlled or regulated by any governmental agency; hence, they do not operate within established legal limits of language policy (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Gorter, 2006). In the context of this study, bottom up actors include clients from outside the hospital such as catering companies, mobile communication vendors, security guards, and janitors. All these participate in advancing the hospital LL by putting up handwritten or typed notices around their areas of activity. The presence of both top down and bottom up signs is likely to affect the level of accessibility to information among hospital clients and the general community in the public space, when the language used to deliver such information is not accessible to the presumed readers of such signs.

Tanzanian Language Policy and LL Management in the Public Space

The Tanzanian language policy was adopted right away in the early years after independence. It embraced Swahili as an official language, the national language, and the lingua franca (Biswalo, 2010; Legère, 2006) and English as an official language. To exemplify this, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanganyika, addressed the National Assembly in 1962 in the national language. The recognition of Swahili by the high-profile person not only paved the way for its dominance in other public spaces but also stimulated the use of the language in the country and promoted its image as a

viable instrument of political integration, social and economic growth (Legère, 2006).

As a rule of thumb, the use of language(s) in a public space, for instance in schools or any other public domain, is determined by the language policy (Backhaus, 2009; Biswalo, 2010; Blackwood & Tufi, 2012; Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Spolsky, 2004). For multilingual countries such as Tanzania, South Africa, and others (see Du Plessis, 2012; LOT, 2009; Saohatse, 1997), language policy is even more necessary to regulate and balance the use of language(s) in the public space to avoid language clashes. This is reflected on the Tanzanian government secular No 1 of 1974 that emphasised the use of Swahili in all public offices, including public signs as elaborated in the section below.

Language Policy and ‘Swahilisation’ of Tanzania’s Public Space

Tanzania’s Swahilisation project dates back to the early 1960s when the government stressed much on the use of Swahili for all communications in all its apparatus and administrative organs (Bwenge, 2012; Legère, 2006; Mazrui & Alamin, 1998). The term “Swahilisation of the public space” was also used by Mazrui and Alamin (1998) in their book titled, *“The Power of Babel: Language and Governance in the African Experience”* to mean use of the Swahili language in the public space as the major language of wider communication. The use of Swahili was meant to replace English as the major language of communication in different social, political, and economic domains. This is because most clients meant to receive public social services were Swahili speakers. From the linguistic standpoint, any language is potentially gifted for roles such as instrumental or symbolic in the communication it is expected to fulfil (Bamgbose, 2011; Mazrui & Alamin, 1998). Drawing on this background, the government issued a public circular No 1 in 1974 emphasising the use of Swahili in all public signs and all forms that needed to be filled-in by clients in public offices. The components of the circular (as translated from Swahili to English) included the following:

- i) All official letters between government ministries, departments and regions should be in Kiswahili, except when writing to an expatriate or Technical Assistant Personnel who does not know Kiswahili.
- ii) All memoranda among public officers should be in Kiswahili.

- iii) All public signs in public offices should be written in Kiswahili.
- iv) All forms to be filled-in by clients in public offices should be in Kiswahili; nevertheless, those that are already in English will continue to be used until they are over, but all forms that will be produced later should be in Kiswahili (URT, 1974).

Based on the researcher's knowledge, the circular was never revoked at any point in time. Therefore, it is still in place though, not reinforced. The Swahilisation of the public space initiative suggests that it was meant to enable easy access to information and service in public offices by the Tanzanian majority who were literate in Kiswahili than any other official language (URT, 1974) - the truth that can be proved right even in contemporary Tanzania.

Theoretical Framework

This paper is grounded in Backhaus' (2005) and Spolsky's (2009) socio-linguistic theoretical framework to investigate the nature of linguistic landscape of MNH in Tanzania and the way it influences access to information in its public space. This theory is based on the constructs such as LL agency, motives for language choice and preference in the LL, presumed readers' experience on the LL, and communicative language function of the LL.

Backhaus (2005) came up with two important questions about LL agency: *linguistic landscape by whom*, which refers to creators, coordinators or sign writers and *linguistic landscape for whom*, which refers to the sign readers or presumed readers –people who are the target of the signs created by *linguistic landscape by whom*. He further stresses that, for LL to flourish, there must be actors. These actors can be government agents (top-down) or individuals (bottom-up). This is what is referred to as *linguistic landscape by whom*; in most cases, it operates within legal limits as substantiated by the language policy of the state. Therefore, the presumed LL is there to serve a certain group of actors (linguistic landscape for whom) in the public space.

Likewise, Spolsky (2009) shared almost the same constructs as Backhaus' theoretical notions. Thus, Spolsky's perspective attempted to address why people choose a certain language over the other in signing the public space and the impact that can be realised from that choice. Akin to Backhaus, Spolsky's socio-linguistic perspective

propounded three basic theoretical constructs in analysing the LL of a selected public space. These include the sign-writer's skill, the presumed reader, and the symbolic value.

These constructs take on board the agents and functions of LL in the public space. The first theoretical construct states, "Write a sign in a language you know." This explains the preference of the writer of the sign; normally, writers pick the language they know best –the language they are literate in. The second theoretical construct states, "Write a sign in a language that is known to the audience." The approach focuses on the communicative function of LL signage in the public space as a realisation of the fact that the sign is meant to address a communicative function in the public space; hence, it has to be known by the consumers. The third theoretical construct states, "Write a sign in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified." This accounts for the symbolic function of language in the public space and the choice of signs that asserts ownership (Ben-Rafael et al, 2006). This theoretical construct helps to explain the nature of the written signs in the public space of MNH as to whether they are posted based on informational or symbolic functions.

These theoretical constructs help in guiding this research via explaining who the actors in the LL of the hospital are, why a certain language pattern is preferred, and how it affects access to information among the presumed readers of the signs.

Methodology

This study employed a mixed case study design –a design that has not been widely applied in the field of linguistic landscape. This design presents a particular case of study in a specific area of a public institution –in this case –the hospital. Thus, the findings of this study are specifically meant for this case. The study adopted a mixed method research design to analyse public signs quantitatively and interview data qualitatively. The mixed methods design brings together the best qualities of both quantitative and qualitative approaches (Terrell, 2012). Observation and unstructured interviews were the main methods of data collection. Photographic data were collected through observation using a digital camera and a notebook. Moreover, the interviews were conducted with human respondents at the hospital; the data were captured using an audio-tape recorder and a notebook.

The Research Site, Sampling Procedures, and Sample Size

The study was conducted at Muhimbili National Hospital in Dar es Salaam in which two sources of data were involved: public signs/photographs and human respondents. The human respondents were divided into three categories: hospital clients (patients and family members), hospital staff (doctors, nurses, and administrators), and a representative from the ministry of health. The researcher visited the MNH and took photos of the signs in the specified areas of activity using a digital camera. In total, 225 public signs were collected from different areas of activity at the hospital during the field survey and 20 human respondents were interviewed to supplement information that could not be obtained through public signs. Accordingly, the study employed a non-probability sampling procedure in which a purposive sampling technique was used to collect data in the form of public signs in the specified areas of activity of the hospital and some section of human respondents such as hospital staff (administrators) and a ministry representative. The justification for using this technique is that, it subjected the researcher to specific signs in the specified areas of activity and specific people who were believed to have rich information pertaining to the study.

Another section of the participants for the interviews (outpatients, family members and hospital staff) was sampled through convenient sampling. This technique was employed because getting specific patients, families, doctors and nurses was not easy. These are always busy with different matters at the hospital. In these categories, therefore, only those who were willing to spare few minutes of their time for the interviews were involved. The aim was to get their views and experience on the LL at the hospital. The 225 signs collected met the established criterion to be included in the sample as units of analysis; that is, signs without text were not considered for the analysis. In addition, signs sought to fulfil communicative function such as health promotion, regulatory, administration, rights and responsibilities of hospital staff and clients were the focus during the field survey. Besides, language patterns (that is, whether monolingual or bilingual) on the sign and linguistic landscape sources (that is, whether top down or bottom up) prompted the researcher in collecting the photographical data.

Data Analysis, Findings and Discussion

Photographed public signs from different areas of activity in the hospital were analysed quantitatively using SPSS (Version 24). The

analysis was based on an established coding system, namely linguistic agency (that is, top down and bottom up), language choice and preference on the sign (that is, monolingual or bilingual), and the communicative function of the sign (for instance, health promotion, regulatory, administration, rights and responsibilities of hospital staff and clients). The primary data from the respondents were thematically analysed. Various themes were established from the data. They focused on the factors that motivate the LL at MNH, attitudes and perceptions towards language use and practice in the LL of MNH, the role of LL in promoting or hindering access to information at MNH. These themes are presented in the following tables and figure:

Table 2: Linguistic Signs Based on LL Actors

Linguistic Landscape Actor	Sign Frequency	Valid Percent
Top-down actor	217	96.4
Bottom-up actor	8	3.6
Total	225	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Table 2 shows the large number of signs produced by the hospital management, staff, and other government agencies (top down). Thus, 217 of the collected signs were top down, equals 96.4% of the total signs analysed. On the other hand, only a few were bottom up signs; they were eight, which equals 3.6% of the total signs. Therefore, the top down agents were the main key actors in issuing, shaping, and maintaining the linguistic landscape ecology of the hospital. Table 2 below shows the language choice and distribution, based on top down and bottom up categories.

Table 3: Language Choice and Distribution

Language on Signs	Top-down Signs	Frequency %	Bottom-up Signs	Frequency %
Swahili	60	26.6	3	1.3
English	75	33.3	-	-
Swahili-English	31	13.7	-	-
English-Swahili	21	9.4	-	-
Swahili-Chinese	1	0.5	-	-
Chinese-English	5	2.3	-	-
Mixed languages	24	10.7	5	2.2
Total	217	96.5	8	3.5

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

The results in Table 3 indicate that monolingual signs are the mostly preferred patterns in the linguistic landscape of the hospital. In this pattern, monolingual English signs outnumbered Swahili pattern by 6.7%. This suggests that the top down actors preferred English to other languages in communicating information to the public through signboards. Figure 1 below presents signs from the top-down and bottom-up categories. As mentioned above, the top down category preferred English while the bottom up category preferred Swahili to English and Chinese.

Figure 1: Signs from Top-down and Bottom-up Categories**Photo 1:** Top-down Sign**Photo 2:** Bottom-up Sign

This result shows that clients are excluded from benefiting the information presented in either monolingual English or monolingual Swahili. Consequently, this affects their ability to process information as they navigate their way in the hospital compounds.

Table 4: Language Choice and Preference in the General LL of MNH

Language Preference	Choice	Sign Frequency	Valid Percent
Swahili only	79	35.1	
English only	82	36.4	
Swahili-English	33	14.7	
English-Swahili	25	11.1	
Swahili-Chinese	1		0.4
Chinese-English	5	2.2	
Total	225	100.0	

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Table 4 shows three visible languages in the LL of MNH: English, Swahili, and Chinese. These follow either monolingual or bilingual patterns. Similarly, the data suggest that English is the default language when it comes to language choice and preference at MNH. From the data, only 64 signs were bilingual or were translated from either English to Swahili, Swahili to English or Chinese to English. Interview data show that the influence from external donors such as Abbot Fund, a desire to create an international atmosphere, as well as the composition of clients and staff have a great influence on language choice of signs in some of hospital facilities. Therefore, the use of English is a strategy to accommodate them easily. Moreover, most hospital clients at MNH preferred Swahili to other languages. In contrast, most hospital staff preferred English to other languages; these were from top-down category – a category that largely seems to influence the language choice and use at the hospital than any other LL agents. Conversely, it is clear that, whether signage at MNH is done exclusively in Swahili or English, the practice would not guarantee access to information based on the contemporary composition of the hospital clients and staff. A more inclusive linguistic strategy that can accommodate most clients in this public space is necessary.

Table 5: Language Pattern on Bilingual and Mixed Words

Translation pattern	Sign Frequency	Valid Percent
Word-to-word Translation	26	40.6
Partial Translation	10	15.6
Free Translation	4	6.3
Mixed Words	24	37.5
Total	64	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Another language pattern noted in the data was translation for bilingual signs. Findings indicate that 64 signs were either translated or presented with mixed languages. Among these, 26 were translated word-to-word while 10 were partially translated. In addition, four (4) followed a free translation pattern. The other 24 signs had mixed languages, mostly English and Swahili. These can be seen in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Mixed Language Signs with Swahili and English Words**Photo 1:** Mixed Language at Phrase Level**Photo 2:** Partial Translation

This applies the same to mixed words on signs as presented in Figure 2. However, incomplete or partial translation and use of mixed languages leaves a lot to be desired as far as access to information in the public space is concerned.

Table 6: Signs According to Communicative Language Function

Sign Function	Frequency by Language Function	Language Pattern	Frequency by Language Order	Percentage
Administrative	176	English only	67	29.8
		Swahili only	61	27.1
		English-Swahili	18	8
		Swahili-English	26	11.6
		Swahili-Chinese	1	0.4
		Chinese-English	3	1.3
Health promotion	22	English only	7	3.1
		Swahili only	8	3.6
		English-Swahili	2	0.9
		Swahili-English	5	2.2
Regulatory discourse	23	English only	7	3.1
		Swahili only	7	3.1
		English-Swahili	5	2.2
		Swahili-English	2	0.9
		Chinese English	2	0.9

Rights/responsibility	4	Swahili only	4	1.8
Total	225		225	100.00

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

The results in Table 6 clearly indicate different communicative functions of language as presented by signs in the LL of the hospital. These communicative functions were the focus of this paper. Such functions focused on providing access to information to the majority of hospital clients. The findings show that, on average, English only and Swahili only monolingual signs dominated the public space; they were about 70% of all signs. Thus, those who were less literate in one of the mostly used languages were disadvantaged. They could not access information pertaining to administration, health promotion, regulations, and right and responsibilities.

Discussion

The language patterns analysed indicate that the nature of MNH's LL is controlled by the top-down actors than the bottom-up actors. Monolingual English is the mostly preferred language in terms of presence, dominance, and availability in the public space of the hospital (cf. Backhaus, 2007). This result is in line with Schuster et al (2016) on language accessibility in Israel's public hospitals. These scholars found out that monolingual English was more preferred than other languages. They suggested that signage in the public space should take into account the mostly encountered group, those who will be able to access and read such signs. This is because, when information is presented in a language that is not accessible to the reader, it becomes worthless in that public space. Importantly, public signs are meant to enable hospital clients to access information related to directions, instructions, warnings, and health promotion. Therefore, the institution's management should ensure that information is accessible in the languages of the people who utilise their services. This finding is in line with Schuster (2012) and Schuster et al. (2016) on language accessibility in the public space. That is, the language use on signs has to consider the commonly encountered group(s) of clients visiting the facility than to assume that everyone understands the language used on signs. Based on the nature of the language patterns preferred at MNH, research findings show that the LL of the hospital does not guarantee access to

information to the majority of hospital clients –especially the visitors and patients admitted to the hospital.

Furthermore, the analysis of the patterns of translation, especially partial translation and free translation on these signs, indicate that they fail to promote access to information. Less proficient clients failed to comprehend the messages presented on the signs. In addition, the translated signs were not correct in terms of the information they were trying to convey; therefore, they seemed to serve a different goal (cf. Martinez, 2014).

Nevertheless, MNH's environment does not seem to be linguistically friendly to many of her diverse clients. As noted previously, the majority of Tanzanians are proficient neither in English nor in Chinese (Bwenge, 2012:54). Additionally, those who are not proficient in Swahili, although a few, face the same difficulties in navigating their way through the hospital's environment. Accordingly, inclusive linguistic strategies to accommodate clients with diverse linguistic needs and to ensure access to information by the majority are crucial (Schuster et al., 2016; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2013). One of such strategies, for instance, is to adopt bilingual signage.

Interview data showed further that knowledge of LL and language policy among hospital clients and hospital staff is very little. Consequently, knowing their role in shaping and advancing the LL at the hospital is difficult. An interview with an officer coordinating the creation and placement of signs at the hospital indicated that no institutional policy has been put in place to manage language use on signs at the hospital.

Conversely, both hospital clients and hospital staff show positive attitudes towards the current LL of the hospital; nevertheless, the clients seem to benefit very little from the monolingual English public signs. Apparently, the majority of Tanzanians like to identify themselves with English (Symbolic function), although their literacy and proficiency in the language is very low (Bwenge, 2012; Mkumbo, 2014).

Similarly, when asked about the extent to which the LL of the hospital was promoting access to information, many clients, on one hand, said that it was doing so to a very small extent because of the language patterns used on signs. Members of hospital staff, on the

other hand, held that it was promoting access to information. They argued that not all signs were meant for hospital clients. The excerpt below is illustrative:

...not everything written in the public space is meant for our customers, other signs are meant for our own operations within the hospital, so we do not expect the outsider to understand.

Their argument defeats the whole concept of accessibility and dissemination of information in the public space because the core sections of the clients who are also the target are left out; hence the services, products, and the environment in which the services are provided become worthless to them.

Conclusion

This paper investigated the nature of LL of Muhimbili National Hospital, the only national referral hospital in Tanzania. The study also looked at its influence in promoting or hindering access to information in the public space of the hospital. The findings showed that MNH's LL is dominated by three languages: English, Swahili, and (to a lesser extent) Chinese. The study indicated that many of the analysed signs were monolingual. Very few of them were bilingual. This situation excluded some clients from accessing the information contained in the public signs. Both quantitative and qualitative data revealed communication problems due to unmanaged LL practices at the hospital. These stem from the lack of clear policies, procedures, and guidelines. In this regard, the LL of the hospital does not seem to guarantee access to information to many hospital clients.

In terms of functions of LL, both informational and symbolic functions are manifested in the LL of MNH. Power relation seems to influence the continued use of monolingual English in the space dominated by Swahili speakers. In addition, the findings do not appear to reflect the linguistic situation in the country, which is triglossic. This study suggests using the language of the commonly encountered groups at the hospital and adapting a bilingual policy on signage. This policy will address, among others, the need for each sign posted in the LL of the hospital to be translated into another language, which is accepted as official and which can linguistically accommodate the diverse linguistic needs of the clients visiting the hospital.

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NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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Length: Articles should not be longer than 7000 words, including footnotes and references.

Titles: Titles and section headings should be clear and brief. They should have the following format: No numbering, first level – upper case, bold; second level – title case, bold; third level – title case, italic.

Key words: A list of keywords should be provided below the abstract and should be italicized. The word keywords should be written in boldface, but should not be italicized.

Quotations: Lengthy quotations in the text itself should be presented as a separate paragraph and should be indented.

Language and Spelling: Articles may be written in English, Kiswahili, French, Chinese or German and the text must be well edited. Quotations of text fragments in other languages should be followed by an English translation. Consistent UK or US spellings may be used.

Linguistics Examples: A letter, word or phrase cited as a linguistic example should be italicized, and followed by a gloss in single quotation marks. Authors are advised to use only standard phonetic symbols such as those of the IPA or IAI. Special symbols drawn by hand should be used very sparingly and should always be done clearly.

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Batibo, H. M. (1996). Loanword Clusters Navitisation Rules in Tswana and Swahili: A Comparative Study. *South African Journal of African Languages*, 16(2): 33–40.

Halliday, M. A. K & Hasan, R. (1984). *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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