

THE STATUS OF ETHNIC COMMUNITY LANGUAGE (S) WITHIN THE ENDOGAMOUS AND EXOGAMOUS FAMILIES IN URBAN CENTERS OF TANZANIA

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ABSTRACT

This article dealt specifically with the status of Ethnic Community Languages (ECLs) within the endogamous and exogamous families especially in the aspect of use in the families living in urban centers. The study aimed at looking how these two groups of families communicate to each other especially under the concept of language choice. The respondents were obtained by using purposive sampling and the target populations were the workers in four higher learning institutions in Dodoma Municipality. Instruments for data collections were questionnaire and interview. The major findings of this study were; in the context of language use, both families use Kiswahili in their daily conversation, endogamous families use Kiswahili almost in all contexts except in few occasions, and Swahili language is being transmitted to their children in both families. Also it was observed that even when couples meet and speak with parents and people who speak the same language, they still resort to the use of Swahili instead of their ECLs. Also couples, whether from endogamous or exogamous families are no longer interested in using ethnic community languages in their families. There are only few occasions i.e. in greetings with their children, especially in the endogamous families where couples use ethnic languages. So the study concluded that, there were no major perceived differences between endogamous and exogamous families in terms of language use. This means that endogamous families, where husband and wife speak the same ethnic language, still use Kiswahili at home in all conversations. In the exogamous families as well, where the husband and wife speak different ethnic language, they also resort to Kiswahili as a language of daily communication. As a general picture of this study, it can be concluded that the status of ethnic community languages especially in the families living in urban centers are in the verge of extinction of their daily use as well as being transmitted to their children. It may not necessarily be true that couples who speak the same language may use the same at home during daily communication.

Keywords: Endogamous, Exogamous, Ethnic Community Languages, Family, Ethnic, Urban Centers

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

There are several key terms used in this article which need to be defined for easy understanding of the study. Endogamy is defined as a practice of marrying within a specific ethnic group, class, or social group, while rejecting others on such basis as being unsuitable for marriage or having a close personal relationships. Endogamy is common in many cultures and ethnic groups. Marriage is considered endogamous if spouses share a common ancestry or tradition (culture and language) and several ethnic religious groups (Van-Asegen, 2008).

Exogamy is a social arrangement where marriage is allowed only outside of a social group. The social groups define the scope and extent of exogamy. In social studies, exogamy is viewed as a combination of two related aspects: biological and cultural. Biological exogamy is marriage of non blood-related person, regulated by forms of incest law while cultural exogamy is the marrying outside of a specific cultural group (Thornhill, 1993).

W.H.O (1978:8-9) argues that the concept of family varies among cultures, however, based on industrialized societies particularly it is the nuclear family which is the most common, comprising husband, wife and children. The United Nations describes the family as "Those members of the household who are related to a specific degree, through blood adoption or marriage.

Ethnicity is an umbrella concept that easily embraces groups differentiated by color, language, and religion; it covers tribes, races, nationalities, and castes. Ethnicity is based on a myth of collective ancestry, which usually carries with it traits believed to be innate. Some notion of ascription and affinity deriving from it are inseparable from the concept of ethnicity (Horowitz, 1985).

McGranahan & Satterthwaite (2014) define urbanization to refer to a broad-based rural-to-urban transition involving population, land use, economic activity and culture, or indeed any one of these. Thus, it is frequently used to refer to changes in land-use for specific areas (usually on the periphery of urban concentrations) as this land becomes 'urbanized' and is sold and developed for urban use (e.g. the sale of plots for housing).

In Tanzania ECLs survive mainly in the rural homes where they are spoken but, they are almost marginalized in the public domain (Mpehongwa 2010) and (Derhemi 2002). Thomason (2001:20) reports that, language contact was a result of intermarriage among Australian Aborigines who practiced institutionalized exogamy. She saw that, on a less organized scale, language contact among individuals resulted from scattered instances of intermarriage like those between Vietnamese women and American soldiers during the Vietnam War, or those between students who met through travel or study abroad. Dribe (2005) claims that, immigrants benefit from intermarriage because they are married to a native, which increases the immigrants' language proficiency and gives access to informal host country-specific knowledge. Furthermore, it also gives access to native networks, which facilitates job search and occupational career of the immigrant.

Education was also seen as something closely tied to migration, as Joseph (2005) asserts, as individuals relocate from rural to urban areas, they may achieve higher levels of education and their children are raised in social regimes which expose them to more schooling which in turn changes their attitudes towards their ECLs, something which stimulates bilingualism is contact between persons who do not share an L1. Myer-Scotton (2006) provides the example of an American student whose mother came from Brazil and who spoke Portuguese in addition to English. Even though English was the only language she used with her own children, but she spoke to her own brother in Portuguese. Then the student called using of Portuguese by his mother as speaking another language.

The process of language contact facilitates the minority and dominant languages to meet. Mpehongwa (2010) defines the term ECLs as those languages spoken by various ethnic groups or tribes. The term was borrowed from both Mekacha (1993) and Rubagumya (2011) who argue that tribe or vernacular languages have a negative connotation of being uncivilized and they are distinguished from standard languages. ECLs therefore, have remained unofficial languages spoken by each ethnic group. Minority languages and their speakers were seen as decisive, even dangerous, and a threat to political, social or economic stability.

The term mother tongue refers to the first language acquired by a child. The origin of the term is based on the assumption that, first language would be the one spoken by the primary caregiver and this was assumed to be the mother. The parents' choice of a language with their children has direct implications for intergenerational language maintenance and shift. Languages are transmitted culturally i.e. human children acquire their language(s) by interacting with the speech community which is constituted primarily by the child's parents or by others speaking the same language as the child's parents (Comrie 2006).

Having seen the literature by several researchers, it is obvious that most researchers have looked on the issue of family; endogamous or exogamous in connection to language use in those families. No study has been conducted yet as a comparative study between endogamous and exogamous families for the aim of looking how these family unions contribute either negatively or positively in the development of ethnic community languages. That is why this study intends to fill this gap by looking on how these endogamous and exogamous families help in either maintaining or killing our ethnic community languages. Also the study concentrates by measuring whether it is the endogamous families which maintain ECLs and exogamous families endanger them or both families are at the same pace of either maintaining or endangering our ECLs

This study is guided the 'marked bilingualism model', propounded by Batibo (1992) and (1997), following his language surveys in Tanzania and Botswana. This model is based on the following assumptions that; language shift can only take place when there is a state of bilingualism as, clearly, no community can afford to abandon its language and become mute; and that in order for the speakers of one language to be attracted to another, there must be significant differences of prestige and status between the two languages (hence the term 'marked'). Lastly, the rate of language shift depends to a large degree on the amount of pressure (or attraction) from the dominant language on the one hand, and the degree of resistance from the minority language on the other.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Given the need and necessary requirement of communication in the family, couples should resort to all means of choosing which language should be used in the conversation between themselves and with their children. A very interesting question on one hand, in such a union (marriage), which by the way, makes a necessity for conducting this study is that these

couples, who are united through marriage while they speak a different language, will they still use their ECLs in their families? On the other hand, couples who speak the same language though living in a multilingual society will they also continue using their ethnic community languages? As Furtado and Theodoropoulos (2007) pointed out that marriage to someone from the same country of origin remains an important measure of ethnic attachment since it is not only a result of having many fellow ethnics in one's social circle, but also a cause. Romaine (1995) described that, where a mixed language community exists, the loss rate of ECLs is in the highest form and community's speed is high in a transition to the new language. It is because of these interested questions which gave rise of the need to conduct a comparative study to see the status of ethnic community languages in these families as Manifredin (2005) talks of marriage behavior as a pivotal.

Based on experience one might assume that language shift takes place in the exogamous families only where couples do not speak the same language. Significant factors contributing to language shift among others; the extent of exogamous marriage, social class, educational background, settlement patterns, attitudes of majority and minority, government policy towards language, and patterns of language use.

Language shift is in paramount in the urban areas where people are no longer using their ECLs (Romaine, 1995) Marriage (both exogamous and endogamous) in this case is seen as a catalyst for either language shift or maintenance.

Mufwene (2006) highlighted that; inter ethnic marriages precipitate in the process of favoring the urban vernacular over the ECLs. Newcomers to the city do their best to speak the urban vernacular, at least as lingua franca, outside the home and with relatives who are ignorant of their ECLs. Their children have typically selected their vernaculars in the same ways as those in the city. Currently, the problem is facing even the endogamous group which, superficially one may think they maintain their ECLs since they all speak the same language.

Dribe (2005) regards intermarriage as the pattern of social interaction in heterogeneous society and is seen as a factor that potentially weakens the ethnic attachment and increases contacts with potential partners from other groups which at the end it has impacts on language change. As it was argued earlier, one may think that, language shift takes place only in the exogamous families while in the endogamous families the language is maintained. This study then sought to clear such a misconception. It is based on these ideas brought up by scholars that necessitated this study. The aim was to check the status of ECLs in the endogamous and exogamous families.

1.3 Objective of the Study

The main objective of the study was to make a comparative study between endogamous and exogamous families in order to investigate the language (s) commonly spoken within these families in their daily conversation. The specific objectives of this study were; to know which language is used by the couples to speak with themselves, with their children, parents, and other people who mutually understand each other. The other specific objective was to check whether parents transmit the ECLs to their children. All these specific objectives were intended to be checked in comparison within both endogamous and exogamous families. The main reason to do this study was to check if the languages used in the endogamous families are the same with the languages used in the endogamous families or are different. For instance, if the endogamous families use ECLs or Swahili, does this incident also seen in the exogamous families.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Language Profile, Distribution and Function in Tanzania

Green's (2011) ascertains that, Tanzania is one of the world's most ethnically fractionalized countries. The 1967 census, which was the last census to have questions about ethnicity, counted a total of 125 ethnic groups. Today, Tanzania is said to have more than 128 languages. Being a multilingual society, in Tanzania languages are assigned roles in complementary distribution. Thomason (2001) asserts that, often each language or variety in a multilingual community serves a specialized function and is used for particular purposes. The ECLs are acquired and used at homes and in informal domains by the rural inhabitants and some individuals who try to maintain their vernaculars in the urban areas (Msanjila, 2003). Majority of urban dwellers, ECLs have no communicative status, especially in the families where intertribal marriages have taken place (Sebonde 2009).

Kiswahili is the first language of some coastal people and residents of Zanzibar, as well as the younger generations of the urban inhabitants. It is a second language to more than 30 million rural Tanzanians (Lewis, 2009) in Sebonde (2009). It is the language which is prescribed by law for use in most governmental business; it is used as the medium of instruction in all government primary schools and a subject in secondary and tertiary education. So it has a high status compared to ECLs. It thus fosters unity and has become a symbol that expresses and mobilizes national pride. It is used in official day-to-day administration to ensure the smooth functioning of the political, social and economic systems of the nation. The Tanzania

national educational website states that, the main feature of Tanzania's education system is the bilingual policy¹, which requires children to learn both Kiswahili and English.

English is not widely used as a language of communication for the majority of Tanzanians. English is essential as it is the language which links Tanzania and the rest of the world through technology, commerce and also administration. English language is highly used for higher education, in diplomatic matters, foreign and other international business matters which go beyond national levels (Sebonde 2009). English is only used at the higher learning institutions, which is accessed by only few people who get chance of joining universities and colleges.

2.2 Language Policy in Tanzania before and after Independence

Language policy of Tanzania recognizes the functional and distribution of different languages based on their status. This section presents an overview of the language policy of Tanzania with regard to the historical and ideologies attached to Kiswahili and the ECLs before and after independence. Abdulaziz-Mkilifi (1972) in Msanjila (2003) categorizes Tanzanian languages into three main groups, ECLs, Kiswahili and English. The history of language policy of Tanzania can be traced from German colonialism, to British colonialism and finally during the struggle for independence.

Before Tanganyika got its independence in 1961, ECLs had high status and were much respected in the society (Msanjila 2003). This was because of the reality that the system of colonial government of that time allowed ECLs to be used in local government administration communication so that it could reach to all people of all tribes. ECLs were used in meetings or rallies, councils of mediation, in churches, in adult education etc. The local languages had been used as the medium of instruction in early primary schools Roy-Campbell (2001) and Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1997). Kiswahili was used as a language of communication by the central government leaders i.e. in districts and regions (known as constituents at that time), either English language was used to communicate with national leaders.

However, after independence, ECLs were denied freedom to be used in local village government administration (Msanjila 2003). It was thought that continuing using ECLs in village administration could accelerate building tribalism and threaten national unity. Kiswahili was promoted as both a national symbol and a regional language of Africa (Wright 2004). So at independence, support for Kiswahili was prioritized over either English or local languages. Based on that sense, Kiswahili was given high priority, developed and strengthened by the government itself. It was given high status in society and put under the management of BAKITA in order to facilitate the need of science and technology.

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design and Target Population

The purpose of this study was to investigate the language used daily in the families where couples speak the same language and those who speak different languages. The focus was largely on daily language use in communication in the families. The study was designed to interview a total of 20 respondents by using interview technique and a questionnaire method. Purposive sampling was employed to get the respondents of this study. The target population was the families of workers from higher learning institutions residing in Dodoma Municipality. The informants were couples who were born and raised in the rural areas, but later on migrated to urban areas for their jobs or were married to either husband or wife who is a worker of higher learning institutions. It was thought that this research sample would represent the other population elsewhere as it is likely that the nature of endogamous and exogamous families would be the same everywhere regarding that they live in urban areas.

3.2 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

The study employed purposive sampling in getting the informants for this study. The researcher knew at first the status of respondents whom he was going to visit i.e. either endogamous or exogamous families. The researcher surveyed the few respondents from each institution who were already known as either endogamous or exogamous couples to identify other respondents of the same status. The sample size comprised a total of 10 couples from the endogamous and another 10 couples from exogamous families respectively which made a total of 20 couples. The study purposely selected five endogamous couples at UDOM for interviews and five exogamous couples at SJUT for survey, and five endogamous families at IRDP for survey and five exogamous couples at CBE for interviews.

In order to get genuine information from the respondents, each respondent was asked to fill the questionnaire him/herself. They were encouraged not to look at their spouses responses. As for the interviews, each couple was interviewed separately from the other; they were asked to suggest for a separate place where only the interviewee and the interviewer would sit for

an interview. The researcher asked for their concern in order to tape record the responses for easy review in data analysis before each interview began.

3.3 Data Collection Tools

The study was a descriptive survey that used face to face interviews and questionnaires to collect qualitative and quantitative data. The following are the techniques which were used together with their elaborations.

The questionnaire was the major instrument of data collection. The questionnaires were structured and used closed-ended questions. A total of 40 questionnaires were administered by the researcher to 40 respondents whom were obtained by splitting the couples into a single respondent i.e. husband and wife were supposed to fill his/her own questionnaire. This total number of 40 respondents is obtained by taking 10 endogamous couples which make a total of 20 respondents when looked at as a separate husband and wife. The same applies to the other 10 exogamous couples which also comprise a total of 20 respondents whereby a grand total is 40 respondents.

The guided interview was used as a support to the questionnaires. The interview schedule was a structured and had open-ended questions to allow the researcher to follow points which needed elaboration and to clarify questions the respondents misunderstood. In each family group, i.e. endogamous families 10 respondents were selected out of 20 respondents for interview. Likewise from exogamous group 10 respondents were selected out of 20 who were interviewed. The method of obtaining ten respondents for interview in each family was that within each family group in both endogamous and exogamous families, one of the couple was taken for interview.

The researcher selected in a random sampling five women and five men from endogamous and exogamous families respectively for interview. This was done so because the researcher believed that each one of either husband or wife would represent the whole family. It was also done so because of the easiness of conducting interview since each one was supposed to be interviewed separately. Hence interviewing all couples in a family could require a lot of time, more importantly it could create disturbances in the families due to a go and return movement until each one is interviewed. The researcher asked questions and at the same time tape recorded the answers which later on were analyzed in the form of statements.

3.4 Data Analysis Techniques

The researcher interpreted the data qualitatively through providing detailed explanation about the findings obtained from the interview technique. Since the raw data obtained from the interview with the respondents were in the form of themes, then the explanations were given to each theme and were elaborated based on the objectives of the study. On the other hand, all raw data of statistics in nature were computed and analyzed quantitatively in percentage form by the assistance of SPSS programme. Both the data from interview and questionnaires were then discussed together to form the basis of the findings of this study.

4.0 FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Respondents Acquired/Learned Languages

Table 1 presents the background information on which language the respondents acquired or learned as their mother tongue, second and third languages. The aim of this question (which was asked in the questionnaire) was to know the status of the three languages among the respondents in order to justify the other findings as explained below.

Table 1: Information on Respondents Acquired or Learned Languages

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

Source: (Field Data 2016)

Table 1 above shows that, from endogamous families, two (10%) respondents mentioned Kiswahili as their mother tongue, three (15%) respondents mentioned a combination of ECLs and Kiswahili, and 15 (75%) respondents mentioned ECLs. In the exogamous families, two (10%) respondents mentioned Kiswahili as their mother tongue, one (5%) respondent mentioned a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs, and 17 (85%) respondents mentioned ECLs.

The status shows that the majority of respondents from both family groups mentioned ECLs as their mother tongues. These findings concur with what O-saki (2005) claims that 80% of Tanzanians live in rural areas, so most children start learning about the world around them in the mother tongue, which is the African tribal language.

4.2 The Language(s) Mastered by Respondents

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

Table 2: The Language(s) Mastered by Respondents

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

Source: (Field Data, 2016)

Table 2 shows that, in the endogamous families, five (25%) respondents said they master well their ECLs, three (15%) respondents said they master their mother tongue (ECLs) and second languages (Kiswahili), three (15%) respondents claimed that they only mastered Kiswahili, and 9 (45%) respondents claimed that they master all the three languages i.e. ECLs, Kiswahili, and English. In the exogamous group on the other hand, six (30%) said to master ECLs, one (5%)

respondent said to master Kiswahili and ECLs, seven (35%) respondents said they master second language (Kiswahili), and 6 (30%) respondents claimed to master all the three languages.

4.3 Couples' Levels of Understanding of ECLs

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

Table 3: Couples' Levels of Understanding towards ECLs

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

Source: (Field Data, 2016)

Table 3 shows that, in endogamous families, nine (45%) respondents regarded their level of understanding of their ECLs to be *very good*, seven (35%) respondents said it to be *good* and 4 (20%) respondents regarded it to be *moderate*. In exogamous families on the other hand, three (15%) respondents regarded their level of understanding towards ECLs as a *very good*, nine (45%) respondents regarded it as *good*, six (30%) respondents claimed it to be *moderate* and only 2 (10%) respondents claimed it not to be *good*.

4.4 Decision to Teach ECLs to Children

The following table presents the responses to the question asked in the questionnaire and in the interview which wanted to know if respondents decided for their children to learn ECLs. This came about due to the argument put forward by Comrie (2006) that, languages are transmitted culturally by interacting with the speech community which is constituted primarily by the child's parents or by others speaking the same language.

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

Responses	Languages			
	ECLs			
	Endog		Exog	
	Number	%	Number	%
YES	13	65	9	45
NO	7	35	11	55
TOTAL	20	100	20	100

Source: (Field Data, 2016)

Table 4 shows that, in endogamous families, thirteen (65%) respondents showed the desire of teaching their ECLs to children, while 7 (35%) respondents said *no*. In the exogamous families, nine (45%) respondents showed the desire of allowing their children to learn their ECLs, while 11 (55%) respondents said *no*.

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

The same question was asked in the interview and some respondents from endogamous families suggested that children need to be sent to the villages to learn ECLs even though the process according to some of them seem to be difficult because during the holidays children stay in town for tuition². Moreover, financial issues also seem to be a problem especially transport for all children to the villages. On the other side, almost all respondents showed their interest on sending their children in the English medium schools where they pay a lot of money. This is so probably because English, as explained in the literature and in the theoretical framework, has got high status compared to ECLs.

Dorian (2006:105) fears if parents fail to transmit ECLs to their children, no replacement generation will be available when the parent generation dies away.

As a solution to tackle the problem one respondent was of the view that the issue of speaking ECLs is possible for people who live in the villages because parents of children and their society use mainly ECLs.

Another respondent from the exogamous family who completely disliked the idea had the following to say;
“It will not help them for communication since they live in the environment where ECLs are not spoken.
Also they may fail to communicate with their mother fluently because that language will be strange to her”.

Those who said *yes* had the view that it is their desire that their children learn ECLs but the environment hampers them due to the influence and dominance of Kiswahili.

Baker (2006:44) warns that, since 50% of the world’s languages are no longer being reproduced among children, many of these languages could die in the next 100 years unless there are conservation measures.

They further argued that English should be learnt by children so that when they go in secondary schools, they do not face difficulties in learning subjects. It is termed as the language which can give children opportunities in employment and which carries their professions because it is an official and international language. Ndamba (2008) adds that, English is viewed as performing high functions than the mother tongues because it renders a person employment. Hence parents tend to negatively evaluate indigenous languages because they do not perform such high functions.

4.5 Children’s Levels of Understanding towards ECLs

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

Table 5: Children's Levels of Understanding towards ECLs

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

Source: (Field Data, 2016)

Table 5 shows that, two (10%) children in the endogamous families were said to have a *very good* understanding of their parent's ECLs, one (5%) respondent said to have a *good* understanding, five (25%) respondents mentioned the understanding level of their children as *moderate*, and 2 (10) respondents showed that their children's level on ECLs is *not good*. In the exogamous families, one 1 (5%) respondent admitted that his child has a *good* level of understanding of ECLs while 19 (95%) respondents said that children do not understand at all their ECLs. The *Missing system* which is shown in the table represents 10 (50%) of respondents from the endogamous families who did not answer anything on the levels set as options signifying that the situation is worse in those families to the extent that children do not know anything concerning ECLs. The same situation was revealed in the exogamous families where the number is big compared to those from endogamous families.

The findings show that, the levels of understanding towards ECLs in both families were not good. This was said to be obvious because parents do not teach or transmit the ECLs to their children hence causing them not to be aware or know the languages.

4.6 Language Use between Couples and Couples with their Children

Table 6 presents the analysis of the kind of language commonly spoken within endogamous and exogamous families for their daily conversation

Table 6: Language (s) Used between Couples and Couples with their Children

Languages	Respondents							
	Languages used to talk to:							
	Couples to Couples				Couples to Children			
	Endog		Exog		Endog		Exog	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Kiswahili	4	20	18	90	9	45	18	90
English	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mixed	13	65	2	10	10	50	2	10
Other(ECLs)	3	15	0	0	1	5	0	0
TOTAL	20	100	20	100	20	100	20	100

Source: (Field Data, 2016)

Starting with couples talking to each other in the endogamous families, results show that, four (20%) couples use completely Kiswahili to communicate to each other, thirteen (65%) couples use a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs, and

3 (15%) couples use their ECLs. It is only three couples which devote to use of ECLs when talking to each other. In the exogamous families on the other hand, eighteen (90%) couples use Kiswahili to communicate to each other, and only 2 (10%) couples use a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs. It is obvious since exogamous couples don't share the same language. However, two couples show a good struggle of using a mixture of Kiswahili and ECLs in talking.

Furthermore, the study findings reveal that in the endogamous families, for instance, nine (45%) couples use Kiswahili to talk to their children, ten (50%) respondents switch between Kiswahili and ECLs, and only 1 (5%) respondent said to use ECLs. In exogamous families, eighteen (90%) couples use Kiswahili to talk to their children, and only 2 (10%) couples said to use a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs to talk to children.

The arguments put forward by most respondents for not using ECLs to talk to their children is that, talking to their children in ECLs is useless since retention of the languages would be difficult because when they meet their peers in the neighborhoods, in the playgrounds, and in the school environment, they use Kiswahili. Another reason is that parents have little time to talk to their children due to lots of work.

Table 7: Language(s) Used for Conversation between Couples and their Parents

Respondents								
Languages	Languages Used to talk to:							
	Couples to Parents				Grandfather/Mother			
	Endog		Exog		Endog		Exog	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Kiswahili	3	15	11	55	2	10	6	30
English	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mixed	6	30	6	30	4	20	1	5
Other (ECLs)	11	55	3	15	14	70	13	65
TOTAL	20	100	20	100	20	100	20	100

Source: (Field Data, 2016)

Table 7 presents the findings which show language use when parents and grandparents visit their children (couples) in town. The aim was to check if respondents use ECLs to talk to them.

Starting with which language couples use to talk to their parents, results show that, in endogamous families, three (15%) respondents use completely Kiswahili to talk to their parents when they come to town, six (30%) respondents use a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs, and 11 (55%) respondents use ECLs. So it is not all respondents in endogamous families who speak with their parents in ECLs. In the exogamous families results show that, eleven (55%) respondents use Kiswahili to talk to their parents when they visit them in town, six 6 (30%) respondents use a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs, and only 3 (15%) respondents said to use their ECLs. So it is only three respondents who use pure ECLs to talk to parents. Those who use Kiswahili or a combination of languages argue that since they don't share a common language they can't talk in ECLs to avoid excluding the other couple in following the conversation.

On the other side, it was observed that, two (10%) respondents use Kiswahili to talk to their grandfathers/mothers when they visit them in town, four (20%) respondents use a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs, and 14 (70%) respondents use ECLs. Even though the number of families who talk to their grandparents in ECLs is high, still it is not all respondents in endogamous families who use ECLs. In exogamous families results show that six (30%) respondents use Kiswahili to talk to their grandfathers/mothers when they come to visit them in town, only 1 (5%) respondent use a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs, and 13 (65%) respondents use ECLs.

The findings in the aspect of speaking to grandparents show that respondents in both endogamous and exogamous families maintain the higher percentages on the use of ECLs. This is possible because couples do not get any challenge in speaking

with them since they both mutual understand each other. Respondents argue that they only switch to Swahili language when they meet or speak with people who do not know or understand the ECLs.

Table 8: Language (s) used to talk to people from the same village or tribe

Languages	Respondents			
	Languages used to talk to:			
	People of the same tribe			
	Endog		Exog	
	Number	%	Number	%
Kiswahili	1	5	11	55
English	0	0	0	0
Mixed	14	70	7	35
Other	5	25	2	10
TOTAL	20	100	20	100

Source: (Field Data, 2016)

Table 8 presents the language which couples use to talk to people of the same tribe when they meet in town. The results show that, in the endogamous families, one (5%) respondent use Kiswahili to talk to people of the same tribe when they meet in town; fourteen (70%) respondents use a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs, and 5 (25%) respondents use ECLs. This means that it is only 5 people out of 20 who talk in ECLs when they meet with people who speak the same language.

In exogamous families on the other hand, eleven (55%) respondents said to use Kiswahili to talk to people of the same tribe, seven (35%) respondents use a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs, and only 2 (10%) use ECLs to talk to people of the same tribe. It should be noted here that, the interview was based on one person as an individual. So the issue of endogamous and exogamous does not hold justification since one whether form endogamous or exogamous family meet another person from his/her village who speak the same language. This finding proves that couples are no longer interested in the use of ECLs rather they have resorted completely on the use of Swahili as an easy or simple language to use for communication.

Table 9: Language (s) Used for Greetings within the Families

Languages	Respondents											
	Greeting the Spouse				Greeting the Children				Greeting the Parents			
	Endog		Exog		Endog		Exog		Endog		Exog	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kiswahili	4	20	19	95	6	30	18	90	2	10	8	40
English	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mixed	6	30	1	5	9	45	2	10	6	30	5	25
Other	10	50	0	0	5	25	0	0	12	60	7	35
TOTAL	20	100	20	100	20	100	20	100	20	100	20	100

Source: (Field Data, 2016)

Table 9 above presents the findings concerning the languages used for greetings in the homes. The researcher thought that a greeting is something easy to be taught and used by both endogamous and exogamous families to the couples themselves, children, and even their parents who come from their home villages. The question on the use of greetings was very important since it determines the real situation of ECLs use in the homes because greeting is a sensitive criterion to show whether people have shifted completely to use of dominant languages or they still maintain their ECLs.

Beginning with greetings between couples in endogamous families, results show that, four (20%) couples use Kiswahili to greet each other; six (30%) couples use a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs; and 10 (50%) respondents use their ECLs. So out of 20 interviewed respondents, only 10 (50%) use completely and truthfully ECLs for greetings. Whereas, in exogamous families, nineteen (95%) respondents use Kiswahili; and only 1 (5%) respondent use a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs. This means that in the exogamous families no one who completely use ECLs for greetings. They haven't even taught themselves how to greet each other in his/her languages, even by just for funny. They claim that it is because they don't speak the same language.

Followed by greetings between couples and their children in endogamous families, results show that six (30%) respondents use Kiswahili, nine (45%) respondents use a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs, and 5 (25%) respondents use ECLs. This means then that it is only five families out of 20 families who use ECLs for greetings to their children. This is contrary to expectation since these families use or share the same language. These all families would have taught their children on how to greet in their ECLs. In exogamous families results show that, 18 (90%) respondents use Kiswahili to greet their children and 2 (10%) use a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs. So in exogamous families, no single family uses ECLs in greetings with their children. This means parents haven't taught their children how they greet in ECLs. Couples claimed that it is difficult to teach them due to the environment they are living in.

The last category on this part of greetings is how couples greet their parents who come from the villages to visit them in town. The findings from the endogamous families reveal that, two (10%) respondents use Kiswahili in greeting their parents, six (30%) respondents use a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs, and 12 (60%) couples use ECLs. So it is only 12 families out of 20 which greet their parents by using ECLs. The expectation was that in endogamous families all respondents could use ECLs to greet their parents. In exogamous families results show that, eight (40%) respondents use Kiswahili, five (25%) respondents use a combination of Kiswahili and ECLs, and 7 (35%) respondents use ECLs. In the exogamous families, though couples do not comprehend each others' language, still they could learn the way of greetings from each other's ECLs so that they could greet their parents in order to show respect.

Some respondents justified their arguments on using Kiswahili that, even now days Kiswahili has penetrated largely in the rural areas to the extent that ECLs are overpowered. Some respondents even claimed that they did not acquire ECLs from their parents, they grew up speaking Kiswahili. The implication here is that, it affects even their children who in turn will experience the same situation and the next generation will not speak ECLs at all.

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of the Study

This was a comparative study of the status of ECLs between endogamous and exogamous families in urban areas of Tanzania. The primary informants featured in this study are the workers in higher learning institutions in Dodoma Municipality. In the endogamous families, spouses speak the same language. In the exogamous families spouse speak different languages.

The main objective was to examine the status of ECLs used in the two family groups, by specifically investigating the kind of language (s) commonly spoken within endogamous and exogamous families in their daily conversation.

The findings of this study revealed that parents in both endogamous and exogamous families use Kiswahili for their daily home conversation. Couples use Kiswahili to talk to themselves and talk with their children. Some few couples from endogamous families were noted to use ECLs to talk to themselves and to their children.

This trend indicates that the urban populations seldom consider speaking their mother tongues hence a drastic reduction in their use. Most respondents insisted that ECLs are of no use in the developing world of science and technology. Kiswahili and English are admired because, the former is a lingua franca, official and national language, and the latter is official and international language. So they hope their children to be integrated into the wider world and have access in employment opportunities.

The status of ECLs in exogamous families was so worse. If no measures to be taken to rectify the problem it means that children born in these families will have nothing to inherit for their future ethnic identification.

In short, the majority of respondents in this study indicated that they favored English and Kiswahili as the languages of instruction to their children because they are the gateways to success in schools and subsequent employment opportunities.

It was also noted from the findings that, some respondents thought and/or sometimes fear that the use of ECLs in the urban areas, such as being used in media, used for ethnic identification and so on, would bring tribalism and divisions among themselves. However, experiences from Somalia, Rwanda and Burundi where people speak one language, but deeply embedded in tribalism and conflicts, calls for critical examination of this premise.

Empirical evidence elsewhere in the world shows that using multiple languages is not the only source of tribal conflicts. South Africa, on the other hand, has more than ten ECLs used as official languages, yet the society is not engulfed in tribal conflicts (Mpehongwa 2010:7).

5.2 Conclusion

The study has discovered that both endogamous and exogamous families use Kiswahili in almost all contexts. It was proved beyond doubt that most parents and their children have almost shifted from their ECLs to the dominant language which is Kiswahili and that the future of ECLs is in vain.

The findings further revealed that in few decades to come there will be a new generation of children born in these families who will be speaking only Kiswahili and English. They will be a new generation without the use ECLs since their mother tongue for most children born in urban areas will be Kiswahili.

5.3 General Recommendations

First, there is a need for further research on how to solve the current problem on implementing mother tongue policy to children born in urban places of Tanzania. This means that linguists and stakeholders should advise the government to put in place the policy which will guide the transmission of ECLs from the parents to their children. This policy will help preserve these ECLs. It seems that there is no imminent solution in sight, because fifty years after independence, parents still do not see the importance of ECLs to the extent that they do not care teaching or transmitting these languages to their children. The best alternative would be for parents to do their efforts at the initial stage of imparting positive attitudes towards ECLs to their children who later might develop the interest of learning them at their own pace.

Second, research should be conducted especially on the ECLs and advice the government on the benefits and richness found within these languages. Stakeholders and linguists should make sure they advocate strongly on the importance of ECLs to the society and urge the government to take initiatives on how to revive them and set principles and regulations of handling them.

Third, there should be campaigns to educate people on the rationale for using ECLs in learning second languages and even to assist in comprehending to subjects taught in schools. This would help to create a new generation of Tanzanians who are proud of their languages and values, cultures and heritage.

Fourth, if no concrete steps are taken now, most of ECLs would disappear without any preserved records within the next few generations. A lot of people have written more on ECLs but it seems that the government does not see any importance attached to them and has just remained in papers. It is now the time for Tanzanian government to give priority to research on Tanzanian languages rather than ignoring them.

Fifth, the study of language endangerment is now so challenging that need to call the attention of different scholars to join hands in the matter. There is still a need for the strong participation of sociolinguists in research and projects connected to single communities for the study of ECLs. In recent research a great deal of emphasis should be placed on the concept of ethnicity and its implications for language maintenance and shift (Thomason 2001:22). Relevant issues here should be language as a symbol of ethnicity and language loyalty.

5.4 Recommendation for Further Research

This study was looking the language commonly used in daily communication within the endogamous and exogamous families found in urban areas of Tanzania. It is recommended that further research should be done to see the status of ECLs within the endogamous and exogamous families found in the rural areas where exactly the ECLs are spoken

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