

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDE AMONG BERTA-  
ARABIC BILINGUALS IN BENISHANGUL GUMUZ  
REGIONAL STATE**

**DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF  
GRADUATE STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS**

**BY**

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**NOVEMBER , 2020**

**ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA**

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## **Abstract**

Language Use and Attitudes usually govern people's inter- and intra-communication situation. In bilingual or multilingual speech community, it is their language attitude that determines the language use, language learning of the speech community. The main objective of this study is to investigate language attitude and language use situations among the Berta community of Benishangul Gumuz Region. The Berta speech community is living around the border of Sudan and Ethiopia where both Berta and Arabic are spoken. So 1, What attitude do they have towards Berta as opposed to Arabic? 2, Which language do they use in different domains, with different interlocutors, for different purposes? and 3, How do they use the two languages under these various circumstances? are the concerns of this study.

Both primary data collected via questionnaire, interview, focus group discussion FGD, key informant interview KII and observation and secondary data gained from books, dictionary and other articles have been used as sources of data. The data was collected from the two sites Maiyu and Undullu varieties in three rounds. A majority of the questionnaire contains closed ended questions which ask respondents to replay according to scales ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The Likert scale was the main technique to measure language attitude. Both qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods have been used to analyze the data. To analyze the data collected in qualitative methods like interviews and FGD, a descriptive/ conversation analysis method of data analysis was used.

The results regarding language attitude towards Berta are mixed, but it inversely correlates with their feeling of Arabic as more prestigious, beautiful and functional than Berta. The respondents argued that they would like to be proficient more in Arabic than in Berta. They have positive attitudes towards bilingualism, in terms of speaking the two languages as well as towards code-mixing which is an indicator of mixed language usage. In the religious domain, the Berta speech communities use only Arabic whereas in other domains like the market, home and school, they use both languages. They mix codes of Arabic with Berta in their daily conversations. The Berta speech community is utilizing both cultural and core borrowings from Arabic to Berta. In some language use domains and for a few purposes like religious domain and for counting, the Berta use Arabic exclusively.

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I would like to offer sincere thanks for the Berta speech community in Benishangul Gumuz. They have provided me not only the data for this study, but also they welcomed me warmly and they also protected me from dangerous events during times of chaos and disorder in the area. I am indebted to Abdulnasir Ali without whose help, this project could not achieve this level of scholarship.

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## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

Language use and language attitude are inseparable concepts for researchers. When one of these issues is investigated, indirectly the other one is also touched. Language use can impinge on language attitude and vice versa. According to Corone (2009), though it is difficult to distinguish between the questions of language use and language attitude, linguists are interested in investigating the two sociolinguistic issues separately. Some researchers conduct research on language attitude only while some others have dealt with language use among a speech community. Bader S. Dweik, Mohammed Y. Nofal and Rahmeh S. Qawasmeh (2014: 76), argued that “Research on language use and language attitudes among ethno-linguistic minorities has been quite extensive. Studies reviewed show how some immigrant groups have dealt with the ethnic language and, therefore, have maintained it or lost it. Other studies have focused on language attitudes which might have helped ethnic minorities to maintain language or shift to another one.” A more positive attitude to one language may lead the speech community to maintain it and use that language more frequently.

Besides this, some researchers like Coronel (2009), Rise (2011), Bichani (2015), Lamerevo (2007) have suggested a link between language attitude, language use and their contributions for language shift or maintenance. If one has a positive or negative attitude towards a language, he/she might be compelled to use or ignore that language. Still some other researchers like Fishman also relate the impact of attitude and language use to language shift and language maintenance. Fishman (1965:27) suggested that “the field of language maintenance and language shift is interested in the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use and the ongoing psychological, social, or cultural processes, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other”. Fishman (1965:42) presents, (1) habitual language use at more than one point in time or space under conditions of intergroup control; (2) the psychological, social and cultural processes related to stability or change in habitual language use under conditions of intergroup contact; and (3) the behavior toward a language in-contact-setting. Here Fishman shows how these sociolinguistic issues especially language use, language attitude and language maintenance can influence each other.

The other thing that should be considered in a sociolinguistic study related to language use and language attitude is the case of bilingualism and/or multilingualism. In a bilingual or multilingual setting, there is language preference and language attitude to each of the languages. Regarding this concept, Weinreich (1974) cited in Dweik, Nofal & Qawasmeh (2014: 3) discusses the outcome of bilingualism in a language contact situation referring to the linguistic and non-linguistic factors that may cause a change on the language of bilinguals. He also refers to the role of the socio-cultural setting of language contact showing that “when a language contact situation is examined in detail, the interrelation of socio-cultural conditions and linguistic phenomena is apparent.” When two or more languages are spoken in a speech community, there are different outcomes like language loss, language preferences for different purposes different feelings for the languages in the area and so on. Regarding this idea, Fishman (1989) cited in Dweik, Nofal & Qawasmeh (2014:77) pointed out three resolutions of language contact. These are; “first, some immigrant languages dominate the situation and defeat the host language like English in the United States where many of the aboriginal Indian languages are defeated. The second resolution refers to the situation when the immigrant language is defeated as what happens to some ethnic immigrant languages in the United Kingdom. The third and the final possibility involves in a situation where the ethnic immigrant language is used side by side with the host language tied by a diglossic relationship where each language is used in certain domains and each language has positive attitudes by its speakers.” Here, Berta is the host language and Arabic is used side by side with it. Therefore, though Arabic can’t be considered as immigrants’ language, it is hosted and used by the Berta community.

There are linguistic and non-linguistic factors that determine language attitude and their language use such as economy, religion, border proximity, history, gender, class and the like are non-linguistic factors. This issue is further elaborated by Haugen as the users of the language, the domains the language is used in, the level of bilingualism and the attitudes of the speakers towards the language, status and functions of a language, development of the language and others can be considered as some linguistic factors for language contact and maintenance in bi/multilingual settings Haugen (1972: 19).

Language attitude and language use mutually influence each other. The natural language use will be analyzed from the perspective of different language contact phenomena and potential functions of language alternations (Ries 2011: 4). So in this research, first the effect of their language attitude on their language use and how they use Berta and Arabic languages that is related to language contact phenomena among these languages are going to be addressed. There are many sociolinguistic aspects that could be studied however my concern is only on the above three concepts, more specifically on language attitude and language use patterns. This is basically because for one the concepts can be combined and one can lead to the other. Second, the people from the Berta and the Arabic speech communities have relationships in different aspects of their lives. So I am interested to survey their feelings about the two languages, their language preference and how they treat the languages.

“The focus of language attitude can range from speakers’ attitude towards a language in general, towards speaking it, to others’ speech habit or even towards another language all together like learning it as a second language” Coronel (2009:21). Language attitude is not a single phenomenon and language use is also an umbrella term. Speakers’ language attitudes can determine their language use patterns and their language use pattern in turn can determine language maintenance and language shift. Taking this in to account, in this research, I focused on investigating what language the Berta speech community uses, how they are using it, and what psychological states they have with regard to the Berta and Arabic languages.

### **1.1. Statement of the Problem**

There are some works on Berta, even if most of them are descriptive grammatical studies. One of these works is on aspects of Berta phonology which has been conducted by Andersen (1993). In addition to phonology, Andersen described some morphological aspects like words and their word class categories. Another work on Berta describes the historical development of the language and the history of the Berta people. This research is conducted by Alessandro (1981) and it deals with how Berta people came to Ethiopia and how their language is developed.

Related to sociolinguistics, little research has been conducted on this language. The sociolinguistic study by Siebert et al (2002) on the Assosa-Begi-Komosha area is one of the

works. In this research, the researcher mainly focused on Mao and Komo languages. The only aspect about Berta is that they incorporated some word lists of Berta. The other one is about the dialects of Berta which was conducted by Bremer (2016). In the research, number of dialects, their mutual intelligibility and attitudes of the speech community towards each of the languages have been examined. Compared to other researches, Bremer's work is a detailed one that tells a lot about the nature of the dialects. In the Berta-English-Amharic-Arabic dictionary by Neudorf (2008), some of the Berta dialects have been mentioned. However, there is no explanation about the type and extent of their variation. Nothing has been said except their name and the area where the dialects are spoken. Meyu, Fadashi, Undulu and Belew Jeganfoye are the four dialects listed in the dictionary.

Jaspaert & Kroon (1988 :158) explicitly link attitudes with language shift and language choice by discussing possible social theories to explain certain contradictory outcomes. Sadanand (1993:124); "Attitudes towards the use of different languages are motivated by people's perception of the role of each language and the functions it performs in relation to each other language." This implies that people or the speech communities' feeling has greater contribution to bilingualism and language use patterns. "Research on language use and language attitudes among ethno-linguistic minorities has been quite extensive". (Dweik, Nofal & Qawasmeh 2014:2). Keller (1968: 107): outlines Fishman's attempt to define language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry: "it is concerned with the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other. This implies that how these concepts are interlinked each other.

Benishangul Gumuz is a multilingual region in which five indigenous languages Berta, Shinasha, Gumuz, Mao and Komo and other non-indigenous languages like Amharic, Arabic and Affaan Oromo are spoken. Moreover, as I have observed most Berta people are multilingual and/or at least they are bilinguals in Arabic. In such a multilingual speech community, investigating their language preference for different settings, their belief about their own language or others languages and how they are treating their bilingualism is very essential. But, as far as my reading is concerned, no one has yet conducted a research on these issues.

This draws my attention to conduct research on these interlinked sociolinguistic aspects of the Berta language of Ethiopia. According to different sources like Bremer (2016), Neudorf (2008), many Berta speakers are proficient in speaking Arabic for economic, religious and other social benefits. So if many Berta speakers are proficient in Arabic, I am interested in investigating their language use and attitudes towards the two languages.

## **1.2. Objectives of the Study**

### **1.2.1. General Objective**

The general objective of this study is to assess the nature of language use patterns with regard to the language attitude and language choice of the Berta ethno-linguistic group of Benishangul Gumz between Arabic and Berta languages. Actually Berta language is influenced not only by Arabic language but also it is affected by Affan Oromo and Amharic as well. However, the intention of this research focused on investigating the language attitude and language use practices of Berta-Arabic bilinguals because of two reasons. For one thing, the Berta have cultural, blood and economic relationships with Arabs so I would like to see how their linguistic relation looks like and another one is since Arabic is a foreign language, I would like to investigate its impact on the indigenous Berta.

### **1.2.2. Specific Objectives**

- Assessing how the Berta community's language use patterns look like.
- Assessing language attitudes of the bilingual speakers towards Berta and Arabic languages and towards using them.

Based on these research objectives, I have formulated two basic research questions. It is very common that research questions are the reflections of research objectives. The intension of these research questions is to clarify research objectives.

- ✓ How the Berta community uses the two languages?
- ✓ What attitudes do they have towards each of the languages and towards using them?

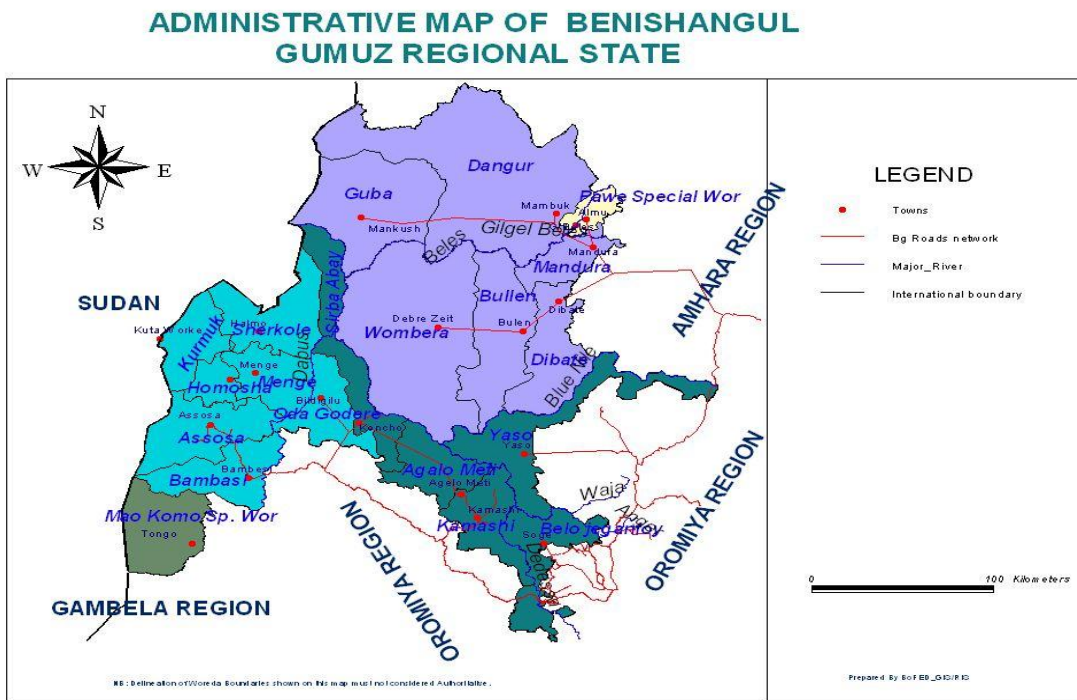
### 1.3. The Study Area

Benishangul Gumuz (B-G) is a region which is found in the western part of Ethiopia. The region shares borders in the north and north east, with Amhara, in the east with Oromia, in the south with Gambela and to the west with Sudan. Most of the Benishangul-Gumuz region is shaped by hilly and even mountainous terrain, with elevation typically ranging from 1,600 to 1,700 meters above sea level. This region is the least populated of Ethiopia's nine regions, having less than one million inhabitants in a region covering nearly 20,000 square miles (about 50,000 km<sup>2</sup>). Most Maiyu and Fadashi speakers reside on the plateau extending north-south from Menge to Asosa and west-east from Asosa to Bambassi while speakers of the Wabosh, Undulu and the Beleje Gonfoye varieties live in lower-lying areas Bremer (2016).

There are different names for the B-G region. Some people including scholars call it "Bela Shengur", others call it as "Benin," however, majority of the speech communities especially Arabs call it as "Benishangul". Regarding this point, a language expert in the region Abdulnasir Ali argued for a different name for the language. Abdulnasir is a language expert in the region. Mr. Abdulnasir works in the educational office of Benishangul Gumuz promoting Berta language as medium of instruction. He has received his diploma from Gilgel Beles College in Language Studies and his BA degree in Management from Assosa University. He has participated in different projects implemented on Berta language and he has helped different researchers including Andreas Neudorf. First he argued that their name should be "Bela-shengur" and their language should be named "Benishangulegna". This is because it shows their long-standing in the region and the name Berta does not suit them as it has another negative connotation. Furthermore, Bela-shangur is originally a Berta word and it was modified over time and has got its current name as Benishangul. According to his explanation, its first origin is derived from the name 'Shangur' which means 'magic'. It was named to show that there was a tree located in the place where today's Shangul stone is placed. So at that time, the Funji people who are today the Berta cut part of the tree and burnt it. Then they determine that the direction of the smoke indicated the direction from which an opposing army is approaching and therefore it was their magic for their war victory. At that point, the name became "Ana-Shengur" 'Ana' means place and it was to mean 'place of magic'. Gradually, the Berta people thought that the

tree would dry out and disappear. So to remember the place, they wanted to erect a monument and thus they put seven stones on the place. After they placed those stones, the name changed to “Belshangul” meaning stone of magic. Finally after the Arabs occupied the area and built a relationship with the Berta people, it became “Benishangul” Beni means children. From this, it is understood that the name of the region was created and developed by Berta people, but it has been modified by the Arabs which tells us that the Berta originally lived in the region.

Figure 1. 1 Map of Benishangul Gumuz taken from the regional educational office survey



### 1.3.1. Berta People

Following Alessandro (1976:27-28), the Berta people live along the border of Sudan and Ethiopia. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century they migrated from eastern Sudan and settled in Benishangul a fertile region in north west of Ethiopia. The Berta people are agriculturalists and their staple food is sorghum. The Berta also make porridge and traditional beer from sorghum. As the Ethnologue (2016) has stated, almost all Berta people are Muslim followers. For over centuries, Berta people have intermarried with Arabs living in Benishangul, but they have

preserved much of their culture and customs. In addition to Islam, the Berta still practice extra-Islamic traditions including rain-making rituals and consulting healers and shamans. There are others who still call Berta people Benishangul. This means according to scholars like Bremer, it is possible to say Berta or Benishangul alternatively. The Berta people, also known as Benishangul, are a relatively large minority group who span the borders of Ethiopia and Sudan Bremer (2016)

There are different names used for the Berta people with their own effects and implications. According Neudorf's (2008) explanation, there are different names even by scholars given to Berta. Bremer in his (2016) work about Berta dialects wrote that Berta can be called Benishangul and the people themselves actually prefer to be called Benishangul.

I have tried to analyze the naming situation by asking elderly people and teachers. Almost all of them would like to be called Benisahngul and they do not like the name Berta since it has a negative meaning in Arabic. As I have been informed by teachers, the Arabs use the name Berta synonymous with 'slave'. Benishangul is the name given to the region as a whole, but it is modified by the Arab people, but for a long period of time, Berta people were called Benishangul. Then it was Bertua/ Bertha however finally due to the influence of Arabic, 'θ' came to be pronounced as 't' sound which was brought with the Arabic loan words. Bertua/ Bertha is a name of Berta's leader who brought them to the area they are living now. Still there are people who called themselves Benishangul around Undullu and Aba Alkedir also argues that Belashangur is their original name.

Regarding the history and settlements of Berta people, there is no clearly stated and well agreed idea. Researchers and surveyors have different assumptions. Most of them argue that Berta people are people who live around the border of Sudan and Ethiopia. According to my data from one elderly man by the name Aba Almamun however, the Berta were and presently live toward the center of Sudan and in Ethiopia Berta stretched all the way to Mendi which belongs to Oromia today. Travelers and investigators like Truilzi (1981) argued that Berta people came to Ethiopia in the 17<sup>th</sup> century following Sinar Funj.

On the other hand, aba Alkedir is against Truilzi (1981) that suggests Berta are migrated from Sudan. Aba Alkedir suggested that those who are saying Berta came from Sudan are not right and We never moved rather others came to us. As Aba Alkedir said, they are native people in the area and before Sudan and Ethiopia got their name, we were ruled by Funj. Funj was the name of the kingdom that ruled the Berta people before the Arabs occupied and formed relationships with Berta people. The Sinar and Funj from Sudan had struggled to conquer the Ethiopian Funj. For a long period of time, they could not win, but finally they tried to approach peacefully through marriage and trade activities and they were successful. Gradually, they gained acceptance by the ruling class and intermarriage became possible. Through time they became assistants for the ruling class and finally they took over power. Because of this, Berta people call them the wise visitors. From that time onwards, Berta people were ruled by Funj who was empowered by Arabs. Those Funj followed the Islamic religion unlike the Berta in Ethiopia.

Due to this relationship, a tribe called Maiyu emerged that resulted from Berta and Arabs. The tribe was conscious about the culture, language, norm and tradition of Berta. Maiyu has different meanings and its meaning for Benishangul is a son born from Berta and Funj /Arab. From 10<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> century, the ones ruling Benishangul were the Maiyu. By using different techniques, the Funj made the Benishangul Berta part of the Sinar government and they expanded the Islamic religion in Benishangul. Because of this, at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, there was great revolution against the Sinar government. Sinar was a government in Sudan at the time of the Funj kingdom in Ethiopia, but there were other people ruled by Funj in Sudan. This revolution in Sinar created a massive migration of people to Benishangul and this migration was called 'Le-Balad-Sid' which means in Arabic 'to the East' and still Berta in the Eastern part of Sudan are called 'Awuladasid' which is modification of 'Le-Balad-Sid'. Through this way, the Arabs improved their relation with Berta and they transmitted their religion Ethnologue (2016).

### **Sign Language and the Deaf Community**

In different countries of the world, the deaf communities have their own section in the society and they are treated well. They form their own linguistic and sociolinguistic community which has been studied by linguists. According to Lucas et. al (2005), the deaf community form

linguistic and cultural minority all over the world. However, this status is restricted only in few countries and in many places.

Similarly, the deaf in the Berta community have no the access to sign language and they are living in a hearing society with whom they need to communicate in order to lead their daily lives. As the deaf students responded, they are communicating with the society by reading their lips while they are talking. They have their own codes to communicate each other. Though it needs further investigation, I couldn't focus on this issue because it is off-topic, but it is presented this way to give clue for any interested investigator.

### **1.3.2. Berta Language**

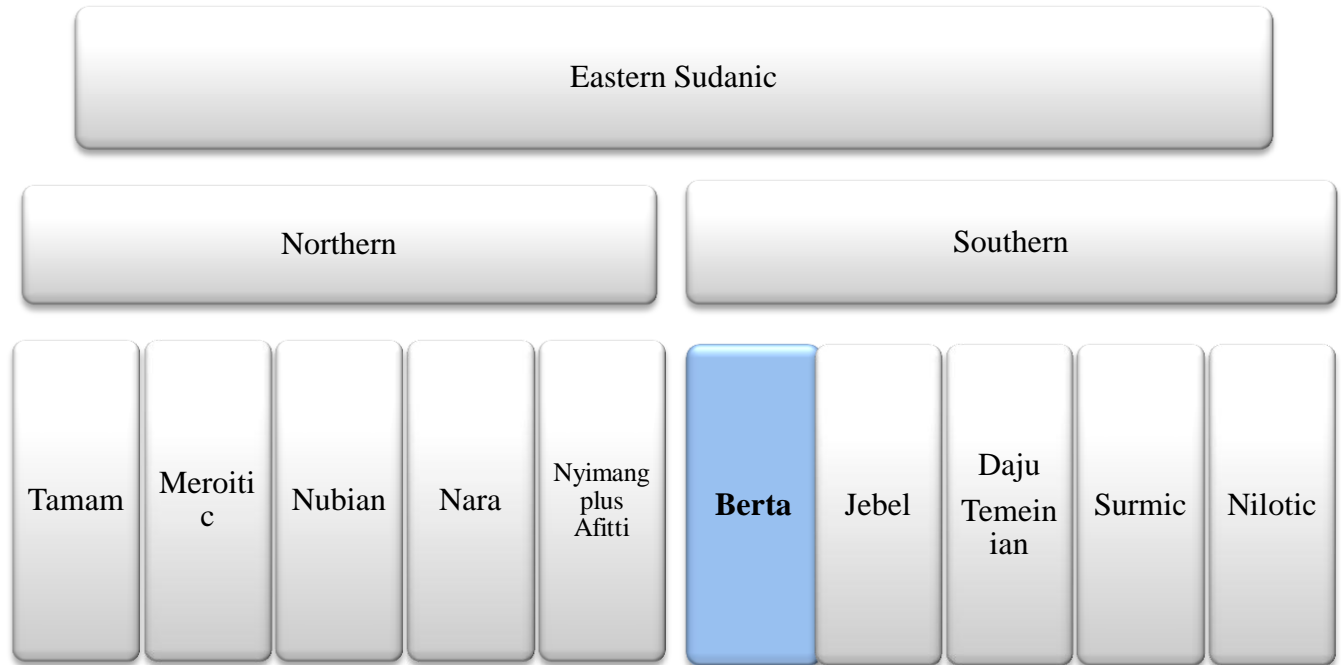
Berta /Funj is a Nilo-Saharan language spoken south of the Blue Nile, on both sides of the border between Ethiopia and Sudan. It is spoken by an ethnic group called BeniShangul (Bela-Shangul) or Berta (Barta, Burta). Other names for the people (Wetawit, Jebelawi) are used less frequently. On the Ethiopian side, the language is mainly called *Berta*, although occasionally it is referred to as "Rut'ana" by the people themselves and it is the Arabic term for a nonreligious, non-Arabic language (Neudorf et al, 2008). On the Sudanese side the language is called Berta as well as funji, derived from the large funji Kingdom of the 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to the 2007 census, there are about 393,500 Berta speakers in all countries and in Ethiopia there are about 213,500 Berta speakers. From these 213,500 Berta in Ethiopia, 197,000 are L1 users and 16,500 are L2 users of Berta and from this population, 99,700 are monolinguals where as the rest 113,800 are bilinguals and multilinguals.

Bremer (2016) wrote about those Berta who are living in Metehar: these people were deported from Benishangul Gumuz to Metehara to have man power for the sugarcane factory placed in the area. Berta [wti] belongs to the Nilo-Saharan phylum, and ever since Greenberg's (1966) monumental work *The Languages of Africa*, he pointed out that Berta language has eluded genetic placement within Nilo-Saharan family. The two primary theories of Nilo-Saharan reconstruction differ considerably. According to Bremer it is not unlikely that the key to assessing Berta's genetic identity lies not in the innovative Maiyu variety (often used

synonymously with “Berta”), but rather in the more conservative peripheral lects. It shows us that there are people who exactly considers Maiyu as Berta and use them alternatively.

The language has four major dialects identified by Neudorf (2008) and Bremer (2016). These dialects are spoken in different parts of Benishangul Gumuz region. Some of the dialects have been named by the name of the place where they are spoken. The four major dialects are: Mayu, Fadashi, Undulu and Beleje Gonfoye. Though there are controversies in identifying a standard one from Berta dialects, Maiyu is the one that has been chosen as the reference dialect and it seems to be the most prestigious one over the other. But this is not based on any linguistic criteria rather it is because the kings and rulers of the Berta society came from this sub group. According to Neudorf et al, (2008: ix-x), the name Maiyu is said to be derived from the words “ma iyu” (literally ‘have inside’), meaning they have something else inside some other blood which directly mean they have mixed blood identity. Maiyu is spoken in Assosa and its surroundings as well as towards the Nile in the north of Assosa. It is mainly spoken from Menge woreda where the first migrants from Sudan settled to Assosa town. Other dialects are spoken a little bit far from Assosa. Fadashi is spoken from Bambesi which is east of Assosa towards Tongo. Since it is nearer to Maiyu, it is similar to Mayu but with slightly different vowels.

Figure 1. 2 Eastern Sudanic branch of Nilo-Saharan family tree (Dimmendaale 2016).



There is controversy among linguists in the number of Berta dialects. Some scholars like Neudorf et.al (2008) lists only four dialects while others like Bremer (2016) dialectal study identifies six Berta dialects. Bremer added Metehara and Wabosh, but he also associates them with other dialects such as Metehara is related to Maiyu while Wabosh is similar to Belojeganfoye. In his research, Bremer measured mutual intelligibility and attitudes of speakers of one dialect towards other dialects. Regarding this point Bremer (2016) concluded as follows:

Maiyu is taken as a reference dialect and attitudes of other dialect speakers to Maiyu and Maiyu speakers to other dialect speakers has been measured. Most of the Undullu speakers found that they have more positive attitude for Fadashi than Maiyu. According to Bremer, one undullu story teller adult told him that, there are more Fadashi speakers than Maiyu and Fadashi and Undullu are speakers of proper Berta. Another speaker from Fadashi told him that when Maiyu and Fadashi speakers come together, they speak Arabic not Berta, but with speakers of other varieties, they can communicate in Berta.

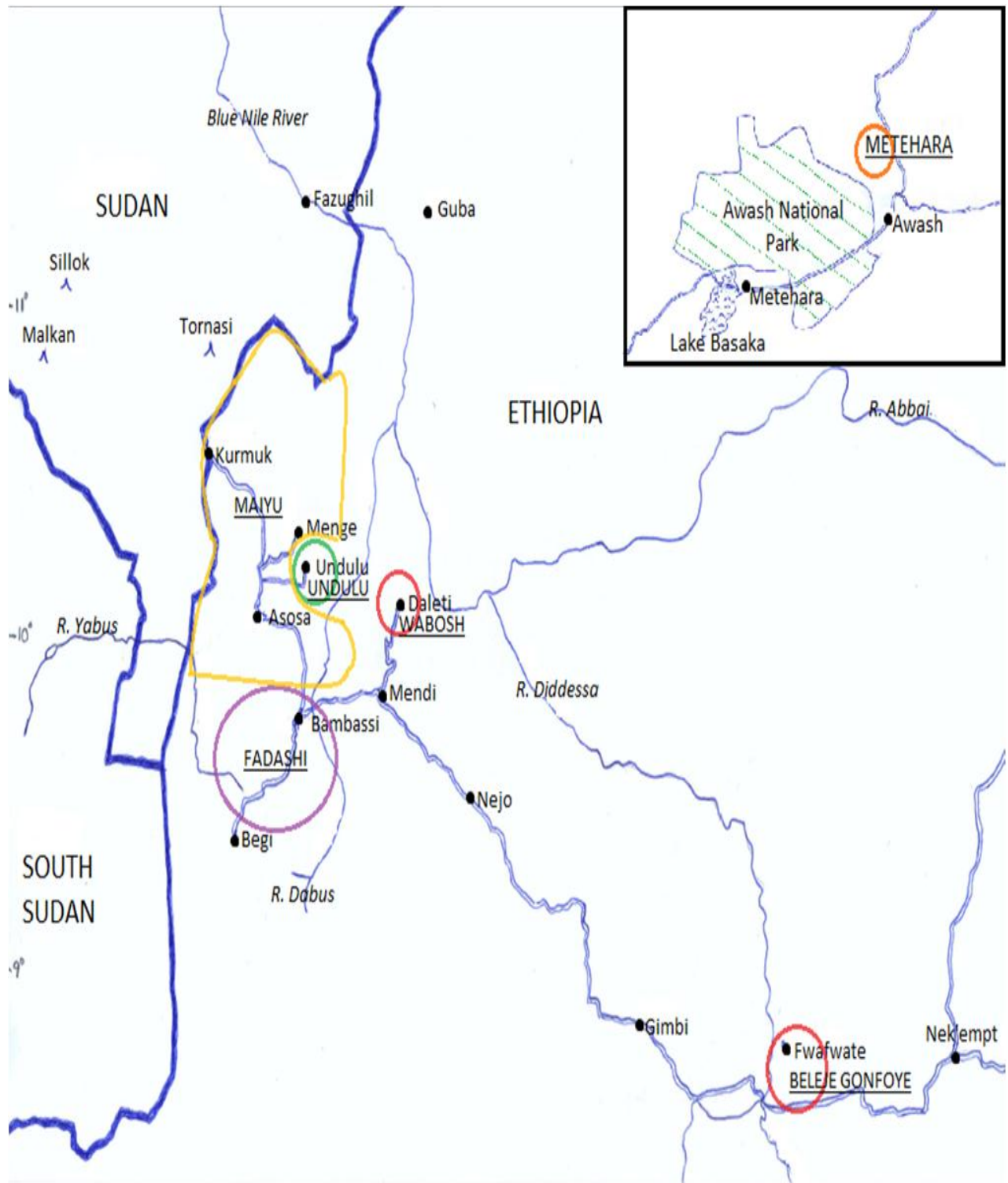
The work by Bremer (2016) is a more detailed than others work on the dialects of Berta, his work contains mutual intelligibility test among dialects. In his conclusion, Bremer says that even if there is mutual intelligibility among the dialects, there is also considerable variation within

them. He classifies Maiyu and Fadashi as largely used dialects and Undullu and Belejeganfoye as less used dialects. He suggested that the two dialects/ Maiyu and Belejeganfoye/ are clearly endangered dialects due to the influence of other languages around them.

The other two dialects are spoken very far from Assosa. Undullu is named after the area where it is spoken, namely around the town Undullu and it is considered a preserved dialect compared to Maiyu. Belejeganfoye is the dialect spoken by the people around the Didesa valley 250km east of the other Bertha speakers. These two dialects Undullu and Belejeganfoye have got their name from the town that they are spoken in.

According to Neudorf et al. (2008) in addition to these four major dialects, there is another dialect which is spoken far from Benishangul Gumuz. Approximately 100 years ago, many Bertha speakers were deported from the main Berta area to this place by Minilik II for the sake of having man power for the sugarcane factory. Their language is so close to Maiyu that it may not even be justified to call it a dialect still they should be mentioned.

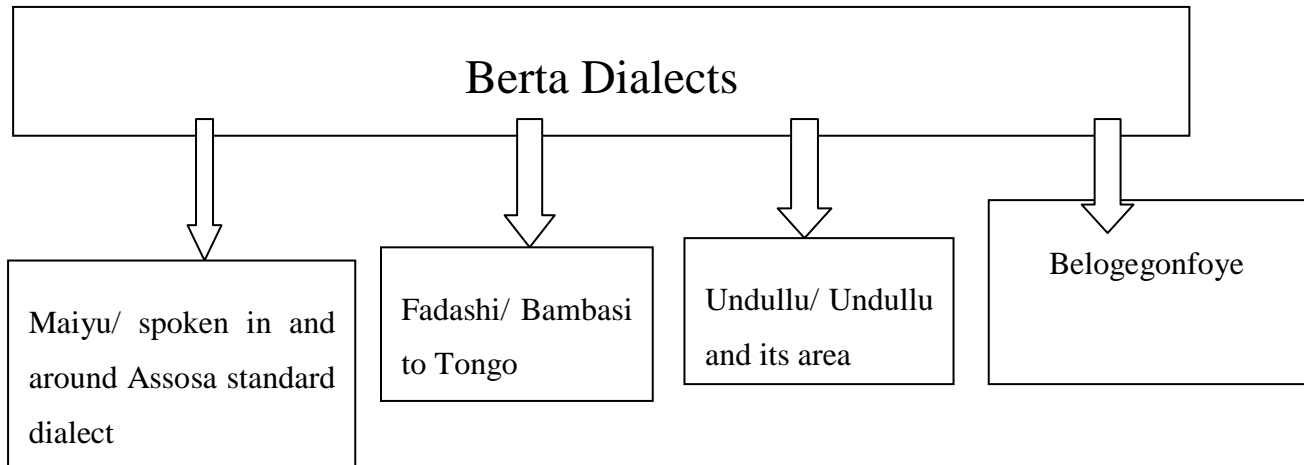
Figure 1. 3 Approximate location for six Berta communities in Ethiopia/ taken from (Bremer 2016: 3).



To conclude about the dialects of Berta, though there are scholars like Bremer who lists six dialects, but I suggest that the major dialects of Berta are four. This is because the two dialects

Wobush and Metehara are also considered dialects by Bremer who had suggested that they are similar to Maiyu. The diagram below illustrates the four major dialects of Berta.

Figure 1. 4 Diagram representation of Berta dialects (my own diagram)



Berta language is a recently developed language and its orthography was designed only 12 years (Neudorf 2008). This day, greater attention is given to the language. A dictionary is prepared by Neudorf with three languages; Bertha, English and Amharic in which Arabic involves in many pages of the dictionary to indicate Arabic borrowed words. The language is functioning as educational language for lower grades. Moreover, it is function in different artistic works especially different singers sing with Berta. There is Berta language development project though it is not functional yet. Berta is a language surrounded by different languages. Arabic, Amharic, Affaan Oromo, Shinasha, Gumuz, Mao and Komo are some of the languages which are spoken in the area where Berta is spoken. From these languages, Berta speakers have a greater link with Arabic speakers. As I have mentioned before, Berta people migrated from Sudan to Western Ethiopia where they have cultural, historical and intermarriage relations. The Arabs and Berta people also have economic and religious cooperation and almost all Berta people are Muslims and perform trade activities with Sudanese Arabs. Almost all Berta people can hear and understand the Arabic language. The other cause for the greater link among Berta and Arab people is their history. As I have discussed in different sections of my project, these people spent good and bad times together.

Currently, Berta is used as a medium of instruction for lower grades and books are prepared in the language for higher grades too. The Berta language is not spoken by all Berta ethnic groups as there exists a deaf population who uses a type of home sign. There are different language development projects to sustain the language and this time the people are aware of their language and the language development project is searching for words of Berta that are lost. “Language use and language attitude with respect to Ethiopian sign language has several advantages not only will it assist for the development and recognition of the language itself by reinforcing EthSL as a real language, it will also potentially impact the lives of deaf community in Ethiopia” Eyasu (2017:I). Though the development is too slowly and there is nothing about sign language development, this day, Berta is getting better access to be developed.

#### **1.4. Significance of the Study**

It is hoped that, this research can give literature on the Berta language and its social issues like the feelings of the speech community about it. As I have mentioned earlier, Berta is a language which is not well studied. Especially its sociolinguistic aspects are not well examined; so this research will give some clues about Berta and its social acceptances and its function in the speech community. Secondly, this research will help policy makers to make policy based on the interest of the speakers. This is because this research will deal with language attitudes and language use patterns of the speakers. Based on the findings, policy makers and language planners can decide clearly especially on mother tongue education by searching for original Berta words because this time, there is controversy among Undullu community about mother tongue teaching materials since there are many Arabic words in the text books. Finally, this research will help other researchers to have some other sociolinguistic gaps of Berta.

#### **1.5. Scope of the Study**

Scope of a study can be narrowed down to two perspectives. One from the perspective of the topic and the other one is from the perspectives of target population. Menge (where Maiyu is spoken) and Undullu (where Undullu dialect is spoken) are not the only areas where Berta is spoken, but due to lack of time and budget to cover the whole population, this research is conducted only on these areas. Even though there are different sociolinguistic issues to be investigated, this study focused only on the three interlinked issues; language use, attitude and

language contact phenomena due to language attitude and their language choice among Berta speech community. I would like to take the two areas since the two dialects Maiyu which is highly affected by Arabic and Undullu which is considered that it is relatively preserved dialect.

### **1.6. Limitations of the Study**

It is known that sociolinguistics is an ocean and it is impossible to include all sociolinguistic concepts in a single study. As it has been discussed in the part which deals with the scope of this study, the research is limited to a specific place and on specific issues. For one thing, though there are different dialects that Berta has, this research entirely focused on Maiyu and Undullu dialects only. Within these two dialects, not all sociolinguistic phenomena are investigated and it is only about language use and language attitude. Regarding these issues, there is limited data especially on language proficiency and its relation to language use, ethnographic issues and other minor issues that can contribute to language attitude and language use patterns.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Review of Related Literatures**

This chapter is going to review literature on the three basic sociolinguistic concepts language attitude, language use and language contact. Since there is no single and constant theoretical approach of sociolinguistics, finally there would be some models. The subsection of attitude deals on what attitude is, how it can be measured, and the methods for attitudinal analysis in this research. Under the section of language use, it focused on what is language use, areas of language use and the link between language use and language attitude. The nature of bilingualism, multilingualism and language maintenance and language shift as well as types of language contact are discussed under language contact phenomena.

#### **2.1. Language Attitudes**

##### **2.1.1. What is Language Attitude?**

Language attitude is an action/ feeling that a speech community or individuals might have for their own languages or others' language. Crystal (1997: 215) "The feeling people have about their own language or the languages of others." This is however can be determined by different factors particularly related to the prestige, function of the language in the community or based on the number of speakers. Language attitude is basically concerned on language. "Language attitudes are distinguished from other attitudes by the fact that they are primarily about language." Knops & van Hout (1988 1f) as cited in Coronel (2009), "two approaches to the definition of language attitudes are available. The first approach consists of defining the concept in terms of its referent, thereby stressing the independency of the concept as a phenomenon in its own right. In this approach language attitudes are attitudes towards languages, language varieties, language variants and language behavior. Language attitude has its own relation with different linguistic concepts and their definition. Omdal (1995:85): "Language attitudes are found to be 'relevant to the definition of speech communities, to the explanation of linguistic change, language maintenance and language shift, and to applied concerns in the fields of intergroup communication, language planning and education.'"

Adegbija (1992:1) has a more encompassing definition of language attitudes, which he describes as: “evaluative judgments made about a language or its variety, its speakers, towards efforts at promoting, maintaining or planning a language or even toward learning it. In our view then attitudes could be observable or internal or both simultaneously, temporary or lasting; or of a surface level or deep rooted nature”. Implicit in this definition is the wide range of feelings, perceptions and predictions involved in the study of language attitudes. Scholars in the field are thus challenged to engage in various researches that will avail policy makers with solutions to language related problems. Various sub-themes that are possible include: Attitudes to language use, Attitudes towards learning and teaching of a language, Attitudes towards language varieties, Attitudes towards speakers of other languages, Language shift and language dominance, Language policy, development and Attitudes towards foreign and indigenous languages.

Attitudinal effects of language variation have only been studied empirically and experimentally since the 1960s. Early research focused almost exclusively on the attitudinal consequences of communicators’ use of different languages and dialects Bradac, Cargile, & Hallett, (2001) cited in Lammervo (2007: 24). The definition of language attitude falls in to three different mutually exclusive components. “The multiple component definition generally posits the following types of components: 1. cognitive or knowledge 2 affective or evaluative 3. Co-native or action, Agheyisi and Agheyisi (2012:141).” There are scholars those further elaborate these components with. An attitude is composed primarily of a system of beliefs where each belief in turn composed of cognitive, affective and behavioral components Rokeach (1968) cited in Agheyisi (2012:139). Fishbein, on the other hand describes the concept as follows. First draws a distinction between attitude and belief, stating that the former comprises only an affective component, while the latter contains both cognitive and co- native components. His major criticism of the multi-component conception of attitude is that “it is impossible to determine for each individual the actual interrelations and organization of the attitude components with respect to any one attitude object. As a result such multi-dimensional concepts are not only very troublesome to handle in theory, but they also 'create almost unmanageable problems when theory is translated into research” Fishbein (1966 :108).

Language attitude directly or indirectly determines our choice. It is known that our feeling towards anything is dependent on our perceptions about the thing. Our language preference

depends on our feeling about the language. There is a general consensus in the literature that acquiring and using a language is easier for individuals who have a positive attitude to the language and its speakers Garrett (2010). According to Garrett's reasoning, as language attitudes cannot only influence the reactions of the speakers towards the language, but also help to predict others' reactions to the choice of language, and hence influence this choice.

Language attitude also plays an important role in maintaining or losing languages or language varieties. Depending on the positive or negative attitudes that we have about any language or language variety, we can maintain and preserve or we can shift or lose that language. Holmes et al. (1993) cited in Bichani (2015: 33) proved this concept as follows; language attitudes in shifting or maintaining the language. For example, Baker (1992: 9) suggests that "In the life of a language, attitudes to that language appear to be important in language restoration, preservation, decay or death. Holmes et al. (2001) as cited in Bichani (2015: 33-34), positive attitudes motivated the speakers of the minority language to use their language in various domains and this helped challenge slow shift to the mainstream language. It can be difficult, therefore, to maintain a language if there are negative attitudes towards it in a community. This doesn't mean however, that attitude is the only determinant of language shift and maintenance rather there are other factors as well. Researchers, such as Fishman (1985) cited in Bichani (2015: 32) for example have argued that language attitudes do not always predict language maintenance or shift, as attitudes need to be linked to the language's status as a core value in a particular group, or related to other values, such as religious beliefs.

Early research focused almost exclusively on the attitudinal consequences of communicators' use of different languages and dialects Bradac, Cargile, and Hallett, (2001) cited in Lammervo (2007: 25). But language attitude is an umbrella term that can include different social-psychological, political and socio-cultural phenomena. Ferguson (1996: 274-275): "In many ways the effectiveness of language policies in education is determined more by the attitudes of the people on language use than it is by the simple demographic facts of language distribution and use. Discovering language attitudes is more difficult than finding the basic data and also may raise political issues." There are two questions related to attitude that are formulated by Ferguson (1996); What do the speakers of a language believe or feel about its esthetic, religious, and

'logical' values? and what about the appropriateness of its use for literature, education, and 'national' purposes? What do the speakers of a language believe or feel about other languages in the country? Are they better or inferior to their own language in general or for specific purposes?"

Language attitude can affect the situation and effort of language preference among a speech community. Depending on the positive or negative feelings people have towards a language, their language use can be determined. "There is a general consensus in the literature that acquiring and using a language is easier for individuals who have a positive attitude to the language and its speakers" Bichani (2015:37). According to Garrett, (2010), Karahan, (2007), Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe, (2009) in Bichani (2015:37-38) "language attitudes can not only influence the reactions to the speakers of the language, but also help predict others' reactions to the choice of language, and hence influence this choice." So language attitude is not a single phenomenon and can have its own imputes for the presence of other sociolinguistic issues.

Researchers came up with their own views and assumptions about the study of language attitude. In the beginning of this sub-section, it has been dealt about how can we measure attitude in general but here I focused on language attitude concepts in the literature. "There are three common ways of investigating attitudes: societal treatment studies, direct measures and indirect measures" Bichani (2015:39). Bichani elaborates these concepts as follows; societal treatment studies involve inferring participants' attitudes from policy documents, media scripts, advertisements and other sources. Direct measures include asking participants direct questions regarding their language attitude, also known as evaluation preference. This is usually undertaken through questionnaires, interviews and surveys. Finally indirect methods refer to eliciting the language attitudes of the participants using techniques without asking direct questions. Coronel (2009:7-8) identified three types of language attitude studies: "(1) those which explore general attitudes toward language and language skills (e.g., which languages or varieties are better than others, to what extent literacy is valued, etc.); (2) those which explore stereotyped impressions toward language, their speakers, and their functions; and (3) those which focus on applied concerns (e.g., language choice and usage, and language learning). Underlying each are questions of the nature of language attitudes, their causes, and their effects."

There is also attitude towards bi/multilingualism in a community. Romaine in her book about attitude in general and language attitude in particular have discussed a lot about bilingual and multilingual attitudes. She has stressed on language attitude surveys and suggested that “attitudes towards one language or another, towards bilingualism and towards code-switching generally will all affect an individual's language choice in a given situation, and a community's propensity (or not) for language shift” Romaine (1995:289). She has suggested two basic factors/orientations to influence language attitudes of the speech. “Instrumental vs. integrative orientations in language attitude: instrumental is defined as motivated by factors such as the utility of the language; while integrative is learning/using a language to be able to "interact with speakers of that language and share in their culture," i.e., for solidarity reasons” Romaine (1995:43-44). Chapter seven of her book discusses about the situations of bilingual attitude and its results as code-switching. Regardless of this concept she pointed out two situations of bilingual attitude. “The attitudes of bilinguals towards aspects of bilingual behavior, such as code switching, and the status it is assigned in the community repertoire. Secondly, there is the question of the attitudes of monolinguals to bilinguals and to various aspects of bilingualism, such as bilingual Education” Romaine (1995:312).

The other thing that determines the orientation about language attitude is the status and functions of each language in the speech community. If a language has greater status and function, then it might be accepted positively and vice versa. "Attitudes towards the use of different languages are motivated by people's perception of the role of each language and the functions it performs in relation to each others' language" Sadanand (1993:124). Language attitude has its own contributions to our understanding of language shift or maintenance. “In addition to their value in adding to our understanding of functions and patterns of language use, answers to such questions are relevant to the explanation of language maintenance and shift” Saville-Troike (1989 :181).

In a bilingual or multilingual community like Berta in Benishangul, there may be attitudinal impact to lose or to maintain a language or language varieties. It has been hypothesized that Berta and the Arabic speakers in Sudan had relations for the last three centuries. So this

research will address what language attitudes do the Berta in Benishangul have towards Berta and Arabic languages and their bilingual usage.

### **2.1.2. Language attitude, Language Use and Language Maintenance**

Language attitude has a greater link with language choice and language maintenance or shift. If a community has positive attitude towards a language, then that language might be maintained or used regularly, but if they have negative attitudes, the speech community may tend to use another language and they may not be concerned about that language. Scholars like Jaspaert & Kroon (1988:157) explicitly link attitudes with language shift and language choice, discussing possible social theories to explain certain contradictory outcomes; social factors have an ambiguous influence on language shift processes: in some instances a factor seems to influence language shift in one direction, whereas in another situation that same factor exerts an influence in the opposite direction.

In language attitude, the concept of attitude is very broad. Since the definition of attitude is about the feelings and emotions that individuals or communities have about something, language attitude is the feeling that people have for their language or for others' language. However, language attitude is not limited to this end and it is all about the language, the use of that language and about the users of the language. Richards et al. (1992:199): "The attitudes which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each other's languages or to their own language. Expressions of positive or negative feelings towards a language may reflect impressions of linguistic difficulty or simplicity, ease or difficulty of learning, degree of importance, elegance, social status, etc. Attitudes towards a language may also show what people feel about the speakers of that language". Sometimes, language attitude is a very complex and unpredictable phenomenon. This is basically due to different social and psychological factors that can include the nature of the language or its function in the speech community. The other thing that makes language attitude studies challenging is the difficulty to determine people's feeling within some questionnaires or interviews. Romaine (1995: 314-315), suggests that attitude is not constant over time and it is difficult to conclude about the attitudes of a given speech community within a single study. According to Saville (1989:181-182), "Attitudes are acquired as a factor of group membership, as part of the process of enculturation in a particular

speech community, and thus basic to its characterization. It is because attitudes toward communicative performance are generally culturally determined that they are so strongly influenced by the social structure of the community". From this we can understand that language attitude is also culture oriented.

To justify the link between language attitude and linguistic codes in their language usage of a speech community, linguists listed different evaluative techniques. Saville (1989:187-188) by taking from Kachru (1982), has listed the following. Attitude marking terms which can be used to describe/judge linguistic codes are, aesthetic/unaesthetic, correct/ incorrect, cultivated/uncultivated, developed/undeveloped, educated/uneducated, effective/ineffective, proper/improper, religious/non-religious, vigorous/non-vigorous. In addition to this, Saville said a lot about linguistic determinants of language attitudes as follows. possible sources of attitudinal data include "the labels referring to language which may be used to characterize particular groups, whether selves or others, exemplifying the inclusive and exclusive functions of language diversity the use of language features in joking... which typically highlights stigmatized forms. Joking usually involves mimicking marked phonological and lexical features, but may be extended to more complex stylistic factors.

The other very important work that can give something concrete for this work is a work conducted by Bentahila (1983) as cited by Coronel (2009). He has conducted his research on Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco and the focus of his work was to deal with how language attitude plays an important role to decide on the language choice of that language community. In chapter four, Bentahila gave a detail of his methodology and the importance of asking language choice questionnaires to reveal language attitudes even without the aware of the respondents. He used both open and close ended questionnaires and according to his justification, the later is easy to code and analyze and the former one is difficult to code, but it can make the respondent free to respond and we can analyze it qualitatively. Gal (1979) cited in Coronel (2009:24) does the same in her study of bilingual language usage in Oberwart, Austria. In reality, her appendix lists questions she used in face-to-face interviews, but such questions could be easily modified to accommodate a written questionnaire format. Her main focus was more on language usage than on language attitudes.

Language attitude plays an important role for many linguistic and non-linguistic phenomena. It can have its own impact on language planning, language policy, language choice, language shift and maintenance. Errihani (2012: 412) states that “language attitude plays an important role in language revitalisation and maintenance in multilingual settings. How a language is viewed by its speakers and by other members of the community who speak other languages could determine the fate of that language – its status, maintenance, and revitalisation. Positive attitudes towards a language are often a key factor in revitalizing that language”.

### **2.1.3. How Can We Investigate Language Attitude?**

There are three common ways of investigating attitudes: societal treatment studies, direct measures and indirect measures Garrett (2010). While the first two techniques tend to employ many methods in examining attitudes to language, the indirect approach is dependent mainly on the matched guise method. Moreover, all three techniques differ in the frequency of their use. Societal treatment studies involve inferring participants’ attitudes from policy documents, media scripts, advertisements and other sources. ‘Direct measures include asking participants direct questions regarding their language attitude, also known as evaluation preference Garrett’, (2010) cited in Bichani (2015: 39). In terms of frequency, “the direct approach is the most common technique, followed by the indirect approach, with the societal treatment technique being less used in most language attitude research Garret” (2010: 51).

According to Lammervo (2007: 20), a popular solution to measure attitudes in line with this view is to ask people what their attitudes are with the help of attitude questionnaires and scales. Such methods of attitude measurement are based on the assumption that attitudes can be measured by the opinions or beliefs of persons. According to the behaviorist definition, attitudes are interpreted as overt displays or responses to stimuli. Based on this, there are techniques to assess or measure attitudes through different psychological or overt behavior measurements. However, these methods are focusing on only one component of attitude which is called the affective cognitive component and it is mainly measured through questionnaire. Lammervo (2007: 24) identifies two kinds of attitude measurements by inferring from different scholars. These are the direct and indirect methods of attitude measurements.

The direct method is asking direct questions about respondents self description and their view about something. One of this direct method stated in Lammervo's research is the Osgood method. This method is employed to measure the degree of feelings and perceptions about concepts. The Osgood semantic differential method was developed from research on the connotative meanings of words Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, (1957) cited in Lammervo (2007). The procedure have subjects judge a particular concept evaluating with seven-point scales, such as scales from 'good' to 'bad', 'strong' to 'weak' and from 'fast' to 'slow', with a neutral midpoint. According to the explanation, this method has its own merits and demerits. According to Lamerevo (2007), the main advantage of this approach is that the researcher does not have to construct questions for each attitude that is studied. A disadvantage is that the measure can be too simple, and it may not be clear how a concept's meaning for a person is related to the opinion statements they make regarding it Vaughan and Hogg (2002: 114); In the direct methods of attitudinal measurements, it is expected that everyone can express and tell true self description and can have their feelings. However, it is has its own failures in self descriptions and telling their true self feelings. Self-description measures assume that the person who responds is able and motivated to disclose his or her true attitudes. "However, there is evidence that there are tendencies to attitude misrepresentation, e.g. tendencies to give socially desirable answers" Stahlberg and Frey (1989: 150-151). To some extent, people may not possess clearly stated attitudes towards an attitude object, and therefore they should be asked to describe themselves in one of the above scales. In measuring attitudes via self description, it is also important to observe other external factors that lead the respondents to describe their personality and personal feelings this way or that way.

The other method to measure attitude is the indirect method. This attempt tries to measure attitudes without the subjects being aware that their attitudes are being investigated. In cases of measuring a physiological reaction the subjects may be aware of attitude measurements but are not able to alter their response Lammervo (2007:27). Like other methods of attitude measurements, this method has its own failures. According to Lammervo (2007: 27-28) another way to measure attitude is to watch what people do, as their behavior can be an indication of their attitudes. Lammervo also writes about the difficulties within this method as follows; Interpreting attitudes from eye contact and body posture can be ambiguous. Some methods

crudely mislead the subjects in order to encourage them to reveal the most embarrassing attitudes.

Based on these assumptions of different scholars, for this research, direct method of attitudinal measurement have been employed because this research is intended to investigate language attitude with other social values of the speech community not their inner psychology. Almost all of the questions about attitude are likert-scale type of questions. The basic notion is to see what behavioral conditions do the Berta speech communities have.

## **2.2.Language Use Patterns**

This section is incorporated as a sub-section in to the review part, because one of the main concerns of this study is on language use and language choice of Berta people. It is necessary to explore the factors that lead the speakers to use Arabic and/or Berta. This section therefore presents reviews on language use specifically in the bilingual settings.

As far as my reading is concerned, there is no concrete and clear definition of language use. “In the case of language choice, such a concrete definition is not forthcoming, although there does seem to be a general consensus on the process or action of choice” Coronel (2009:15). Therefore, scholars gave different, but related definitions about language choice/language use patterns of a community. The variation among scholars in defining language choice is determined by their view of the factors that contributes for people’s preferences. Appel and Muysken (1987) see language choice from different perspectives and define as follows. They presented as perspectives from which language choice may be viewed, and the dominant concept which each perspective entails: “societal perspective (domains); language perspective (diglossia); the speaker's perspective (decision tree); interactional perspective (accommodation); and functional perspective (functional or specialization)” Appel and Muysken (1987:22).

Sridhar, as cited in Coronel (2009:15), limits his conception of language choice to bilinguals, and language choice is manifested as code switching from situation to situation (although some also talk of code-switching or code-mixing within a single speech event). To account for other researchers' descriptions, who also include monolinguals in their views of language choice, the word "language" could be changed to "code", in which case both monolinguals and bilinguals

would be considered: a speaker must determine the social and personal parameters of a given speech situation to determine which code (i.e., language, dialect, register) to use.

According to Bentahila (1983), language choice can be affected by different factors like societal structures and social benefits they can get for using that language or language variety. “The choice of language may be influenced by factors relating to the individual speaker, to the particular languages and their associations, or to aspects of the social situation. It seems likely that a particular choice may be influenced by a number of variables, possibly of differing weights” Bentahila (1983:51-52). Coronel (2009:11) supports this concept as “People make linguistic choices for various purposes. Individuals and groups choose words, registers, styles and languages to suit their various needs concerning the communication of ideas, the association with and separation from others, the establishment or defense of dominance”.

Some scholars like Fasold, Coronel, Edward and others define language choice based on how a speech community can make language choice among different language or within a single language. Fasold has identified three types of language choice. “(1) “whole languages”, or the choice between two languages in a conversation; i.e., code-switching. (2) Code-mixing, “where pieces of one language are used while a speaker is basically using another language”; these pieces can be single words, or short phrases. (3) Variation within the same language” (Fasold 1987:180-181).

For Hsi-nan Yeh, Hui-chen Chan and Yuh-show Cheng (2004:4), there are three results of language choice. “(1) language maintenance; a community chooses to continue using the language that has been previously used, (2) language shift; a community decided to adopt another language and abandon a language that traditionally used and (3) coexistence of language shift and maintenance”. This is how a speech community can decide to choose language/s/ or language varieties.

Gal (1979), has discussed about the bilingualism and language choice among Oberwart speech communities. She has dealt with the nature of language choice, factors that contribute for their language choice and other issues within the speech community. In her research Gal (1979:97-98), she has observed the following about Oberwart community. In any of their speech

individuals choose from the languages available to them. There is variation in the range of their language choice and the variability is determined by different factors. “It is more useful to extend to language choice a model of variation derived from recent theories that link synchronic linguistic heterogeneity to diachronic change. In this way it is possible to describe Oberwart's present patterns of language choice so that they can be understood as both the products of social-historical forces and the sources of future changes in language choice”. She has concluded that their language choice is socially affected than style shifting since the significant variability is the attitude that they have for the languages and the speakers of those languages.

Gal (1979: 287) argues that the analysis of language choice in bi- and multilingual settings remains a crucial endeavor in sociolinguistic research. Gal (1979) claims that the concept as early attempts by linguists and sociologists to describe language use in general quantitative terms have failed to account for the evident heterogeneity across communities, individuals and occasions. Theoretically refined tools are needed to explain why language X is used in situation x, and why language Y is used in situation y.

The speaker's ability to choose the appropriate variety for any particular purpose is part of his or her communicative competence; the choice is not random, but has been shown to be determined by aspects of the social organization of the community and the social situation where the discourse takes place. Lüpke (2013:14) “African particularly West African linguistic and sociolinguistic situation is challenged by conundrums involving in relationships between languages, social groupings and cultures”. Likewise in Ethiopia, there is a hybrid of language and culture in many settings.

Language use is not free from factors that can affect the individuals or speech community at large. Based on societal values and status of the language or language varieties, individuals might have positive or negative perceptions of that language or language varieties. David (2006) cited in Qawar and Dweik (2015: 4) language choice is triggered by factors such as social status, gender, educational attainment, ethnicity, age, occupation, rural and urban origin of the speakers as well as speakers, topic, place, media and formality of the situation. Moreover, Qawar and Dweik (2015: 5) explains that people make linguistic choices for various purposes. Individuals and groups choose words, registers, styles, and languages to suit their various needs concerning

the communication of ideas, the association with and separation from others, the establishment or defense of dominance. Researchers in the area of language use patterns have identified different factors for language use patterns. However, many of them focused on three factors only. According to Bichani (2015: 14-15), these are domain, interlocutors and topic. They are going to be discussed in the following:

Language choice can occur at different linguistic levels that can range from phonemic level to pragmatic level. Indirectly it is all about code switching and code mixing among languages or language varieties. Li (1994:6); "language choice may occur at several different levels, ranging from small scale phonetic variables such as the ones studied by Labov (1966, 1972a) in Coronel (2009:14) to large scale discourse patterns such as address systems, conversation routines (e.g., greetings and partings), politeness strategies, and of course choices between languages."

The two sides of a coin language shift and language maintenance are a collective result of language choice. As discussed above, language attitude is a factor for language choice so it is possible to decide that language attitude has indirect influence on language shift. Fasold (1987: 213): "Language shift and, the other side of the coin, language maintenance are really the long-term, collective results of language choice. Language shift simply means that a community gives up a language in favor of another one. The members of the community, when the shift has taken place, have collectively chosen a new language where an old one used to be used."

Language choice might have relation with code switching and code mixing if we consider how a speech community is treating their bi/multilingualism. According to Romaine (1995:12), language choice refers to it as alternation or code-switching, "the extent to which the individual alternates between the two languages. Earlier, she comments, "practically all the communities where switching and mixing of languages occurs it is stigmatized". At the pragmatic level, all linguistic choices can be seen as indexical of a variety of social relations, rights and obligations which exist and are created between participants in a conversation. "There is an almost one-to-one relationship between language choice and social context, so that each variety can be seen as having a distinct place or function within the local speech repertoire" Coronel (2009:16).

The Berta are living in a place which is multilingual. There are different languages spoken in the region including Amharic which is lingua-franca in the region. These people have the chance to language choice from Berta which their first language, Arabic which is their second language, Amharic which is working language in the region and from some other languages such as Affan Oromo. So the above literature is very essential since there is language use data analysis in chapter four.

### **2.2.1. Domain**

In a given speech community, people might vary their style of language mood and the variety or language that they use to communicate with different people in different settings. The way they speak to religious people may not be the same as the way they talk to other people, the way they speak to teachers may not be the same as the way they talk to their peers and this is directly reflects the domain of language. According to Spolsky, (2012) and Fishman (1972) cited in Bichani 2015: 15-16) domain refers to the concept that each language or variety of language is assigned to particular function or space and particular participants in the society, such as language used in the work domain, family domain or religious domain, etc. In the explanation, Fishman illustrates that the home and the neighborhood are believed to be the domains where the minority language is more often used. Following the language domain theory of Fishman (1965), language speakers in ethnic minority communities associate certain languages with specific domains. For example, the language used at home, or within a neighborhood, may be different from the language used at school or work.

Romaine (1995:30) by referring from Fishman, Cooper and Ma (1971), she has identified five domains in language use. Identifies five specific domains in which either Spanish or English was consistently used. "These domains served as anchor points for distinct value systems embodied in the use of Spanish as opposed to English. A domain is an abstraction which refers to a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings and role relationships. Each of these domains carried different expectations for using Spanish or English." The main point is that an appropriate language for a given domain is a value judgment.

Troike (1989:50-54) discussed the following about language choice, domain analysis and their relationships. According to her, given the multiple varieties of language available within the communicative repertoire of a community, and the subset of varieties available to its subgroups and individuals, speakers must select a code and interaction strategy to be used in any specific context. Knowing the alternatives and the rules for appropriate choice from among them are part of speakers' communicative competence". The concept of *domain* plays an important role in her explanation of linguistic choice, and she uses Fishman's (1971:587) definition of domain: "a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a speech community". Other elements that can play a role in language/variety choice include *focus* of the interaction (e.g., societal-institutional vs. social-psychological); *topic* of the conversation; *setting* and *participants* of the interaction. "Rules for language choice are usually not consciously formulated by native speakers.

Language use can be analyzed from different perspectives the first one focuses on people's behavior, perception and categorization of each of the languages and it is called sociological perspective, the second one is a perspective about people's state of mind to choose a certain language or language varieties and it is called psychological perspective and the final one is the anthropological perspective in which its main concern is about the influence of external factors like culture Hasi-nan et al (2004:6). For Fishman (1965), domain analysis is a system that classifies one language as more appropriate than any other language in a certain domain. Taking Fishman's model, Greenfield (1972) conducted domain analysis research on Puerto Rican bilinguals. He has concluded that in New York city, Spanish which is taken as lower language is used in the family domains while in higher domains such as employment and education, English is used.

Sridhar (1996:121) on the other hand considers domain analysis as on factor of language choice and suggests the following. "In a heterogeneous speech community, with varying degrees of linguistic diversity and social complexity, speakers are interacting by using different speech varieties drawn from a repertoire of choices which for the most part are not random. On the contrary, the distribution of usage of these choices is determined by several factors in the social

communicative system of the community”. Language domains are a very important concept in explaining/defining language choice.

### **2.2.2. Interlocutors**

Another factor that can influence language choice or language use pattern is the nature of participants or speakers of the language or language varieties. Researchers conducted research on how gender, age, social status and other elements of the speakers affect language choice. Language choice is obviously influenced by the nature of interlocutors. Harris (2006) in Bichani (2015: 15-16) lists three patterns while investigating the linguistic behavior of ethnic minority communities in the suburbs of London: one with parents, which usually involved a mixed language of mainstream and minority languages, one with siblings which mainly involved using the mainstream language, and one with grandparents, which was mainly the minority language. The participants justified the extensive use of their minority languages with grandparents and elder relatives as showing respect and making their parents proud because they (the parents) had succeeded in enabling their children to maintain the mother tongue (Bichani 2015: 16).

### **2.2.3. Topic**

Language choice can also be influenced by the type of topic under discussion. Certain topics are somehow handled better in one language than in another, in particular multilingual contexts Fishman (2000), Lawson and Sachdev (2004) in Bichani (2015: 16) point out that Bengali was used with topics related to family issues, while English was mostly used while discussing school matters in their research conducted on Turkish and Iranian migrants in the Netherlands.

Scholars like Wei (1994) discussed the case of topic in language choice in a detailed way. Two basic components micro-societal and macro-societal have been mentioned in the research. In macro-societal terms, language choice is structured and systematically follows the social structures of the bilingual community. The micro perspective, on the other hand, suggests that language choice tends to follow speakers’ reactions to the behavior of other actors in a particular context Wei (1994).

Wei (1994: 23) identifies two approaches for each of micro-societal and macro-societal concepts and discusses them in detail. For the micro-societal component he mentions complementary distribution approach and conflict model approach. According to his explanation, the first approach claims that all of the languages or language varieties in a linguistic community are employed to serve a certain function. Therefore, languages, or varieties, are assigned to a number of functions which complement each other to construct a consistent bilingual system. The conflict model, on the other hand, proposes that the two languages, or varieties, are not equal with regard to social position; hence, they are in a continuously competitive situation, unlike in the complementary model.

Accommodation theory and social network approach are two approaches developed by Wei (1994: 24-25). The former theory says that “speakers tend to accommodate their speech to persons whom they like or whom they wish to be liked. this theory can provide a potential explanation for members of minorities choosing to use the mainstream language as a way of assimilating within the new community, which in turn could result in language shift Myers-Scotton, (2006: 131) cited in Bichani (2015:21) argues about the social network factors that it may influence language choice. According to this theory, “There is a dialectic relationship between speakers’ linguistic behaviors and [their] interpersonal relations.” According to these scholars, in multilingual settings, therefore, language choice is affected by, and affects, the speakers’ social interactions and researchers can investigate their participants’ linguistic identities by considering the identities of those with whom they interact.

In the above three sub-topics of language use, the concepts designed by Fishman (1965) has been justified. Fishman stated that language use lays on WH questions like what language, with whom, for what end and why. In the language use section of this research, these issues are going to be adressed.

### **2.3. Language Contact Phenomena**

Many countries in the world are bilingual and multilingual and there is a tendency of language contact within bilingual and multilingual settings. “In virtually every country in the world at the inception of the 21st century, linguistic minorities can be found. These have arisen both through

immigration and through the adoption – often, but not always, imposition – of languages not previously spoken by local populations” Sankoff (2001: 4-5). According to him, language contact is the result of social interactions. Sankoff (2001: 7) argues that though “this has led in hundreds of cases to language loss and to a reduction of linguistic diversity, language contact is part of the social fabric of everyday life for hundreds of millions of people the world over”.

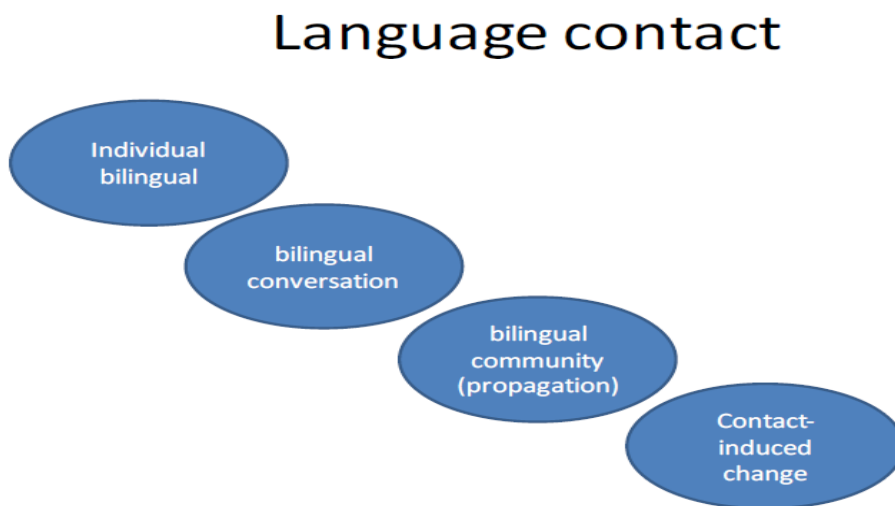
The linguistic outcomes of language contact Sankoff (2001: 9), are determined in large part by the history of social relations among populations, including economic, political and demographic factors. Language contacts may take place under the conditions of social inequality resulting from wars, conquests, colonialism, slavery, and migrations. Relatively benign contacts involving urbanization or trade as a contact motivation are also documented, as are some situations of relative equality Sankoff (2001: 6-7). Linguists who are interested in language contact are motivated to know about the extent of social forces and the linguistic outcomes from these social forces. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) in Sankoff (2001: 3) discussed the dimensions and directionalities of social forces that led to language contact among bilingual or multilingual communities. They come up with two basic concepts of directionalities. Thomason & Kaufman envision two alternative directions in which language contact can go, resulting in two distinct linguistic processes: borrowing and substratum interference. Having made this distinction, referred to social factors as their second dimension by setting up a scale of *relative pressure* of one group (one language) on another language, there is always borrowing among the distinct languages. This concept brings the macro level which is language and the micro level that is individual speakers together. In this respect, Thomason and Kaufman in Sankoff (2001) correlate the two levels and their tacit assumptions are that (a) individual speakers can be characterized in terms of native and second languages, and (b) that groups or communities, as collectivities of such individual speakers, are relatively homogeneous in this regard or at least, that one can abstract away from differences internal to the speech community.

Related to the functions of languages within bilingual or multilingual communities, both or all languages might not be equally functional. A speech community may not use the languages separately at the same time. This could be employed by mixing and switching or by alternating

and replacing. Therefore, in language contact situations, there can be code-switching, borrowing and alternation. These concepts will be looked in the following section.

“Manifestations of language contact are found in a great variety of domains, including language acquisition, language processing and production, conversation and discourse, social functions of language and language policy, typology and language change, and more” Matras (2009:1). So if the determinants of language contact are like this, the participants in language contact starts from individual and goes from community to community. The following figure represents how individuals are involved in language contact processing.

Figure 2. 1 Process of language contact induced change taken from Matras (2009)

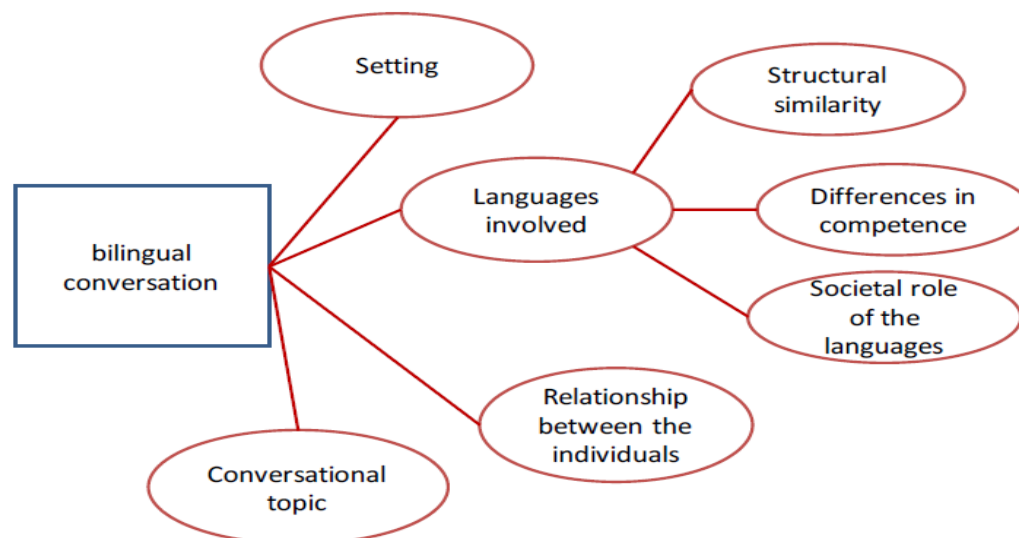


From the figure, it is possible to see that individual bilinguals cause bilingual conversation with their interlocutors. This bilingual individual’s conversation in its turn creates bilingual community that results in language contact induced change. These bilingual individuals will have different reasons to be bilingual. Matras (2009) has mentioned different reasons that make individuals to be bilingual that includes identity, gender, age, membership, economic case, social interactions and so on.

The other precondition for language contact is bilingual conversation. According to Muysken (2013), though there is bilingualism in a speech community, if there is no setting and condition for bilingual conversation, bilingualism a community may not be resulted in language contact.

The conversational conditions can be determined by different preconditions like the topic of their talk, the historical or cultural relations in the community, linguistic similarity of the languages. This concept has been summarized in the figure below. Relation between bilingual group and each of the larger language communities. Muysken (2013) summarized this concept as follows.

Figure 2. 2 Bilingual conversations from Muysken (2013)



If we talk about causes of language contact this much, now it is time to talk about the outcomes of language contact. If two languages X and Y are in contact, then language Z might be created or there will be at least a different communication code. Van (1988) discussed about the cause that leads to bilingualism and its outcome. According to Van, if there is a case of recipient language agentive then it will result in recipient language dominant bilingual while if there is a case of source language agentive, then it results in source language dominant bilingual.

In general, language contact can be resulted in different linguistic and non-linguistic features. If we look at non-linguistic features, it includes, cultural, identity and social losses whereas the linguistic ones are code switching, code mixing, borrowing, pidgin, Creole and contact language. Musken (2013) presented this concept as follows.

### 2.3.1. Code-Switching

What is code-switching and how can we study code-switching? Alternating between languages is often not as clear-cut as a division of one language for one situation. Speakers also alternate between codes during one situation or speech act, both deliberately and accidentally Myers-Scotton, (1993) cited in Lamervo (2007:49), “code-switching is an extremely common characteristic of bilingual speech. There is considerable variation among individuals and community at large about code-switching. Some considers it as ill-mannered and ungrammatical while others consider it as common phenomena.” Some monolinguals have had a very negative attitude towards code-switching, which they see as a grammarless mixture of two languages, a jargon or gibberish that is an insult to the monolingual’s own rule- governed language Grosjean, (1982) cited in Lammervo (2007:50). Bilinguals themselves who produce this speech are often not aware of switching, and consider themselves to have spoken only one language in a situation when in fact they did switch Lammervo (2007: 50-51), social stigma has been attached to this way of speaking by the community itself (ingroup) as well as outgroup members in most communities where attitudes to code-switching have been studied.

Regarding the meaning of the term *code-switching* there are different assumptions among linguists. Some of them consider it as code-mixing and use it alternatively while others separate and use it distinctively. Sometimes code-switching and code-mixing are distinguished, the former meaning switching between clauses or sentences, the latter within clause or sentences Appel and Muysken, (1987) cited in Lammervo (2007: 51). Sometimes both terms are used to indicate any situation of alternation among languages. According to Gumperz’ (1982: 59): code switching is “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems”. The ‘code’ is taken to include not just different languages but also varieties of the same language and styles within a language.

There are also studies that confuse language borrowing with code mixing. However, Hickey (2010:1) clearly distinguishes the two stating “in languages, borrowing implies that one language takes something from another language and makes it into a permanent part of its own system”. According to Hickey, unlike borrowing of an object from another person, the borrowing of a linguistic form or concept from another language is not implied to be temporary. This is one of

the main differences between borrowing and code-switching. Moreover, borrowing typically involves phonological adaptation of borrowed words into the target language and speakers who are not bilinguals with the source language use it in their daily speech.

The phenomena of code-switching and code-mixing of languages have long intrigued scholars who have examined what triggers such occurrences (Muysken, 2000 and Wei 2005). However, most research has been in face-to-face communication. Such studies suggest that research needs to examine the different facets of code switching and code-mixing in contexts, by keeping in mind cultural differences.

The distinction between code-switching and code-mixing is one of the most puzzling debates in the study of code alternation. Clyne (1991:161) argues that code-switching and code-mixing refer to the same phenomena in “which the speaker stops using language ‘A’ and employs language ‘B’”. Romaine (1995:34) views code-switching as a phenomenon that occurs in a continuum where both inter-sentential and intra-sentential code alternation takes place. Other researchers make the distinction between code-switching and code mixing based on the place where the alternation occurs. Wei (1998) cited in Bichani (2015: 26) notes that if code alternation occurs at or above clause level, it is considered code-switching, but if it occurs below clause level then it is considered code-mixing. These are the definitions that we adopt for the current study. While the term code-switching emphasizes a multilingual speaker's movement from one grammatical system to another, the term code-mixing suggests a hybrid form, drawing from distinct grammars. In other words, code-mixing emphasizes the formal aspects of language structures or linguistic competence, while code-switching emphasizes linguistic performance.

The types of alternation have also been categorized in different ways. The current study will investigate the connection between attitudes and the way informants speak i.e. what types of alternation take place. Code-switches can be tag-switches, inter-sentential or intra-sentential. Tag-switching involves the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in the other language Lammervo (2007: 54-55). Some scholars like Romaines (1995) argues that code-switching and borrowing are in similar circumstance or part of the same phenomena. Still some other researchers such as Poplack (1989) and Myers-Scotton (1993) cited in Lammervo (2007: 50-51) argue in different ways and suggest the following; borrowing – to

distinguish established loans from one-word items accidentally borrowed into speech and moreover, absolute and relative frequency as ways of distinguishing a loan word from a switch.

Code-switching is not a casual phenomena and models or frames have been developed by considering where and when the switching is taking place. The Free Morpheme Constraint and the Equivalence Constraint were introduced by Poplack (1980) cited in Lammervo (2007), the Free Morpheme Constraint predicts that a switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the lexical form has been phonologically integrated into the language of the morpheme. The Equivalence Constraint predicts that switches will tend to occur at points where the juxtaposition of elements from the two languages does not violate the syntactic rule of either language.

Why do people mix and switch codes of different languages or language varieties? One reason is that because it is one a discursive mood or communicative option Lammervo (2007: 52).

In addition to making solidarity and strong membership among a speech community, taking a code from one language to the other one has greater power to change attitude. When one took a code from another language, the owner of that language might feel belongingness of the speaker who took the code. “Fourth, a change of language code may also signal changes of attitude during the conversation” Hickey (2010:8).

### **2.3.2. Borrowing**

Defining “borrowing” is problematic because researchers use different terminologies to refer to a number of different language contact phenomena and it is difficult to find a generally accepted terminology. The definition given by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 36-37) in their pioneering work on contact-induced change has been very influential in the past decade and is therefore probably a good starting point. Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 37) define borrowing as follows: “Borrowing is the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features.”

As it is noted from the works of Bloomfield (1933), Haugen (1956) and Weinreich (1953) cited in Lammervo (2007), that language contact was established as a new research field in the twentieth century. And its first focus was mainly on lexical borrowing. This may be due to the fact that lexical borrowing is frequent in the languages of the world. Borrowing is more of lexical and it is less in grammar or phonetics. Regarding this idea, Lammervo (2007: 55) says that the fact that words are more likely to be borrowed than structural elements, and states that the vocabulary of a language, considerably more loosely structured than its phonemics or its grammar, is beyond question the domain of borrowing.

Researchers agree that lexical borrowing is widespread and very common in the languages of the world, but the presence of structural borrowing has been still debatable among scholars. The first well organized and deep investigation on the issue of language contact especially on borrowing has been conducted by Thomason and Kaufman. Their (1988) work, represents a turning point in language contact research, and their research is the first study which offers a comprehensive framework for the analysis of a wide range of language contact phenomena, such as borrowing, interference and convergence, and of contact languages, such as pidgins, creoles and mixed languages.

Borrowing might have its own values for language change. According to Lammervo (2007), in bilingual or multilingual individuals or speech communities, borrowing gradually may lead them to change part of their language codes, styles, utterances and so forth. When a common second language is learned and used by a group of people – whether immigrants or by virtue of the introduction of a new language to a resident population – they often find themselves introducing second-language lexical items into conversation with fellow bilinguals in their original first language.

Often donor languages are considered as a language of civilization like that of English today. Sometimes dead languages can be donor languages and most languages which are alive can borrow and make lexicons taken from dead languages as their common vocabulary. Other common donor languages are the ones that play a central role within great civilizations. Chinese borrowings are particularly numerous in Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese and other East and South-East Asian languages. Arabic borrowings are equally numerous in Urdu, Persian, Turkish,

Swahili, Fula, and a large number of other languages of Muslim cultures in Asia and Africa Hickey (2010). In such contexts, even dead languages may function as donor languages. Some dead languages, like Classical Chinese and Sanskrit, are only dead in the sense that they no longer function as anybody's mother tongue.

In borrowing there are loan words that could be adapted to the indigenous language. These loans have different forms. Hickey (2010: 3-4) identified three types of indirect loans.

1. An indigenous form acquires a new meaning in order to translate a foreign concept. For instance, the Chinese word *dìng*, which originally meant 'fixed; stable', was (and is) used by Buddhists to translate the Sanskrit term *samādhi*, referring to a state of meditative absorption. Such examples are called loanshifts (also known as semantic loans).
2. A foreign composite form is translated directly, element by element. For instance, the Chinese word *lán-méi* 'blueberry' is borrowed from English; it is a compound of the words *lán* 'blue' and *méi* 'berry'. Such examples are called loan translations (also known as calques).
3. A new composite form based on indigenous elements is created to translate a foreign concept. For instance, the Chinese word for computer is *diànnǎo*, which literally means 'electric brain'. Such examples are called loan creations.

The other element that might be functional to take a code from one language to another one is affixes. Affixes can be either derivational or inflectional depending on their impact on the word. From these two, derivational affixes can be easily borrowed than inflectional affixes. According to Hickey (2010), Derivational affixes (prefixes and suffixes used to derive one word from another, like the English *pre-* of *prepaid* and *-ness* of *weakness*), are often borrowed the Latin prefix *pre-* being one example of a borrowed derivational prefix in English. Finally a language can borrow a sound that carries a word and it will change the other sound/sounds in the indigenous language. “The **sound system** of one language may be changed through borrowing from another language. This usually happens through the borrowing of words that carry the new sounds with them, as when Japanese introduces the voiced fricative [v] in English loanwords like *vegetarian* and *vaioirin*” Hickey (2010:6).

### **2.3.3. Language Maintenance and Shift**

No language is stagnant and there will be modification, changes and replacements within or across languages. In language shift, one language is gradually replaced by another language in a minimum of one domain of life Clyne (2003) cited in Bichani (2015: 24-25). The way of replacement might not be an accident or it may not have appeared over night rather it is a gradual phenomenon and speech communities will not be aware of the change. Language maintenance, on the other hand, is a term used to describe a situation when a speech community keeps using the language in one life domain or more, although contact occurs with the mainstream language Pauwels (2004) cited in Bichani (2015: 27).

A number of language shift studies have been conducted on ethnic minorities, where the mainstream language that means the dominant one spoken by the majority is in daily contact with the language spoken by the ethnic minority communities. Regarding the causes of language shift, scholars have different views in which some argues that language shift occurs during migration and post migration. According to Fishman (1991) and Holmes (2001) cited in Bichani (2015), certain political, economic and social changes can cause language shift in a non-migrant community. To justify the issue, both Fishman and Holmes illustrate the idea with examples as follows as it has been cited in Bichani (2015); For example, in relation to the Maori in New Zealand the shift is a result of the contact between two languages, with one (English) being more powerful than the other.

Following Fishman (1991), studying language shift and collecting data for language shift is not an easy task for researchers because of different reasons. Firstly the gradual and slow process of language shift, researchers experience difficulties in collecting data before and after the shift occurs. Secondly the systems and methods to collect data and to make censuses are not reliable, because they are mostly managed by institutions with vested interests of one kind or another. He also justified that the questions, the nature of the interviewees and the data may also serve a particular institution's agenda, and this may influence the accuracy of the data. Questionnaires can help to examine language use, proficiency as well as attitudes to the language. In addition, observing language choices in a speech community and the reasons behind these choices is

another method of examining language shift/maintenance Pauwels (2004) cited in (Bichani 2015).

Appel & Muysken (1987:32-33) discussed about the gradual movement of language shift. According to their justification, language shift or language loss is not an event that can be occurred over night rather it will take generation and above. Such a process [of language shift] seems to be going on in many bilingual communities. More and more speakers use the majority language in domains where they formerly spoke the minority tongue. They adopt the majority language as their regular vehicle of communication, often mainly because they expect that speaking that language gives better chances for upward social mobility and economic success. Moreover, Appel & Muysken have dealt about the direction of language shift and said that most of the researchers involved in language contact and language shift argue that bilingual speakers are shifting from speaking the minority language to the majority one. However Appel & Muysken (1987:32) argued in different way and conclude the following. "Sometimes it seems that 'shift' can be equated with 'shift towards the majority or prestigious language', but in fact 'shift' is a neutral concept, and also shift towards the extended use of the minority language can be observed". Similarly, Batibo (2005) minority languages often shift to more dominant languages of a region, but don't necessarily shift to official or ex-colonial languages.

Baker (1996) give another definition of language shift that relates language shift to downward move in the number of speakers, their language proficiency, the usage of the language in the community and so on. This downward movement might be caused by different social factors and Baker (1996:44) presents as "Some factors influencing language shift include outmigration and in-migration, possible forced or voluntary movement of minority language groups within a particular geographical region, intermarriage between different language communities. "With the growth of mass communications, information technology, tourism, road, sea and air links, minority languages seem more at risk. Bilingual education, or its absence, will also be a factor in the ebb and flow of minority and majority languages".

Fasold (1987) concluded that language maintenance and language shift are overlapping phenomena but in the opposite direction. The first one is the act of continuing to use an old language while the second one is forgetting to use an old language. "In language *maintenance*,

the community collectively decides to continue using the language or languages it has traditionally used. When a speech community begins to choose a new language in domains formerly reserved for the old one, it may be a sign that language shift is in progress” Fasold (1987:214).

Unlike most of researchers who can see language shift at the community level and considers it a gradual phenomena, there are scholars who see language shift from individual speakers’ perspective. For those who considers language shift as a gradual phenomenon it is possible to say there is language shift among speech communities of a language, all the members of the that speech community should stop using their mother tongue in all of their activities. Jaspaert & Kroon (1988) in Coronel (2009:17) look at language contact in a different view and discusses the concept and notion of language contact and in one of the objectives of their project, they have mentioned a lot about language contact from the individual speakers point of view. ‘It is not the purpose of this project to study the intergenerational process of language shift, but the shift that takes place when individuals decide to use the newly acquired language instead of their mother tongue. Central to our understanding of the phenomenon is that shift can only occur in those instances in which the individual has a choice’ Jaspaert & Kroon (1988) in Coronel (2009:18). As it is seen from their observation that an Italian immigrant who used to speak Italian to the doctor in Italy now speaks Dutch to the doctor in the Netherlands [is interesting] from an intra-generational point of view when the doctor in the Netherlands also masters Italian.” Such a perspective does not follow the most commonly accepted definition of language shift, which certainly does have an intergenerational component, but rather conflates the term 'language shift' with the individual nature of language choice.

Another divergence regarding the nature of language shift is the case of its occurrence in a bilingual and monolingual community. Romaine (1995) is one of the scholars whose argument is that though most of the time language shift and language maintenance are considered in bi/multilingual settings, sometimes they will be found in a monolingual setting in case of diglossia. in some cases (not all), “language shift involves bilingualism (often with diglossia) as a stage on the way to monolingualism in a new language.” Key external factors which can influence (but not necessarily cause) language maintenance, shift or death include numerical

strength of the group in relation to other minorities and majorities, social class, religious and educational background, settlement patterns, ties with the homeland, degree of similarity between the minority and majority language, extent of exogamous marriage, attitudes of majority and minority, and patterns of language use” Romaine (1995:40-41).

There is still another consideration about language shift and language maintenance. Some scholars argued that language shift is caused by domains of language use rather than speakers that speaks it. One of these scholars is Schiffman (1990:1) cited in Coronel (2009) in which he states that ‘language shift occurs domain by domain (rather than speaker by speaker or community by community), until the abandoned language controls no domains at all’. Language use and language shift are overlapping each other. If one is switching to use one of the languages that he/she can speak, indirectly he/she is maintaining the language he/she uses and losing the other one. What the language treatment among Berta-Arabic bilinguals look like and how they use the two languages are going to be addressed and the above literature can give an insight about the theoretical aspects of the concept.

### **2.3.3.1. Types of Language Shift**

There are different classifications regarding types of language shift. Some investigators classify language shift in to four and others classify it in to two. For example, Tandefelt (1992: 150-151) differentiated four types of language shift; partial, total, macro- and micro-level shifts. Where the first refers to the on-going process of language shift in the community. The second indicates the “point of no return” in language shift. Macro-level shift refers to the language shift of the whole community, and finally, the micro-level shift refers to an individual’s linguistic behavior Clyne (2003) cited in Bichani (2015), on the other hand refers to two types of language shift as part of his investigation into linguistic behavior and the “dynamics of language shift” among migrants in Australia: intra-generational and inter-generational shift. The first refers to a shift within the same generation, and the second to language shift between the second and third generations of a migrant group which is more common.

### 2.3.3.2. Causes of Language Shift

There are different causes of language shift. One of the scholars who mentioned different factors for language shift is Baker and he said the following;

Baker (1996:42) the fate of languages is often related to the manipulated politics and power bases of different groups in society. Language shift (in terms of numbers of speakers and uses) occurs through deliberate decisions that directly or indirectly affect languages and reflects economic, political, cultural, social and technological change. It is therefore possible to analyze and determine what causes language shift rather than simply believing language shift occurs by accident. Thus, those who support an evolutionary perspective on languages may be supporting the spread of majority languages and the replacement of minority languages. Evolutionists who argue for an economic, cost-benefit approach to languages, with the domination of a few majority languages for international communication, hold a myopic view of the function of languages. Languages are not purely for economic communication. They are also concerned with human culture, human heritage, the value of a garden full of different colored flowers rather than the one variety.

Clay (2003) as cited in Bichani (2015: 24) on the other hand took migration as a major cause for language shift while others come across different causes for language shift. Fishman (1991: 57) has listed and discussed three main causes of language shift and I am going to discuss what Fishman has said about the type and nature of each language shift. The three main types of language shift in a community listed by Fishman are **A/** Physical and demographic dislocation, **B/** Social dislocation and **C/** Cultural dislocation. These are described as follows; the first one is physical and demographic dislocation. According to Fishman , this type of dislocation affects the whole linguistic community as it impacts on cultural, social and economic features of a community: physical and demographic arrangements have cultural and, therefore, language-in-culture consequences. In the study of language shift, the demographic factor plays greater role. The context of speech like (how, where, when to whom is the intended speech, and so forth) should be considered. The demographic features include where the language speakers live, how close they live to each other and how accessible the language institutions for speakers of various ages might be.

The physical and demographic factor can also be classified in to different categories based on different parameters. Physical and demographic factors can be classified into different categories. Some might be disastrous and sudden (i.e. natural disasters such as earthquakes), while others can be long lasting, such as severe and chronic droughts or famines Fishman (1991). They can also arise due to human conflicts such as wars, genocide or ethnic cleansing. More recently, urbanization has been found to have a huge impact on the speed of language shift Bichani (2015).

The second cause for language shift is social dislocation. Social dislocation is described by Fishman (1991: 61) as “a serious problem for the future of any ethno-cultural community.” Members of the socially dislocated community are often at a social disadvantage, due to a number of factors: their minority status, low incomes and limited access to educational and cultural institutions. Poor Communities that are or have a low educational level may be isolated from the society and, as a result, the community members may develop a negative attitude towards their own community, its culture and language. Therefore the minor speech community will adapt others language code and may tend to use that language which they think it is dominant and major. For example, according to Gal (1979) cited in Bichani (2015), young Hungarian women shifted from Hungarian to German in order to improve their socioeconomic status, as Hungarian was associated with peasant life in Austria. This eventually led to inter-generational language shift over many generations Gal.

Social dislocation creates confusion and dilemma among the speech communities and the indigenous people may be in controversies to choose their own language or to use others. Fishman (1991: 61), speakers of indigenous communities have to live with the dilemma of choosing between two goals. The first is to remain loyal to the original culture, i.e. not to be involved with the activities of the majority group. The other option is to integrate with the new community, which is likely to increase the speed of language shift.

The third and final type of language shift cause identified by Fishman (1991: 63) is cultural dislocation. This type of language shift might occur when the dominant group purposefully exercises its culture in a powerful way. According to him, some Reversing Language Shift (RLS) activists claim that democratic societies can also resist the maintenance of minority cultures,

because they undercut the very cultural and identity distinctions on which minority language maintenance must be based. Fishman points out that people in democratic communities eventually depend on the same media information and institutions (educational and cultural) which are mostly dominated by the majority, and by the most powerful group.

Geographic or social segregation, on the other hand, contributes to maintenance. The spread of modern technology and mass media are additional forces for social and linguistic integration. On this dimension, attitudes toward the desirability of change play a major role. Saviile-Troike (1989) studied the cause for language shift and draws a conclusion as follows. The social stratification of a community is also relevant, including the degree of access that speakers of low prestige languages and varieties have to those which are more prestigious, and to jobs which require their use. A third major area of consideration is values and world view. In a broad sense, this includes attitudes toward borrowing foreign words, and the value placed on uniqueness versus homogeneity" Saviile-Troike (1989:208-209). Factors involved in language maintenance or shift: "Stability of multiple languages in contact occurs where each has a unique domain she cited from Fishman (1972; 1985), and is thus reserved a continuing function in society. A second major consideration in language maintenance, shift, and spread is the social organization and ecology of the community or communities involved, and attitudes related to these factors. This may include the nature of their boundary mechanisms and political organization. It is not coincidental that the more 'visible' minority immigrants to the United States, who have encountered negative attitudes towards their assimilation from the dominant groups, are most likely to have maintained separate linguistic and cultural identity.

### **2.3.3.3.Linguistic Hybridization**

When two languages are in mixed usage and if they are in contact, there may be linguistic hybridization. The hybridization may range from basic linguistic elements to the abstract construction of the language. According to Sanchez (1970) language hybridizations can occur at all levels of language which may range from speech sound to texts and discourses. There may be sound hybridization, lexical hybridizations that may a result of two language futures. Researchers like Sanchez (1970) relate the concepts of language assimilation and language hybridization.

People may assimilate and use sounds of a language other than their first language. Speech sounds may be taken and replace originally existing sounds in the indigenous language. If a sound replaces another sound or if it is added to the existing sound system the indigenous language, it may not be considered as language hybridization. “Although originally foreign speech sounds may be included into a native system, this merely involves the addition of new items to a pre-existing entity, so that no parenting relation such as that required for hybridization can be recognized” Sanchez (1970: 137). Regarding morphemes or lexical hybridization, it is all about how new words can come to a language. This situation is related to the phenomena of code-mixing. According to Sanchez (2017), basically, there are three possible alternatives of hybridization in lexemes of a language: either new words are formed from scratch, or new words are formed on the basis of previously existing material, or they are borrowed from other languages.

#### **2.4. Language and Religion**

In this globalized era, it is impossible to think that there is religious language. Religion can play a greater role in changing and shaping our social identities and attitudes. It is ignored to study the relationship among language and religion, attitude and religion or identity and religion. But, this day, there are scholars who consider these issues. One of these scholars is Darquennes (2011). Darquennes stated that the field of language and religion is a very recent phenomenon in the field of sociolinguistics and it is not more than a decade. Even if it is emerged as field of study, it is difficult to develop a specific framework for language and religion.

Language and religion are being considered to be linked with basically language is involved in performing religious rituals. Myers-Scotton, (2006:21), have discussed by taking Hindi and Urdu, which both evolved from the Hindustani language. However, after the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947, Hindi became the language of India spoken by Hindus and other religious groups, using the Devanagari script, and Urdu is now spoken by Muslims in Pakistan. Urdu uses the Arabic script on account of its association with Islam. There are some languages that have been given religious status and they are considered by the people as if they are religious languages. “It is also the case that certain languages, (e.g. Arabic, Hebrew and Greek) are considered sacred languages because they are used in sacred rituals and religious books”

Bichani (2015:45). According to Rahimi (2011:5), language and religion have the following interactions.

There are many different points of view. Among them two points of view are to be discussed. In the first view a religious language is a distinct language which is used separately in some special situations, such as Hebrew in Jews, Arabic for Muslims. This view is not completely acceptable. In this respect, all Arab countries speak with religiousness, even when they are commonly conversing with each other for their routine affairs and so do Jews. Another problem with this statement is that it delimits the religious countries just to those countries which have a divine book and also those people who speak with the languages of those books such as Islam, Christian and Jew. Another point of view according to Donovan (1976) in Rahimi (2011) is that religious language is using specialist words like "Apocalypse", "Incarnation", "Revelation." This is more acceptable compared to the preceding notion. It's because a religious person, a religious sermon or a religious text necessarily needs specialist words.

Religion also has a link with identity particularly social identity. If religion matters identity, indirectly, it can determine attitude as well. If an individual or speech community is follower of a religion and if there is a language in which that religion performs ceremonies, then people will adapt positive attitude towards that language. So directly or indirectly, religion can have its own power on language attitude and language choice. "When studying the effect of religion on language, it is impossible to disregard the influence of religion on people's belief, values and language ideologies." Ali (2017:34). This study by Ali is all about religion and language use. Side by side, it deals with language ideologies and beliefs. According to Ali, some times, the influence of religion on language extends to search for the origion of language. For example, in the Arabic speech community of Sudan which has a link with Berta of Benishangul, any language other than Arabic is ruta'na which means non-religious. They believe that Arabic has been directly originated from God. Some scholars agreed that the language distribution is related to the expansion of religion. Ferguson (1982) as cited in Ali (2017:35-36), 'the distributions of major languages and their writing systems correlate more closely with the distributions of world's major religion than genetic/typological classifications of languages'.

## 2.5. Research Models

Even though there are no theoretical frame works, I have used models which are related to my present work. When sociolinguistic survey is conducted from a macro sociolinguistic point of view, many linguists study it by merging different interlinked sociolinguistics phenomena. From those linguists one of my models for this research is Ries (2011) approach. In his article, Ries focused on three basic concepts: language use, language contact and language attitude. He has developed different theoretical frames by referring different researchers. For the analysis of language contact phenomena and language alternation, he prefers the language contact research and the approaches of Carol Myers-Scotton (2006), Language Frame Model, Michael Clyne (2003), his term of transference Pieter Muysken (2000), his idea of congruent lexicalization and Peter Auer (1984) primarily his conversational approach to code switching. He also applied the research of Nina Berend (1998) above all her study to linguistic integration and for language use, he used Katharina Meng (2001) mainly her research on language use within family. By examining these works, he has conducted his research. I took this as one of my model since it is directly related to the concepts in my project.

Another one is a work by Lammerovo (2007). The central question of this research was to examine how in an immigrant context language contact and language choice corresponds to language attitude and background factors of first generation Australian Finns. In the details of her research, she has investigated language contact of the immigrants with respect to their language attitude and background information like language choice and their effort of language maintenance. Lammervo collected the data trough questionnaire, interview, focus group discussion and recordings. Questionnaires were distributed to collect data about language use and socio-economic factors where as conversations were recorded to have data on language attitude and language contact phenomena. Data was analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively.

The third work which is related to the present project is “The study of Language use, language attitude and identities in two Arabic speaking communities in the UK” by Bichani (2015). In the central point of the research, the researcher tried to discover patterns of language use, language

attitude, language proficiency and interactions among the two Arab groups. The researcher used questionnaire, interview, and participant observation and pilot tests on language proficiencies.

The other more related work is a work done by Dweik, Nofal and Qawshmeh. The research was conducted to examine language use and language attitude among Muslim Arabs of Vancouver/Canada. This research tried to relate language contact with language attitude and daily language usages of the speech community. To select samples, the researchers used convenience and availability sampling and selected seventy informants from Arabic speakers living in Canada. The samples were selected from different disciplines. Those who are considered to be knowledgeable of the language has been selected where network sampling technique is used. The main instrument that the researchers used was questionnaire and the questionnaire has three sections in which part of it was about demography of the respondents, the other part is about their language use in different domains and the rest of the questionnaire contains about their language attitude. The researchers have used five point likert-skale to test attitude of the speakers. The result of the research shows that, Arabic and English are used side by side in different domains. The respondents also pointed out that, they have positive attitudes towards their Arabic identity and Arabic language and still they are maintaining Arabic language.

Duan (2004) investigated language use and language attitudes of the Bai people in China. The research instruments included a questionnaire submitted for 252 subjects, informal interviews, and participant observation. Duan both quota sampling and systematic sampling were used to determine the research sample. The results of language use analysis demonstrated strong Bai language vitality and great potential in language maintenance. The results of language attitudes analysis demonstrated that the majority of Bai people interviewed have positive attitudes towards their language, culture, and related issues.

In the above sub-section, some researchers who conducted a research related to my topic are listed. Though everything in their research is not directly related to my research, the way they approach their study is somehow related to mine. So based on this, I have developed my research questionnaire, methodologies and literatures by taking the above scholars assumption as a model. In this research, the works by Lamerevo (2007), Bichani (2015), Coronel (2009), Rise

(2011) have been taken as models and majority of the questionnaires have been developed from them.

## **2.6. Related Works**

### **2.6.1. Sociolinguistic Works on some Ethiopian Languages**

The sociolinguistic studies about Ethiopia are rare. Though Ethiopia is a multilingual country, there is no abundant research in quantity and quality. However there are languages that have been surveyed by Ethiopian and foreign linguist researchers. I discovered around nine articles on Ethiopian languages and I am going to present some of them which are related to my forthcoming research.

Siebert (2002) conducted a sociolinguistic research on Dime classification. In this research, since the Garo in which Dime is spoken is remote, it was difficult to collect the data easily and he used helicopter for travelling. However, despite different natural and man-made problem, the researcher with his teams came up with ample linguistic and sociolinguistic data about the language. SLLE 320 item word list and sociolinguistic questionnaire and face-to-face interview have been used as a tool.

According to Siebert, different varieties of Dime are spoken and they are mutually intelligible. The Dime speakers use the language dominantly everywhere. His conclusion about their attitude is not clearly stated since the responses from elderly and young speakers vary. The majority of respondents argued that their language can be sustained, but still to be developed.

The other sociolinguistic survey work which has some connection with my own research is a survey conducted on the two Ethiopian languages Malo and Mursi by Siebert and Caudwell (2002). This research gives a lot of information about the two languages by focusing on different aspects of sociolinguistics. The two researchers tried to emphasize on language varieties, language use, language vitality and dialectal situation.

In order to gather the necessary data, the researchers used different tools like questionnaire, face-to-face interview and SLLE 320 item wordlist elicitation. The most commonly used methods of

data analysis, i.e. quantitative and qualitative methods have been used to draw conclusions from the collected data.

According to the result, Malo and Mursi areas are multilingual in which any Malo, Basketo, Gofa and Amharic are spoken. From the above languages, Gofa is spoken within the family very commonly while it is less used outside of the family. Their attitude is positive for Malo, Basketo and Gofa, but negative for Amharic. However, it is difficult to determine for which one of the above three they have high attitude because they recognize them equally. Related to language vitality and development, they prefer to see Gofa language being developed. As the researchers have conclude, there is no village where Malo is spoken differently. But, these days, some of its features are changing due to the influence of other languages.

Regarding studies of the languages of the region, up to now most linguists focused on orthography, lexicography and to some extent, on their structure. Shinash, Gumuz and Berta respectively are studied better than Mao and Komo.

One of the works on sociolinguistics aspect of the region is a research conducted by Siebert et.al(2002) on the Assosa-Begi areas. Though the topic says Assosa-Begi area, it is more concerned on Mao and Komo languages. These languages are spoken around Assosa town particularly in Begi and Homosha. The data were collected on two trips to the area and the researchers brought native speakers from different corners of the region to the town of Assosa.

Siebert and et al. (2002: 7ff), roughly surveyed these languages and their speech communities. Basically, the research was designed firstly to collect word lists in order to explain their historical and anthropological developments and secondly to collect sociolinguistic information in order to know the status of these languages. The necessary data were collected by using sociolinguistic questionnaire, interview and focus group discussion.

Following Siebert et al. (2002), Mao and Komo people are multilingual. The speakers are familiar with at least two of the languages of Amharic, Oromo or Arabic in addition to their own languages. At home, with their family and with their friends, they use their own language while outside of the home they tend to switch to one of the other languages accordingly. In religion

matters, Arabic is dominantly used. This day, Mao and Komo languages are influenced by the Oromo language and they lost some of their features.

Most Mao and Komo speakers are farmers and illiterates at least at the time of the research by Siebert. Their language did not serve as a medium of instruction and still it does not. In the earlier times, Amharic was serving as their medium of instruction but today, it has been replaced by Oromo language. Speakers of both languages have a positive attitude towards their language. Towards the Oromo language, their attitude is ambivalent it ranges from neutral to rejection whereas they have positive and highly positive attitudes towards Amharic and Arabic respectively.

### **2.6.2. Studies on Berta Language**

There are few works done on Berta phonology, morphology and very little on grammar. Related to sociolinguistic aspects of Berta, nothing concrete has been published so far except some works related to its dialects and some sociological and anthropological issues.

The first work that I have got on Berta is a sketch phonological work done by Neudorf (2008: 5-7). According to him, Berta is a tonal language with 26 consonant phonemes. There is no “plain” voiceless stop series. The ejectives /pʼ, kʼ/ are weakly glottalized and often approach /p, k/ in realization. The dental fricative /θ/ seems to fill the position of the missing /tʼ/ in the stop series. Neudorf (2008: 4) identified five vowels in Berta with each having tense and lax allophones. /i, e, a, o, u/ are vowel phonemes. Tense vowels: [i:, e:, a:, o:, u:] Lax vowels: [i, ε, ə, ɔ, u] The use of tense or lax varieties is conditioned by stress and or tone, but the relationship has not yet been worked out. The other information in this work focused on grammatical aspects of Bertha language. In this research, though it is very shallow, he tried to touch up different aspects of the language. The first thing in his research is about consonant and vowel sounds though there is no difference from other linguists. Different word classes like noun, verb, adjective, adverb and others have been identified. In addition to these, cases like dative, nominative, accusative and other types of cases have been listed. Moreover, phrase structures and structuring words to construct sentences are part of this study.

Another significant work which was done on the language is the dictionary by Neudorf et al. (2008). In the dictionary, beyond the information about the vocabularies, some phonological, morphological and syntactic information are given on how to utter words, how to split morphemes and how NP and VP are constructed. Moreover, it gives some clue about the instruction between Bertha and Arabic languages and shows us some phonemes taken from Arabic language. There is still another interesting work by Neudorf (2015:93-112). This extract is about the use of body part lexemes in Berta language. The paper introduces an interesting verbal construction namely a verb in close combination with a body part noun.

The other additional information given in the dictionary is about the dialects. According to their data, Berta has four major dialects which are Meyu (which is spoken around Assosa and Menge woreda), Undulu (spoken around Undulu areas), Fadash (spoken around Bambasi towards Tongo) and Belowgeganfoye (named after the area where it is spoken in). However, nothing has been said about what type of variation is found among the dialects.

Regardless of the sociolinguistic aspects of Berta, Bremer (2016) has conducted a survey work on the six dialects of Berta. In the research, Bremer discusses a lot of concepts like demographic and non-linguistic issues, ethnicity, history and so on. He mentioned six dialects Maiyu, Undullu, Fadashi, Belojengofoye, Metehara and Wobosh. In his explanation however, he merged Metehara and Wobosh to other dialects. He examines the dialectal variation, their mutual intelligibility and speakers' attitude towards each dialect. He used RTT test, word lists, questionnaire, interview and observation to have data. According to the research, each of the dialects unlike Belojengofoye are mutually intelligible with each other though there is considerable difference among them. There is a tendency of showing negative attitude to some of the dialects especially Maiyu speakers show negative attitude and they consider their dialect is the best one while others i.e Fadashi and Undullu show positive attitude towards Maiyu. Bremer concluded that Belojengofoye should be considered a distinct language since it shows less mutual intelligibility with all other dialects of Berta.

In his justification Bremer (2016: 26) told us that there is a competition among speakers of different dialects of Berta. This is basically emerged from their thinking about their originality and their relationships with the Muslim Arabs. According to him, the Maiyu claim that they are

descendants from Arabs which impignens their identity as if they have Arab blood. As he describes, long time ago some Arabs came from North Africa and took some Maiyu women to be their wives and bore children. Thus, their Arab linkage goes back to this time. According to Bremer (2016), Fadashi also have Arab blood. Many years ago there were Arabs who came from Saudi Arabia and took Fadashi women as their wives and bore children together. Therefore, the Fadashi are direct descendants from Saudi Arabs, but the Maiyu from North African Arabs.” This folk history is significant, since it shows the prestige and even presumed genetic superiority (from a Muslim’s perspective) of one group over the other. From this data, one can understand that the Maiyu people are considering their originality is from the Arabic speaking community and it has its own impact on their attitude about the two languages.

The data by Bremer has its own value to my study since it can have its own impact on attitude and language preference of the speech community Regarding the Undullu dialect, Bremer (2016: 29) concluded as follows. There is no well attested data gathered by any researcher. The variety is spoken far from other varieties of Berta. Even some people who are speaker of other varieties may not know the exact place where Undullu is spoken. Little is known about the history of the Undullu variety. Towards the end of the dry season (February to April), people from the larger dialect communities come to the surrounding areas around Undulu to look for gold Bremer (2016). This point shows us that unless people are going to collect gold in the dry season, the people of Undullu are unknown and they are isolated people. These days the Undullu dialect is an endangered dialect due to the influence of other dialects and languages as well. As Bremer (2016: 31) pointed out that it is believed that the Undulu variety as it appears in the collections of his survey is in the process of dying out and being replaced by a mix of Maiyu, Fadashi, and Arabic.

The interaction of Berta with Arabic speakers can influence the attitude and language use patterns of the Berta speech community. Maiyu is taken as a standard dialect of Berta language and still it is the dialect which is highly affected by Arabic influence. Other dialects are less affected by Arabic compared to Maiyu. As I have been informed by Abdulnasir and Asediq’, Belewjefonfoye is the most conservative dialect of Berta which is not affected by Arabic. This is because their residence is far from the boarder of Sudan and they are highly interacting with afan

Oromo and Amharic. Bremer argued that, both Undulu and Fadashi are more conservative than Maiyu and are therefore more inclined to maintain indigenous words or phrases to describe certain lexical icons; however, both speech varieties do in fact loan from Arabic on occasion. Nearly all of those Undulu and Fadashi speakers who were surveyed spoke Sudanese Arabic as either a second or a third language, or some even indicated that they preferred to speak Arabic with Maiyu speakers rather than their respective vernacular dialects. In contrast to speakers of Maiyu, Undulu, and Fadashi, members of the Belewjefonfoye community have not had any recent historical contact with Arabic.

Because of the differences in the degree of their contact with Arabic language, the speech communities of each dialect have different attitudes to each other and to the Maiyu dialect, which is politically assigned as the standard dialect of Berta. Even though, Maiyu dialect is taken as a standard dialect of Berta other variety speakers have no positive attitude towards Maiyu. However, they speak the dialect in addition to their own. Both fadashi and Undullu speak and understand Maiyu since mother tongue teaching materials are prepared in this dialect. As I have been informed from teachers of Undullu, each day they are facing challenge in misunderstanding of students due to the fact that materials are prepared in the Maiyu dialect. “Second, these results show that although non-Maiyu groups may not have positive attitudes towards the Maiyu variety, they tend to understand it well. Obviously Belewjefonfoye is a glaring exception to this, but both Undulu and Fadashi speakers tested very well in Maiyu, a statistic which buttresses the cases for choosing Maiyu as a standardized variety for mother-tongue materials” Bremer (2016: 21).

Table 2. 1 Adjusted Intelligibility Percentages

	Maiyu	Fadashi	Undullu	Belewjefonfoye
Maiyu Children-(Abramo)	100%	55.9%	34.9%	48.7%
Maiyu Adults-(Menge)	100%	83.1%	69.7%	64%
Fadashi-(Bambassi)	86.9%	100%	71.7%	85.6%
Undulu-(Undulu)	99.1%	86.9%	100%	100%
Belewjefonfoye-(Fwafwate)	29.0%	59.6%	67.4%	100%

Source: From Bremer (2016)

Bremer presented this table to show how the varieties of Berta are mutually intelligible to each other. I have presented this part in my research to show how this people use codes of each dialect and to show the reason that makes them to be varied this way in their language usage. As we can observe from the table, Maiyu Children from Abramo which is 17 kilometers away from Assosa can understand only 34.9% of Undullu while Undullu speakers from Undullu can understand 99.1% of Maiyu variety. This implies many things regarding attitude, language use and language contact phenomena. Beyond these concepts, it also tells about the socio-cultural, socio-economic and the language status among the speech communities. Bremer concluded that the children from Abramo understand less of Undullu not because the two dialects are two different languages rather the Maiyu lexicon is highly affected by Arabic.

On the other hand as we can see from the table, Maiyu adults from Menge can understand 69.7% of Undullu and it has its own implication about the language use and age as well as language use and border proximity. This tells that adults can better understand different varieties than children. This shows that the youths and children are highly affected by the fact that the Maiyu dialect is mixed with Arabic. The other factor why the adults from Menge are better in understanding Undullu might be that they are a little closer to the area where Undullu is spoken. As it is shown in the table 2.1, Belewjgonfoye is very far from Maiyu and still slightly varied from other dialects.

The attitudes of the speech community of each variety towards their own dialect and to others' dialect, depends on their intelligibility. It is not uncommon that any speech community either in their preference or by any social factors will have a positive attitude to any languages or language varieties. The same is true for Berta speakers; they have a positive attitude to Maiyu because of its social status. According to Bremer (2016 23-24), among the sample taken from those Maiyu living in and around Assosa, there was a very high regard for their own dialect but not so for anything other than Maiyu. Most Maiyu viewed the Fadashi test as either slightly negative or neutral, whereas the Undulu and Beleje Gonfoye varieties were often viewed quite negatively. Bremer reported that one Maiyu-speaking test-taker took off the headset after 1 minute of the Undulu test and exclaimed "Where did you record this? This dialect is terrible!" He refused to complete the RTT, and proceeded to spread negative sentiments about this dialect

throughout that village. This at large tells me something about the attitude of the group living around Assosa to Berta and Arabic. As it has been discussed so far, Maiyu has strong linkages with Arabic speakers and has incorporated more loan words from Arabic than any other Berta varieties. If they have a positive attitude to their variety and a negative attitude to other Berta varieties which are considered to be indigenous Berta, they will have positive attitude for Arabic as well.

The two varieties (Maiyu and Undullu) are spoken relatively in a distant area to each other. The Maiyu dialect is named from the name of the speech community or the people who speak it. As I have mentioned in the background section, Maiyu means mixed clan or people who are borne from Arab and Berta. On the other hand, Undullu variety has got its name from the area where it is spoken. This variety is spoken in one of the woreda which is found in Benishangul. There is a greater controversy among speakers of the two varieties in that the Undullu consider themselves as the speakers of the original Berta while speakers of the Maiyu variety considers themselves as a civilized people Bremer (2016) and their dialect being the standard reference of Berta. There were varying reports from test takers; however, it is fair to say that most of the older Undullu speakers tend to have more favorable attitudes towards Fadashi than towards Maiyu. A telling conversation ensued between the Undullu assistant and our Maiyu-speaking assistant, where in the Undullu elder exclaimed, "Our dialect is closer to Fadashi than to Maiyu; there are more Fadashi speakers than there are Maiyu, and so it is we who speak proper Berta, not you!" Bremer (2016 25-27).

## **2.7. General Overview of Language Use in Benishangul**

As mentioned in the introductory section of this research, Benishangul is a multilingual region. The name for the region has been changed from time to time and even there is no common consensus to call the region in which some call it as Gumuz region, others call it Benishangul and still some other call it Benishangul-Gumuz. The government uses the last one which is a compound word and it resembles the two bigger nations Berta which is preferably called Benishangul and Gumuz. The region contains around eleven nations from which five of them Berta, Shinasha, Gumuz, Mao, Komo and Awgni are considered to be indigenous where as

others like Amhara, Oromo, and so on are not. Amharic is a lingua franca in the region for two reasons 1) since the script development of indigenous languages is too late and 2) because a majority of the people in the region can speak and understand Amharic.

The region is classified in to three ethno-linguistically demarked zones in which each zone is also a multi-lingual. Assosa zone, Kamash zone and Metekel zone are the three zones and in addition there are Mao and Komo special woredas. Major languages in the zones are Shinasha and Awgni in Metekel zone, Berta in and around Assosa zone and Gumuz in Kamash zone. These are the major ones and there are different languages spoken in each zone. The following consecutive tables are about the distributions of languages in the above zones of the region. It is taken from a report found from education office and truism office of the region. The data is collected from 2009-2010 E.C.

### Language use in Assosa zone

Table 2. 2 Language use Patterns in Assosa Zone

No	Area	Family language	Primary school language	Public sector languages	Working language
1	Assosa surrounding woreda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Arabic</li> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> <li>• Tigraway</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• English</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> <li>• Tigraway</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Berta</li> </ul>
2	Bambasi Woreda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> <li>• Tigraway</li> <li>• Mao</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• English</li> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Mao</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> <li>• Tigraway</li> <li>• Mao</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Mao</li> </ul>
3	Homoshaworeda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Arabic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Amharic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Amharic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amharic</li> </ul>

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>English</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Arabic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Berta</li> </ul>
4	Kurmuk woreda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Berta</li> <li>Arabic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Berta</li> <li>Amharic</li> <li>English</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Berta</li> <li>Arabic</li> <li>Amharic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Amharic</li> <li>Berta</li> </ul>
5	Menge woreda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Berta</li> <li>Arabic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Amharic</li> <li>English</li> <li>Berta</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Berta</li> <li>Arabic</li> <li>Amharic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Amharic</li> <li>Berta</li> </ul>
6	Sherkole Woreda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Berta</li> <li>Arabic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Amharic</li> <li>English</li> <li>Berta</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Berta</li> <li>Arabic</li> <li>Amharic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Amharic</li> <li>Berta</li> </ul>
7	Oda woreda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Berta</li> <li>Arabic</li> <li>Gumuz</li> <li>Affan Oromo</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Amharic</li> <li>English</li> <li>Berta</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Berta</li> <li>Arabic</li> <li>Amharic</li> <li>Afan Orom</li> <li>Gumuz</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Amharic</li> <li>Berta</li> <li>Affan Orom</li> <li>Gumuz</li> </ul>

Source: From the Regional Culture and Tourism Office 2017.

The above table is intended to show the sociolinguistic situations in Assosa zone. Assosa zone is from Bambasi which is near to the border of Oromia onwards Sudan Kurmuk including Assosa town and its surrounding. In all of the wordas, Berta and Arabic are commonly found and it is directly related to one of the concepts in this research which is domain of language use. Undullu is found in this area which is a Kebele in Menge woreda.

## Language Distributions and Use in Kamash Zone

Table 2. 3 Language Use in Kamash Zone

No	Area	Family language	Primary school language	Public place languages	Working language
1	Sedal woreda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Arabic</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Tigraway</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• English</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Tigraway</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> </ul>
2	Agalo woreda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• English</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> </ul>
3	Kamash woreda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• English</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> </ul>
4	Belojeganf oye woreda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Tigraway</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Mao</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• English</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Tigraway</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Berta</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> </ul>
5	Yaso woreda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• English</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Amharic</li> <li>• Gumuz</li> <li>• Affan Oromo</li> </ul>

Source: The Regional Culture and Tourism Office, 2017

Kamash zone is located around the border of Oromia and Benishangul and it also shares border with the other zone in Benishangul which is Shinasha. As it has been seen from the table, it is multilingual in which Gumuz is commonly found in each of the woredas. The other very common non-indigenous languages are Amharic, Affan Oromo and Tigraway. One of the dialects of Berta Belewjeganfoye is spoken in this zone. When we look at the language distribution in Assosa zone, there is Arabic if there is Berta, but in Belewjeganfoye woreda, there is no Arabic. However, it does not mean that Belewjeganfoye is clearly Berta rather it is being dominated by Affan Oromo and Amharic.

The third zone is Metekel and Borna Shinasha is the main language. This zone is even more multilingual than other zones in which eight or more languages are spoken in daily conversations. For instance, in Guba woreda eight languages are serving as family languages which are Borna shinasha, Gumuz, Amharic, Arabic, Affan Orom, Berta, Tigraway and Agaw. The same is true for Pawi special woreda seven languages Amharic, Agaw, Tigraway, Affan Orom, Wolaitegna, Hadiyessa and Kembata are spoken. What makes Pawi different from other woredas of Metekel is none of the indigenous languages in the region is spoken. Amharic and English are serving as school language. In this zone, there are languages that dominate Borna shinasha language and the major ones are Amharic and Affan Oromo. Even many of the people in Dibate, Bulen and Wombera woredas are counting in Affan Orom and Gumuz is also spoken here. This needs further investigation what I want to show is there is linguistic diversity in the region.

In Mao-Komo special woreda, there are many kebeles. In each of the kebeles, either Mao or Komo are common languages. For different people, including researchers, Mao-Komo is considered as a single ethno linguistic group. However, they are two distinct groups in which N.Mao and Komo languages are spoken. A very common language spoken parallel with these languages is Affan Oromo since the woreda shares border with Oromia. Amharic and English are serving as school language and even Amharic is functioning as family language together with Mao, Komo and Affan Oromo. As I have got from secondary data particularly from a sociolinguistic survey of Assosa-Begi areas, the Mao-Komo is dominated by Affan Orom.

Generally, in the region the indigenous languages are dominated by other languages like Amharic, Affan Oromo and Arabic. This results from the multilingual nature of the region and the late development of the indigenous languages. In most parts of the region, Amharic and English are school languages in addition to mother tongue languages in the area. Recently, the region has developed pro-motive language policy and every language in the region has got access to development and every speech community has got the right to speak and develop their own languages. But, still recent times, there are people and speech community at large who give credit for languages which are developed earlier than their own. Now it is time to talk about the sociolinguistic aspects of Berta which is the concern of this research.

### **2.7.1. An Overview about Berta Sociolinguistics**

As it has been stated in different section of this research, the main concern of this research is on language attitude, language use patterns and the situations of their language treatment among Berta and Arabic. Under this sub topic, I would like to focus on the general overview of Berta sociolinguistic aspects. This part is entirely dependent on the data that I have got during my observation, from what I have read and from my conversation with elderly Berta people. This data can directly or indirectly relates to the actual data collected for the objectives of this research. Basically in this section, the concept of Berta dialects, the language policy, language and identity and language and religion are discussed.

As I have got from my observation and informal conversations with the elderly people in the history of the Berta, there were different reestablishments and stratifications of their language and their culture from time to time. The Berta speech community has got different names based on the stratification they got. Around the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was high spread of Arabization in the region. From that time onwards, many Berta became bilinguals of Arabic in which they use Arabic for trade activities and even there was a dialect created around the border for communication within the group. While the Berta were creating and reshuffling their groups trough time, one of the group was named as wájáwls. This group was a mixed Islam that they can speak both Arabic and al-rutánná as their second languages in which al-rutánná means non-religious language and for Berta, any language other than Arabic is al-rutánná. According to Triulzi (1981:6), “the wájáwls are not easily distinguished from the rest of Berta except for their

richer cloths, their fluent Arabic and their strong Muslim faith especially for their unshakable belief in their racial, cultural and political superiority over the other Berta community.

I am talking about the historical background of the Berta because their current linguistic situation and sociolinguistic practices are resulted from what they have got from their history. As I have been informed from people like Abdulmul, Aba Asediq, Aba Almamun and so forth, their current identity, language use situations, their interaction with Arabic, their personal identification is influenced by their historical relations with the Sudan Arab communities. There was no well recorded history of the Berta and their history began with the coming of Arabs to the region. According to Triulzi (1981), the Berta has no history though each tribe has their history and their history have been recorded after the coming of Arabs to the region. The names of some groups have been changed gradually and these days they have got another name. For instance, the group which was called wájáwls at that time is the current Maiyu. As I have mentioned and defined the Maiyu earlier, it is to mean the mixture of Berta and Arabic which is related to the concept of wájáwls. Like that of the wájáwls did, the Maiyu today considers themselves as superior over other dialects and it has been confirmed in Bremer (2016) that the Maiyu gives greater value for their variety and have positive attitude for their dialect, but they are ignorant of other Berta dialects. According to Bermer, there is inferiority and superiority among different Berta dialect speakers according to their Arab heritage. For example, the Maiyu considers that they have Arabic originalities whereas the Fadashi opposes and consider themselves as if they are originated from white Arabs and this can make them superior of Maiyu. This gives an insight for this research that if they identified themselves as Arabs, they can have positive attitude for Arabic and to speak it.

One of the basic components of human life that can determine their life is culture. Culture has its own effect on language and its nature. Culturally the Berta people attach themselves more with the Sudan Arabs than Ethiopia. Triulzi (1981:6) stated that “the Berta people are dark in color and their appearance and dressing style makes them similar with the Sudanese than Ethiopian Amhara and Oromo”. This time the practice of Arabic culture within the Berta is even more. For instance as stated in Triulzi (1981), in earlier times, the Berta had their traditional religion and they were highly attached with it. This time however, they tend to be Muslim followers and

almost all of them are Muslim followers and this religion greatly influences their culture and language. This issue is going to be discussed below.

### **2.7.2. Religion as a Sociolinguistics Factor over Berta Language**

In theory it is believed that there is no religious language. However, there are speech communities that consider and overlap their rituals and beliefs with their linguistic situations and their language uses. Scholars like Keane (1997) who considers language as social factor for linguistic change, Bichani (2015) who dealt with how Arabic is powerful enough to create Arabic identity and Baker and Bowie (2010) who considers religious affiliations as linguistic behavior/ attitudinal considerations have correlated language and religion in their investigations. Religion is a social phenomenon that has a great power to influence, the thinking, language choice, personal identification and other social situations within a speech community. According to Keane (1997:2), “religious observers and practitioners tend to demand highly marked self-conscious use of linguistic sources”. Similarly the Berta speech community uses Arabic for their religious activities consciously.

Till recent times, sociolinguists focused on other social factors like gender, family, neighborhood, politics, geography, but they were ignorant of religion as a sociolinguistic factor. “One possible social factor that has received relatively little attention in sociolinguistic research is religion, which may be defined in terms of one’s membership in a religious organization or one’s level of activity in that organization. Religion has certainly been found to correlate with language change and use in areas where religious affiliation overlaps with one’s ethnicity, such as Turks” Baker and Bowie (2010:3). Likewise, in the Berta speech community, their language use and the nature of language replacement and change is determined by Islamic religion. They consider that to be effective in Islamic, they have to know and speak Arabic. Unless they pray with the Arabic language, they believe that they cannot reach to their God. Their language use patterns has been changed over time because of their religious orientation. Regarding this concept, Abdulnasir Ali one of the data collectors and Berta mother tongue education expert in the region stated that ‘it is Arabic that affects the distribution and use of Berta as a language. If we see few elderly people who have still traditional religion, they are perfect in Berta even they cannot speak Arabic and we are searching original Berta words from them.’ This is direct

implication of the tables in this research that contains original Berta words with their meaning. The Berta speech communities attach their language use with their Islamic spirit.

The intention of the questions in the questionnaire, (see appendix I) is not to know their identity or their religious language, but it is important to know their attitudes. The other question is about the type of relations that the Berta have with Arabs. This question can give insights about their beliefs and personal identification which is one sociolinguistic factor that can determine attitude. Majority of the respondents especially from the Maiyu variety argued that they have blood relations with Arabs and it supports about the history of their origin that they consider themselves as mixture of Berta and Arabs. From the Undullu variety, majority argued that they have religious and blood relations. Almost all of the respondents from both sites argued that Arabic is religious language. They have been preached that any language other than Arabic is *Rutánná* which means non-religious so it is not surprising if they choose Arabic as religious language. Bichani (2015) argued that the Arab world associates Islamic religion with Arabic language identity formation and in this work, it is discussed that if one is Islam, he/she should know Arabic. The Berta argued that Arabic can symbolize their identity more than Berta did and this is basically true for Maiyu variety. Therefore, Islam as a religion and Arabic as a language is a factor in Berta sociolinguistics situations.

Religion is a silent sociolinguistic factor that can affect other social networks among a speech community. According to Baker and Bowie (2010), a number of the studies of religious identity on linguistic behavior, though, have run into a serious problem: religious affiliation often correlates with other social factors that may themselves correlate with linguistic behavior. For example, residential segregation may occur, with members of a particular religion choosing to live nearer members of that same religion rather than another; this would, of course, lead to different social networks that could be attributed not to religion but to neighborhood. In Berta, religious affiliation becomes a serious case in shaping different aspects of their life including their interactions with Arabs, their feelings about themselves and for Arabs and their language usage between Berta and Arabic. Their culture, tradition and norms have been swallowed by the culture of Sudan Arabs and this is basically because they lost their traditional beliefs after receiving Islamic as their religion.

In addition to the impact of religion on language use, language belief among the Berta speech community, Islam also make them have an unpredictable identity. In the current situations, the Arab world and Islamic followers in different corners of the world are torn between their Islamic identity, Arab identity and national identity. At present, identities in the Arab world often fluctuate between an Islamic, an Arab and a regional identity. Recently, however, Islamic identities seem to be dominant over national ones; as Khalidi (1991: 1365) cited in Bichani (2015). In Berta community, beyond their interest to speak and relate Arabic because of their Islamic ideologies, they would like to identify themselves within Islamic identity. As has been highlighted in the introductory part, the Berta speech community never give credit even for their name Berta and they would like to be called Arabs. There are different villages in Assosa and other rural areas which are called ‘Arab Sefer’ and the group in the village called themselves Arabs not Berta even though they are living in Berta community and their ancestors are Berta, but due to strong Islamic emotions they prefer Arabic identity which is associated with Islamic intentions.

Basically, there are social identity and blood identity. Social identity on the other hand can be organized in different dimensions and one of the social factors is language. Dragojevic (2017) stated that language is an important symbol of social identity. Regardless of the Berta, since they have historical, economic, social, geographical and other societal values to be shared with Sudan Arabs, they have constructed social identities and this is constructed via language basically Arabic. So this social identity has directly related to the attitude of people. “Language attitudes are evaluative reactions to different languages or language varieties. It can be reflected at least in two sequential cognitive processes; social categorizations and stereotyping. Moreover, language attitude can be organized in two dimensions status and solidarity” Dragojevic (2017:1). Considering their religion, the Berta people have categorized themselves as if they are Muslim Arabs not as they are from Ethiopia or they have no well defined identity.

### **2.7.3. Cultural Identities among the Berta**

Culture is something that might not be given from God or it is not a gift of any other natural source. It is something that can be adapted, adopted or assimilated from another socially constructed community. Culture has a link with other social situations like language, religion,

identity and so forth. The Berta have a custom that is related to the custom of Sudan Arabs. As I have got from Ethnologue (2016), after several centuries of Arab Sudanese influence, the Berta are now mostly Muslim and many speak fluent Arabic. Due to their intermarriage with Arab traders, some Berta were called *Watawit* -the local name for "bat", meaning that they were a mix of two very different groups Ethnologue (2016). Though they have practiced different local customs, this day they are mainly practicing Sudanese cultures. From this one can concluded that culturally they are identifying themselves from the Sudan Arabs. Even their culture is highly associated with their Arabic beliefs. The Berta decorate their faces with scarifications, usually three vertical lines on each cheek, which they consider to be symbols of God (each line is interpreted as the initial letter of Allah, the Arabic *alif*). This time, the three vertical lines are not commonly found on males, but they are very common on females.

Due to cultural fluctuations, there are other values that are fluctuated as well. If we consider the name of the region Benishangul, it is an Arabicized form. As gained from Ethnologue (2016), "Benishangul" is an Arabicized form of the original name *Bela Shangul*, meaning "Rock of Shangul". This refers to a sacred stone located in a mountain in the Menge woreda, one of the places where the Berta originally settled when they arrived to Ethiopia. When they are refering different cultural concepts, they tend to use Arabic. So their cultural assimilation even affects their language use patterns. Since they associate their cultural practices with Sudanese culture, they are familiar with naming cultural concepts in Arabic. The following table illustrates some examples of cultural concepts named in Arabic words.

Table 2. 4 Sample Arabic and arabicized cultural words in Berta

Original Berta	Arabic	Mixedberta (Currently Used)	Meaning
ndu	Lúkqa	allúkqa	language
alqáda	Ada	alqáda	culture
hahádq	Alqiris	alqí ris	weeding
albósh/ albósha	az úma	alaz úma	festival
waaza /bolo	zumbára	azzumbára	musical instrument
asqunduyú	Fatqur	alfaqtur	breakfast
maaba/ ndámilí	Insan	alqinsán	human

Source: Own Observation 2019.

As we can see from the table, the words listed in the table, have cultural concepts and they are either Arabic modifications or they are directly Arabic words that are used to name the concepts. Original Berta is collected from a few elderly people and they are not known by majority of the speech community. So the Berta are adopting not only the culture of Sudan Arabs but also the concept with the name.

In many cases, when human interaction is there, there is language and cultural interactions as well and when language and culture of a speech community is in contact with others culture, there will be hybridization or loss of language and culture though it is hidden. Lamerevo (2007:51) suggested that “as there is more and more contact between representatives of different languages and cultures, such a binary categorization will become less feasible”. In addition to this, Lamerevo stated that as a result of global market and telecommunication networks, our culture in the world is disturbed. There is similar case within the Berta speech community in which due to their trade and social interactions with Sudan Arabs, their culture is affected. Since the Berta are associating themselves with Arabs in different aspects like religion, culture and blood, they have developed cultural identity. There is a link between language and culture and something that links the two is personal identification or identity. “Culture provides us with an identity and a set of attributes that define that identity and identity serves as a bridge between culture and communication” Lamerevo (2007:49). In the earlier times, the Berta were practicing different traditions and they had traditional religion. This time there is no traditional religion and they even never consider biculturalism which means either they associate with Arabic culture or they tend to practice other cultures from Amhara and their neighboring Nilo-Saharan culture from Gumuz.

In any speech community, there is minority and majority classification and it determines the status of language and social class. It is inherently emerged from our mentality and thinking. Based on our perception about ourselves and about what we have, we may maintain, hybridize or loss our language or culture. According to Bichani (2015:42) there are four approaches to the situation in one’s personal identification. Integration involves maintaining an ethnic identity as well as identifying with a new identity. Assimilation refers to the shifting of ethnic identity to a new one. Separated identity refers to the maintenance of an ethnic identity without identifying

with the identity of the host community. Finally, marginalization refers to giving up both the ethnic identity and the identity of the mainstream community and acquiring a new identity. So as we have seen from the data presented in chapter four and from my personal observation, the Berta are marginalized that means they give up what they have for assimilating and being Arabized with the Sudan Arabs. This is because they give up their traditional religion for Islam, they learn and speak for religious purpose but this time, they speak Arabic in their daily speech.

#### **2.7.4. Why the Berta Hate their Name ‘Berta’?**

Not only the Berta, but also almost all the ethnic groups living in the region never accept their names and they don't like to recognize the name given by the regional government. In this part, why the Berta hate their name is the big concern not to deal the reasons rather to forecast its role on attitude formation. “the ethnic groups themselves usually do not recognize the labels imposed by anthropologists, colonial administrators and other foreigners: the ‘Berta’ don't like to call themselves as ‘Berta’, “the Gumuz” do not call themselves “Gumuz”, “the Komo” do not call themselves “Koma”, “the Ingessana” do not call themselves “Ingessana”, and “the Uduk” do not call themselves “Uduk”. Nonetheless, the regional government of Benishangul-Gumuz wants to showcase the five official groups that inhabit the region today: Berta, Gumuz, Mao, Komo and Shinasha, which comprise about two thirds of the current population” Gonzalez and Martinez (2005:10). Every ethnic group has got its name politically.

Regardless of the Berta, there are different names given to the ethnic group as mentioned in different sections of this research. According to the interviewees, ‘Berta’ as a name is given by Arabs and it has a negative meaning in Arabic. There are different oral narratives about the creation and modification of Berta. Some says it is firstly used to name their first leader Berthua while they were migrated from Sudan, but others whose argument is against of their migration from Sudan and who thought they are native people in the region, suggests that Berta has no origin simply it is called by Arabs. So they hate their name because they believe that they are not slaves. The other names are ‘Watawit’ which means ‘a mix from two very different groups’ and ‘Rut’anná’ which means ‘non-religious language’. As I have been informed, both of the names are not convenient for them because for the first one they argued that they are not mixed but they

have ancestors and for the second one they have Islamic religion this time so they are not non-religious.

The reason why I used Berta for this research consistently is that the regional government gives and calls the ethnic group as Berta. There is a project that is designed to discuss and change their name. However, the new name is not announced yet. In some earlier researches on the language, scholars used the name 'Rut'anná', but I never used it since almost all of the Berta speech community are Muslim followers this time.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Methodology of the Study**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

Since this research is designed to conduct language attitude and language use patterns of Berta speech community, the data collected through different mechanisms has to be related to the concepts. So in this research both language choice domain analysis and psychological analysis approaches have been used. “Domains are taken to be constellations of factors such as location, topic, and participants [e.g., the family domain]. Domain analysis is related to diglossia, and some domains are more formal than others” Fasold (1987:183). So in this research, data related to what language/languages do Berta people are using in different domains like family domain, school, market, religious domain and so on have been collected and analyzed. About the other approach social psychology, Fasold (1987:187) suggested that, in social psychology approach, Sociologists typically approach a problem like language choice by searching for a social structure, such as domains, conducting a survey of a sample of the target population relating to the proposed social structure, and doing a statistical analysis of the results. According to Fasold’s justification, social psychology approach often use surveys, samples, and statistics, but these searches are for individual motivations rather than social structures.

#### **3.2. Research Design**

Research design is highly dependent on the type and nature of research questions and the objective of the research. “Sociolinguistic research investigates the interaction among speech community and language or linguistic features” Vilma and Bijeikiene (2013:7), that deals with how people use language in different environments in which it attempts to link patterns of language use to some kind of non-linguistic features such as class, race, gender, ethnic identification and so on. According to them, “basically, there are two ways of approaching sociolinguistic research. Sociolinguists interested in the variation of certain phonological features across different social classes will depend on quantitative methods used in variationist sociolinguistics while linguists interested in code-switching practices among bilingual speech community might depend on qualitative methods used in ethnographic research” Vilma and

Bijeikiene (2013:9). Still, some other research questions require the application of different research method which is called mixed-method approach/ triangulation/. In this research, mixed-method approach is used. Since this research is investigated in a multilingual setting and one of its objective that deals with how they use the two languages; Arabic and Berta is indirectly related to code mixing which requires qualitative method and the other objective which is about language attitude/ the likert scale one/ is more of quantitative type that needs numerical data mixed-method is used. Studing the relation between language and society is as such an empirical science and it examines how language functions in its social contexts. “Empirical research can be defined as experimental and non-expermental in which experimental in sociolinguistics is the matched-guise test and identification tasks while the non-expermental focuses on qualitative and quantitative researches” Vilma and Bijeikiene (2013:13). For the current study, non-expermental; likart scale to evaluate attitude and qualitative and quantitative methods have been used to investigate the language use patterns.

Therefore, this study is a multiple methods study, drawing on instruments often associated with a quantitative survey approach, such as a questionnaire, and on techniques or elements more commonly found in qualitative, interpretive research, such as participant observation, field notes and interviews. It is associated with quantitative approach such as questionnaire and it also contains elements of qualitative methods or interactive research like book review, focus group discussion and interview as well.

Like that of other researchers for example Richards (2011), this research focuses on groups and individuals to present rich description about their language choice for different domains and topics, their perceptions for each language under the study as a group and individually and the situations of language hybridization in their daily language use have been examined. Multiple data sources and different data collecting instruments have been employed. This is because it is important to cross check the validity of the data and to triangulate the results. Based on these assumptions of different scholars like Lamerevo (2007: 27-28) Stahlberg and Frey (1989: 150-151) and Coronel (2009), for this research, direct method of attitudinal measurement have been employed because this research is intended to investigate language attitude with other social values of the speech community not their inner psychology. Almost all of the questions about attitude are likert-

scale type of questions. The basic notion is to see what behavioral conditions do the Berta speech communities have.

### **3.3. Source of Data**

In this research mainly primary but also secondary data have been used. Primary data is data obtained from informants through interview, questionnaire, FGD or participant observation whereas secondary data is data gained from written documents like dictionaries and other text books have been analyzed.

### **3.4. Sampling Techniques**

This part is about who should be my informants and from where I should take them. In sociolinguistics survey, the selection of informants is dependent on the objectives and sociolinguistic questionnaires types. For this research, from four dialectal areas in which Bertha is spoken, the two areas Menge woreda and Abramo which is nearby Assosa town where Maiyu is spoken and Undullu area which is far from Assosa in a rural area that Undullu is spoken have been selected purposively. This is because as it has been observed for the last two years and as I have read different researches like a research by Bremer (2016), the distribution of Arabic is more around Assosa than Undullu. The site selection is to determine the situation of language contact phenomena and to know the language use patterns which has been designed to be addressed in one of the issues which is about how they use the two languages.

To select the informants, different techniques have been employed. Buchstaller and Ghada (2006:5) cited in Chambers (2003), a study that wants to investigate language use of a certain area, would divide the population in to mutually exclusive subgroups called strata and took sample from this groups. This type of sampling which is widely adopted for linguistic study is called stratified/ judgemental sampling. Based on this, after the population is categorized depending on their dialects, respondents have been selected from two dialectal groups; Maiyu and Undullu. It is scientifically called multistage sampling which is basically a combination of stratified and simple random sampling and it is functional to take smaller number of respondents from larger population.

So since the intention of this research is to have data about language use, language attitude and how they use the two languages, sample population from the two sites have been taken. Both male and female informants were incorporated from both strata. Based on the type of instrument that has been used to collect the data, I used different techniques of employing the instruments. After the two sites; Maiyu and Undullu have been selected purposively to generalize about the data, informants who fill questionnaire have been selected in a multistage sampling method in which respondents have been taken randomly from the strata. Informants who can read and understand English and Amharic have been fill the questionnaire in a self administrated way while those who cannot read and understand Amharic and English have been selected and they have been asked in interview administrated way.

For selecting informants who participated in face-to-face interview, key informant interview, networking or snowball sampling technique was used. This is driven from Milroy (1978) who suggested that to have linguistic data, “convince and availability of respondents by using social network which is approaching people with a third party.” So based on this assumption, in this research for having detail discussion with Key informants and some interviewees, the researcher approached the respondents with a third party which was held with the help of my guider. For both instruments, informants were being selected from youths as one group and from elderly people as another group. For conducting conversation, I have selected from mothers, son and young adults. For the case of Key informant interview, almost all of the participants were from office workers who have expected to have knowledge of the two languages and whose expertise is related to language and culture including teachers. This technique was adopted from Agheysi (2012). For FGD participants, I choose those who are willing to participate and who are also aware of their language and their culture too.

### **3.5. Sample Size**

To determine number of respondents, there is no commonly agreed way in sociolinguistic research. It depends on the type and amount of data that the research requires. If one is interested to know things which are really different for different people, such as language attitude and language use, one should have representative people Nahhas (2007: 68). On the other hand, if

one is interested to know some facts about the study area like whether there is school or not, it is not important to ask any people rather we shall focus on people who know about it.

The number of subjects in one survey directly depends on the objectives of the study. The answer depends on many factors. In practice, one usually does not have the resources to sample as many subjects as he/she really need to sample. Traditionally, SIL language surveyors have sampled about 10-20 people per site, but it is not a minimum standard to determine sample size in sociolinguistics. In determining sample size in sociolinguistics, Meyerhoff (2010:11) cited in Chambers (2003), argued that though it is difficult to determine the exact number of respondents for linguistic research, five to six speakers per site suffice to make statistically sounding generalizations about the data. Tagliamonte (2006:28) on the other hand, argued that, “sociolinguistic researches now a days, characterized by a certain mixed and match-attitude; the critical component of hybrid methodology is that the researchers can decide which type of representativeness is sufficient or attainable depending on the focus of the study.” So in this research, since its focus is somehow related to some social psychology and other societal values of the speech community under this investigation, I will decide the number of respondents that can represent the target population.

According to Nahhas’s (2007) explanation, there is no common formula to select samples and shortage of time and money limits many surveyors to select as many subjects as they can base on the number of population. The same is true for my study. According to Chambers (2003), the greater majority of linguistics researchs these times tend to relay on a fraction of sample size of community used in other social sciences.

To take such fraction of samples from a community, first a researcher should know the total number of population. Population is the total number of people who are living in a study area whereas target population is a portion of total population that the research is considering.

Table 3. 1 Population Size of Berta

No	Case	population
1.	Those who use Berta as L1	199,7000
2	Those who use Berta as L2	16,500
3	Monolinguals	99,700
4	Bilinguals	99,603
5	Tose who lives in Benishangul	199,303
6	Females	98,616
7	Male	100,687

Source: Ethiopian Census, 2007.

Since the intention of this research is to focus on bilinguals, the targate population of this research is 99,603. In order to determine the sample size, the researchers used Cochran (1967) method since the population size is very large and the number of people from each research site is unknown.  $n = \frac{Z^2 pq}{e^2}$  Where; n = sample size P= sample proportion q= 1-P Z= Standardized normal variable and its value that corresponds to 94% confidence interval equals 1.881; e = allowable error 6% (0.06). Therefore, by using this formula and instating the figures, the sample size for this study was **245** individuals. From the 245 informants, 135 were from Maiyu, and the rest 110 were from Undullu. These 245 from both sites were the informants selected to fill questionnaire, but the questionnaires have been collected from 201 respondent from which 176 were valied to be analyzed.

In addition to this, other subjects have been selected for interview and focus group discussion in which 15 informants from each site for interview were selected purposively based on their multilingual proficiency. These informants have been asked mainly to know how they and the speech community are using their language and Arabic language. Totally four FGDs that contains 8-12 participants have been held two from each site and about 46 participants were

involved. The participants were from teachers, cultural and tourism office workers and elderly people who have knowledge of Berta and Arabic languages. The other informants were those who participated in key informant interview (KII). School directors, mother tongue education implementers from regional education office and cultural office directors have been asked and 14 key informants have been taken.

### **3.6. Data Collection Instruments**

In language survey, the surveyor can use different data collecting instruments like sociolinguistic questionnaire, interview, focus group discussion and observation. For this research, questionnaire, interview, FGD, observation, KII and book review have been used. By taking different researches as a model, different instruments has been used for the sake of triangulating data. Lamerevo (2007) Lammervo collected the data trough questionnaire, interview, focus group discussion and recordings. She has distributed questionnaire to collect data about language use and socio-economic factors where as conversations were recorded to have data on language attitude and language contact phenomena. Similarly, Bichani (2015), Rise (2011) and Afolabi (2012) used questionnaire, interview, FGD and observation to collect data in their research.

#### **3.6.1. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire**

Sociolinguistic questionnaire are used to gather factual information about people's experience, their language proficiency or their attitude about their language. According to linguists, sociolinguistic questionnaires are very important to get valid data from the target populations. Agheyisi (2012:147) "The whole idea of this form of questionnaire is to encourage the subjects to freely express their individual views about the focal object." The language use section of the questionnaire aims to answer Fishman's question "Who speaks what language to whom, when and to what end" Fishman (1965:67). Domains of use were investigated covering family, ethnic contacts, work, and transaction domains.

Basically sociolinguists have identified two basic types of questionnaire opened questionnaire and closed questionnaire. Agheyisi (2012:147) in his work of methodological surveys of attitude study discussed the following about the two types of questionnaires. "Answering such open questions subjects may reveal other attitudes which the researcher may not have anticipated.

However, open questions do have some disadvantages”. They are less successful in questionnaires than in interviews because a respondent can talk at length in an interview without having to worry about recording his views in writing (the interviewer does the worrying), but in a questionnaire, the effort needed to write down the answers may make the respondent refrain from answering questions as fully as he otherwise would. Another disadvantage of open-question items in questionnaires is that respondents may fail to focus on the actual dimension of a question; even though they provide responses, such answers may be useless to the researcher. Finally open ended questions pose serious scoring problems to the researcher. Due to these disadvantages, most researchers relegate the use of open-question items to initial survey or pilot studies. The preferred alternative for collecting final data is closed-question items.

Closed questionnaire is a questionnaire designed to get informants by asking questions ranging from questions that request simple answers like yes/no to complex ones like questions that request the degree of the respondents’ interest. A closed question item generally has three main dimensions: the focal object, the dimension of appraisal, and a set of rating terms from which the respondents are required to choose. The rating terms differ in degree of complexity: some items require only a 'yes/no' response, others a choice from a 5-point (e. g. Likert scale) or 7 -point scale Agheyisi (2012:148). In this research, a 5 point likert scale is used.

A sociolinguistic questionnaire was used to gather some factual information about the interaction among Bertha and Arabic languages and the people of Bertha in Benishangul. The questionnaire was prepared in two languages; English and Amharic, but in interviewed administered ways, the data collectors more or less switched to Berta language accordingly. Both open ended and close ended questionnaires have been included. Almost all of the questions were closed that had yes/no item; choice items and likert scale which range from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The questionnaire contains questions which are about language attitude and language choices of the speech community under the study and the language choice questions have indirect link with language attitude measurements. There are few questions that ask about their preference to be proficient in either of the languages, their relationship with Arabs, about the changes on Berta they are observing. The questionnaire was developed from Lamervo (2007), Ries (2011), Qawar and Deweik (2015), Bichani (2015) and Coronel (2009).

To distinguish questions between language attitude and language use is too difficult. The concepts in questions about language use are highly overlapping with the concept of language attitude and vice versa. Most of the researchers who did a survey on language use and language attitude never distinguished questions related to the two issues. Coronel in his (2009) work try to distinguish the data as a data about personal history, about language use and about language attitude. However, Coronel argued that it is difficult to distinguish overlapping of the concepts. Coronel (2009:28) suggested that “also in some surveys that did have separate division for language use and language attitude questions, it apparent from mix of questions in a given section that is not always easy to distinguish between attitude and beliefs that contributes to language choice.” In the current study, there are questions that have overlapping concepts of language use and language attitude and still there are some questions that evaluate participants’ beliefs.

Regarding the content of the questionnaire, it has different sections. The first section deals with background of the respondents the second one is about language use and the third section is all about language attitude. The language use section is all about what language do they use in different domains, with their interlocutors, for different purpose and how do they use it. Most of the questions were based on the five likert-scale that ranges from always to never and few questions have three alternatives as Berta, Arabic or both. Few questions are about self evaluation of their proficiency of the two languages, but it is not to evaluate language proficiency rather it is to know their bilingual abilities. Lamerevo (2007:96) states that “the concept of proficiency level test is too difficult to understand and self-evaluation of language proficiency is important since it has connection with language attitude and its daily usage.” So based on this assumption, the intention of including such type of questions is to know their bilingual usage and their bilingual attitudes.

The attitude section of the questionnaire contains questions that can evaluate both informants’ attitude and beliefs. The questions contains statements that follows a tradition of agreeing and disagreeing with five scale points developed from Lamerevo (2007), Bichani (2015), Rise (2011) and Coronel (2009). Lamerevo in his (2015) work about language use and cultural contact through language use, deals that questions about language attitude and belief and at the top his

questionnaire, there are questions about the beliefs of speakers under his study about Finish and English. *Such as Finish language is important to me.* Similarly, Fasold (1987) in Coronel (2009:24) argued that “research questions like *knowledge of French is important to my children* are a question to evaluate beliefs not attitude.” Having this in mind, in this research, there are straight forwarded questions to have their beliefs about Berta and Arabic as well as their bilingualism. In the questionnaire, there are also questions about language maintenance, bilingualism, code-switching and reasons for code-switching. It is intended to evaluate their language attitude indirectly and to know how they use the two languages that consider the last objective.

It is clear that there may not be equal understanding of language and linguistic features among a speech community. In the questionnaire, there are two types of questionnaires with slightly different questions. According to Coronel (2009:24), “depending on the structure of a society and the nature of the area they are living in, there should be questions for the average citizen and another question for defined subgroup of a society”. Based on this premise, questions on attitude and on how they use the two languages have been distinguished for rural and urban settlers with slight difference among them. Some questions which have been incorporated in self-administered questionnaires have been missed in interview administered questionnaire. That is why there are omissions in the data coding and there is variation of the percentage in some of the tables under the analysis section.

To handle the questionnaire, there are two ways based on the nature of informants. Bijekiene (2013:81) identified self-administered questionnaire and interview administered questionnaire. The first one is a questionnaire filled by the respondent him/her self while the second one is a questionnaire filled by the interviewer either face to face or via phone. In this research, both methods have been used; those who are educated filled self-administered questionnaire while those who cannot read and understand were asked in a face to face interview administered way.

### **3.6.2. Interview**

According to Nahhas (2007: 63), interview is an instrument that can be employed in two ways. One is individual interview and the second one is group interview. Group interview will be

employed when one has not enough money, time and other resources. Moreover, it has its own role to check the validity of the data and it is important to collect facts about a village. In this research, individual informants as key informant and normal interviews have been held to have factual information. Nahhas (2007:5-6) stated about the concerns of a researcher to select participants in interview. As described by Nahhas, “if a researcher is interested to have facts about sociolinguistic issue, he/she does not need to ask many people rather it is better to ask someone who knows better. For instance, teacher interview is an insider interview and it can give rich information.” So in this research, teachers and others who work in office of tourism have been taken as key informants for interview and others who have been considered as if they have a clue about their language have been interviewed.

According to Labov (1966), sociolinguistic interview aims at eliciting sociolinguistic data from different speech contexts that can include informal part which is free conversation to formal one that consists reading passage, word-lists and minimal-pairs. In this research, there was a mixed way of interviewing in which, there was informal conversation to have information about the over all situations among the speech community and specific questions in a formal manner were forwarded. A semi-structured type of interview was used to collect enough information. Many of the questions used in the interview were not far from the concept in the questionnaire. In the interview, questions to participants from other than key informant interview are more of close ended and the basic notion of the questions were basically to cross check the validity of the data collected by the questionnaire. Questions for the key informant interviewees and for participants in the FGD are open ended since they are considered as knowledge insiders. In this research, a total of 30 informants have been interviewed.

### **3.6.3. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)**

The other instrument which is important in sociolinguistic survey is FGD. This instrument is functional to collect data from a specific group who is close to the issue. For FGD, people who are expected to be familiar with the two languages and their actual implementation within the society were selected. After the individuals have been selected, a topic was given to them and Abdulnasir who is the translator and I have let them to talk whatever assumptions they have. This is basically designed to get information about language contact phenomena and issues like

how they treat the two languages has been asked. Side by side their mixing and switching codes of the two languages was evaluated and picked.

#### **3.6.4. Observation**

One of the instruments that are functional in social science studies is observation. The observational method by itself may not be the best for collecting data of an essentially introspective nature such as attitudinal data, but when combined with more direct methods such as interviews and questionnaires, it can be very useful Gumperz (1964) cited in Agheyisi (2012). So in this research, observation is not the main and the only instrument to collect data rather it is combined with questionnaire and interview. With the help of the translators, I have observed the situation of language usage in selected domains like schools, market and religious areas. In these domains, how they use Berta and Arabic languages in their conversations, how they approach when Arabs are purchasing from them and other language use issues have been observed. The observation was supported with observation check-list.

#### **3.7. Data Analysis Method**

In the data analysis part, there are two things to be done; data entry and data analysis. In sociolinguistics survey, most linguists use qualitative data analysis method while others use both qualitative and quantitative data collecting methods based on their research objectives. Based on the nature of data that is gathered from the respondents and the instrument, the method of data analysis also varies.

In the research, I used both qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods this is because of the nature of the data in which data collected through questionnaire is quantitatively analyzed and the data collected through instruments other than questionnaire is qualitatively analyzed. How many of the respondents show positive attitude, which language they use at home, church, mosques, school, in the market, with their family, with their friends and demography of the respondents was tabulated (quantitative method). Under each table, there is description about the

data. Moreover, data collected by interview, observation and FGD have been analyzed qualitatively.

The recordings in the interview and FGD have been coded and then based on the codes there is interpretation. This is basically applied for the data collected from FGDs, interview and KII. For the interviews and KII, there is TR for tape recording and the number for the interviewee and then gender like TR4M is tape recording 4 male. For the FGDs, in addition to the codes for the interview, there is individual code from a group like TR2/8F that means tape recording 2 individual code 8 female.

Most of the data collected via questionnaire is more or less likert-scale data. Lamerevo (2007), Bichani (2015), Karahan (2007) have conducted research on language attitude and language use patterns, presented their data manually. There are still others who have searched to have a clue on how they can use statistical tools for their Likert-scale data. The questionnaire which were developed from Lammervo (2007), Ries (2011), Qawar and Deweik (2015), Bichani (2015) and Coronel (2009) and my own has been filled in Amharic and you can see from the Appendix. The questionnaire has three parts:

- language attitude
- language use

The language use section of the questionnaire aimed to answer questions formulated by Fishman “Who speaks what language to whom, when and to what end” (Fishman, 1965: 67). Domains of use were investigated covering family, ethnic contacts, work, and transaction domains and religious domains. Language choice was examined by asking the informants what language they speak to a selected list of people in their speech community like with spouse, children, grandchildren, relatives and friends and what language they use to perform different tasks such as writing a letter or shopping list, listening to the radio and watching videos. The questionnaire was answered with five pillars that range from always Arabic to always Berta.

The questionnaire also has a section that asked questions about their proficiencies of the two languages and their preference to be proficient in either of the two languages though the second concept is indirectly related to attitude measurement. The purpose of the study is to investigate

the relation among language attitude, language use and language contact phenomena and the situation between Berta and Arabic and therefore, evaluating their language proficiency or evaluating their interest of language proficiency has its own value to overcome the objectives of the research indirectly.

Regarding the attitude part of the questionnaire, there were questions incorporated to assess the feelings and perceptions of Berta about their own language and Arabic and their acceptance of bilingualism as well as about the language maintenance of Berta. This section contained questions which are warming up once and those questions with alternatives that range from strongly agree to strongly disagree and it was developed by Ting (2001) cited in (Bichani 2015). There are questions about the importance of Berta language and its dialects to the people, for instance; “Berta language is important to me” “I love speaking Berta” and so on. There are questions that ask about the process of learning one language may affect or hinder their proficiency in another language and indirectly about the nature of bilingualism and how the informants are entertaining bilingualism. Another part in the questionnaire investigates about language maintenance. Respondents were asked about their attitudes to maintain their language (Berta) like “Maintaining Berta is important to me” or “I want my children to learn Berta”. There is one question that directly asks about their perception about code-switching. It says “it is a common phenomenon to switch codes of Arabic to Berta”.

The questionnaire was pilot tested before the actual data was collected and the test was held in March 2017 in Menge woreda with teachers and few students. There is no data incorporated in this data analysis and only four informants were tested by the researcher himself. In the proposal, it was designed to collect data in an administered way and finally it has been changed to the procedure that the informants themselves filled the questionnaire. The questionnaire was introduced to the respondents two days before they fill it.

Excel analysis of the questionnaire data was employed to find out what results and conclusions emerged from the data. The data has been tabulated and numerical calculations were undertaken to see the number of responses this way and that way and their percentage is presented by counting the frequency from excel data. For instance, the responses about their language use profile that ranges from always Berta to always Arabic have been given numbers from 1 to 5 and

the same is true for responses about their language attitude that is from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

In the questionnaire, there was no open-ended question that requests the respondents to give longer answers and further discussions would be held through face-to-face interview and focus group discussions. The non-quantitative data in the questionnaire were very short, and answers were very short and could be easily categorized in different strata of data category. For instance, informants wrote in their own words how their children acquired Arabic. It was then possible to place the different answers into categories of similar content, and to count the number of answers in each category.

For the data collected by interview, FGD and observation, qualitative analysis has used. Based on the responses interpreted from perspectives of content, form of speech, and their interactional dynamics have been interpreted critically. Since their talk is somehow discourse type, the interpretation is discursive. According to Liebscher and Liebscher (2009), the inflow of qualitative methods in to the study of language attitude and language choice over the past few decades have been criticized for their methodological spectrum basically in the difficulty of applying their findings to real-life situations. To the end of analyzing language attitude and choice quantitatively, Liebscher and Jennifer (2009) argued that the use of interpretive approach which is conversational analysis is being advocated lately. Therefore, based on this argument, in this research, interpretive analysis mainly, conversational is used to analyze the data collected via interview, FGD and observation. First, the researcher put the dialogue in the interview and then there is justification under each dialogue and regardless of the FGD, the researcher quotes their conversation, when it is mandatory to support the interpretation with evidence. Under each dialogue, there discussion and the observation data is presented as illustrative example and there is justification about it relation with other data like data collected through questionnaire.

Regarding the data gathered through observation, first the observation was supported with observation check-list which is attached in the appendix. The observation was held in different domains like in the market, in the school and at home. Moreover, text books, dictionary have been observed. Based on the data, words which are replaced, expressions that are frequently used

and list of words from elicitation and from written documents have been taken as an example and analyzed qualitatively.

### **3.8. Research Procedure**

In this research, the instruments which are listed above have been tested. The pilot test was formal as possible to simulate and prove the instruments, but the data that is collected during the pilot test is not incorporated to the actual data which is going to be analyzed. Nahhas (2007) assures this idea as follows “Any survey instrument that is going to use should be pilot tested.

In this research, there were consecutive field trips at different seasons. Before the real field-work held, there was pre-field assessment. In the first trip, I have identified which place should be very important to have the best informants, which place is safe and which are not, and pre-requisites for the field-work. After this, there were four trips with 15 days of each trip. During these trips the necessary data was collected. Then one final trip for 5 days was held for checking any errors. After the data is collected, data collected via questionnaire is coded and filled on excel and percentage is driven based on the frequency.

## Chapter Four

### Data Analysis

This chapter is designed to give insights into the data and the conclusions drawn from the data. The sites were also divided into sub-sites. Based on the number of speakers in each speech community of the dialects and the area coverage, I took two sites from Maiyu and single site from Undullu. I took 201 informants from the three sites in which 35 questionnaires to Abramo, 80 questionnaires to Menge and 85 questionnaires to Undullu were distributed. From the distributed questionnaires, 183 were collected and from the collected questionnaires, 7 were disqualified while the rest 176 questionnaires presented in excel and tabulated to be analyzed.

#### 4.1. Background of the Informants

Even though there may not be tangible impact that is caused by gender, educational level, residence and age, there might be slight impact and it will be illustrated in the analysis part if there is any.

Table 4. 1 Background Information of the Informants

Variable		Number	Percentage
Gender	Male	214	80.45%
	Female	52	19.55%
Educational level	Junior	64	24%
	Secondary	128	48%
	Higher	43	21.5%
	Non-educated	31	15.5%
Age	Young	98	36.8%
	Adult	123	46.2%
	Old	45	16.9%
Location	Assosa area/Abramo	84	31.5%
	Menge	105	39.47%
	Undullu	77	28.94%
Total respondents			266 (176 who filled questionnaire data and 90 participated in FGD, interview and KII.

Source: Own Survey Data 2018.

## 4.2. Analysis of Language Attitude Data

Table 4.2 below shows the attitudes towards Berta. The table contains three questions as a statement and evaluates the respondents feeling about their language directly or indirectly. The table shows the response in number and percent. The evaluation is measured with respect to different degrees that ranges from strongly negative feeling to strongly positive feeling where there is also neutral feeling in between. There is a division between the two dialects under the study to see whether there is a difference of feeling among the speech community of each dialect. Based on the number and percentage of the respondents who strongly disagree, disagree, neither nor, agree and strongly agree, conclusions about their attitude is going to be drawn and presented under the table. Though the data were collected from three areas, the data collected from Abramo and Menge is considered as one since it is collected from Maiyu dialect.

### 4.2.1. Attitudes towards Berta language

Table 4. 2 Attitudes Towards Berta

		Strongly agree	agree	Neither nor	disagree	Strongly disagree
It is very important to speak Berta exclusively.						
Maiyu N=105	Number of respondents percentage	26 (25.3%)	30(29%)	32 (30.4%)	14(13.36%)	3 (2.8%)
Undullu N=71	Number of respondents percentage	14(19.7%)	29 (40.6%)	21(29.5%)	6(8.4%)	1 (1.4%)
My knowledge of Berta and ability to speak it fluently make me to proud myself.						
Maiyu N=105	Number of respondents percentage	16 (15%)	36 (34%)	52(49.5%)	1 (0.86%)	

Undullu N=71	Number of respondents percentage	21(24.7%)	31(43.6%)	18(22.3%)	1(1.17%)	
Arabic should be taught to all Berta people.						
Maiyu N=105	Number of respondents percentage	13 (12.4%)	31 (29.5%)	38 (36%)	18 (17%)	5 (4.7%)
Undullu N=71	Number of respondents percentage	8(9.4%)	14 (19.7%)	38 (53.4%)	10(12%)	1(1.17%)

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19

The above table triggers three questions regarding language attitudes of Berta people. The intention of the questions is that the first two questions are direct attitudinal questions while the third one tries to know their attitude indirectly by considering their concern about Arabic acquisition over Berta. The first question is whether speaking their language exclusively benefits them or not and it is directly related to attitudinal measurement. The responses of Maiyu respondents to the first question, 22.6% strongly agreed that their language is very important for them, while the same number of respondents, that means 32.4% are in between i.e. they neither agree nor disagree about the benefits of speaking only their language; the other 32.4% respondents agree that their language is important whereas 15% disagreed about the importance of their language exclusively. Only 2.8% have strongly disagreed about speaking their language exclusively. If we categorize these percentages into two categories, we can get around 51% who agreed that speaking their language exclusively is important, while around 32.4% of the respondents show neutral and/ or negative response for the question. The remaining small amount that covers about 16% have disagreed that speaking only their language is important. Therefore, regarding this question, though the majority of the respondents agreed on the importance of their language, there are still other respondents who are in a dilemma about the importance of their language. It is not therefore possible to conclude that Maiyu people have a positive view on the benefits of Berta language. This shows that those respondents who chose the

option neither nor, have unpredicted attitude towards their language and one respondent who disagreed about the advantage of Berta probably has a negative attitude towards the language.

With regard to Undullu, from the total respondents, almost 66% agreed that their language is important from which 22.3% are strongly agreed while 43.5% of them are agreed about the importance of speaking their language exclusively. From the rest of the respondents, 28.2% could not decide to agree or disagree about the importance of their language over Arabic and only 8.5% disagreed for their language is important while there is only 1 respondent who strongly disagree.

comparing the responses of the respondents for the first question among the two varieties, we can observe a slight difference on their perception. As we have seen in the above paragraph, from the Maiyu variety speakers, some chose neither nor and disagree alternatives, but in the case of Undullu respondents there is no such a response. This tells that respondents from Undullu have better feeling about their language than Maiyu respondents have. This result is related to a result by Lammerevo (2007) in which Finish people from rural areas are preserving the minority language and they show positive attitude towards finish. Moreover, the result also agreed with Bremer (2016) research that concludes the Undullu dialect is spoken far from Assosa and it is relatively preserved and free of Arabic influence compared to Maiyu and Fadash.

For the second question, little variation among the respondents from the two sites have been observed. From Maiyu, respondents 15% are strongly agreed that their knowledge and ability of speaking Berta fell them to proud themselves, 34% are agreed about the goodness of their Berta ability and speaking it while 49% responded that they are neither agreed nor disagreed about this issue and the rest one respondent agreed that Berta is not good and it is not his preference to speak it. From this we can understand that around 49% of Maiyu respondents are of the option that their Berta ability and knowledge make them to proud themselves. This implies that the people have a positive attitude about Berta. The other larger number 49% however have shown neither positive nor negative perception to Berta and it is difficult to determine or conclude about their attitude of the language. Still there is one respondent 0.88% who disagreed that ability of Berta can make them to proud themselves. Those who choose nither nore option indirectly show that they have another language in their mind that they would like to be fluent.

From the total of 71 respondents of Undullu, 24.7% strongly agreed that their Berta ability and their fluency to speak it make them to proud themselves. The other 43.6% respondents agreed that their Berta language fluency make them to proud themselves. About 22.3% respondent who responded neither nor option, but there is only one respondent 1.17% who disagreed about the concept. From the total respondents, about 70.5% agree that they are proud of their Berta ability and 22.3% are neither accept nor ignored the concept while only 1.17% disagreed. This shows that people from Undullu have a positive attitude towards Berta. We can even infer that respondents from Undullu show more positive attitude than respondents from Maiyu.

The third question has been designed to evaluate the feeling of Berta speakers about learning their language and how they treat their interaction with Arabs via learning their language. This indirectly is intended to assess their attitude towards their language and the impact of social situations to determine their attitude. About 12.4% of Maiyu respondents strongly agreed that all Berta speakers shoul learn Arabic langauge, 29.5% agreed on the issue of their Arabic acquisition, 35.6% are in between i.e. they neither disagreed nor agreed on this point. The remaining 17% or 13 respondents disagreed about the issue. This data shows that about 52.3% of the respondents agreed that all Berta speakers have to learn Arabic and around 35.6% are neutral about it. Only few respondents 11.3% disagreed on the above issue. This indirectly shows that they cared about Arabic language and they consider that all Berta speakers should be bilingual which affects their attitude towards Berta language negatively.

The same question was forwarded for respondents from Undullu site. They gave the following responses. No respondent strongly agreed that learning Berta may hinder their Arabic acquisition and may affect their relation with Arabs and very few 9.4% agreed on the point while 49.4% of the respondents circled neither nor option and 24.7% agreed that acquiring Berta may disturb their Arabic competence and their relationship with Arabs. The rest 12.9% of the respondents have disagreed about the effect of Berta on acquiring Arabic as their second language. This shows that about 49% of the respondents from Undullu are in dilemma to decide on the third question. This means, unlike the respondents from Maiyu, it is difficult to conclude about the perception of Undullu respondents and their concern of their language as well as their treatment

of Arabic. Undullu speakers have relatively a positive attitude to maintain their language Berta even if it may affect their relations with Arabs, but the reverse is true for Maiyu respondents.

To sum up what has been said in the above table, it deals with language attitudes of Berta people about their language and it contains issues directly or indirectly indicating their attitude. From the table we can conclude that regarding Maiyu, there are respondents who have circled neither nor option for each of the questions, but only one respondent for the last question regarding the Undullu respondents. From this we can conclude that Berta speakers from Maiyu are in dilemma to decide about their language issues and to distinguish among the two languages whereas in Undullu they are strictly linked with Berta. In the last question it is clear from their response that Maiyu respondents are concerned about social issues. Even though these people show this type of attitude it will be determined by different factors like the advantages they got from speaking that language, the status of the language, the prestige of the languages and so on. This finding relates to Sandanand (1993) who suggested attitudes towards the use of different languages can be motivated by the speakers' perception on the role of each language and the function it performs to each other. In addition, Bichani (2015) and Coronel (2009) agreed that if a speech community is interested to learn a language, indirectly they show that they have positive attitude towards that language. So since the Berta respondents in the above table agreed that all Berta speakers should learn Arabic, they have a positive attitude to learn and maintain Arabic language.

The first two questions are directly concerned about attitude while the third question indirectly crosschecks the first two in the table. The respondents' response for the first two questions, it is possible to say that Berta speakers show positive attitude since they strongly agree and agree about the importance and the beauty of Berta language. Though majority of the respondents have agreed, there are few who disagreed on that Berta sounds good especially from Maiyu variety respondents. In the third question, majority of the respondents of the two sites strongly agreed and agreed that Arabic should be taught to all Berta people and it can affect their relations with Arabs and still the other larger percentage of the response is neutral about the issue. This implies that the Berta speakers have love-hate attitude for their language. This is related to the research result by Afulabi (2016:1) which states that the Nigerian have love-hate relation with English in

Nigeria for the sentimental and instrumental attachments to the use of English. Similarly, the Berta speech community have positive attitude for Berta since they consider it as their first language and still they have sentimental and instrumental attachments with the use of Arabic that leads them to adapt positive attitude towards Arabic too.

#### 4.2.2. Attitudes Towards Arabic

So far, it has been seen that, what the attitude of Berta people to their own language is. The second concept regarding language attitude is attitude about Arabic. As we have seen they have love hate attitude about Berta so can it led them to adapt positive attitude for Arabic? The following table illustrates this.

Table 4. 3 Attitudes Towards Arabic

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	disagree	Strongly disagree
I speak Arabic not because I am obliged to, but I like to speak it.						
Maiyu N=105	Number of respondents percentage	9 (7.8%)	23 (22%)	54 (52.8%)	18 (15.6%)	1(0.86%)
Undullu N=71	Number of respondents percentage	4(4.7%)	17(24%)	41(57.7%)	8 (11%)	1 (1.4%)
It is better to teach Arabic for Berta children as early as possible.						
Maiyu N=105	Number of respondents percentage	12 (11.4%)	20(19%)	65(62%)	7(6.08%)	1 (0.86%)
Undullu N=71	Number of respondents percentage	2(2.3%)	18(21.17%)	26(36.6%)	22(31%)	3(3.6%)
I may not bother if I am not proficient in Berta.						
Maiyu N=104	Number of respondents percentage	9 (7.8%)	21(19.1%)	59 (58.2%)	12 (11.3%)	2(1.7%)

Undullu N=71	Number of respondents percentage	4 (5.6%)	11(15.4%)	25 (35.2%)	20 (28%)	11(15.4%)
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Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19

As seen from the above table, three questions are being presented to analyze the feelings of Berta people about Arabic. Responses taken from the two sites Maiyu and Undullu have been presented separately. It follows a detail analysis of the response. Omdal (1995:85): “Language attitudes are found to be 'relevant to the definition of speech communities, to the explanation of linguistic change, language maintenance and language shift, and to applied concerns in the fields of intergroup communication, language planning and education.’” This table contains questions that evaluate respondents’ feeling about learning, maintaining and using Arabic and this indirectly shows their attitude.

The first question in the table is all about a comparative feeling of their motivations to speak Arabic. It asks the respondents to know if there is a power that forces them to speak it or it is their own motivation. Like that of their feeling about Berta, there is still a slight variation among the respondents from the two sites though it is not that much. If we look at the responses of Maiyu respondents for this question, 7.8% strongly agreed that it is not their obligation to speak Arabic and they speak it since they like to speak it, 22.1% agreed about the issue while 53% of the respondents are neither the support nor the oppose groups, they chose the neither nor option. This implies that they have some dragging force that leads them to speak, but not possible to detect what drags them to do so. Few that cover 15.6% and of Maiyu respondents circled the disagree and strongly disagree options respectively for the first question. The number of respondents who neither supported nor opposed implies that the inner part of those people pushed them to have some positive attitudes about their language, but different social and economic as well as religious benefits from Arabic confused them to decide. By considering other questions that have been raised to know the reason why they dare to learn and speak Arabic, it is religion that forces them to speak Arabic.

Likewise, for this question and its response from Undullu respondents, we can draw the following conclusion. From the Undullu site respondents, there are very few respondents who have strongly agreed or agreed that they speak Arabic with no obligation. There are 4 respondents (4.7%) who are strongly agreed and 24% agreed that they speak Arabic because they like it. The remaining 57% of the respondents are confused to clearly state their feelings to speak Arabic. From this confusion, it is possible to understand that the people from Undullu have almost equal recognitions of both Berta and Arabic and they have positive attitudes for both languages.

The comparison between the respondents response from the two sites, we can see differences in their agreement. Regarding the Maiyu respondents, there is slight variation among the respondents. What makes them similar is that the response from both sites shows us that majority of the respondents are in dilemma. Towards the options of strongly agree and strongly disagree, there is no greater variation there are few respondents from both sites who choose the options.

The second question in the table is intended to evaluate the preference of teaching their children from the two languages. Let me discuss the table and draw conclusions about the table. If we start from the responses from Maiyu respondents, 11.4% are strongly agreed about the preference to teach Arabic for their children as early as possible and the other 19% agreed about the issue. Around 62% have chosen the option neither nor which covers the larger percentage. The rest 6.07% have disagreed.. The question contains two concepts that interlink each other. One is about the status of the two languages because if the respondents agreed to teach their children earlier, it shows that they have positive attitude to Arabic and give high value. Their response has great value to measure their attitude. Therefore, around 28% agreed to teach Arabic for their children as early as possible which means they would like to see their children more proficient in Arabic than in Berta and this indicates that they have positive attitude for Arabic. Still the other larger percentage of respondents from Maiyu 62%, are fifty equal that means it is impossible to decide on their attitude to wards Arabic. So it is possible to say that Maiyu speech community would like to be proficient even though it needs further investigation on the reasons why they prefer to teach their children Arabic language.

The response of respondents from Undullu for the same question, there is slight shift in their attitude to their language. As I have said this question has two dimensions and it is basic to evaluate ones attitude. There is no respondent who strongly agreed and strongly disagreed and their response lays on the three options. From the total respondents, 2.3% strongly agreed that they prefer to teach Arabic for their children and 21% have agreed about the issue. About 36.6% are in a dilemma to decide. However, another larger percentage 31.1% disagreed that they never prefer to teach Arabic for their children as early as possible. The response from Undullu site is strange unlike that of their response for the above question as well as their responses in the above table. Here larger number shows that the respondents are in confusion to decide and it has its own implication about their attitude. It shows for one thing they give high status for Arabic and tend to learn it and on the other hand there is something that hinders them to decide to learn Arabic in favor of Berta. What surprises me is that still the number of respondents who agreed to teach Arabic for their children is greater than those who have disagreed. This implies that Undullu speech community has the intention to teach Arabic for their children and to be bilinguals like Maiyu speakers which has its own contribution to adapt positive attitude for Arabic language.

With respect to this question, I observed that respondents' responses from both sites indicate that Berta people have the intention to learn Arabic in favor of their language. Even though there is slight difference among respondents from the two sites, i.e. there is a respondent who strongly agreed from Maiyu, but there is none from Undullu, respondents from both sites argued that they prefer to learn Arabic.

The third question asked their concerns about the sustainability of their language and their perception about their language when they are proficient in Arabic. Indirectly, this reveals their attitude. If the respondents are not bothered about the loss of Berta language because they are proficient in Arabic language, it indicates that the people have a negative attitude towards Berta language and a positive attitude for Arabic language. This question is designed to identify the attitudes of Berta people about Arabic.

The respondents from Maiyu site responded as follows: 7.8% are strongly agreed 19.1% agreed that they will not bother when they lose Berta, 58.2% of them have chose neither nor option,

11.3% disagreed that they will bother if they lost Berta and 1.7% strongly disagreed that they will concern about their language. Here it is understood that even though the majority of the respondents are in a dilemma regarding the concern of their language, the number of respondents who disagreed on their loss of Berta exceeds the number of respondents who have agreed on the issue. This tells us that they have a positive attitude to preserve their language.

When we look at the responses of Undullu respondents, there are 4 respondents that covers 5.6% who strongly agreed, 16 respondents that covers 18.8% who agreed that they will never bothered to loss Berta. Majority of the respondents that cover 35.2% are confused to decide and are fifty equal about the issue. 28% and 15.4% are disagreed and strongly disagreed respectively. Based on the argument that that discussed above, since the majority of the respondents agreed that they will bother about the loss of Berta indicates that they have a higher positive attitude to preserve their language and they bothered about their language than Arabic.

As it can be seen from the above discussion, speakers from Undullu variety show a strong positive attitude towards their own language compared to Maiyu variety speakers. Beyond the responses through questionnaire, there was an informal conversation and practical observation during my travel for data collection via questionnaire. I have been informed that unless their interest for their social interaction with Maiyu speakers and Sudan Arabs, the Undullu variety respondents argued that they would like to preserve their language in general and their dialect in particular. This idea also has been confirmed by Bremer (2016: 27) “Regarding Arabic loanwords, the results indicate that both Undulu and Fadashi are more conservative than Maiyu and are therefore more inclined to maintain indigenous words or phrases to describe certain lexical icons; however, both speech varieties do in fact loan from Arabic on occasion. Nearly all of those Undulu and Fadashi speakers who were surveyed spoke Sudanese Arabic as either as second or a third language, and some even indicated that they preferred to speak Arabic with Maiyu speakers rather than their respective vernacular dialects”.

According to Bremer (2016:18), the Maiyu dialect is taken as a standard reference of Berta even though the dialect is highly affected by the influence of Arabic than other dialects. Therefore, materials are being prepared based on this dialect including mother-tongue teaching materials. Whether they like it or not, other dialect speakers of Berta should be familiar with Maiyu dialect

and this can determine their attitudes. According to this justification, it cannot be concluded that Undullu speakers have positive attitude for Maiyu because they use it for social and economical benefits.

The following table contains the nature of the two languages. It cannot be functional to determine their attitude directly. However, the beauty of the language, the function of the language, the complexity of the language and the status of the language considered by the speech community can indirectly shows attitudes towards each of the languages. It is the continuation of the above concept about attitude but it is in a general sense.

Table 4. 4 Indirect Evaluation of Language Attitudes of Berta Speakers for Berta and Arabic

Questions		Berta	Arabic
Which one is more prestigious language over the other one?	Maiyu=102	29(28.4%)	73(71.5%)
	Undullu=70	32(45%)	38(53.5%)
Which one is more useful language?	Maiyu=103	22(21.3%)	81(78.6%)
	Undullu=71	27(36.6%)	44(62%)
Which language do you think is more functional in your daily conversations?	Maiyu=105	27(25.7%)	78(74.28%)
	Undullu=71	29(40.8%)	42(57.7%)
Which language is easy to learn?	Maiyu=105	33(31.4%)	72(68.57%)
	Undullu=71	43(60.5%)	28(39.4%)
Which language is difficult to learn?	Maiyu=105	73(69.5%)	32(30.47%)
	Undullu=71	29(40.8%)	42(59%)
Which language is considered as religiously accepted language?	Maiyu=105	1(0.86%)	104(99.4%)
	Undullu=71	3(3.8%)	68(96%)
Which language would you like to be your first language?	Maiyu=105	43(40.9%)	62(58.1%)
	Undullu=71	38(53.5%)	33(43.66%)

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19

From the above table, it is possible to see and conclude that the Berta speech communities are considering Arabic positively. The measuring mechanisms presented in the table are indirectly evaluators of attitude. Those dealing with language-oriented or language-directed attitudes are category report primarily on evaluations or ratings of language or language varieties as 'rich' or

'poor', 'balanced' or 're-duced', 'beautiful' or 'ugly', 'smooth and sweet sounding' or 'harsh', etc Agheyisi (2012:141-142). Therefore in the above table, such issues have been presented.

If we look at the first and the second questions from the table, they are all about the beauty and usefulness of the two languages. Though there is slight difference among respondents of the two sites, majority of the respondents are considering Arabic as more beautiful and useful. From the Maiyu respondents, 69.5% consider Arabic as more prestigious and 27.6% considers that Berta is more prestigious, while from Undullu respondents, 53% preferred Arabic as more prestige one and 45% of them preferred Berta as more prestige than Arabic. Regarding the usefulness of the languages, 77% of Maiyu and 62% of Undullu consider that Arabic is more useful than Berta whereas 36% of Undullu and 21% of Maiyu consider Berta as more useful than Arabic. The third question is about domains of function among the two languages and which language is functional in each of their conversation. Similarly, even if there is difference among respondents of the two sites, still majority of the respondents that take 72.38% of Maiyu and 57.7% of Undullu respond that Arabic is functional in different situations compared to Berta.

The other two questions in the table are asking about the complexity and easiness of the two languages. The two questions are opposite to each other in that one asks about the difficulty of the languages and the other one is about the easiness of the languages. This is deliberately done to cross check the validity of the responses by contradicting the questions. For the first question, 68.5% of Maiyu and 39% of Undullu respondents agreed that Arabic is easier to learn than Berta did. 69.5% of Maiyu and 40.8% of Undullu on the other hand agreed that Berta is difficult to learn and the rest 59% of Undullu and 30.33% of Maiyu argue that Arabic is more difficult to learn than Berta. If we look at the percentage of the response for the two questions, directly and indirectly, majority of the respondents particularly Maiyu respondents accept that Berta is difficult to learn. For Undullu respondents however, the agreement on language complexity of Berta and Arabic is almost fifty equal.

The last two questions are about language and religion as well as about language and identity. Both religion and identity are more sensitive issues in a given speech community and they can determine the behaviors and feelings of that community. If we see their response for the preference of religious language, almost all of the respondents that means 100% of Maiyu and

96% of Undullu respondents argue that Arabic is religious language. For 58.1% of Maiyu respondents Arabic can symbolize their identity but 40.9% of them think that Berta can symbolize their identity. For Undullu respondents, 53.5% of them accepted that Berta should be their first language while 43.66% would like to accept Arabic as their first language.

The result of the above table in general shows us that the Berta speakers have more positive attitude towards Arabic. This result is related to the results from different researches that are conducted by different researchers on similar issues. The first one is the research by Dweik and Qawar (2015) about language choice and language attitude in multilingual Arab-Canadian community. According to the result, Arab Canadians have positive attitude for Arabic, English and French languages in that Arabic is positively accepted for social and religious activities while English and French are accepted positively for their function of Canadian identity and education purposes. Likewise, Berta speakers have positive attitude for Arabic for their religious and social as well as economic benefits and they have still positive attitude for Berta because it is their mother tongue language. These results are also agreed with research results of Sadanand (1993) who maintained that the attitudes towards the use of different languages are motivated by the speakers' perception of the role of each language and the functions it performs in relation to each other. The findings agree with Coulmas (1997) who maintained that people choose languages which suit their various needs and purposes. Moreover, the findings agree with Richards, Platt, J. and Platt, H. (1992) who pointed out that language attitude may reflect the speakers' impressions of linguistic difficulty or simplicity, degree of importance and social status.

#### **4.2.3. Language Attitude to Berta-Arabic Bilingualism**

Attitude to entertain or to ignore bilingualism has its own effect to attitudes of that languages individually and the use of those languages in daily conversations. Basically, it is difficult to know the exact proficiency and bilingual ability of speech community with attitudinal questionnaires. Degrees of bilingualism are difficult to ascertain. According to Mackey's model (1968), cited in Lamerevo (2007:233), bilingualism needs to be measured at the phonological, grammatical, lexical, semantic, stylistic, and graphic levels in listening, reading, speaking and writing skills. However, in recent researches, we have a lot about the social aspects of bilingual

competences as Romaine (1995:17), recently there has been an emphasis on communicative competence, which includes the patterns of grammar and rules for their use in socially appropriate circumstances. Bilinguals are rarely equally fluent in both languages about all possible topics. “The notion of balanced bilinguals is an ideal one, which is largely an artifact of a theoretical perspective which takes the monolingual as its point of reference” Romaine (1995:19). In the current research, I am not going to measure language proficiencies of the Berta speech community in each of the languages and I am not interested to deal with their bilingualism rather it is a self-score attitudinal test only. The informants’ self-evaluations included an expression of confidence towards their own skills, which can be a key indicator of attitude. Reactions to the attitude statement help to know how the informants assess their degree of bilingualism.

To evaluate the attitudes to bilingualism of Berta speakers, four questions that directly or indirectly measures their attitude have forwarded. These questions contain different themes that can assess the confidence that speakers have to express themselves in both languages and their thinking and assumptions about the advantages and drawbacks of being bilingual of Berta and Arabic and about the difficulty of mastering the two languages. The following consecutive table contains the respondents response for different questions.

Table 4. 5 Attitude to Bilingualism

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	disagree	Strongly disagree
I can express myself in either language equally well.					
Maiyu= 105	34(32.2%)	57(54.2%)	14(13.9%)		
Undullu=71	17(23.9%)	34(47.8%)	19(26.7%)	1(1.17%)	

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19.

As it can be seen from the table, majority of the respondents from both site agreed that they can express themselves in both languages equally. Almost half of the total number of respondents from both site that means 54.2% respondents of Maiyu and 47.8% respondents of Undullu agreed on the issue of self-expression in both languages, while 32.2% and 23.9% of them respectively have strongly agreed. From this we can understand that majority of the respondents

are confident full about their ability or proficiency of both Arabic and Berta languages. In addition, as we have seen from the above table about attitudes of Berta speakers for Arabic, they show as that they have relatively positive attitude for the issue that Arabic is important for them. So this and the result from table 4.4 indicate that Berta speakers have positive attitude for Berta-Arabic bilingualism. Rise (2011) concluded that speakers attitude to bilingualism or multilingualism is dependent on their bilingual ability.

The issue of bilingualism of Berta and Arabic has been one important area for discussion in FGDs and KII. One of the topics for discussion in FGDs was “is bilingualism of Berta and Arabic promoted in your community?” It was very debatable and it took much time since some of the participants were not convinced. Through time however, majority of the participants agreed that either due to the interest from the individual or due to different social and economic factors, Berta Arabic bilingualism is promoted in their speech community. For instance, T1FC8M (tape recording 1 FGD code 8 male) said that unless they know Arabic, they could never be Muslims therefore, whether they like it or not, they have to be bilinguals of Arabic. The other one T3FC4F suggested that beyond religious cases, to talk with her husband and with her kids, she has to know Arabic in addition to Berta. Similarly one of the KII (key informant interview) said that “*even some people would like to be Arabic perfect and the parents this day promote their children to acquire Arabic first.*” This is even more than attitudes to bilingualism and it is an indicator of positive attitude to Arabic. For this preference, the participants mentioned different reasons like religion and trade that will be discussed later in this chapter.

The more positive attitude towards the ability to express oneself in either of the two languages implies that the Berta speakers have the better self-evaluative Arabic skill. For their mother tongue Berta however, it is in the opposite side. That means even if they can have high self-evaluative skills of Berta, their feeling has been shared by their interest of Arabic. In this regard, Lamerevo (2007) formulated the same question that asks Finish ability to express themselves in both English and Finish and has concluded as follows; “The more positive the attitude towards the ability to express oneself in either language, the better the self-evaluated English skills. However, the self-evaluated Finnish skills correlate less clearly and in the opposite way. “The

more positive the attitude, the lower the self-evaluated Finnish skills” Lamerevo (2007:235). The same is true here in Berta, they give due attention for Arabic though it is not their mother tongue. The other question regarding bilingual attitude measurement was a question about the difficulty and possibility of mastering the two languages. What the respondents respond is presented in the following table.

Table 4. 6 Attitude to Master both Languages

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	disagree	Strongly disagree
It is easy to be fluent in both Arabic and Berta.					
Maiyu=105	21(18.2%)	61(58%)	22(19%)	1(0.95%)	
Undullu=71	22(30.9%)	35(47.88%)	11(15.4%)	3(4.2%)	

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19

Mastering a language means emotion plus motivation and action to learn or acquire a language or languages. Linguist like Lamerevo (2007), argued that the interest to master two languages or attitude to master languages has a greater linkage with language proficiency and their use in a daily conversation. From table 4.5, it is possible to conclude that majority of the respondents consider that it is easy to master both Arabic and Berta. From the total number of the respondents, more than half that is around 78.2% of Maiyu and 78.7% of Undullu respondents agreed that it is easy to master the two languages. From the remaining, 19% of Maiyu and 15.4% of Undullu respondents gave fifty equal choice for their feeling to master both Arabic and Berta.

In the above table about the attitudes of Berta speakers for their language there was a question that asks about the influence of Berta in acquiring Arabic and according to the response scored, majority of the respondents are in dilemma to decide which shows that they give fifty equal feeling for both Arabic and Berta. If we correlate this concept with the result in table 4.6, it is possible to conclude that Berta speakers have high positive attitude to master both languages at the same time. This is an implication for having positive attitude for Berta-Arabic bilingualism.

Data from a conversation with a woman from Kashaf is a little bit different from the above though there is a tangible reason mentioned by her. The woman is conscious about their language

and she is a leader in one-to-five networking organized by kebele health post. She said that being fluent in both languages is not easy and especially it is difficult for females unless they are students. This basically they have no access to hear and communicate with Arabic as she has mentioned as a reason. On the other hand, she mentioned different advantages of mastering Arabic and for her, it is mandatory to master both languages. Attitude has its own role in determining language shift or maintenance though it is not the only factor. Researchers, such as Fishman (1985) cited in Bichani (2015: 32) for example have argued that language attitudes do not always predict language maintenance or shift, as attitudes need to be linked to the language's status as a core value in a particular group, or related to other values, such as religious beliefs.

The data from KII that was taken from one of staff members of regional Educational office language implementers supports that mastering both languages is easy for the speech community. The question was “what is your observation about the interest and efforts by Berta speech community to be bilinguals of Berta and Arabic?” he said that, *for Berta community, knowing Arabic is part of their life and therefore, every individual is competent to master Arabic. This is due to different social and religious matters.*

The third and the fourth questions are all about the merits and demerits of being Berta-Arabic bilingual. One is about whether the bilingualism has drawbacks or not and the other one is a question about the importance of bilingualism of Berta and Arabic. However, since the two questions imply similar concept, it has been presented in a single table as follows and it is basically with the question that asks about the drawbacks of Berta-Arabic bilingualism.

Table 4. 7 Attitude Towards the Drawbacks of Bilingualism

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	disagree	Strongly disagree
Speaking both Berta and Arabic has no drawbacks					
Maiyu=105	31(29.52%)	53(50.47%)	18(17%)	3(2.8%)	
Undullu=71	19(26.7%)	41(57.7%)	9(12.6%)	2(2.8%)	

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19

The question was taken from Ries (2011) and the question was presented in an interrogative way and here to see the degree of the perceptions of informants it has been modified in to a statement form. In its original it was “has bilingualism its drawbacks?” but without changing the concept, the form has been changed. As it can be seen from table 4.7, majority of the respondents accept bilingualism in Berta and Arabic positively. Except few respondents who are in dilemma to agree or to disagree about the demerits of Berta-Arabic bilingualism, majority of the respondents that covers around 80% of Maiyu and about 84% of Undullu respondents agreed that Berta-Arabic bilingualism has no drawbacks. This shows us that the motivation of Berta speech community to be bilinguals of Arabic and their positive attitude to bilingualism. This positive attitude of bilingualism its merits have its own positive and negative impact on the two languages. If Berta speakers thought that being Arabic bilingualism has no drawbacks, then it has positive impact for the proficiency and usage of Arabic while it has negative impact on the proficiency and usage of Berta.

Table 4. 8 Attitude Towards Deciding Mother Tongue Language

	Berta	Arabic	Both
If you aquired both Berta and Arabic at the same time, which of them will you consider being your first langauge?			
Maiyu=105	43(40.95%)	16(15.2%)	46(43.8%)
Undullu=71	43(60.5%)	11(15.5%)	17(23.9%)

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19.

A speech community decides on mother tongue language when they have positive perception about the language that they are speaking. Lisnguists listed different situations that can lead a bilingual speech community to choose one of the langauegs that they speak to use and to continue considering it as their mother tonue. Appel and Muskey (1987) listed group membership, situation and topic as main factors of language choice as mother tongue and daily usage. According to these two linguists, “oviously, language cand be used to express one’s identity, the identity imposed by group membership is a crucial point in language choice”Apple and Muskey (1987:35).

When we see the above table, majority of the respondents from Maiyu have considered both Arabic and Berta can be their mother tongue if they learned both languages at the same time. About 43% of the respondents would like to make both languages to be their mother tongue. The other larger percent of the respondents from Maiyu assumed Berta to be their mother tongue if they learned both languages at the same time. From the total respondents of Maiyu speakers, 40.7% suggested that Berta could be their mother tongue if they acquire both Berta and Arabic at the same time. Only 13.33% of the respondents suggested that they will consider Arabic to be their mother tongue.

From this it is possible to say that Maiyu dialect speakers have positive perception of Arabic to be their mother tongue. Though majority of the speakers didn't directly imply their choice on Arabic, 43% of them considered that both languages could be their mother tongue. This is because of different non-linguistic factors like social and religious interactions among Berta and Arabic speakers. Maiyu speakers considered themselves as if they have blood relations with Arabs. Bremer (2016) suggested that the Maiyu dialect speakers are associating themselves to Arab blood and they undermine Undullu dialect speakers since they consider that the Undullu have no blood relation with Arabs. This can lead the Maiyu speakers to proud Arabic blood identity and that can make them to choose Arabic to be their mother tongue. Since they would like to have both Berta and Arabic identities, they would like to promote both languages to be their mother tongue.

When we see the response of Undullu respondents, majority of them that covers about 60.5% would like to promote Berta as their mother tongue. From the rest of the respondents, 23.9% have considered that both languages could be their mother tongue if they can learn both languages at the same time and 12.6% choose Arabic to be their mother tongue if they learned both languages at the same time. Bremer (2016) and Neodorf (2008) suggested that Undullu is more or less preserved dialect from the influence of Arabic. That is why majority of the respondents would like to promote Berta as their mother tongue. Bremer (2016) also conclude that other Berta dialects like Maiyu are influencing Undullu. So in the above table 23.9% responded that they would like to promote both languages as their mother tongue and this can be due to the influence of Maiyu dialect because Maiyu is taken as a reference dialect of Berta language.

So far, I have discussed what attitude do bilinguals of Berta-Arabic have towards their bilingualism. Now it is time to see what if they are not perfect bilinguals of Berta-Arabic and what will they feel about perfect bilinguals of the two languages. Coronel (2009:11) identified two types of bilingual attitudes as follows; “the two aspects of attitudes towards bilingualism: “the attitudes of bilinguals towards aspects of bilingual behavior, such as code-switching, and the status it is assigned in the community repertoire. Secondly, there is the question of the attitudes of monolinguals to bilinguals and to various aspects of bilingualism, such as bilingual education”. Having this in mind, I have forwarded a question that says “if you are poor in Arabic bilingualism, what do you feel about the perfect bilinguals of Berta-Arabic, about yourself and Arabic language?” This question was discussed by two FGD participants of each site and almost similar response has obtained. One of the participants from Undullu (T3FC9F) argued as follows. *“for example I am not bilingual of Arabic and Berta. It is not my mistake, but I feel I lack something which is very important to me. I am proud of those who are proficient in Arabic and even if Arabic is difficult to master, I have to have it soon. I hope those who are perfect in Arabic would undermine me”*. From her speech, it is possible to conclude something about bilingual attitudes of monolinguals. As we can see from her speech, she is almost Berta monolingual and she has a great ambition to be proficient in Arabic. She accept that it is not her mistake to be poor in Arabic, but still she feels inferiority of the perfect bilinguals. This implies how much she is eager to learn and master Arabic. The other participant from Abramo (T1FC5M) suggests the following; *“I am not sure whether there are Berta speakers who are monolinguals, but what I know is every Berta is bilingual of Arabic and Berta. If there are, I hope they have been late to be Muslims and to study ‘Qur’an’ . It is too long for Arabic to be with us and they have the chance to learn it since there are a lot of people who speak Arabic around them”*. This man is perfect bilingual and he suggested his belief about monolinguals. According to his assumption, if Berta speakers are Berta monolinguals, they have never been Muslims since they did not study Qur’an. So this man indirectly tells that he has high positive attitude to bilingualism and somehow he undermine the monolinguals.

#### 4.2.4. Attitude Towards Berta and Arabic Bilingualism

Till now we have seen what attitudes do Berta speakers have for their own language and for Arabic language individually and their attitude of being bilinguals of the two languages. Now it is time to see what attitude they have about their bilingualism of the two languages. The following tables, table 4.8 and 4.9, are talking about the advantages and disadvantages of Berta-Arabic bilingualism in the speech community. The questions are average questions and therefore there are about 11 omissions from Maiyu and about 8 omissions from Undullu.

Table 4.9 Attitude Towards the Advantages of Berta-Arabic Bilingualism.

List of advantages	Maiyu=94	Undullu=63
What are the advantages of Berta-Arabic bilingualism? (more than one answer is possible)		
Access to wider range of cultures	73(69.52%)	39(54.90%)
Accesses to trade activities	37(35.2%)	29(40.84%)
Access to education	23(21.9%)	18(25.30%)
Access to rich social knowledge	91(97.14%)	59(94.36%)
Access to wider social interactions	63(60%)	27(38.00%)

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19.

The question is intended to know their attitude and perceptions about the advantages of being bilingual of Berta-Arabic. A speech community would like to be bilingual of two different languages when the languages have their own values in the speech community. According to Lamerevo (2007), a speech community will keep two languages at a time when the languages are considered that they have different advantages. Similarly, Coronel (2009) suggested that bilingual communities will have some advantages of both languages in their mind. In the above table, about five advantages that a bilingual is thought to be considered have been listed and the respondents' response have been presented.

The first one is about the advantages of bilingualism to have wider access of cultures. As we can see from the table, about 69.52% of Maiyu respondents and about 55% of Undullu respondents argued that being Berta-Arabic bilingual has its own advantage to have wider access of culture. When there is cultural contact within a community, by default, there may be language contact

and cultural hybridization. Lammerevo (2007:64) stated that, the Finish in Australia have considered their bilingualism as if they can share cultural practices with the people they are living with. The Berta in Benishangul Gumuz are considering as if they have two identities and they would like to share Arabic culture too. According to Bremer (2016) the Berta especially the Maiyu are considering themselves as if they are hybridized with the Arabs, but the Undullu are still preserving their Berta identity. So as we have seen from the above table, majority of the respondents argued that Berta-Arabic bilingualism can have wider range of cultural accesses.

When we see the two advantages of bilingualism listed in the table; i.e. access to prestige and access to education, the percentage is low compared to other advantages of Berta-Arabic bilingualism. About 35% of Maiyu and 40.84% of Undullu respondents considers that Berta-Arabic bilingualism is important to have access to prestigity and about 22% of Maiyu and 25% of Undullu respondents suggested that Berta-Arabic bilingualism has its own advantage to be effective in scientific knowledge. If we compare access to prestige and access to education and science, the percent to access to prestige is greater than access to education. This is due to their trade interaction with Arabs and their considerations that they have Arabic blood.

The fourth pilar that is designed to know Berta speech community's attitude is to the advantages of their Berta-Arabic bilingualism, is access to religion. Almost all of the respondents from both sites (97%) of Maiyu and 94.36%) of Undullu respondents argued that Berta-Arabic bilingualism have advantages to know their religious knowledge. As I have mentioned repeatedly in the research, the Berta speech community would like to be proficient in Arabic and keep using it for its religious functions. After they researched the three New Zealand speech communities, Holmes et.al (1993) cited in Ali (2017) concluded that 'language revival and maintenance ascribed to multiple factors and the most influncial which arguably have a religious component.' In the result of their research, the church gatherings create opportunities minorities to maintain because of religious ideologies emensed from the community. In the Berta community, they would like to maintain Arabic for their religious ideology.

The final concept that is mentioned as an advantage of Berta-Arabic bilingualism is the precence of societal interactions. About 60% of Maiyu and 38% of Undullu respondents mentioned that Berta-Arabic bilingualism has its own merits to have access to social interactions. As we can see from the percentage of the response, there is greater variation among Maiyu and Undullu

respondents. This may be due to the difference in the attention that people from the two dialects give to Arabic. According to Bremer (2016), the Undullu and Belewjeganfoye dialectal speakers of Berta speech community have relatively preserved Berta words and Berta identity compared to Maiyu dialectal speakers.

Table 4. 10 Respondents’ Attitude to the Disadvantages of Berta Arabic Bilingualism

List of disadvantages	Maiyu=94	Undullu=63
What are the disadvantages of Berta-Arabic bilingualism for Berta speakers? (more than one answer is possible)		
Leads to neglecting of Berta	72(76.59%)	46(73%)
Leads to lack of proficiency in Berta and Arabic	39(41.48%)	32(50.79%)
Leads to mixed language	87(92.55%)	57(90.47%)
Has no disadvantage	48(51%)	27(42.85%)

Source: own Survey Data 2018/19

Similarly, there is same amount of omission when responding about the disadvantages of Berta-Arabic bilingualism. If we look at the first point listed as a disadvantage of Berta-Arabic bilingualism, majority of the respondents from both sites suggested that Berta-Arabic bilingualism may influence the use of Berta and may lead to Arabic dominance. According to Coronel (2009), the loss of minority language will take several generations and it may start when a speech community becomes perfect bilinguals. In Berta community, the society becomes perfect bilinguals of Berta-Arabic.

As it can be seen from the above table, 76.59% of Maiyu and 73% of Undullu respondents said that their Berta-Arabic bilingualism will neglect Berta and lead to Arabic dominance in the speech community. The question here is can this situation/their bilingualism/ really affect the presence of Berta? Romaine (1995) and Kovacs (2001a) in Lammerevo (2007) suggested different ideas about the implication of code-switching and the situation of bilingual usage in a speech community. Kovacs argued that, the extent and types of code-switching can imply language shift at micro level, but Romaine disagreed with this concept and suggested that code-switching and bilingual usage can’t be an indication of language shift. When I can correlate these

assumptions with the idea forwarded by Coronel (2009), though there may not be visible influence of bilingual usage on language shift, it may affect the use of L1 in a community.

According to Lammerevo (2007:54), “language shift is not necessarily a result of language loss. It can also result from deliberate choice to the use of one language and not the other”. So if Berta people chooses Arabic in a certain domain and not Berta, it is an implication of neglecting Berta. The other point is about the disadvantage of Berta-Arabic bilingualism to be proficient in both languages. Scholars argued that when a speech community is a bilingual, they may not be perfect in either of the languages and they will use both languages accordingly. Bichani (2015) discussed that when a speech community would like to master two languages and two identities at a time, they will lack to master either of the languages perfectly. When we look at the above table, about 41% of Maiyu and 50.8% of Undullu respondents said that their Berta-Arabic bilingualism may influence them not to be proficient in either languages.

In the third point listed as a disadvantage of Berta-Arabic bilingualism, majority of the respondents that covers 92.55% of Maiyu and 90.47% of Undullu respondents argued that their Berta-Arabic bilingualism leads them to mix and switch code of Arabic. If a speech community is bilingual, it is very common to mix and switch code of one language to the other one. “Code-switching is an extremely common characteristics of bilingual speech and it can be performed both deliberately and accidentally” Lammerevo (2007:49-50). Therefore, Berta speech community is switching Arabic codes in both of the above ways.

From the above table, the other remarkable percent of the respondents are not aware of the disadvantages of their Berta\_Arabic bilingualism. This result is related and can be factual evidence to support the result in the above table about the advantages of Berta-Arabic bilingualism. From the table, we can observe that 51% of Maiyu and 42.85% of Undullu respondents argued that their Berta-Arabic bilingualism has no disadvantages. Most of the time, bilinguals make unconscious use of both languages they can speak and they may not be conscious as if they are mixing different language codes. According to Lammerevo (2007:52), “bilinguals themselves who produce bilingual speech often not aware of switching and consider themselves to have spoke only one language in a situation when in fact they did indeed switching codes”. In

this regard, the Berta are not aware of their switch of Arabic codes to Berta lanagueg and they consider words with the prefix /al-/ as if the original words of Berta.

Table 4. 11 Attitude to Language Preference.

What language would you prefer to speak in majority of your conversations when you have a choice?				
	Berta	Arabic	Both	Another language
Maiyu=105	16(15.23%)	34(31.4%)	43(40%)	12(11.42%)
Undullu=71	18(25.35%)	21(29.57%)	29(40.9%)	3(4.22%)

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19

If a speech community or individual have positive acceptance to speak a language, indirectly, it is possible to say that they have positive attitude too. According to Lamerevo (2007) and Bichani (2015), attitude towards speaking, learning and using a language directly relates to positive language attitude and if the speech community rejects to use and to learn a language, then it is related to negative attitude towards that language. If we look at the above table, around 15.2% of Maiyu speakers agreed that they prefer to use Berta whereas 31.4% of them preferred to speak Arabic and the other larger portion of the response shows that the respondents give fifty equal chances for each of the languages. From this it is possible to say that the speech community shows relatively high positive attitude to speak Arabic. The number and percentage of respondents whose preference is Arabic are almost twice of those whose preference is Berta. It has a negative correlation with their attitudes towards Berta. Earlier in this section, attitude towards Berta was discussed and there was a statement that says *Berta sounds good and I like to speak it*. For that statement, majority of the respondents were agreed that Berta sounds good to them and here it is confused with the above statement that shows even the Berta have positive feelings for their language, they also show high preference of Arabic as well and from this controversies it is possible to conclude Berta speech community shows positive attitude to Arabic.

When we see the case in Undullu, there is a little difference since there are relatively greater number of respondents whose preference is Berta compared to Maiyu. As it can be seen from table 4.8, 25.3% of the respondents prefer to speak Berta while 29.5% prefer to speak Arabic.

This indicates that unlike the response from Maiyu, in Undullu, there is no much difference in the number of respondents whose preference is Berta and Arabic. From the total respondents of Undullu, about 40.9% prefer to speak both languages. Though their preference for the two languages is almost similar, Undullu respondents also show that they have slightly positive attitude for Arabic. This difference of language preference between Undullu and Maiyu is due to the rate of their interaction with Arabs in which Maiyu speakers have greater linkage with Arabis than the Undullu speakers.

To support the data via questionnaire, there was a question via KII and interview. The data that was got from interview implies similar assumption with the questionnaire. The question was *what language would like to speak in each of your conversations and why?* One of the respondents from Undullu argued that “ *we never know Arabic very well while I was a kid, but this time because of religion, almost everyone knows Arabic and even we would like to be more proficient in it so we would like to speak it every time. These days, we make a relation with the Arabs and Maiyu speakers and since they speak Arabic in most of their talks, we also speak Arabic to respond them*”. We can understand different perceptions and feelings about Arabic and Berta from this speech. For one thing, though they have learned Arabic lately, they have strong desire to know and to be perfect in Arabic and therefore they would like to speak it to be perfect. The other feeling is the feeling that they have for Arabs and their neighbors Maiyu. They care about them and they speak in Arabic with them. So from this we can see that either with their own desires or with other social and religious factors, they have adapted positive attitude to speak Arabic.

There was a question that says *how do you evaluate the language preference of Berta speech community among Berta and Arabic languages?* Forwarded to one of the KII respondents of Menge. He argued that the Berta has preserved most of their cultural values including language for a long period of time and they have still struggling to keep these values. However he said the following “ *you know religion and economy has greater power to change people’s attitude and that is why Berta people this days are confused to choose their own or to adopt Arabic. Most of the Maiyu this time consider themselves as they have blood relation with Arabs and they accept what Arabs have in which language is one. So currently Berta speakers are forced to adapt*

*Arabic and most of them are struggling to know Arabic*". Therefore, from this explanation and from the above table, it is possible to conclude that Berta speakers have positive attitude to speak Arabic.

#### **4.2.5. Attitude Towards Arabic Speakers (Arabs)**

Language attitude can be affected by different factors. There are social factors like daily interactions and status of the community, economic factors like trade, religious factors, linguistic factors such as complexity of the language, status of the language official supports of the language and functions of the language and the other factor is acceptance of the speakers of the language. According to Coronel (2009:4), "some language attitude studies are strictly limited to attitude towards a language itself. Most often however, the definition of language attitude is broadening to include attitude towards speakers of a particular language or dialect". Karahan (2007) has conducted a research on language attitudes of Turkish students towards English and its use in schools. In this research Karahan defined attitude towards a language as follows. The attitude which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each others' languages or to their own language might be positive or negative. Expressions of positive or negative feelings towards a language may reflect impressions of linguistic difficulty or simplicity, ease or difficulty of learning, degree of importance, elegance, social status, etc. Attitudes towards a language may also show what people feel about the speakers of that language" Karahan (2007:2). If we look at the last sentence of his definition, it is about attitude towards speakers as one element of language attitude.

Based on this premise, in this sub-section, it is going to be discussed about what is the feeling of Berta speech community about the Arabs. It is not about the Arabic language rather it is about the speakers. It is going to be examined by asking different questions that are all about their social interactions with Arabs. There have been around five questions that are asked via questionnaire and in addition to the questionnaire, there was interview and FGD discussion about their relation and accepting that relation positively or negatively. The responses for the questions have been summarized in the following consecutive tables.

Table 4. 12 Attitude Towards their Relation with Arabs

Which relationship do you think that you have with sudan Arabs?					
	Blood	Religion	Historical	Economic	Any other
Maiyu=105	34(32.38%)	53(50.4%)	11(10.47%)	6(5.7%)	1(0.96%)
Undullu=71	18(25.3%)	42(59%)	9(12.6%)	2(2.8%)	

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19

For the question the respondents tick two and three alternative. For example, from those who choose blood also choose religion as their second choice and from those who choose religion as their first choice, 14 respondents also choose blood as their second choice (Maiyu respondents). This indicates that the respondents accept that they have blood relation with Arabs and religion which is a powerful social phenomenon is also their major choice. As it can be seen from table 4.12, majority of Maiyu respondents that covers 50.4% choose religion as their relation with Arabs. The other large number of Maiyu respondents that covers 32.38% consider blood as their basic relationship with Arabs. From the Undullu respondents majority which covers 59% considers religion as a factor for their relation with Arabs. From this 59%, around 21 respondents also choose blood as their second consideration of their relation determinant.

Asking this type of question may not directly reflect what attitude a speech community have for other speakers language or language varieties. However it can tell us something about their feelings by inferring from what a blood, religion and historical as well as economic relations play important role in determining ones feeling and identity determinations. Bichani (2015) discussed a lot about how religion plays to determine language and identity. In this work the study of language use, attitude and language identity have been discussed and it has concluded that religion and blood relations among the two Arabic speaking communities played greater role in shaping their identity. So as we can see from the above table, majority of the respondents from both sites considered blood and religion as a cause for their relations with Arabs and this at large can make them to feel that they have high attachments with the Arabs and this attachment can lead them to develop positive attitude to Arabic speakers (Arabs).

The other question was to know their attitude to Arabic speakers' questions that request their degree of agreement with the statements in the following table. The question was stated as to what extent do you agree for the following statements regarding Arabs in your area?

Table 4. 13 Attitude Towards Arabic Speakers (indirect evaluation)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	disagree	Strongly disagree
It may not be difficult for me to marry Arabic woman/man.					
Maiyu=105	13(12.38%)	47(44.76%)	36(34.28%)	8(7.6%)	1(0.96%)
Undullu=71	7(9.8%)	27(38%)	32(45%)	3(4.22%)	2(2.8%)
I would invite them on different ceremonies.					
Maiyu=105	19(18%)	37(35.23%)	29(27.6%)	15(13.33%)	5(4.7%)
Undullu=71	6(8.4%)	20(28.16%)	33(46.47%)	8(11.26%)	4(5.6%)
I would be a friend of them and I accept them as my good neighbors.					
Maiyu=105	21(20%)	48(45.7%)	31(29.5%)	2(1.9%)	3(2.85%)
Undullu=71	14(19.7%)	23(32.39%)	23(30.9%)	9(12.6%)	2(2.8%)

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19

The above table contains three questions that reflect similar idea which evaluates Berta speakers' attitude towards Arabs. All of the questions especially the first and the second questions relates their trust on Arabs and the last one is about their social interactions as a friend and as a neighbor. If we look at the first question, very few respondents disagreed and larger percentage of them gave fifty equal feeling to be business partner with Arabs. Still majority or over half of the respondents argue that they would like to have business friendship with Arabs and this shows that how much they trust the Arabs which indirectly show that the Berta speakers have positive attitude towards speakers of the language. The Berta people considers the Arabs as more wise and knowledgable. The second question contains different considerations like cultural similarity, norm similarity since there are different cultural values on their ceremonies. So if they would like to invite them on ceremonies, it is possible to understand that they accept the Arabs as if they are part of their society and their cultural solidarity among them. This indicates that Berta speakers have positive attitude to Arabic speakers.

The third one is a little bit different. Being a friend has lots of things like sharing their happiness, sadness and other life events within them. It also includes telling and listening to secrets between friends and if the Berta would like to accept Arabs as their friends, they have to share such common values. Likewise, being a neighborhood has different social, cultural and economic values to be considered by neighbors. In table 4.13, 65.7% of Maiyu and about 52% of Undullu respondents agreed that they would like to be a friend of Arabs and the other larger percentage that covers 29.5% of Maiyu and 30.9% of Undullu respondents give fifty equal degree of agreement about the issue. This agreement indicates that the Berta speakers have high positive attitude towards Arabic speakers.

If the speech community show positive attitude for speakers of a language that is different from their mother tongue, it is indirectly an implication of positive attitude towards that language and to speak it. "Attitudes towards a language may also show what people feel about the speakers of that language" Coronel (2009:6). "Within the definition of language attitudes, it is also quite common to include attitudes towards language users and not only attitudes toward language and language use" Omdal (1995:85). So based on the above result, the respondents show positive attitude for Arabic speakers in particular and for Arabic language at large.

As it is mentioned in the methodology part, in this research triangulation method is used. Data has been collected via different instruments. The data collected through questionnaire is supported by data collected through interview, KII and FGD. Data from KII and FGD has been quoted in the data collected by questionnaire and here data collected by interview is discussed. Like that of the data collected by KII and FGD the data by interview is also supporting the questionnaire data.

Collecting data with only one instrument may not enough and to have sufficient data and to crosscheck what has been collected via questionnaire, it is important to vary data collecting instruments. Though scholars criticize interview as an old and time consuming and bulky, it has greater advantages. However, the research interview has several potential advantages which more than compensate for its disadvantages. "The personal contact involved enables the interviewer to focus the attention of the respondent on the desired dimension, thereby providing a better chance for an honest and serious response" Agheyisi (2012:14). As it has been stated in

the methodology part, this section is a discourse analysis. The dialogue is critically analyzed to get their feelings and dialy language use from the conversation. Liebscher and Liebscher (2009) argued that in the analysis of language attitude and language use qualitatively, the use of interpretive approach which is discourse analysis is advocated lately. Therefore, based on this assumption, to discuss the following data interpretive approach is used.

The interviewer is me and the interviewee is a man who is from Kashaf which is found between Menge and Assosa. He was born in Menge in 1976 Ethiopian calendar. He is a teacher in a school at Kashaf. The interview was held in Amharic and took around twenty five minutes.

In this conversation the un-structured type of interview was used and the respondent caused the interviewer to ask questions even that were not in the list. The question start from asking the ability of the respondent in the two languages. However, he drew the interviewer into another direction when he gave his response about his perception about their name. According to his justification, Berta should not be their name and since it is thought that it has its own link with their attitude, the interviewer asked him in another way. It is observed that he started to hate their name and preferred be called as Benishangul. Regarding this I have asked many people of Berta informally and I have been told that all agreed their name should be changed. Some argued to be called Rut'ana while others would like to be called Arabs and still others (the majority) would like to be named as Benishangual.

The respondent who has been interviewed above seems to have a positive attitude of both languages because he said that he has good feeling to both Berta and Arabic. If we analyze his response in detail, it tells us something different that seems he has either a neutral or a negative attitude to Berta for different reasons. One thing he told me was about future of Arabic. He said since there are many loan words from Arabic to Berta, the role of Arabic will be more important in the future. So he would like to be more proficient in Arabic than in Berta though he did not tell me directly. The other thing in his mind is the status of Arabic; it is a globe language and I have inferred from this that he has positive attitude for Arabic, but for Berta I have observed that he has a love-hate type of attitude. According to Afolabi (2016: 18), "The love-hate relationship is stemming from the conflicting sentimental and instrumental attachment to the use of English in Nigerian education". The relationship between Berta and Arabic for this respondent is similar

because he considered Berta as his identity language, but for other social and economic benefits, he would like to acquire Arabic. Moreover, he associated Arabic to religious activities which are basic part of his life.

The second interview was conducted with a person from Assosa town. Similarly the discussion was through Amharic and it took 13 minutes. The conversation was friendly and a lot has been said about his background and other things, but here I will present the points that can add value for my project. This respondent is a teacher at Selamber primary school and has ample experience.

According to the respondent, he can express himself in both languages. He is not clear about the language which is more important because he perceived both language positively. However he has little preference for Berta as he has said *“if I am being forced Berta is a little bit more important”*. This shows that how he gave due attention to Arabic though it is not his mother tongue. He has found his identity from both Arabic and Berta. He expressed himself in Arabic for both his history and religion and he would like to associate himself to Arabs with his ancestral background. This directly related to his attitude about the people and his attitude for the people can be a leading factor for his language attitude. Additionally, he suggested that Arabic is more prestigious than Berta and accepted throughout the world to the contrary he said that *who knows Berta?* This implies that he has greater acceptance for Arabic than Berta. So he has positive attitude for Arabic while neutral for Berta because he never hate Berta, but due to social and economic advantages, his attitude is more positive for Arabic. This respondent added that speech communities in the rural area, I accept Berta as their identity language and from this we can understand that they will by default have positive attitude for Berta. It will be cross-checked below.

For the question of the languages functional domain and their dominance, he responded that it is still situational. Though he does not know the case in the rural area, in their community it depends on the setting and purpose of their talk. For example, in the home and other informal conversations he tend to use both languages and Berta is dominantly used whereas in other areas like religious cases Arabic is dominant.

This is the last interview of my first trip. The conversation was held between me as an interviewer and one old man who is 91 years old. He was living in a village near to Undullu area and now he is living in Assosa. While I met him, he has spent only three months in Assosa. He told me a lot about the historical background and finally I have asked about his perception of the two languages. The conversation was through Amharic and it took around 45 minutes because the respondent speaks very slowly and I had to wait for two or three minutes for a complete sentence.

The respondent believes that all the time he is Berta. Even the issue of their name that bothers many of the Berta speech community today, is not the business for him. This shows us that he has high positive attitude to Berta language. He gave me detailed justification about the supremacy of Berta language in the past and today Berta and Arabic are as they are only the people of Berta particularly who are living in towns and who are educated have been changed. According to him, Berta is a more historic language than Arabic in the area, but it is a matter of time and some social situations.

Unlike the above two respondents, this man has shown a positive attitude for Berta. In this case I am in between two basic factors for this positive attitude. For one thing I would like to conclude from age difference perspective and on the other hand I may conclude from the perspectives of area difference. For the first perspective, it is expected that due to age difference, there will be language use and language attitude difference since language can be modified through time.

The other interviewee was a woman from Menge. She is a house wife and she has four children. Sometimes, she is working in their small shop to help her husband. As seen from the dialogue, there were around six questions excluding the questions asked following the main question. The first two questions are all about her feeling and her preference from Arabic and Berta to be her mother tongue. For the first one her preference is dependent on the setting, purpose and interlocutors. But finally she argued that she prefers more Arabic since there are different purposes and domains that Arabic is functional.

The other four questions are about her feeling about the ability of her children. This indirectly shows us something about her attitude for Berta and Arabic. As we see, she is happy with the

ability of Arabic that her children have. This is because of she considers different benefits that she will get from her children's Arabic proficiency. She has mentioned that she will get religious knowledge and even she will develop her Arabic proficiency if her children are proficient in Arabic and finally she argued that she will appreciate them when they speak more in Arabic. From this it is possible to conclude that she has high positive attitude for Arabic language. Her response indirectly implies that her intention is to make her children Arabic proficient and her interest to maintain Berta is less than her interest to maintain Arabic. The interest to maintain and use a language or variety of language has positive relation with positive language attitude. Agyisi (2012:7), believes that the "motivation to learn a foreign language is determined by basic predispositions and personality characteristics such as the learner's attitudes towards foreign people in general, and the target group and language in particular, motives for learning, and generalized attitudes". So if she is motivated to learn Arabic and if she pushes her children to know Arabic, she has positive attitude for Arabic.

The other interviewee was from Undullu particularly from a village located between Menge and Undullu but near to to Undullu. She is almost monolingual of Berta and she never go to schooling. She has five children. She is a waver and she is pot maker. The interview was held totally in Berta and has been translated and presented as follows.

Being monolingual has different feelings. As seen from the dialogue, the interviewee is feeling inferiority complex. Though she cannot speak and understand Arabic, she is eager to know because she said that she has an envy on her children's ability of Arabic. As I have discussed earlier in this subsection, monolingual's attitude towards bilingualism and bilinguals can be either positive or negative. In the above dialogue, she feels discomfort with her children's bilingualism. This is not to mean that she is against bilingualism rather she feels in such a way since she cannot understand them. Unlike the two interviewees from Menge, she has been asked one additional question which was about her feeling not being bilingual. She regretted about the issue and she said that she has been affected in her life due to not being bilingual of Berta and Arabic. This means she has positive attitude for Arabic due to some benefits gained from speaking Arabic like religious knowledge.

To sum up the interview data about language attitude, like the data in questionnaire it is difficult to conclude about the interviewees attitude. They are not clearly state their attitude towards one of the languages under this study. In the likart-scale rating, majority of the response relay on neither nore option which is fifty equal and difficult to decide on their attitude clearly. The interview data supports the data in the questionnaire. According to Coronel (2009), if bilingual people are using the languages they speak for different purposes, they want to maintain both languages. Likewise, since the Berta use Berta and Arabic in different domains, they want to know Arabic in addition to their first language which shows having positive attitude to the foreign language to. This is also support by Rise (2011), Coronel (2009) and Bichani (2015) those suggested that if a community is interested to learn amd master two languages at a time, indirectly it is giving positive attitude for foreign languages.

In this project, four FGDs two from each site has been held and some of the questions were about attitude test questions. The intention of the questions was not to know the feelings of the participants individually rather they were intended to know their feeling Berta speech community wide. Some of the questions any way intended to get information individually. The questions tend to get societal feelings intentionally. For one thing if the questions focus on the participant's individual feeling, they may not reflect since they fear each other and for another thing since they are in a group, they can bring and discuss what they have observed. The questions are the following

1. Which language is considered and accepted as prestigious language in your speech community?
2. What do you feel when you hear someone speaks Berta and the other one speaks Arabic?
3. Do you promote Berta-Arabic bilingualism? If so why?
4. What do you feel about members of your society and your friends who are monolinguals?
5. What do you think about the future of Berta? Do you think that it will maintain or it will be influenced by Arabic?

These are the questions discussed among the FGDs from each site and the question also contains some on language and language maintenance. The respondents have been coded; T1FC8M for instance is to mean that *tape recording 1 FGD code 8 male*. FGD1 and 3 are from Undullu and FGD 2 and 4 are from Maiyu.

For the first question, there was high debate among participants of each FGDs. From the Undullu participants T3FC6M suggested the following on the first question.

*“there is no language which is superior and inferior, but people in our community give high value for Arabic. It is not however to mean Arabic is greater than Berta simply it is because Arabic can perform religious activities and strength our relation with Arabs”.*

The other participant from Undullu, added that *“we never give credit for our language, everyone is interested to know Arabic. Especially the children are mixing for the benefits they get by speaking Arabic.*

From these suggestions, it is understood that the participants are promoting their own language i.e. Berta. However, they never deny their acceptance of Arabic. The response of the first participant argued that, Arabic is not superior to Berta, but they give value for Arabic for the value that they got from it. It is more elaborated by the second participant that they mix for the benefit of religious knowledge that Arabic has. This implies that though they never hate Berta as a language, due to some benefits, they adapt positive attitude towards Arabic as well. According to Ali (2017), if people are associating their religious ideology with their language/culture, then there will be mixed language and mixed culture within a single community.

From the Maiyu variety, T2FC3M said that *“we never make Arabic prestigious and Berta less prestigious. Simply because Arabic is religious language and it is worldwide, it is prestigious by itself. I hope language is prestigious when it is spoken by a high class/ civilized citizens and Arabic is spoken by such people; you can see Arabs in different corners of the world”.* The other participant who is relatively old T2FC7M accepts what has been said by T2FC3M and focuses on the cause of Arabic supremacy suggested the following. *“Some people are considering that they have Arabic blood and still others have made social identity particularly religious relation and few have trade relation with Arabic speakers, so they give high value for Arabic”.* From what has been said by these two participants, it is possible to determine what feelings do Maiyu speech communities have. According to the first participant, it is not their mistake to consider Arabic as a prestigious language, but the language is prestige by itself. Here we can see beyond they are accepting Arabic as prestige, they consider that they are right. When he is telling about

the acceptance of Arabic worldwide, it is also possible to conclude about his attitude for the two languages and he has high positive attitude for Arabic, but less positive attitude for Berta. For the second participant what makes Arabic to be accepted as a prestige language is the reasons he has mentioned. As it has been seen from the discussions, Berta speakers show positive attitude for Arabic and love-hate attitude for Berta languages. this result is related to a research by Yeh, Chan and Cheg (2004) that illustrates if a speech community is considering different relations with another speech community, they would like to maintain foreign languages.

For the second question, almost all the participants from each FGDs argued the same. According to the response, it is very common to see people are speaking both languages everywhere and for different purposes. Some of them said that they feel good when they hear people are perfect in both languages. One of the participants T1FC2F however, said that *“this day it is difficult to get perfect Berta who knows all the words that Berta has”*. This guy has two considerations one is about the sustainability of Berta words and Berta language at large and the other consideration is this day almost all Berta are addicted in using Arabic language codes. This indicates that there are still Berta speakers who are bothering for maintaining their language.

The third question is attitude towards bilingualism. It asks about their suggestions of being bilingual and its acceptance by the speech community. According to the data, the participants promote bilingualism. T3FC10M from Undullu said that *“bilingualism is important in their life and children should know both languages”*. the other one T3FC4M argued as *“whether we like it or not it is a must to be bilingual and there are different reasons that forces us like religion”*. From the above assumptions, it is possible to conclude that the speech community show positive attitude for Arabic-Berta bilingualism. They have listed different reasons for their suggestions to promote bilingualism. There a lot but some which are shared by many of the participants are, religion, border proximity, historical relationship, economic activities.

Regarding the fourth discussion point the participants directly or indirectly stated that the monolinguals are undermined and they have been considered as if they lack lots of benefits especially religion. One of the participants from Maiyu T4FC8F argued as *“I feel sorry for them not for their knowledge of Arabic language, but their knowledge of religion”*. This guy associates language with religion. The other one from Undullu T1FC1M suggested *“there are*

*many people especially females who are monolinguals and they can live though it is challenging for them even we never ignored them they isolate themselves and they have their own group”*. From this statement, it is understood the participant accept monolinguals and side by side he told the difficulty of being monolingual. Finally he mention about social isolation and inferiority complex. Earlier in the section about attitude towards bilingualism we have seen that Berta speakers have positive attitude towards bilingualism and the same is true from FGDs as it can be seen from the above two discussion points.

Like that of the data in questionnaire, interview and KII, the data from FGD also shows that the respondents are in dilemma to decide about their attitude towards each language clearly. The bilinguals have greater advantage for social, economic and religious sakes over the monolinguals. So when the data is triangulated, the respondedents show positive attitude for Arabic language.

#### **4.2.6. Attitude to Maintain Berta**

As it has been said, language shift and language maintenance are two sides of the same coin. So when we talk about attitudes to language maintenance, indirectly, we can determine language shit. The table below contains questions that ask about their feeling to maintain Berta. The questions are direct and indirect that means one of the questions directly asks about their feeling of maintaining Berta while the other two are about their advice for the children and their fear of maintaining Berta in declining their relations with Arabs.

Table 4. 14 Attitude to Maintain Berta

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I will benefit from maintaining Berta					
Maiyu=105	13(11.4%)	31(27.6%)	46(43.8%)	14(13.3%)	
Undullu=71	18(25.3%)	32(45%)	16(22.5%)	4(5.6%)	1(1.4%)
I fear that my Berta maintenance will slacken my relationships with Arabs					
Maiyu=105	24(22.85%)	36(34.28%)	28(26.66%)	12(11.4%)	4(3.8%)
Undullu=71	15(21%)	20(28.16%)	27(38%)	9(12.6%)	

I feel happy when I see that children are using more Berta than Arabic.					
Maiyu=105	8(7.6%)	17(16.19%)	59(56.19%)	18(17%)	2(1.9%)
Undullu=71	3(4.22%)	11(15.49%)	38(53.5%)	15(19.7%)	4(5.6%)

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19

In the above table, the first question asks about the advantages that Berta speakers can have from maintaining their mother tongue. As we can see from the table, there is variation among respondents of Maiyu and Undullu. Majority of the Maiyu respondents that covers around 44% are confused to agree or disagree and give fifty equal agreements about the issue of maintaining Berta while majority of the Undullu respondents that covers about 70% agreed that they can benefit from maintaining their mother tongue. From this it is possible to conclude that the Maiyu respondents indirectly give equal chance to maintain Berta and Arabic.

The second question is about their association their language maintenance with their social interaction. According to scholars view, social interaction and solidarity is one mechanism for language maintenance and shift. As it is seen from the above table, majority of the respondents from each site have agreed that they fear their Berta maintenance will hinder their interaction with Arabs. In average, around fifty percent of the respondents that means about 57% of Maiyu and 49% of Undullu respondents agreed that maintaining Berta will slacken their relations with Arabs. This result relates with Dweik and Qawar's (2015) research result in which their Arab respondents agreed that they maintain Arabic for their religious purposes and they also would like to maintain English and French, to strengthen their relation with Canadians and to have Canadian identity. Similarly, though the Berta speakers show positive attitude to maintain Berta in the first question, for its social and religious benefits, they indirectly show us that they would like to maintain Arabic too. It is also supported, with their response for the third question in which they give fifty equal responses to advice children to maintain Berta more than Arabic. This fifty equal means, they also give fifty equal agreements to advice the children to maintain Arabic. 'The field of language shift and language maintenance is interested in the relationship between change and stability in habitual language use and the ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes when people differing in language are in contact with each other' Fishman

(1966:241) in Dwek, Nofal and Quashmeh (2014). In Berta speech community, the use of Berta has been changed because this time, they use Arabic language in addition to Berta.

When a speech community is in a dilemma to decide their attitude towards a language, it may be difficult to choose one language. Yeh, Chan and Cheg (2004:78) when people in a speech community can't clearly decide on their perceptions towards a language as positive or negative, they will allow existence of language shift and language maintenance at a time. The Berta speech community is doing the same. They choose neutral, neither nor or both languages equally options for the questions in the questionnaire. This implies that they are in dilemma to decide about their attitude and they have similar attitude for both languages. Therefore, they want to use both languages and for some domains even they use Arabic exclusively. This can lead them to maintain or lose either language at a time.

In addition to the above questions via questionnaire, there was a discussion that relates to Berta language maintenance. The discussion was focused on the issue of maintaining identity by maintaining a language. Bichani (2015), discussed about language and identity and language and religion. In the research, Bichani concludes that when a speech community concerns about maintaining their language, they indirectly maintain their identity too. As I have discussed earlier in this research, the Berta speech community considers Arabic as a religious language. Here one question that states about maintaining their language is maintaining their identity. The question discussed in the FGDs is 'maintaining Berta language is maintaining Berta identity'. Majority of the participants argued that Berta is their mother tongue, but most of the Berta speakers think that they can identify themselves in both Berta and Arabic identities. For example, T3FC6F, T1FC5M, T3FC9M, T4FC4F, T4FC6M have suggested that from the beginning, Berta as a name cannot symbolize them. They argued that they have a hybrid identity. They took the name Maiyu and its meaning 'a mixture of Berta and Arabic' as a discussion point and assure their hybrid identity. T3FC10M, T1FC8M on the other hand said that "*Berta is our first identity and the Sudanese identify us as Berta. However, Arabic is also our second language and Arab is our identity too.*" This is also similar with what the above participants have said. What makes this assumption different is that it distinguishes between primary and secondary language and

identity. Still others argued that maintaining both Berta and Arabic languages as well as maintaining both identities are common and important to them.

Generally, the more positive attitude that Berta speakers have to any of the two languages under the study, the more they use it. Lamerevo (2007:192) stated about Finland's attitude and language use among Finnish and English and suggested the following about the correlation among language attitude and language maintenance; "the correlation trend line that correlates attitude to language maintenance with language use stated that the more positive attitude to maintain Finnish is positively correlated with its daily use and if there is a trend of attitude for both Finnish and English, they have positive attitude to maintain English". Within the Berta speech community, it is seen that majority of the respondents gave equal attitude to maintain both languages.

Table 4. 14 Respondents' Assumption about their Children Language Maintainance

Do you think that children/youths will maintain the use of Berta as they grown up?			
	Yes	No	I don't know
Maiyu=92	31(33.69%)	26(28.26%)	35(38%)
Undullu=61	24(39.34%)	16(26.22%)	21(34.42%)

In the above table, yes no question which requestes about respondents' perception about the future of Berta with their children language maintainance is presented. In the table, the respondents gave their response based on the alternatives. Beyond the yes no option, there is an option of I don't know which indicates that the speech community maight be in a dilemma to decide about their children's effert to maintain Berta in the future. From the table, we can see that 33.69% of Maiyu respondents and 39.34% of Undullu respondents assume that their children will maintain Berta when they grown up. Almost similar percentage of respondents from both sites that covers 38% of Maiyu and 34.42% of Undullu is not sure to decide about their children's maintainance of Berta in the future. The remaining 28.26% of Maiyu and 26.22% of Undullu respondents donnot think that their children will maintain Berta when they grown up. If the no and I don't know response is added, majority of the respondents are not thinking that their children will maintain Berta when they grown up.

This issue was raised as a question while key informants were asked. When I talk with key informants about language maintenance issues of Berta, majority of the key informants told me that elder people have better knowledge of Berta language. The new generation is considering the hybridized Berta as their native language. Abdulnasir Ali said that “*when I talk with elder people in our community, I know many Berta words. My father knows many Berta words which I don't know and when I look my son, I know many Berta words which he doesn't know*”. From this, it is possible to conclude that Berta speech community is losing Berta words from generation to generation.

A language may not be lost immediately unless the speech community died due to natural disaster or genocide. First there will be language attrition and deliberate language choice among speakers of a language. As Lammerevo (2007) has identified, there are two language attrition ways of L1. These are loss of L1 in L1 environment example first language loss by aging people and loss of L1 in L2 environment example loss of native language by immigrants' language. From the above data and from my observation, the second way of language attrition is involving in Berta speech community. As we see from the key informant interview data, the elderly people have preserved many Berta words than the younger ones. Lamerevo (2007) described that, most of the time, aged people maintain their native language better than younger people and it has its own negative impact to sustain the language for the next generations.

#### **4.2.7. Attitude Towards Code-mixing**

So far, attitude about Berta and Arabic individually, attitude towards both languages that means attitude towards bilingualism and attitude towards using both languages has been discussed. Majority of the respondents give their response and argued that they have positive attitude for both languages, they have positive attitude for bilingualism and they also have positive attitude to use both languages even if there is difference in their language use due to language use domains. So if there is a nature of bilingualism, there might be a practice of taking codes from one language to the other one. Tosi (1984) as cited in Coronel (2009:16), studied bilingualism and language shift among Italian immigrants in Bedford (Great Britain). The first-generation immigrants generally use a local Italian dialect as the principal medium of communication within the family.

So the intention of this subsection is if the Berta speakers have such attitudes to bilingualism and if most of them are Berta-Arabic bilinguals, then what attitude do they have to mix and switch codes is discussed here. Being bilingual does not mean always there code mixing rather the speech community might use the two languages separately. According to Coronel (2009), there are bilingual individuals and speech communities that use languages they can speak separately. So it is important to see the language use practices and treatments of the two languages by Berta speakers.

Table 4. 16 Attitude to Code- mixing

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	disagree	Strongly disagree
I am mixing Arabic codes with Berta because Berta is not fully expressive language					
Maiyu=103	28(27.6%)	42(40.95%)	30(28.5%)	2(1.9%)	
Undullu=67	13(18.3%)	33(49.29%)	17(25.3%)	4(7%)	
Even if there is a congruent lexical in Berta, it is my habit to mix Arabic codes					
Maiyu=104	11(10.47%)	34(32.38%)	51(48.57%)	7(6.66%)	1(0.95%)
Undullu=70	6(8.45%)	17(23.9%)	36(50.7%)	9(12.67%)	2(2.8%)
If I mix Berta with Arabic, it is an indicator that I am knowledgeable					
Maiyu=104	23(20.9%)	39(37.14%)	35(33.3%)	6(5.7%)	1(0.95%)
Undullu=71	9(12.67%)	28(39.4%)	28(39.4%)	5(7%)	1(1.4%)

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19

The above table contains three questions in which the first questions are contradicting each other the first one talks about if Berta lacks while the second one talks about even if Berta has the word there is a trend of mixing Arabic with Berta. The third one is about their attitude towards a person who mixes Arabic with Berta and it is beyond their attitude towards code mixing because it is attitude about the mixer not only about mixing. For the first question majority of the respondents from each site that covers about 68% of Maiyu and about 67% of Undullu have agreed that they mix Arabic with Berta to fill the gap that Berta encounters. This result relates with the cause of code-mixing listed by Lamerevo. Lamerevo in his (2007) research stated that people in a speech community will mix codes of one language with another one to fill the gap that the host language is encountered. For the second question majority of the respondents 48.57% of Maiyu and 50.7% of Undullu give fifty equal degree of agreement for replacing Berta

words with their Arabic congruent. Still another larger portion of Maiyu that covers about 43% agreed that even if the word is existed in Berta, they mix Arabic version in their communication. If this response is correlated with the first response, they have positive attitude to mix Arabic with Berta. For the third question about 58% of Maiyu respondents and about 52% of Undullu respondents agreed that mixing Arabic is an indicator of being knowledgeable. The second larger portion of the response that covers 33.3% of Maiyu respondents and 39.4% of Undullu respondents have shown fifty equal degree of agreement about the issue. This positive attitude about the mixers of Arabic code indirectly implies that Berta speakers have positive attitude towards code mixing.

So if the Berta speakers show positive attitude for bilingualism and code mixing, what factors lead them to have such positive attitude and to mix Arabic codes? When they have been asked such questions, the respondents mentioned different social, economic and religious factor. There was a question to evaluate the factors that leads to code mixing between the two languages under this investigation and there were five alternatives with the question. The following table shows some of the social factors in which the question with the alternatives have presented. From the whole respondents of the two sites, about 171 respondents give their response.

Table 4. 17 Causes of Mixing and Switching Codes

Question	Main factors listed and the response given by the respondents				
	boarder proximity	marriage activities	religious activities	trade activities	historical relations
What factors lead you to mix and switch codes of Arabic to Berta?	23(13.4%)	31(18%)	54(31.5)	37(21.6)	26(15.2%)

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19

Based on the response, religion and trade activities are major causes 31.5% and 21.6% of the respondents respectively. The remaining 13.4% and 15.2% respondents choose boarder

proximity and historical relation as major factors for their mixing of Arabic with Berta and the other 18.8% said marriage activities are major cause. As it can be seen from the table and the explanation, religion and trade activities are the major causes and these social phenomena have greater power to draw people's attitude towards their neighbors. Therefore the Berta speakers might adapt positive attitude towards Arabic language and the Arabs.

In the process of unconscious language use, bilinguals make code-mixing and listed six functions of code-mixing. "These are, referential, expressive, directive, pathic, metalinguistic function and bilingual usage" Apple and Musken (1987:18). From these functions, the first, second and the final functions are mentioned by respondents as a leading factor for them to mix and switch codes of Arabic to Berta. For one thing, the speech community didn't know the presence of many Berta words that can be congruent lexicalization of the Arabic version. Secondly, most of the Berta speech community considers themselves that they have bot Arab and Berta identity and they would like to outshine it by speaking both languages. Finally, they argued that both langauges are functional in different domains like Arabic in religious domain and Berta in school and home doamins.

### **Summury of language attitude data**

To sum up what has been said about language attitude, the Berta community shows positive attitude towards Berta and Arabic languages. As discused in the above consicative tables and qualitative analysises, respondents show proud of Berta language, they would like to maintain Berta and they are not ignorant of Berta. Side by side, they want to master their Arabic ability, they consider Arabic as prestige, usefull and widely accepted language. Morovere, they support bilingual usage of Berta and Arabic and they also accept code-mixing positively. This shows that they have positive attitude towards Arabic too. This result is similar to the result of a research by Afolabi (2015) about Nigerian attitude and language use. In the research Afolabi concluded that Nigerian have love-hate felling of their language and English language since they need the two languages for different purposes. Similarly, though the Berta have positive attitude to Berta language, they also adapt positive attitude towards Arabic since they use it in different domains like in religious domain where they use Arabic exclusively. The result is also related to researches by Lamerevo (2007), Bichani (2015) Rise (2011) in which majority of the

respondents' response in the above researches on the third i.e. fifty equal choice is observed. Similarly, for majority of the questions, the respondents in this research give neutral or fifty equal choices.

“There is a general consensus in the literature that acquiring and using a language is easier for individuals who have a positive attitude to the language and its speakers” Bichani (2015:37). According to Garrett, (2010), Karahan, (2007), Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe, (2009) in Bichani (2015:37-38) “language attitudes can not only influence the reactions to the speakers of the language, but also help predict others' reactions to the choice of language, and hence influence this choice.” So language attitude is not a single phenomenon and can have its own imputes for the presence of other sociolinguistic issues.

Even though there is slight difference among respondents of Undullu and Maiyu, majority of the respondents gave fifty equal choices for most of the likart scale evaluations. The Maiyu are considering themselves as if they have blood relation with Arabs and respondents from both sites accept that they have relationship with Sudan Arabs and they accept Arabs positively which indirectly shows that they have positive attitude for Arabic language too. The data gained via interview and FGD also approves the data collected through questionnaire. The interviews accepted that they want to be fluent in Arabic for their religious knowledge and to strengthn their relation with Arabs. In the community, those who are Berta-Arabic bilinguals are appreciated and those who are monolinguals are eager to learn Arabic. This implies that the community have positive attitude for bilinguals in general and for tehir Arabic competence in particular.

### **4.3. Language Use Data Analysis**

There are different perspectives formulated by Yeh, Chan and Cheg (2004) to analyze language use among a speech community. These are the sociological approach, the soicio-psychological approach and the anthropological approach. In this research, the second/ the socio-psychological approach has been employed to analyze the language use section. This approach is about the internal reasons and the social factors that make people to choose a certain language for their use in different domains and for different social phenomena. Fishman (1965) has presented WH questions about language use which are what language, with whom, for what end and how.

This section deals with one of the objectives of this research, the language use patterns of Berta. What language or languages are used in what situation with whom they use and how they treat Berta and Arabic in different settings are going to be discussed. Moreover, their proficiency of each language will be evaluated. The data collected through questionnaire that focuses on language use patterns and data obtained through informal conversation with respondents during questionnaire distribution. What language do Berta people use most frequently for different purposes, and with different groups like with their family, with their neighbors, with their colleagues, with their bosses and so forth, what is their preferences of language to talk with different people can be considered as points that can give insights about language use patterns.

#### 4.3.1. Language use for different purposes

In our daily conversation, the way we talk for different activities the formality of our language use and others rely on our purpose. The language use pattern of Berta people for different purposes is presented in the following table. The activities and the question is developed from Lamerevo's (2007) appendix. language choice may be viewed, and the dominant concept which each perspective entails: "societal perspective (domains); language perspective (diglossia); the speaker's perspective (decision tree); interactional perspective (accommodation); and functional perspective (functional or specialization)" Appel and Muysken (1987:22). In the following tables and sub sections, this issues are going to be discussed.

Table 4. 18 Language Use of Berta Speakers for Different Purposes

What language do you use to perform following activities?						
		Always Berta	More Berta than Arabic	Both Berta and Arabic	More Arabic than Berta	Always Arabic
Listening to music	Maiyu=105	13(12.3%)	19(18%)	49(46.6%)	22(20.9%)	2(1.4%)
	Undullu=71	10(14%)	31(43.6%)	18(25.3%)	11 (15.49%)	1 (1.4%)
Watching TV	Maiyu=93	7 (7.5%)	24 (25.8%)	35(37.9%)	22(22.8%)	5 (5.3%)
	Undullu=62	12(19.3%)	15(22.5%)	32(50%)	3(4.8%)	
Watching	Maiyu=99	11(11%)	32(32.3%)	41(41.4%)	14(14%)	1(0.96%)

Videos	Undullu=67	8(11.9%)	21(31%)	28(41.7%)	10(14%)	
Reading newspapers and magazines	Maiyu=92	4(4.3%)	14(15.2%)	54(58.6%)	18(19.5%)	2(2%)
	Undullu=66	7(10.6%)	17(25.7%)	31(47%)	11(15.49%)	
Listening to the radio	Maiyu=105	7(6.6%)	21(20.1%)	46(42.8%)	19(18%)	12(10.47%)
	Undullu=71	1(1.17%)	16(21.1%)	38(53.5%)	13(18.3%)	3(4.2%)
Religious activities	Maiyu=105			6(5.7%)	18(17%)	81(77.2%)
	Undullu=71		2(2.8%)	6(8.4%)	16(22.5%)	47(66.2%)
Writing personal letters	Maiyu=95	10(10.5%)	12(11.4%)	49(50.5%)	20(19.04%)	4(3.8%)
	Undullu=63	3(4.7%)	20(30%)	34(54%)	6(8.4%)	
Counting/ numbering	Maiyu=105		3(2.8%)	21(20%)	56(53.3%)	25(23.8%)
	Undullu=71		5(7%)	41(57.74%)	19(26.76%)	1(1.17%)
Writing a note to any activity	Maiyu=94	4(4.2%)	13(13.3%)	49(52%)	23(24.4%)	5(5.3%)
	Undullu=63	9(14.2%)	14(22.2%)	30(46%)	8(12.6%)	2(3.2%)
Swearing	Maiyu=105		3(2.8%)	15(13.33%)	62(58.1%)	24(22.85%)
	Undullu=71		9(12.67%)	12(16.9%)	40(57.7%)	10(14%)
In your casual talks	Maiyu=105	12(11.4%)	31(29.5%)	44(41.9%)	16(15.23%)	2(1.9%)
	Undullu=71	8(11.26%)	24(33.8%)	31(43.66%)	8(11.26%)	

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19

The above table displays which language do Berta people use for their daily activities. The data collected from the two sites are presented in number and percent. The above data are divided in different categories. The first aspect that I would like to talk about is their language use while watching Tv, radio, movies. As we can see from the table, there are scales of language use from always Berta to always Arabic and there are also other alternatives between these two tips. Therefore, the respondents were asked to show their language preferences while they perform those activities listed in the table. I do not like to focus on each of the activities because there is no significant difference in their responses and I will put things in a nut shell.

From the total number of Maiyu respondents, majority of the respondents argued that either they would like to use both languages equally or they prefer to use Arabic instead of Berta. Based on

the data, 46.6%, 38%, 40%, 58% and 42.8% of the Maiyu respondents preferred using both Berta and Arabic to listen to music, to watch television, to watch videos, to read newspapers and to listen radio respectively. The other greater number of Maiyu's respondent in the table that covers 20.9%, 21.5%, 14%, 18% and 18% stated that they use more Arabic than Berta for the above activities. From this it is understood that respondents from Maiyu confirmed that they would like to use either both Berta and Arabic equally or they prefer to use more Arabic than Berta for the above activities. In my informal conversation with them while distributing the questionnaire, they told me some reasons why they prefer Arabic for these activities. They gave me that there is limited art work done in Berta language, but there are ample art works or different novels in Arabic language and TV programs either world widely or in their locality.

Regarding the Undullu respondents' responses about the same activities, we observe similarity among the responses though there is slight variation with Maiyu responses. In total, we have seventy one respondents from this site and they were asked about their language choice while performing the activities listed in the table. According to their response, 43%, 22.5%, 31%, 19.7% and 21% of the respondents prefer to use more Berta instead of Arabic for listening music, watching TV, watching videos, reading newspapers and listening radio respectively. From the remaining respondents, 25.3%, 50%, 42.7%, 47% and 53% argued that they prefer to use both Berta and Arabic equally for the above activities. From this we can understand that the Undullu speech community either tends to use either more Berta than Arabic as they like to use both of them equally.

Respondents from the two sites show similar response for their language use for different purposes though there is a difference between the respondents of each site. Greater variation is observed in the use of more Berta or more Arabic. The Maiyu respondents inclined to use more Arabic than Berta whereas the Undullu respondents show that they prefer to use more Berta than Arabic for the above activities. For the alternatives always Berta and always Arabic, there are slightly more Undullu respondents who use always Berta for few activities while there are Maiyu respondents who use always Arabic for very few activities. There is no response gained from the Undullu that shows they always use Arabic, but there are few Maiyu respondents who gave the always Berta response.

The other category contains those activities related to religious. There is similarity not only within the respondents of each site, but there is also similarity between the respondents of the two sites. Both Maiyu and Undullu respondents show interest to use more Arabic than Berta for religious activities, for praying and for swearing. From the total number of respondents, 79% and 70.2% of Maiyu respondents argued that they use more Arabic than Berta for religious activities and for swearing. From Undullu respondents 88.7% and 71.7% preferred to use either more Arabic than Berta or always Arabic for the above activities. From the above percentage in particular, 77.2% from Maiyu respondents and 66.5% from Undullu respondents argued that they use always Arabic for religious activities. For swearing, 58.1% of Maiyu respondents and 57.7% of Undullu respondents argued that their preference is using more Arabic than Berta.

Regarding their religion and their Arabic preference, I had a casual talk with the respondents in Amharic while I was distributed the questionnaire. There is a greater linkage between their language and their religion. They believe that if they perform religious activities with languages other than Arabic, those activities may not reach their God. As I have discussed in the introductory part, Berta is Rut'anna which means non-religious. Not only Berta but also other languages in the world other than Arabic are Rut'annas in Arabic and only Arabic is a religious language. One respondent told me that Berta speakers consider that at the end of the day, in heaven they will talk with their God in Arabic.

According to Ali (2017), when language and religion are in charge of mixed acceptances, they can affect the sociocultural situations in a given speech community. In the world, different speech communities have been changed in their ideologies of culture and tradition because of their religious ideology. Religion and its carrier /language/ can influence each other. "The spread of catholicism in isolated native communities in Latin America is spreading Portuguese and Spanish with it" Ali (2017:50). Likewise, the spread of Islam in Berta community, brought changes in their language use and come up with the use of Arabized words in their daily conversations. Before they received Islam as a religion, the Berta was not aware of Arabic language, but when they become Islamic followers, they learned Arabic as their religious language.

The interaction between language religion also corrolates with language shift and language maintenance. If a religious idepoly is attached to a specific language, then that language might

be maintained and other languages in the speech community might be lost. For example, as Ferguson (1982) in Ali (2017:51) has suggested, Hebrew has survived to become a national language, because the Jews as a religious group used Hebrew language and its alphabet as the only text to represent many of the mother tongues they encountered as their communities. Similarly, before the Berta accepted Islam as their religion, Berta was maintained, but this time, they are also maintaining Arabic for its religious functions. As I have been informed from some key informants, this time, the Berta speech community would like to be proficient in Arabic than Berta.

Another aspect of language use listed in table 4.18 are their daily language use patterns like in casual talks, personal letter writings and in any note writing. For this activity, the response from both sites show that most respondents preferred to use both Arabic and Berta equally. For writing personal letters, 53.33% of Maiyu respondents and 56.3% of Undullu respondents argued that they use both languages equally. The other 29.57% of Undullu respondents argued that they use more Berta than Arabic, but only 11.4% of Maiyu respondents are interested in using more Berta in writing personal letters while 19.09% of Maiyu respondents are interested in using more Arabic than Berta. For writing any note, 51.4% of Maiyu respondents and 46.47% of Undullu respondents would like to use both languages equally and the other 13.3% of Maiyu and 22.3% of Undullu respondents choose more Berta than Arabic option. In their casual talks, 41.9% from Maiyu and 43.66% from Undullu respondents suggested that they preferred to use both languages equally whereas 29.5% of Maiyu and 33.8% of Undullu respondents argued that their interest is to use more Berta in their casual talks. From this we can conclude that in their daily conversations, they would like to use either both languages equally or more Berta than Arabic. This result relates with the result of the research conducted by Lamerevo (2007). In the research, there searcher concluded that the Australian Finns use their mother tongue at home domain and other foreign languages for public purposes.

The other category is regardless of counting. Greater difference among the respondents of the two sites has been observed in their use of language to count numbers. From the Undullu respondents, 57.74% responded that they use both languages for counting while 26.76% argued that they would like to use more Arabic. For this activity, 53.5% of Maiyu respondents responded that they use more Arabic for counting while 20% of Maiyu preferred using both

Arabic and Berta to count. As I have been informed from one of the respondents in our informal talk, almost all of Maiyu speech community counts with the Berta numbering system only up to three and then they tend to count in Arabic. Respondent from Undullu however told me that they have their own numbering system though it is limited to elderly people and used by them. Though the response from questionnaire data shows this, it has a negative correlation with the actual language use of Berta speech community. It will be discussed later.

#### 4.3.2. Language use with Different Co-communicators

Table 4. 19 Language Use of Berta Speakers with Different Groups

Which language/languages do you prefer to use when you are communicating with the following people?						
		Always Berta	More Berta than Arabic	Arabic and Berta	More Arabic than Berta	Always Arabic
Children	Maiyu=105	6(5.7%)	25(23.8%)	55(52.3%)	13(11.4%)	6(5.7%)
	Undullu=71	16(22.5%)	31(43.66%)	16(22.5%)	8(11.2%)	
Spouse	Maiyu=105	18(17.14%)	31(29.5%)	44(41%)	12(11.4%)	
	Undullu=71	8(11.2%)	32(45%)	31(43.66%)		
Mother	Maiyu=105	25(23.8%)	37(35.2%)	31(29.5%)	12(11.4%)	
	Undullu=71	24(33.8%)	39(55%)	8(11.2%)		
Father	Maiyu=105	7(6.6%)	24(22.85%)	49(46.66%)	25(23.8%)	
	Undullu=71	8(11.2%)	39(55%)	16(22.5%)	8(11.1%)	
Grandchildren	Maiyu=105	6(5.7%)	6(5.7%)	74(70.5%)	13(11.4%)	6(5.7%)
	Undullu=71	3(4.2%)	24(33.8%)	34(55%)	4(5.6%)	
Siblings	Maiyu=105	12(11.2%)	26(23.8%)	49(46.66%)	11(9.5%)	7(5.7%)
	Undullu=71	8(11.2%)	32(45%)	24(33.8%)	2(2.8%)	5(7%)
Extended families	Maiyu=105	31(29.5%)	25(23.8%)	37(35.2%)	6(5.7%)	6(5.7%)
	Undullu=71	24(33.8%)	24(33.8%)	16(22.5%)	8(11.2%)	
Friends	Maiyu=105	12(11.4%)	6(5.7%)	49(46.66%)	26(23.8%)	12(11.4%)
	Undullu=71	8(11.2%)	16(22.5%)	31(43.66%)	16(22.5%)	
Boss	Maiyu=105		18(17.1%)	69(64.7%)	18(17.1%)	
	Undullu=71		17(23.5%)	38(54.8%)	16(22.5%)	

Workmate	Maiyu=105	6(5.7%)	19(18%)	55(52.4%)	19(18%)	6(5.7%)
	Undullu=71	8(11.2%)	32(45%)	24(33.8%)	8(11.2%)	0(0%)
Religious person	Maiyu=105			6(5.7%)	31(29.5%)	68(64.7%)
	Undullu=71			8(11.2%)	31(43.66%)	32(43.66%)

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19

The above table presents respondents response for the questionnaire that focuses on their language use differences when they talk to the addresses listed in the table. There is a considerable difference in their language use with different people. If we look at the table in general, the greater percent of the respondents' response is around the middle of the table which means they tend to use both Arabic and Berta equally. From this it is possible to conclude that they are using a mixture of Arabic and Berta though it is difficult to determine the ratio of mixing and who usually mixes the languages depending only on the responses from the questionnaire. If we observe the percentage of respondents for their language use patterns with their children and grandchildren, we can see that 52.9% of Maiyu and 22.2% of Undullu respondents argued that they tend to use both languages equally with children. 23.5% of Maiyu and 43.66% of Undullu respondents on the other hand, shows that they use more Berta than Arabic while they are talking with their children. So even if the respondents argued that they are not interested to use more Arabic and always Arabic, they use both languages equally and there are only 5.7% of Maiyu who use only Berta and 22.2% of Undullu who use only Berta with their children. This shows us that there is still a way to transfer more Arabic to their children with the Maiyu.

There is also a slight difference in their language use with their children and grandchildren. For example, if we look at respondents responses who said both Berta and Arabic equally and who said more Berta, we can see differences. From Maiyu respondents, 52.9% argued they use both languages with their children and 70.5% of them argued that they use both languages with their grandchildren. 23.5% of Maiyu respondents' response shows that they use more Berta with their children, but only 5.8% responded that they use more Berta with their grandchildren. Regarding the Undullu respondents, 22.2% answered that they would like to use both languages with their children, while 55.5% of them argued that they tend to use both languages with their grandchildren. So from the above percentage, we can see respondents from both sites increase

their use of Arabic when the age of their children is increased and this implies that the rate of Arabic usage and their interest to teach their children when they grown up.

The other groups of people in the table are mother, spouses and siblings that can be categorized in one category with their gender. Similar response has been recorded from the respondents about their language use patterns with these groups of people. For instance, if we see their response about the alternative both languages, 35.2%, 41% and 47% of Maiyu respondents use both languages with mother, spouse and siblings respectively. Similarly, 55%, 43.66% and 33.8% of Undullu respondents agreed that they use both Arabic and Berta with their mother, spouse and siblings respectively. The respondents responded that they would like to use either both languages equally or more Berta with their mother, spouses and siblings. In our informal conversation, the respondents told me that this is because there is a difference in the Arabic language proficiency among male and female. According to their suggestion, especially elderly females are not aware of Arabic language very well so when they meet these people, they will use more Berta. This is related to the arguments of Coronel (2009), Bichani (2015) and Gal (1995) in which they suggested that compared to males, females are more monolinguals and they can maintain minority languages better than males.

It is seen taht there is a tendency of using more Berta with their children, grandchildren, mother, spouses, extended family and friends as well. With the religious persons however, the reverse is true. As I have discussed earlier in this section, there is a greater link between their language and their religion. Similar response has been gathered in the above table. The majority of the respondents argued that they will use more Arabic or always Arabic when they meet religious person. From the total respondents of Maiyu, 29.5% and 64.5% are interested to use more Arabic and always Arabic when they are talking with religious person. Likewise, 43.66% and 43.66% of respondents from Undullu argued that they will use more Arabic and always Arabic respectively to talk with religious person.

This result is somehow related to a study conducted by Harris (2006). As Harris (2006) in Bichani (2015:15-16) has stated, there is difference in language usage with different intorlectors in a speech community. His research about Suburbs in London suggested that, when there is a communication with parents, they use mixed of mainstream lanaguge and minority language, when there is a conversation with siblings, they use the mainstream language and when there is

conversation with grandparents, mainly they use minority language. In Berta, they use more Arabic with siblings and more Berta with father and mother. As Aba Almamun told me in our informal conversation, the elderly people in Berta are preserving more Berta words than the younger ones. Basically there are other domains of language use and here I am discussing the very common one mentioned by Lamerevo (2007), Fishman (1965) and Bichani (2015). For instance, work is one of the domains, but I leave it since the working language in the region is Amharic.

### 4.3.3. Language Use in Different Domains

Table 4. 20 Language Use Patterns of Berta People in Different Domains

Which language/languages you use for the following domains?						
		Always Berta	More Berta than Arabic	Arabic and Berta	More Arabic than Berta	Always Arabic
At home	Maiyu=105	25(23.8%)	37(35.2%)	31(29.5%)	12(11.2%)	
	Undullu=71	24(33.8%)	31(43.66%)	16(22.2%)		
At school	Maiyu=95	1(1%)	21(22%)	48(50.5%)	21(22%)	4(4.2%)
	Undullu=64	8(12.5%)	16(25%)	27(42%)	13(20.3%)	
In the market	Maiyu=105	6(5.7%)	7(6.6%)	61(58.08%)	26(23.8%)	5(4.7%)
	Undullu=71	8(11.2%)	24(33.8%)	31(43.66%)	8(11.2%)	
At religious areas	Maiyu=105				38(35.2%)	67(63.8%)
	Undullu=71	0(0%)	2(2.8%)	4(5.6.2%)	39(55%)	26(36.6%)

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19

Table 4.16 is designed to present the language use among Berta people for the settings mentioned in the table. There are four basic domains presented in the above table and in the questionnaire too. In language use, there is the concept of domain analysis. According to Coronel (2009:11), “domain analysis is related to diglossia and some domains are more formal than others. In a community with diglossia, a low language is used in family domain while a high language is used in formal domains like in education. In case of Berta, they use their mother tongue in family domains frequently. Arabic is used in religious domain and even in the home

domain; they use Arabic if the topic is religious. Abdulaziz (1978) discussed the idea of domain analysis as when languages with both varying and overlapping roles interact, it creates bi/triglossia situations. Same is true among Arabic and Berta in which these languages have overlapping roles among the Berta community.

As one can see from the table, there greater use of Berta in the home domain compared to other domains. No respondent from both sites responded that they always use Arabic in their home and only 5.8% of Maiyu respondents prefer to use more Arabic at home. If we look at the percentage responses, 23.8%, 35.2% and 29.5% of the Maiyu respondents are using always Berta, more Berta and both languages equally respectively in their home. From the undullu respondents, 33.8% use always Berta in their home and 43.66% use more Berta whereas 22.5% use Berta and Arabic in their home. Scholars agreed that a speech community may use indigenous and minority languages in the home domain. According to Spolsky, (2012) and Fishman (1972) cited in Bichani (2015:15-16), “the language used at home, or within a neighborhood, may be different from the language used at school or work”. If we look at the table, the Berta has shown similar response. About 60% of Maiyu and 77% of Undullu respondents suggested that they would like to use Berta at their home. Part of their choice is more Berta and the other choice is always Berta.

In the school domain however, the reverse is true and the majority of the respondents from the two sites show an interest either to use both languages equally or to use more Arabic than Berta. Here, 50.5% of Maiyu respondents and 42% of Undullu respondents prefer to use both languages in the school, but with respect to their choice to use more Berta or more Arabic, there is variation between the respondents of the two sites. From the Maiyu respondents, 22% said that they use more Berta while 22% of them prefer to use more Arabic at school and this implies that the Maiyu speakers are interested in using Arabic in the school domain. The Undullu respondents on the other hand give equal chance for more Berta and more Arabic alternatives 25% of the respondents argued that they would like to use more Berta and 20% said they want to use more Arabic in the school domain.

In the market their language use is dependent on their clients. As the respondents told me in our casual talks, if they meet a customer who speaks Arabic, they will use Arabic, but if they meet a

customer who speaks Berta, they will use Berta language and when they are with one who speaks both languages, they use according to the intention of the client. The majority of the respondents from both sites that means 58.08% of Maiyu and 43.66% of Undullu respondents use both languages in their market conversation. From the rest of the respondents, 23.8% of Maiyu respondents choose more Arabic while 33.8% of Undullu respondents' choice is more Berta.

The last language use domain mentioned in table 4.16 is the domain of religious areas like mosques. Almost all of the Berta people became Muslim followers and religious materials are prepared in Arabic. As has been seen so far, Berta speakers show an interest in using Arabic more than Berta even exclusively Arabic. Similar response is given by the respondents of the two sites for religious domain of their language use. The majority of the respondents have argued that they use more Arabic or always Arabic in the mosque. From the table, 35.2% of the Maiyu respondents responded that they use more Arabic and 63.8% of them prefer to use always Arabic in religious areas. There is no respondent who choose always Berta, more Berta and both languages equally alternatives from Maiyu respondents. From the Undullu respondents, 55% argue that they use more Arabic and 36.6% prefer to use always Arabic in religious domains. There are very few respondents of Undullu that covers 2.8% and 7% that gave their response as more Berta and both languages equally.

As we can see from the above table, almost half of the respondents from Undullu and some of the Maiyu respondents agreed that they would like to use Berta or more Berta in the market domain. Still there are people who use more Arabic in the school domain. I had a conversation with teachers and some students regarding these domains. In the school domain, there are students who are suffering from understanding the books which are prepared in Berta since the books are not prepared in Berta exclusively. The books are containing a mixture of Berta and Arabic words and phrases and this creates confusion among Undullu students and teachers. When they are counting, practically the Berta is calling only number one and two in their own language and from three onwards, they use Arabic numberings. It will be presented and discussed in another subsection later.

When people have different domain that requires different and specific language, they would be forced to choose one for each domain. This is true when a speech community is bilingual. Using different languages for different domain may lead the speech community to language shift. Schiffman (1990) in Coronel (2009:20) stated that, 'language shift occurs domain by domain rather than speaker by speaker or community by community'. In this regard, Coronel also assured that multiple languages may be in contact when each language has a unique domain of use. In Berta speech community, Arabic language has its own domain and that is religion. Grosjean (1982) cited in Lammerevo (2007:49), 'when speakers of a community use two languages, they will not use both in all circumstances, but will choose one over the other according to participants, situation, content of discourse and function of interaction'. This is related to language use domains that cover various situations and have been established as family, friendship, religion, work, market and education domains. The respondents argued that they are using the two languages either separately in different domains or both languages in a mixed way for some other domains.

#### **4.3.4. Arabic Language Ability of Berta Speakers**

This subsection is designed not to measure language proficiency test. The intention of this subsection is to know their confidences in speaking, understanding and to see knowledge of Arabic among Berta speakers. Basically testing language proficiency is not the concern of this research. However, it is important to know their confidence since it has a link with determining the attitude that the speech communities have and their daily language use. If a speech community has greater knowledge of a language/ foreign language, it is possible to say that the speech community will adapt high positive attitude towards the language and they will continue to use it in their daily conversation. As Bentahila (1983) cited in Coronel (2009:23) described, attitude plays an important role in language choice in the situation where the interactants share more than one common language. In the study, Bentahila argued that some carefully designed survey questions regarding language choice might be able to reveal attitudes of which the speaker is not necessarily even aware. The questionnaire was not categorized based on the dialects and the whole questionnaires were counted and it has been obtained that 128 respondents tell their confidence for the skills in the table. The intention of this self scoring evaluation is not to

determine their language competence rather it is intended to know their confidence of their ability. Lamerevo (2007) suggested that it is difficult to measure language competence of speakers, but he concluded that self score evaluation is possible to measure attitude indirectly and he evaluates the English ability of the respondents in his investigation to know their language use.

Table 4. 21 Arabic Language Ability Evaluating Questionnaire/ self score evaluation

How can you rate your confidence and can computing to the following skills of Arabic language?						
		Very well competent	Well competent	Moderately competent	Poorly competent	Not competent
Speak Arabic	Maiyu=105	25(23.6%)	47(42.5%)	30(30.7%)	3(3.8%)	
	Undullu=71	10(14%)	25(35.2%)	27(38%)	6(8.4%)	3(4.2%)
Understand spoken Arabic	Maiyu=105	34(30.7%)	54(50.3%)	17(19.6%)		
	Undullu=71	15(21.1%)	20(28.1%)	25(35.2%)	10(14%)	1(1.4%)
Can read and understand Arabic	Maiyu=98	19(18.6%)	41(38.58%)	28(26.7%)	9(7.9%)	
	Undullu=67	8(11.3%)	14(21.1%)	23(35.2%)	17(25.3%)	5(7%)
Write in Arabic	Maiyu=96	10(9.02%)	24(23.77%)	33(32.6%)	21(18.6%)	8(7.8%)
	Undullu=63	6(8.4%)	10(17.3%)	20(34.2%)	21(31.3%)	4(5.6%)
I know Arabic the alphabet and its function	Maiyu=99	7(6.8%)	19(23.6%)	48(46.4%)	21(19.6%)	4(3.8%)
	Undullu=62	8(12.6%)	12(18.7%)	20(28.9%)	12(18.7%)	10(15.5%)

Source: Own Survey Data 2018/19

It is obvious that if a person is confident in his/her ability of a language, it pushes him/her to adapt more positive attitude towards that language and he/she may use the language daily. Therefore, self score evaluation of language competence can indirectly imply language attitude and language use situations. As mentioned in the literature, majority of the Berta are bilinguals of

Berta and Arabic in which they are competent to speak Arabic language in addition to Berta. So in the next discussion, this issue is going to be discussed based on the data in the table.

In table 4.21, the respondents from the two sites have been merged and discussed together because they have been selected purposively and it is expected that all of the respondents will be bilinguals of Arabic and Berta. Though there is slight difference in their individual proficiency it might not be that much.

Table 4.21 is intended to give information about how Berta people are competent in Arabic. As seen from the table, the respondents' response shows that almost all of the respondents are competent at least in one of the skills listed in the table. For the spoken aspects, there is no response recorded as not competent at all and there are very few who give a response that they are poorly competent. Majority of the respondents from both sides evaluate themselves as well competent and very well competent for speaking Arabic and understanding spoken Arabic skills. Specially, respondents from Maiyu evaluate themselves as if they are well competent in spoken aspects of Arabic. From total respondents of Maiyu, 23.6% very well competent, 42.5% well competent and 30.7% are moderately competent and from Undullu, 14% very well competent, 35% well competent and 38% moderately competent. This shows there is little difference in their confidence of Arabic ability among Maiyu and Undullu respondents because majority of Maiyu respondents are well competent while majority of Undullu respondents are moderately competent in speaking Arabic. In understanding spoken Arabic, 50.3% of Maiyu are well competent while 28% of Undullu are well competent. Generally, about 95% of Maiyu and about 87% of Undullu respondents are competent in spoken Arabic.

regardless of their reading and understanding as well as writing in Arabic, they are not as competent as the spoken aspect of the language. Their ability to read and understand Arabic is better than their skill to write in Sudan Arabic. In read and understanding Arabic, 38.5% and 30.7% of Maiyu are well competent and moderately competent in reading and understanding of Arabic where as 21% and 35.2% of Undullu evaluated themselves as well and moderately competent. This implies that they are not as competent as in reading and understanding of Arabic like taht of their speaking ability. In knowing Arabic alphabets and their functions, majority of the respondents from both sites that means 46% and 31% of Maiyu and Undullu respectively

evaluate themselves as if they are moderately competent. Still the other larger percent 19.6% of Maiyu and 21% of Undullu evaluate themselves as poorly competent to know Arabic alphabet.

Language ability has its own link with attitude of a speech community towards a language. When people have positive attitudes towards others language, they will be motivated to learn and maintain it. Likewise, learning or knowing a language is directly related to attitude of a speaker of a language towards others language. Kaharan has discussed about the relationship of attitude with different social concepts. Kaharan (2007:76) has stated the following relations of attitude with other social concepts. Attitude and motivation of language learning, attitude and level of achievement in language learning, belief and attitude about target language use, first language use and anxiety and etc. So as the response of Berta respondents in the above table stated, they are competent in Arabic language and this has its own connection in their attitude towards Arabic language. In addition to attitude, the above table also shows relevant implications to Berta community's language usage. As Coronel has discussed in his (2009) research, attitude questions have their own implications to determine language choice. If a speech community is competent in more than one language, they have the opportunity to choose and use among languages they know. Language competence has its own value to language usage and language choice. According to Matras (2009), competence in each language has a greater value to draw a speech community towards that language which is not their first language.

#### **4.3.5. Berta Language Use Profile**

The Berta speakers show positive attitude for bilingualism that means mastering both language and in relation with their language use, they would like to use both languages equally in different domains and with different interlocutors. According to Bichani (2015) and Lamerevo (2007), the language use profile of a speech community for one of the languages that they mastered can also show us about their usage of the other language. That means if they use language X in each of the time and dominantly, then it is expected that they will have less usage for language Y. So here if their Berta language use profile is presented, it is possible to determine their Arabic interference indirectly. The following table contains the Berta language use profile and the questions contain the alternatives that range from always Berta to never Berta for the abilities and purposes listed in the table. Like in the above table, the response in the questionnaire was not

categorized according to the respondents' residences because it is thought that there may no greater variation since among the respondents since Berta is their mother tongue. Totally from the two sites, 113 respondents gave their response for this question. Almost all of the respondents who gave their response for the question are students and teachers.

*How frequently you are involving in the following Berta language skills?*

Table 4. 22 Berta Language Use Profile

		All the time	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Speak in Berta	Maiyu=105	17(16%)	41(39%)	34(31.5%)	13(12.5%)	
	Undullu=71	25(35.2%)	32(45)	12(16.9%)	2(2.8%)	
Read in Berta	Maiyu=99	8(7.96%)	30(29.4%)	44(42.8%)	15(14.34%)	2(1.9%)
	Undullu=66	14(22.5%)	24(35.2%)	20(29.5%)	8(12.5%)	
Listen in Berta	Maiyu=105	21(18.5%)	34(32.7%)	47(46%)	3(2.65%)	
	Undullu=71	22(32.3%)	33(47.8%)	14(21%)	2(2.8%)	
Write in Berta	Maiyu=100	9(9%)	27(27.3%)	53(51.5%)	9(9.79%)	2(2%)
	Undullu=66	11(16.7%)	30(45.5%)	22(33.3%)	2(3%)	1(1.5%)
Watch films and videos in Berta	Maiyu=97	2(2%)	10(10.3%)	22(22.6%)	52(53.6%)	11(11.3%)
	Undullu=65	7(10.7%)	14(21.5%)	17(26%)	26(40%)	1(1.5%)

Source: Own Survey data 2018/19

In the above table questions about the frequencies of Berta usage by the Berta speakers have presented. The questions seems like to measure ability, but their intention is how often the Berta speakers are speaking, listening, reading, writing and watching videos in Berta language. As we can see from the table for most of the items in the table, majority of the respondents responded that the use Berta sometimes. From the total number of the respondents, 31.5%, 42.55%, 46% and 51.3% of Maiyu respondents are sometimes using Berta to speak, to read, to listen and to write respectively. There is little difference within Undullu respondents and 16.9%, 29.5%, 21% and 33.3% are sometimes speak, listen, read and write in Berta. This indirectly suggests that they have another language to use. Berta is their first language and therefore it is expected that

almost all of them should always speak, listen, read and write in Berta. However, since the language is lately developed one and since it is not functioning in different sectors, they are not speaking it frequently. Moreover, Arabic is involving in some domains like religious domain that slacks their frequent use of Arabic. To watch videos, majority of the respondent show that they rarely use Berta. As I have been informed from interviewees in our informal talks, there is no much art works in Berta and they have no much video to watch.

It is surprising to see this much that are not using Berta for artistic values. To make sure that the above data on Berta usage for artistic values is valid, especial interview was held because it has been also seen in the above sub sections that Berta speakers use more Arabic to watch videos. According to the response gained via interview, the reason why they use Arabic is that there are lots of artistic works in Arabic and Amharic while there are very few in Berta even there was no, but this time there are few. So the lately development of the language has its own impact on their daily use of Berta.

Using different data collecting instruments has a greater advantage one to have sufficient data and the other one to cross check the validity of data collected through another tool. Interview with different people that means male, female, young, old, students, and teachers was one of the method to collect data. In the previous section, while I was discussing about attitude, there were people who asked about their attitude and at that time they have been asked about their language use patterns too. From the questions about language use, some are related to the questions incorporated in the questionnaire to check the validity of the data in the questionnaire and the other ones are new to have additional data on language use. For Aghyisi and Fishman (2012), tough interview has its own draw backs in taking much time and being bulky, its advantage is greater than its disadvantage since it is important to get valid data and to avoid useless data due to confusion to understand the question by the respondents like in a questionnaire.

From the above interviewees who have been asked about their attitude, only one old man is left to be asked about his language use because he simply concluded that he is interested to use Berta always. The rest of the respondents interviewed about their attitude, have been asked about their language use and even some of them especially females were asked about language use of their children. Therefore, the first part of the dialogue which is going to be presented is a dialogue

with the above interviewees who has been asked about their language attitudes towards Berta and Arabic.

Regarding domain of language use, the first respondent argued that in the home domain his family use more Berta. In the home, he use more Berta or even all Berta with his wife. With his children, he uses both languages though they may not use them equally. This indicates that the children are bilinguals and the idea also supported with his response for the last question. Within his neighbors, his language use is situation dependent. Like any other responses through questionnaire, their language use in religious matters is Arabic. In other circumstances of their conversations they use both languages. We can also understand from his language use with neighbors that females lack Arabic proficiency because he said that they will silently translate to their wives and other monolinguals when they talk religious cases.

The other question is about the proficiency that the respondent has for the two languages under the study. Indirectly the question could imply the motivation and practices of his language use. According to Coronel (2009), if an individual or speech community can have better understanding of a language or language varieties, then their tendency to use that language is high. On the other hand, people give due attention for the language that they learnt first. So the intention of the above question is to correlate the respondent's language learning and competence with his language use. As it has been seen, his first language is Berta, but now he can speak and understand both languages better and he tanks his God for that. According to his intention, he is regretting not to learn Arabic equally with Berta or before it and he told that today the children are being supported by their parents to learn Arabic and for him it is an advantage for them. This points out that though he learnt Berta first, his interest seems to learn Arabic first and it has its own role to force him to use Arabic in his conversation. He said that he can understand both languages better and it can lead him to use both languages.

Almost similar response is given about language use at home and within neighbors among the first and second respondent. They said that both languages are used and there context for using either of the languages within the neighbors. For religious activities, Arabic is used and for other purposes, they use either more Berta or both equally. What is different for the second respondent is the case of talking jocks. In storytelling and talking jocks, Berta is used and within his family,

unlike the first respondent who use differently with his wife and with his children, the second respondent argued that he uses both languages equally.

Language use in the neighborhood domain among the Berta is related to the result that found in the research conducted by Deweik, Nofal and Qawashmeh (2014:18) that says language use among the Muslim Arabs living in Canada is characterized in using both languages since the Muslim Arabs are living in a mixed neighborhood. The same is true for the Berta speech community since the Arabs are mixed with Berta in their lives, religion, blood and residence. There is Arab village in Assosa the center of the region and still there are Arabs who are living in rural areas of Berta community.

This was the dialogue held with a monolingual woman and it was conducted with a translator. The questions were designed to assess here language usage and about the language used in her surroundings. According to her response, in the home domain she uses both languages while she is with her husband, but when she is with her children, she uses both languages though she cannot speak Arabic well. She has mentioned two reasons why she used this way and she said that her husband is better than her children in understanding Berta and her children are interested to learn Arabic well since they have spent much time with their friends at school. As she has argued sometimes there might be communication break downs and either her first child or her husband translates their talk to Berta.

About her language use with her neighbors, she suggested that their language use depends on the interlocutors who are talking with them. If she is talking with females, they use more Berta, but if they are with those who are perfect bilinguals of Berta-Arabic, she uses some Arabic which she knows. One thing that has been mentioned by her is that the reason why she uses some Arabic and according to her, she uses it not to be undermined by the bilinguals. This shows two things one her interest to know Arabic and use it to be proud and the other one is her attitude towards the bilinguals and it indirectly has its own value for having positive attitude for Arabic. This is supported by Dweik and Qawar (2015) who pointed out that if monolingual individuals or speech communities are undermining themselves and appreciating bilinguals, indirectly they have positive attitude towards a language other than their mother tongue.

In the above interview, the participants are parents and they have been asked about their language use as well as their children's language usage and earlier in the part of the discussion about attitude, they dealt a lot. From this onwards, interview with children is presented. For example, the following is an extract from an interview with 11 years old girl from Undullu primary school.

As it has been suggested in the above extract by 11 years old girl, Berta and Arabic are used in her home. However, she also pointed out that there is language use difference when she is talking with her father and with her mother and this depends on their Arabic proficiency in which her father is better than her mother. From the family members, she uses more Arabic or all in all Arabic when she is talking with her sisters and brothers. Unless they have been told by their parents like that of her mother forced her to use Berta, she and her sisters and brothers use Arabic. This assures the response by a monolingual woman from Unddulu in that she said her children use Arabic unless she limits them to use Berta and both of the interviewees from the village indicates the Arabic skill difference among men and women especially within adults and elders.

In the school, they use both languages, but it is due to the fact that there are students from rural areas and to include them in their conversation, the respondent and her classmates use both languages. from this we can understand that in the rural areas, there might be relatively indigenous Berta which is free from Arabic however it needs further investigation. When she said unless the word is not found in Berta, our teachers use exclusively Berta it is to mean that there are words that they do not know in Berta. This will be discussed late in this project.

The other interview was a 14 years old boy from Abramo. He is a grade eight student. He speaks Berta, Arabic, Amharic and somehow Gumuz. He has been asked questions which have been forwarded for the 11 years old girl. According to this boy, the language use of children in the home or with family domain is determined by the their parent's language orientation. For him for example, since his mother is an Arab and she only speaks Arabic, he should use Arabic with her. Not only his language use, but also the language use of the family has been limited to Arabic in the presence of their mother. When he is with his sisters and brothers, they use either languages. So within his family, Arabic is used most dominantly.

In the school domain, the use of language is situational as responded by him. If they are talking with teachers, they use Berta dominantly and if they are talking to each other/ with his friends, they use Arabic dominantly. The use of Arabic dominantly is emerged from; one their sense of competition with their friend in their Arabic proficiencies and another for the sake of religious knowledge. This has a link with their perception for the two languages that means they give more credit for Arabic which determines their attitude positively.

There were also other interviews with students from different schools of the two sites. However the response gained from them is almost similar and the only difference is wording but in their concepts they are almost the same. According to majority of the interviewees, their language use is determined by different factors. For Arabic usage for instance, there are different social, economic and religious benefits that leads them to use it. On the other hand Berta is used since it is their mother tongue and since there are people around them who cannot understand Arabic. Within their neighbors, their friends, their teachers and in the school, they use both languages equally though there is use of more Arabic in some cases.

Generally, the intention of this interview is to support the data collected via questionnaire. The questions are directly asking the respondents their language usage in different domains, for different purposes and with different interlocutors. The questions about language in the questionnaire are also focused on the above issues. The interviewees' response is related to the responses in the questionnaire. The result in the questionnaire suggested that majority of the respondents are interested to use both languages in different domains, with different interlocutors and for different purposes except religious domains which exclusively uses Arabic. Similarly the interviewees responded that, they use both languages for the above situations. Therefore, interview data is supporting the result of questionnaire data.

In addition to the data collected trough questionnaire and interview, there was a discussion among groups of respondents and individuals who are considered to have something relevant for the objectives of this research have been asked individually. The discussion was open and there was a question raised from the response for the first question if it is considered that it can add some relevant information. Some of the question under the discussion like their idea about bilingualism can add something on what has been gathered through questionnaire and other

questions that ask about the interaction among language and religion are designed to have new dimensions about the interactions of language and religion. There were three questions discussed in the FGDs related to language use.

1. What language do you use when you interact with elder, young and adult people and why?
2. Which language is frequently used in your villages?
3. Do you promote Bert-Arabic bilingual usage? If so why and if not why?
4. Where and when using Berta or Arabic exclusively is mandatory?

These were the questions discussed in the groups from each sites in addition to the questions about attitude which have been highlighted above and questions about language maintenance which will be discussed late in this research. There was greater debate about these questions i.e. some of them argued positively while others are against of them. For the first question, almost all of the respondents accept that with no doubt Arabic is religious language and if Berta speakers can understand Arabic language, they can understand Islamic doctrines easily. For example T2FC8, T1CF6F, T4FC11M, F2FC3 and f3FC1F argued similarly and the center of their point is presented as; *“the reason why Arabic is used more than Berta is religion. If you ask Berta community why you and your children learn and use Arabic, they will respond you as it is to learn and study Holy Qur’an so it is a must to know Arabic to understand Islam as a religion. Therefore, we should promote the use of Arabic”*. From the concept discussed by these people, it is possible to draw different conclusions. One, how they relate Islamic with Arabic language and the other one religion as a factor to use Arabic in their conversation. This is also relates to the works by Bichani (2015) who relates the interest to learn second language and its use with religious matters and Lamerevo (2007) who relates religious matters to maintain language and identity. On the other hand, only three participants two from Undullu participants and one from Maiyu argued in a different way for the first question. Though there is difference in their wording, the concept of their argument is as follows. *“It is clear that Islam is learned via Arabic and we appreciate Arabic for this importance. However, if we know Berta and use it for different domains other than religion, it could not decline Islam. There is a link between Arabic and Islam, but there is no link between Berta and Islam so we have to differentiate this”*.

These participants also agreed that Arabic is the language of Islam. What makes them to be different from other participants is their argument about the interference of Berta to decline Islam. For the participants Berta is considered as a hindrance for Islam distribution while for the above three participants it is not. What can be understood from this discussion in general is that their thinking to associate Arabic with Islam can lead them to adapt positive attitude for the language and this can lead them to maintain and use Arabic language.

For the second question, the discussion was revolving that they want to use both languages accordingly. It is not group based category rather the participants from each group fallen in to one of these categories. However, majority of the participants tend to fall in to a category that says everyone uses more Berta but still they use much Arabic words in their daily usage. So it is considered that everyone is expected to learn and to be proficient in Arabic. This indirectly has its own implication for the use of Arabic and it is possible to conclude that Berta speakers are interested to learn and keep using Arabic.

The third question was also part of the questions prepared in the questionnaire. The purpose of presenting it here is to cross check the response in the questionnaire. The response from the questionnaire shows that the Berta speakers have positive attitude for Bert-Arabic bilingualism. For the question majority of the participants in the FGDs discussed that they would like to promote Berta-Arabic bilingualism that supports the response via questionnaire. Here is an extract of summary from what has been said by majority of the respondents. *“Knowing different languages has its own advantage. Berta-Arabic bilingualism has a special benefit for our speech community because we discuss different issues by using the two languages. For example for religion we have to use Arabic exclusively. And for other purposes, Berta is functional and therefore, we should know both languages”*. Their argument starts from the advantages of being bilingual and give special emphasis for Berta-Arabic bilingualism. So they promote Berta-Arabic bilingualism. This indirectly indicates that they promote the use of both languages in their speech community. Dweik and Qawar (2015) supported this idea as having positive attitude towards bilingualism and promoting the use of both languages in a speech community gives greater advantage for the immigrant’s language over the host language. So if the Berta speech community gives attention to bilingualism of Berta and Arabic, indirectly they are promoting Arabic over Berta.

The questions were more general and they were not intended to get information specifically about the informants. Instructor Mohammed/ from Assosa University, Mohammed Abdulkadir, from Menge primary school/ he is a teacher, asediq' from assosa high school/ unit leader in the school, Jemal Nashir from Abramo/ school director, Ahimed Shikur from Undullu/ teacher and Abdulnasir Ali from educational office of the region have been interviewed as key informants. The questions were about their observations of the involvement of Arabic in the text books, the intentions of students for the two languages and their predictions about the futurity of Berta. Data from KII shows that the Berta speakers give due attention for Arabic knowledge. Ahimed from Undullu suggested that their language is highly hybridized basically by Arabic in their surroundings and rarely by Afan Oromo particularly around Belewjeganfoye. According to him, even the book is highly influenced by Arabic words and when they report to the regional education office, they responded them that they do not know the exact words of their Berta versions, but he said that we know the words in Berta. For the comment from Ahimed, Abdulnasir accepted that there is such confusion because the books are prepared by taking Maiyu as a refernce dialect and this dialect contains lots of Arabic expressions and this time they prepare the books for higher grades grade 8 and 9 by incorporating original Berta words. Sample tables that contain common Arabic words with their Berta versions which were not known before will be presented later in this research when the how they use their language discusses. And almost all of the interviewees in the KII argued that the involvement of Arabic in text books is high.

As they have observed, the use of Berta and Arabic is almost equal and gradually, even the use of Arabic in different domains is exciding the use of Berta. For example, Jemal from Abramo said that in earlier times, Arabic was limited to be used in religious ceremonies or in the mosques. However this day its usage is expanded to many other domains like in the school, in the market though Berta is equally used. In addition to this, Mohammed said that even in the religious areas Berta was mixed particularly if they have Sal'at in their village, but this time it is forbidden to use it since Islam never allow an language other than Arabic. This show that how the involvement and functions of Arabic is expanded gradually. According to their arguments if they continue this way, Berta will be endangered language soon. This because the children are more interested to learn and be proficient in Arabic than in Berta. But for Abdulnasir and Jemal,

it may not bother them because they hope that the language will sustain since there are lots of speakers who uses it as their mother tongue. Moreover, Abdulnasir suggested that they are searching for the original Berta words and expressions which have been lost.

From this we should consider that language shift is a gradual phenomena and it may not appear over night. The KII interviewees except Abdulnasir and Jemal, considers gradually their language is mixed. To strength this argument, Appel and Muysken suggested the following. “Language shift come about slowly and go on for severalgenerations, but especially in changing social situations it may be a rather fast process. When a language is reduced in its function, which happens in the case of shift towards the majority language, generally speakers will become less proficient in it, i.e. language loss is taking place. Language shift linked up with loss will finally result in language death” Appel and Muysken (1987:42). So as we have seen so far, the functions of Berta is reduced and snatched by Arabic and therefore, it is possible to say it is on the way of language shift which will be discussed below.

Like the interview data, the data from FGD and KII supports the data collected by questionnaire. Though the questions are too general, in the discussion, the participants detailly mentioned about their language uses. Almost all of the participants argued that there is mixed usage of Berta and Arabic languages in their conversation. This is related with the data in the questionnaire in which for most questions the respondents choose both languages to communicate with their interlocutors, to discuss different topics and in different settings. Similarly, the KIIs accepted that Arabic language is influencing Berta and even in text books and in the dictionary, there are lots of Arabic and Arabized words. In the up coming discussion, this concept may be more clear.

#### **4.4. Data from Observation**

Observation is one of the data collecting instruments and the data gained through it is relatively valid since the target groups are not aware of the follow up over them. It is difficult to have language attitude data unless one can refer from language use and language shift and maintenance. Agheyisi and Fishman (2012:16), “observation also pertains to various kinds of language attitude studies, especially those concerned with language maintenance and language shift”. In my observation, I with the translator observed what is going on the actual usage of Berta and Arabic in different domains like market, schools and other settings. The observation is

mainly on language use and to some extent on language maintenance that resulted from how they use the two languages. I have observed based on the following observation check lists.

Basically, I have observed in three basic areas; market, school and mosque. My check list of observation in each area has been presented as follows.

1. Waht language/languages used in the market?
  - Names of messurment, names of objects..
  - Frequently used language
  - Names of shops and in which language they are written
2. How is their conversation in the mosque?
  - Which language is used to pray
  - Which language is used to preach
  - Which language is used in the compound of mosques
3. How the students are communicating at school?
  - To communicate each other
  - To communicate with their teachers
4. How the written documents are prepared?
  - Dictionary
  - Books
  - News and magazins
  - Teaching materials

Table 4. 23 Observational Data on their Daily Language Usages

Berta	Arabic	Meaning
añgeeruthá- pl añgeeru/ Añgeerumé -sng	assalamalékum	good morning/ afternoon
hathañaañalo –pl aliáloba(masculine)/aliáloma(feminine) –sng	alékumassalam	I am fine
híyo /get in/	fáddal( eat, go, sit..	To say sit or inter

dqoñósha/ sit down/		
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Source: Own Observation Data 2019

The first observation is on their greetings and few instructional conversations. I have observed that everybody exchanges greeting each day. As it is observed from the above table, the Berta speakers greet by using Arabic expressions. Even they do not know if there are greeting expressions in Berta language. For instance, if you say one of the Berta speaker ‘añgeeruthá’, he/she will never understand respond as *hathañaañalo*, but if you say them *assalamalékum*, they will immediately respond you by saying *alékumassalam*. If we look at the structure of the two languages, we can see that Berta has identified between singular and plural and feminine and masculine while in Arabic it is general. Their language use is influenced with the use of Arabic/Arabized words and no one wants to use the greeting expressions of Berta. The second expression is an expression they use to give you permission to sit dawn or to inter in to a house. In Arabic the expression is *fáddal* which means sit dawn, go, come, eat and the like. This single word has different meaning in which the meanings are instructional. In Berta, it is separated and *híyo* to say get in and *dqoñósha* to say sit down. However, at the time of my observation, no one says the Berta expressions rather they order me/ give permission in Arabic expressions. Everyone says *fáddal* to give me permission to inter their office and after I inter, they say *fáddal* to permit me to take a chair.

After my observation and when I see that all of them use the Arabic greeting expressions, I have asked some people what factor led them to use that way. The respondents argued that it is highly linked with their religious orientations. According to them, in the doctrine of Islam, it is expected that any individual is not alone. It is common to think that they are with angels and if they say a single person *añgeerul/ añgeerumé*, they fear that they are out of the doctrine of their religion. So they tend to use *assalamalékum* which can be functional for both singular and plural and if they use this expression they think that they respect the person whom they forward their greeting. The same is true for the responses for greeting in that they think when they respond by saying *alékumassalam*, they believe that they respect both the person and their religion.

The other area of the observation was held in the market. Market was chosen because many people with different languages can be together in the market place. There was an observation in

their religious areas particularly while they have a *sal'at* in their villages and they use only Arabic. In the market place they use Berta but it is less and they use Arabic words and expressions including names of objects and their measurements. In the above section majority of the respondents responded that they use both languages in the market domain in their actual usage however, they tend to use Arabic naming. The following table contains some words which have their originals in Berta and have been replaced by Arabic words. The words in the following table, one it shows us that though there are original words in their mother tongue, Berta speakers tend to use their Arabic congruent. Second it shows that they would like to maintain Arabic because they replace the words of Berta with Arabic words.

Table 4. 24 Sample replaced Berta words in the market domain/ from observation

Orginal Bertha	Arabic	Mixed-Berta	Meaning
mudul	mis án/kilo	alk ílo/almesán	measurement
aañá shibiluláthi	assúkq	Assúg	market
hábbá	gir ám	algrir ám	gram
eeh áya	nus gir ám	alnus gir ám	half gram
muduliy ú	rubu gir ám	rubu gir ám	quarter gram
wagía	karát	Alkarát	Carat
kqorí	alm1le	original is used	Salt
ash átha	shátqa	ash átqa	Chili
abasqísqí	sabún	Assabún	Soap
ór	altób/ alhitum	Attób	Cloth
abadq í	alk óra	alk úra	Plat
aura	alf árua	alf áro	leather/skin
shafa	anniq ál	original is used	Shoes
ash ádq á	assurh ál	assurw ál	trouser /shorts

addirimbil	alqarab ía/assayara	alqarab ía	Car
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Source: Own Observation Data 2019

In the above table, there are three columns in which the first column contains original Berta words, the second contains Arabic words while the third contains mixed words. When I say mixed, it is to mean that either Arabic words as they are or with the prefix al- and with its modification. The intention of the above table is no to show the dictionary meaning of original Berta words in Arabic and English rather it is intended to show that The Berta speakers are not aware of these original words and they dominantly use their Arabic versions. The words were collected during my observation with Abdulnasir. I asked them to call the objects listed above and he and Aba Almamun told their Berta versions. During my observation, I have observed that majority of the sellers and buyers do not know the original Berta and from very few who know some of them never use the original Berta words in the conversations. The table above contains only few of the words that have been observed in three market days. So if this much is gained during these few days, it is considered that they use Arabic names to call many of the objects exchanged in the market.

In addition to these questions which have been presented above, there were choice item questions in the questionnaire. The questions were focused on different parts of the objectives of the research. Basically the questions talk about the following.

- A. What their preference is to be proficient from Berta and Arabic?
- B. What relationship do they have with Sudan Arabs?
- C. How they learn Arabic?
- D. Do they observe any change on their language?
- E. If so what type of change, how do they evaluate the influence of Arabic on Berta, what do they think about the futurity of their language?

Here I will focus on some of the issues which are related to language use and language attitude. The first thing I am focusing on is the question that shows something relating to attitude. The question asks for the causes of their relationship with Arabs and there are four alternatives which

are marriage, trade activity, friendly and religious activity. The majority of the respondents chose trade activity and religious practices as the causes of relationship. Religious activities are very powerful to draw people towards something either positively or negatively. The other question is the question about their interest to be proficient in either language. As their response implies, most of the respondents would like to be proficient in Arabic. I have asked them about the reason that motivates them to prefer Arabic proficiency in our informal talk and they told me that they are already proficient in Berta so Arabic proficiency is additional knowledge.

There were questions incorporated in the questionnaire that examine the situation of code mixing and using language codes from Arabic when it is difficult to express in Berta. The majority of the respondents (around 73%) agreed that it is common to mix and switch Arabic with Berta even if the word or the code is existed in the original Berta. The other question from the questionnaire was the question of their usage of Arabic to fill the gap that Berta language encounters. They argued that Berta is not enough expressive and they tend to use Arabic, however some respondents from Undullu suggested that Berta has no limitation rather they lost some of the original phonemes and lexemes of Berta because of Arabic influence/ FGD and KII.

#### **4.5. Analysis of Data on How the two Languages are Used by Berta Speakers**

This is one of the objectives of this study and it is designed to see the treatments the two languages among Berta speakers. If there is a change of attitude about one language, it is expected that there may be a change in language use. Scholars like Lamerevo (2007), Ries (2011) have discussed about language maintenance and shift by correlating with language attitude and daily language use. For example Ries (2011) in his research focused on language use and language attitude. The scope of his investigation was on language use and language attitudes of People of Descent German from the Russia and his finding suggested that almost regular different language contact phenomena. Lamerevo (2007:166) also correlates language attitude and language use with language shift and language skill with code switching and code mixing. So as it is seen from the two scholars concern, that language contact or language shift is resulted from attitudes about the languages or language varieties within a speech community and their daily usage of each language. For Fasold (1987:213), “language shift which is the other side of a coin of language maintenance, are the collective results of language use. When a speech

community begins to choose, a new language in a domain formerly reserved for the old one, it may be a sign that language shift is in progress”.

Sometimes, shift in language use results from attitude of the language that the speech community have. “Change of language code may also signal to changes of attitude during the conversation” Hickey (2010:8-9). So when a speech community is using a code or a word from one language to their own language, they have their reason in mind. Most of the time, they may use to fill the gap in their language, to have solidarity, to increase their status and to get some economic benefits. The use of both Swahili and English languages is always emblematic. “The use of both Swahili and English in the same stretch of discourse is an emblem of dual membership of language communities. The speaker signals a mixed social, cultural and/or political identity and solidarity, one represented by Swahili and the other by English” Hickey (2010:7).

As it has been discussed in the introductory part as well as in the literature part, there is a greater linkage between language attitude, language use and language contact among languages in a given speech community. If member of a speech community have positive attitude towards a language, then they will be interested to use it in addition to their language and when they use the language with their own language, there will be a tendency of mixing and switching codes even there may be replacement. The same is true for Berta because the Berta people have relatively a positive perception of Arabic or at least they never hate it and they are using it in their daily practices including religion. In this sub-section, I am going to discuss about what is the situation of the contact between the two languages i.e. Berta and Arabic. In this part, the data collected through questionnaire, through informal conversation and from different secondary sources are discussed.

#### **4.5.1. How the Berta Speakers Borrow and Mix codes from Arabic**

In the above discussions, it has been seen that the Berta speakers show positive attitude for bilingualism and code mixing too. In addition to this in table 4.24 the respondents agreed that it is common to mix codes of Arabic with Berta one to fill the gaps that Berta encounters and they also mix codes even when there are the words in Berta. So if they agree this way, what linguistic elements they took from Arabic, do they borrow, do they use whole language use of Arabic in

any of a domain, do they adapt words, adopt words and do they modify when they took Arabic codes are going to be discussed. “Manifestations of language contact are found in a great variety of domains, including language acquisition, language processing and production, conversation and discourse, social functions of language and language policy, typology and language change, and more” Matras (2009:1).

Though the respondents in from KII and respondents in our informal talk suggested that, the three levels that means at phoneme level, at morpheme level and at word level are highly practiced, but little at phrase level and almost no at sentence level except greeting expressions. “Linguists used to think that languages only borrowed *words* from each other. In fact, it turns out that virtually anything can be borrowed: sounds, meanings, word order, derivational affixes, inflections and grammatical categories. It remains true; however, those words and other lexical items are much more easily borrowed than either grammar or phonology” Hickey (2010:4). The result shows that the Berta speakers took words and lexical elements more than other linguistic elements. What elements practically are involved in mixing Arabic with Berta will be briefed later. Matras (2009) suggested that words particularly open class words and nouns are easily borrowed than other word classes. In the Berta community, they borrowed many words and most of them are nouns like names of religious entities and activities.

The other point discussed in this section is the situation of what part of the language Berta has been affected due to the influence of Arabic. How Berta is disturbed phonologically, morphologically or in any other aspects of the language. I have collected lots of data from secondary sources like from the Arabic-Berta-English-Amharic dictionary and from early researches on Berta like Bremer 2016 on the six dialects of Berta. In the dictionary, Neodorf identified that there are sounds which are taken from Arabic loan words. As I have got from these written materials, there is an adaptation of sounds and morphemes as well as words from Arabic language to Berta language. First these sounds, morphemes and words were brought to Berta speech community with Arabic loan words, but this day these elements are familiar in the language.

#### **4.5.1.1. Sound Hybridization and Replacement**

Regarding the sounds, there are four sounds that have been adapted to Berta language from Arabic that are mentioned by researchers like Neodorf in the dictionary of Berta-Arabic-English-

Amharic, Bremer (2016). These sounds are /s/, /t/, /k/ and /j/ in the first place, they were brought to Berta with Arabic loan words, but this day, these sounds are involving in the actual phonological pattern of Berta. The sounds also change the nature of the pronunciation of some words. With /s/ for instance, let us see the name of the capital city of Benishangul Assosa. Before the coming of this sound, the name was written and pronounced as “Ats’ots’o” or “Asq’osq’o” which means “small ants”. These days however, the name of the capital city is written as Assosa which has no meaning. The sound /t/ is assimilated with /d/ sound or /θ / sound. For example, the name of the people was written as Bertha /berts’a/ that represents one of their early kings’ names Berthua. But now it became /Berta/ which has a negative meaning to mean slave in Arabic. The other one is /k/ there was a place called /gumruk/ where tax payment by those who came from Sudan was held. Due to the coming of /k/ sound, it has been changed to kumruk and this time it is the name of a place at the boarder of Sudan and Ethiopia. There are other words with these sounds in Berta language. According to Li (1994:6) “language choice occurs at different levels ranging from phonetic variables to discourse patterns like greetings”. The same is true for Berta that they tend to choose phonetic levels like /t/, /k/, /s/.... and greeting words like ‘selamalekum’ from Arabic. According to Hickey (2010:6), the sound system of one language may be changed through borrowing from another language. Hickey exemplified that Japanese introduced the voiced fricative /v/ in English loan words like vejitarian and vaiorin. Likewise, the Berta developed the above sounds with Arabic loan words.

In Berta speech community, it is accepted that words with the above sounds are clearly from Arabic and they have no their congruent in Berta language. Scholars like Neodrof and Bremer also agreed that the sounds are not the feature of Berta language and they are with the Arabic words to fill the gaps in Berta language. However, if we look at the following table, some of the words have their own Berta versions. Regarding this concept, Abdulnasir and Bedewi agreed that if it is searched, almost all the words borrowed from Arabic have Berta version.

Table 4. 15 Sample Words with /t/, /s/ and /k/ Taken from Arabic that have their Versions in Berta

Berta	Arabic	Mixed Berta	Meaning
abasqísqí	sabún	assabún	Soap
ór	tób/ alhitum	attób	Cloth
wag ía	karat	alkarát	Carat
bosholoñ	sana	assána	Year
rumpqu/rumpquñ	alsáma	assáma	Sky
tqallasq	kuluyóm	yómi	Every day
añ jeerumé	salamalékum	assalamalekum	How are you?

Source: Own Observation Data 2019

As it has been seen from the above table, though the Berta speakers accepted that the whole words with /s/,/t/,/k/and/j/ are originally from Arabic language and they have no Berta version, they have their own Berta version. These are very few and if it is being searched, there are a lot who have Berta version. If we look at /s/, it is also involved in assimilating /l/ sound when it is with the prefix al- and I will see below when I am going to discuss about al- as a prefix. From the above table, we can see from the word alsáma and when it is modified to Berta, it is written with a coronal drletion like assáma and the sound /l/ is assimilated to the nearest /s/ and /s/ is doubled.

o	a	e	i	u			
Ó	á	é	í	ú			
Ooñó	Mááda	eeshé	Ísqú	uuqúñ			
W	R	t	k	N	q	L	Ñ
waaqú	ró	taláta	kataba	Niñé	ooqó	Líída	ñonshó
y	Sh	Z	J	B	G	S	F
Yaquth	shiñír	Zigi	Jamál	Beequ	gali	sáqa	Fúúfúr
Sq	Kq	Dq	Pq	H	D	M	Th
sqisqía	kquria	dqabará	pqaalí	hangír	duásh	mia	thab á

Source: Taken from Berta Language Teaching Material

This table that contains their writing systems developed for students who are learning in their mother tongue. As it has presented, the sounds /s/,/t/,/k/ and /j/ have their involvements in the phonetic chart and in the writing system too. Each of the letters in the chart has examples and if

we see the examples with the above sounds, they are all Arabic words except /j/ that contains personal name. /k/ ‘kataba’ which means book in Arabic which basically modified as ‘alkataba’ in mixed Berta, /s/ sáqa which is also Arabic word and /t/ taláta which is Arabic word to say three, but it has its own Berta numbering and I will presented below.

In the above table, words from Arabic are modified. In the column that contains mixed Berta, most of the words are modified. So when Berta speakers are using the two languages, they took by modifying Arabic words or the simply adopt the Arabic words. According to the response from FGDs and KII, all of the religious words should be adopted as they are. Even if they have their versions in Berta, they will never use it and they use Arabic words directly. If we look at the following table, it contains months of the year and the four seasons. In the table, the names of the months are presented in both Berta and Arabic with their meaning in English. This data is gained from Abdulnasir and Aba Almamun. According to this data, they took names of the months, directly with no modification. The reason behind taking these names directly is they would like to count in their calendar not to miss fasting seasons.

Table 4. 16 Names of Months and Seasons

ani/no	zigi/ashúúrá árrutqanógú kqílíñ shambá zíí mǎré mbá ássanó/mbá ró ndu dqúqqunuñ (berta)	tha alqárabí (arabic)	english	ahooná/awooná holígú tha		
				Berta	English	Arabic
				arutqaanógú na hu alwájítá árutqaanógú/ seasons		
1	asqéésqélhó	alfatqurén	september	añkqulañgi	outman	addárad
2	thá dqulathi hu	addahía	october			
3	adalgaagale	taani addahía	november			
4	apqúúñeera	alwahid	december	muzú are	wenter	asséf
5	amanzáhó	alkaráma	january	(amoozo)		

6	ahéjéló	taaní alkarámaa	february	are)	/dry season	
7	amazi/afóthhosh móóré	tálít	march	afoona	Spring	arushásh
8	apqóósha	sááíkq	april			
9	awoona	rájab	may			
10	akqusqésqé	gísáyír	june	asqakqale	summer	alharíf
11	belmiilól	ramadán	july			
12	daadi fúdí ndu	alfátqur	august			
13	asholange	-	13 <sup>th</sup> month			

Source: Adopted from a Text Book for mother Tongue Education for Grade 6.

As it is presented under the Berta column, the months as well as the seasons have their naming in Berta language too. However, nobody is aware of these naming and all of the Berta speakers are familiar with the Arabic version. Since they have a reason to know the months in their Arabic name for fasting purpose, it affects their knowledge of the names of months and seasons in Berta language. As I have been informed from Abidulnasir Ali and Bedewi as a key informant, Berta speech communities are not aware about the presence of such names of months and seasons in Berta.

The other purpose that the Berta speakers take Arabic words directly is when they count numbers. In the above discussion, from the questionnaire data, majority of the respondents agreed that they use more Arabic and there were some people who give fifty equal agreement to use both languages in counting numbers. The following table supports the above agreement that says Berta speakers use more Arabic. According to the following table and the actual use of their languages to count numbers in my observation, except for number one and two, all in all they adopt Arabic counting.

Table 4. 17 Numerical representation of Berta language

<b>Original Berta</b>	<b>Arabic</b>	<b>Mixed</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
dqukqúnúñ /manakqu	wahit	dqukqúnúñ	One (1)
holóñóníñ/mohólañ	idinén	holóñóníñ/ mohólañ	Two (2)
mahote	taláta	taláta	Three (3)
labahole	arbaqa	arbaqa	Four (4)
makqóshu	hamsa	hamsa	Five (5)
makqééra	sitta	sitta	Six (6)
labáhode	sabaqa	Sabaqa	Seven (7)
manamu	tamánia	tamánia	Eight (8)
labahodi	tísaqa	tísaqa	Nine (9)
madúma	ashara	ashara	Ten (10)
matuma mahola	ishrin	Ishrin	Twenty (20)
kqshiri	mia	Mia	Hundred (100)

Source: Own Observation Data 2019

As it has been observed during my observation with the help of my translator, I have seen that everyone is using Arabic numbering system to count. In addition to the above numbering in Berta, few people especially elders are capable of counting in Berta for any digits. However majority of the Berta speakers lost these original counting in Berta language and shifted to use the Arabic numbering. It is possible to say that the Berta speech community is on the process of language shift in which we call it partial language shift. This and the above table as well as the tables which are going to be presented explain the case that Berta speakers use the whole conversation in Arabic for some domains. According to Hickey (2010:10), “as long as community is still bilingual in the old language and the new language, as was still the case with the Manchus in (1911), the shift is partial. By the time the new language has fully replaced the old language, the shift is complete”. Therefore, even if Berta speakers are still bilinguals of Berta and Arabic, they give up part of their language to be replaced in Arabic so they are encountered partial language shift. Dweik and Qawar (2015) suggested that if a speech community practices whole language choice among the languages spoken in the area, it is a leading factor for

language shift. So since language shift is a silent and gradual phenomenon, what has been observed from the language use of Berta speakers, the language is on the process of language shift. In the Mayu dialect of Bertha, all numbers except one and two have been replaced by Arabic numbers in which others still have their own. Here the Undullu and Belejgonfoyo are relatively reserved one and in this research, the researchers compare by listing some numbers between Mayu and Undullu.

#### **4.5.1.2. Hybridization at Morpheme Level**

Affixes are morphemes or parts of words which are attached to words to change part of or the whole meaning of the word. These affixes can be attached word initially, word finally and word medially. If the affixes are taken from other language codes, it affects the morphological structure of the indigenous language.

I observed such types of affixes as a code from Arabic language to Berta. The prefix /al-/ is very common before nouns. This is because this article is common at the initial position of most Arabic nouns. The /al-/ prefix is taken from Arabic language code. Nowadays in Berta-Arabic-Amharic-English dictionary, there are 107 words with the prefix /al-/. From the words brought from Arabic with the prefix /al-/, majority are modified and they never been understood as if they are taken from Arabic by the Arabic speakers. The meaning of the prefix /al-/ in Arabic is the definite article 'the' and it is commonly used in Arabic. The Berta speakers take the prefix with the words and even with the rules to use it. The rules are al-alshemsia and al-alkemeria that will be discussed below. Matras (2009) suggested that words particularly open class words and nouns are easily borrowed than other word classes. Oposit to this concept, the Berta speakers also take affixes which are not open class words. According to Hickey (2010), Derivational affixes (prefixes and suffixes used to derive one word from another, like the English *pre-* of *prepaid* and *-ness* of *weakness*), are often borrowed the Latin prefix *pre-* being one example of a borrowed derivational prefix in English. The Berta community has borrowed Arabic words with their own affixes and they have adapted the borrowed affixes and words in their daily conversation.

**Examples:**

Arabic	Bertha word	meaning
bábur	albábur	mill
bahár	albahár	sea
birísh	albirísh	grass mat
bun	albun	coffee
fáshfásh	alfáshfásh	lung
mediná	almediná	town
kursí	alkursí	chair
lama	allama	teach

These are very few examples, but as I have mentioned earlier, there are more than 100 words with the prefix /al--/. Here what the difficulty is not only the prefix/al-/ taken from Arabic, but also almost all words with the prefix /al-/ are taken from Arabic. These words with the prefix /al-/ are considered by Berta speakers as their own words and the Arabic speakers are not familiar with these words, they also consider the words as original Berta.

If the words are taken from Arabic with the prefix /al-/ and involved in their daily conversation, how they use the words? In the following consecutive tables, I am going to deal with the rules to modify the words taken from Arabic with its prefix. They took in two ways one by modifying and the other without modifying. This is related to the rules called al-alshemsia and al-alkemeria. According to the respondents from FGDs and KII, religious words should be taken without any modification whereas other words can be taken with modifications accordingly in their speech. To see these rules, let us glance over the following tables.

Table 4. 18 Word Lists for Example of al-ashemsia

Berta (Modified)	Original Arabic	Meaning
assálam	assálam	greeting
ashámis	alashamis	sun
annúr	alnúr	name of a person
atqáib	altqáib	name of a person

atqáhir	alatqáhir	name of a person
attóbáá	alatóbá	forgiving
atom	altóm	name of a person
ashóká	alshóka	fork
assáaga	alsága	bomb
assúg	alsúg	market
annáqím	alnáqím	name of a person

Source: Own Observation

From the above table, different rules regarding the adaptation and use of Arabic words with their Arabic prefixes /al-/. Like that of other words that have been taken from Arabic all of the words have the prefix /al-/, but what makes them different is they are with the rule called al-ashemsia. This rule is also known by the Arabic speakers. When they are writing and speaking, words with /al-/, and if it is al-ashamis, no modification, but if we look at the modified Arabic words /l/ is omitted and assimilated to the nearer sound. If a word that is taken from Arabic with the prefix /al-/ starts with /s/, /t/, /n/, /sh/, /st/, /sq/ and /tq/, then the sound /l/ is going to be assimilated with this sounds and the first sound is going to be doubled except /sh/, /sq/ and /tq/. If we see the words assálam, annúr, attóbáá, the /l/ sound is assimilated and it makes /s/, /t/ and /n/ double where as in the words ashóká, atqáhir and ashámis, /l/ is assimilated but there is no doubling of the first letters. These sounds are not doubled due to the rule in the writing system of Berta; to save time and space two letters to resemble a single sound should not be doubled.

Some of the words taken from Arabic with the prefix /al-/ have their own original words in the hosting language Berta. However, most of the respondents in the interview and FGD argued that they do not know the original Berta words and simply they took the Arabic. When the Berta modifies the words, the Arabs cannot understand the meaning of the words and they consider the modified words as if they are Berta original words. If we see from the above table, majority of the words are names of a person, but some words that are out of the personal names, they have their own meaning in Berta.



Related to the al-alkemeria rule, most of the words are religious words. Though the respondents argued that they never modify the words since they are religious words, there is also another factor that is related to the initial letters of a word. In the case of al-ashemsia, if the initial letters are /s/,/t/ etc, then /l/ will be assimilated to make the initial letter doubled and in the case of al-alkemeria, if the initial letters are /k/,/m/,/l/ and so on, then /l/ will never assimilate. There are words in the above table that are out of religious concepts. These words have their original words in Berta language though the speech community of Berta considers there is no alternative for the words with the prefix /al-/ in Berta. Let us see the following examples.

Arabic	Berta	mening
almúrá	----- assána-----	age
alkálam	-----sqefél-----	pen
almasúqúl	-----agúr/alú-----	leader
almakádám	-----almámíñ-----	emperor

From the above examples, it is possible to conclude that unless the Berta speakers are not aware of their language and what it has, their language can convey enough meaning for any of the concepts and words they took from Arabic. They switch to use Arabic since they have limited knowledge on Berta. Appel and muysken have dealt a lot about the type of code switching related to this situation. “Referential, e.g., topic-related switching: it often involves lack of knowledge of one language or lack of facility in that language on a certain subject. Certain subjects may be more appropriately discussed in one language, and the introduction of such a subject can lead to a switch. In addition, a specific word from one of the languages involved may be semantically more appropriate for the given concept. This type of switching is the one that bilingual speakers are most conscious of. When asked why they switch they tend to say that it is because they do not know the word for it in the other language, or because the language chosen is more fit for talking about a given subject” Apple and Muysken (1987:118). Likewise when the Berta speakers are asked, they give either there is no the word in Berta language or they switch to Arabic for religious case. The Berta speakers are not aware of that Berta contains their congruent of Arabic words and particularly, they fear to call religious concepts in Berta

language. For example, nobody will say ‘Maabá giidó’ to say our God, but almost all of the Berta speech community has been observed to say Allah/ Alla to say our God.

In their daily language use, the Berta speech community uses plenty of Arabic words that are directly adopted or adapted with little modifications. They use the two languages /Berta and Arabic either interchangeably or by mixing them. Sometimes, they switch to use Arabic dominantly in some domains like religion. When they use the languages, most of the time they are unconscious of mixing while for some of the domains they have a reason in mind.

It is obvious that religion has greater impact on language use and language maintenance. If a speech community believes that a specific language has an attachment with religious ideology, that speech community will maintain the language. Scholars like Ali stated that “when studying the effect of religion on language, it is impossible to disregard the influence of religion on people’s beliefs, values and attitudes towards their own language expressed as their ideology” Ali (2017:34). In Berta speech community, Arabic is considered as a religious language. As the data from Key informants like Mohhamed At’ayb and Abdulnasir Ali indicates, Berta is a *ruta’na*. The Berta has been preached that God knows only Arabic and when they go to haven, they will communicate in it. The speech community believes that Arabic is originated directly from God/Alah. According to Schiffman (1996) cited in Ali (2017:35), Islam, Judaism and Hinduism consider Arabic, Hebrew and Sanskrit inviolable. In deed, in Islam, prayers can only be performed in Arabic. Here I can conclude that since Berta speech community is Islam, they have to pray in Arabic. In their language use for different domains part, almost all of the respondents argued that they have to use Arabic in religious matters.

Some scholars also argued that, religion has its own contribution for the distribution and expansion of language. Ferguson (1982) in Ali (2017:35f) suggested that, “the distribution of major languages and their writing systems correlates more closely with the distribution of world’s major religion than with genetical/typological classifications of languages”. According to the information from key informants and written documents about Berta speech community, Arabic is familiarized due to Islamic distribution in the community.

## Chapter Five

### Concluding Remarks

This project is designed to see language attitude, language use and the way they use the two languages among Berta and Arabic languages in Benishangul Gumuz. There are three concepts which are the main concern of the research and these are language attitude, language contact and language use patterns. Data has been collected from the two dialectal areas of the study site through questionnaire, interview, KII, FGDs and observation of different texts and has been analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Related to the language attitude of Berta, different questions which are directly or indirectly connected to their feeling about their own language and the Arabic language have been asked. Their attitude towards Berta, Arabic, bilingualism, speaking each language, code mixing were some of the questions asked to get data about language attitude. What language do they use in different domains, for different purposes and with different interlocutors were some of the questions asked to get data about their language use and attitudes to maintain Berta language, what language do they promote their children to learn how they use the two languages were the questions to have data about language maintenance and shift. In addition to the questions via questionnaire, questions that support the data collected through questionnaire or that adds something new for the data has been asked via interview, KII and FGDs.

According to the results, majority of the respondents gave their response in between agree or disagree. This shows us that they have love-hate type of attitude about their language and even in some aspects they have strong positive feeling for Arabic as well. Attitude has an impact to maintain mother tongue or to replace it with a new language. According to Coronel (2009), if a speech community have positive attitude for their mother tongue, then it is easy to them to maintain and use their language and if they have negative attitude for their mother tongue, they will adapt positive attitude for any other language nearer to them and they will use it in place of their mother tongue. The Berta speech community show that fifty equal attitude for Berta and Arabic. For some of the statements majority have agreed that Berta sounds good and they like to speak it, but this is not enough to maintain and sustain Berta language. Positive attitude to bilingualism, positive attitude to be proficient in Arabic, association of Arabic with their religion,

positive attitude to code mixing and the practical involvement of code mixing are inversely correlated with their positive attitude for Berta language.

Even if it needs further investigations, attitude of Berta speakers for their mother tongue is more positive among elders and females. As it has been seen from the interview, the fathers use more Arabic with their children and more Berta with their wife. In the questionnaire data, the respondents relatively use more Berta than Arabic with their mother, father and extended families. This implies that their Berta usage with elders. Regarding domain of language use, the Berta community use more Berta at home domain compared to other domains. This result is related to a hypothesis by Fisman (1965) which suggests that speech community switch to us X or Y based on different factors. In Berta community, it is religion and religious topic that basically lead them to switch to the use of Arabic. As one of the interviewee from Undullu argued that her husband is more proficient in Berta than her children and her children are more proficient in Arabic. Related to this point, Lamerevo (2007:289) suggested that, “first generation Finish speakers in Australia have high positive attitude for their Finish language though they never give values for their Finish proficiency, but the new generation in Australia give positive attitude and greater values for English”. Likewise, the Berta parents who has been interviewed show that they have positive attitude and on the other hand, they regret for their low proficiency in Arabic and they promote their children to be proficient more in Arabic. This shows that though they have positive attitude for Berta, for different benefits, they give greater values for Arabic.

According to the result, the Berta speakers show moderate positive attitude for Berta in that they agreed their language is good for them and they like to speak it. However, they never consider Berta as more prestigious, beautiful and more functional than Arabic. This indicates that even they never hate their language they give greater attention for Arabic. They consider Arabic as a prestige language since it is the language of Holy Qur’an and spoken in many countries throughout the world. Moreover, they consider themselves as if they have blood, social, economic, historical and cultural relationships with the Sudan Arabs and they have Arabic identity too. In a moderate attitude, they agreed that Berta can symbolize their identity, but majority of the respondents agreed that they can express themselves in both of the languages.

The result also show that majority of the respondents have positive to be bilingual of Berta-Arabic. This has two dimensions one it promotes the use and maintenance of Arabic while on the other hand it affects the use and maintenance of Berta. This is supported by Fishman (1966) who explains the effect of positive attitude towards bilingualism and language contact settings as an important factor in supporting the use of another ethnic group's language. The Berta speech community has positive attitude towards Bert-Arabic bilingualism and indirectly they are promoting the use of Arabic even more than Berta.

The respondents are not consistent about their attitude towards Berta language. When they are asked about their feelings about Berta alone, they show positive attitude while they are asked to prefer among Berta and Arabic they show positive attitude to have Arabic. So their attitude is love-hate type and it is emotional resulted from their ethnic considerations. This result is related to the result of a research by Dweik and Qawar (2015). The research was about language choice and language attitude among multilingual Arab- Canadians and concluded as follows. "Their attitude toward Arabic is positive emotional and stem from ethnic pride; whereas their attitude towards English and French because they see that these languages express their Canadian identity and required in several important domains in the province of Quebec" Dweik and Qawar (2015:10). So the Berta speakers have positive attitude towards Berta because they consider it as their mother tongue and they have positive attitude towards Arabic for the different functions of the language and for its prestige around the globe.

Language attitude can have relations with other sociolinguistic phenomena like language shift, language maintenance and language use. As it has been seen that the Berta speech communities show positive attitude towards Arabic and they use Arabic in different domains either Arabic alone or side by side with Berta. Omdal (1995:85): "Language attitudes are found to be relevant to the definition of speech communities, to the explanation of linguistic change, language maintenance and language shift, and to applied concerns in the fields of intergroup communication, language planning and education".

Results related to language use revealed that the Berta speech community Berta and Arabic in different domains. This result agrees with Fishman's (1989) third resolution that deals with the immigrant language is mainly maintained when it is used side by side with the host language for

different domains. In Berta speech community, Arabic language is considered as it is an immigrant language that came to them in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. For a long period it was not maintained by the Berta and when they accept Islam as their religion, they use Arabic side by side with Berta and now a day, it is used in domains out of religion.

In the home domain, majority of the respondents agreed that they use Arabic side by side with Berta. According to the data in questionnaire, majority of the respondents agreed to use both languages with friends, siblings, children, boss and workmates and with mother and father they use more Berta than Arabic. This shows that they have high proficiency in both languages in which they maintain and use the two languages. This result reversely relates to the result of a research by Dweik and Nofal (2014) that has been conducted on the habitual use of Arabic in Canada in different locations and domains especially at home and family domains have the advantage of retaining their mother tongue. The reverse is true for Berta speech community because Arabic is not their mother tongue but they use it in different domains and it affects the effort to maintain their mother tongue and to use it.

According to the data, the language use of Berta speakers in their artistic values is dependent on Arabic language. To listen radio and music, to watch Tv and to watch videos majority of the respondents from questionnaire agreed that they use more Arabic than Berta. According to the comments from respondents of FGDs, interview and KII, there are no videos, films that are prepared in Berta and there is no Tv broad casting transmitted in Berta so they tend to list these artistic values in Arabic. This result relates to a research by Dweik and Nofal (2014:19), “the Canadian Arabs use both Arabic and English to listen radio, watch Tv and to read newspapers”. According to their explanation, mass media has greater role in maintaining, using and preserving ethnic languages and cultures. On the other hand, if Berta is not use in media and if there are no artistic values prepared in the language, it will be difficult to maintain.

In the religious domain, as the Berta speakers associate their religious beliefs with their speaking of Arabic language, it is expected that they tend to use Arabic. According to the Arabs in Benishangul, the Berta language is called rut’ana which means non-religious language. Any language of the world except Arabic is considered to be non-religious language. So if a person is follower of Islam, he/she should be proficient in Arabic. As it has been seen from the result,

almost all (98.5%) and above respondents argued that in the religious domain, they use Arabic language. The rest are those who still have traditional religion. This result agrees with the result of a research by Dweik and Nofal (2014) that is about the language use situations of the Muslim Arabs in Canada. As they have concluded that 100% Muslim Arabs in Canada Vancouver use Arabic in the religious domain. For this end, scholars like Weinreich (1974) and Holmes et al. (1993) believe that religion is one of the factors to maintain a language as ethnic language. Arabic in the Berta speech community has got this advantage to be maintained.

With relation to the type of language choice, the Berta speakers are exercising whole language choice and partial language choice in which piece of a code is taken from Arabic. Fasold (1987:180-181) has identified the following type of language choice. “There are three kinds of language choice: and this are; (1) whole language or the choice between two languages in a conversation; i.e., code-switching. (2) Code-mixing, where pieces of one language are used while a speaker is basically using another language; these pieces can be single words, or short phrases. (3) Variation within the same language. This is the kind of language choice that often becomes the focus of attitude studies”. In some of the domains like in religious activities, they use whole language choice and in other domains the Berta speech communities take a code from Arabic lanaguge and mix it with their language.

The repondents from FGD, interview and KII approved that the Berta speech community is maintaining Arabic along with Berta. This is concluded from the results on language attitude, language use and the efforts to be proficient in Arabic. The Berta show that they have positive attitude and they would like to be perfect in Arabic than in Berta. They use Arabic codes in any of their conversation even when there are words of Berta they prefer to use Arabic words. “The members of the community, when the shift has taken place, have collectively chosen a new language where an old one used to be used. In language maintenance, the community collectively decides to continue using the language or languages it has traditionally used. When a speech community begins to choose a new language in domains formerly reserved for the old one, it may be a sign that language shift is in progress” Fasold (1987:213). So according to the concept of the last sentences of the above citation, the Berta speech community is on the process of language shift.

When the Berta speakers are taking elements of Arabic language, they practice both cultural and core borrowings. They took some words of Arabic because they think that the direct version of the word is not found in Berta and still they took words of Arabic where their meaning is found in Berta. According to Hickey (2010:3), “borrowed elements that fill a lexical gap in the recipient language are cultural borrowings on the other hand, borrowed elements that roughly corresponds to elements already existed in the recipient language are called core borrowings. So in Berta speech communities, as it has been seen from the above discussion, both cultural and core borrowings are involved.

Because of their language attitude and language use patterns, as well as the purposes they are using the languages for, there might be a situation of language contact. According to the responses of the respondents from both sites, it is very common to mix the two languages while they are talking. There is phonological, morphological and lexical interference of Arabic in Berta. Phonologically, there are sounds like /s/, /t/, /k/ and /j/ that are involved in the Berta sound system. As has been discussed in chapter four, these sounds were not the feature of Berta language and they brought with Arabic loan words. However, this time, these sounds are phonemics of Berta. Morphologically there are affixes from Arabic like /al-/ before nouns. The prefix /al-/ is taken from Arabic and the words with this prefix are Arabic words. Moreover, the Berta speakers think that these words have no Berta versions, but as can be seen from chapter four, most of the words have their version in Berta. The words with /al-/ are considered by Arabs as if they are original Berta words.

The language use pattern among the Berta community is compatible with a hypothesis formulated by Fishman (1965) which are topic, situation, interlocutors and setting. The result in the above consicative tables about language use show that the Berta use more Arabic at religious domain, with religious person and when they are talking religious issues. Otherwise, they use either more Berta or both languages at a time. Majority of Berta people particularly the Maiyu considers their group membership with Sudan Arabs which is mentioned by Fishman as one factor that can determine language choice from sociological and social psychological perspective Fishman (1965:68). The situation of bilingualism among Berta is one-side bilingualism type. As justified by Fishman (1965:84), “ one-side bilingualism or bilingualism, with marked and stable

social distinctions such that only one group in contact situation is bilingual such that only particular domain are open or appropriate to particular language.” Though the Berta people and Sudan Arabs are in contact which leads to Berta and Arabic to be in contact, it is Berta language which took linguistic elements from Arabic and the Berta people who mixes and switches codes from Arabic to Berta. Even after the Berta took codes of Arabic and mix it with Berta language, Arabic speakers consider modified words and expressions as if they are original Berta language elements.

Not only their language, but also the culture of Berta people has been disturbed by the influence of Arabic. Different names of Berta culture including their name has been adopted from Arabic. As discussed in section 2.8.3 of this paper, Berta people use Arabic or Arabicized words and expressions to call their cultural concepts like language, culture, wedding, musical instruments and festivals though these concepts have their own names in Berta language (See table 2.4). Moreover, their dressing style is changed to show that they are Islam followers. Before the Berta became Muslims, there was a culture of making slashes on their face, but these days, it is rare to see.

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1.4. Some things cannot be expressed in Berta; so I tend to use Arabic.	1	2	3	4	5
1.5. Maintaining my mother tongue is important for me.	1	2	3	4	5
1.6. Arabic is more important for me.	1	2	3	4	5
1.7. I can express myself equally well in either language.	1	2	3	4	5
1.8. I want my children to speak Arabic than Berta.	1	2	3	4	5
1.9. Maintaining Berta can hinder learning Arabic.	1	2	3	4	5
1.10. Maintaining Berta may affect my relation with Arabs.	1	2	3	4	5
1.11. It is acceptable to mix Arabic with Berta.	1	2	3	4	5
1.12. Mastering both languages is easy.	1	2	3	4	5
1.13. If I lost my Berta language I'd no longer be a Berta.	1	2	3	4	5
1.14. My Berta dialects are important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
1.15. I may not bother when I lost Berta if I am proficient in Arabic.	1	2	3	4	5
1.16. I prefer to learn Arabic in favor of Berta to be viewed as educated person.	1	2	3	4	5

1.17. Arabic is more useful than Berta	1	2	3	4	5
1.18. It is important to speak Berta exclusively.	1	2	3	4	5
1.19. My knowledge of Berta and ability to speak it fluently make me to proud myself.	1	2	3	4	5
1.20. My knowledge of Arabic and ability to speak it make me to proud myself.	1	2	3	4	5
1.21. Arabic should be taught to all Berta people.	1	2	3	4	5
1.22. I speak Arabic not to be obliged to, but I like to speak it.	1	2	3	4	5
1.23. It is better to teach Arabic for Berta children as early as possible.	1	2	3	4	5
1. 24.I can express myself in both languages equally.	1	2	3	4	5
1.25. It is easy to be fluent in both languages equally.	1	2	3	4	5
1.26. Speaking both Berta and Arabic has no drawbacks.	1	2	3	4	5
1.27. It may not be difficult to me to marry Arab woman/man.	1	2	3	4	5
1. 28.I may invite them on different cerimonies.	1	2	3	4	5
1.29. I would be a friend of them and I accept them as my good	1	2	3	4	5

neighbors.					
1.30. I may benefit from maintaining Berta.	1	2	3	4	5
1.31. I fear that my Berta maintenance may slacken my relation with Sudan Arabs.	1	2	3	4	5
1.32. I feel good and I am proud when I see my children are using Berta.	1	2	3	4	5
1.33. I am mixing Arabic with Berta because Berta is not fully expressive language.	1	2	3	4	5
1.34. Even if there is the congruent lexicon in Berta, it is my habbit to mix Arabic codes.	1	2	3	4	5
1.35. If I mix Arabic codes with Berta language, it is an indicator that I am knowledgable person.	1	2	3	4	5

2. Which language do you want to use for the following activities?

	Always Berta	More Berta than Arabic	Berta and Arabic equally	More Arabic than Berta	Always Arabic
2.1. Listening to music					

2.2. Watching TV					
2.3. Watching Videos / Movies					
2.4. Reading newspapers and magazines					
2.5. Listening to the Radio					
2.6. Religious activities					
2.7. Writing personal letters					
2.8. Counting/ numbering					
2.9. Writing a note to any activity					
2.10. Praying to your					

God					
2.11. Swearing					
2.2. In your casual talks					

3. To what extent you use Berta in average per a day?

	All the time	Most of the time	Some times	rarely	Never
3.1. Speak in Berta					
3.2. Read in Berta					
3.3. Listen to Berta					
3.4. Write in Berta					

4. How much you are proficient and can computing to the following?

	Very well competent	Well competent	Moderately competent	Poorly competent	Not competent
4.1. Speak Arabic					
4.2. Understand spoken Arabic					

4.3. Can read and understand Arabic					
4.4. Write in Arabic					
4.5. I know Arabic alphabets and their function					

5. Which language/languages you prefer to use when you are communicating with the following people?

	Always Berta	More Berta than Arabic	Arabic and Berta equally	More Arabic than Berta	Always Arabic
5.1. Children					
5.2. Spouse					
5.3. Mother					
5.4. Father					
5.5. Grandchildren					
5.6. Siblings					

5.7. Extended families					
5.8. Friends					
5.9. Boss					
5.10. Workmate					
5.1. Religious person					

6. Which language/languages will you use for the following domains?

	Always Berta	More Berta than Arabic	Arabic and Berta equally	More Arabic than Berta	Always Arabic
6.1. At home					
6.2. At school					
6.3. In the market					
6.4. At the religious Areas					

7. What is your perception about the following concepts

	Berta	Arabic	Both
Which one is more beautiful language?			
Which one is more useful language?			
Which language can be used in all situations of your daily conversations?			
Which language is easy to learn?			
Which language is difficult to learn?			
Which language is considered as religious language?			
Which language can best symbolize your identity?			

8. What is your agreement about the following statements?

	Strongly agree	agree	Neither nor	disagree	Strongly disagree
I accept Arabs as business partners					
I would invite them on different ceremonies					

I think I have blood relation with them					
I would be a friend of them					
I would be a neighbor of them					

9. In which language would you like to be proficient?

- A. Berta            B. Arabic            C. Any other language

10. Where have you learned Arabic language?

- A. Regularly at schools  
 B. Within your families/ at home  
 C. At religious areas/ to study religious books  
 D. Anywhere with your friends

11. What motivates you to know Arabic language?

- A. To be viewed as knowledgeable person  
 B. To strengthen your relationship with Arabic speakers  
 C. Because Berta is not enough expressive  
 D. Historically Arabic is dominant/ prestige language over Berta

12. Do you have any relationship with Arabs? Yes / No

13. If your answer for question number 12 is yes, what type of relation you have?

- A. Friendly      B. Marriage      C. Religious activities      D. Trade activities

14. Have you ever observed any gradual change on Berta language? Yes / No

15. If so what type of change/changes you have observed?

- A. Phonological      B. Morphological      C. Syntactical      D. Semantic

16. What do you think about the futurity of Berta?

- A, It will be disappeared unless we take care of it  
 B, the influence of Arabic will be increased  
 C, It can continue without any problem

17. How can you measure the presence of Arabic in teaching materials while you are teaching or learning?

A, very high B, high C, medium D, low E, very low

18. Which language is more attractive over the other?

19. Which one is more useful language?

20. Which language do you think is more functional in your daily conversation?

21. Which language is easy to learn?

22. Which language is difficult to learn?

23. Which language is considered and accepted as a religious language?

24. If you learn both languages at the same time, which language would like to be your mother tongue?

25. What relations do you have with Sudan Arabs?

26. Do you think that your children will maintain the use of Berta when they grown up? Yes/ no

27. State the social/non-linguistic factors that lead you to mix and switch Arabic codes to Berta language.

28. What are the advantages of Berta-Arabic bilingualism? (more than one answer is possible)

Access to wider range of culture

Access to money and prestige

Access to education and scientific knowledge

Access to religious knowledge

29. What are the disadvantages of Berta-Arabic bilingualism? (more than one answer is possible)

Leads to lack of proficiency in either of the two languages leads to loss of identity

Leads to contradiction between the two languages

leads to mixing of the two languages

Leads to neglecting of Berta and dominance of Arabic

has no disadvantages

### **Interview questions ( for both indepth and KII)**

1. Can you speak both Berta and Arabic?

2. In which situations you speak Berta exclusively?

3. In which situations you speak Arabic language?

4. What do you feel about the two languages i.e. Berta and Arabic?

5. Would like to be proficient in Arabic more than Berta?

6. Which language is more important to you?

7. Which language do you think is more prestigious?
8. Which language do you think can symbolize your identity?
9. Which language can be used in all domains?
10. What do you feel about those who can be Berta-Arabic bilinguals?
11. Who are more perfect in Arabic around your village?
12. Which language would you like to speak when you have a choice?
13. What do you feel when you mix Arabic with Berta?
14. What language do you use with your family? Berta/Arabic?
15. What about with your neighbors? Berta/Arabic?
16. What language do your students use when they are talking each other and when they are talking with you? Berta/Arabic?
17. Which language do you learn first and which language you understand better?
18. What language do you and your friends use when you talk to each other?
19. From your observation, what language do children in your surroundings use?

### **FGD questions**

1. Which language is considered and accepted as prestigious language in your speech community?
2. What do you feel when you hear someone speaks Berta and the other one speaks Arabic?
3. Do you promote Berta-Arabic bilingualism? If so why?
4. What do you feel about members of your society and your friends who are monolinguals?
5. What do you think about the future of Berta? Do you think that it will maintain or it will be influenced by Arabic?

### **Observation check list**

Basically, I have observed in three basic areas; market, school and mosque. My check list of observation in each area has been presented as follows.

5. What language/languages used in the market?

- Names of measurement, names of objects..
  - Frequently used language
  - Names of shops and in which language they are written
6. How is their conversation in the mosque?
- Which language is used to pray
  - Which language is used to preach
  - Which language is used in the compound of mosques
7. How the students are communicating at school?
- To communicate each other
  - To communicate with their teachers
8. How the written documents are prepared?
- Dictionary
  - Books
  - News and magazines
  - Teaching materials

**Appendix two: questionnaire (the Amharic version)**

ውድ የዚህ መጠይቅ ተሳታፊዎች በቅድሚያ የህን መጠይቅ ለመሙላት ፈቃደኛ ስለሆናችሁ እያመሰገንሁ የዚህ መጠይቅ ዋና አላማ በርታኛና አረበኛ ባይሊንጓሎች የቋንቋ አጠቃቀምና ዝንባሌያቸውን ለመገምገም ብቻ ነው። ለዚህ መጠይቅ የምትሰጡት መረጃ ለጥናቱ ስኬት ጉልህ አስተዋፆ እንደሚያበረከት ከግምት ውስጥ አስገብታችሁ ትምልሱልኝ ዘንድ ባክብሮት እተይቃለሁ። የምትሰጡት መረጃ ከጥናቱ አላማ ውጭ ለምንም ተግባር እንደማይወልልና ሚስጥራችሁም የተጠበቀ መሆኑን ባክብሮት እለልጻለሁ።

ለምትሰጡኝ መረጃ በቅድሚያ አመሰግናለሁ።

**ግለሰባዊ መረጃዎች**

ትዕዛዝ፤ ለሚከተሉት ጥያቄዎች መልሶቻችሁን ታክቡ ዘንድ ባክብሮት እጠይቃለሁ።

ይታ ወንድ                      ሴት  
 እድሜ \_\_\_\_\_

የትምህርት ደረጃ \_\_\_\_\_

የሚናገሩት ዘዩ    ሀ/ ማዩ            ለ/ ዩኑዱሉ

1. ለሚከተሉት ሃሳቦች የመስማማት ደረጃችሁን በሰንጠረዥ ውስጥ ያሉትን ቁጥሮች በማክበብ አመልክቱ: 1= በጣም እስማማለሁ 2= እስማማለሁ 3=መካከል ላይ 4=አልስማማም, 5=በጣም አልስማማም					
1.1. በርታ ቋንቋ ለኔ ከምንም በላይ ጠቃሚ ነው።	1	2	3	4	5
1.2. ለበርታ ቋንቋ ጥሩ ስሜት አለኝ።	1	2	3	4	5
1.3. በርታ መናገር እወዳለሁ።	1	2	3	4	5
በርታን ብቻ መናገር ለኔ በጣም ጠቃሚ ነው	1	2	3	4	5
1.4. አንዳንድ ነገሮችን በበርታ መግለጽ ስለምቸገር አረበኛ እጠቀማለሁ።	1	2	3	4	5
1.5. የራሴን ቋንቋ በማሳደጌ ተጠቃሚ ነኝ እላለሁ።	1	2	3	4	5
1.6. ከበርታ ይልቅ አረበኛ ለኔ ጠቃሚ ነው።	1	2	3	4	5
1.7. በሁለቱም ቋንቋዎች እራሴን እኩል እገልጻለሁ።	1	2	3	4	5

1.8. ህፃናት ከበርታ ይልክ አረበኛን እንዲውቁ እመክራለሁ።	1	2	3	4	5
1.9. በርታኛ መማር አረበኛ እንዳልማር ያግደኛል ብዩ እፈራለሁ።	1	2	3	4	5
1.10. በርታ ቋንቋን ማሳደግ ከአረቦች ጋር ያልኝን መስተጋብር ያላላዋል ብዩ አስባለሁ።	1	2	3	4	5
1.11. ቃሉ በበርታ ቋንቋ ቢኖርም አረበኛን ከበርታ መቀላቀል ልማድ ነው።	1	2	3	4	5
1.12. ሁለቱንም ቋንቋዎች መቻል ቀላልና የተለመደ ነው።	1	2	3	4	5
1.13. በርታ ቋንቋን ካጣሁ በርታ ነኝ ብዩ አላስብም።	1	2	3	4	5
1.15. በአረበኛ ብቁ ከሆንሁ በርታን ባጣም አየገደኝም	1	2	3	4	5
1.16. አረበኛን መማርና ባረበኛ ብቁ መሆን የተማረሁና ብቁ ያደርገኛል።	1	2	3	4	5
በርታን በብቃት መቻሌና በትክክል መናገር በመቻሌ ክብር ይሰማኛል	1	2	3	4	5
አረበኛ ለሁሉም በርታ ተናጋሪ እንደትምህርት መሰጠት አለበት	1	2	3	4	5
አረበኛን የምናገርው ተገድጄ ሳይሆን በራሴ ፍላጎት ነው	1	2	3	4	5
አረበኛ ቋንቋን ለበርታ ሕፃናት ከልጅነታቸው ማስተማር ጠቃሚ ነው	1	2	3	4	5
አረበኛ ተናጋሪ ሚስት/ባል ማግባት አይከብደኝም	1	2	3	4	5
አረበኛንም በርታኛንም ቀላቅሎ መናገር ጉዳት የለውም	1	2	3	4	5
አረቦችን በተለያዩ ክብረ-በዓላት ላይ እጋብዛቸዋለሁ	1	2	3	4	5
አረቦችን እንደ ጓደኛም እንደ ጥሩ ጎረቤትም አብራ እኖራለሁ	1	2	3	4	5
በርታን በማሳደግ ተጠቃሚ ነኝ ብዩ አስባለሁ	1	2	3	4	5
ልጆቼ በርታኛን በጥሩ ሁኔታ ሲናገሩ ስለማ በጣም እደስታለሁ	1	2	3	4	5
አረበኛን ከበርታ ቋንቋ ጋር የምቀላቅለው በርታኛ ቋንቋ ሁሉንም ነገር መግለፅ ስላማየኛል ነው	1	2	3	4	5
በርታን ከአረበኛ ጋር ከቀላቀልሁ የአዋቂነት ምልክት ነው ብዩ አስባለሁ	1	2	3	4	5

2. ለሚከተሉት ተግባራት የትኛውን ቋንቋ ይጠቀማሉ?

	ሁል ጊዜ በርታ	ከአረቦች የበለጠ በርታ	ሁለቱንም እኩል	ከበርታ የበለጠ አረቦች	ሁል ጊዜ አረቦች
2.1. መብቂያ ሲያዳምጡ					
2.2. ተሌቪዥን ሲከታተሉ					
2.3. ፊልምና ቪዲዮ ሲከታተሉ					
2.4. ሲያነቡ					
2.5. ፊደላዊ ሲያዳምጡ					
2.6. ለሃይማኖት ተግባራት					
2.7. የግል ደብዳቤ ሲፅፉ					
2.8. ቁጥርችን ሲቆጥሩ					
2.9. ማንኛውን ማስታወሻ ሲፅፉ					
2.10. ሲጻጻፉ					
2.11. ለመሃላ					
2.2. በማንኛውም ኢ-መደበኛ ወሬ					

3. በቀን ባማካኝ ምን ያክል በርታ ትጠቀማለቀችሁ?

	በማንኛውም ሰዓት	አብዛኛውን ጊዜ	አንዳንድ ጊዜ	አልፏል።	በፍፁም
3.1. በበርታ አወራሰሁ					

3.2. በበርታኛ አነባለሁ					
3.3. በበርታ ቋንቋን አዳምጣለሁ					
3.4. በበርታኛ እፅፋለሁ					

4. ለሚከተሉት የአረብኛ ቋንቋ መስተጋብሮች ምን ያክል ብቁ ነወት?

	በጣም ብቁ	ብቁ	በአማካኝ ብቁ	ደካማ	ብቁ አይደለሁም
4.1. አረብኛን መናገር					
4.2. አረብኛን መረዳት					
4.4. በአረብኛ መጻፍ					
4.5. የአረብኛ ፊደላትን ከነጥቅማቸው አውቃለሁ					

5. ከሚከተሉት የህዝብ አካላት ጋር ሲያወሩ የትኛውን ቋንቋ/ ቋንቋዎች ይጠቀማሉ?

	ሁል ጊዜ በርታ	ከአረብኛ የበለጠ በርታ	ሁለቱንም እኩል	ከበርታ የበለጠ አረብኛ	ሁል ጊዜ አረብኛ
5.1. ከህፃናት ጋር					
5.2. ከባለቤት ጋር					
5.3. ከናቶች ጋር					
5.4. ካባቶች ጋር					
5.5. ከታላላቆቻችን ጋር					
5.6. ከወንድሞቻችሁና እህቶቻችሁ ጋር					
5.7. ከዘመዶቻችን ጋር					
5.8. ከጓደኞቻችን ጋር					
5.9. ካለቆቻችን ጋር					
5.10. ከስራ ባልደረቦቻችን					

ጋር					
5.1. ከሐይማኖት አባቶች ጋር					

6. በሚከተሉት ቦታዎች የትኛውን ቋንቋ/ ቋንቋዎች ይጠቀማሉ?

	ሁል ጊዜ በርታ	አከረበኛ የበለጠ በርታ	ሁለቱንም እኩል	ከበርታ የበለጠ አረበኛ	ሁል ጊዜ አረበኛ
6.1. በበሌት ውስጥ					
6.2. በትምህርት ቤት					
6.3. በገበያ					
6.4. በሐይማኖት ቦታዎች					

7. ለሚከተሉት ጥያቄዎች ተገቢውን ምላሽ ስጡ

	በርታ	አረበኛ	ሁለቱንም
ከሁለቱ ቋንቋዎች የትኛው ሳቢና ያማረ ነው?			
ከሁለቱ ቋንቋዎች የበለጠ ጠቃሚ የቱ ነው?			
ከሁለቱ ቋንቋዎች በየቀኑ በማንኛውም ስፍራ የምትጠቀሙት የቱን ነው?			
ለመማር የትኛው ቋንቋ ይቀላል?			
ለመማር የትኛው ቋንቋ ከባድ ነው?			
ከሁለቱ ቋንቋዎች የትኛው ሐይማኖታዊ ነው?			
ከሁለቱ ቋንቋዎች ማንነታችሁን የቱ የገልፅላችኋል?			

8. ለሚከተሉት ሀሳቦች ምን ያክል ትስማማላችሁ?

	በጣም እስማማለሁ	እስማማለሁ	መካካል ላይ	አልስማማም	በጣም አልስማማም
አረቦችን የንግድ ጓደኛ ማድረግ ደስ ይለኛል					



ለ. የአረቦች ተጽኖው እየጨመረ ሲሄድ ይችላል

ሐ. ያለምንም ችግር ይቀጥላል

17. በበርታ ቋንቋ ሲማሩ/ሲያስተምሩ በመጻፃፉ ውስጥ ያለውን አረቦች እንዴት ይመዘኑታል?

- ሀ. በጣም ከፍተኛ                      ለ. ከፍተኛ                      ሐ. መካከለኛ                      መ. ዝቅተኛ
- ሠ. በጣም ዝቅተኛ

18. ከሁለቱ ቋንቋዎች የትኛው የበለጠ ጠቃሚ ነው?

19. ከሁለቱ ቋንቋዎች የትኛውን በያነዳንዲ ቀን ትጠቀሙታላችሁ?

20. የትኛው ቋንቋ ለመማር ቀላል ነው?

21. የትኛው ቋንቋ ለመማር ከባድ ነው?

22. ሁለቱንም ቋንቋዎች በተመሳሳይ ጊዜ ቢማሯቸው የትኛውን እንደ አፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ ሊቆጥሩት ይችላሉ?

23. የረስዎ ልጆች እያደጉ ሲሄዱ በርታን እንደ ቋንቋ ያሳድጉታል ብለው ያስባሉ?

24. አረቦችን ከበርታኛ እንዲቀላቅሉ የሚደርገዎትን ምክንያት የዘርዝሩ.

25. አረቦችን ከበርታኛ ጋር መቀላቀል ያለው ጥቅም ምንድን ነው? (ካንድ በላይ መልስ ይቻላል)

ሀ. ብዙ ባህሎችን ለማዎክ ይጠቅማል                      ለ. ገንዘብ ለማግኘትና ዝነኛ ለመሆን ይረዳል

ሐ. ሳይነሳዊ እውቀቶችን ለማግኘት ይረዳል                      መ. ሐይማኖታዊ እውቀቶችን ለማግኘት ይረዳል

26. አረቦችን ከበርታኛ መቀላቀል ምን ጉዳዮች አሉት? (ካንድ በላይ መልስ መምረጥ ይቻላል)

ሀ. በርታን አስወግዶ ያረቦችን ተጽኖ ያመጣል                      ለ. ባንዱ ቋንቋ ወጥ ብቃት እንዳይኖረን ያደርጋል

ሐ. የቋንቋን መቀላቀል ያስከትላል                      መ. ማንነትን ያሳጣል ምንም ጉዳት አይኖረውም

**ቃለ መጠይቆች/ለሁሉም**

1. ሁለቱንም ቋንቋዎች መናገር ትችላለህ/ ትችያለሽ?
2. በርታን ብቻ የሚናገሩት መቸና የት ነው?
3. በቤት ውስጥ ምን ቋንቋ ያወራሉ?
4. ስለበርታና አረቦች ቋንቋዎች ምን አይነት ስሜት አለዎት?
5. በየትኛው ቋንቋ ብቁ መሆን ይፈልጋሉ በበርታኛ ወይስ ባረቦች?

6. የትኛው ቋንቋ የተሻለ እውቅና አለው?
7. ማንነትዎን የበለጠ የሚገልፀው ቋንቋ የቱ ነው?
8. በሁሉም አውዶችና ለሁሉም ክንውኖች የሚጠቅመው ቋንቋ የቱ ነው?
9. በረትኛንና አረብኛን ስለሚችሉ ሰዎች ምን አይነት ስሜት አለዎት?
10. ባካባቢዎ አረብኛን በደንብ የሚችሉት እነማናቸው?
11. አረብኛን ከበርታኛ ሲቀላቅሉ ምን ይሰማዎታል?
12. በሚያስተምሩበት ጊዜ ተማሪዎች እርስ በእርሳቸውም ሆነ ከረስዎ ጋር ሲያዎሩ የቱን ቋንቋ ይጠቀማሉ?
13. መጀመሪያ የተማሩት ቋንቋ የቱ ነው የቱንስ በደንብ ይረዱታል?
14. ከጓደኞች ጋር ሲያወሩ/ሲጫዎቱ የቱን ቋንቋ ይጠቀማሉ?
15. ከረስዎ ምልክታ አነጻር ባካባቢዎ ያሉት ሕፃናት በብዛት የቱን ቋንቋ ይጠቀማሉ?

### Appendix three: Sample linguistic data

(transcribed from market conversation). Words and phrases with red color are Arabic while words with pink color are modified words.

Transcribed by: Abdunásir Áli 2012

Checked by Badawi Mahammed

Roothá mbá/ *assuugú*

Maabí thá Benishangúl Fúñj/barta mín mbá ziiziñá méré walá gígidiñ thoñori ndú iishibiliñuógú mbá madi hú. *Laakín* mín mbá zia méré thá gínéyú maaluwa tha ahaapqúné ñinéñ maamañné thá gíné ahaapqúné. Lakín mín mbá zááo máábí thuuthógú míthil *Arábi* u alhawajád ñinéñ thara méré gíné shibilaqi thá fuuda. *Ashan* shúgo tha maré *naafañi* thá gínéyú maaluwa walá maré gída fuuda mbá gídi hu dqukqúnúñ mbá madi hú míthil *addolár, arriál, albír* u *addinár*. Mín mbá zááo máábí zááoqí baró áyu gíñ shibililá álú, hú fuudó u mbá gíñ shibililá álu na gíñ *ábariláné* tháñ u hú *álqabiirúgú* tha ndú thuuthó ñinéñ maa méré *salafá*.

*Assáqá* geriñaaneqi míthili mbálé zíné thá búlúéqí ñinéñ maané.

**Másal:** Múnzúmá ali adaqí tha *assúúgú* thá shibilo ginéñgúnuñ mbá álqiidú. Shambá wássálálí tha *assúúgú* ádqokqooha miayú *alqáwwali*.

- a. Ná kqalilí maabá míyóéqí sha: “mia kámmu?”
- b. áné shíñ kqalinégéqí. Sha “hámsa ginéh u nús”.

Hatháñ baró naakqashuoqí tha attámáná míó álú shambálo.

- a. Ná kqaligalí sha *ááhir kámmu* daañóneegéqí tháñ?
- b. “Hasqúla thá *támánia* u *árbaqín ginéh*”
- a. Ná kqaligalí sha “walá *naáfagéqí* shambálo, walá *nágasiñógé* alúá? ”
- b. Alí walá miáñkqo mbá ma *zeqiñá* ñinéñ maané, alí mbá shibilólí shá *rábbahaqi* tha alú ñinéñ maané.
- a. Alí shibilóñónnédqá ma *kqááli*, walá adí *rábbaha* ñgó shambá kqábóñóne, pqulágéqí shambá shibilóñóne *innshálla* áda ñgó *ras mááláqa sáy*?
- b. Shibilólí thá *abaqín ginéh* u *náfédqílí* áshíñ thíkqa *hámsa* ginéh.
- a. *Halás* bakqá áda ñgó *itinén* u *arbaqín ginéh*?
- b. Daagéqídqá u máága bakqá áné nááfa ñgó.

Ali mathí adaqí thoñor aañá oorú thá shibilo *attób, atqagía, ajjalabía, alqímma, albantqalón, shafa, asharabát u giné shúlúgú mbá holí míthili assinía, assáana, alkúra, alkubbáya, alfinján, háhara, ajják* u shá mathí shibilo gíñ giilágú ma thiñthí míthil zílí míthili gaashá, zílí misqikqí, amúhullé guula, múúntq shá kqushó u mbá shíñ giilá ma hárañ shíñ míthili dqabará, kqorí, bilía, ashátha, kqosh, ajértaga.

Áshehéra aañá shibililá *assúkkar* alú tha *alkíílo* u tha *arrátqul, nus rátqul, rubu rátqul* u tha *alwakía*,:

- a. Ná kqaligalí sha “*kámmu alkííló ássukarú?*”
- b. *Taláta riál u rúbu,*
- a. *Áhir kámmu?*
- b. Hasqúlá thá *riaalén* u *nús*
- a. *Ábarajéqí*

Mín mbá shibilalí *assúkkar* ámathá aañá shibiligalá zílí alúéqí. Á dqokqothayú sha náñ maané na gíñ *ábariláné* tháñ na gíllogú. Ná kqalilá ñinéqí sha abará zílú tha *alguntál, alkééla, nus kééla, almálua, ashíkka u alhíin* ñinéñ maané.

Ñine baró hásqúla *albalastík*ákqedqe sha ála *ábara* ñiné zílí thauéqí. Tha walá ali dama fuuda are u tha fuudá beñení ñinéñ gíídálí ná kqalilí maabá zílúéqí sha áné dqííñagi á adá maalo fuudá beñení álú.

Shambá *wázzálalí* aañá malilá fuuda alú ádqokqothayú na *alqáíná álqabiirú* mbá *náfa* máréqí tháñ fuuda maaléqí shá méré kqéeragé hu. Áámáábá mali fuuda áné kqalagéqí sha maré *nááfaqi* thá gíñ kqaligalá tha *alwakía, assumám, alkqeerátq, almudukál, aljísma, algirám, alhábbá, eesháya, muduliyú, thabáyú.*

Ali baró maalá fuudáñkqo alú u ali shibilo gíñ kqabalí kíllíñ u ali mathóqí thaayúéqí ma añ sqarí.

For all of measurement names except cultural measurement during the exchange gold, they use all borrowed name from Arabic. The same is true for counting. Example assaqa, addagíka, assagónt. All are borrowed words. All fabricated material name is from arabic loan or borrowed words. Except agricultural products.

#### Appendix four: Sample linguistic data.

(transcribed from home language use/ storytelling and mourning ceremony). Words and phrases with red color are Arabic words.

Geelí u Agorthé

Transcribed by: Abdunásir Áli 2012

Checked by Badawi Mahammed

Maamánáñbá ziaqí mbá gídi mererí, geelí, maru u ñine gídi shúlí ma gúndi agongór.

Kúlu yóm asáqá thiñ mǎré gíñmǎñ marú ñinéñ thiñí thá maabíle thantháñ u ñineñ thikqí uuqúñ mbá pqiishí.

Lakín geelí kqaara bás ñinéñ dqakqilá márhé thuthéqí asáqá mbá kqódíla are.

Adarí roothálé shúni geelíéqí sha marú gíñ buushú ñineñ maané mithil maré u marú ñineñ thiñ gíñ pqiishí thá maabíle u maré ñinéñ dqíñne alu thuutha na gíñ pqiillíñ mín agorthé.

Munzumáñ shúgo agúra geelú buurá ahapqúnáthá alú tha mǎré roothuqí tha assúlúmálá álú gíflá mǎréthi mbálé.

Geelí taafaguoqígú tha ma añ miilé mǎré dirshiñá bakqá gúlí mǎré ma gíñ máñ gíaqí hábíthañ, min mbá milá añ geelí dirshiñé.

Shambá miilá añ u mbá fuudá zígí agorthé holóñóníñ záoqígú thá mǎré kqábá gíñ ágori mǎré.

Mín mbá wássalo mǎré tha agoñgóri ndu mǎré tháma ile tha agongórúéqí ma maabí dirshiñé u ma gíñmǎñ zíqí mbá ágori mǎré.

Mǎré maada galí fuudíqí ma álé dírhí thá zígí are ná kqali mǎré tha mereré fuudí ñinéñ maané.

Gállo thámá ágorthe thá doño haa mǎré tháñ tha agoñgóralú u zaa mǎré tháñ.

Min mbá wásalá méré thá ñeera ndu ná kqali méré thá adó añ kqithá mererélé ñalu añ gássama ñgó hásqúla mbáqa u áhasqúla mbáñkqo. Mín mbá haaláne gálíyú áné gúúdqaqi ma álé guli thá háu háu háu.

Min mbá wásslo gáli ná máthi buura ahapqúnáthá álú ná kqalганégú ajamá mín shókqóñ añ gúúláthá adarí ñalúñkqa ná dqíña alú ná kqalña thá maabíñgúnuñ.

Mamánáñ bá ziaaqí mbá sqúllá thá Alkqarib u gídi niñé, gadi u didíne.

Ma maré álé gúdí thá maabíle thá álhíllayú á múshe áné áháthá mbá báshí fámiilí doño u mbá maruqí.

Alkqarib múshaga nínekqedqé thá gadile u hasqúlálá dírolágú.

Mín mbá máthólá mín thá dírsha alú maabí hónaqí thá Alkqarib thá hánduñ taláta yóm.

Mín mbá faruolá gundi Alkqarib thá didíne pqishi ñinéqí míllañ áné kqalne thá amma mbalé ma gúdálí tháñ thalé adí máthí múshí ashan shúgo lázim á buuna mushe alú tháñ aañá máñeqí.

Alkqarib baró áháháqí thá hábíthañiyú ñine shíddá shíñiri árbaqa thá dqukqúnúñ ná hásqúla didíne tháñ u taláta áné fára gíñ shúlú máre tháñ.

Mín mbá shíddáne shíñiri ñine baró adaqí féthíña dídíneqí ná kqalgáne ñgó pqishigé míllañ u ñgó híbílí mushé thiñlé tháñ thá hasqúlgi ñgóthi ashan shúgo hássa ali fédqí á buuna ñgó mushe alú tháñ aañá máñeqí aañá sharné.

Ñine baró tháma didíne thá shíñir dqukqúnúñ gundi u taláta shíñ farané gíñ máre tháñ u maré zaaqí.

Shambá wássalá méré thá adará máñú áné áshuriña didíne thá sqísqía hu áné kqalagá thá gúdi hoole thalé á adá á kqaabó alhábar ma mushe shaarí thalé añ nássala.

Ñine huluo are thá mamánáñ le ná kqallgané thá “mushe zii thaléyá” Áné kqallné ñinéqí “Tha híñ”, ñine mathí matha alú ná shúsha didíne méré máthí thúlá.

Shambálo shambálo **baqad** maré dqáfára adár alú **sábaqa** méré baró thíkqa adár mbá shar múshe thayú méré **nássala** u áné kqala maabíeqí “Tha ali gídó niñe u gadi ná yáqásqagéqí ñinéñ buunógálí tha ammále tháleyeqí hathú dagé añ á gúdá tháléyá”, Ná shíñ kqallgalá tha “Daaña ñgóqí”.

Mín mbá dálá ñiné añ maabí buuro alú u ñine gía galá shúli tha amahá u híá méré thayúeqí maré dídíne u maré gúde thálo.

Maabálo féda niñe u dálá ñinéqí maré gía **alqiris** u dáni ola ñiné gadi u maré gúdáqí ma pqi shí.

Adarí ma mamánáñ badqaqí gabul ná músha alá buurugá álú alá kqíthá ñalú alá kqóla u alé daa maabákqedqéqí na fuuda. **Alkqarib** baró **sáfaráqí** thá fuuda gígíyúeqí. Ma ñine ále shaarí ádíidine áné bádqá.

Shambá badqané ná kqal niñe añkqomolánéqí tha badalíñ ñgó bádqí á adá ábuuro maabí alú méré rothuqi shambá giilá ñgó tha bikqá múshíñóqi thá doñole u á gádiqá ná ádo ná kqala tha ñine **hásádólá**. Niñe dqáñí baró hiba añ ná kqala tha “Ali badaqí” na kqalgalá tha “Busqáñ ñgó fédqí ñgó áboshiña hatháñi”.

Niñe dqáñí shukqa álu ahátháqí tha áné buuna múfálá ñkqalgalá tha “Nááno” Náshíñ kqalne tha “shañiné múshílí ma gadiñkqo shaarí, bikqáthagidqá lémin ágádiñkqó áné ádo” Á niñe gádiló áné baró híoqi ná kqala tha **ajamá** kqithátha másqbalále ñalu u **alqasámá** gádikqedqé ádaothágéqí á musqi hoole ñinéqí na uuqúñ u na alú.

Másq baalá baró kqithalá ñalu u **gásámálá** na uuqúñ u dálá níñekqedqéqí na **alqómá** gádikqedqé u lé fuudá buurá maabí ñgunúñ dálá níñeqí tha áné daa ñinéqí ma adóqí.

Mín mbá ádo máába gabul na méera firi ná kqalne “Ammá shíñ” ná kqalga tha méragá firi ábaró pqula ñgóqí na aañá zíné.

Shambá hásqúlólá ñiné firi ná dqokqo gadi baalá kqedqe tha wáne zílá ammá ná shíñ kqalne ñinéqí tha alí oqó bádqóqi ná kqithalá ñalu thá fuuda ñinéñ kqólalá u mbáqa darólá ñgóqí pperiñlá ammá áné daa ñgóqí ñgó kqóla.

Maaba baró shukqa álu u áné ámaruqi áné bia ma ñine álé kqalí tha buunoli alú nambaalá lémin sqikqagé mbá dqááñí adarí maabí fá-buuñú ñinéñ ma máábiló.

Maabálo baró bikqa murthákqedqe gundi tha amadqíle tha lémin á áñ ná miila áné buuna thá ñálúkqedqe.

Mín mbá hásqúlola ñiné didíne na uuqúñ ná kqalne bikqáthagé áthiña **baqadén**.

Mín mbá miilá áñ ñine feethá geedíkqedqe holóñoníñ fuudqané thá murthá gundí u maré thulé.

Ma maré álé buní mارة haala buuñú ndu ma álé beeqí á gádikqedqé ná shíñ gámúla ndu tha ñaaú, ñaaú áné shúthá áné dqaakqa alú thá thooñorú dqukqúnúñ. Ná buuna tháñ dqukqúnúñ físh.

Shambá sqara áñ maré **wássaláqí** tha adarámáñú u maré thíkqa mamánáñ ma álé dqíñ áñ thá gúbíyú ma maré álé dqáfárí thá gúbí ndu gadi baalá gasha ñinéqí dqúkqúnúñ adarí fíá húláñ shambá ñoono ñiné úuqúñ mín thá gúbíyú ma álé dqúshíla ágadí áné máthí gia tha ñaaú ñaaú á máábaló áné mathí shúa hu u ná bíkqá thíri ná buuna thá ñálúkqedqe ma ñine álé be **alkqúlúba** dídíne u addáqábákqedqe.

**Alqaríb** baró **wássaláqí** tha adarákqedqeyú mbá gabúlú ñine dqukqúnúñ u buurolá álú tháñ **hámádágála assalám** u gíñ buunáne álú walá gashaqí u **addaqab** walá thurané.