

THE CHALLENGES OF LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION: THE CASE OF GAMO

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Almaz Wasse Gelagay, entitled: *THE CHALLENGES OF LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION: THE CASE OF GAMO* and submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (General Linguistics) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

The Challenges of Language Standardization: The Case of Gamo

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Article 3.5.1 of The Education and Training Policy (1994) of the Federal Democratic Republic Government of Ethiopia has granted citizens with legal policy grounds to use their native languages as mediums of primary education. This legal initiative has resulted in the introduction of many local languages to education and other official settings. The placement of the languages into the new domains has created opportunities to develop and standardize them. Gamo is one of the languages, which, due to such policy changes, has received orthography and is introduced as a medium of instruction in schools. This research tried to investigate the social challenges faced in the standardization process of the Gamo language. It argues that as a language newly introduced into different domains, Gamo has to be standardized to fulfill the newly assigned social roles. There is a pressing need to establish a standard language that fits the attitudes and demands of the Gamo society. A standard language of Gamo would effectively play various social roles if the users participate in the standardization process by forwarding their views in different settings. So far, we do not have sufficient information about the social attitudes and needs towards the standardization of Gamo. The research, hence, endeavored to fill in this gap by providing valuable data about the real attitudes and needs of speakers of the language at the grassroots level.

The research tried to address the following questions; which dialect is used as a base for the standard norm of Gamo and what criteria determined the selection? What are the main challenges that the standardization process encountered? How do the norm selection decisions interplay with the actual social needs and attitudes of the speakers towards Gamo and its standardization? And, how can Gamo be standardized best? In order to find answers to these questions, the research adopted a mixed data collection method and employed questionnaire, interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis. The findings revealed that “the standard form of Gamo” was mainly based on the Dache dialect, which is one of the dialect

variants of the language spoken by the majority of the population. Other dialects like Kucha, Ochollo and Dorze, also shared with Dache most of the words collected from the standard language, but the Ganta dialect shared only a quarter of the words analyzed. The majority of the respondents had positive attitude towards Dache to serve as a standard Gamo. They believed that Dache can serve best as a base to the standard norm since it is spoken and understood by the majority of the society identified as ethnically Gamo, and can keep social unity and integration. However, there was a strong interest reflected by many participants of different dialect speakers to see some features of their respective dialects accommodated in the standard Gamo. In fact, some morphological and lexical features of those dialects were rarely used in the texts analyzed so far, but that did not please the users since the inclusion was very random and lacks consistency of application, i.e the dialect features were often replaced by the standard forms. On the other hand, the majority of the participants' conviction, from the five dialect groups, was that words from Ganta cannot be included in the present standard Gamo. There was a concern that if features from divergent dialects are included in the standard form, the written norm might result in confusion and misunderstanding for others in communication. The degree of dialectal variation, procedures followed to standardize the language, and attitudes held towards using Gamo in wider public settings were considered to be the major challenges of standardization in Gamo.

Based on the findings, the research concluded that the norm selection technique followed in the standardization of Gamo was monocentric. The study considers that the adoption of a polycentric multidialectal approach in the establishment of standard Gamo is one of the basic factors to achieve successful language standardization. Particular features of Kucha, Ochollo and Dorze, and other dialects not included in this study as well, should be studied further and should be introduced progressively into the written form to be part of the standard norm of Gamo. On the other hand, trying to entirely mix Ganta with standard Gamo is impossible due to the prevailing linguistic Gap and may pose a new challenge to norm acceptance. Instead, pending the development of an independent standard to divergent dialects of Gamo, selected words of Ganta can be introduced into the current standard. That makes the standard norm impartial to the speakers and may enable the respective Ganta dialect speakers to develop a sense of ownership of the language of education.

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Table of Contents

Contents	Pages
Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Tables	ix
List of maps and diagrams.....	xii
List of Abbreviations and Symbols	xi
Definition of Terms	xii
Chapter One	
1.0. Introduction	1
1.1. Background of the study.....	2
1.1.1. The Gamo people.....	2
1.1.2. The Geographical Landscape	5
1.1.3. The Language	6
1.1.3.1. Dialect Diversity in the Language	7
1.2. Statement of the Problem	10
1.3. Research Questions.....	13
1.4. Objectives of the Study.....	14
1.5. Significance of the Study.....	14
1.6. Scope of the Study	15
Chapter Two	
Review of Related Literature	
2.0. Introduction	17
2.1. The Interplay between Language and Society.....	18
2.2. Indexing (Ethnic) Identity in Language (Use).....	20
2.3. Language Standardization in Language Planning	22
2.4. Defining Language Standardization	24
2.5. Should a Language be Standardized?	27
2.5.1. The Role of Society in Language Standardization	33
2.6. Approaches to Language Standardization	36
2.6.1. Orientations in Language planning.....	36

2.6.2. Emphasis over the symbolic Functions of a Standard Language	37
2.6.3. Language in Ecology Approach	40
2.7. Frame of Reference for Language Standardization Studies	42
2.7.1. The Descriptive Model of Language Standardization	44
2.7.1.1. Norm Selection	47
2.7.1.1.1. Harmonization	51
2.7.1.2. Acceptance.....	52
2.8. Regional and Social Dialects in Language Standardization	55
2.9. Some Instances of Language Standardization	57
Chapter Three	
Research Methodology	
3.0. Introduction	61
3.1. Research Approach.....	61
3.2. Research Methods.....	63
3.2.1. Research Design	63
3.2.1.1. The first round fieldwork.....	64
3.2.1.2. In between.....	65
3.2.1.3. The second round fieldwork	65
3.2.2. Sampling Techniques	66
3.2.3. Data Collection Instruments	69
3.2.3.1. The Questionnaire.....	73
3.2.3.1.1. Social Backgrounds of the Respondents	75
3.2.3.2. Interviews	78
3.2.3.3. Focus Group Discussions	80
3.2.3.4. Document Analysis.....	80
3.2.3.4.1. The textbooks	81
3.2.3.4.2. Wondimu (2015).....	83
3.2.3.4.3. Gebreyohanis (2000)	84
3.2.3.4.4 The texts	84
3.2.3.4.5. The dialects included in this study	85
3.3. Data Analysis and Presentation	87

3.4. Ethical Considerations	89
Chapter Four	
Norm Selection in Gamo	
4.0. Introduction	91
4.1. A Brief History of Written Gamo.....	91
4.2. The Challenges of Norm Selection.....	103
4.3. The Development of the Dache Dialect as a Standard Norm of Gamo.....	114
4.3.1. The Role of Individual Persons	114
4.3.2. Geographical Coverage of the Dialect.....	118
4.4. Other Varieties in the Gamo Textbooks	122
Chapter Five	
Norm Acceptance As Reflected in the Attitudes and Needs of the Speakers	
5.0. Introduction	132
5.1. Attitude towards Language Standardization and its Implications	132
5.2. The Role of Gamo in Official Settings and Attitudes towards It	135
5.3. Language Use and the Status of Gamo in Different Settings	139
5.3.1. Using Gamo in Everyday Communication.....	140
5.3.2. Language Use in Writing.....	143
Cross Tabulation of Teachers' and Students' Responses to Writing in Different Places ...	148
5.4. Attitude towards Gamo and its Standardization	160
Cross Tabulation of Respondents' Attitude and the Independent Variables.....	171
5.4.1. Social Perceptions of Standard Gamo	174
Cross Tabulation of Perception towards standard Gamo with Independent Variables	186
5.6. The need for Standardization of Gamo.....	190
5.6.1. Functions of Standard Gamo to the Speech Community	195
5.6.2. Social Preferences of Norm Selection	204
5.6.3. Dialect Preference to Base Standard Gamo.....	226
Chapter Six	
Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations	
6.0. Introduction	229
6.1 Summary.....	229

6.2 Conclusions	230
6.3 Recommendations	240
6.3.1. General Considerations.....	240
6.3.2. Short Term Plans of Language Standardization	242
6.3.2.1. Norm Selection	243
6.3.2.2. Norm Acceptance	246
6.3.3. Long Term Plans	247
6.3.4. Potential Areas for Future Research in Gamo	249
References	251
Appendix A	
Number of Gamo People and Mother Tongue Speakers across Ethiopia	263
Appendix B	
Sample words taken from textbooks and their synonyms in the five Gamo dialects	264
Appendix C	
The Amharic Version of Data from Focus Group Discussions.....	269
Appendix D	
The English Version of Data from Focus Group Discussions.....	296
Appendix E	
The Amharic Version of Data from Individual Interviews	328
Appendix F	
The English Version of Data from Individual Interviews	354
Appendix G	
The English Version of the Questionnaire	396
Appendix H	
The Amharic Version of the Questionnaire.....	400

List of Tables

Tables	Pages
Table 1: Population size of some of the Gamo Gofa districts.....	3
Table 2: Dimensions of language planning/ standardization.....	46
Table 3: Reliability analysis of the questionnaire.....	74
Table 4: Sex of respondents to the questionnaire.....	75
Table 5: Age category of the respondents.....	75
Table 6: Educational background of the respondents.....	76
Table 7: Respondents' occupation.....	76
Table 8: Dialectal background of the respondents.....	77
Table 9: Sex of interviewees.....	79
Table 10: Interviewees' occupation.....	79
Table 11: Sex of the participants in the focus group discussions.....	80
Table 12: Description of textbooks from which sample texts were taken	82
Table 13: Words of the five Gamo dialects used in the sample texts.....	105
Table 14: Population of Gamo districts and some of the dialects spoken.....	119
Table 15: Alternative words and the languages they were taken from.....	123
Table 16: Frequency of using Gamo to speak to others, to listen and read materials.....	141
Table 17: Factors that hindered respondents from reading or listening materials in Gamo.....	142
Table 18: Respondents' experience in writing in Gamo at different settings.....	144
Table 19: Crosstab results of respondents' job to writing personal notes.....	148
Table 20: Languages respondents often wrote information.....	149
Table 21: Crosstab results of language use among students and teachers.....	150
Table 22: Respondents' attitude towards Gamo and its standardization.....	161
Table 23: Crosstab results of respondents' dialect and attitude towards Gamo as a medium of instruction.....	172
Table 24: Crosstab results of respondents' job and attitude towards textbooks.....	173

Table 25: Respondents’ general evaluation of standard Gamo.....175

Table 26: Crosstab results of respondents' dialects with perception about implementation of a standard language in education.....187

Table 27: Crosstab results of respondents' job and perception about implementation of a standard language in education.....188

Table 28: Crosstab results of respondents' dialects and perception about the standard norm.....189

Table 29: Respondents' views on the need to standardize Gamo.....191

Table 30: The significances of standardizing Gamo..... 195

Table 31: Respondents' views on how a standard norm should be selected in Gamo.....205

Table 32: Dialect choice for standardization among different dialect respondents.....226

List of maps and diagrams

Contents	Pages
Map1: Map of the Gamo Gofa Zone districts.....	6
Diagram 1: A language standardization diagram adapted from language ecology and language function approaches.....	43

List of Abbreviations and Symbols

SNNPRS	Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State
LP	Language Planning
LS	Language Standardization
ACTE	Arbaminch College of Teachers Education
AAVE	African American Vernacular English
MGT	Matched Guise Technique
SLI	Standard Language Ideology
CSA	Central Statistical Authority
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
DaGaGo	Dawuro, Gamo, Gofa language
WoGaGoDa	Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro language
//	Enclose phonemes
{ }	Enclose morphemes
< >	Enclose graphemes

Definition of Terms

Acceptance	Willingness to accommodate a language or a language feature in everyday activity
Attitude	The feelings people have about their own language or the language of others
Dialect	Regionally or socially distinctive variety of a language
Ecology	A diversified environment where a language exists
Indigenous language	A language native to a respective region it covers
Language loyalty	The concern to preserve the use of a language in a social domain
Language indexicality	A mechanism of revealing identity in a language
Language orientations	Assumptions on what societal multilingualism holds
Multilingual	A speech community or an individual which uses two or more languages
Mutual intelligibility	Ability of people to understand each other
Norm	A word or other language feature that is available in a dialect and selected to be a standard use of writing or speaking
Standardization	A process of setting up uniformity in language use
Variation	A range of possible differences found across a language

Chapter One

1.0. Introduction

In literal terms, language is a means through which humans communicate information with each other. From socially oriented point of view a language also plays other vital roles. According to Wareing (2004:8), language is used "referentially, affectively, aesthetically and phatically." It is referentially used as a vehicle of information, but could also be manipulated to show power relations between interlocutors (affectively). It is a mechanism through which people organize themselves or separate one group from the other. Language also demonstrates an aesthetic potential when used very technically to please others or to sooth every day social relations without conveying any significant information. Webb and Sure (2000:2) clearly put the symbolic functions of languages saying that a language used at various functional occasions is not plain, but is attached to many intangible social traits like identity, culture, experience, thought, belief and power of its speakers. Since human beings involve complex life style they embed different essences of their life in the language they use.

In order to display such social wealth accumulated in languages, individuals make systematic choice of a language or a language variety they command. They may carefully pick up a language that maintains similarities or differences amongst themselves. Nations also use a language as a symbol to declare sameness or difference of one from the other and to create national unity and identity. Allocating various social functions to languages has been a mandatory situation in such countries where more than one language has existed. Spolsky (2007:1) describes that the question of choosing a language over another for various purposes in situations where many language varieties exist is unavoidable.

Several countries have considered their sociopolitical and historical contexts and endeavored to handle language issues by formulating plans which declare the development and use of languages for various functions. Hence, language planning concerns of various countries and societies have become a regular topic of contemporary studies. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 65) note that language standardization, the centerpiece of language planning, has been a popular issue in the domains of language and society.

Due to the complex nature of language and its intricate relationship to society, the task to choose and limit grammar or vocabulary items of a language for standardization is not free of challenges (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 66). The major challenge emerges if the standardization procedure fails to include the attitudes and needs of the target users and the real contexts of the language in question. The challenge gets more intense with the standardization of multidialectal languages where societies hold distinct views concerning the language they speak. A study on language standardization is determined to disclose the relationship between standardization processes and the practical reflections made by the society at the grassroots level.

1.1. Background of the study

The background section of the dissertation presents a detailed account of the Gamo people, the geographical landscape they inhabit, and the Gamo language. It briefly revisits the population size of the ethnic Gamo society, their culture and their life style.

1.1.1. The Gamo people

The Gamo people have mainly settled in the Gamo Gofa Zone of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State (SNNPRS), one of the nine regions of Ethiopia. According to CSA (2008: 73) population and housing census report, the population size of ethnic Gamo societies who have settled across the country is 1,104,360. The majority of the ethnic groups (1,044,589) reside in SNNPR. From few to large number of Gamo ethnic societies are found in all regions and city administrations of the country, and contribute to the cultural and linguistic diversity and development of the respective places they inhabit (see Appendix A for the number of Gamo people who live in different regions and city administrations).

The name Gamo is used to identify both the society and the language they speak. The Gamo society share many values of life with the neighboring communities of Wolaitta, Dawuro, Zayse, Male, and especially with the Gofa people who are administered under the same zone with Gamo. According to the Gamo Gofa Zone Culture and Tourism Department (2004), the Gamo Gofa Zone districts inhabited mainly by Gamos include Kucha, Boroda, Daramalo, Kamba, Bonke, Ditta, Chench, Mirab Abaya and Arbaminch Zuria of the administration zone. Gidicho,

which is found in Mirab Abaya, is an exceptional place occupied by other communities. The population size of these districts is presented in the following table:

No.	Districts	Population
1	Kucha	149,287
2	Boroda	67,960
3	Mirab Abaya	74,967
4	Arbaminch Zuria	164, 529
5	Chencha	111,686
6	Ditta	83,987
7	Daramalo	81,625
8	Kamba	155,979
9	Bonke	159,089
	Total	1,049,109

Source CSA (2008: 8)

Table 1: Population size of some districts of the Gamo Gofa Zone

As seen in Table 1, the highly populated area is Arbaminch Zuria with 164,529 residents. Bonke (159,089) and Kamba (155,979) woredas occupy 2nd and 3rd place in their number of people respectively. On the other hand Boroda is the least populated area (67,960) preceded by Mirab Abaya (74,967).

Gamos depend for living mainly on planting crops, breeding cattle and weaving traditional clothes. A local plant called *Enset* or 'false banana' is a prominent product in the highland areas and banana is commonly cropped in the lowlands of Gamo. As investigated by Weedman (2008), some Gamo community members earn small amount of money by crafting household materials from hides, but the profession is not that widely exercised in the area. Bombe (2014:73) also argues that social stratification based on occupation and social descent still persists in Gamo highlands, especially in Ganta area:

Farmers constitute the mainstream of gamo society. They belong to the highest stratum called *mala*. Craft workers (potters, blacksmiths and leather workers/tanners) who are collectively called *mana/degela* and considered inferior to them (Freeman 2011). At the very bottom of Gamo society are the so called *ayle*, the slaves, in contemporary context the 'descendents of slaves.' Especially in Ganta, Bonke and Kamba, three Gamo *deres* (communities/subdivisions of Gamo) the occupational groups and the *ayle* are still excluded from mainstream society, though the exclusion of the latter is more extreme.

Though social stigmatization in connection to one's occupation and ancestral background is improving today, it is not still totally overcome in some societies like in Gamo. Bombe (2014:73) further notes that in order to remix the social groups discriminated in either way into the mainstream society, Gamos perform a cleansing ritual ceremony called *wozzo*, in which the cleansed groups make high compensation, usually in kind, to the descendents of slave owners and the other social members who would accept them as part of the 'regular' society.

In addition to *wozzo* the Gamo society celebrates other various traditional and religious festivals. One of the well known ones is Mesk'el. Mesk'el is celebrated every September 26 mainly in Chenchä town. In this holiday, like in many other societies of the country, such as the Gurage, many members of the Gamo society who live outside the area move to Gamo and particularly to Chenchä to attend the ceremony.

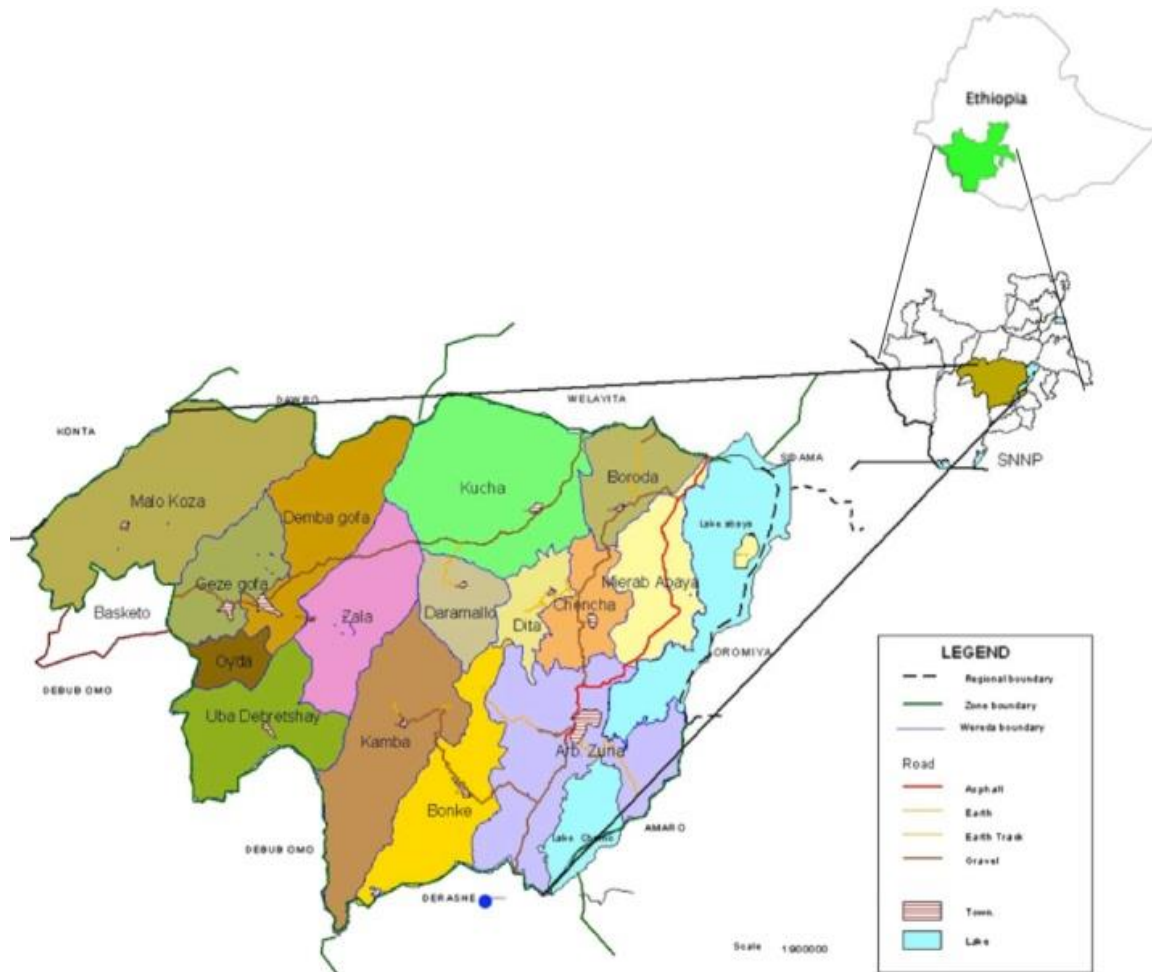
The other cultural aspect that the Gamo society is known for is an initiation ceremony where a traditional community leader in different Gamo settlements /*deres* is appointed. Freeman (2000:36) identifies some social structures and traditional leaderships in Gamo:

Throughout the Gamo highlands people live in scattered settlements and are organized into many different communities, known as *deres*. Each community has its own sacrificers/*ek'k'a*/, its own initiates/ *halak'a*/, and its own assemblies and assembly places/ *dabusha*/ where disputes are solved and communal decisions are made. The *halak'as* are said to "herd" the community/ *dere hemo*/.

The quote illustrates that Gamos have got several traditional administration structures and hierarchies which are used to establish norms and orders of the community's traditional life style. Among them is the one that *halak'as* are promoted. Freeman (2000:37) explains further that the *halak'a* "initiation itself takes a series of rituals that can span between two months and two years, and includes a series of feasts for which the initiate must accumulate large amounts of resources." The researcher analyzed different patterns involved in the Gamo initiation process and compared them to the initiation practices held in the Cushitic language speakers of Borana *gaada* system and Sidama *lua*. From the analysis of the experiences held in *halak'a*, *gaada* and *lua*, Freeman (2000:55) argues, "the Gamo *halak'a* initiations are a variant of the initiations found amongst the lowland Cushitic-speakers." It is believed that the *halak'a* culture was brought to Gamo with the Oromo settlers and was adapted into the living context of the local people.

1.1.2. The Geographical Landscape

The land inhabited by Gamos is bordered by lakes Abaya and Chamo in the East, Zayse in the South, Wolaitta in the North and Gofa and Male in the West. The Gamo area and the society are geographically organized in nine sub districts and administered under the Gamo Gofa Zone which in turn is managed by SNNPRS. The three major administrative organizations (the Gamo Gofa Zone and its districts, and the SNNPRS) are shown in the following map of Ethiopia.



Source : open access

Map1: Map of the Gamo Gofa Zone districts

It can be seen from Map 1 that the Gamo Gofa Zone is organized into 14 districts of which nine are occupied by Gamos. These include Kucha, Boroda, Ditta, Daramallo, Chench, Bonke, Kamba, Arbaminch Zuria and Mirab Abaya districts. The Gamo area is well known for its

natural resources that mainly serve as tourist attractions and as sources of income to the society. As shown in Map1, its Eastern side is surrounded by the two lakes, Abaya and Chamo. The lakes are the main sources of fish product in the area. There is also a natural bridge, a mountain, which is traditionally called *yä igzer dildi* which literally means ‘natural, God made bridge’. It is a mountain that separates lakes Abaya and Chamo and makes movement between the two lakes possible. A lot of residents and visitors travel through this route to the natural park called Nech Sar.

Nech Sar Park, which means ‘White grass’ took its name after the long white grasses that covered the area. The park is home to many indigenous animals including Zebra. In addition, a natural forest which is located very near the capital city of Gamo Gofa Zone, Arbaminch city, encompasses more than forty natural springs which supply water to the community in the town. Investors have now started to construct complex lodges and hotels around the forest and many tourists are paying a visit to this glamorous place.

1.1.3. The Language

According to CSA (2008:91), the Gamo language, locally called Gamotsto or Gamotsto doona, is natively spoken by 1,070,626 people (see Appendix A for the distribution of mother tongue speakers across Ethiopia). Gamo is a member of the North Omoto language groups that genealogically descend from Afro Asiatic phylum, Northern Omotic, and Benoyem. Before it took its current position under the Omoto cluster, Gamo had gone through various classifications and reclassifications.

In an early attempt to classify the languages of Ethiopia, Fleming (1976) puts Gamo, with Gofa and Dawuro, as the dialect of the Wolaitta language of the North Omoto clusters. The classification considered Wolaitta to be the major constituent of North Omoto languages. The classification took into account the prevailing close social contact that resulted in a high linguistic similarity and a substantial mutual intelligibility among speakers of diverse Omoto languages.

Later, Hirut (2005a) recognizes Gamo as a fully fledged language that comprises different dialects of its own. The study conducted phonological, lexical and grammatical comparisons among selected varieties of the North Omoto cluster and concluded that the difference of Zala,

Dorze and Dache groups from the ones which Fleming (1976) listed to be Gamo dialects like Ochollo, Kucha, Doko, Ditta, etc., groups is negligible that all of these varieties can be taken as dialects of the same language, Gamo. Dorze, Dache and Zala which were each considered, in the earlier classification, as independent members of the North Ometo group have become dialects of the Gamo language in Hirut's classification. Out of a detailed analysis of the North Ometo clusters, Hirut (2005a:76) suggests a new reclassification that puts Gamo as an independent member of the North Ometo cluster. Many local and international researchers who engage in the study of Gamo, like Wondimu (2010) and Jordan (2009), take this view.

Based on the linguistic and historical accounts, it is possible to note that Gamo cannot be taken as a dialect of another language. It is an autonomous language that consists of its own diverse dialects and speakers whose life style has remained unique for centuries. Hence, placing Gamo as an independent member of the North Ometo cluster is a significant progress observed on researches on the language. Recognition of the language as an independent entity carries a further social meaning for the Gamo culture and the related values to be acknowledged as autonomous assets of the country.

1.1.3.1. Dialect Diversity in the Language

It has been widely attested that Gamo is a heterogeneous language that exists in a variety of forms across the districts it covers. As has been mentioned earlier, Hirut (2005a) identifies Dache, Kucha, Ochollo, Zala and Dorze to be dialects of Gamo. On these, Wondimu (2010:33) adds Balta, Ganta, Garbansa, Shara, Mele, etc. In most cases, the names given to the dialects coincide with the names of the areas they are spoken in and in some cases to the sub ethnic groups as in Ochollo and Dorze. The dialects exhibit substantial variations from each other at all linguistic levels. Phonologically, the Kucha dialect exhibits a major variation from the others. Hirut (2013b: 372) identifies that in its phonetic inventory, Kucha does not have /ts/ and /dz/. In places where the other dialects use these features, Kucha replaces /t/ and /z/ respectively. On the other hand, Kucha contains a distinct sound /t'/ which the others replace with /d/ or /s'/. The following instances are meant to show these phonological divergences in the words of the dialects.

Kucha	Others	English
mitta	mitsts/mitstsa	‘tree’
hatta	hatstsa	‘water’
kota	kotsa	‘hive’
hezza	hedzda	‘three’
t’anta	dants	‘breast’

As can be seen from the examples, the alveolar affricates, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are de-affricatized in Kucha and take the form of /t/ and /z/ respectively. On the other hand, Kucha uses /t/ where the other dialects use /d/.

Significant morphological variations have also been attested in the dialects of the Gamo language. A grammatical meaning can be expressed with diverse elements in different dialects. For instance, plurality in nouns is expressed via different morphological elements. In the Dache, Kucha and Doko dialects the suffixes (-ta) or (-nta) are used to form plurals while in Ganta and Garbansa dialects the morpheme (-edè) or (-ats’) serves the same function as illustrated in the following examples taken from Wondimu (2010:74 &76).

Dache, Kucha, and Dokko	Ganta and Garbansa	English
if’a-ta	itf-edè / itf-ats’	‘brothers’
bora-ta	majd /majd-edè	‘oxen’
kana-ta	kani/ kan-edè	‘dogs’
mitfè-ta	mitf-edè/mitf-ats’	‘sisters’

As noted above, the morpheme {-ta} is used to mark plural number of nouns in Dache, Kucha, and Dokko dialects while {-edè} is used for the same grammatical function in Ganta and Garbansa. To mention a person and his or her group, the morpheme {-nta} is used in the former dialects, while it is expressed by {-ats’} in the latter varieties.

Similarly, a wide range of lexical variation is observed across the dialects of Gamo. For instance, according to Wondimu (2010: 66), the percentage of shared cognates among Dache, Dokko, Kucha, Balta, and Garbansa dialects of Gamo ranges from 60% to 100%.

The following few examples demonstrate lexical variability in the language.

Dache, Kucha,	Ganta, Balta,	
Ochollo	Garbansa	English
zinʔo	disko	‘sleep’
wotsa	gada	‘put’
santsa	doko	‘cabbage’
lage	bela	‘friend’
tama	budo	‘fire’

Some words are also interchangeably used as synonymous expressions of the same concept in all areas. For example, the words *fekere* and *uunno* are alternatively used in all areas to mean 'malaria'; *beʔa* and *s'eella/ t'eella* mean 'see' in all Gamo areas except in Ganta which uses *wofa*, instead. The examples reveal that the Gamo dialects use diversified lexemes.

It is explicable that diversity is a natural sociolinguistic phenomenon of Gamo as it is for most of the other languages. Gamo is a multidialectal language that embeds enormous speech varieties. There is an assumption that extensive regional variation was caused partly because the language remained spoken for a long period of time. Other reasons that account for the dialectal variation in Gamo include “political, settlement history and topography of the area (Wondimu, 2010:117).”

Surprisingly, researchers have noted that varieties which were classified as dialects of the Gamo language under the Ometo cluster exhibit a more complex relationship and, are no longer dialects of the same language but varieties of distinct languages. The earliest work that comes in this category is Wondimu (2010), who argues that some Gamo dialects are not mutually intelligible to others that these dialects can constitute two independent languages. He made a phonological, morphological and lexical comparison of selected Gamo dialects, namely Dache, Ditta, Dokko, Kucha, Balta and Garbansa, and concluded that the dialects under his study can be taken as groups of two independent languages. Wondimu (2010:179) categorizes the Gamo dialects based on their lexical compatibility as follows:

The lexical comparison has shown that Daaf'etstso, Diitatstso, Dookkotstso and K'uf'atto form one group sharing 89 to 100 percent of their vocabulary. Baltatstso and Garbansatstso form another group with 98 percent of shared vocabulary. The average percentage of shared vocabulary between members of the two groups is 65.

The two groups go consistently in their morphological differences as in their lexical divergence, and the prevailing difference led Wondimu (2010:179) to generalize, “based on the analysis we can conclude that the six dialects compared belong to two related but distinct languages.”

Hirut (2013a) has also compared Northern Ometo Gamo to Ganta, another Gamo dialect. The Gamo language used in education was taken as the Northern Ometo group in the study. The research found out that Ganta is a highly divergent dialect of Northern Ometo languages like Gamo. Mohammed, Jordan and Magnusson (2015) also treat Zayse, Zargulla and related varieties, which they list as Mele, Ganta, Shara, Zegetse, Gerbansa and Balta as different dialect groups from that of the North Ometo Gamo dialects like Dache, Kucha, Ochollo, Dorze, etc.,. These classifications tell one that the dialects commonly grouped as part of the Gamo language are not only dialects, but that some of them can form another member of the Ometo language cluster called “South Gamo language”, the name Wondimu (2010) suggests for related varieties spoken in Southern Gamo area.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Most of the languages of Ethiopia did not receive a written standard for centuries, and their function was confined to face to face spoken communication only. They were not used to address high level communication needs of their speakers, like in education, media, science and technology. As a result, standardization efforts towards those languages were very limited or almost none. Following the 1991 constitution of Ethiopia, that allows all languages of the country are recognized and encouraged to be promoted, developed and used for various official functions in the respective areas they are spoken. Many indigenous languages of the country received a standard orthography. The constitutional recognition of language use in various public domains, and the provision of legal policy grounds in the new Education and Training Policy of 1994 article 3.5.1 to use mother tongue in early primary education, established a prospective situation for local languages to be developed and standardized.

Similarly, the written history of Gamo and its standardization process began in 1992 (two years before the proclamation of the rights of language use in education in the Education and Training Policy (1994), when a common orthography was developed for the North Ometo languages. It has been first codified as part of standard DaGaGo (a language formed out of Dawuro, Gamo

and Gofa languages), and then WoGaGoDa (a standard variety harmonized from words of Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro). Later, Gamo was used in schools and textbooks as an independent ‘standard’ language after the former two blended varieties were brought to an end due to a massive public protest. As a multidialectal language, the standardization of Gamo and its implementation in mother tongue education and other areas has not been simple.

As stated in section 1.3.1, Gamo comprises many dialects and the proximity of some of these (Ganta, Garbansa, Balta) to the others (Dache, Kucha, and Ochollo) has been contentious (see Hirut, 2013a; Wondimu, 2010). It is very significant that these dialectal variations should be managed and a standardized language be used in textbooks prepared for mother tongue education. In fact, there was an endeavor to standardize Gamo in educational materials, but the standardization did not meet the needs of various dialect speakers. Some speakers of Gamo believe that the standard norm fails to accommodate the linguistic features of their respective varieties. They have developed a sense of being disenfranchised and marginalized from the publicly acknowledged standard language, and some dialect groups openly expressed their grievance. For instance, language policy has been the main reason for the dispute that happened in Kucha district of the Gamo Gofa Zone. Groups of Kucha dialect speakers resisted the language of the textbooks used for mother tongue education in Gamo. They commented that the standard language ignored varieties of the Kucha dialect. The Dorze dialect speakers have also shown their dissatisfaction with the standardization process by resisting the Gamo identity and claiming Dorze to be a legitimate language and identity of the Dorze dialect speakers.

In addition to the above, the present researcher also knew some individuals who criticized the standardization of Gamo that considers all the Gamo dialects to be identical and then implement a homogenous standard in textbooks. They repeatedly mentioned that Gamo dialects spoken in their home villages are completely different from the Gamo variety used in education. All of these public outcries are, hence, caused by the standardization process Gamo is undergoing. For this reason, the idea of a standard norm remains controversial, and it continues to be defied unless a more appropriate means of standardization is adopted.

The scope of standard Gamo has also been expanded to cover areas where divergent varieties, such as Zargulla, which some linguists consider to be separate languages. For instance, Azeb (2009: 199) argues that Zargulla is a language distinct from the standard Gamo and the use of

Gamo as a medium of instruction for the community in Zargulla area should not be taken as a provision of mother tongue education rather as a use of a second language, “The Zargulla and the ‘official’ Gamo (i.e., *Zeegetso* or *daac’etso*) languages are not mutually intelligible. However, some of the members of the two language groups live in the same villages and are bilingual in Zargulla and Gamo.” The researcher argues that though the language used in schools and among Zargullas are not mutually intelligible, Zargullas are compelled to learn the standard language and speak it as a second language simply because it is the dominant variety in the Gamo area.

Similarly, other researchers also criticize the Gamo Gofa Zone for its failure to acknowledge the presence of divergent Gamo forms. Wondimu and Samuel (2004 EC:22), in a survey report compiled for the Ethiopian Ministry of Culture and Tourism about language policy in Gamo Gofa Zone and Wolaitta have written the following:

*bägamo gofa zon bämängist iwki’inna yätäsät’t’affäw ammist k’wank’wawoff
malätm gamoŋna gofiŋna zayseŋna oydaŋna gididiŋna naŋfiŋna honom bäzzih
t’inat indätayyāw gamo akkababi yämägbabat dārädzaŋfiŋna zik’k’itāŋna yāhōnu
hulät k’wank’wawoffiŋ indäyazä lämayät täŋfiŋna yädbub gamoŋna k’wank’wa
silämānorum altägäläs’am*

'Five of the languages, which are acknowledged by the Gamo Gofa Zone administration are Gamo, Gofa, Zayse, Oyda and Gidicho. However, this study identified that the Gamo area contains two languages whose intelligibility level is very low. The presence of South Gamo language is not even mentioned in the language policy at all.'

The quote implies that there are Gamo varieties which are less intelligible to the standard Gamo acknowledged by the administration. It is possible to say that the divergent varieties have not been given independent status nor are they included in the standardization process. Nonetheless, their speakers are identified as Gamo and are supposed to use the standard form in the education system. Considering the existing social resistances facing the standard form, it would be appropriate to think better ways of standardizing Gamo and responding to social needs.

Apparently, no one may question the importance of reaching agreement with the speech community on the practices of standardization so the language policy in Gamo area would not fail again. According to, Tulloch (2004: 30) " ... any attempt to control a linguistic situation, if it is to be successful, must take in to account the desires of the population that will be affected."

But, decisions regarding the standard norm selected to be used in schools and textbooks in Gamo were made without any prior surveys on the social views and opinions. That means its acceptance by the respective society is not studied any time before. The Education Department of the Gamo Gofa Zone, in fact, organizes an annual language symposium to address the challenges and opportunities of mother tongue education in the zone. Teachers, language experts, researchers, politicians and other concerned stakeholders participate in the conference. However, since it is a conference that generally treats cases of the five indigenous languages of the Gamo Gofa Zone, it is not a sufficient setting to fully address the issue with the Gamo standardization to deal with the real problem. There is no venue to exclusively address the situation of Gamo to improve the exiting discomforts and social inconveniences. Lack of opportunities for the society to make their voices heard about language standardization has already caused eruption of public protests in some areas where different dialects of Gamo are spoken, like in the case of Kucha and Dorze as mentioned before. Hence, it would be important to scientifically investigate and address the real challenges pertaining to the standardization practices of Gamo. It would, again, be important to look into the implication of the standardization to social development in order to identify possible areas of intervention and improvement. Accordingly, the centerpiece of the present research rests on the standardization processes of Gamo mainly norm selection and levels of acceptance.

1.3. Research Questions

In order to address issues of language standardization in Gamo, the following research questions were framed:

- Which dialect is used as a base for the standard Gamo language? And what criteria were put in place to choose the standard norm among the many other varieties?
- What are the main challenges of the standardization process?
- How do the norm selection policies interplay with the actual social attitudes and needs of the speakers towards standardization?
- Are there better ways to incorporate speakers' attitudes and needs in the standardization process of Gamo?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

Generally the research endeavored to investigate the challenges of norm selection and acceptance in the standardization process of Gamo. In addition, there was an effort to:

- identify the standard norm of Gamo,
- address the challenges encountered in the standardization process of Gamo,
- determine the social acceptance of the standard norm through social attitudes and needs towards Gamo and its standardization,
- propose recommendations as to how best the language can be standardized in line with the real needs of the Gamo society.

1.5. Significance of the Study

Investigating connections between language and society, generally, contributes to a better understanding of how a society relates itself to its language and helps to properly utilize human capital. Adger and Christian (2007:237) explain, “Improved understanding of, and sensible approaches to, linguistic and cultural diversity in society are increasingly critical to promote equity and respect, particularly in schools and workplaces, for members of all groups in our society.”

A sociolinguistic research, a research on linguistic diversity, plays a vital role to shape and enhance one’s view of language and society. It helps to look for ways of ensuring equal opportunity of education, work, economy, development etc., to every member of a speech community. Adger and Christian (2007: 237) add, “Sociolinguistics has a strong tradition of interpreting and applying research for practical social benefit. It is in the very nature of the field that social consciousness runs high, since many of the questions addressed intersect with real-world issues.” It is, hence, possible to state that a research conducted under this field of inquiry holds various social merits. Similarly, this study has envisioned contributing the following significances:

- The research could serve as a major source of information for language standardizers, teachers and students.

- It helps one to recognize language standardization practices of Gamo and plan for further investigation of the issue.
- The research offers some explanations that help to overcome or minimize the challenges faced in the standardization process of Gamo.
- The research also creates opportunities for the Gamo people to forward their ideas and make their voices heard about the standardization of their language.
- By assessing social attitudes and needs towards the standardization of Gamo, the study serves as a source of information about the voices from below for language developers and standardizers to make the necessary interventions and remedies.
- The study can be a source of information about the level of the quality of the language used in mother tongue education in Gamo, and creates awareness on significant issues to be taken in to account while developing textbooks in Gamo.
- Furthermore, the outcomes of this research will serve as inputs for other areas in the country to handle similar situations.

1.6. Scope of the Study

The time and financial costs allocated to this study necessitated to delimit its scope in terms of its dialectal coverage and conceptual frameworks. The researcher's background in language learning and teaching and personal interest in a sociolinguistic required to limit the conceptual framework of the research. Hence, the researcher decided to focus on the social aspects of language standardization and to pay less attention to the linguistic aspects of the process. Since Gamo is in the process of standardization, surveying social views at an early stage of standardization helps to make some important improvements in the process. Therefore, the linguistic aspect of language standardization in Gamo is left behind for other investigators interested in the area. Albeit the notions of language standardization are multi faceted, this research adheres to the development of written standards in Gamo.

As mentioned in the background section of this paper, many researchers believe that the dialects of Gamo are many in number. It was, however, difficult to consider all of the dialects in this research. Therefore, a selection of dialects were covered in the dissertation. Despite these limitations, there is great hope that the research will provide valuable information about the standardization of Gamo and social attitude towards it.

This chapter presented an introduction of the dissertation. There was an endeavor to introduce the Gamo society and their language. Valuable explanations of significant aspects of the language including its dialect diversity were given. There was also an effort to state the problem identified and the objectives to be achieved. The chapter also put the significances and the delimitations of the research.

All in all, this section of the dissertation endeavored to introduce the major thematic areas covered by the research. It gave a brief introduction of the Gamo people and the language, and smoothly explained the problem area identified to be studied. The section listed down the objectives the research attempted to attain and the benefits of the research for different sectors.

Chapter Two

Review of Related Literature

2.0. Introduction

The bond between language and society is so strong that every human kind needs a substantial exposure to a social context to fully acquire a language. Fitch (2010:74) says "Although every normal human is born with the capacity to acquire language, considerable external input is necessary to activate and utilize this capacity." This 'external input' is without question accessed from a society. Bloomfield (1959: 17), in his early consideration of the social aspect of a language asserts, "The individual's language, consequently, is not his creation, but consists of habits adopted in his expressive intercourse with other members of the community." This assertion clearly points that individual's ability to use a language for complex communicative needs is learnt from and develops through a social context where the individual interacts with other members of the same group.

It appears, however, reasonable to realize the fact that no language shared among a speech community is homogenously applied. In relation to language variation, Holmes (2013: 3) notes, "Languages provide a variety of ways of saying the same thing – addressing and greeting others, describing things, paying compliments." Naturally, a language is used variedly, and this variation of use is patterned in terms of extra-linguistic social situations that pertain to age, gender, geography, identity, education, ethnicity, etc., (Milroy and Gordon, 2003:5). Speakers use a language in a way it consolidates their differences or similarities with their interlocutors in age, gender, geography, ethnicity, economy, etc. Their language variation is consistent with variations in these social features. Holmes (2013:3) relates linguistic variation to social variation as "The choice of one linguistic form rather than another is a useful clue to nonlinguistic information. Linguistic variation can provide social information." In other words, one uses a language or a feature of a language that marks the kind of social background information one aspires to display in a certain context.

Language is also an instrument one uses to address a society. Any service delivered to a community should deal with language issues to provide quality services. The management of

those social services, whether it is education, health service, market deals, media, etc., is not, however, without a problem to governments, individuals, or any other concerned body in multilingual situations. Governments, institutions or individuals consider management of multilingualism to be significant, and they formally or informally attempt to pass decisions on the form of a language to be used in the provisions of those services.

One of the mechanisms used to limit a language or a form of a language to be used for various development purposes is language standardization. Expanding the function of a certain form to different places and users is the major goal of language standardization. It is a process which changes the role of a language in a society and minimizes variation (Deumert, 2004:3) in it as well as in the linguistic habitus of different social groups. So, by operating inside many social related issues, language standardization becomes not only a linguistic question but also a social concern. Social conditions in which language standardization operates differ from place to place. Sociolinguistic studies are, therefore, accountable to reveal the social conditions that lay the grounds for the standardization of a particular language (Bourdieu, 1991:61).

To this end, theoretical underpinnings pertinent to the concept of language standardization are presented in this chapter of related literature. The literature contains various overlapping and sometimes conflicting arguments about language standardization. There was an effort throughout the chapter to contextualize major concepts in order to locate this research under a workable frame of reference.

2.1. The Interplay between Language and Society

In a sociolinguistic study, it is a common and significant practice to state the different ways language is related to society. A brief introduction of language and society in this research is believed to establish a base to social aspects of a language. The two entities, language and society, have subsisted together since the evolution of human kind and cannot be separated in any attempt. Language does not exist on a vacuum as an object isolated from its speakers/owners. It is attached to a society in many ways, and Wardhaugh (2006: 9) suggests that a language investigation should be devoted to address the social aspects of the language in concern. The meaning of a language is

deeply found in the living system of its users, and it is important to find the meanings a society attaches to its language which in turn informs one about the ascribed designation of diverse users.

One of the social phenomena that connects language and society, for example, is human identity. Scholars have noted that a language has become the prominent feature and an essential factor of human identity. In line with this, Fitch (2010: 1) determines, "Language, more than anything else, is what makes us human. It appears that no communication system of equivalent power exists elsewhere in the animal kingdom." Languages people use define them best as humans since it reveals their capacity to communicate highly complex concepts among themselves.

It is obvious that all living things own a means of communication, but it is human communication that has developed into a complex system of interaction through time to make them unique from other creatures. That system of communication also serves as a means of signaling specific identities of the users.

One major concern of linguists has recently become to uncover how language and society interact. Wardhaugh (2006: 9-11) discusses that the relationship between language and society is believed to be a multi-directional one. As to him, linguists view that the linguistic items of a language can influence the social structure or vice versa. On the other hand, social structure and linguistic items may influence each other or may not be related at all, like that of the approach followed by Noam Chomsky to language study. Hudson (1996: 21) lists linguistic items that constitute a language to be "lexical items, sounds and constructions." Further, social structures, which sociologists use to study society, are "identity, power, class, status, solidarity, accommodation, face, gender, politeness, etc." The correlation between these two broad sciences, that is linguistic items and social structures, is fundamental in sociolinguistic studies that could come under micro-sociolinguistics and macro-sociolinguistics boundaries.

The term 'sociolinguistics' refers to the micro aspect and 'the sociology of language' to mean the macro aspect of language and society relationships. Wardhaugh (2006: 13) describes the conceptual distinction between the two boundaries as follows:

Some investigators have found it appropriate to try to introduce a distinction between *sociolinguistics* or *micro sociolinguistics* and the *sociology of language* or *macro-sociolinguistics*. In this distinction, sociolinguistics is concerned with investigating the relationships between language and society with the goal being

a better understanding of the structure of language and of how languages function in communication; the equivalent goal in the sociology of language is trying to discover how social structure can be better understood through the study of language, e.g., how certain linguistic features serve to characterize particular social arrangements.

In micro sociolinguistics, social structures are used to explore linguistic variations in communications. By doing so, researchers document how a language is influenced by variations in the social structure like age, gender, geography, style etc. Similarly, macro studies apply linguistic principles to understand broader social scenarios of a language. They explore the social meanings anchored in diverse items of a language. Both fields operate under language and society scenario, but their distinction lies on what a researcher emphasizes based on the expertise they hold. Hudson (1996: 4) locates the difference between sociolinguistics and the sociology of language to be “very much one of emphasis, according to whether the investigator is more interested in language or society, and also according to whether they have more skill in analyzing linguistic or social structures.” Studies may come under one of these fields based on the priorities researchers set in mind. Accordingly, as a study of language and society which emphasizes on the social aspects of a language, this dissertation falls in macro-sociolinguistics boundary.

2.2. Indexing (Ethnic) Identity in Language (Use)

It has been mentioned in the preceding section that language is a major feature that identifies people, in general terms, from other living things. Particularly, people use a language or a form of a language, among other mechanisms, to mark their distinct social identities that make them the same or different from one another. With a language, one can index age, gender, ethnicity and many more identities. Fought (2006:20) considers, “Language must provide ways of reflecting and constructing the many facets of our identities, and of course it does.” It can be noticed that a language does not only light cues on one’s identity, it also constructs it. One of the types of identities that have received wider recognition to be widely connected to one’s language use is the ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity can be signaled by using various linguistic and cultural resources that could range from a dialect to smaller language units. Fought (2006:20) exemplifies:

a person who happens to be African-American, for example, is very likely to index his or her ethnicity through language in some way, whether by using a particular dialect (or range of dialects), following certain norms for discourse, or participating in oral traditions such as call and response.

Fought, further, extends the scope of language use and ethnicity and says that there are many research works to confirm that speakers use “heritage languages,” “code-switching,” “specific linguistic features,” “suprasegmental and discourse features,” and “borrowed varieties” to value and construct their ethnic identities. These language resources are applied to consolidate or share ethnic identity of language users, or at the same time they can be manipulated to mark a distinct ethnic identity one holds and to show its value at a given language use setting.

Similarly, in sociolinguistics, various levels of linguistic features have been broadly used to study the language practice of groups organized in age, gender, or ethnicity within a particular language, while code-switching or borrowing are common in inter language communications.

With regard to this, Wolfram (2007:78) identifies:

In the case of different languages, speakers may make symbolic choices in their language use or manage code switching to signal ethnic identity (e.g. Zentella 1997), while in the case of intra-language variation the manipulation of particular phonological, morphosyntactic, or discourse variables may be used to signal ethnic affiliation.

A language in general and any of its features in particular are endowed with the power and the resources to reflect one’s connection to a certain ethnic group or identity. Both language and its items are equally significant for speakers to recognize their ethnic or other sorts of identity. In many situations, national languages are used to build national or ethnic identity of speakers. This ideology has, especially, been popular in Europe and Asia where establishing a state took the strategy of having citizens who can speak and are identified under one language. In those settings, names of languages have corresponded to names of countries or identities of the citizens who build up the nation (Ferguson, 2006:2). The objective of creating social or national integration with a unified language is accomplished through a process called language standardization. Many diverse concepts related to language standardization are, hence, discussed in the coming sections of this chapter.

2.3. Language Standardization in Language Planning

In places where many language varieties exist, governments or individuals in their actions tend to choose a language or a language form for development. They attempt to allocate various functions to the form chosen and expect ease of communication among a community of speakers. Such decisions commonly referred to as language planning (LP) decisions that specify the form applied in different social spheres become pivotal in many multilingual circumstances and constitute an essential portion of contemporary discussions in the field of sociolinguistics.

Language planning is considered as a deliberate action of allocating various social and instrumental functions to a language/s (Cooper, 1989: 35, Wardhaugh, 2006: 356). Language planning is set in four types of planning activities namely status planning, corpus planning, language- in- education planning and prestige planning (Cooper, 1989:35 and Baldauf, 2006:149). Ferguson (2006:1) extends the scope of language planning to include studies that commit themselves to explore language planning practices of different nations. Ferguson (2006:1) cites Christian (1989: 193) and considers, "Language planning denotes both language planning practices, that is, organized interventions by politicians, linguists and others in language use and form, and the academic discipline whose subject matter is the study of these practices."

Status planning as defined by Ferguson (2006:32) is, " intervention targeted at the societal functions of language – usually involves simultaneous activity across several social domains: the workplace, local government, the family/home, the law, the media, education and so on." The term is used to refer to the deployment of a language/s in several official and private settings. It denotes the activities involved in escalating the social position of a language in different domains. Cooper (1989:99) views that the social roles a language plays on certain domains may develop from every day practices like the use of Kiswahili in business communications in East Africa for example:

... the spread of Kiswahili for economic functions in Eastern Africa was the unpremeditated result of expanded trade within a linguistically diverse region. In contrast, the spread of that language for political, educational, and religious functions was the result of deliberate policy (Mazrui and Zirimu, 1978).

As can be understood from the quote, commercial movements have created the situation for Kiswahili to develop as a language of trade. On the contrary, the use of Kiswahili language in

politics, religion, education and other sectors in the region was a deliberate action of politicians, and this latter allocation of functions to Kiswahili, says Cooper (1989:99), is what is termed as status planning.

The other language planning type, corpus planning is the codification of a language in several publications. Cooper (1989: 122-125) cites corpus planning endeavors of different languages like Hebrew and Irish and puts that one of the goals which corpus planning sets to achieve is language standardization (see also Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 65). A corpus planning activity brings linguistic as well as social changes to a language. In more clear words, both of the planning types are interconnected that the presence of one creates an environment for the presence of the other. The tasks could be of primary interests for various social groups. According to Ferguson (2006: 21), corpus planning requires individuals with some linguistic knowledge, but status of a language is planned by politicians and administrators. Ferguson (2006:21) fears that although corpus planning and status planning are presumed to be carried out by different agents and one builds on the other, both of the planning decisions are usually dominated by social conditions:

It would be unhelpful, however, to overplay the distinction, useful though it is, for not only are corpus and status planning intertwined – changes in the form of a language being a usual prerequisite of its allocation to new functions – but both are typically driven by political considerations extending well beyond language per se.

The quote points that it is not only a status planning that is affected by political climates a language survives in but the corpus of a language is also influenced by the political movements the language operates in. It can also be noted that a change in one aspect of a language implies on a change in the other. When the corpus of a language is codified and developed in different ways, it gets attention from writers and politicians and starts to hold an important place in social life. Similarly, if the functional status of a language in a society is changed, it soon starts to own the attention of many political or individual agents. It seems, therefore, acceptable to view that language standardization is situated at all levels of language planning activities. In one way or in another, the whole concepts of language planning are connected with standardization processes.

One of the phenomena that relates language standardization to status planning is the allocation of official roles to a language. Garvin (1993:40) takes a stance that languages selected to play an official role need to be standardized in order to fulfill the required official or national roles:

Although standardization does not in and of itself constitute a defining criterion for the notion of either official language or national language, it still plays a very important part in their functioning. Given the multiple and complex uses of these two types of languages in the modern world it is difficult to meet these purposes without having achieved the high degree of standardization demanded by them particularly with regard to intellectualization.

The idea reflected in the text is that if a language is allocated to function in official or national settings, it has to be standardized to the extent the new official domains require and to achieve the goals set at official or national levels.

Language standardization studies can rely on the findings of language planning researches for theoretical frames. Language planning can be approached at national level or at the level of the development of a particular language in a particular speech community. Studies that focus on language planning at micro level build themselves on the findings of national language planning studies. A language standardization research, hence, is a micro level planning study of individual languages. It can establish itself on the theories, frameworks and models drawn from analysis of the macro language planning experiences at large or national level (Baldauf, 2006:148). Coulmas (1998: 11) also states language planning areas as, “Language planning operates on the micro- and macro-levels of sociolinguistics dealing with such issues as graphization, standardization, lexical augmentation on one hand, and status, prestige, and the functional allocation of languages in a society on the other.” Language standardization study is, so, a micro aspect of different language planning activities.

2.4. Defining Language Standardization

Language standardization, sometimes referred to as LS, encompasses multifaceted notions. It refers to the processes of selecting a norm of a language, establishing its rules of use through codification and elaborating its lexis and functions into different social domains. Different perspectives forwarded by scholars of the field about the theme and its components are briefly discussed next. For Wardhaugh (2006: 33), language standardization is “...the process by which

a language has been codified in some way. That process usually involves the development of such things as grammars, spelling books, and dictionaries, and possibly a literature.” From the definition, one can understand first that language standardization is not a state of a language that occurs all at once. It is rather taken as a process that needs time, space and energy. Since language is very complex and its relationship to a society is intricate, “the possibility to limit the prevailing forms of grammar and vocabulary” for the codification process is not an option but a necessity (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997:66).

The process of standardization by codifying a language in different materials is often associated with social, political and economic stakes of individuals, institutions or governments. Apart from the linguistic significances, language standardization motivated by those stakes may also result in labeling of forms as correct or ‘normal’ uses and incorrect or ‘abnormal’ uses. In this sense, for Ferguson (1968:31), language standardization becomes “... the process of one variety of a language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supra- dialectal norm – the “best” form of the language rated above regional and societal dialects.” The forms of a language established as “correct” uses in the process of standardization gain a higher status as compared to the others which are destined out of public use with those discrimination tactics.

Milroy (2001:530) calls the tradition of associating a “best” use to a standard dialect as a “standard language culture” which constitutes the language ideology of most standard language speakers like that of English, French, and Spanish. These languages have managed to develop a standard dialect that everyone perceives as “super”ior to the other dialects/ sometimes languages that the standardization process has not considered. The standard language culture is a tendency to consider one form of a language to be the only correct way of saying things. At the same time, other options are viewed as violations of the commonly established standard. This tendency of considering some forms the only legitimate speech forms is also held by speakers of languages which are under the process of standardization.

There is no linguistic base that makes some languages or forms of a language “best uses” or standards. They receive such positive social evaluations only because those forms are favored by a group politically or economically significant, and probably they are the languages of those groups. This can be understood from Bloomfield's (1959: 288) definition of standard languages

as, “are favored dialects which, either in written form alone or also in oral, are used all over a dialectally differentiated territory.” The dialects are given priorities for the social roles they occupy. Milroy (2001:535) explains further that the ideology of correctness “... takes the form that when entailed in the standard variety, it is ascribed to its speakers instead of the language.” That means standard language speakers consider themselves to be the ones who can use the language “correctly” while others to lack that quality in their language use. When language standardization is used as a means to determine correct and incorrect uses of a language, it becomes as, Shohamy (2006: 31) states, a mechanism of “... legitimizing certain forms of language as ‘acceptable’ as opposed to others that were not, i.e., pure and impure languages, pure and impure people.”

Through standardization, a particular language or dialect may become a means of everyday communication. The language or the uses backed up by the standardization process mediate interlocutors of incomprehensible dialects. Bloomfield (1959: 289) believes:

Gradually it comes that members of two dialects that are perhaps with difficulty intelligible to each other, will use, in speaking together, the same favored dialect, though it is native to neither of them, until at last it may become a second language for formal and non-local discourse all over the area. Soon there will be speakers in many parts of the country who can speak only the favored dialect.

One can understand from the citation that language standardization is capable of changing the speech behavior of a society. A society or a group of society who have been using certain languages or language forms prefer the standard forms to communicate to different social members in mainly formal settings. When the society persists to use standard forms, there is the risk that local forms end up being forgotten and become no one’s language.

Though language standardization may have positive or negative impact on social life of a group or individuals, the whole concept cannot be entirely rejected. Constructively, language standardization, if the process allows the participation of various social groups and their uses, is significant to establish “basic levels of mutual understanding” among speakers of diverse languages or language varieties. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:66) relate standardization to creating effective communication:

Whereas standardisation is an important function in maintaining operative communication, if communicants become engrossed in a concern about each

others' correctness, it is likely that communication will be severely impaired. Correctness plays an essential role in communication, but communication can (and does frequently) occur with limited correctness. Standardisation, in language planning terms, is not about correctness for its own sake, but about achieving a basis for effective communication.

From the text, it is clear that some areas of interaction require standardization in order to create effective communication among speakers. The grounds for common understanding indeed demand a relative consistency of language use or standardization, so that social meanings of a message stay clear and unambiguous across time and space. Particularly, in institutional communications, language standardization sets mutual understanding between partners about the activities they carry out (Milroy, 2007:134).

In addition to the mutual understanding of information, language communication needs a shared knowledge of the social roles of the language like identity, culture, education, etc. This shared sense of social values is effectively achieved by the consensus communicants reach. Basic level of communication is, in turn, realized when every language or its varieties can equally contribute to the process of establishing a language common to all speakers. No form of a language and its speakers become superior/ correct or inferior/incorrect to qualify for the standardization if the process equally values all social assets (Elkartea, 2010:61). Based on the concepts revised so far, this research maintains the conviction that language standardization is a gradual process of changing a hitherto spoken language into writing to lay the basic grounds for common understanding among speakers of diverse dialects (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 67). In situations where the language in concern is multidialectal and a social concern, standardization should consider the social meanings attached to the dialects of the language and represent their basic features in the process.

2.5. Should a Language be Standardized?

Language standardization has been undertaken for various purposes pertinent to the real situation of speakers or sometimes standardizers. It has mainly been considered to be the work of language academies, but it is accepted that language standardization is also a concern of governments, institutions, individuals, language societies, and other groups whose job interacts with a particular language. Holmes (2013: 115) acknowledges the roles of individuals as, "Language academies have existed for centuries, but it is also true that individuals have often

had an enormous influence on language planning, and especially on the standardization or codification of a particular variety." It is obvious that in many circumstances, language academies are after all set by governments or formal bodies driven by social or political plans. That means governments also put their hands on language standardization activities. Further, individuals, like writers, actors, musicians, creators or innovators in different areas play a great role in the standardization process of a language.

One of the languages that reached a standard level through the contribution of individuals is English. Ferguson (2006:23) clarifies the historical development of Standard English as follows:

The standardising process is generally thought to have commenced in the Renaissance period with Caxton's introduction of printing to England in 1476 and his adoption of the prestigious south-east Midlands variety, centered on London, as the basis of the print language. The position and prestige of this variety was steadily entrenched by its use in administration and literary production (e.g. in the works of Spenser, Marlowe and Shakespeare).

As can be seen, the standardization phase of English has begun during when Caxton started publishing materials in it. These materials spread the codified variety over different parts of the country. Ferguson (2006:24) also notes that the form of the language used in the publications was also used in literary works, dictionaries and was preferred by the administration. The materials accelerated the standardization of the English forms by positively building their images in the materials and by eliminating the other dialects from public uses through negative evaluations or negative remarks.

Similarly Ivar Aasen, the Norwegian linguist and poet, was the father of one of the Norwegian standard forms namely Nynorsk (Jahr, 2003). Aasen personally navigated several rural dialects of Norway to construct a standard written language. He then codified these rural dialects in his grammar book published in 1864 and a dictionary of 1873 (Ferguson, 2006:24). Today, Nynorsk is one of the legitimate written standards of Norway.

Language academies were also set to handle standardization of languages. One of the well known academies is Academie Francaise, which was first set up as Accademia della Crusca in 1572 by a group of individual writers up until it was turned out to be a governmental institution in 1963 (Ferguson, 2006:26). The role of the organization was, "to purify the vernacular, expand its functions and regulate the language so as to 'render it pure, eloquent and capable of treating

the arts and sciences." French was the vernacular language of France where different groups fight with the royal king for power. Copper (1989: 5) discusses that to end that civil war and to create order in the country, the leaders wanted to use French as a language of unity and identity capable to displace the standard Latin. At the same time, Accademia della Crusca was renamed as Academie Francaise and required to play significant role in making French a standard language of the French nation.

Other wide scale social factors had great contribution in the standardization process of languages. In some contexts, mainly in Europe, language standardization was meant to build an independent state where people had one language and identity. Like in the case of France where many aboriginal varieties were believed to be spoken, French was selected and standardized to be the national language of all French citizens (Bourdieu, 1991). Haugen (1966: 930) connects the establishment of French nationality directly to the standardization of the language, "In France, as in other countries, the process of standardization was intimately tied to the history of the nation itself. As the people developed a sense of cohesion around a common government, their language became a vehicle and a symbol of their unity." Cooper (1989:5) also points, "After eight religious and civil wars, there was a growing body of opinion in France that disorder was dangerous." So, the language was the major tool that helped to overcome the prevailed disorder and construct a common state.

Languages were also standardized to maintain solidarity or diversity of one nation from the other. For instance, Jahr (2003:331) explains, after their independence from Denmark in 1814, Norway did not have a "linguistic basis for a Norwegian national consciousness" and so continued using written Danish in schools and other settings. Through time, Norwegians felt that " it was unworthy of an independent nation that its written standard was a foreign one (i.e. Danish)." Due to such developments in the linguistic needs of the society, Ivar Aasen formed the Nynorsk written standard from dialects spoken in the rural areas of Norway. The idea was that Norwegians could use a standard language created from dialects considered to be the "real" Norwegian dialects instead of Bokmål a standard language of Danish origin (Jahr, 2003: 332). By forming a standard written language from the rural dialects, Aasen wanted to establish a standard that ensures the independence and difference of Norwegian from the Danish language.

On the other hand, Indonesia and Malaysia have been trying to have a common standard language to strengthen their Islamic religious bond (Wardhaugh, 2006:3).

Language standardization has also played a great role to preserve or revitalize minority or endangered languages in many countries or societies. Holmes (2013: 116) even thinks that the focus of language planning works has gradually shifted "... from the promotion of national and official languages in countries trying to establish their autonomy, to include concern for minority and endangered languages." It is known that many languages of the world have remained underdeveloped and their societies have used other languages whose forms and functions have expanded well. The effort to develop the languages has been very low for many years, and the respective speakers have lived far from development. To change this situation, many countries have focused on the standardization of their local languages, and such organized governmental efforts were believed to be significant for the development of the languages. Holmes (2013: 66) informs us saying, "Institutional support generally makes the difference between success and failure in maintaining a minority group language. Education, law and administration, religion and the media are crucial domains from this point of view." Through the process of standardization and consolidation, minority languages are brought to these social domains. Haugen (1966) also indicates that when nations declared to have become independent states, they faced the problem of language choice which leaves them with choosing the dominant languages or their own vernaculars. Haugen (1966:229) suggests, "The alternative is to develop one's own language, as Finland did in the 19th century, Israel did in the 20th." The language that Israel standardized and revitalized in the formation of the nation was Hebrew. Hebrew has been brought into the modern life of the Israel society by standardization of its forms and expansion of its functions into several social domains.

Elkartea (2010:14) also believes that standardization of languages and their placement to serve in the social domains is significant for the its sustainability:

Every country in the world have realized long ago that in order for a language to remain strong and healthy, we must look after its trunk, and that it is very difficult for a language to survive unless it is used in education, cultural transmission, mass media and the public administration. in order to be able to teach or give information in one's own language, it must be possible to write it, and to write it in a common code accepted and shared by its speakers.

What can be inferred from the quote is that as languages share the dynamic aspect of this world, they are vulnerable to extinction unless their attachment to the social life is strong enough. One of the ways to help a language survive over its speakers is to allow it to serve in different meaningful social domains and to standardize it in writing.

This language-society attachment is established by policy decisions. Education, for instance, is one of the dimensions in which policy decisions show the relationship between language and society (Spolsky 2004: 46, Liddicoat, 2004:154), and the language of education policy determines languages to be used as a means of knowledge transfer. Education is the best mechanism to make a society participate in development endeavors to the required level, and using indigenous languages is believed to enhance public participation. It is the channel to address new science and technology to a society, and indigenous languages which are brought to function in the education sector serve as vehicles of the new sciences and technologies. A standardization of orthography, grammar and vocabulary becomes essential when languages take social roles on this level (Kamwangamalu, 1998:200). In the school domain where students with different linguistic backgrounds are found, putting a standard written and spoken language is also accepted to be vital. The presence of a standard language in the school system creates ease of communication among different language speakers. Linguistic diversity is highly celebrated in the present era, but it bears some challenges in multilingual settings unless a standard language is there to bridge communication. In relation to the need for standardization in multilingual situations, Ginsburgh and Weber (2010:27) say:

In many situations, there is a repeated claim that extensive usage of various languages and excessive multilingualism restrict the ability of citizens to communicate with each other and dilutes the sense of national unity and identity. Thus, some degree of linguistic standardization is essential to balance linguistic rights with requirements of economic efficiency and a proper organization of the society.

The idea one can get from this assertion is that reasonable language standardization serves as a symbol for social unity and identity. A common standard language can be understood as a source of social unity and strength. It helps the society to exercise their linguistic rights and provides them with the chance to compete in the global economy in their own language. This language

development in turn entails change in the status of the languages that positively shapes social attitude towards using the languages in other social domains (Lane, 2014:4).

Further, indigenous language standardization and the allocation of them to serve as vehicles of education imply the transmission and expansion of indigenous culture and values as well. Bourdieu (1991:61) makes the following connection between knowledge of language and knowledge of culture:

The laws of the transmission of linguistic capital are a particular case of the laws of the legitimate transmission of cultural capital between the generations, and it may therefore be posited that the linguistic competence measured by academic criteria depends, like the other dimensions of cultural capital, on the level of education (measured in terms of qualifications obtained) and on the social trajectory.

The transmission of language resources into generations is transmission of cultural assets of speakers as languages are the main bearers of social culture. Through education, the social culture accumulated in the languages is developed and promoted. Societies who use their language as a vehicle of knowledge transmission, then, can shape content in their own indigenous ways.

On the other hand, those forced to put up with a standard language that is different from the one they use in their every day linguistic practices do not have the opportunity to live in their social trajectory. This definitely reduces the quality of education provided to them. The culminating effect of language disparity between the education system and the social practice is, therefore, a decline of achievement in many development areas. Bourdieu (1991:62) further argues, "The combined effect of low cultural capital and the associated low propensity to increase it through educational investment condemns the least favored classes to the negative sanctions of the scholastic market, i.e. exclusion or early self-exclusion induced by lack of success." So, it can be concluded that indigenous knowledge and culture can be sustained through the languages standardized and put into the education system.

Language standardization has also helped to create a writing system for languages which lack an orthography. Spolsky and Shohamy (2000:15) state that planning the corpus of various languages is primarily aimed at forming a writing system to unwritten languages. In the spoken

practice, users implement a language variedly and this cannot be avoided nor controlled. At the same time, it is equally important to select essential elements of these variations and portray the language in writing which would facilitate its standardization. For example, the need to write and read in indigenous languages was the major reason for language standardization in Africa. At earlier times, missionaries played a great role in the standardization of many colonized African languages. The missionaries wanted the local people to read religious texts in their own languages (Spolsky, 2004:27). But, that standardization endeavor was quite limited to a constricted religious purpose and was not sufficient enough to combat all the language related development problems the continent encountered.

A lot of problems directly or indirectly related to the languages overwhelm the situation of many African nations. According to Webb and Sure (2000:3), the language related problems that surrounded African languages include, "The uncertainty some people feel about the appropriate way to speak in formal or public situations, or the appropriate way to write formally (language standardization/the norms of language; the unwillingness some people feel about using their own languages in public places." Many African languages have stayed under these language related problems for a long time. These problems have been bottlenecks to use the indigenous African languages in education, media, and science and technology areas. In order to overcome these challenges, the languages needed to go into the process of standardization which would transit them from a vernacular to a standard level of status.

The standardization of a language for various social functions should be built up on social consensus. Since a language is socially situated and operates in context (Lane, 2014:5), there should be an agreement on depicting several new or old concepts with culturally and spiritually favorable expressions in formal settings to keep social communication coherent and organized under a common aim. Hence, a socially situated language standardization that endeavors to encourage a society to participate in the global linguistic capital is not an option, but it is what we need.

2.5.1. The Role of Society in Language Standardization

It is plausible to heed that languages should be standardized to increase social involvement and participation in the overall economic, political and social development process of a nation. The

fundamental factor to address language issues of a society is to work closely with the target people. Webb and Sure (2000: 3) reveal social contexts of a language to be the sources of solutions to language related challenges: "We can solve language-related societal problems only if we can understand how language works in society." Language standardization that operates in accordance with social attitudes, needs or interests can help to achieve the goals of effective language planning.

Active participation of the target society in the process is a fundamental factor that guarantees acceptance to the selected standard language. Unlike the standardization of other concrete objects which might be fine with less social participation and high authoritative involvement, language standardization should represent high social involvement and high authoritative commitment. Røynealand (2013: 54) supposes that the task of standard Norwegian language reform in Norway has gained a considerable acceptance by the speech community due to the fact that the process has included views from different social groups of the target language.

If social attitudes are the cornerstones of language standardization, there will not be any discrepancy between the standardization efforts and the public interests. Spolsky (2007:2) mentions that as a social phenomenon, language standardization policy relies on the "consensual behaviors and beliefs of individual members of the speech community." The success of language standardization depends highly on the degree it includes social needs and linguistic behaviors. If the standardization process considers ideas of the groups of speakers, there is high possibility for the standard language to be accepted in areas it is implemented. The process should not only include few experts and few politicians, but rather should represent experiences of people from different walks of life.

The needs and linguistic practices of a speech community can be understood from its written or unwritten language practices demonstrated in "everyday communication, public signs, businesses or religious activities (Spolsky, 2004:3)". Descriptive linguistics documents are also significant sources of information about the linguistic features the concerned society exercises in communication. In addition, sociolinguistic researches can also provide valuable information about public views on language development. The possibility to consider social related language concerns makes the standard language closer to the language the society implements in every day communication. If language standardization fails to handle social needs and simply imposes a

standard on the speakers, it remains alien to the intended users and implementation of a standard language on different social domains faces a serious social resistance (Lane, 2014: 3).

The problem with many language standardization practices is that they do not include social needs and experiences. Many language standardization activities are not open to the wider public and do not participate target societies well to the required level. This kind of standardization brings unexpected result and may damage language values instead of preserving it. Deumert and Vandebussche (2003:464) are even uncertain that standardization of this kind preserves languages:

It is also possible that standardization — especially if it is not carried out with the active participation of speakers and close attention to their needs and interests — might actually accelerate the gradual disappearance of the complex spoken language ecologies which keep unstandardized languages alive.

It is obvious that several languages of the world have survived extinction mainly because they are spoken by their societies. The spoken domain perpetuates the diverse forms of the language from generation to generation. The authors seem to warn that standardization activities performed without paying due attention to the ecology of the language, like its speakers, its variations and relationships among them, may continue to dominate the every ay practices of a society and in the end is capable of perishing the diverse linguistic forms of a language. Asocial language standardization approach can also be a potential threat not only to the diverse linguistic assets but also to the cultural and historical wealth they bear. It can cause enormous chaos and paves ways to drastic social crisis that may have far reaching effects.

It is, therefore, significant to highlight that the effectiveness of language standardization mainly relies on the will and expectations of the speakers. The standardization efforts should trace the will societies hold on the standardization of their language, and they should base the process on those social expectations. At different times language scholars have proposed different ways which they believed are important to effective standardization. The ideologies are based on the perspectives held towards languages and the functions it plays in the society. The following section raises different issues pertaining to language standardization approaches.

2.6. Approaches to Language Standardization

Language planning endeavors have been influenced by three conceptual frameworks of language orientations. With regard to this idea, Ruiz (1984:15) states, “Basic orientations toward a language and its role in society influence the nature of language planning efforts in any particular context.” Before discussing on the basic language standardization approaches, it seems reasonable to overview the language orientations which embrace the underlying principles of particular language standardization practices.

2.6.1. Orientations in Language planning

Ruiz (1984:15) identifies three orientations toward a language. These are language as problem, language as right and language as resource. Ruiz (1984:18-21) discusses that at the beginning, researchers and language planners have approached the prevalence of many languages in a community as a cause of several social and individual problems such as lack of efficient communication among societies. McNelly (2015:4) names the assumptions that lead language as a problem orientation as “deficit thinking.” This assumption considers individuals who do not use standard languages to be surrounded by several socio economic problems. It takes multilingual students and workers to have less cognitive capacity and less effective than the monolingual ones. Language planning activities are then meant to alleviate such problems caused by multilingualism by forming a standard language which every member of a community can effectively use. After such movements, language experts realized that one’s legal rights are related to language rights. Access to education and legal documents in one’s own language was considered to be a language right. Taking on this assumption into consideration, many nations have declared the use of different languages in education and other formal official settings.

More recently, language views have been oriented towards language as a resource. Ruiz (1984:25) proposes that language as a resource orientations help to overcome the shortcomings noted in the other two perspectives:

...a closer look at the idea of language as resource could reveal some promise for alleviating some of the conflicts emerging out of the other two orientations: it can have a direct impact on enhancing the language status of subordinate languages; it can help to ease tensions between majority and minority communities; it can serve as a more consistent way of viewing the role of non-

English languages in U.S. society; and it highlights the importance of cooperative language planning.

This orientation of language standardization is viewed as a more workable scientific approach to empower non standard languages. It puts that languages have to be planned and standardized not only because it is the speakers' rights to have a standard language, but also the languages and their varieties are resources of information and play a great role in national development. One can infer from the orientation's perspective that languages deserve development and standardization even if their speakers do not claim their legal rights of documents and education in mother tongue. It is possible to think that documentation of endangered or dying languages have become very popular in recent times for they are considered to be human resources.

Earlier practices of language standardization which viewed multilingualism as a problem exercised a systematic imposition of a standard language on a multilingual and multicultural society. This kind of language standardization did not give considerable space and power to societies and to their needs and attitudes. Embracing social needs and practices was not a major consideration in the process. And, hence, scholars saw the need to formulate a new frame of language standardization (Baldauf, 2006:152). In what follows, two views are framed towards language standardization. The first view is the one which emphasizes on the social roles of language standardization, and the second view considers language ecology to be the centerpiece of language standardization.

2.6.2. Emphasis over the symbolic Functions of a Standard Language

At a time multilingualism was considered as a social challenge, the central role of language standardization was to establish a national or an official language. The standard language was given various social functions. A language was developed for wider national level or for official purpose. Dominant languages are randomly selected to play wider national or social roles without consideration of the environment they exist. For instance, Holmes (2013: 107 -132) illustrates the language planning situation of Tanzania, Norway and Israel where a standard language is used as a means of building national unity and identity among multilingual speakers. These practices focused on the standardization of national languages that create unified citizens of a nation.

Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008:3) describe:

Traditionally language planning research has focused on the actions of governments and similar macro-level institutions. Language planning as an academic discipline began in the context of nation-state formation following the end of colonialism ...The chief concerns were related to issues of creating national unity and developing and maintaining effective communication within emerging nations.

The authors explain that at a time when forming a nation was the primary goal of language planning and standardization, national level efforts and activities were emphasized. Selection and standardization of only one national language in a multilingual setting was believed to be a safer means of establishing a state than to promote more languages in different social settings.

According to Garvin (1993:40), development of the structural property of the standard language, expanding its functions and generating favorable attitudes are taken to be the main aspects of language standardization in the general national endeavors. The functional view asserts that through standardization, the language is placed to serve in many domains and its structure is changed by receiving new linguistic forms which enable it to carry out new roles. Eventually, change in the language's structure and its function trigger various kinds of new attitudes towards the language and its dialects. Holmes (2013:107) also points out that developing a code or a variety for official use "involves issues relating to the form of the variety, the functions it serves, and the attitudes that people hold towards it." This means that language standardization has got to build a form of a language which structures and functions are expanded into different settings. These structural and functional expansions are the major factors to establish attitudes towards the language.

The functional approach of language standardization illustrates that uniformity of use inferred in language standardization is not the only criterion of a standard language. The most important aspect of standardization is empowering the structure of the language and building its capacity to serve as a channel of "complex kinds of communication" i.e. higher education, media, science and technology, etc (Garvin, 1993:37). Education, media, and science and technology always change and improve their state. As human civilization changes in the contemporary world, these settings renovate to adapt to the changing needs of societies in the modern world. The argument

on the approach is that only a language that is endowed with the necessary resources can manage to survive in these modern fields.

Administrative communication, education, media, science and technology indeed require the presence of a standard variety. A standard form enables a speech community to experience the benefits of modernization through its own language than through another standard language. Garvin (1993:39) confirms that extending one's own language to various social and cultural domains is only attained through having a standard form. Elkarte (2010:16) also puts, in the contexts where more than one language exist, "...if a language is unable to progress up the staircase [of language functions], this means that it is in a minority situation since there is another language that takes up the space it ought to be occupying." What follows is that if a language is chosen to perform in the upper social domains, it necessarily needs to go under a process of standardization. Unless local languages are equipped with the required resources, those levels of function will remain preserved for languages with standard forms.

It is also important to note that social attitude is a decisive factor in the implementation of a language in various contexts. By expanding the role of a language into different domains like media, education, or other public places, it could be possible to build positive social attitude towards using and learning the language. Placing the language on the higher levels of communication implies granting it a higher status. When the status of the language is changed, social attitude towards it will also improve. Change in the status and social attitude towards a language may accelerate acceptance of the language in various fields like in mother tongue education (Kamwangamalu, 1998: 201).

Most of the language standardization practices of Africa were held with the ideology of functional expansion of the respective languages. The officials and experts focused mainly on using the languages as channels of education, media information and technology. For example, Ouane (1991: 4) points out that the key issue which insisted on language standardization in Mali was the intention to capacitate the orthography of the language to ensure adequate information in written communication and education. However, there still remains a question on the structural development of the languages and the production of social attitudes towards them. The languages

are yet to go more development process to play significant roles in the economy of the respective countries or elsewhere.

2.6.3. Language in Ecology Approach

Though the functionalist framework includes valuable concepts regarding the development of a language structure, its function and attitudes towards the language, it does not take social language practices as accounts of language standardization process.

The language in ecology approach, on the other hand, maintains that languages should not be standardized in haste just for the sake of expanding their national functions and for solving communication problems in multilingual nations. Though using a local language in wider social domains and standardization are essential, languages also exist in ecology and language standardization should consider that ecology. Hornberger (2002:35), one of the known language ecologist, suggests that language planning should not separate the language from its ecology (environment). That is to say languages are planned and standardized based on the social context they exist. When a language is selected for national development, in addition to the function it plays, its relationship to other languages and to the society should be dealt with. That means the language ecology should be taken as a resource to social development. Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008: 9) also emphasize that languages function in a limited context:

Language is something with which individuals and communities engage daily in ways which are not relevant to national level objectives and processes. Each language exists in its own local language ecology and it is in relation to these ecologies that at least some language planning activity must be carried out to resolve local problems and address local needs.

Haugen (1972:57) puts language ecology to be a field which examines “interactions between any given languages and its environment.” It is everything about the society that uses it as a means of communication. It can be said that the focus of the ecological approach is on the speakers and their relationship to the language, their needs and experiences. In language standardization process, one is expected to find out what a society does with its language and what meaning a language holds to the society. The task is believed to achieve its goal when it closely works with different groups of the speech community (Schiffman, 1996: 4).

Sociolinguistic studies that scrutinize micro language planning practices situated at particular settings are thought to be contributions to the language in ecology approach. Haugen (1972:58) points out that psycholinguistics, ethno linguistics, sociolinguistics studies are all ecological considerations of a language. Baldauf (2006:153) also mentions that in language planning, such an ecological approach has been first used in the study of the planning of the French language in Quebec, Canada. In addition, recent studies compiled in Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008) examine language planning activities on local contexts of different countries.

In order to frame successful language standardization, sociolinguistics should take a balanced and multidisciplinary approach. Language standardization activities can benefit from both functional and ecological assumptions. Significant factors one needs to consider in language standardization endeavors are portrayed in the following diagram.

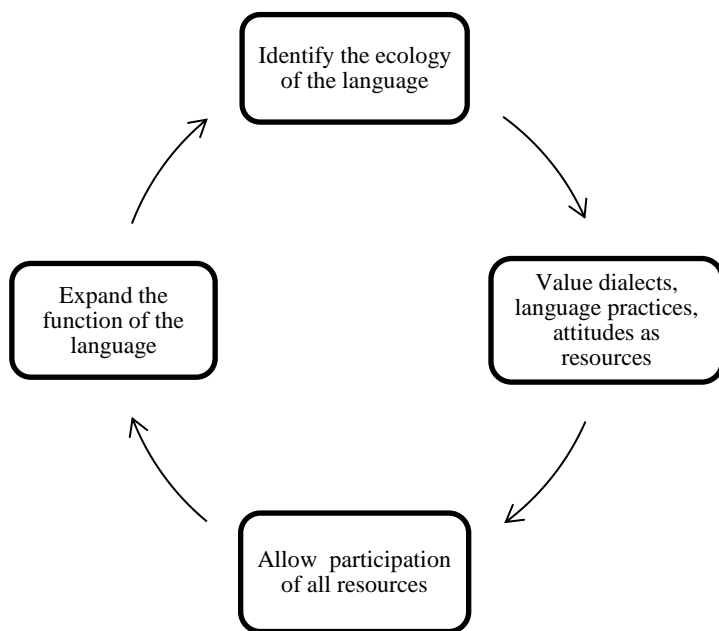


Diagram 1: A language standardization diagram adapted from language ecology and language function approaches (Garvin, 1993:40 ; Hornberger, 2002:35)

The first pressing need for language standardization to consider is to expand the role of local languages into domains like media, education, science and technology and liberate citizens from language related challenges. Language forms and the related status should be developed to fulfill the needs of modern communication in these settings, and the standardization activities should

trigger positive social attitude towards the language being standardized. However, from many experiences, we can learn that language standardization driven by only assuming language diversity as a national problem is imperfect. So, multilingualism should be taken as resource and all social properties involved in the language ecology should be valued and given the opportunity to participate in the process. The concerned society should participate from the initial stage of standardization tasks to its implementation. Views of different dialect speakers and standardization agents should be welcomed and entertained in the process. Through such and more other efforts, it is possible to preserve the ecology of the language in concern in the standardization process.

2.7. Frame of Reference for Language Standardization Studies

Language standardization as an applied field of inquiry draws on concepts and methodological concerns from sociolinguistics schools of thought (Coulmas, 1998:11). More specifically, the field, as a major component of language planning, depends on macro-sociolinguistics assumptions and implements the concepts in macro or micro language standardization settings. As Coulmas (1998:1) puts it, (macro) sociolinguistics, "studies what societies do with their languages, that is, attitudes and attachments that account for the functional distribution of speech forms in society, language shift, maintenance, and replacement, the delimitation and interaction of speech communities." As can be seen from the quote, macro aspect of sociolinguistics is concerned about social elements of a language such as language use, language attitude, preservation, etc.

Macro sociolinguistics considers a language to function in a social context, and so language planning does aim to allocate the functions that a language plays in society. In its operation, language planning investigates the social foundations a linguistic habitus is based on and maintained, and the social values indexed in the language usages (Bourdieu, 1991:37). It examines broad or macro language situations achieved at national level or micro (individual) language cases (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 57). Language planning at micro level, as Baldauf (2006:155) describes it, refers to:

... cases where businesses, institutions, groups or individuals hold agency and create what can be recognized as a language policy and plan to utilize and develop their language resources; one that is not directly the result of some larger

macro policy, but is a response to their own needs, their own 'language problems', their own requirement for language management.

Language planning agencies which develop local language policies to fulfil local needs are also engaged in the required language standardization activities. So, language studies can treat such micro level standardization efforts. Based on this understanding, the present study takes account of a micro level language standardization practice in a multilingual setting.

The linguistic data to a macro or micro language standardization study mainly come from a social construct which scholars of the field call a social domain. The significant role a social domain plays to gather data on language use and attitude has been indicated in Labov's (1970: 30), cited in Wardhaugh (2006: 16), definition of the sociology of language:

It deals with large scale social factors, and their mutual interaction with languages and dialects. There are many open questions, and many practical problems associated with the decay and assimilation of minority languages, the development of stable bilingualism, the standardization of languages and the planning of language development in newly emerging nations. The linguistic input for such studies is primarily that a given person or group uses language X in a social context or domain Y.

In the above quote, language standardization is referred to as a social phenomenon that interfaces with the language, its dialects and speakers. In order to collect the required information about these related concepts, a social domain where a language or a dialect is used is very important. Frequency occurrence of a language or a language variety in the domains studied is a basic element of language standardization investigation. On this scale, the question of investigation becomes "what language (variety of a language) is spoken (written) where and with what frequency (McConnel, 1998: 240)?" Determining frequency of different language forms in a particular setting helps to uncover the route language standardization is taking.

Studies that treat macro level language standardization use Haugen's (1966:931) frame of language standardization as a baseline. The model offers a descriptive approach which views language standardization as a process. According to this frame of planning, a hitherto unwritten language gets a standard form through a four-step process namely "norm selection, codification, implementation and elaboration." A deliberate language planning endeavors always begin from selection of a language or a dialect that plays national or local social roles. The form of the language is then codified in dictionaries and grammar books, implemented into

different social domains, and empowered by different new lexical and grammatical features to cope up with new social needs.

On the other hand, McConnel (2005:24), cited in Baldauf (2006:159), has adapted a modified micro planning model from the macro language planning model. The model includes policy of norm selection, codification, elaboration and implementation stages. While policy refers to the norm selection policy (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 30), all the other elements descend from the descriptive model of language standardization.

Other scholars also believe that language planning analysis should involve various activities that discover community language practices. With regard to this, Spolsky (2004: 5) puts that in analyzing the language practice and policy of a community:

a useful first step is to distinguish between the three components of the language policy of a speech community: its language practices--the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology -- the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management.

What is noticed from the above is that a community of speech owns its own means of language rules and regulations that govern every day communication behavior. So, language planning decisions should be based on and informed by these community practices.

Though the descriptive framework has actually been designed to study large scale language planning activities, Baldauf (2006:148) believes that large scale language planning frameworks can inform micro level case studies. That means the framework can be used to study small scale language standardization efforts. Micro level studies differ from the macro level studies mainly because they apply the framework on a particular language's ecology (Baldauf, 2006: 152). As it is mentioned earlier (section 2.4.2), language in ecology approach emphasizes on the development of a particular language in relation to its society.

2.7.1. The Descriptive Model of Language Standardization

In his celebrated article entitled “Dialect, Language, Nation”, Haugen (1966:933) frames four processes of language development whereby a vernacular is promoted to be a standard:

The four aspects of language development that we have now isolated as crucial features in taking the step from "dialect" to "language," from vernacular to standard, are as follows: (1) selection of norm, (2) codification of form, (3) elaboration of function, and (4) acceptance by the community. The first two refer primarily to the form, the last two to the function of language. The first and the last are concerned with society, the second and third with language.

As can be seen from the quotation, the first step language development embarks on is identification of a language or speech varieties among the prevailing options. The phonological, morphological, lexical and different grammatical features of the selected norm are, then, developed and codified in different written and spoken documents so the standard can carry out new communicative needs. The next plan in a deliberate language standardization process is to execute the selected norm into different social domains. The language form which is codified in an optimal uniformity is applied in different settings, and acceptance becomes crucial at this step of the process. The form can peacefully carry out the roles ascribed to it only if the speech community accepts it as the standard form of their language and wills to use it.

The language development procedures pioneered by Haugen (1966) are used in many language standardization studies as in research collections compiled in Deumert and Vandebussche (2003) and in Coupland and Kiristiansen (2011). The thematic areas are also reiterated in many sociolinguistics books. Hudson (1996:33), Wardhaugh (2006: 34) and Holmes (2013:107) are some of the scholars who have explained the concepts in their publications. For instance, Holmes (2013:107) cites Haugen (1966) and repeats selection, codification, elaboration and securing its acceptance to be the interrelated processes by which languages are planned to take national roles.

According to Haugen (1966: 933) and Holmes (2013:108), the four planning procedures have got two focus areas. They mention that the first and the last activities, norm selection and acceptance, are social concerns of language planning or standardization, and the second and the third, codification and elaboration, emphasize on the language or on the development of its linguistic features. Social criteria mainly account for the selection of a language or form, but language standardization is also linguistics as it bears change in the linguistic aspects of the

language. The social and linguistic dimensions of language standardization in relation to the form and function of a language are displayed in the following table.

	Form	function or attitude
Social	selection	Acceptance
Linguistic	codification	Elaboration

Table 2: Dimensions of language planning/ standardization adapted from Holmes (2013:107)

As can be seen from Table 2, the form of language standardization determined by social aspects of a language is norm selection. Similarly, acceptance is also another function of language standardization or the attitude it serves that is again influenced by social factors.

Norm selection is social in its nature as norms are selected based on social criteria. Social rather than linguistic base makes a variety fit for standardization than the rest of the varieties a language holds. Regarding this, Milroy (2007:133) gives an example from English:

For example, although the expressions *you were* and *you was* are both used in English, only one of them is considered to be the standard form. To fulfill the requirements of standardization alone it would not matter which of these variants were the one accepted: standardization merely requires that one, *and only one*, of them should be accepted. In practice, however, the choice of one over the other is affected by factors outside the standardization process itself, and these factors, taken together, are what constitute the standard ideology.

Various ways of saying things are complete enough for respective speakers to express their feelings. As long as they serve social needs, all of them can equally be legitimate to be selected as the “only one” standard norm. However, as illustrated in the quote, selection of a standard form is mainly based on non-linguistic parameters. Not only norm selection, but norm acceptance is also social for the selected norm needs acceptance by social groups who speak different forms. Social agreement on what constitutes a standard variety of a language is very essential to successfully standardize a language. The decision to accept or reject a norm is based on social judgments about the norm’s influence on the society’s life as individuals and as a group.

Both norm selection and acceptance are essential aspects of standardization that they affect the success of the whole process. Haugen (1966:932) takes these activities to influence the other two phases of standardization, “Neither codification nor elaboration is likely to proceed very far unless the community can agree on the selection of some kind of a model from which the norm can be derived.”

It is also accepted as true that norm selection and acceptance are affected by the will of political powers. Political decisions overwhelm norm selection practices. Though individuals and social groups also leave their legacy on standard norms, in many situations political authorities are the major actors of norm selection. In relation to the role of politicians, Holmes (2013:107) illustrates:

Selecting the code to be developed is often an entirely political decision, though linguists may point out the different linguistic problems presented by selecting one variety rather than another. Acceptance by the people will generally require endorsement by politicians and socially prestigious groups. So selection and acceptance are steps which involve social and political factors.

The quote shows that the role of politicians and public figures is also a significant factor to approve a variety as an acceptable standard. That could also mean social efforts of language standardization deserve different kinds of support from powerful bodies like public figures and governments. It can be generalized that norm selection and acceptance are events where political and social endeavors come together and create a successful standardization. Hence, this research intends to combine the political and social aspects of language standardization and to see how these two arenas interplay. It considers norm selection and acceptance as its centerpieces. In the coming subsections, the activities involved in norm selection and acceptance phases of language standardization are explored.

2.7.1.1. Norm Selection

Norm selection, in language standardization, specifies an activity of choosing standard, mainly written, norms among the prevalent linguistic options or dialects for language development (Deumert and Vandenbussche, 2003:4; Wolf 2000:334). In Holme’s (2013:107) exact words, selection is "choosing a variety or code to be developed." Norm selection is to pass decision on the phonological, morphological, lexical and other grammatical features of a language to be used

as standard forms. The selected norm serves as a basis for standardization and is taken as a standard dialect of the given language. In relation to this, Ferguson (2006:24) mentions, “Selection here refers to the choice of one or more dialects to serve as the basis of the standard.” This refers to the fact that the linguistic forms selected to be used as standard norms may come from more than one dialect. They serve as bases since through time the language receives many new words to express new concepts.

Norm selection highly depends on the sociolinguistic composition of a country or a society involved. Everyone can speculate that there will not be any major challenge to select a standard norm for a language composed of close or homogenous varieties. As long as there is a common sense among the society about dialect intelligibility and related social values of it, choosing one of the dialects for language standardization may not create any or much social problems. The speech community can easily get organized under one standard dialect. This kind of sociolinguistic composition is, however, very rare in the world (Haugen, 1966:932). It is hard to find a group of society whose language is the same across social and geographical boundaries.

There is an intense social and linguistic challenge to standardize a linguistically diverse language. Haugen (1966:932) calls norm selection decisions in a multilingual, or a multidialectal situation, a necessary but “embarrassing decisions”. In a situation where dialects of a language are socially and linguistically far from each other, selection of one dialect instead of the other may not be rewarding. It creates social discomforts since, as Haugen (1966: 932) expresses, “To choose any one vernacular as a norm means to favor the group of people speaking that variety. It gives them prestige as norm-bearers and a head start in the race for power and position.” This shows that norm selection is not only linguistically based but it also involves social implications. The potential of the practice to bestow prestige and power to the group whose speech forms are chosen, and to deprive privileges to the others might be unbearable to the concerned society. Then, norm selection in this kind of sociolinguistic structure appears very challenging and requires systematic approaches.

Haugen (1966:933) recommends that if a neutral dialect that may appease public grievances is not found, a new standard can be established using three ways:

For related dialects one can apply principles of linguistic reconstruction to make a hypothetical mother tongue for them all. Or one can be guided by some actual or supposed mother tongue, which exists in older, traditional writings. Or one can combine those forms that have the widest usage, in the hope that they will most easily win general acceptance.

The first technique is a formation or construction of an ideal standard, which does not have mother tongue speakers. In this kind of norm selection, the standard is formed from features of the prevailing dialects of the language. The resource dialects, as stated in the quote, should be related both linguistically and socially. The second norm selection technique was used in standard Hebrew which is developed from the language of religious texts. In many other instances, numbers of speakers, their political, economical and social status have been the major reasons to select standard norms.

Norm selection is mono-centric or polycentric. Norm selection experience of a standard language is referred to be monocentric when norms of a single social or geographical dialect is taken as standard. In a classical publication, Bloomfield (1959: 290) describes the tradition in the emergence of standard languages as, “The standard language may be the dialect of the capital in conservative form, as in France, England, and Russia (Moscow), or a mixed dialect as in ancient Greece, where the Koine was composed of Athenian and Ionic (Asiatic Greek) elements.” Standard languages like French, English and Russian are based on varieties spoken in central cities of Paris, London and Moscow. These cities were major places of trade and political movements and speech forms of societies active and powerful in these social events were selected as norm of standard usages.

However, some researchers do not believe that most standard languages, including the popular ones, are formed from a single dialect. For instance, Deumert and Vandebussche (2003: 4) argue that a few standard languages of the world have developed a monocentric background. They point out that most of them, including German, English and Dutch, are composed of elements of different dialects and gradually maintained a prestigious form that seems homogeneous for external observers. In another account, Deumert (2004:2) reemphasizes the argument:

... standard languages which are based on a single dialectal source (monocentric selection) are rare, and most standard languages histories have been

shaped by dialect leveling and koineization. The majority of standard languages are thus composite varieties characterized by multiple selections.

It is stated that standard languages whose norm selection practice justifies monocentric approach are rare. Rather many languages have blended standard features from different dialects.

Basically, if norm selection follows a mono-centric approach, there is less chance for the activity to be neutral. That is to say all dialects of a given language do not have equal chance to be taken as the only standard forms. Some dialects are given better opportunities of selection for various social reasons. In other words, monocentric approach operates in socially biased criteria. The dialect of a social group that holds the upper hand in population size, political participation, educational experience, and economical power etc, is often preferred as a standard form of a given language. Holmes (2013: 79) revises the social events that permitted for the establishment of English standards as:

What we refer to as a standard language is always a particular dialect which has gained its special position as a result of social, economic and political influences. A standard dialect has no particular linguistic merits, whether in vocabulary, grammar or pronunciation. It is simply the dialect of those who are politically powerful and socially prestigious. Once it begins to serve as a norm or standard for a wider group, however, it is likely to develop the wider vocabulary needed to express the new functions it is required to serve.

A standard language continues to maintain the power of its speakers in several social settings but is a barrier to other dialect speakers to participate in their environment (Wolf, 2000: 334). By doing so, a mono-centric approach creates social and linguistic inequality within a speech community.

Further, the selected standard becomes the first choice of speakers to discuss high level concepts. It becomes the major vehicle of scientific, technological, literacy and political communications. In relation to this, Holmes (2013:5) describes a situation that in a village of Norway called Hemnesberget, speakers switch between the local dialect and the standard language. They used the standard language to discuss educational concepts in schools and universities, to sing or preach in Churches, to attend sermons and to talk with external visitors. They also used the local dialect for local purposes like to talk to friends, family, neighbors and shopkeepers in the village.

In order to overcome the challenges of norm selection, a polycentric approach is developed. In this approach, standard norms of a language are selected from features of different dialects. A polycentric approach was implemented in the development process of languages like Modern Greek. In relation to Standard Modern Greek, Mackridge (1985:2-4) says that though the Koine was mainly based on the “Attic dialect of Athens”, it took features from other dialects of ancient Greek through dialect contact and individual writings. Standard language developments with a polycentric approach indicate that though features of several dialects are permitted into the standard norm there is always one dialect that the standard is mainly based on. In situations where the dialects of a language do not hold any social or historical differences, one of the widely spoken dialects can be chosen as a major source of linguistic data, but significant features of other dialects are included in the standardization process. Apparently, if one talks of dialects of a language, that means there are variations at phonological, morphological and lexical levels. Speakers want to see these variations to be included in their standard language and to develop a sense of ownership. On the other hand, when dialects of a language are linguistically or historically far from each other, norm selection can take an approach which is called norm harmonization.

2.7.1.1.1. Harmonization

Norm harmonization is one way of language standardization types which merges up mutually intelligible dialects to construct a standard form (Wolf, 2000). Msimang (1998:166) takes harmonization to be a “dialect democracy approach” which selects linguistic features from all existing dialects of a language to establish a unified standard.

Harmonization can be strong or weak (Lauwren, 1996:3, cited in Bekale, 2012:286). In the stronger version of norm harmonization, orthography or writing rules, phonology, morphology, lexicon and grammar of different dialects of a language are clustered to form one standard language. This kind of harmonization may not be a problem in language standardization if dialects are mutually intelligible and where a speech community shares all linguistic, cultural and historical backgrounds.

Strong harmonization risks if dialects of a language are historically and culturally exclusive. Where there are historical and cultural bondage between speech groups, the weaker version of

harmonization is applied. In a softer harmonization, only the orthography and technical words of the standard language are harmonized to sustain the social and historical bondage of the society. Complete merging of the dialects at all levels of linguistic elements is seen impossible since it may bear further social discomforts.

Language attitude has been considered to be a major factor for language harmonization. Structurally similar varieties in the eyes of linguists and standardizers might be considered dissimilar from the speakers' points of views. For example, Orman (2008) illustrates that the attempt of researchers and sociolinguists to harmonize the Nguni and the Sotho language clusters of South Africa failed due to attitude reasons. Speakers of each variety take their respective speech forms to be historically independent languages from the other. So, the government's endeavor to have a smaller number of written standards at national level for education and other social functions is not yet realized.

2.7.1.2. Acceptance

According to Holmes (2013: 107), acceptance is the other social dimension of language standardization. It is the degree of recognition a standard norm receives from a speech community. It is a social approval of a standard variety of a respective language. Acceptance can also refer to a society's intention to take in a language to be a standard language. Social recognition of a standard language is achieved through different efforts. It is determined by the roles different concerned bodies, like administrations, play. In line with this, Ferguson (2006:25) says , “– acceptance – can reasonably be placed in the category of status planning in that it involves conscious dissemination of the standard and orchestrated efforts to persuade the community to accept the norm.” The point is that acceptance of a standard norm requires several persuasive activities from language standardizers especially politicians. Wolf (2000: 337) takes ensuring language implementation or acceptance to be the major responsibility of politicians, “...once the standard is established, usually by the cooperation of (socio)linguists, educators, poets and leaders of the speech community, it is for policy makers to provide for putting decisions into practice.”

Deumert and Vandenbussche (2003:7) also backup that, “The sociopolitical realization of the decisions made at the stage of selection and codification referred to as implementation that is the

gradual diffusion and acceptance of the newly created norm across speakers as well as across functions.” It is true that both the society and political leaders work hand in hand to expand the function of a language across different sectors. Governments decide areas where a standard language should be implemented, and a society is supposed to endorse those decisions and take actions. Leaders are also in charge of allocating financial and material support to produce documents in the standard language, and empower talented individuals' to create and innovate in the language. Publications of textbooks, different dictionaries and other educational supporting materials can be taken as government efforts to fix a standard and spread it among users.

Ferguson (2006:25-26) citing Romaine (2002:19) also takes prestige, access (diffusion) and common ideological basis of standardization to be important factors of language acceptance. It means that it is relatively easy for a standard norm to gain acceptance if it develops prestige, it is easily accessible and whether it is established on somewhat common national or social ideology. Some researchers even propose prestige planning as a strategic solution to change social attitude towards indigenous languages of many African countries. Prestige planning is believed to make respective speakers to establish language pride. Access to a language is also another factor that contributes to acceptance. Speakers' access of the standard language in different social domains may create positive attitude towards their own language and makes them familiar with it. Familiarity with one's own language in turn makes one to be optimist to accept its importance in one's life. Further, if standardization is based on a common social interest, there is high possibility for the standard language to be endorsed by the whole social group. At last, Ferguson (2006:6) mentions the impact of encouraging the speech community with various techniques that promote the language for different social domains. The standard has more possibility of acceptance if it manages to be a means of better opportunities, like job, promotion, mobility.

Other factors that play a great role on norm acceptance include social attitude (Holmes, 2013: 107). Attitude of language users towards the selected norm is a great factor for its acceptance. A speech community that thinks the selected standard to be a threat to spoken varieties is less likely to accept it. There is often a hostile situation where part of a speech community considers the standard variety as a mechanism of group disenfranchisement and discrimination.

A society may develop negative attitude towards a standard variety for various reasons. Speakers do not often recognize a variety which is significantly different from what they practice in their everyday life. Ferguson (2006:25) illustrates, "... a quite general is the reluctance speakers may experience in accepting a standard based on a dialect quite different from their own, and one that they feel does not, therefore, adequately acknowledge their particular identity." This proves that linguistic distance between the standard norm and other dialects of a given language affects its level of acceptance. The standard is expected to demonstrate representation of different dialects should their speakers accept it. If not, public resistance to implement the standard variety in different social settings may rise gradually "simply because it comes to be perceived as remote from every day life, as an unwelcome artifice and as an impediment to education (Ferguson, 2006:25)"

Other factors that account for language acceptance also include time related issues. It is believed that language standardization requires enough time to establish itself in a society. One can not rush to implement a standard language into different social sectors without giving a reasonable time for the standard to establish conducive environments. In this regard, Ferguson (2006:26) comments that, if standardization is more rapid and the standard "has less time to accrue prestige to itself, where it is seen as an artificial construction imposed from above, where regional identities remain strong, or where material incentives and ideological motives are relatively weaker, acceptance will be correspondingly more difficult." In other words, investing time is crucial in order to convince social groups who hold distinct social meanings about their varieties. Through time a society may believe on the importance of having a common standard and that standard should emerge gradually.

All in all, one can take a position that attitude is a major component of norm acceptance. Favorable attitude towards a standard variety is obtained if the process takes public needs and every day life practices into account. Language standardization that involves high public participation is believed to result in positive language attitudes from the society (Røyneland, 2013:58).

2.8. Regional and Social Dialects in Language Standardization

It has been widely known that the distinction between a language and a dialect has remained blurred. Both terms are interpreted differently from society to society. Even language scholars themselves incline to use the words dialect and language interchangeably to refer to the same concept (Wardhaugh, 2006: 28). The trend to blend the terms, Haugen (1966:922) believes, resulted from the use of the word "language" to refer to Ancient and Modern Greek. Ancient Greek was a collection of various dialects which were derived from a single root but had their own independent literary history. Greek was a collective name of a group of distinct but related written norms or "dialects". Later on, in the modern times, the word Greek is also used to refer to the Koine that emerged from the merging of all the ancient independent "dialects" into one standard form.

There is a belief that the word dialect cannot be used to refer to a linguistic entity unless there are other dialects related to it. For example, Haugen (1966: 23) considers "Language as the super ordinate term can be used without reference to dialects, but "dialect" is meaningless unless it is implied that there are other dialects and a language to which they can be said to belong." It is evident from the example that a language can stand on its own right as an independent form. A language is accepted to be an umbrella of dialects that share different linguistic features. This assumption is held in Wardhaugh (2006: 32) who, after comparing the relationship and intelligibility of some close languages like Dutch and German, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, Cantonese and Mandarin dialects of Chinese, offers his general impression of a language saying , “ a language then would be some unitary system of linguistic communication which subsumes a number of mutually intelligible varieties. It would therefore be bigger than a single dialect or a single variety.” This refers to the idea that varieties that exhibit a complementary system of linguistic features form a language. The concept language is used to indicate an entity that constitutes the whole variations in it.

The concepts language and dialect also imply social positions of varieties. Oxford English Dictionary (1993), cited in Locher and Strassler (2008:3), defines dialect to be “one of the subordinate forms or varieties of a language arising from local peculiarities of vocabulary, pronunciation and idiom ... a variety of speech differing from the standard or ‘literary’ language.” Dialects are considered to be subordinate in the prestige and functions they hold as

compared to a language which is seen to be a standard or written form. This low position is ascribed to them due to the internal variations they exhibit from one another. They are defined by Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 3& 5) as, “Dialect refers to varieties which are grammatically (and perhaps lexically) as well as phonologically different from other varieties.” The word dialect means any of the single entities that compose a language.

The positions attached to variations of a dialect are problems because they carry those meanings to their speakers. This reality is revealed by Wardhaugh (2006: 28) who criticizes, “a non-standard or even substandard ... and can connote various degrees of inferiority, with that connotation of inferiority carried over to those who speak a dialect.” This reality cannot be denied to some extent since to speak a language is to expose identity through the language used. So, the remarks used to identify dialectal variations are also used to identify their speakers.

In many language communities, a language is used with variations. Variations are formed based on the regions the language is spoken (regional dialectology), or it is established by social qualities the speakers have (social dialectology). These two phenomena, region and social class, are significant factors for phonological, lexical, morphological, or grammatical variations attested in a language (Wardhaugh, 2006: 44; Meyerhoff 2006:11).

In relation to regional dialects, Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 6) discuss, “If we travel from village to village, in a particular direction, we notice linguistic differences which distinguish one village from another. Sometimes, these differences will be larger, sometimes smaller, but they will be cumulative.” This asserts the fact that linguistic differences are obvious in the speech of people who dwell in various provinces of a language zone. The variations might be socially significant regardless of their magnitude. The magnitude of variation may become valuable when it comes to communication. If it is smaller, mutual intelligibility of dialect speakers will be higher. On the other hand, there is low mutual intelligibility among speakers if the linguistic gap between dialects is high.

Mutual intelligibility of dialects depends on the spatial distance among their speakers. That means language intelligibility is high among geographically close speakers, but it is weak in areas remote from each other. Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 6) illustrate the influence of geographical distance on intelligibility level of dialect speakers as follows:

The further we get from our starting point, the larger the differences will become. The effect of this may therefore be, if the distance involved is large enough, that (if we arrange villages along our route in geographical order) while speakers from village A understand people from village B very well and those from village F quite well, they may understand M speech only with considerable difficulty, and that of village Z not at all. Villagers from M, on the other hand, will probably understand village F speech quite well, and villagers from A and Z only with difficulty. In other words, dialects on the outer edges of the geographical area may not be mutually intelligible, but they will be linked by a chain of mutual intelligibility.

In this explanation, the distance among the letters represents the space gap between speakers and the relative chance to understand each other's speech. There is a high degree of mutual intelligibility between dialects spoken in adjacent areas than those found in places far from each other.

Both regional and social dialects are chosen for language development in different situations. Social classes like economy, education, political position, and demography of speakers influence language standardization. In most cases, dialects of speakers who have significant or high participation in those sectors have great chance to be taken as standard norms. In the same way, dialects spoken in a particular geographical location might be the interests of language standardization.

2.9. Some Instances of Language Standardization

Language standardization has been initiated because of several national or social reasons. The independence of one state from the other, decolonization and national identity development are among the prominent factors that accelerated the standardization of many languages in the world today. From the international context, Norway's experience is worth noting here. After its independence from the Danish administration in 1814, Norway was looking for a language that binds Norwegians as a nation. In that aspiration, two written standards were developed, by two individuals who had different ideologies. According to Jahr (2003: 332), Knud Knudson developed one of the written standards, Bokmål, from the educated or upper class Norwegians speech variety. By then, the upper classes or educated Norwegians spoke Danish in Norwegian pronunciation. Jahr (2003: 332) describes the linguistic situation of Norway as:

The variety of spoken Dano-Norwegian which developed during the eighteenth century, and which was used by officials and the upper-middle classes, was an interesting result of language contact. Colloquial Norwegian and written Danish were mixed, yielding a new linguistic variety (cf. Jahr 1994: 36f).

The proponent of this variety argued that the language situation of the country should not be changed rapidly. Instead, modifications should be introduced gradually by adapting the already existing language practice into the new national roles.

On the other hand, Standard Nynorsk (New Norwegian) was formed from features of Norwegian rural dialects. Jahr (2003: 333) illustrates the ideology of the linguist who pioneered this standard form as follows, "Aasen's idea was to create a completely new literary standard on the basis of these popular rural dialects. He argued that, in spite of their diversity, they had certain fundamental structural traits in common that distinguished them from Danish and Swedish as being clearly Norwegian." By taking the standard language from rural dialects and leaving the urban dialect that "represented Danish more than Norwegian, and was as such totally unsuitable as a national linguistic symbol", Aasen wanted the standard to realize unity of the citizens. Though both Nynorsk and Bokmål were formed following a different ideology of standardization, they succeeded to be the official written languages of Norway since then and contributed to maintain the country's independence.

In Africa, the standardization of most of the languages was, at first, associated mainly with the works of missionaries and colonizers. Missionaries tried to standardize the languages for the purpose of translating the Bible into African languages and for developing teaching materials for primary education (Wolf, 2000: 333). After the down fall of colonization, some nations were engaged in norm selection and standardization task to replace colonial languages with national languages. Tanzania can be raised as an instance. Holmes (2013:108) describes that after its independence from colonization in 1961, Tanzania chose Swahili to be the national language of the country though there were many other indigenous spoken languages. Swahili was chosen to be the national language for various reasons. On the one hand, it was used as a lingua franca by many Tanzanians and was used as a language tool for the movement towards freedom from colonial ruling. In addition, Swahili descends from Bantu language family and as a result it held very much similarity to most of the indigenous languages of the country. Lack of a link between

Swahili and any of the local community and its structural similarity to the country's languages granted Swahili acceptance by the speakers.

Some authors hold a belief that the Standard Swahili of Tanzania was taken from 'Unguja' dialect (Wolf, 2000:335). These speech communities were not politically, economically and socially powerful. It is believed that the social status of the dialect helped the language to spread all over the country and to mark national identity. Since the speech community of the dialect was not politically, economically or socially dominant, speakers of other varieties did not consider the standard as a threat to their dialect features and an imposed form of powerful groups.

Unlike Standard Swahili of Tanzania, standard Hausa of Nigeria was formed from Kano dialect (Wolf, 2000: 335). The Kano variety was spoken by a politically and socially dominant community. And as a result, non native speakers of Hausa took the standard language as a threat to their regional linguistic and cultural identity. The facts in Swahili and Hausa indicate that the status of the speakers of a dialect preferred to base a standard language highly affects social attitudes towards it.

The other interesting standardization practice comes from South Africa. The idea of having a unified written standard to the mutually intelligible standard languages, the Nguni groups (isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele and SiSwati) and Sotho sets (Sepedi, Setswana and Sesotho) has been proposed and advocated by many researchers (Wolf, 2000: 301). But the proposal was declined by politicians, the society and some scholars as well. However, Orman (2008:157) thinks that the proposal would have reduced the number of official languages that work in South Africa and ease management, promote national integration and result in effective and efficient written communication among the societies.

Standardization efforts are also evident in Ethiopia in languages like Amharic, Oromo, Harari, Sidama, etc. For example, Mekonnen (2002:33) informs us that Standard Oromo used in education and media texts is taken from a mixture of different Oromo dialects such as Mecha, Tulema, Guji, Borena and others. Similarly, The Harari Language Academy is set up to standardize the language in different domains mainly in education (Moges, 2010:148).

To sum up, the issue of language standardization does not appear to be simple to comprehend since it is surrounded by complex sociohistorical processes. This being the fact, the present

chapter tried to lay the possible literature grounds for the dissertation. It tried to discuss the basic concepts that would help us to interpret the standardization experiences in the Gamo language. The chapter first located language standardization as a major component of the broader concept language planning, and then provided a definition with the concept of language standardization. Main assumptions of the concept are explained and frameworks that would help to shape the research are identified. In the end, standardization experiences of different countries are revisited.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

3.0. Introduction

It is widely noted that a carefully designed sound methodology is desirable in a research which treats the social aspects of a language. The social side of a language is believed to be versatile that it requires a good system of investigation. Blommaert (2014:10) describes sociolinguistics as, "A sociolinguistic system is a *complex system* characterized by internal and external forces of perpetual change, operating simultaneously and in unpredictable mutual relationships. It is therefore always dynamic, never finished, never bounded, and never completely and definitively describable either." If sociolinguistics is a very complex phenomenon, it is understandable that sociolinguistic investigation is not a simple task as well. In order to tackle a research in this complex system of the social notion of a language, "We need an aggregate of methods that reflect the complexity of the cases we investigate and do not simplify these cases to a one-dimensional skeleton structure (Blommaert, 2014:14)." Multifaceted approaches and tools are very significant to understand the whole social system of a language. Meyerhoff (2006:1) also says, "Sociolinguists use a range of methods to analyze patterns of language in use and attitudes towards language in use." In the same way, this research followed a multidimensional research approach to investigate the social challenges of language standardization in Gamo.

The major aim of this chapter of the dissertation is to state the general approach followed in gathering and analyzing data. It presents a detailed account of data collection instruments and sampling frames.

3.1. Research Approach

A research approach involves wide range of methodological considerations. According to Creswell (2014: 3) research approach includes, "plans and the procedures for research that span the steps from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation." There are three umbrellas to cover all details of a research topic at stake. These are qualitative, quantitative and mixed method approaches. Though the three approaches cannot

be exclusively dichotomized, they follow various notions in terms of knowledge claim or how reality is formed, research design and the methods they employ to collect data.

In its application of methodological concepts, the present study used an integration of both qualitative and quantitative approach which is termed as a mixed method approach (Creswell, 2014). Mixed method approach, according to Creswell (2014: 4), is based on the assumption that, "the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a more complete understanding of a research problem than either approach alone." Both qualitative and quantitative methods provide significant data and means of analysis to understand the problem being investigated. Dornyei (2007:39) also puts that a mixed method approach is the best way of understanding complex phenomenon through integration of data at various levels:

It has been suggested by many that we can gain a better understanding of a complex phenomenon by converging numeric trends from quantitative data and specific details from qualitative data. Words can be used to add meaning to numbers and numbers can be used to add precision to words.

This proves that a mixed method is the most preferable approach that helps to see detailed points of the research and to get accurate information. It enhances validity of data by including different data types.

The mixed method approach is based on a pragmatic world view of knowledge establishment. Pragmatism applies "pluralistic approaches to derive knowledge about the problem (Creswell, 2014: 4)." In another publication, Creswell (2003:12) compares the conceptual relationship between pragmatic epistemological notion and mixed method approach in several points, and a select of three points worth mentioning here:

- Pragmatism is not committed to any one system of philosophy and reality. This applies to mixed methods research in that inquirers draw liberally from both quantitative and qualitative assumptions when they engage in their research.
- Individual researchers have a freedom of choice. They are "free" to choose the methods, techniques, and procedures of research that best meet their needs and purposes.
- Pragmatists do not see the world as an absolute unity. In a similar way, mixed methods researchers look to many approaches to collecting and analyzing data rather than subscribing to only one way (e.g., quantitative or qualitative).

The basic ideas in both the pragmatic assumptions of reality and the mixed method research approach that uncovers the reality can be summed up that the world is understood best through multidisciplinary theories and methods. No single theory or method is sufficient enough to deal with complex realities or problems of a society. A research in one of the realities of a language, language standardization, requires application of the mixed method approaches. This approach has gained acceptance in sociolinguistic studies. For instance, Blommaert (2014:17) welcomes a mixed method approach in sociolinguistic studies by saying, "It is to be anticipated that the next decade will see a flurry of innovation in the field of sociolinguistic method; it will also undoubtedly see developments in research ethos and strategy, with more attention (and respect) for interdisciplinarity, "mixed methods" and teamwork. This, I believe, is to be welcomed."

3.2. Research Methods

A number of methods were applied to gather data that would inform the dissertation about the challenges in the standardization of the Gamo language. Likewise, the data collection was designed in a manner that makes collection of valuable and sound information possible.

3.2.1. Research Design

The data collection design of a research that applies both quantitative and qualitative approaches can be of concurrent, sequential or transformative type. The design type found appropriate to this research was a concurrent data collection design. In a concurrent form of data collection, "the investigator collects both forms of data at the same time during the study and then integrates the information in the interpretation of the overall results (Creswell, 2003:16)."

The research is based on data collected in two fieldworks conducted in Arbaminch, the capital city of Gamo Gofa Zone, and the neighboring districts. The first and the second fieldworks were conducted in 2013 and in 2015 respectively. In both rounds, the language used to collect data was Amharic, except the interviews with two university lecturers whom English was used as a medium of discussion.

3.2.1.1. The first round fieldwork

The first fieldwork was held in 2013. The researcher travelled from Addis Ababa to Arbaminch town. The researcher managed to establish contact with all the relevant local authorities and sectors like the Gamo Gofa Zone Education Department, the Gamo Gofa Zone Culture and Tourism, Arbaminch Zuria Woreda Sport and Culture Office and Arbaminch College of Teacher Education (ACTE, henceforth). Key informants were identified in these places to gather the necessary data. In Gamo Gofa Zone Education Department, the researcher interviewed an official of curriculum design, and got some textbooks. The interview was tape recorded. Many staff members of the office in fact supported the researcher to meet the official.

In addition, during this field trip, the researcher conducted unrecorded formal discussion with two officials in culture and language growth and development sector of Gamo Gofa Zone Culture and Tourism Department. Though recording the discussion was not possible because of some inconveniences like offices were shared with other staffs and there were guests, the researcher took notes and the discussion was very informative. The researcher also borrowed one dictionary from the officials and exchanged contacts for further cooperation in the research.

After establishing these contacts with the town administrations who work on language related matters, the researcher moved to a small town called Shelle. The researcher planned to distribute a preliminary questionnaire to teachers in a school found in the town. However, the school principal did not allow the researcher to have access to teachers and classes. The principal explained that access to classes and teachers was only possible with a permission letter from the environ education office which was located back in Arbaminch. The researcher had time constraint to make a double trip to the same place, and went to ACTE with a support letter from the Education Department of the Zone instead. The researcher also took a support letter from the Education office of Arbaminch environ and went to one of the schools located in Arbaminch.

During the field trip, the researcher stayed in ACTE and learned that many students from different districts of Gamo were admitted to the College. ACTE was, then, chosen to be the major research site to collect field data. In ACTE, there was also the Department of Gamo language which recruited teachers and many students from different districts of Gamo where diverse dialects are spoken. It was, therefore, possible to find different Gamo dialect speakers in

one place. The respondents' dialectal backgrounds were seen as valuable assets to have a fair representation of different dialect speakers.

The researcher distributed a pre-prepared questionnaire to students and teachers in ACTE. The questionnaire was very brief and meant to gather general information about Gamo and its standardization. It lacked items about important sociolinguistic aspects that were noticed in the area by then. The fieldwork just gave the researcher an opportunity to explore potential areas of information and to collect preliminary data on the topic. Generally, the first round of the field work helped to brainstorm the researcher's knowledge of the language situation in Gamo, and to see the areas of improvements needed on the data collection instruments.

During the first fieldwork, some of the textbooks needed to collect the lexical data were gathered from book stores, individuals, offices, and school libraries. It was, in fact, very difficult to find copies of school textbooks in shops. Very few textbooks were found from public shops and the researcher was forced to go to schools and borrow some books for a very short time. Required number of texts and pages that contain significant information about the books were photocopied and the textbooks were given back immediately to the owners.

3.2.1.2. In between

After the first fieldwork, the researcher believed that it was important to do the document analysis and have knowledge on the standardization process of Gamo and its standard form before collecting the second round data from the informants. Texts were selected from the textbooks and a number of words were taken from each text. The researcher listed the words in a table and got data of dialects from individual speakers. The data from the texts were analyzed and the results were discussed before the second fieldtrip. The work helped the researcher to be informed about the standardization process of Gamo and to make valuable discussions with the speakers during the second fieldwork.

3.2.1.3. The second round fieldwork

The second fieldwork was conducted in 2015. This time, since the researcher identified the places to go and to collect the relevant data during the first trip, it was possible to start the data collection work without major challenges. Data were collected from teachers, students and

language developers in different sectors in Gamo. As has been said above, the major participants of the research were taken from ACTE. To find additional representatives of teachers whose samples found in ACTE were very few, some selected schools near and in Arbaminch were also visited.

There was an effort to gather very pertinent information regarding language standardization in Gamo. To that end, a questionnaire was distributed to the respondents. At the same time, the researcher conducted thorough focus group discussions and interviews with Gamo native speakers. The researcher administered the questionnaire in person during both fieldworks in collaboration with teachers and students of ACTE. The objective of the research and the major themes of the questionnaire were explained to the respondents. Some explanations were also given at times respondents faced difficulty of understanding concepts in the items. The explanations were given with great caution to avoid the possibilities to influence respondents' opinions or attitudes.

The language used to gather data through the printed questionnaire, interviews and focus group discussions was Amharic. All of the participants spoke Amharic as a second language and they took lessons in it in schools and in the College. The qualitative data were transcribed in Amharic and translated into English.

3.2.2. Sampling Techniques

Sampling in a sociolinguistic study is imperative since it is impossible to include all the speech community in a research limited in various ways. Importance of taking a sample from a population has been indicated by some like Gordon (2005:956) who says:

The need for sampling arises from the practical constraints we face in investigating the questions of broad theoretical interest that drive our research. Even the most ambitious (and best-funded) studies cannot gather data from every relevant speaker. In this sense sampling is an issue with which all researchers must come to terms.

As it is mentioned in the quote, the challenges that a researcher faces during the course of data collection and analysis oblige one to look for a frame of sampling reference.

To sample respondents to the present research, both probability and non probability sampling designs were identified to be valuable. At first, ACTE was purposefully chosen as a major research site to take the upper hand of the participants. The College admits students from different provinces and districts. Accordingly, students and teachers who speak diverse Gamo dialects join ACTE from different districts. This created a golden chance to have access to a proportional number of various dialect speakers. Maximizing variation in the sample is one mechanism of purposeful sampling method. As Creswell (2006:112) notes, “One of the more popular is maximal variation sampling, in which individuals are chosen who hold different perspectives on the central phenomenon.” So, respondents’ diversity in different social backgrounds in a research helps to gather heterogeneous kinds of data. The respondents also had chance to meet diverse dialect speakers of their own language during their stay in the college, and such experiences were believed to increase their knowledge of sociolinguistic aspects of the language. With this knowledge in mind, the respondents might make informed decisions about language standardization in Gamo. The researcher also went to schools to find additional representatives because the number of teachers found in ACTE was insufficient. To fill in the gap, schools in Arbaminch and in the nearby villages were selected with purposive sampling technique. On the other hand, a probability sampling design was implemented in order to draw representatives from different dialect speakers in ACTE.

Social science researchers put different ways to decide a sample size from a sampling frame. In a quantitative method some suggest a sample size of 1 to 10 percent of the total population or to have at least 100 participants in factor analysis researches that treat diverse variables. This implies that a fixed range of sample size cannot be applied to different research areas. Regarding this, Dornyei (2007:88) says that a sample percentage is not fixed and a sample size lesser or greater than that percentage can be applied in some studies. Other researchers, like Corbeta (2003:216) and Israel (1992: 2) suggest that published tables which provide sample size in a given criteria can be used in social science studies. In a research sample, not only size but also other additional social features of respondents are believed to be important. Sampling has to take into account different characters a given population exhibits. Based on this assertion, the sample to the present study needed to accommodate speakers of different dialects mainly the ones selected to be the focus areas of the study.

During the data collection, the population size of Gamo students who were admitted to ACTE was 2000. To take a sample from this total population, the size was determined based on published tables revised from Corbeta (2003:216), Israel (1992:3) and Krejcie and Morgan (1970: 608). The sample size, judged based on the population size, at 5% precision and 95 % confidence level was 333. The samples were selected by using a systematic sampling technique that takes every k^{th} item on a sample frame (Kothari, 2004:62). First, lists of native Gamo students were collected from the ACTE's registrar. The interval ratio (k) was calculated to select the required sample size from the students' list or the sample frame; $k=N/n$, where N is population size and n is sample size, $k= 2000/333$, $k=6$. The researcher then took every 6th student from the students' lists to fill in the questionnaire.

The number of native Gamo teachers in ACTE who filled in the questionnaire was 10.

The sample drawn from ACTE did not, however, produce reasonable size of teachers. The researcher then planned to take additional teachers from schools in Arbaminch and the surrounding villages, and from offices where language developers and curriculum designers were found. The amount of teachers and language developers included in the sample, in addition to the ones taken from ACTE, was 75. All together, the cumulative sample size of the questionnaire was 418.

There were no-response items that forced to discard some questionnaires and there were some copies which were not returned to the researcher, but the data generated speakers of different dialects. Though the study has focused on five of the Gamo dialects, namely Dache, Kucha, Ochollo, Dorze and Ganta, it adopted a flexible approach to accommodate respondents who reported to speak other dialects than the research put as areas of emphasis. The inclusion of these participants maximized the variation of the respondents. In this way, a reasonable size of representatives was found to all of the dialects.

Participants of the interviews and focus group discussions were selected using purposive sampling technique. The researcher spent ample time in ACTE and established good rapport with students, teachers and officials. The good communication helped the researcher to easily find different volunteer students for the focus group discussions and interviews. Individual interviews

and focus group discussions were also held with school teachers and key language developers. The researcher intended to include diverse dialect speakers in each focus group discussion, so participants were selected based on their dialectal backgrounds. As Creswell (2006:112) points out, "*Purposeful sampling* means that researchers intentionally select participants who have experience with the central phenomenon or the key concept being explored." The key concept in this research is language standardization in Gamo in connection with its development as a written standard. Therefore, teachers and students were believed to hold the required knowledge and experience.

Other participants of the interview and focus group discussion sessions were also selected based on their experience as Gamo language developers, textbook writers, and teachers. With these two backgrounds, dialectal variation and one's literacy skill in Gamo, all members of Gamo language speakers in ACTE had equal chance to participate in the research.

3.2.3. Data Collection Instruments

The data used in this study were collected through qualitative and quantitative data collection tools. The qualitative and the quantitative data were collected concurrently. According to Creswell (2006:116) in concurrent data collection, "the quantitative and qualitative data are collected at roughly the same time." On the other hand, it can be said that the data from texts and the data from the field works were sequentially collected.

Range of data collection methods can be used in sociolinguistics. Ferguson (1975:4) categorizes the techniques suitable to linguistics researches and those effective to sociolinguistics researches like:

Linguistic research uses principally techniques of elicitation, recording, and analysis. Such techniques are, however, only marginally relevant to a sociolinguistically oriented survey. The four techniques most likely to prove effective are: the culling of information from published sources, consultation with experts and persons knowledgeable about specific areas or problems, the use of questionnaires, and field observation and interviews.

All of the above techniques mentioned to be effective to sociolinguistic researches were used in the current research. In other words, the instruments employed include a questionnaire, semi

structured interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis. The researcher did the document analysis and established ideas of norm selection in the standardization process of Gamo and went on to collect the remaining quantitative and qualitative data. The questionnaire, semi structured interviews and focus group discussions were used to find out multiple kinds of data. They were mainly used to find out respondents' attitudes towards Gamo and its standardization and to get information about the historical development of Gamo as a standard language.

Attitude of speakers towards a language or a language variety has been explored using different approaches called societal treatment approach, direct approaches and indirect approaches (Garrett, 2007:116). In a societal treatment approach, researchers use observation (ethnography) and document analysis. In a direct approach, subjects were asked to report their attitudes and language behavior. The direct approach is believed to be very popular and helpful in large scale studies.

Researchers also use an indirect approach, mainly synonymous to the Matched Guise Technique (MGT) which investigates respondents' covert attitude in relation to a language. This approach basically focuses on accent variation among various languages or language varieties. It then tries to see participants' attitude to a language's different accents. Given all other factors are controlled, a single speaker is recorded several times representing different accents of a language/ languages. Respondents are, then, asked to put their judgments about the speakers' social positions or characteristics using adjective scales in a questionnaire. It has, however, become evident that not only accent of speakers but also other large or small scale linguistic features affect attitude reflected towards the model speaker. With regard to this, Garrett (2005:1254) identifies, "Choice of grammar, lexis, and idiom, use of hesitations, pauses, repetition, laughter, topic, self-evaluative meta-talk, etc. might be influencing informants' evaluations as much as accent does."

The tendency of MGT to focus on accent as the only factor to inform respondents' attitude towards a language or its varieties has been considered as a major drawback of the approach. Vandermeeren (2005:1322) puts this as, "The major criticism of the Matched Guise Technique is

that it exposes respondents only to phonic input, ruling out situational conditions like role relationship of speakers, location and topic.” That means social and environmental conditions of speakers affect the type of response collected from participants. Further, this methodology happened to be more effective on small-scale studies but not on large scale surveys. In relation to this, Garrett (2005:1257) criticizes, "MGT studies in particular tended to be one of relatively small-scale and very localized investigations that did not always allow researchers to gain insights into the broader geographical picture, and indeed at times produced seemingly inconsistent patterns of results across studies."

The method is demanding to represent many dialects in recordings, and that makes researchers to limit its scope to few manageable representations. For that reason, MGT doesn't allow to include as many respondents and to represent as many dialects or accents available in a given language. Hence, MGT approach becomes too expensive in terms of time, human and financial resource to be implemented in many studies.

Recently a new technique called folk linguistics or perceptual attitude/ dialectology has also been adapted by studies of language attitude. Garrett (2005:1257) remarks,

Much recent language attitudes research has pursued perceptual dialectological and folk linguistic approaches. Hence for the most part, it has focused on attitudes to geographically based varieties, though also incorporating standard varieties even where these are primarily social rather than regional varieties.

Perceptual attitude is a direct approach where non-linguists' perceptions about dialect variation in language are explored with various techniques. Meyerhoff (2006:65) explains that perceptual dialectology is “the study of people's subjectively held beliefs about different dialects or linguistic varieties.” These social perceptions of linguistic diversity are other significant data to measure language attitude.

It is believed that attitude towards a language can be scrutinized through the direct methods as well. This assertion comes from Garrett (2007:119) who puts the value of both direct and indirect methods like:

Although the indirectness of using verbal guises can help inhibit (for example) socially desirable responses from masking private attitudes, direct approaches also feature large. Indeed, Giles (1970) used both approaches and found little

difference in the results, suggesting that not all contexts share the highly charged sensitivities that Lambert and colleagues felt in Montreal in the 1950s.

It can be seen from the quote that the potential benefit of direct methods to extract significant data on language attitudes was even attested by early researchers. Based on the contexts a research is found, researchers can implement any of the approaches and can reach at a valid conclusion of their data.

Vandermeeren (2005:1321) also shares the same belief about direct approaches, “Language attitudes can manifest themselves in (language) behavior, reported (language) behavior and reported language attitudes.” This shows that language attitudes can be understood from individual’s explicit self report about their language behavior and their attitude towards a language. Researchers can trust respondents' narratives and rely on the data they gather to make discussions of the topic they take care of. Vandermeeren (2005: 1322) adds,

Both actual behavior and statements are *attitude manifestations*. One of the types of statements revealing attitudes consists of self-reports in response to questions in interviews or questionnaires. Self-reports concerning behavior are conative responses, verbal statements of evaluation are evaluative responses and verbal statements of beliefs are cognitive responses.

The responses obtained through a questionnaire, interviews and focus group discussions can help to find out data about three attitude components which are cognitive, evaluative or affective and language behavior. Based on these underpinning methodological assumptions, the present study tried to find out acceptance of language standardization and the standard norm in Gamo by studying speakers’ attitudes. Data were gathered with different questions framed in the questionnaire as well as in individual and group interviews.

The document analysis was employed to trace norm selection in written standard Gamo. Words were collected from texts and their source dialects were traced. By counting on the words of each dialect in written Gamo, the research tried to identify the dialect that mainly offered the base for standard Gamo.

3.2.3.1. The Questionnaire

A questionnaire is one of the survey types which provide a researcher with the chance to address as many informants as possible. Gordon (2005: 958) acknowledges the role of extended methods as:

Survey methods offer an extremely efficient means of gathering data from a large sample of respondents in a relatively short amount of time... surveys can be a valuable technique for sociolinguists. They are well-suited to macro-level research including studies of societal bi-/multilingualism.

It is explained that a questionnaire, a survey type, saves time and energy and helps to study macro level issues.

As a macro-level sociolinguistic research, the present study tried to gain all the possible benefits from a questionnaire survey. A written questionnaire was prepared and distributed to students and teachers who knew, worked and learnt in standard Gamo. Some of the items were taken and adapted from former attitude and language use studies and the others were framed from the theories established for the current research. The questionnaire was first prepared in English. It was then translated into Amharic. Both the Amharic and the English versions were edited and evaluated for their compatibility by linguists and university Amharic language teachers. Based on the feedbacks obtained from the editors, the necessary improvements were made and the questionnaire was printed again, duplicated, stapled and made ready for administration.

The major purpose of using a questionnaire in this research was to find out users' attitude towards the standardization of Gamo. It particularly focused on the norm selection phase of the standardization and speakers' attitude towards their language and its standardization. The questionnaire was also meant to investigate the acceptance of the standard norm, another phase of a language standardization process (Holmes, 2013: 97). Through open and close ended questions, participants' attitude towards the selected norm, and their needs on language standardization in Gamo were studied. The questionnaire also tried to investigate speakers' language behavior with regard to using Gamo, Amharic and English in their everyday communication. It planned to see the contribution of speakers' language behavior to the standardization of Gamo and to find related attitude towards it.

As stated above, data through the questionnaire were collected twice. During the first fieldwork, the questionnaire was distributed to 118 students of ACTE and 10 teachers. This questionnaire helped to generally see the respondents' attitude towards the standard norm and its selection process and their choice of a dialect to be used as a standard written norm in Gamo.

Another questionnaire was prepared for the second fieldwork. During the preparation of this one, the drawbacks noticed from the first questionnaire were taken into account and the necessary amendments were made. Few questions were adapted from the first questionnaire and many new ones were added onto the second one. The questionnaire contained a total of 36 closed and three open ended questions.

In order to get the required sample size, the questionnaire was distributed among 425 respondents, a little more than the defined sample size. Among these, 37 were discarded for responses were vague i.e., two options were marked for a single item, and where most of the items were left unanswered. Among the respondents who wanted to fill in the questionnaire at home and return it afterwards, 48 did not give it back to the researcher. The results obtained from the remaining 340 questionnaire papers were processed. Despite the drawbacks faced during administering the questionnaire, the data from it remained highly reliable. The reliability test produced a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.803 for 32 of the questionnaire items. The reliability test is displayed in the following table.

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	315	92.6
	Excluded ^a	25	7.4
	Total	340	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.803	.806	32

Table 3: Results for the reliability analysis of the questionnaire

The first part of the questionnaire was about the respondents' background. Respondents were asked to indicate their sex category, age, and the Gamo dialect they spoke as their mother tongue. The second part of the questionnaire explored language use. Their choice of language in various domains and communication skills is sought and the extent they used Gamo in line with the other languages spoken in the area, Amharic and English, was emphasized. The third section investigated respondents' attitude towards Gamo and its standardization. The fourth part of the questionnaire contained items about speakers' views about the significance of standardizing Gamo and the last section asked their ideas about how a standard norm should be chosen for Gamo.

3.2.3.1.1. Social Backgrounds of the Respondents

Participants of the questionnaire had different social backgrounds. Some of these backgrounds were significant indicators of data variability and were used to analyze variable correlation. Sex, age, education level, occupation, and dialect of the respondents are discussed in what follows.

	Female	Male	Missing	Total
No.	143	190	7	340
%	42.1	55.9	2.1	100

Table 4: Sex of respondents to the questionnaire

As it can be seen from Table 4, 143 (42.1%) of the respondents were females and 190 (55.9%) were males. The others, 7 (2.1%) of the respondents did not indicate their sex category. Though the majority of the respondents were males, there was a great effort to include as many females in the study as possible.

The other background information was the respondents' age. This has been indicated in the next table.

	14-20 yrs	21-30yrs	31-40yrs	Above 40 yrs	missing	missing
No.	211	92	23	10	4	340
%	62.1	27.1	6.8	2.9	1.2	100

Table 5: Age category of the respondents

Table 5 shows that 211 (62.1%) of the respondents were between 14-20 years old. The majority of the research participants fell in this category because most of them were students taken from a college. On the other hand, a little more than a quarter of the respondents, 92 (27.1%), indicated that they were between 21-30 years old while few, 23 (6.8%), mentioned that their age category was between 31-40 years. Few respondents, 10 (2.9%) were above 40 years old. It is possible to say that both young and adult social groups were included in the study.

The other important background of respondents was their educational background.

	Diploma	First degree	MA/MSc or above	Total
No.	289	40	11	340
%	85	11.8	3.2	100

Table 6: Educational background of the respondents

Since the study emphasized on norm selection in written standards of Gamo, the respondents' literacy skill in their own language and their encounter with different Gamo dialects were considered to be major factors for them to make an informed decision on language standardization. For that reason, the questionnaire was distributed to college students or graduates (teachers). As can be seen from Table 6, the majority of the informants, 289 (85%), were college diploma holders or the ones who were studying for a diploma. Some of them, 40 (11.8%), had first degree and 11 (3.2%) of the respondents had MA/MSc or above. Again those who claimed to have or to be on the way to own their diploma exceeded in number here for most of the research subjects were taken from ACTE where students study at a diploma level. Junior school and lower grade level students were not included in the research since the researcher thought that it might be too early to discuss about language standardization with these grade levels of students.

Respondents' occupation, mainly as students and teachers, is discussed below.

	Student	Teacher	Total
No.	274	66	340
%	80.6	19.4	100

Table 7: Respondents' occupation

It can be noticed from Table 7 that the majority of the participants, 274 (80.6%), who filled in the questionnaire were students. On the other hand, 66 (19.4%) of them were teachers in high schools and a college. Schools are significant places where a researcher can get access to enormous subjects who represent diverse society. Bearing this benefit in mind, this research was carried out in schools and particularly in a college. So, the major social groups that constitute colleges and schools are teachers and students. In fact, the researcher approached more teachers and asked them to fill in the questionnaire, but many refused to do so claiming that they did not know the written standard form of Gamo since, they said, they never taught or learnt in it. For instance, there was a director of one junior school whom the researcher asked to cooperate for interview and to fill in the questionnaire. The person was the native speaker of the language but he reasoned out that he never taught in Gamo and did not know the written standard form. He then left his office and said that he would call other Gamo language teachers.

As has been mentioned earlier, this research focused on the five major dialects of Gamo (Dache, Kucha, Ochollo, Dorze and Ganta). To assess social attitude towards the language, speakers of these dialects were taken as major sources of data, but there were also respondents who claimed to speak other dialects. So, those respondents who stated that they speak other dialects were counted and reported as “other” groups. In the following table, dialectal backgrounds of the participants are presented.

	Dache	Dorze	Ochollo	Ganta	Kucha	Other	total
No.	82	65	60	49	60	24	340
%	24.1	19.1	17.6	14.4	17.6	7.1	100

Table 8: Dialectal backgrounds of the respondents

As can be seen from Table 8, nearly a quarter of the respondents, 82 (24.1%), were the Dache dialect speakers, and 65 (19.1%) were the Dorze dialect speakers of Gamo. The number of respondents who reported to speak the Ochollo dialect, 60 (17.6%), was equal to those who had Kucha dialect background, 60 (17.6%). On the other hand, 49 (14.4%) of them had Ganta dialect background. Though these five dialect areas were the focus of this research, there were respondents, 24 (7.1%), who said they speak dialects other than those the study covered. These kinds of respondents also took part in the interviews and focus group discussions as well. The dialects they mentioned to speak include Gatse, Balta, Shara, Garbansa and Kogota. Some other

respondents also wrote the language Gamo instead of indicating the specific dialects they spoke. Gatse is assumed to be an area where the Dache dialect is spoken. Some people argue that the Balta, Shara and Garbansa dialects are close and mutually intelligible to Ganta dialect. The Kogota dialect is spoken around Mirab Abaya area. Though the dialects are not the focus areas of this research, the researcher did not want to merge them to the other closer dialects, which are included in the study. Instead, they were treated as “other” groups and the data were analyzed and reported independently.

3.2.3.2. Interviews

A semi structured interview is a suitable means of approaching several issues related to applied linguistics. For this reason, most researchers consider to use it as a data collection tool. In relation to this, Dornyei (2007:123) observes:

In applied linguistic research, most interviews conducted belong to the ‘Semi-structured interview’ type, which offers a compromise between the two extremes: Although there is a set of pre-prepared guiding questions and prompts, the format is open-ended and the interviewee is encouraged to elaborate on the issues raised in an exploratory manner.

In a semi-structured interview, researchers prepare questions that lead the conversations between the interviewer and the interviewees. But, during the actual interviews, researchers follow a democratic and flexible approach. They raise additional questions to provide interviewees the freedom to explain their views and opinions.

This kind of approach was applied in the present research to gather data from officials, language developers, teachers, students and textbook writers/editors. A semi-structured interview was preferable because it would give respondents a considerable freedom to build their views and perspectives on the subject matter. It would also help the researcher to investigate the development process of Gamo as a standard language and the associated language attitudes towards it. The interviews carried out with the informants were audio recorded and transcribed for further analysis.

During the first trip to the research site, 4 officials and 10 teachers filled in interview questions printed on papers. And interviews with one official and two students were audio recorded. Unrecorded discussion was held with two language developers. During the second round trip, 20

Gamo native speakers were interviewed. Both male and female participants who were teachers, office workers language standardizers, textbook writers and students were approached for the interview. The interviews during the second field work were all recorded with an audio material and transcribed for further analysis. The total number of interviewees participated in the two fieldworks is shown in the following table.

	Male	Female	Total
No.	17	6	23
%	74	26	100

Table 9: Sex of interviewees

Table 9 displays that most of the interviewees, 17(74%), were males and 6 (26%) were females. The number of female interviewees declined here because the researcher could not find female Gamo teachers in the Department of Gamo in ACTE by then. In order to have female participants, the researcher interviewed female students who did not take part in the focus group discussions in ACTE and other female teachers in a nearby school. Interviewees of other occupations were also involved in the study as shown in the following table.

	Teachers	Students	Office workers/ former teachers in Gamo language	Total
No.	13	8	2	23
%	56.5	34.8	8.7	100

Table 10: Interviewees' occupation

Among the 23 Gamo speakers interviewed during the two fieldtrips, 13(56.5%) were teachers and the other 8(34.8%) were students. Among the teachers were who wrote and edited books and textbooks in Gamo, and especially one of them was a member of the group who formerly worked as a leader of the DaGaGo (a written language formed from Dawuro, Gamo and Gofa languages) harmonization and standardization team. He was a representative of the Gamo language during the harmonization work. The other 2 (8.7 %) worked as language developers and curriculum designers in the zonal administration offices, but formerly taught Gamo in schools.

3.2.3.3. Focus Group Discussions

The other data collection instrument utilized in the research was focus group discussion. In order to get sufficient data, the researcher conducted focus group discussions during the second field trip. Six focus group discussions were held with 35 participants all together. All of the focus group discussions were organized and led by the researcher. In fact, focal persons who were students in ACTE supported the researcher to find students of different dialect speakers. The majority of the focus group participants were students from ACTE. One focus group discussion was also held with teachers when it was inconvenient to interview them individually. The major focus of the discussions was to find out the participants' opinions, attitudes and practices on their language and its standardization. In each session there was a great attempt to ensure gender participation, and both males and females were part of the discussion.

	Male	Female	Total
No.	24	11	35
%	68.5	31.4	100

Table 11: Sex of the participants in the focus group discussions

Among the 35 members, 24 (68.5%) were males and 11 (31.4%) of them were females. Though the number of females decreases by half from males, there was a great effort to include females in each focus group discussion as much as possible.

3.2.3.4. Document Analysis

Due to its young standardization history, publications and literary materials in Gamo were rarely found. Textbooks were the main printed documents with which language standardization in Gamo could be investigated. A few other publications including a trilingual dictionary (Gebreyohannis, 2000), a book of Gamo folktales (Wondimu, 2015) and a bilingual dictionary (Hayward and Eshetu, 2014), are written through individual endeavours. In addition to these, there were a few publications, books and templates, published by the Gamo Gofa Zone Culture and Tourism Department. They were mainly prepared to document the Gamo culture, but they were not accessible in book stores or any places. They were not distributed for the public consumption and cannot be accessed by the wider society. They are found only on the shelves of the Gamo Gofa Zone Culture and Tourism, language and culture development sector.

Two kinds of text resources were used in this study. These were student textbooks and a literature book of Gamo entitled “Gamo Folktales” translated into English by Wondimu (2015). The other publication used as a source of information was Gebreyohanis (2000). These materials were selected to be used in the study mainly because the researcher accessed them from individuals, offices, schools and book stores.

3.2.3.4.1. The textbooks

Textbooks are the main sources of knowledge received at schools. They deliver contents that are covered in a course syllabus and the respective activities and methodologies of teaching and learning. In terms of the language they implement, textbooks are believed to be consistent and are expected to be free from errors. As Sebba (2007:47) puts it, textbooks are the most regulated materials where a fixed language form is implemented. They guide students, teachers and any kind of population as to how a language is learned and used.

Textbooks are not owned by individuals in many contexts. They are often prepared and distributed by a government or an organization that works on language development activities related to education. In the Ethiopian context, school textbooks are prepared and distributed by the immediate administration of the concerned society. It mainly depends on the organization of citizens and the languages they use in each area. Administrations at district, zone or region levels might be in charge of preparing textbooks and distributing them. In Gamo, textbooks are published by the zonal administration particularly by the Gamo Gofa Zone Education Department. Therefore, including the textbooks in the study helped to explore the top down standardization practices in the language.

The textbooks were used for two purposes. They were used as sources of Gamo words to understand norm selection in the standardization process of the language. In addition, while working on the norm selection aspect of the language from the textbooks, the researcher noted that many words from Amharic and English were used. Some of the words were placed in brackets and others out of brackets while the Gamo words were inside the brackets. Consideration of the words taken from other languages in the research helped to note the

influence of dominant languages on language standardization. The words given with other words as an option in different textbooks were counted and the implications were analyzed.

In this section, a description of some background information about the textbooks is given. The textbooks included in this research were students' textbooks published to teach the Gamo language. Gamo language textbooks used for Grade one up to Grade four were all taken as sources of lexical data. The whole textbooks in this early primary grade level were taken for some practical reasons. First of all, Gamo is the medium of instruction in those grade levels for all subject areas except for the Amharic and the English language lessons. This allows one to say that the codification of Gamo in the language textbooks deserves a special attention since they lay the grounds for language learning in the minds of children. In addition to these textbooks, one textbook was taken from each of the other grade levels. That means, from the upper primary grades, a Gamo textbook for Grade six was chosen, and from high school Grade levels a Gamo language textbook for Grade ten was selected as a source of lexical information. The following table provides some information about the textbooks and the number of words taken from each material.

The textbooks	Title of texts/stories	Pages the texts/stories were taken from	Number of words taken from each text
The Gamo Language, Grade One (2012)	x'eera hanota kalana 'Tera does things like this'	18	8
The Gamo Language, Grade Two (2003)	jode tarike , 'a story of a frog' wolk'ama gamo, 'the powerful lion'	21	32
		55	34
The Gamo Language, Grade Three (2012)	parane sudume, 'the horse and the frog' bulafja, 'wedding'	22	25
		37	38
The Gamo Language, Grade Four (2002)	dibbanne atark'k'o, 'Dibba and Atarqgo' perddinande maajilaane (1462-1332), 'Ferdinand Magilan (1462-1332)'	43	31
		66	72
Gamo language, Grade six (2005)	muussa maaraa, 'Custom of eating' katsta zeretsta hiilla, 'Ways of sowing crops'	24	44
		54	29
Gamo language, Grade Ten (2010)	naf'e sare beherawe parrke, 'Nech Sar National Park' mife go7eto 'borrowing money'	36	47
		42	52
Total			412

Table 12: Description of the textbooks and title of the texts from which sample words were taken

As presented in Table 12, the words taken from Grade one Gamo textbook were 8. The contents in Grade one Gamo language textbook mainly dealt with letters and words. Only one short reading text was available at page 18 and the words in this passage were taken. Since it is a textbook prepared for beginner language learners or small children, it is obvious that letters and words might be more important to attain the curriculum's objectives in Grade one than texts. In Grade two, two texts were randomly selected as sources of words. The first text was available at page 21, and 32 words were selected from this. The second text was on page 55 of the textbook, and 34 words were taken from this text. A Grade three Gamo textbook was also used as source of two reading passages where a total of 63 words were selected. The texts were located at page 22 and 37. In the same way, from Grade four, 31 words were selected from a text available at page 43, and 72 words from page 66.

The textbooks selected from the upper grade levels included a Grade six Gamo textbook. From this textbook, 44 words were selected from a story presented at page 24. Similarly, 29 words were taken from page 54. A Grade ten Gamo textbook was also among the materials used to study norm selection in the standardization of Gamo. Accordingly, two texts were taken from page 36 where 47 words were chosen and from page 42 where 52 words were picked up. All of the words selected from the texts indicated above were used to examine the dialects of Gamo they were taken from.

On the other hand, the above textbooks, except the Grade four and the Grade six, including a Grade three Mathematics textbook for mother tongue education were used to evaluate the contribution and influence of different varieties in the standardization process of Gamo. The words used with other words in brackets were all counted and discussed in relation to standardization trends. The feasibility of the words provided as an option in the textbooks and their pedagogical and social impacts were analyzed.

3.2.3.4.2. Wondimu (2015)

The book entitled "The Gamo Folktales" organized by Wondimu (2015) was the other material used to collect Gamo words. The book is a collection of popular folktales commonly told in the Gamo society. The folktales are Gamo oral traditions through which traditional knowledge, values and customs sustain from generation to generation. The folktales are written in three

languages, Gamo, Amharic and English. The Gamo versions of all of the folktales appear on the first half of the book followed by Amharic translations. On the final half of the book the English translations of each story are available. The book is a great contribution to the Gamo language and society. It reflects the indigenous wealth accumulated in Gamo and gives opportunity to readers to appreciate and acknowledge the Gamo culture. As to the information from Wondimu, the book was prepared for use as a learning aid in schools. He also said that it was written in accordance with the norm applied in the Gamo textbooks. From the book, three folktales were randomly selected from the Gamo version.

3.2.3.4.3. Gebreyohanis (2000)

Gebreyohanis (2000) is a bilingual dictionary, which was published when the Gamo Gofa Zone administration planned to use a common language for both Gamo and Gofa language speakers, who now are using their own independent languages. Accordingly, the title of the dictionary was stated as “Gamo-Gofatho Amarato Sima Qala Shiqo.” That literally means, 'A dictionary of Gamo-Gofa language in Amharic.' The dictionary contains a mixture of Gamo and Gofa words and provides their Amharic translations. Therefore, in this research, the dictionary was used to check the presence of those words selected from the texts, and see how they were codified and represented. Since it was prepared to develop a standard language from both Gamo and Gofa, the dictionary did not contain a lot of the Gamo words extracted from the texts. But, its contribution to understand the standardization process of the Gamo language is profound.

3.2.3.4.4 The texts

Two texts from each textbook (which all together make 12 texts) and three texts from the folktale were randomly chosen to pick up Gamo words. From these, 550 main words, which include nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, were selected. Gebreyohanis (2000) was used to check the prevalence of the words in other publications, and to see how they were codified in dictionaries. Among the total words, 412 of them were taken from the textbooks and 138 were selected from Wondimu (2015). Due to the grammar in the language, a selected word may also contain further grammatical information. Attested variations in all levels of language features were considered as sources of differences among the dialects studied.

Different scholars noted that vocabulary of a language is a significant aspect of language standardization. They can be enumerated and enable us to report dialectal representation with an objective figure. They play significant role in changing the status of a language through different activities. Garvin (1993:43) stipulates that vocabulary of a language holds two facets of standardization called flexible stability and intellectualization. He puts the two characteristics as, "A vocabulary that is both stable and capable of being easily enlarged can serve as an index of a high degree of flexible stability; a well-developed vocabulary that is adapted to the expressive needs of modern living will serve as an index of a high degree of intellectualization."

While intellectualization is about lexical development of a language, flexible stability has to do with making the words to be used in the standard form of the language fixed or consistent. The vocabulary in a standard language is preferred to be stable but flexible to accommodate new words and word features which join the standard language to meet new human communication demands. Flexible stability is a great concern in dealing with lexical standardization. In the present research, the concern was to investigate the degree at which lexical use is stable in the standardization process of Gamo. It also gives a chance to review to what extent the standard language is flexible to accommodate the needs of different dialect speakers.

Dialectal variation analysis at different standard contexts is very common in other studies too. For example, Williams (1989:182) counted the frequency of standard and non-standard English features in students' texts. She analyzed the prevalence of non-standard speech forms in student writings, and tried to show the strong connection of students' life with their village dialects. Though everyone may expect learners to implement standard forms in classes especially in writing to teachers, the scholar found out that non standard forms were also evident in formal classroom writings.

3.2.3.4.5. The dialects included in this study

It has been mentioned in the first chapter of this dissertation that Gamo has many dialect variants, and there is a strong belief that all of them deserve equal attention from language developers and researchers. This being the case, it would be overambitious to think to cover all of the dialects in a single study. So, limiting the number of the dialects to be considered in this

research into a manageable size was inevitable. For that reason, five of the dialects were chosen to be the focus areas.

Those five dialects, Dache, Kucha, Ochollo, Dorze and Ganta were selected based on linguistic and social reasons. The Kucha dialect is reported to be different from the other dialects in its phonetics. On the other hand, the Ochollo and Dorze dialects differ from the rest in the production of alveolar consonants. According to Hirut (2013b: 377) alveolar consonants have a dental point of articulation in Ochollo and Dorze. The Ganta dialect also bears lexical and enormous grammatical variation to the other dialects (see Hirut, 2013a). These facts show that those dialects include in one way or another linguistic variation at different levels.

Further to linguistic diversity in the dialects, it is assumed that the present time written standard Gamo is very much similar to the Dache dialect, which is mutually intelligible to Kucha, Ochollo and Dorze in its lexis and intelligible to Ganta in its phonology. This public assumption, hence, needed to be confirmed by a standardization research that includes Dache in its analysis. The lexical analysis helped to identify the route of standardization by tracing the base dialect. Speakers of those dialects were also used as a main source of sociolinguistic data. Their attitude towards Gamo and its standardization provided data on how they see dialect participation in the standardization process. By making sociolinguistic investigation, the research would give empirical data about the present assumption of standard Gamo.

The word count analysis added to the other quantitative and qualitative data, as Deumert and Vandebussche (2003:458 & 465) note, help to explore the traditional 'from above ' language standardization practice and to compare it to the social needs available at the bottom levels. It is possible to explore variation reduction and dialect convergence and divergence trends in the standard language, and to disclose the salient problems of the standardization process (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997:88). Since the norm selection policy of written standard Gamo is not explicitly stated in any language policy, a thorough study about contemporary practices would succumb to the implicit policy of language standardization. Spolsky (2004:8) makes these kinds of studies to be very important to disclose unwritten language policies:

...language policy exists even where it has not been made explicit or established by authority. Many countries and institutions and social groups do not have formal or written language policies, so that the nature of their language policy

must be derived from a study of their language practice or beliefs. Even where there is a formal, written language policy, its effect on language practices is neither guaranteed nor consistent.

It is clear from the note that studies on language practice and belief are significant even where there are formally announced language policies. The studies add knowledge about how the policies related to every day life of the concerned language community.

The other important documents assisted the job of finding out information about norm selection and other related sociolinguistic issues in the standardization process of the Gamo language were articles, research outputs, journals, conference manuals, published books, etc.. These materials shed some light on the history, development and standardization process of Gamo.

3. 3. Data Analysis and Presentation

It has been indicated earlier (3.1) that the research followed a mixed method approach in data collection procedures and in the development of instruments used. In the same way, it used one of the data analysis techniques very known in mixed method research approach, triangulation data analysis method. Triangulating different types of data during the analysis stage increases the validity of the data gathered through both ways of quantitative and qualitative approaches (Guion, 2002). Lauri (2011) also advocates the use of different data collection methods and triangulation of the data during analysis to strengthen the findings of a research.

Accordingly, in this research the qualitative data were integrated within the quantitative data so as to increase the validity and reliability of the information gathered. According to Creswell (2006:118), one of the purposes of collecting data in a concurrent time frame in mixed method research is, “to validate one form of data (typically quantitative) through the other forms (typically qualitative data) (in the Triangulation Validating Quantitative Data Design).”

The major data used in the study were the ones collected during the second fieldwork, but whenever the need arose, the qualitative data gathered from interviews during the first phase of the fieldwork were also referred to.

At first, words were selected from the texts identified and sorted in the five dialects. Informants of each dialect speakers were given lists of words taken from the texts, and they were asked to

indicate if they used a different or the same words in their own dialect to refer to the concepts. Words of each dialect that appeared in the texts were, then, counted to trace the path of norm selection and standardization. Then, the dialect used to establish standard Gamo was identified and a discussion was made about norm selection in Gamo.

On the other hand, the qualitative data gathered through interviews and focus group discussions were transcribed and typed. The data sets were transcribed using IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) symbols, but the corpus data were written in the orthography of the language used for interviews, Amharic. The data were thematically coded using words, phrases and sentences. Some of the expressions used to code the qualitative data include - beliefs about norm selection, attitude towards Gamo, similar/ close/ or different, standard norm, exclusion, mono-centric or polycentric norm selection, domains, etc. These data were used to strengthen the discussions that arose from the document analysis and the questionnaire. In the interest of keeping informants' privacy, anonymized names were used while citing the informants in the analysis.

The quantitative data from the close ended questions of the questionnaire were processed using SPSS version 20 (Statistical Package for Social Science) software and frequencies and percentages were produced. The results were presented in tables that contain thematically organized items, and frequencies and percentiles were used to report the outcomes. The outputs of the five Likert scale measurements were synthesized into three scales. That means the scales for “strongly agree” and “agree” were summed up and reported as claims of agreement and results for “strongly disagree” were blended with results of “disagree” and reported as assertions of disagreement. The responses for “undecided” were analyzed independently. In the same way, the findings for “always” and “usually” were clustered and reported as frequently and the findings for “rarely” and “never” reported to be infrequent experiences. The Responses for “sometimes” were analyzed as they are.

Further to reporting frequencies and percentiles, possible relationships between different dependent and independent variables were processed with Cross tabulation of results. The outputs from crosstab analysis were presented in “contingency tables.” As Blaikie (2003: 91) confirms, “Relationships between combinations of nominal-level and ordinal-level variables are best understood with the use of *contingency tables*. Such tables set out, category by category, the

extent to which two variables are or are not related. This is done by *cross-tabulating* the distributions of the two variables.”

Then, the results of cross tabulations which the Chi-Square test was high and significant at $p < .05$ value were analyzed and discussed further to show associations. Blaikie (2003:96) puts that the strength of association, in the cross tabulated variables, that we can understand from a contingency table is not enough to determine on how strongly those variables are associated. Different coefficients can be used, and a Chi-Square was one of the tests used in this study.

Generally, the analysis section of the dissertation is presented in two chapters. The first, which is chapter four of the dissertation, presents norm selection in the standardization process of Gamo. The discussion is based mainly on the data collected from document analysis and from interviews and focus group discussions. The second, which is chapter five, discusses norm acceptance measured by speakers' attitudes towards Gamo and their needs on language standardization. The quantitative data from the questionnaire and the majority of the data from interviews and focus group discussions were utilized in this latter chapter. Both of the themes in the fourth and the fifth chapter were analyzed in line with the theoretical frameworks established in chapter two. Later, the research was synthesized in conclusions drawn from the data and recommendations were forwarded.

3.4. Ethical Considerations

A very great effort has been put into place to meet the required ethical issues of sociolinguistic researches. The rights, needs, and values of informants were duly respected throughout the data collection processes in the quantitative and qualitative approaches. All offices and schools were approached with a support letter from a concerned body at different levels. Schools were visited with a permission letter from the concerned district administration education offices. Similarly, a support letter was issued from the Gamo Gofa Zone Education Department to the researcher to collect data from students and teachers in ACTE.

During the data collection procedures in the quantitative and qualitative methods, the objectives of the research were verbally explained to the participants. All of the informants were briefed about their rights to withdraw from participating in the research at any time they wanted without

presenting any justification for their actions. They were also told that their identities would remain anonymous during the data analysis at all times.

So far, this part of the dissertation attempted to discuss the methodology. It explained in detail the general approach followed to gather and analyze data. The instruments used to collect data were discussed one by one and all the necessary details about each tool were placed. Above all, the chapter includes analysis of background information of the research participants in all data gathering mechanisms.

Chapter Four

Norm Selection in Gamo¹

4.0. Introduction

This chapter deals with the norm selection and the accompanied challenges of language standardization in Gamo. First, the chapter gives a brief overview about the emergence of Gamo as a written standard language. It then provides an account of the challenges and the social implications of norm selection and standardization. The representation of selected dialects in the standard norm of Gamo is analyzed with data obtained from word counts. Then the role of different varieties in the development process of standard norms in the Gamo textbooks is discussed.

4.1. A Brief History of Written Gamo

Every language holds a unique historical background of standardization. Likewise, the standardization process of Gamo embraces significant well known events. The standardization process began when a common written language was developed from North Ometo clusters, which included Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro. With the advent of mother tongue education in the country, a common Latin based orthography was designed for the Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro languages in 1993. The orthography contained letters that represent the sounds of all of the languages in the North Ometo cluster, Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dwuro. That means, the standard sounds of Gamo were identified and standard letters were placed to write them.

Orthography development was the first action taken to use the local languages in education and other official settings. Placing the languages into education was believed to enrich the culture, beliefs and practices of the respective indigenous societies. It would create a conducive environment to preserve, spread and transfer into generations the indigenous knowledge accumulated in Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro societies. Scholars believe that if indigenous knowledge should be sustained, indigenous languages should be used in the education system

¹ A succinct form of this chapter has been published in Binyam & Johannessen (eds.) *Multilingual Ethiopia: Linguistic Challenges and Capacity Building Efforts*, Oslo Studies in Language 8(1), 2016. 273–293. (ISSN 1890-9639)

provided for the respective society. Campbell (2006:6) argues for the use of African indigenous languages in education to transmit indigenous knowledge, “The indigenous languages are repositories and means of transmission of this (indigenous) knowledge and the related social behaviors, practices, and innovations.” So, using the Gamo language in mother tongue education created great opportunity to include different social values into the curriculum.

At the time of language development in the former North Omo Zone, the Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro languages were thought to be similar languages and their speakers were believed to share a common culture. Indeed, these languages exhibit a high level of mutual intelligibility amongst themselves. This has been reported by a mutual intelligibility research carried out by Hirut (2005b:110) that showed these languages share greater than 80% of their vocabulary, but differ only in 20% of their cognate words. With this linguistic precedence, the Ministry of Education considered Wolaitta, due to its existing written history as compared to the rest of the varieties, to serve as the medium of instruction in schools in the four areas. Hirut (2007: 215) puts the rationale to select Wolaitta as a standard norm as, “The reason for choosing this language above the others was because it has a relatively developed history as a written language, and it was used as the language of instruction for a literacy campaign conducted during the previous regime.”

With this ideology in mind, textbooks for early primary grades were translated from Amharic into the Wolaitta language and published for distribution across the four areas. It seems that the information about the decision of the Ministry of Education to use Wolaitta as a language of mother tongue education to the others as well reached the target people before any practical action was taken. One of the key informants said the following:

(1) Other people said, “We do not want to take this textbook because it does not represent us, or our sounds are not there. Our language is not there, it is purely Wolaitta. It imposes Wolaitta identity on us, but we are not Wolaitta. We are different nations and nationalities.” Because of these feedbacks from the wider public of Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro, the government gave us the freedom to develop the language again in a way it meets our language needs (Saroka, Jan. 2015).

The data show that members of the Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro society whose language was thus relegated opposed the attempt. They considered it to be an attempt to threaten their ethno linguistic identity. They questioned the absence of their linguistic features in the standard language and felt that the standard could not be considered their language. So the Wolaitta only language in the education policy did not get social support and was shot down before its implementation (Hirut, 2013b: 376).

The officials and the language experts in the four areas immediately felt that the people's inquiry about participation of their spoken features in the standard language needed to be replied. They planned to establish a more inclusive language than what was proposed by the Ministry of Education to serve as a medium of instruction to the whole society across the four areas. A Gamo language expert, Saroka (Jan. 2015) expressed the rationale language standardizers held as:

(2)We said, we know we are one and the same people. Why don't we try another means to bring these nationalities into one center? We agreed to prepare textbooks in a standard language that includes varieties of the four languages.

It is clear that there was a hope the standard language would integrate the societies in the four regions. They came up with the idea of harmonizing the four languages by having the words of each dialect represented in the standard. The idea was that the four languages could be harmonized into one form that would fulfill social needs of linguistic representation. Harmonization was seen a better means of standardization to the different linguistic groups than selecting one of the languages of the major groups.

The idea of harmonization did not go easily as it was expected at first. It did not suit to the vision of some of the groups. The Wolaitta language members of the standardization group were not pleased about standardizing their language through harmonization. They were not happy that the textbooks prepared in their own language were not going to be used in any of the areas. Harmonizing Wolaitta with the others was considered like pulling it back from the level it achieved as a standard language of textbooks and a language of Literacy campaign during the Derg regime. It is not difficult to imagine that many social and linguistic related factors must have been running in the minds of Wolaitta experts to refuse the merging of the languages. When textbook preparation was commenced, the Wolaitta authorities made it clear that they preferred

to continue using the books previously prepared in their own language by the Ministry of Education. Getachew (Jan. 2015), in the following quote, narrated the story of policy transition from Wolaitta to a composite language:

(3) At the beginning, what I remember was, people developed a language with the name Wolaitta and prepared textbooks at the Ministry of Education. The textbooks were sent to Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro areas, which were believed to speak very close languages. But that decision created unfavorable reaction from the localities especially among Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro elites. The decision to use Wolaitta language as a medium of mother tongue education was not accepted by these groups. So the political wing of the time that administered the Semen Omo Zone tried to find a solution. They called up on language and education experts and asked them to rework on the materials and bring a common textbook that could work for all groups. The textbook preparation work started with that demand from the authorities, and some disagreements occurred among the groups of experts who were working on the materials. Variations occurred especially on using the sound /ts/. There was a big dispute between Wolaittas and the others because the sound /ts/ exists in Gofa, Dawuro and Gamo, but it doesn't exist in Wolaitta. There was a great objection from Wolaitta representatives about using those sounds in the textbooks prepared for all. So, the Wolaitta groups withdrew from the team work, and the remaining Dawuro, Gamo and Gofa groups continued on harmonizing the three languages under the name DaGaGo.

Though the ideological base to form a language blended from the four linguistic compositions was to bring *“a common textbook that could work for all groups”*, Wolaittas believed that the linguistic rights of the society after whom they worked would not be fulfilled with the amalgamated language. The decision they made at the time created a potential opportunity for the Wolaitta language to consolidate and maintain itself as a standard language. The rest, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro, were merged into one form that was not again welcomed by the respective speakers who considered the standard to harm their individual varieties. As a result the, development of Gamo as a standard language of education progressed very steadily.

Textbooks were written by harmonizing the words of the three languages into a standard called DaGaGo, an acronym which stood for Dawuro, Gamo and Gofa languages, in 1995. This was the first time when written Gamo appeared in history as a standardized text material for learning. The textbook preparation was handled in a procedure. They were introduced into sample schools before their final publication. Siebert (2002:6) mentions this as, “Newly developed educational material for grades one and five was prepared for the three varieties, Gamo, Gofa, and Dawuro

(Kullo), in an effort to standardize the three varieties into a written form.” The textbooks were published and deployed into schools after gathering feedbacks from teachers and students in the model schools. They were also evaluated at the Ministry of Education before decision was made to publish them.

The writers believed that the three languages were linguistically close that a common standard language would suffice the administrative and the educational needs of the respective speakers. One of the Gamo representatives explained the rationale for having a common standard to the varieties in Siebert (2002:6) as, “The plan to standardize GGD was made after a comparison of the three varieties on the ‘morphological, syntactic, and lexical level’, a comparison which then led to the conclusion that the standardization project would be worthwhile.” They had a strong feeling on their side that they are one and they needed a common language that keeps their unity.

The standardization process of DaGaGo was, actually, handled in a very formal and organized manner. There were groups selected from every subject area to write textbooks for first cycle primary grades, and there was also another group formed from language experts who worked on the creation and elaboration of vocabulary for DaGaGo. The lexical elaboration group assisted the textbook writing group by coining new words to concepts that are newly introduced into DaGaGo due to education (Saroka, Jan. 2015). Since the standard language was being ready to take roles in science and other fields of education, developing its vocabulary was a very essential aspect of the standardization process. The other essential social aspect of the standardization of a common language was its planned potential to expand to areas where communities are currently believed to speak divergent languages like Zayse, Zargulla and Oyda. Siebert (2002: 6) states the plan of DaGaGo as, “Thus GGD will be the medium of instruction, and it will also be taught as a subject in the GGD-speaking areas. In addition, it will also be used in those areas where Zayse, Zergulla, and Oyda people live.” It was reported that these people did not consider their language and their ethnic identity to be part of the DaGaGo speaking community though. They were, then, appealing for an autonomous administration and textbook production in their own language since then. Later, except Zargulla, which was taken as a dialect of Gamo, the other two communities, Zayse and Oyda, have been acknowledged as independent languages of the Gamo Gofa Zone.

DaGaGo can, therefore, be taken as a standard variety which merged different linguistic groups into one center. The merging action was not, once again, what the society wanted for mother tongue education, and so it did not take long before the whole society opposed the amalgamation process and the implementation of the standard in the respective areas and areas outside of the coverage of the three languages such as Zayse and Oyda. But, except rumors heard about the social dissatisfaction, no formal public protest against DaGaGo was documented in any research reports. The use of the standard language in education was even halted when the need to remix the major four North Omoto languages into another quite unique standard arose by the regional government. Social movement did not play significant role in suspending DaGaGo.

The sociolinguistic situation became more complicated due to the decision to absurdly add Wolaitta back to DaGaGo, and when WoGaGoDa, another written standard composed of Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro varieties, was formed in 1998. There was an effort to evaluate the challenges encountered in the earlier standardization of DaGaGo and Wolaitta, but the decision to harmonize the four languages was not reverted in any way. The four languages were merged following an inclusion technique. The standardization gave priority to cognate words which were common to the whole groups of languages. That means whenever a word common to all or most of the varieties was found to express concepts, that word was used as a major means of expression with tags of the first two letters of the source language. Occasionally the remaining different varieties were included in brackets next to the main words. One major problem encountered in the standardization process of WoGaGoDa was the difference in the grammatical features of each of the varieties. Since all of the languages deserved representation in the standard, the writers tried to mix up the features in the textbooks through a kind of amalgamation. This process has been well documented in Hirut (2007: 216) who expresses:

The main problem in the process was the grammatical variation present across the dialects. It was decided to mix up the grammatical features from the varieties in a text. For instance, in a piece of text one word follows the conjugational system of Dawuro, while the next one follows that of Gamo, etc so that the linguistic features from each variety would be well represented in the hybrid.

The way the standardization team tried to handle the variations in the languages created texts full of brackets and letters used to label the words of each source language. Its pedagogical and

cognitive burden on the language learners was very immense that no one was happy to learn standard WoGaGoDa.

It seemed that the lessons received from DaGaGo were overlooked and more varieties were merged into a unified language. For example, as indicated above (excerpt 3), the Wolaitta representatives who sat together with the representatives of Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro to prepare textbooks in a language that would appear central to all speakers resigned from the standardization process for they were unhappy about letting their people learn in linguistic features which did not exist in their languages. The DaGaGo representative who was invited to merge WoGaGoDa even said that he expressed disagreement to the organizers on the decision to merge the languages. That means neither the Wolaitta groups nor the DaGaGo groups accepted the policy of reducing the two standards into one.

What is more, no survey was conducted on social opinion of people at the grassroots level on the harmonization of the four languages. From the out set it was just done that the administration needed to execute a common mother tongue education project. Many consider the project to lack a proper language planning procedures and justifications. For instance, Jha (2013:1741) observes:

... the absence of conscious language planning in case of introducing a blended language called **Wogagoda** (from **Wolayta**, **Gamo**, **Gofa** and **Dawro**) into the primary school education resulted in burning of textbooks worth 40 million birr, death of seven people, transfer of hundreds of teachers, and chaos that resulted in the demolition of infrastructures and even hotels.

The project was justified in terms of minimizing the financial costs that publishing textbooks in each of the variety could have incurred. Heugh (2014:31) notes, "An official reason given for the attempt to create the hybrid 'Wogagoda' was in order to reduce the costs of producing school learning materials in four languages." Daniel and Abebayehu (2006:160) also believe that policy designers wanted to reduce the costs of publishing textbooks in the four languages. This comment in fact looks contradictory to the situation before WoGaGoDa. As it was stated above, there were only two standard languages Wolaitta and DaGaGo used in school textbooks before the introduction of standard WoGaGoDa. So, the official's tendency to defend the project as a mechanism to save publication budgets in the four languages seems controversial. Though cost

benefit analysis is a reality to language standardization in some situations, the case of WoGaGoDa could not be explained in terms of budget issues alone. The decision required analysis of wide scale social factors for its implementation.

The social implications of merging the languages were not given attention. Instead, textbooks were published in WoGaGoDa in Hawassa, the capital city of the region's administration, and distributed across the whole area which administratively included the Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro language speakers. The introduction of WoGaGoDa as a standard language of mother tongue education and administration caused a more serious dispute than did DaGaGo, and so it received more attention of researchers than did the former standard language. Most of the researchers have shown that speakers from every corner of Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro objected to the government's propensity to consider them as speakers of homogeneous languages and to impose a standard language (Hirut, 2007).

The researchers approached the public protest amid WoGaGoDa policy from various viewpoints. Most of the authors have found out that the speakers of the four varieties, Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro, felt that the action amounted to a linguistic, ethnic and cultural coercion that intended to bring them into a unified culture and identity. Regarding the agenda of using WoGaGoDa as a strategy to create a social group identity, Lovise (2009:157) observes:

Worth noting, however, is that one of their aims in launching the Wogagoda language was to merge the four national identities into one 'Wogagoda' identity. So the same political leaders who denied that the resistance to the new language had to do with identities talked about a vision of merging these identities- in the interest of the ruling party.

It is dubious that while the national constitution provided societies the freedom to negotiate and reshape their own identity, the WoGaGoDa project did not present identity as a negotiable issue. It rather looked identity as an impossible thing. In fact, ideological bases of language planning can be initiated by leaders. Bamgbose (2004:70) puts that ideology is one of the motivating factors for language policy and could be “determined by a party in power.” But, it should be very true that ideological bases of language standardization should be shared among the concerned bodies.

WoGaGoDa language policy was taken to be a decision and a strategy of the political party that governed the four nationalities at that time to merge the nationalities under the name given to the standard language. As to the informants for the present research, the names “DaGaGo” and “WoGaGoDa” were coined and given to the amalgamated languages not by the language experts themselves but by the administratives of the time who decided the use of a common standard language in the areas (Saroka, Jan. 2015).

In many experiences, the formation of political parties in Ethiopia follows the ethnic organization of societies. Politicians set a party claiming that they would fight for the rights and interests of a certain social group they represent. Hence, when the name 'WoGaGoDa' was chosen to index a political party, the people automatically understood its implication to build a unified social identity that might deny them the diverse identities they cherished for ages. The officials argued that since the speakers of the four languages could speak their own varieties and still understand each other, so they could be administered in one language by a single political structure. What can be seen here is that while the government overlooked minimum variations in the languages, the respective societies took their identity, diversity and independence to hinge on those linguistic variations that make one group distinct from the other.

For instance, one of the variations found among Wolaitta and the others is phonological which the main ones are /t/ versus /ts/, /z/ versus /dz/ and /t'/versus /d/ or /s'/, etc., correspondences (Hirut, 2014:46). The presence of /dz/ in Gamo but not in others was also another potential for controversy. While these variations might create little misunderstandings among speakers, they much less block mutual intelligibility. However, these linguistic items were associated with each ethnic group's identity, so one group did not want to write and read the other group's speech forms included in the standard language though they could comprehend it. Putting the form of one speech community in the textbooks the other used was perceived to be a potential threat to the corresponding identity anchored in the linguistic forms. The linguistic rights were limited and reduced in the standard language, so its implementation was taken to be a breach of the legal provisions. Ginsburgh and Weber (2010:11) describe this kind of social phenomenon saying, “Since language is an intimate part of an individual and group identity, restricting linguistic rights may alienate and disenfranchise groups of individuals whose cultural, societal, historical

values and sensibilities are perceived to be threatened.” Social groups who considered the harmonized WoGaGoDa as a divestment of linguistic right strongly moved against it.

Some researchers also compared the public demonstration against WoGaGoDa to be an ethnic conflict which probably occurred among the concerned ethnic societies themselves. To illustrate, Teferi (2013: 113) compares WoGaGoDa conflict to that of Silte-Gurage fragmentation, “The ‘Wogagoda’ language conflict was the other violent inter-ethnic conflict that took place during the same period when the Siltie-Gurage conflict occurred.” The researcher further discusses that the violent ethnic conflict was caused because the Wolaittas were not happy about the reorganization of the ethnic societies that constituted SNNPR. The regrouping of nations and nationalities in the region placed Wolaitta within the Semen Omo geographical Zone. Vaughan (2003: 258) also reports that the violent movement against WoGaGoDa was triggered by the social dissatisfaction about the government's decision to reorganize zones of the regional state.

Though WoGaGoDa conflict might not be taken as an exclusively an ethnic based one, there were some indications in Wolaitta Sodo town where the outraged protesters assailed “members of other groups, e.g., Gamo people who were in police force, to vent their anger (Vaughan, 2013: 27).” Other researchers had a similar stance that WoGaGoDa policy led to conflict among the ethnic members of the standard language. For instance, Lovise (2009:156) explains, “The introduction of the Wogagoda language in schools and administrative offices in North Omo in 1991 led to unprecedented levels of hostility between the Wolayta and the Gamo” people. The contention, as highlighted by the researchers cited so far, seemed between Wolaitta and Gamo members of the hybrid language. Since these ethnic members constitute the major population size of WoGaGoDa, they might compete to consolidate their power. One might be passionately concerned about ethnic and linguistic oppression that the other might cause. Due to such concerns, it turned out, that one group tried to relate the WoGaGoDa standardization ideology to the motive of the other. Lovise (2009:159) extends observation on social assumptions:

Conspiracy theories flourished in Gamo, where people argued that it was actually the Wolayta who had masterminded the project of unifying the language... A common claim in Wolayta was precisely the opposite: that the Wogagoda project was Gamo in origin. Wolayta elders behind the anti-Wogagoda campaign pointed out that many of the words chosen for inclusion in the new language came from the Gamo lexicon.

The rationale behind Gamos' claim was that Wolaittas wanted to overcome the land scarcity they were experiencing in their area by extending their territory to the neighboring groups (Lovise, 2009:159). They considered the standard language to be a means of territorial expansion by the other community. On the other hand, Wolaittas claimed that their words were disproportionately represented in the standard language. All in all, these ethno-linguistic ideologies emerged as a result of the language policy implemented in mother tongue education and public administration in the area. It is clear from all the rhetoric that the standardization process did not please either groups, and that none of the speakers accepted the standard language.

The intense public resistance that happened in Wolaitta and Gamo led to a heavy human sacrifice and property loss mainly in Wolaitta. Vaughan (2003: 256) ratifies the outcomes of WoGaGoda as:

A number [of people] refused to use the new books, publicly burning them instead. Disturbances in the town resulted in the deaths of at least three people, apparently shot by security forces, and several hundred protesters, mostly but not exclusively Welaiyta, were imprisoned by the zone government.

It was confirmed that the protest was so fierce that textbooks valued around 40 million birr were turned into ashes and hotels and many other infrastructures were damaged in Wolaitta Sodo town. One can see the agony that language policy and WoGaGoDa standardization in the former North Omo Zone caused loss of human life.

Bloody ethnic conflicts prompted by language policies were also documented in the histories of other societies. One such example was the case in Sri-Lanka. According to Ginsburgh and Weber (2010: 23), the "Sinhala – Only" language policy introduced to the Sinhalese and Tamil linguistic and ethnic communities of Sri-Lanka in 1956 caused a deadly clash between the two groups, Sinhalese and Tamil, claimed 150 Tamil lives. The conflict gradually grew into a civil war persisted for more than two decades. Ginsburgh and Weber (2010: 25) describe the situation, "The full fledged civil war was already ravaging the country. Tens of thousands of lives were lost over the course of twenty six years of fighting, before the conflict recently came to an uneasy halt." It is easy to understand that hasty and non participatory language standardization could develop into a more complicated social problem.

The Wolaitta language's longer history as a written language as compared to the other three varieties and its extended use in the mass literacy campaign to the surrounding societies by the Derg regime in 1974 gave its speakers a foundation to consider their language as a superior variety and to protest its combination with the others, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro, who had no independent written history before the former amalgamated standard. Particularly, putting Wolaitta words as subordinate forms in brackets in the textbooks was perceived to be linguistic as well as ethnic subordination. Vaughan (2003:257) quotes an interviewee who mentioned to her:

The problem was that when they printed the booklets they put the Welaiyta form in brackets, so for instance 'water' was printed '*hasa (hata)*'. People immediately asked 'why? Who is lesser than whom? Why are *we* put under the brackets?' (Interview, private sector officer, *wereda* centre, Welaiyta zone, 22 June 2002).

Many social and political ideologies were hypothesized to be the causes for the failure of standard WoGaGoDa. The sociolinguistic contexts that prevailed in the areas did not allow for the standard to sustain for a long time. The communities in the four areas strongly demanded linguistic and administrative independence. The reactions, then, necessitated the revision of decisions regarding language administration matters in the area and WoGaGoDa was abandoned once again in 2000.

The examples of DaGaGo and WoGaGoDa point to the fact that any attempt of language standardization without significant social participation results in failure of the whole system (Spolsky, 2004:31- 37). Social participation does not only mean involvement of experts and politicians. It should include people from different walks of life to account for "the voice from below", (Linn, 2010), quoted in Røyneland (2013:1). In DaGaGo and WoGaGoDa cases, the endeavor was to create a harmonized standard that could serve as a linguistic basis to politically and administratively unite society and create a strong regional identity anchored in the language they speak. Since the languages exhibit considerable lexical, semantic and grammatical differences and each speech community regard itself as ethno-linguistically and historically independent (Hirut, 2005b:111), the effort to use language as a technical strategy to gain political virtues did not work in either case. Hirut (2005b:111) also finds out that despite the presence of a large number of shared vocabulary items, speakers of the Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro

languages “show low level of mutual intelligibility” that might have emanated from the variations at different linguistic levels added to the speakers’ attitudes towards each other’s variety. These sociolinguistic situations required policy makers to withdraw WoGaGoDa and introduce change in the organization of the region, and in 2000 the former Semen Omo Zone was restructured into three administrative zones that include Wolaitta Zone, Gamo Gofa Zone and Dawuro Zone, and two special districts Basketo and Konta. This paved a way to use, develop and promote each language in the respective areas. Consequently, since then, Gamo has been used as an autonomous language of instruction in the locality. Though Gamo was part of the former two standard languages, the new declaration permitted to put further efforts and standardize the language.

4. 2. The Challenges of Norm Selection

Questions of dialect inclusion and exclusion make the norm selection phase of a multidialectal language standardization extremely challenging. To decide on the norms to serve as standards of a language is not easy in situations where speakers hold distinct views about their speech forms. For instance, Orman (2008: 9) mentions that the idea of harmonizing the Nguni and Sotho language clusters of South Africa did not work partly due to "lack of support from the population at large and due to the great resistance showed to it." One may assume that as long as languages or dialects are intelligible, to use a common standard for education or other social purposes makes sense. On the contrary, intelligibility may not be a great concern to some societies who believe to be different from each other in many other social respects.

The challenges of language standardization in Gamo are mainly emanate from dialect diversity the language involves and lack of sufficient publications and teaching aids in it. Furthermore, conditions that would permit selection of one norm over the others are not set by the bodies responsible for textbook preparation (Gebreyohannis, 2000: II & III).

In spite of the dialect diversity and the prevailing challenges, a standard norm that writers can apply in Gamo textbooks and other publications has been desirable. Standardization is believed to be significant to improve the challenges encountered in the implementation process of mother tongue education in the area (Hirut, 2007:225). It can encourage individuals to produce several literacy materials, dictionaries, grammar books and creative works. In the current condition,

writers are less confident to write and publish in the Gamo language. Some informants told the present researcher that lack of an established standard norm limited their access to publication in the language. They said that publishers and the writers themselves were unsure as to which variety they should publish to gain acceptance of the wider readers. The written standard culture is not yet made popular by preceding writers nor defined by law and disseminated to users. Getachew (Jan. 2015) expressed the challenges they faced while writing textbooks in Gamo:

- (4) There was no former literature that we could quote or we could refer to decide on which norm we should use as a standard. There was no base to refer to convince people that this variety is more preferable to that variety.

Absence of clarity on the norm selection resulted in the production of materials prepared in an inconsistent language. Language standardizers took norms which, they thought, are spoken by the majority of the Gamo community, but other distinct dialects were merged in the standardization process. Even those norms which were believed to be spoken by the majority of the population were not consistently applied in the textbooks. That means they were replaced by varieties from another dialect. These and other circumstances are presented in the following table which shows the resource dialects of the words in the texts analyzed.

No.	Dialects	Sample words from textbooks	Sample words from Wondimu (2015)	Total	Gebreyohanis (2000) ²
1	Dache, Kucha, Ochollo, Dorze	177	45	222	16
2	Dache, Ochollo, Dorze	72	4	76	1
3	Dache, Kucha, Ochollo	8	6	14	-
4	Dache, Kucha, Dorze	2	-	2	-
5	Dache, Kucha	22	15	37	1
6	Dache, Ochollo	-	2	2	-
7	Ochollo, Dorze	1	1	2	1
8	Dache, Ochollo, Dorze, Ganta	8	6	14	-
9	Dache	15	3	18	-
10	Kucha	23	8	31	1
11	Ochollo	1	-	1	-
12	Ganta	1	1	2	14
13	Dache, Kucha, Ochollo, Ganta	-	1	1	-
14	Words common to the five dialects	82	46	128	-
	Total	412	138	550	34

Table 13. Words of the five Gamo dialects used in the sample texts

As seen from Table 13, most of the words (222) in the texts were the ones commonly used in North Gamo varieties of Dache, Kucha, Ochollo and Dorze. Sixteen of these words were found in Gebreyohanis (2000). These Gamo dialects, as has been mentioned by Wondimu (2010), share the major portion of their lexical items, and so it is no wonder that they had many words in common in the texts too. If a writer uses a word from Kucha or Ochollo, there is high possibility to find that same word, or with minor variation, in the other dialects too. On the other hand, Ganta words have both lexical and grammatical variation to these groups. The following words, taken from the sample texts, show the lexical variation between Ganta and the rest dialects of Gamo:

Ganta	Dache, Kucha, Ochollo, Dorze	English
hate	ha?i	now
aykuti	oyketidi	tied
ketati	guridi	early

² A dictionary where the meanings of words were looked up

kafo	nago	waiting
bizo	isino	one
saka	bita	soil

Some of the words in one group go further from simple variation and could mean a different thing in the other groups. For example, the word *kafo* means ‘waiting’ in Ganta but it means ‘bird’ in the others.

The texts also used 76 words from Dache, Ochollo and Dorze and only one of these words was available in Gebreyohannis (2000). Kucha and Ganta had different representations for these ones. Most of the Kucha words have phonetic variations from the Dache, Ochollo and Dorze dialects. On the other hand, most of those concepts have different representation in Ganta while very few differ in their morphemes. It is possible to consider the following examples:

Dache, Ochollo, Dorze	Kucha	Ganta	English
loytsidi	loytidi	lo7atsi	doing well
sintsa	sinta	sino	face
kumetsa	kumeta	kumutsu	full
atsana	atana	atsada	will pass
yiza	yiya	yese	that comes
nagiza	nagiya	kafesi	that guards
gutsa	guta	uga	small
giza	giyay	hises	that is said
wotsida	wotida	gades	that put

All of the Kucha words which are given in the above examples differ from Dache, Ochollo and Dorze words in the sounds /t/ versus /ts/ and in the derivation process of forming nouns from verbs with {-iz-} and {-iy-}. Some informants of this research believed that these kinds of dialect variations do not highly influence one from understanding the other. Similarly, the first five Ganta words have the same base to the words of the other dialects, but the last four words used in Ganta are totally different from the words used in the rest. The ones used in the texts were the words common to Dache, Ochollo and Dorze.

In the earlier times, /ts/ and /t/ phonemic variations were not so exaggerated. People accepted that both forms were comprehensible in social conversations between speakers of the two forms. But after the introduction of language standardization in the textbooks, the attitude of some Gamo communities towards the phonetic elements has changed, and they have become more sensitive to those features of pronunciation. For instance, some Kucha speakers were demanding textbooks published in their own dialect to be used in schools where speakers of the Kucha and related varieties reside. One of the informants to the present research explained the case in detail as follows:

(5) *k'ollaw hibrätäsäb ga yämakuräf nägär allä k'wank'wa malät yähibrätäsäbu yäbahilu mäggäläf'f'a silähonä k'ollaw ga yalläw andandu ijnan ayiwäkälänim yämmiläw ammäläkakätu allä bärigit' yirräddawal yädägawn yä háländ un yirräddawal gin yärasun mayät yifälligal lämissale yäk'uf'f'a allä ijna yäwodayta goräbet silähonin wodaytäjñawin mät't'äk'am alläbin yilallu s'ihufum mä's'ihafum läjña sillak bätza mä's's'af alläbbät biläw ande kirikkir ansitawal lämissale ijna hatsta yämminniläwun bäwodaytäjña hatta iyyätäbalä läjña mä's's'af alläbbät alu ijna yihe bätäammir ayihonim and gamojña sir hulätt ayinät kərikyuləm mak'iräs' k'wank'wawun maddakäm yihonal*

'There is dissatisfaction in some of the lowland dialect speakers. Since language carries the society's culture, some lowland Gamo districts residents have had the attitude that, 'the standard language used in schools does not represent us.' In fact, they understand the highland or the standard variety, but they want to see their own forms to be included in the standard language. For example, Kucha dialect speakers once argued saying, 'since we are neighbors to Wolaitta, we should use Wolaitta textbooks. When textbooks are sent to us, they should be published in the Wolaitta language.' They said that when the word *hatsta* 'water' is written, it should be written as *hatta*. Then we replied to them that this can never happen in Gamo. Devising two curriculums under one language Gamo makes the standard language weaker' (Manna, Dec. 2015).

The narrative proves the folk's demand to be entitled to textbooks that represent their spoken features as much as possible. The other thing that can be noted from the quotation is that the interest of the standardization process was at odds with the language need the public expressed. The speakers requested for their rights to use a language they practiced in their day to day interaction for education. They had a passion to exercise their linguistic rights by learning and teaching in their own dialect. On the other hand, standardizers wanted to establish a standard language that unites diverse dialect speakers. This can be understood from the explanation that

said, “*Devising two curriculums under one language Gamo makes the standard language weaker.*”

In fact in situations where two competing standard forms exist, one of them may gain more acceptance while the public use of the other gets weaker. For instance, in the Norwegian context where two independent written standards were developed, one of the written standards- Bokmål- gained wider public use than its counterpart Nynorsk. According to Røyneland (2013:58), due to the attitude that considers Nynorsk as an inferior form many individuals are now shifting to use Bokmål. Added to this social attitude, the relative consistency in the application of linguistic items owed Bokmål greater acceptance and use than Nynorsk, which allows the use of many alternative norms in writing. In spite of their varied degree of social acceptance and application, Norwegian has remained a strong, one of the most studied and described languages whose function has elaborated into domains of education, science, technology, media, etc in Norway. This shows that variability cannot be seen as a disadvantage to the efforts to maintain a language as a standard language for its own society.

There is another social concept that justifies the standardization process better than what had been given by the officials. There was an assumption from some informants that the ethnic identity of Gamo is inherently established in the language’s sounds like /ts/ and /dz/. The sounds were seen as icons that index the language and its speakers to be Gamo. They culturally and morally connect the society to their language. Irvine and Gal (2000: 37) call this kind of language ideology that governs language users as iconization. Speakers place these forms in their speech or written use to mark and consolidate their origin. The phonemes are symbols that identify Gamo from the other similar languages as expressed by interviewees like the following one:

*(6)därädzawn lämät'abbäk' k'alatofff mälläyät alläbbaŋŋäw bämädzämäriya
därädza t'ik'im lay mäwal yalläbbaŋŋäw k'alat inna dïms'oŋŋf mälläyät
alläbbaŋŋäw gamoŋŋa kähonä gamoŋŋan läyyät liyarigu yämmiŋflu dïms'oŋŋf allu
inäŋŋa dïms'oŋŋf k'irsof silähou mät't'äbäk' alläbbaŋŋäw lämïssale /ts/, /dz/
yämäsasälu k'alatof silälellu lela bota k'alatofffu tät'äbbik'äw gamoŋŋan
mäsiläw mäk'iräb alläbbaŋŋäw lelott'fïm yihinnin bik'k'äbbälu t'iru yimäsiläŋŋal*

'In order to keep the standard use of the language in the textbooks, Gamo words should be identified. The original words and sounds of Gamo that should come on the first level of standardization should be known. In fact there are sounds

that make the Gamo language unique. If the standard language should be taken as standard Gamo, it should consider these unique features. Those sounds are souvenir and must be protected in the standard language. For example, sounds like /ts/ and /dz/ are not available in the other Ethiopian languages. So the sounds must be protected and given a position they deserve in the standard. After all, the words of the standard language must look like Gamo. I think it is good if other Gamo speakers also accept this fact' (Yishak, Dec 2015).

The interviewee believed that the standardization should preserve grammatical features that consolidate the Gamo identity. He stressed that all Gamo speakers should accept these features as common or standard languages to all dialect speakers. The words “*unique*” and “*souvenir*” were used to show that the features were very important to unite all Gamo language speakers. There was an assumption that a standard language should protect and secure these features by providing a first class position. The participants related their phonology to spot their ethnic identity. The use of the two features /ts/ and /dz/, which are represented by the graphemes <th> and <dz>, in the Gamo language textbooks was associated with the recognition or maintenance of Gamo ethnic identity while reluctance to provide a significant position to these features was regarded as diminishing the ethnic value and cohesion.

In regards to the role of language in maintaining identity, Fought (2006: 22) states, “Linguistic features within a variety are a key element in the indexing and reproduction of ethnic identity, just as they are for other aspects of identity, such as gender or social class.” Among all the linguistic features involved in language, Fought identifies that “...phonology is seen in more proprietary terms as an index of ethnic identity.” Phonological features are best used as indices to identify individuals or express one’s identity than the other grammatical markers do.

It can also be seen from Table 13 that fourteen words were shared among Dache, Kucha and Ochollo and 37 between Dache and Kucha, and the other 14 among Dache, Ochollo, Dorze and Ganta. Two were from Ochollo and Dorze. The textbooks used two words from Dache, Kucha and Dorze and Wondimu (2015) used two words of Dache and Ochollo and one from Dache, Kucha, Ochollo and Ganta. From these, only two words were available in Gebreyohanis (2000).

Due to the fact that the five dialects are categories of the Gamo language, they had 128 words in common in the texts. Most of these were lexical items like *dabbo* ‘relative’, *awa* ‘sun’, *f’arkko* ‘wind’, *metoy* ‘problem’, *maata* ‘grass’, etc. The presence of these common words in the texts

has social as well as pedagogical implications. These are the words that bound the dialects in the standard language and would create social cohesion and integration. They provide the speakers with justification that they are speakers of one standard language that unified them as Gamo society. Pedagogically, the students can feel confident in learning their language due to the presence of words which they can commonly understand. As discussed above, the rest of the words exhibit variations at different linguistic levels. Though the variations among the words may look simple, they can be of high social concern for norm selection to overlook them.

While looking at particular words of each dialect used in the texts, one can find 31 from Kucha, eighteen Dache, and two Ganta words. One Ochollo word was used in the textbooks. The presence of dialectal words can be seen as a means of dialect accommodation. It may be a means to include other dialects in the standard and to appeal to speakers who were requesting for inclusion of their forms. The selection, however, is not clear since the application is not consistent. In order to take the features as standard forms of the language, the words should be applied consistently everywhere when a related concept is mentioned. For example, the word ‘small’ is *gutsa* in Dache, Ochollo and Dorze; it is *guta* in Kucha, and *uga* in Ganta. In the texts, at one time the word *gutsa* was used and at another time the word *uga* was applied. The former was very frequently applied in the texts than the latter word. It is not difficult to imagine that *uga* is not going to benefit from the race for the standardization if it is allowed to be used in parallel with the word *gutsa*, which is wider in its distribution in the three or four dialects. In fact, both forms can be introduced as synonymous standards but due to its social position the Ganta word does not seem to fix its standard place any time soon. If the word *uga* has to establish as part of the standard form, it should take the function of expressing the concept ‘small’ without the parallel form *gutsa*.

It is also possible to observe that in Gamo one of the method writers used to increase inclusion of dialects was by putting parallel forms in brackets. For example, ‘water’ is sometimes written in the textbooks as *hatsta/hatta or hatsta/tt*. Looking at these words, one may think that /t/ is always used as an alternative in words wherever the standard /ts/ exists. But this is not the case, and in most cases other words which take /ts/ are written alone; *laytsa* ‘year’, *sintsta* ‘face’, *suntsay* ‘name’ can be seen as an example. Writing the same word in different ways can also be taken as a kind of outflows and as a normal process in an early stage of language standardization.

But its potential to delay the time to establish stability in the standard language and confuse users, especially students, is immense. So, one can conclude that the inclusion of words of some dialects in the norm selection process was not stable and not systematic.

The other feature that made the norm selection process random was the writers' reluctance to be consistent with the rule of taking words with wider geographical or dialectal distribution. In most cases, words that were common to most of the dialects were taken but sometimes words used in one of the dialects were selected and other words that are common to most of the dialects were left. The following examples can be cited from the texts analyzed.

Dache, Ochollo, Dorze	Kucha	Ganta	English
yotanas	yotanaw	ohada	to tell
s'elanas	t'elanaw	wofjɔfada	to see
sas'anas	sat'anaw	meyʃʃada	to sting

It can be seen from the examples that Dache, Ochollo and Dorze dialects use the same terms for the three words while Kucha and Ganta have each peculiar words. The ones applied in the texts were expressions used in the Kucha dialect. These words or the grammatical features were in fact the only features that were taken as standards from dialectal words since they are consistently applied throughout the texts. Due to the consistency in the application of those grammatical forms in the texts, it is important to accept the inclusion of those forms in the standard language.

Moreover, different forms were used to express the same grammatical function in the textbooks. It is possible to see some instances from the texts:

Dache, Ochollo, Dorze	Kucha	Ganta	English
bessizay	bessiyay	beyisakuyine	that shows
ootsota	oosotta	ootsede	works
bagga	heera	bagga	area
immizay	immiyay	ingessa	that gives

In the examples above, Dache, Ochollo and Dorze dialects had the same words, but Kucha and Ganta had each words different from the other dialects. What is more interesting is that in the textbooks, the demonstrative form was once expressed with the form used in the Kucha dialect as

in *bessiyay* ‘that shows’ and at another time with the form used in the other dialects like *nagiza* ‘that guards’, *giza* ‘that said’, *koffiza* ‘that needed’, which are shown in the former examples. This all shows the level of inconsistency in applying the standard language. The writers actually had great chance to swing between dialect features since they were not clearly told that one form was legitimate but not the other. They were not given any framework to choose among the prevailing language features.

The analysis has also revealed that list of fourteen Ganta words, mostly the ones not shown in the texts but gave parallel meanings to the words used in the textbooks, and one Kucha word prevailed in Gebreyohannis (2000). It is a significant occasion for the Ganta words to be codified in the dictionary because they receive orthography and they are preserved there, but seven of them were decried as ‘colloquial expressions’. This kind of commentary, in Bourdieu's (1991:48) term, is “a sign of exclusion.” It misshapes the attitude the society constructs towards these words and the others which did not appear in standard written texts. It further impedes users to implement the words in wider public settings (Locher and Strassler, 2008: 6). As Shohamy (2006: 31) also puts it, this type of standardization discriminates against some language forms as being “illegitimate” and others as being “legitimate” usages.

On the surface, it seems impossible to trace a single dialect that provides the basis for the written standard norms of Gamo. However, in principle, Dache was used as a standard dialect. This can be calculated from the number of words used in the texts listed in Table 13.

Dialects	Dache	Ochollo	Kucha	Dorze	Ganta
Frequency of words	514 ³	460	435	444	145

As can be noted, Dache had 514 words and Ochollo was represented by 460. Kucha and Dorze had respectively 435 and 444 words. On the other hand, Ganta had only 145 words, most (128) of which were shared amongst all of the dialects (see Table 13). The Dache dialect, thus, had the greatest representation in the standard norm since it shared many words and grammatical features with the others. The Ochollo, Dorze and Kucha dialects were also represented with many words as could be seen from the above enumeration.

³ The numbers may look dubious since they exceed from the ones listed in Table 13. However, the number increased because most of the words appeared in more than one dialect and counted redundantly.

Since the Dache dialect is related in many ways to the other varieties spoken in the Northern part of Gamo and the standard mixes forms of different dialects, some researchers, like Mohammad, Jordan and Magnusson (2015), prefer to call the standard Gamo dialect used in the textbooks as a North Gamo dialect. However, it should be understood that North Gamo is not a dialect on its own but a cluster of related heterogeneous dialects (Wondimu, 2010:52). From the data presented above and the information found from the informants, it looks reasonable to refer to the standard variety as Dache as it is the one the standardization is mainly based on and the one which can be considered as a central dialect which has many linguistic forms in common to each of the rest. The dialects grouped as South Gamo, like Ganta also share some phonological, morphological and lexical features with the standard variety, so referring the standard language as North Gamo may limit its scope.

It was also noted that where there were alternative forms in the different dialects, the standardization preferred those forms used in the Dache dialect. For example, those words which Dache shared with others were written adhering to its grammatical systems. To illustrate, the Kucha dialect uses /t/ in places where Dache uses /ts/, and the texts mainly applied the latter form in the standard words as in *mitsa* ‘tree’, *hatsta* ‘water’, *suntsa* ‘name’, etc.. Though the writers sometimes freely provided /t/ words in brackets next to /ts/ words, as mentioned above in this subsection, they did not always do so for all words. Likewise, the past marker in Dache and Ganta is {-d-}, {-s} in Kucha and {-r-} in Ochollo and Dorze dialects. In the texts sampled so far {-d-} is mainly used as in the words *otsides* ‘worked’, *oyifides* ‘asked’, *gides* ‘said’, etc. This feature is actually one of the linguistic elements that bind the standard language with Ganta. But the Ganta dialect differs from the standard language in its lexis and other morphological constructions which did not appear in the texts at all (Hirut, 2013a). It is therefore possible to see that Dache appears a central dialect that shares several features to most of the Gamo dialects with varying degrees. The shared features were greater among North Gamo, but remain less to Ganta. Generally, it can be said that Dache was found to be phonologically and morphologically more closer to standard Gamo than the other dialects were. Kucha, Ochollo and Dorze were also very proximate to the standard words. It is also important to note that a very negligible number of Ganta words were found in the texts since writers have preferred the Dache forms than the Ganta words in their application.

4.3. The Development of the Dache Dialect as a Standard Norm of Gamo

Norm selection procedures are almost common in different situations. Language standardization process, it could be said, follows almost universal criteria to choose one dialect as a standard form of a given language. The ground for choosing the Dache dialect as a standard form of Gamo is not also out of the world's reality we know. Though it encompasses its own unique historical incidents, it is not unjustified of the existing theories of language standardization.

Dache has gained recognition as a standard variety when Gamo was used as a medium of instruction in schools. It has become a common dialect used in intra dialectal communication and a language of most public speeches in Gamo. Further, every publication in the Gamo language undergoes evaluation for its compatibility to the standard norms at the Gamo Gofa Zone Culture and Tourism Department located at the town of Arbaminch. The demand to use the Dache dialect as a base to standard Gamo is not set out in any legal documents. Instead, the standard grew out of socio historical conditions pertaining to coincidence and its geographical coverage.

4.3.1. The Role of Individual Persons

It is known that individual writers, language experts or public figures play a great role in the standardization process of languages. In the same way, individual writers played a significant role in the standardization process of Gamo. The Gamo language was first used as a standard form when textbooks were prepared in DaGaGo (see section 4.1). During that time, each of the three varieties of standard DaGaGo, Dawuro, Gamo and Gofa, had representatives who participated in the harmonization process. The Gamo delegate, who was coincidentally a Dache dialect speaker, used his own dialect to mix Gamo with the others. The following excerpt was extracted from an interview with the Gamo envoy to DaGaGo:

(7) Researcher: What was your role in the preparation of textbooks in standard DaGaGo?

Saroka: I was the leader of the panel delegated to prepare textbooks and to standardize the three languages through harmonization.

Researcher: Did you not participate in the textbook preparation?

Saroka: I had two responsibilities. As a chair person, I coordinated the groups, and as a language teacher I wrote language textbooks and edited the textbooks for different subjects concerning their language.

Researcher: When you wrote and edited the textbooks, which dialect of Gamo did you use?

Saroka: I used my dialect.

Researcher: What is the Gamo dialect you speak?

Saroka: My dialect is Bonke, we locally call it Dache or Zega, Zegatso or Dachtetso (Jan. 2015).

The individual's key role as a language editor might have influenced the language choice of other textbook writers for different subjects. He could control proper implementation of the standard variety of Gamo in the textbooks. The multiple roles of the delegate in the harmonization process of DaGaGo as a writer, editor and coordinator increased the chance for the Dache dialect to represent Gamo in textbooks written by others as well.

Implementation of Gamo in official written settings was another incident that followed the standardization activities. After the amalgamation process of the languages, a decision was passed that each of the substrate languages, from which DaGaGo was formed, should be used in official written and spoken transactions in the respective areas. Accordingly, the standard forms that represented Gamo in the harmonization process of DaGaGo were approved for use in office communications by the administration in areas where Gamo was spoken.

The trend to use the Dache dialect as a standard form to write textbooks is persisted by writers after Gamo has become an autonomous language of the Gamo society. Even at this stage, a formal selection procedure or a survey of social consent has not been executed. So, it can be argued that the variety of the educated individuals who had the access necessary to put their dialect into the textbooks is maintained as the standard norm for Gamo.

The role of individuals in language standardization is evident in many other situations as well. As has been mentioned earlier, the role of individuals was apparent in the standardization of many languages like English and Norwegian (see Ferguson, 2006:22). The role of writers has also been profound in the standardization of French. Cooper (1989:7) elaborates in detail that the French government who aspired to create a unified France worked closely with writers, poets,

artists and singers who played significant role to gradually bring the vernacular French into functions formerly covered by standard Latin.

It is, however, possible to note from others' experiences, like Norwegian, that language standardization is not a once and for all activity. Language standardization reforms and discussions have always survived as long as new language situations and social needs arise (Røynealand, 2013). But attempts to improve the situation of standard Gamo are not common in the area. Language experts do not work in an organized manner to talk about better ways of standardizing the language. We can assume that the former writers, the DaGaGo representatives might have had less chance to discuss dialect diversity and inclusion in Gamo since the harmonization was done only among three language varieties. At the time when the languages of the area were considered to be similar, internal variations among each constituent language were not seen as central matters. But, after that, discussions on language standardization would be very significant to fix matters of dialect variation.

Writers who were given the responsibility to develop learning materials in standard Gamo knew that Dache was used in the previous texts which were used in the area. They were also aware that Dache was the one spoken by the majority, and perhaps it was the dialect that all of the textbook writers commonly spoke in addition to their own dialects. The writers, then, had a plan in their mind to implement it as Getachew (Jan. 2015) explained it:

(8) I remember Gamo experts were called from different sections of the society based on the subjects they taught. There was an argument in the meeting on how they should go on with the task of writing textbooks in the presence of dialectal diversity. Writers said, 'at least we should have a dimension which variety we should use as a medium of instruction, one which represents Gamo in standard places'. There was disagreement on the discussion about norm selection on that workshop. The writers were arguing over selecting one form instead of the other, and some said that they did not want to use the others' forms. The organizing groups abandoned the idea of selecting standard norms and as it used to be, they asked the experts to go on as it suits them as they know, which means to use their own varieties. And that was how it went, but certain reshaping was made by editors. There was no variety decided to be used because Gamo area is linguistically very diverse to the extent that there is a continuum, on two extremes on two ends. People the could not even understand each other.

When a language is standardized to be used as a medium of instruction among speakers of “*linguistically very diverse*” dialects, there should always be an agreement on representing those

diverse forms in the standard language. This was the missing link in Gamo. Though the writers who were called on to put Gamo as standard language in the textbooks were different subject teachers, it could be said that they were well informed teachers about the language situation in the area. Due to their knowledge of dialect diversity in the language, they wanted to discuss and decide on the dialect they should use to write the textbooks. However, their discussion on norm selection was interrupted before it was thoroughly dealt with. A discussion to decide upon norm selection was not allowed but textbooks were meant to be written from common sense. Though the writers were told to simply prepare textbooks without worrying about norm selection, as has been identified earlier, they rather used the Dache dialect.

The writers were very much aware of the role of the norm established by former writers to keep the social unity and identity of Gamo as it is spoken widely in the area. Dache can be considered as a central dialect which shares many forms with most of the other Gamo dialects, especially to Kucha, Ochollo and Dorze. A teacher interviewee viewed Dache as a symbol of Gamo unity:

(9) yāand zäyā yābālayinnā linor ayiiffilim zäyāw irasu daf'enna zə houl näw bibbal gamonña bāminnäggäribbāt bähullum näw yallāw yāand akkababi näw lämalät yasiiffäggiral bähullum täsfat^wal hullum ga yissämmal silāzih yāne näw wäyim dägmo yāzza näw yämmil ayinät intin yällaffäwm lämissale amaränña bizu zäyāwäffif allut gin bämidiya bämäs'ihaf yallāw bähullum yāaf mäfiiffa na leloffim yinnägäral inidāzaw daf'enna bāzih akkababi bābetäkīristiyan bāredio bāms'ihetoff agälgilot yisät'al silzih issu yasadigāwal biyyä asiballāhu

‘We cannot say one dialect dominated the standard language. The Dache dialect itself belongs to all Gamo language speakers. It is available in the whole areas where Gamo is spoken. We cannot say it is a dialect of a limited area. It spread into all places and understood by all people who reside in Gamo. So, nobody says 'it is theirs, but it is not ours'. It is common to everyone, for example there are different Amharic dialects but the one in the media and in books is commonly used by all native Amharic and non native Amharic language speakers. Just like that the Dache dialect of Gamo in this area is used in radio programmes, in magazines, in textbooks, for preaching in Churches and for other public activities. Since it plays different social functions, I think as to me the Dache dialect is the one to promote Gamo into a standard level’ (Agena, Dec. 2015).

The interviewee considered that since Dache is spoken and understood everywhere in Gamo, it belongs to everyone who speaks Gamo. The assumption of language experts and teachers that took the Dache dialect to be common to all Gamo speakers made them maintain its function in the textbooks and in schools. It was taken for granted that as long as students and the rest of the

society understand the Dache dialect, it is acceptable to enhance its position as a standard dialect of Gamo. The standardization process recognized that the common features the Gamo dialects share in common make them the same and integrate them under one standard language.

It is also true that the Dache dialect of Gamo holds a lot of similarity to the neighboring languages like Wolaitta, Gofa and Dawuro. Some the Gamo language comparative researches even identify the dialect of Gamo used in textbooks and in the schools as North Ometo Gamo (cf. Hirut 2013a, Jordan, 2009). Maintaining the role of this dialect to be a standard form has, therefore, a further social value in consolidating the social bond amongst the four groups of Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa, Dawuro and the other societies who once used a harmonized standard language as a medium of instruction. So, the language developers could be somehow skeptical about including diverging linguistic features that might have less contribution to the aspired social meaning of language standardization.

4.3.2. Geographical Coverage of the Dialect

The other factor that accounted for norm selection in Gamo was number of dialect speakers. It is believed that Dache dialect is widely spoken and understood by different Gamo language speakers. Owing to its coverage of wide areas, Dache was taken as the main source of standard Gamo. Selecting a dialect that holds wide coverage of a language area has been a common method in language standardization. As Haugen (1966:933) states, "For related varieties.....one can combine those forms that have the widest usage, in the hope that they will most easily win general acceptance." The hope in selecting forms of wider public use as standard forms is to owe social acceptance to the language and its standardization. That means standardization trusts varieties of numerically or economically strong social groups more than forms with fewer speakers to attract acceptance. It becomes clear that varieties with less social and geographical coverage are not the primary interests of standardization for they might reduce the social acceptance of the standard language.

The standard varieties selected should be related with many social areas. The speakers should perceive the dialects they use to have strong bond. This implies that the social and linguistic relationship of dialects involved in a language should be sorted out in advance. Spontaneously

selecting varieties without thinking over the dimensions they relate to each other is going to cause social challenges of acceptance.

It is already claimed that norm selection in Gamo gives precedence to dialects with wider social and geographical coverage. So, it is plausible to figure out the social and geographical coverage of each of the dialects and compare their scope. Districts are the smallest administrative units that organize societies into manageable size. Gamos reside in the nine districts or sub administrations of Gamo Gofa Zone. In most cases districts coincide with the dialect variations attested in the Gamo language. They sometimes refer to the respective speakers who dwell in those areas. Table 14 shows the districts where the majority of the Gamo ethnic societies live and the dialects they speak. By no means should the information be taken as a perfect representation of number of all the Gamo dialects though. The table does not also include mother tongue speakers who live in areas outside these districts. In addition, the total population size indicated in the table exceeded from the population size of Gamo ethnic societies (1,029,374) of the Gamo Gofa Zone enumerated in CSA (2008: 148) since other language speakers also reside in these districts.

No.	Districts	Population	Some of the Gamo dialects spoken in those districts ⁴
1	Kucha	149,287	Kucha/Boroda
2	Boroda	67,960	Kucha/Boroda
3	Mirab Abaya	74,967	Kogota
4	Arbaminch Zuriya	164, 529	Dache, Ganta, Ochollo, Shara
5	Chencha	111,686	Kogota, Dooko, Dorze
6	Ditta	83,987	Dache
7	Daramalo	81,625	Dache
8	Kamba	155,979	Dache , Balta
9	Bonke	159,089	Dache , Mele, Garbansa, Kole, Zargulla
	Total	1,049,109	13

Population census: CSA (2008: 13)

Table 14: Population of Gamo districts and some of the dialects spoken there

As can be seen from Table 14, in Arbamich zuria, which is populated by 164,529 people, Dache, Ganta, Ochollo and Shara are some of the dialects spoken. Bonke district, with 159,089 residents, is occupied by Dache, Mele, Garbansa, Kole, Zargulla and other dialect speakers. It

⁴ I owe due recognition to late Wondimu Gaga Gashe who helped me to sort out some of the dialects spoken in each district.

can also be seen that the Kucha/ Boroda variety is spoken in Kucha and Boroda districts which have a total of 217, 247 population. Dache is spoken in Ditta and Daramalo districts with a total of 165,612 inhabitants, and it coexists with Balta in Kamba (155, 979 residents). In Chench, home to 111,686 people, Kogota, Dooko and Dorze are spoken. Some people also believe that there is a variety by the name Chench dialect. Kogota is also used in Mirab Abaya district where 74,967 people dwell.

According to the sociolinguistic data, the Dache dialect is widely used across the Gamo districts. It is spoken in five of the nine districts whereas Kucha and Kogota are spoken in only two areas. The other dialects are limited in one district. It is also understandable that Dache exists in Arbaminch Zuria, Bonke and Kamba, where Ganta, Balta, Ochollo, Garbansa, Mele, Kole, Zargulla, etc dialects are also spoken. Sociohistorically the Dache dialect spread into these areas after a group of Gamo community, called Dache, occupied those places during civil war among Gamo traditional kings. The subjugators demanded communication between themselves and the defeated group in their own language which is also known as Dache by its speakers. In this way, the Daches managed to spread their language into different places and establish its popularity in the area. Wondimu (2010: 44) explains that the Dache dialect "... had dominance over the other dialects until the coming to power of the Derg regime. When the speakers of Dache dialect came to the area winning wars, they demanded communication with them in their dialect." One issue that needs clarity here is that the Dache dialect has remained popular among Gamo dialect speakers up to the present time, but since most of the citizens were oppressed to speak Amharic than their own native language, its popularity in social domains might have declined during the Derg regime. Hence, it is possible to argue that the political success the speakers had during when Gamos were administered by traditional leaders helped the Dache dialect to spread into different places of Gamo and to maintain itself as a principal dialect.

Due to the above social factor, writers have adhered using the Dache dialect to write textbooks and other materials. Many officials and writers defend the standard variety with such numeric reasons as mentioned by an official interviewee:

*(10) bābizuhanu yāmminnāggārāwun inna hullunim hibrātsāb bāk' āllalu
liyagibabba yāmmiffilāwn zāye wāsīdānal.*

‘We took the standard norms of Gamo from the widely spoken dialect. We believe that the standard language enables the whole Gamo language speakers to communicate to each other so easily (Moges, Jan. 2013)’.

As can be understood from the quote, there was hope that the standard language used in the textbooks is spoken by the whole Gamo language speakers and is going to be welcomed.

Wider language planning endeavors of the country were also led by the same assumption of, among other things, selecting widely used language varieties for language development activities. Seidel and Moritz (2009: 1126) report the rationales of language planners as:

Decisive criteria for the selection of a regional language as a medium of instruction in Ethiopia in the 1990s were mentioned by Dhaba Hundie: – Availability of written materials such as books, newspapers etc. – Number of educated people in the respective nationalities – Being the language of larger ethnic groups in Ethiopia.

This report shows that the prevalence of large number of speakers to a language was a major criterion, among other things, to choose a variety to be a medium of instruction and a language of textbooks in the context of languages other than Gamo, too. The same situation is true for many other standard languages as well. One such reason is the case for Nigeria's major languages which have been promoted into official and standard status. In this regard, Adegbija (1994:16) puts, "Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo are officially recognized as 'major' or 'main' by virtue of the largeness of the populations of their speakers both as first and second languages, in comparison with other languages." The state recognition of these languages as official languages of the country has obviously accelerated their standardization in different media of communication.

Despite the social reasons there is not any other linguistic parameter that makes the Dache dialect better than the others to be the written standard for Gamo. Those social conditions which are stated in the foregoing discussion accounted for its emergence as a standard dialect. Its standard status is being enhanced in the textbook publications, classroom teachings, and college courses. It can be said that it has become the non negotiable standard form of Gamo to many people. It is believed to be the best standard solution to keep the society strongly unified and to avoid potential social fragmentations that may arise.

The effort to standardize Gamo in the textbooks also has other features. From the textbook analysis, it can be said that the standard form is being used with other varieties in different situations. The influence of using other varieties with the standard form of Gamo in the textbooks is discussed in the following section.

4.4. Other Varieties in the Gamo Textbooks

The idea of language use in learning materials like textbooks is related to standardization. One can normally think that a standard use of a language is strictly regulated in textbook preparation and publication since the education sector and schools are the major sites where a standard language is established and transmitted from generation to generation. Textbooks play a vital role to fix standard uses of a language and to impart the related social ideologies of standardization. In Gamo as well, the role of textbooks to standardization is immense. But this endeavor faced challenges from language diversity which the writers tried to handle by providing Amharic, English and alternative Gamo words as an option in brackets next to the prominent standard norm.

One of the informants, Getachew (Jan. 2015) called the mixing of other varieties in the standardization of the language in the textbooks as an accommodation technique that writers used to ensure the participation of dialectal features.

(11)When the writers wrote textbooks, they had a mindset that the Dache variety, the highland area variety, is more widely used and spoken by other ethnic members of the area. For example, the Amhara people who came to live in Gamo area mostly speak the Dache variety. There was again a political dominance by Daches in the old days. So, people in their mind just think that when they write in Dache their message gets wider audiences. When they started to write they worry that there is diversity. I think the textbook writers felt guilty to write everything only in Dache. So they wanted to incorporate other features as well using brackets.

As mentioned earlier (excerpt 4), writers were told to simply write in the forms they knew (the amalgamated languages established in the former textbooks) and the one they thought was appropriate to be standard norms of Gamo. But the writers knew that they should maintain Dache because of its wider geographical coverage and at the same time they wanted to accommodate speakers of other varieties as well. Until the standard usages are fixed, using brackets can be a means to establish clarity of messages conveyed. Without a defined system, this mechanism,

nonetheless, has pedagogical and social repercussions. Since the accommodation was not the result of an organized work, it created inconsistently written textbooks.

The following table and the discussions show that in addition to the Gamo words, Amharic and English words were used as alternative ways of creating clarity in the textbooks analyzed so far.

No.	Textbooks	Number of pages	Languages alternative words were taken from			
			Gamo	Amharic	English	Total
1	Gamo Language, Grade 1 (2012)	120	8	1	-	9
2	Gamo Language, Grade 2 (2003)	62	9	4	-	13
3	Gamo Language, Grade 3 (2012)	48	31	2	-	33
4	Mathematics, Grade 3 (2010)	140	84	14	12	110
5	Gamo Language, Grade 10 (2010)	87	64	13	7	84
	Total	457	199	34	19	249

Table 15: Alternative words and the languages they were resourced from

As can be seen from Table 15, a Grade three Mathematics textbook contained the highest number of words (110) given as alternatives. Among these, fourteen were Amharic and twelve were English words. The rest (84) were words from the Gamo language itself. The Grade ten textbook used 84 words as options in brackets of which 13 were Amharic, 7 English and 64 Gamo. Thirty three words (2 Amharic and 31 English) appeared in Grade three Gamo language textbook. Compared to its number of pages, the number of alternative words is also high in Grade three textbook. The number of alternative words decreases in Grade two with 13 (4 Amharic, 9 Gamo) words and in Grade one with 9 (1 Amharic and 8 Gamo) alternative words. In most cases, the alternative words did not appear every time once they had been used next to the main words.

The total number of Gamo words given as options exceeded those of Amharic and English words. It was possible to know that most of the main words and the alternatives of Gamo used in the textbooks were mutually intelligible. That means the role of the words provided in brackets to add clarity of meaning is arguable. Words that come under this group include the following:

Gamo words (main)	Gamo (alternatives)	English
hayitsa	bontf'o	leaf
kandon	hanotan	like this
wok'u	apun	how much
mayo	aφala	cloth

osanfa	uga	working bees
asa matf'a	indo	a wife, a woman
ero	akeko	know, comprehend

As a second language speaker of Gamo, I myself can understand almost all of the main and optional words listed above. I do not have to ask for a native speaker to find meanings of any of those words. That means, one of the two words is enough to transmit the intended message of the lessons. The presence of those words implies that the writers put alternatives whenever they found a concept that can be represented in different words across the dialects though the language items are mutually intelligible. For instance, both *wok'u* and *apun* mean 'how much?' Both of the words are standard uses. Though one form might be dominantly used in some areas than the other, speakers of these dialects have equal competence in both forms. It is acceptable that the words can be used interchangeably as synonymous expressions in the texts. But placing one word in parenthesis next to the other simply adds burden, not meaning, to the learners. The appearance of parallel forms in the textbooks makes the standard norm less stable as well.

An insignificant numbers of Ganta words were available outside brackets while the standard ones were placed inside the brackets. The ones found in those textbooks include:

Gamo words (main)	Gamo words (alternatives)	English
taybetosona	k'odetosona	counted
yesaso	deʔizaso	living place

This style of standardization supposedly does not benefit any of the forms. On the one hand, the standard words were not given the right places, or it could not be said that the standardization expected the Ganta words to be standard uses. As has been mentioned before (4.2) the Ganta words could not assume standard position if they were meant to be used side by side with the already established standards.

As will be discussed in the coming chapter (5), most participants who were speakers of standard varieties did not support using the Ganta words in the main positions. They insisted that if a

Ganta word is included in the standard form, it should remain in parenthesis. The rationale they maintained was the number of available users for both the Ganta words and the standard words. They said that prominent positions in the standard language should be ascribed to the norms used in the wider areas, while the ones with limited speakers should be used in parenthesis to avoid confusion. Placing the Ganta words in the first positions is going to face social challenges. One can think that had the Ganta words been used alone without the standard words in brackets, such social resistances would not be so strong.

The other sources of alternative words were the Amharic and the English languages. Amharic is widely used in private, official and market communications in Gamo. It is spoken as a second language by many Gamos. English is also the medium of instruction in upper primary, in secondary and college classes and given as a subject since Grade one. Most of the textbooks for language and subject areas were directly translated from the Amharic version into Gamo. During the translation process, the Gamo textbook writers brought a total of 34 Amharic words into the Gamo textbooks indicated in Table 15. The following are some of the Amharic words, for which Gamo equivalents were given in brackets.

Amharic words(main)	Gamo words(alternatives)	English
et'ara ⁵	k'adara	fate
kilote	hila	skill
makina	kame	car
qfaganaw	litf'anaw	to pack
bomba	gelsiyo	water pipe

These and other Amharic words were given in the textbooks though the intended meaning could be fully conveyed in the target language. For instance, the word *k'adara* refers to 'fate', so the equivalent Amharic word *et'ara* is excess. The Gamo word *hila* mean 'skills' and the Amharic translation *kilote*, which is derived from *kihilot*, should not be added. Some of the informants of this research believed that the Amharic translations were very important that they might help to easily understand meanings of Gamo words taken from dialects different from what one speaks or understands. Different sociolinguistic factors might have contributed to the maintenance of the

⁵ Some Amharic words were adapted into the grammatical system of the target language

observed behavior and the justifications used to explain it. First of all, most of the textbook writers might have received education in Amharic, so they might be influenced by their high literacy skill in it. Some of the Gamo textbook writers were even Amharic language teachers in schools. These writers seemed to feel linguistically much secured with the Amharic words to impart knowledge in the textbooks than they did on the Gamo varieties. They depended highly on the Amharic language to mention some concepts due to its long history of standardization. One should be concerned that the habit of linguistic insecurity to use standard Gamo in education for science and technology may perpetuate in the future practitioners as the textbook writers are considered to be the key models that set the grounds for language standardization, especially in schools.

Few Amharic words were used in brackets next to the Gamo expressions:

Gamo words(main)	Amharic (alternatives)	words	English
mata mara	itʃ'i		pupa
payatetsa	t'ena		health
kawoyo	nigistenibe		queen bee
mole oyk'etsan ak'iza	asa asgariwoʃʃ		fishers
asata			

By comparison to the former groups, the target words used as main forms with the Amharic ones as subordinates were very few. Just like the former examples, these alternatively given Amharic words do little to add meaning to the Gamo words which could have done the job of knowledge transmission on their own. It is possible to note that the style of making possible use of other varieties in the textbooks fluctuates very much. At one time, Amharic words were used as main expressions of ideas, and at another time the Gamo words were used first and the Amharic words in brackets. The justification to use the Amharic words in the textbooks to create clarity of meanings could have been a little bit convincing had the words of the target language were used on the first place with the Amharic words in brackets.

Generally, giving the Amharic translations as alternatives or as main expressions when the given Gamo word can express the concept negatively affects the standardization process of Gamo, and

delays the time to establish the standard norm on the textbooks. The widely held positive attitude towards Amharic as a language of upward mobility and job opportunity will definitely set a challenge to the Gamo words to gain the popular acceptance and use. No one also expects textbooks to provide translation of words into different languages since the contribution of translation in learning a language is already challenged by several language learning theories.

Other researchers observed a similar language behavior in other Ethiopian languages. Amharic structure was used to write sentences in Tigrinya and Oromo textbooks. Concerning these languages, Lanza and Hirut (2014:67) report, “In the Tigrinya and Oromo textbooks we consulted, we found examples of expressions in both these languages that follow Amharic syntactic structure.” The presence of multilingual practice in the school textbooks which language is considered to be highly regulated is dubious. The school context expects a monolingual policy to be strictly adhered. Lanza and Hirut (2014:70) explain this practice as a phenomenon to happen in language contact situation:

One clear reason for such structural borrowing is the historical status of Amharic in the country and the intensive contact between the regional languages such as Tigrinya/Oromo, on the one hand, and Amharic on the other. Most of the speakers of regional languages are bilingual in Amharic, a situation that allows the languages to be in extensive and long-term contact.

The basis for mixing languages in textbooks mentioned in the quote, language contact and the standard position of Amharic, were also the major factors for the language practice observed in many other situations like the Gamo textbooks. There is, however, technical variation between the style applied in Tigrinya/Oromo textbooks and the one used in the Gamo textbooks. In the Tigrinya and Oromo textbooks, the writers replaced or borrowed Amharic structures to articulate sentences in the target languages. Amharic forms were not given as additional or alternative items. In the Gamo textbooks, on the other hand, words redundantly appeared both in the target language, Gamo, and the resource language, Amharic. For example, in Oromo, the writers used the Amharic word order *zeeroo digirii* ‘zero degree’ instead of *digirii zeeroo*. But the technique was different in Gamo. As discussed above, it gave both ways of saying the same thing by putting one form in parenthesis.

Similarly, English translations were given to some Gamo words. It is indicated in Table 15 that the number of English words given with the Gamo words was 19. Unlike the Amharic words, the English options were included in the textbooks when the Gamo words were either the newly created ones or those extended their meanings into new functions such as the following ones:

Gamo words (main)	English words (alternatives)	English
k'awosa	giramere ⁶	grammar
isikotsamatsa	komyunitiy	community
kara	topic	topic
bila-t'αφo	poetry	poetry
k'αlαfjk'o	dikiʃinere	dictionary
sita adata	direct spiʃ	direct speech
ʃoʃu gidi	arbitrary way	arbitrary way
zaribeyo	irevidʒine	revision
ayʃek'oppa	topic sentence	topic sentence

All of the above Gamo words were used to introduce new concepts into the Gamo textbooks. The new meanings were not so familiar to any Gamo language speaker unless they learn the extended meanings in schools. The English words were given to make the students familiar with the new meanings. For example, the word *kara* literally means 'roof'. It shows a place found on top of a house. Its function is expanded to include the English word 'topic', to express contexts like a topic of a passage or a discussion. Similarly, the word *zaribeyo* is formed from two words *zari* which means 'return' and *beyo* 'see'. The compound word formed from these elements, *zaribeyo*, is used to express the concept 'revision', which is to see something again. With this explanation, it is possible to take a position that to offer English terms in such situations, pending the Gamo words becoming well established in the standard enhances learners' understanding of the new terms. Nonetheless textbook publications that come afterwards should revise these areas of language use and maintain the new Gamo words in the new publications so that stability of the standard norm can be achieved in the language.

⁶ Some English words were adapted into the grammatical system of the target language

All in all, except for the case with the English words, the technique used to include other varieties as sources of linguistic items in the textbooks makes indigenous language development stagnant. Particularly, lack of enthusiasm from the writers or editors side to use the Gamo words without other parallel Amharic varieties hinders indigenous knowledge development and discourages the construction of concepts in one's mother tongue. This kind of public reluctance to use many African languages as fully fledged conveyers of scientific concepts in education was seen as a major impediment to develop indigenous knowledge. Regarding this, Campbell (2006:2) criticizes:

African languages are also vehicles for producing knowledge--for creating, encoding, sustaining, and ultimately transmitting indigenous knowledge, the cultural knowledge and patterns of behavior of the society. Through lack of use of African languages in the educational domain, a wealth of indigenous knowledge is being locked away in these languages, and is gradually being lost as the custodians of this knowledge pass on.

A language obviously bears cultural knowledge of its speakers. This indigenous knowledge is best explored and transmitted through the languages that encompass it. As has been criticized in the quote, lack of willingness to deploy African languages to be vehicles of indigenous and international knowledge in the education sector does not only damage the languages themselves but also the human capital they accommodate. If indigenous languages are not extensively used to educate citizens, so the knowledge accumulated in them cannot be transmitted through generation and that both the languages and the indigenous knowledge are harmed at the same time. It goes without saying that the world cannot maintain a balanced life without the contribution of indigenous societies who are very close to nature and know how to use it.

In the case of Gamo, the layout of the textbooks also becomes less attractive to learners since the texts are frequently disrupted by parenthesis and alternatives which many not add meaning to the message conveyed.

It appears very important to raise some major points of the chapter as conclusive remarks. It has already been identified that greater number of Dache, Kucha, Ochollo and Dorze words were used in the standard Gamo variety. Based on the linguistic principles applied in the textbooks, it can be said that the Dache dialect is the standard form of Gamo. By contrast, only a negligible number of Ganta words were used in the texts (see Table 13). While Gamo is a multidialectal

language, selection of words from a single dialect area shows the prevalence of what Deumert (2004:3) calls dialect reduction and convergence in the standardization process. The norm selection process aspires to build a strong social bond among the Gamo ethnic groups through unification of the dialects in one language.

The selection of standard norms from a single dialect for education has pedagogical implications for the students who speak non standard varieties. There is a general consensus that individuals easily participate in a system that works in a language in which they are competent enough to perform with (Orman, 2008:156). In other words, individuals have the full psychological freedom to learn in the language they acquire in their environment. It is clear that one's possibility to fully acquire a language or language varieties depends highly on the likelihood of one's exposure to the environment that functions in the language. Regarding this, Holmes (2013: 8) states, " ... people acquire their knowledge of varieties and how to use them appropriately in the same way that they acquire their knowledge of most other aspects of language – by extensive exposure and a process of osmosis." Given the limited home access or environment they have to the legitimate standard language, which culminates in their having of inadequate competence in it, as compared to other fellow students who acquire it at home, the achievement of children whose environment operates in a variety quite different from the standard language obviously declines in schools or in other sectors (Bourdieu, 1991: 259).

The other issue that may challenge dialect speakers in education comes from teachers' attitude towards their students' language. In a classroom that implements a standard language use policy, teachers evaluate students' performances in terms of the grammatical rules of the standard language. Fought (2006:182) describes teacher student interaction in multilingual societies to be like the following:

Teachers are often members of the dominant ethnic group, and even if they are not they will probably have assimilated the predominant interactional norms in the course of their professional preparation. The students, on the other hand, at least in most large urban areas, may represent a wide range of linguistic varieties and interactional norms. As with other settings where intercultural communication takes place, ignorance of ethnic differences related to language can cause misunderstandings and lead to unwarranted negative evaluations of students whose interaction patterns do not exactly match the school culture.

Teachers and schools are actually the major agents of language standardization. They are vested with the responsibility to ensure the inculcation of the standard language from time to time and from generation to generation. Language classes in schools are meant to impart standard language knowledge to students. So, students who do not abide by the rules of the standard get corrections for their dialectal uses or they might be failed due to the language they implement. So, to overcome such pedagogical crisis, the best thing for Gamo is to acknowledge plurality in its standardization process. To create strong social cohesion and a better learning environment for students of diverse dialects, it is good to allow different Gamo forms to participate in the process. Teacher training programmes are also major agents to acquaint teacher trainees of Gamo with the diversified forms of the language. Such knowledge enables them to handle dialect diversity in the classrooms they would teach.

Chapter Five

Norm Acceptance As Reflected in the Attitudes and Needs of the Speakers

5.0. Introduction

This chapter of the research explores norm acceptance through the attitudes of Gamo society towards their language and their needs for its standardization. Its aim is to understand the attitude of the Gamo language speakers of different varieties of Gamo towards their language and its standardization. Attitude is understood as a broader phenomenon, "...which accommodates evaluative judgments made about a language or its variety, its speakers, towards efforts at promoting, maintaining or planning a language, or even towards learning it (Adegbija, 2000:77, cited in O'Rourke, 2011:9)." Language standardization studies that aim to investigate language attitudes embrace speakers' views and assumptions on the symbolic and instrumental functions of their language and on the need for standardization. Attitudes towards the different roles of a language have predictive values. Attitudes forecast the type of relationship speakers possibly establish with their language. To this, Tulloch (2004:41) mentions, "Attitudes towards the symbolic and practical value of a language indicate personal attachment to (detachment from) the language and are, as such, indicative of individual desire and commitment to maintaining, acquiring or giving up a particular language." It implies that attitude studies are significant contributions to language standardization endeavors.

By adopting language attitude and language standardization concepts, the present research tried to find out how the Gamo language speakers relate themselves to their language and its standardization. It is hoped that the reflections on the attitudes and needs towards the standardization of Gamo would shed some light on its acceptance. In the sections that follow, different concepts related to attitude towards Gamo and its standardization are assessed within the given theoretical frameworks.

5.1. Attitude towards Language Standardization and its Implications

Several scholars have noted that any intervention with the language practices of a society needs to work closely with the concerned community and to identify attitudes towards their language.

Speakers' needs and expectations on language related matters have to be consulted before any action is taken. These kinds of information are essential foundations to implement effective language development plans. With regard to this, Tulloch (2004:30) advises, "... any attempt to control a linguistic situation, if it is to be successful, must take into account the desires of the population that will be affected." Language standardization is an endeavor to manage social services that require language as a tool. As a social phenomenon, it has to put social attitudes and needs on its central focus. In connection to this, Deumert and Vandebussche (2003:10) say that standardization studies have to consider speakers' beliefs and attitudes that contribute to the development of a language as a standard form. Language experiences of a community and the underlying discourses that help the language to maintain high status in a given community are significant data.

Other concerns of language standardization are dialects and their unique features. Dialectal forms of a language and their use enclose various social characters like attitudes and identities. Selecting those dialectal forms to be standard uses is going to interact with those social circumstances as well. Concerning language and social attitude, Holmes (2013:410) suggests, "Language varieties have indexing properties which all members of the community are aware of. Language planners must take account of attitudes when they select a suitable language for development as an official or national language." This indicates that choosing a norm or a variety as a standard language should consider the social values and meanings attached to the selected or the declined norms. In other words, acceptance of a standard norm depends highly on the attitude the community develops towards the norm. A standard language is granted or denied with acceptance based on the social values it indexes.

It has been widely believed that language standardization forms different kinds of language attitudes. The social attitudes towards a standard language are triggered by the symbolic functions it plays in the community. That means, when a standard language plays different national and social functions, social attitude start to emerge as a result. It has been identified that a standard language plays five major symbolic functions. These are the unifying function, the separatist function, the prestige function, the participatory function, and the frame of reference function. The unifying and the separatist functions are associated with the attitude of language loyalty. Speakers develop loyalty to use the language that unifies them or makes them different

from other social groups they want to remain separate. Prestige function is the tendency to make a form of a language superior to all the other language forms so that speakers feel proud of using it. Similarly, participatory function relates speakers' desire or willingness to participate in the domains that operate in the standard language. That means speakers accept the implementation of the standard language in different social settings. The other function of standardization is frame of reference which is about an attitude of awareness of the standard norm to be referred to as a model of acceptable ways of saying things in the language (Garvin, 1993: 46-47).

Though a standard language plays those symbolic roles, language acceptance cannot be realized overnight. Favorable attitude results from various conditions. Holmes (2013:107) identifies the factors that account for language acceptance as "... the status of the new variety is important, and so people's attitudes to the variety being developed must be considered. Steps may be needed to enhance its prestige, for instance, and to encourage people to develop pride in the language, or loyalty towards it." In short, status, attitude, prestige and pride are significant factors that play great role to provide acceptance to a standard language. This implies the need for putting in place empowerment strategies that enhance a language's condition like status, prestige, etc. In order to create favorable social conditions, time and resource should be invested on language development. Various actions should be taken to improve the social status of the language and to enable speakers to develop a sense of pride and loyalty in their language.

Status is a crucial factor in some contexts and in others it does not play a significant role to language acceptance. People may accept either a variety that has already assumed a high status or in certain situations they may even accept the one with no significant political or social dominance in the community. For instance, as Holmes (2013:107) describes, Filipino, the national language of Philippine, was based on a variety called Tagalogue which was the language of politically and economically powerful ethnic groups. On the other hand, in Indonesia a Malay variety which was politically and economically powerless compared to Javanese, another variety spoken in Indonesia, gained better acceptance than Filipino did in Philippines. Malay was accepted because different activities that upgraded the status of the language in the country were carried out added to the social status of its speakers.

The other social factor that affects social attitude towards a language, in addition to its status, is its diffusion. Diffusion is the extent at which a language is used in spoken and written

productions that make it easily accessible to the wider public. In order to be sustainable users of the standard language at all times, people need to have access to it (Coupland and Kristiansen, 2011: 23) and access to their language helps to gradually construct positive attitudes. Speakers cannot be actually expected to have positive attitudes towards a language which they do not have close acquaintance. A language that is easily available in the linguistic market in offices, business, media, public signs, movies, music, etc, creates strong association to a society, and tends to be the means of every day communication. In light of what has been presented above, general observations about the role of Gamo in the formal settings and the speakers' attitudes towards it will be examined next.

5.2. The Role of Gamo in Official Settings and Attitudes towards It

Legal and constitutional frames that provide or deny official functions to a language are capable to generate various social attitudes towards the language. For example, according to Adegbija (1994:36), the use of European languages as official languages of different African countries during and post colonialism resulted in positive attitudes and strong beliefs in the languages as the only or best ways of official communication or education while at the same time negative attitudes were entrenched towards indigenous African languages. Other indigenous African languages which received legal grounds to be used as official languages, during colonization and onwards, have managed to establish positive language attitudes. An instance of this could be the public attitudes towards Somali language in Somalia that has flourished after the provision of a legal support to the use of Somali as a language of official communication and education. Adegbija (1994:38) describes this situation as:

The impact of constitutional and legal provisions to affect language attitudes is demonstrated by the fact that in 1972, the Somali Revolutionary Council under Siad Barre declared that the Roman script would be used as the official orthography. Since then, developments in the language as official and national language, and as medium in primary and secondary schools have gone at a very fast pace. Such developments laid the foundation for favorable attitudes towards the language as a national language, as an official language, and as a language of education and are also partly responsible, too, for the fact that Somali is the only country in sub Saharan Africa in which secondary education is given in the indigenous language.

As noted in the quote, though English and Italian were used in different parts of Somalia during colonization, the provision of Somali language an official status in the country changed the entire language use and attitude of the people. This has helped the citizens to develop a positive attitude towards their own language and to accept its symbolic and instrumental functions in various national domains, including education.

In the case of Ethiopia, the use of indigenous languages in education and other official settings was not wide before the proclamation of the country's new constitution in 1991. Attitude of the people towards those indigenous languages was not encouraging as well (see also Cooper, 1989: 21). The only language that was allowed to be used as a national symbol and an official language of communication was Amharic. It was the only language in which all official goals were attained and in which multilingual citizens were served in formal settings. It was the only medium of instruction in schools and the only indigenous language taught as a subject at all grade levels and up to Universities. Amharic, due to such privileges it gained from policy frames, gained positive social attitudes for a long time and to present.

However, the provision of legal grounds to indigenous languages in the country's constitution of 1991, which was enhanced by the new Education and Training Policy (1994), has changed the whole language scenario of the country. The new constitution provided citizens with the rights of language use and development. In fact, Amharic is also given a significant position in the new constitution. It is also declared as a working language of federal offices. It also functions as an official working language of multilingual states like SNNPR and multilingual zones like the Gamo Gofa Zone where more than five languages are recognized to exist. Due to such policy improvements, Gamo along with many others, have received a written form and promoted to serve as a medium of primary education and official communication (see Chapter 4). The placement of Gamo in the new domains has provided the speech community with freedom of language use and has created opportunities to exercise their language rights.

Though there was no major social reservation associated with the declaration of Gamo as a medium of instruction and official communications, the codification of Gamo by amalgamating with the other languages Wolaitta, Gofa and Dawuro in school textbooks raised a new challenge towards its standardization and functional expansion in the new settings. The amalgamation of words has resulted in tension and confusion among the Gamo language speakers. Unfavorable

attitudes towards the standardization of the language became apparent. An attitude that said the standard language does not fully represent Gamo broke out.

The standard language was rather considered as a symbol of hegemony manipulated to facilitate political and administration operations. It was neither taken as a symbol of social unity nor did it yield loyal language users. Most of the Gamo speakers did not want to comply with the official written standard of Gamo but tended to prefer Amharic. For example, in an informal discussion, informants told the present researcher that in meetings people used to speak in Gamo but wrote minutes in Amharic. They preferred Amharic over the standard Gamo not because they opposed the idea of standardization but they used Amharic as a tool to defy the decision to make standard Gamo distant from what the majority of the society speaks. If writing is taken as a fair representation of spoken forms, the users' attitude towards the use of the blended language in education can be seen as a natural phenomenon. Eventually, due to the prevailing social resistances, the composite standard language was dismantled into its substrate forms.

The regional government's decision to recognize Gamo as a medium of instruction, enhanced by studies that recategorized the language as one of the major constituents of the Ometo groups in recent language classifications as in Hirut (2013b:379) contributed to the reestablishment of positive social attitudes towards it. The standardization process raised public interest to use Gamo in media and publications to some extent.

Gamo has become the language of primary education, a subject up to college level and the language of radio broadcasting services in the local FM 90.9 radio station. The language has started to take some new important positions in the linguistic market. For example, since 2013 Gamo has been introduced as a field of study in ACTE for teacher trainees at diploma level. In the field works, the present researcher observed that many student teachers were admitted to the department of the Gamo language, and most of them mentioned interest to pursue their studies further at degree level if the programme is launched. A production of Gamo popular music has also become common. These efforts certainly attach Gamo to the social economy by making it the means of one's economic benefit and development.

Local nongovernmental organizations showing interest in promoting the Gamo language and culture, mainly for religious purpose, have also contributed significantly in changing the social status of the language. Publication of books and production of films in Gamo language have been made available. For example, the New Testament of the Bible and the Jesus film have been translated into the Gamo language by an organization and become available for use. This has created a positive language attitude among the society as demonstrated by a member of the community who said:

The Word of God is a manual for life and we have never had it. Today we receive the manual for life in a language we understand. It is a manual for marriage, for parenting, for evangelism, for business, for relationships. Today we can move forward in our lives with God's instructions! (<http://blog.godreports.com>: 2012/08/).

The commentator expressed happiness to read information in a language that one can fully understand. This shows that the effort raised awareness about the role Gamo could play in public services like religious settings. It played a vital function to create such positive attitudes towards the language.

Though the use of Gamo in the education domain has been realized, its visibility in the linguistic landscape and other official transactions is very limited. One can say that it has not yet attained a fully fledged official status since its role in offices has been reversed. The dominant use of Amharic as a means of official and public communications is still common. Gamo is mainly used in interpersonal and in informal friendly communication domains. The linguistic areas Gamo serves reflect the level of development it attained since its promotion as a language of education. Language development should be compatible to its domains of use. Concerning this, Mysore (2005: 1544) points out:

The function of the language that reflects its development status is the nature of the domains of its use. The use of undeveloped languages is restricted to private domains like home, kin network, local market etc., as opposed to use in public domains like education, administration, national market etc.

That means, the extent to which a language is developed or not is understood from the social domains it works. In multilingual settings, if a language remains for domestic use only, people develop a negative attitude towards it, and consider it to be undeveloped or traditional.

The condition of Gamo to continue serving in those limited social domains implies that the standardization efforts are not enough. The reluctance to place Gamo into the public settings through policies that promote its use in public signs and official areas is negatively influencing social attitudes towards the language. The role of officials, writers and publishers to change the wider publics' attitude towards using Gamo as a standard language of everyday communication is very limited. As noted by sociolinguists, language acceptance becomes evident with official and political decisions and commitment that follow up the optimal implementation of the existing language policy endeavors. In relation to this, Holmes (2013:107) considers, "Acceptance by the people will generally require endorsement by politicians and socially prestigious groups. So selection and acceptance are steps which involve social and political factors." In what follows, data analysis on the attitudes and needs of the speakers on the Gamo language and its standardization will be presented. Before directly moving on to language attitudes and needs, it is believed to put some general overviews about the language use situation and the position of Gamo in everyday personal communications.

5.3. Language Use and the Status of Gamo in Different Settings

In this section, the language use tendency of respondents and the role of Gamo as a means of everyday communication are highlighted. The respondents' language behavior is associated with their attitudes towards the languages they use in exchanging information. Language behaviors show the language choice of individuals in everyday social interactions. They correspond to what Hymes (1967 and 1974), cited in Spolsky and Shohamy (2000: 4), calls "the ethnography of communication or what people actually do with their language." It indicates the activities people perform by using a language and contributes to our knowledge of the prevailing attachment between a language and its society.

The actual language practices of a society are significant aspects of their language policies. Spolsky (2007: 3) illustrates that as a component of language policy "language practices are the observable behaviors and choices- what people actually do. They are the linguistic features chosen, the variety of language used." To study a language behavior means to find out what languages or linguistic features are implemented in what social settings. It explains the social meanings the linguistic features or the varieties bear.

One of the concerns of language standardization is to make a language become a choice of a group of speakers. It aims to put the language on the users' front and influence them to favor it to express their ideas. Røyneland (2016: 83) mentions the major point in language standardization to be, "... whether people see the standard as a legitimate representation of their 'language' and are willing to use it" and "...whether people want to write their language at all or if they prefer using an exoglossic standard." The efforts exerted to standardize a language are abandoned unless people open their minds to write in the standard language. The reward is when the society uses its own language to carry out the functions language standardization sets out. To get the positive outcomes, it is vital that the actual language habits should be identified. Therefore, language use studies offer data on speakers' language preferences that need to be accommodated in the standardization process.

Bearing the significance of language use data for language standardization attempts in mind, this research tried to see language practices of the respondents. It focused on the prevalence of Gamo in the public and private domains as its use in wider settings marks its acceptance. Lack of language use for Gamo implies lack of acceptance accompanied by real actions in specific domains. Hence, in the sub section that follows, respondents' tendency to use Gamo and the other languages like Amharic and English in their everyday activities are discussed. There is an effort to explain some justifications that accounted for the observed language behaviors.

5.3.1. Using Gamo in Everyday Communication

Respondents were asked to indicate to what extent they used Gamo in their day to day communication. They were inquired to rate the frequency at which they spoke in Gamo with friends and family members at home and outside home; they listened to electronic media transmitted in Gamo; and read published materials in the language. The quantitative data in the following table and the qualitative data quoted in the discussions reveal respondents' language behavior and their attitude towards different languages including Gamo.

			Always	usually	Sometimes	rarely	never	missing	total
1.	Speaking	no.	194	76	43	14	9	4	340
		%	57.1	22.4	12.6	4.1	2.6	1.2	100
2.	listening	no.	73	59	158	42	7	1	340
		%	21.5	17.4	46.5	12.4	2.1	.3	100
3.	Reading	no.	134	78	76	34	16	2	340
		%	39.4	22.9	22.4	10	4.7	.6	100

Table 16: Frequency of using Gamo to speak to others, to listen and read materials

Respondents were first asked to rate their experience in speaking in Gamo with their family members and friends inside and outside home. It is observed in Table 16 that the majority of the respondents, 270 (79.5%), replied that they very often used Gamo to speak to others. Some respondents, 43 (12.6%), said that they sometimes used Gamo to communicate with others verbally and very few, 23 (6.7%), responded that they occasionally used Gamo in the spoken domain. The data indicate that the majority of the respondents speak frequently in Gamo at home or outside home with intimate communicants. The researcher also noted during the fieldwork that students very often spoke in Gamo amongst themselves and with their teachers. Teachers, however, used Amharic amongst themselves in offices and outside offices, and even to their students who tried to talk to them in Gamo.

Language choice of individuals could be influenced by the language policy of the community of practice. The common trend in Gamo, as mentioned before (5.2), is to use Amharic in official and other formal contexts. So, teachers tended to maintain the habit of speaking in Amharic while at work in their offices. On the other hand, the students, like any other youth of the country, were more loyal to use their language in their day to day interactions with friends from the same linguistic background and with their teachers.

Respondents were also asked to indicate how often they listened to electronically transmitted messages like music, radio, or other materials in Gamo. To this, some, 132 (38.9%), of the respondents indicated that they very often listened audio-visual materials in Gamo, but most of the respondents, 158 (46.5%), replied that they sometimes listened to audio-visual productions in Gamo. Some respondents, 49 (14.5%), rated their experience to be infrequent. From these data, it can be said that respondents' experience in listening music, songs, or any other electronically conveyed information in Gamo was low. A number of factors might have hampered the respondents' experience to access Gamo with electronic devices and enjoy their own language. The major factor for the observed behavior could be lack of sufficient audio-visual materials in

Gamo though we can admit that things have started to change. If the resources are limited, it goes without saying that people's access to their own language is very limited as well as the productions are. Seen from the other side, the challenge could be the development level of the language as well. Gamo has not yet become a strong competitor of the other languages in the linguistic market. Those few available electronic publications in Gamo are likely to be overtaken by the nationally and internationally casted audio-visual entertainments. So, like anyone, the respondents' choice could be influenced by the popular productions mainly the English media.

The respondents turn out to favor their language when it comes to reading texts in Gamo. Table 16 also shows that the majority of the participants, 212 (62.3%), favored that they frequently read materials written in Gamo. Less than a quarter of the respondents, 76 (22.4%), reported that they sometimes read materials in their language whereas some, 40 (14.7%), responded that their experience in reading in Gamo was very limited. From the data, it can be seen that the respondents expressed their positive attitudes towards reading in their own language. Since most of the research participants were teachers, students and writers, they were positive to read academic or non academic publications in Gamo. They were amongst the ones who struggle to change the status of Gamo in the social settings by building knowledge and information in it. They were positive to read and appreciate the culture and experience of their society.

However, just like the audio-visual materials, written publications, paper books or eBooks, in Gamo are rarely found. In fact, respondents mentioned that shortage of materials was one of the major reasons that hindered their effort to use Gamo in their everyday activities. The following table presents the data for question number 4 that asked, "What factor hindered your experience to read or to listen to materials in Gamo?"

Factors	No.	%
Lack of sufficient materials in Gamo	179	52.6
I do not understand the language they use well	89	26.2
They do not attract me because they do not use a standard language	33	9.7
Other (_____)	28	8.2
Missing	11	3.2
Total	340	100

Table 17: Factors that hindered respondents from reading or listening to materials in Gamo

It can be seen from Table 17 that a bit more than half, 179(52.6%), of the respondents replied that lack of sufficient materials written in Gamo impeded their experience to use it in their daily activities. A quarter of them, 89 (26.2%), said that their proficiency level to understand materials written or produced in Gamo influenced their choice of language. On the other hand, only few respondents, 33 (9.7%), mentioned that they were not encouraged to use the prevailing materials due to the fact that the materials did not apply a standard language. The rest, 28 (8.2%), indicated other reasons. So, from the data, it can be said that shortage of publications in Gamo was the main obstacle that discouraged most of the respondents from interacting with their language in different communication media. In the situation where resources in the indigenous language are scarce, it is obvious that Amharic and English materials are abundantly available. So, the materials produced in Amharic and English easily capture the interest and attention of the respondents.

5.3.2. Language Use in Writing

It has been widely accepted that the written media has great potential to accelerate and fix the standardization of a language. In relation to this, Halliday (2003:405) says, “Critical moments occur when a language comes to be written as well as spoken, and then when it comes to function as a standard language for some sort of nation-state.” This reminds us that when a language acquires written resources, related sociolinguistic events, like standardization, emerge. Languages obviously serve as a means of oral communication beginning from their introduction into individuals’ life. However, they receive a written form when the system that humans operate improves and demands standardization. In other words, the state of a language to be used as a written language, in addition to a spoken one, brings its standardization.

The prevalence of a language in the written domain accrues its social status since people commonly have high regard for the writing skill than the other skills of communication. Such social attitudes are associated with writing for the skill demonstrates one’s level of education. In writing, people employ their literacy skill in the language they write in. The ability to write in a language reflects the literacy skill in that language. So, speakers’ interest to write in their own language reveals their attitude towards knowledge or literacy of the standard language. It shows their willingness to use Gamo in a high level communication skill that requires knowledge of its

orthography. Therefore, in the questionnaire as well as in the interviews and focus group discussions, respondents' experience in writing in Gamo was explored. Their willingness to write in Gamo and to abide by the standard written norms was emphasized. The 5th question said, "Do you often write in Gamo in the following settings?" The results are presented in the following table followed by the discussions.

	Domains		Yes	No	missing	Total
A	Different kinds of notes in schools, colleges or universities	No.	195	145	-	340
		%	57	42.6	-	100
B	Official documents, messages or, application letters in offices	No.	108	231	1	339
		%	31.8	67.9	.3	100
C	Letters or notes to friends and family members	No.	211	129	-	340
		%	62.1	37.9	-	100
D	Personal notes, diaries or autobiographies	No.	194	146	-	340
		%	57.1	42.9	-	100
E	Religious notes in Church or in Mosque	No.	120	220	-	340
		%	35.3	64.7	-	100
F	Messages in social media or emails	No.	212	128	-	340
		%	62.4	37.6	-	100

Table 18: Respondents' experience in writing in Gamo in different settings

Table 18 displays that more than half of the respondents, 195 (57%), replied that they often wrote in Gamo in the schools, colleges or universities. On the other hand, 145 (42.6%) of them replied that they did not mostly write in Gamo in those places. Though most of the respondents said that they used Gamo in educational settings, the number of other groups who did not often write in Gamo is also very significant. It is obvious that Gamo is the medium of instruction in primary schools, in the Gamo department in ACTE and a subject in upper primary grades and onwards. The respondents' exposure to different Gamo lessons in the educational settings creates the chance to interact with the language. Most of the teachers, for example, told the researcher that they prepared teaching materials, designed lessons and translated textbooks into Gamo. This experience implies that most of the respondents used Gamo to write mainly academic materials.

On the other hand, only 108 (31.8%) of the respondents replied that they handled official written task in Gamo. The majority of them, 231 (67.9%), reported that they did not use Gamo to write official letters, messages or documents. The majority of the respondents admitted not to use Gamo in dealing with official matters. In Gamo Gofa Zone, every spoken or written official

message is communicated in Amharic or in English, so workers' or customers' chance to write in another language or in Gamo is limited. That is why the majority of the respondents said that they did not often use Gamo to write official matters.

There are some exceptional occasions where Gamo is used. For instance, in the department of Gamo in ACTE where the medium of instruction to the major courses was Gamo, students were allowed to present their written or spoken cases to the department in Gamo. Notices that concern Gamo courses or subjects were also posted in Gamo. The researcher also observed that government sign boards that display names of offices, their missions and visions appeared to be bilingual in Gamo and in Amharic. Apart from these practices, Gamo is not widely used to write official activities.

Table 18 also shows that the majority of the participants, 211 (62.1%), replied that they used Gamo to write notes, letters or short messages to their friends and family members, while more than a quarter of them, 129 (37.9%), did not often use Gamo to convey written messages to their close social groups. It is obvious that the major medium of communication among intimate social groups is a language that is familiar to the communicants. In view of that, we can conclude that the respondents used Gamo to exchange information with intimate social members.

In relation to writing personal notes, diaries and autobiographies, most of the respondents, 194 (57.1%), often used Gamo, but the other 146 (42.9%) did not often use Gamo to write personal notes. The data proves that respondents used Gamo very often when they write things for personal consumption. In addition to such materials, the data from interviews and focus group discussions show that poems, songs, prayer titles, mobile notes, contact lists on mobile phones were preferably written in Gamo. Some of the respondents mentioned that using their language in such unregulated areas gave them the linguistic and psychological freedom to release strong emotions. As indicated by a participant, writing in his native language enabled him to use his potential optimally to express ideas:

*(12) ine ahun lämäs'afm mäli?kt lämastälaläfm bihon gamoŋna yik'alläŋŋall
bäamariŋna lämastälaläf bifällig yiwäsasäbibiŋŋall yäräse k'wank'wa silalhonä
kägamoŋna yilik' yikäbdäŋŋall lämawrat yäfälläkutin bäatf'fir gize
if'ärisallähu bägamoŋna sit't'äk'am malät näw siläzih lämäs'afim lämänagärim
yätŋŋawim akkababi lay lämäsirat sifällig gamoŋna yimäffäŋŋall*

‘To me Gamo is easy to convey any message in writing. If I want to use other languages like Amharic, my idea gets complicated. It is difficult for me to write in another language which is not my mother tongue. But when I use Gamo, I can finish my idea very quickly in a short time. Therefore, Gamo is convenient to me to speak, to write or to work in any area. I feel comfortable to use it’ (Esayas, Nov. 2015).

This respondent reflected a very positive attitude towards using his own language in every day communication. He humbly expressed that his language offered him confidence and comfort to speak or to write to others. Gamo was a means to feel linguistically secured and confident to participate in every day social activities and to make contribution to the social and national development.

Another participant related the chance to use Gamo to ensuring his birth right. Of course, one can also say that it brings a constitutional right into reality as well:

(13) *ijna akkababi säwofff yämit't'äk'ämut bägamojña näw kätäma yätäwällädut tinnif amarajña yit't'äkämallu ine gin gät'är silätäwällädku bägamojña näw yämit't'äk'ämäw git'm lämissale timhirt bet iyyallähu yätimhirt mäzi giya säa?t lay git'im minamin ak'ariballähu bäzzan gize bägamojña näw yämis'ifäw ina anäballähu inji bamarajña alsifim betäkristiyanim yäk'al märi kähonkuññ bamarajña yätäs'afäwn bägamojña fätiffje näw yämasirädaw*

‘In our area people mostly communicate to each other in Gamo. People who were born in towns usually use Amharic. I was born in a rural area where Gamo is spoken so I often use Gamo to write in different places. For example, when I was at school, I used to write poems in Gamo and presented them on parents' day. I do not write those kinds of things in Amharic. When I lead a programme in Church, I translate the Amharic script into Gamo and explain it to the Church attendants’ (Tadesse, Nov. 2015).

Tadesse first indicated that he was born in the rural area where mostly indigenous languages were used. So, he considered that using Gamo was related to his being originated from the rural Gamo places where indigenous language was the major means of every day communication. This respondent⁷ used Gamo not only for personal purpose but also wrote literary things like poems or religious notes to present to others. In this case, the scope of domains where Gamo is used has extended.

⁷ This participant can be considered as a major agent to language standardization in Gamo. His positive attitude to use Gamo in the formal places like school and Church was an effort and a great contribution to the standardization of Gamo.

On the contrary to writing personal information, less than two-fourth of the participants, 120 (35.3%), preferred to write religious notes in Gamo. But, the majority of them, 220 (64.7%), indicated that they did not use Gamo to write religious notes. The data may allow us to expect that the majority of them preferred Amharic to note down religious messages. If Gamo was not widely used in religious sermons, the respondents' might not intend to write the messages in it. Their experience mainly depends on the prevalence of religious publications in the language. Publications that build knowledge of terms to express religious concepts in Gamo are not adequately available. In fact, some translation works like the New Testament is available online and in print, and their contribution to familiarize the society to spiritual texts and terms in Gamo should be applauded. The researcher also noted during field work that God's prayer was posted on the office of the department of Gamo language in ACTE.

Though the majority of the respondents, (64.7%), said that they did not use Gamo to write religious notes, some participants mentioned during the focus group discussions that they used Gamo in Church and in Mosque. Ahmad shared his experience in writing different materials in Gamo in Mosque saying:

(14) *ine yämmis'ifäw lätimhirt bämit't'äk'mäw näw yimmäsasälall yätimhirtunna yäñña yämi?rab wäyim yäkuſ'a and ayyinät silähonä ine bäzza it't'äk'amallähu ine musulim näññi izza sinor märi hoññe git'moffifin bägamoñña näw yämak'ärbäw bizu s'ihufoffifin bärase gamoñña s'iffe... yäsäwotffifin sim zärzirim sis'if... bägamoñña näw bizu nägär yämis'ifäw gamoñña k'wank'wäye näw iwädäwallähu*

'I write different notes using the standard Gamo. Since the standard variety is similar to the one we speak in Mirab or in Kucha, I write different things in it. I am Muslim. When I was serving as a leader in Mosque, I always wrote poems and names of people in Gamo. I can write and speak in Gamo well. I like Gamo. It is my language' (Ahmad, Nov. 2015).

This participant had a very positive attitude towards Gamo and demonstrated pride to use it. When the focus group discussion was over, he handed over the researcher stories he wrote in Gamo which he said collected from elders. He ambitiously expressed his dream to see the cultural assets and values of the society documented in their own language.⁸

⁸ This informant is also another prominent agent to the standardization process of Gamo. His courage and enthusiasm to use Gamo for public communication purpose positively shapes the attitude of members of his community towards the language.

On the other hand, the majority of the respondents, 212 (62.4%), mentioned that they most often used Gamo to write on social media, email communications and short mobile messages while more than a quarter of them, 128 (37.6%), replied that they did not use Gamo on Internet services at all. Since Gamo uses the same graphemes to English keyboards of electronic devices, the majority of the respondents must have found it easier to apply it while writing on those equipments.

From the whole data, it is possible to note that most of the respondents used Gamo to write on social media, emails and short messages, personal notes, and messages to family members and close friends. In other public settings, Gamo was not used so often. For example, in formal gatherings, officials preferred Amharic to hold meetings even with farmers in rural places (Zelege, Nov.2015). This practice shows that Gamo was not used in situations even when indigenous Gamo cultural life was dealt with farmers. It is possible to remark that the prevailing less preference to use Gamo in formal public settings like offices and religious gatherings is a major challenge to its standardization. A similar situation to use local languages in close social groups has been reported to other African countries. For instance, Ayeomoni (2006:161) describes that in Yoruba speaking community of Nigeria, people “make use of Yoruba mainly in the family setting, but also in very formal occasions like village or tribal meetings that are purely Yoruba cultural life.” In family or local settings people discuss family or local matters with intimate community members.

Cross Tabulation of Teachers’ and Students’ Responses to Writing in Different Places

The cross tabulation of results to the respondents’ occupation revealed significant differences between student responses and teacher responses. These significant differences were observed for writing personal notes. The results are shown in the next table.

Writing personal notes		Yes	No	Total
	Students	169 (61.7%)	105 (38.3%)	274(100%)
Teachers	25(37.9%)	41(62.1%)	66(100%)	
Total	194(54.7%)	146(43.1%)	340 (100%)	

Table 19: Crosstab results of respondents' job to writing personal note

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.296 ^a	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	340		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 28.34.

Table 19 indicates that the majority of the students, 169 (61.7%), expressed that they used Gamo to write personal notes, while 105(38.3%) of them stated that they did not often use Gamo to write materials for personal use. On the other hand, most of the teachers, 41 (62.1%), said that they did not use Gamo. It was 25 (37.9%) of the teachers who said that they used Gamo to write personal notes. The data indicate that students more than teachers applied Gamo in private communication settings. The variation between these social groups might have come from their day to day experience. The students were the ones who received early primary education and literacy skills in their mother tongue. That experience helped them to employ Gamo in literacy areas than the majority of the teachers who might have learnt their classes in Amharic. Even if there were some young teachers who passed through the mother tongue education programme, most of them who did not teach in the mother tongue claimed that they easily forgot the orthography of Gamo shortly after they left school. The association between students' responses and teachers' responses was significant that its Chi-Square test is $x^2 = 12.29$, $df = 1$, $Sig = .000$.

Respondents from different dialectal backgrounds were also asked to evaluate their experience in writing in different languages. Question number 6 was about their language use: “In which language/languages do you mostly write messages to others or information to yourself?” The results were presented below.

	Gamo	Amharic	Gamo and Amharic	English	Total
No.	76	124	121	19	340
%	22.4	36.5	35.6	5.6	100

Table 20: Languages respondents often wrote information

As seen in Table 20, the number of respondents who replied to use Amharic, 124 (36.5%), was almost equal to those who reported to use both Gamo and Amharic, 121(35.6%), to write different information. Less than a quarter of the respondents, 76 (22.4%), said that they used

Gamo most often. If we add the number of respondents who reported to use Amharic to those who used both Gamo and Amharic, we find that Amharic was used by the majority, 245 (72.1%). Similarly, in the same calculation we find that Gamo was applied by more than half of them, 198 (58%). These double calculation of the data show that the majority of the respondents wrote messages to others or for private purposes in Amharic. But, Gamo was also frequently used by a large portion of the respondents. The evidence allows us to say that the respondents practiced their bilingual skills. It becomes significant again to find out which groups of the society use Gamo or who uses Amharic most frequently to write in different settings.

The analysis revealed significant variation between students' and teachers' behaviors on language use. The results are shown in the following table.

	Gamo	Amharic	Gamo and Amharic	English	total
Students	68 (24.8%)	88 (32.1%)	101 (36.9%)	17 (7.4%)	274 (100%)
Teachers	8 (12.1%)	36 (54.5%)	20 (30.3)	1 (2.2%)	65 (100%)
Total	76 (22.4%)	124 (36.5%)	121 (35.6%)	19 (5.6%)	340 (100%)

Table 21: Crosstab results of language use among students and teachers

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.774 ^a	3	.005
N of Valid Cases	340		

a. 1 cells (12.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.69.

The results in Table 21 show that most of the teachers, 36 (54.5%), said that they often wrote personal or public messages in Amharic, but only 88 (32.1%) of the students believed that they usually wrote in Amharic in public and private settings. On the other hand, 101 (36.9%) of the student respondents and 20 (30.3%) of teachers stated that they concurrently wrote in Gamo and in Amharic, and 68 (24.8%) of students and only 8 (12.1%) of teachers said they usually wrote in Gamo. From the data, it is possible to grasp the idea that students reported to use Gamo and Amharic but teachers mostly wrote in Amharic in their every day communication. It can be said that students enacted multilingual practice by implementing bilingualism much more than

teachers did. They showed multilingual behavior of swinging between the two languages whenever they needed to do so. English was reported to be used so often by very few respondents of which 17 (7.4%) were students and only one (2.2%) teacher. The language choice variation between students and teachers was found significant at the Chi -Square value $\chi^2 = 12.7$, $df = 3$, $Sig. = .005$.

In the interviews and focus group discussions both students and teachers provided various responses about their language use. On the one hand, some students said that they wrote different things in Amharic except in obligatory places like in classrooms, which require lessons to be written in Gamo. Selam (Dec.2015), an Ochollo dialect speaker expressed her view in the following way:

(15) *ine iskahun sayäw kätimhirt bet wif'f'i betäkirstiyan minamin sinhed gamoñña tänagiräw ayawk'um dägmo bägamoñña s'ifän anawk'im*

When I see it, outside the school, people have never spoken in Gamo in Church. In addition we have never written in Gamo.'

bämindinäw yämītis'ifut?

Q: 'What language do you often write in different places?'

bamaräñña bamaräñña näw k'alim dägmo sisäbku bamaräñña näw

'Selam: In Amharic. I write different notes in Amharic. People in my area also preach the Gospel in Amharic, so I write Church notes in it.'

anfifis bägamoñña tis'ifiyalläf?

Q: 'How about you, do you write your private things in Gamo?'

alis'fim bägamoñña alis'ifim lämissale timhirt bet kalhonä bāk'är izza läne minim ayarägiliññim

'Selam: No, I do not write anything in Gamo. Unless it is lessons in the school, writing in Gamo does nothing for me there in Ochollo.'

The respondent stated that she frequently used Amharic to write Church notes and other personal information. She thought that to write in Gamo was not important except in classrooms where writing notes or exams in Gamo was rewarded with grades. It is possible to see the attitude people developed towards the standard Gamo in Ochollo area.

Other respondents also shared the same perspective as presented below:

(16) *ine yämask'ämüt'äw nägär kätimhirt bet wif'f'i inem yaw gamoññawn bäs'ihuf it'äk'amallähu biyye aliggämitmgin amaräñan yämayifilu säwof gamoññan bäs'ihuf yit't'äk'amallu fərff sisäbikum mäs'ihafu yätäs'afäwu bamaräña silähonä amaräñawin anbibäw bamaräña näw yämisäbkuw mäs'imurim bamaräña näw yämis'afäw siläzih gamoññawin bäs'ihuf dārädza bizum ayit't'äk'amum bäbirom däbidabem lämäs'afim honä bämäsgid bäs'ihuf gamoññawin ayit't'äk'amum biye näw yämasik'ämüt'äw*

‘Okay, what I want to say is that outside the classroom I too do not write anything in Gamo. But people who do not know Amharic speak and write in Gamo. When people preach in Church, they first preach the Gospel in Amharic, they read the Bible in Amharic because the Bible is written in it, and they also write songs in Amharic. So they do not use Gamo to the level of writing letters, notes in offices or religious information in Church or in Mosque’ (Abate, Nov. 2015).

This student also mentioned that he has not used Gamo to write different messages though he learnt the standard written language since elementary school. Like the former informant (excerpt 15), he further mentioned that in his area in Churches, Mosques and offices people used to write letters, songs or other things in Amharic. A student from the Dache dialect also said that she always used Amharic to express her idea in writing but not Gamo:

(17) *ine bamaräñña näw bäs'ihuf yämigälis'äw gin yämaworaw bägamoñña näw däbdabem yätäläyayyä s'ihuf bäamaräñña is'ifallähu gin yämawäraw bägamoñña näw*

‘I use Amharic to write letters or to note any information but I also speak in Gamo frequently.’ (Asnakech, Nov. 2015).

Unlike the former students, this student at least acknowledged that she spoke in Gamo though she does not use it for writing. As mentioned earlier (in this subsection), students still use Gamo better than teachers especially to write personal notes. However, their language choice has been influenced by environmental and personal factors that forced them to prefer Amharic to write ideas to Gamo. Amharic takes more prestige in the written domain than the local language does. As one could see, almost all publications, such as news papers, magazines or office documents are produced in Amharic or English and distributed to the public. These kinds of resources are very scarce in Gamo. Names of business companies (shops, hotels or other private limited companies) and advertisements, posts were all written in Amharic and/or in English. Both the prevalence of Amharic in the wider print media and the linguistic landscape established a

positive attitude towards the language in the minds of the users. As a result, most of the respondents, including teachers and students, considered Amharic as a language that enables them to participate in offices and business companies that require Amharic skill. Amharic skill is also a means to communicate with other ethnic members of the country.

The following interviewee blamed that the environment does not encourage one's effort to write in Gamo and to improve their skill:

(18) *bäyyäbotaw bäyyäbirow gamoñña binit'äk'am malät näw yämanibäb kihilotaffinän yif'amir näbär gin s'ihuf bäyyäbotaw silälelä k'wank'wawun lämadabär anasibäwm aläbäläziya gin inäzzih mastawok'iyawofff bäamaräñña silähonu iñnam tikurät yäminsät'aw läamaräñña näw*

'Had Gamo been used in offices or in different public posts, it would have enhanced our literacy skill. But since Gamo is not used in the linguistic landscape, we do not also care to improve and develop our skill in it at all. Since all advertisements and posts are written in Amharic, we pay more attention to develop Amharic literacy skill than Gamo' (Mustafa, Dec. 2015).

The informant believed that the linguistic environment did not motivate him to develop his literacy skill in Gamo. The capacity of Gamo to function as a developed written medium was not promoted in the environment well. Rather, the language ecology empowered the literacy skills, ability to read and write, in Amharic. Another informant also added that he always worked hard to learn to write and read Amharic and improve his skills since all publications that are addressed to Gamo area are written in Amharic (Zelege, Dec.2015). So, in order to get adequate information from the media or to contribute information to publications, one needs the required skill. That means these media of communication made the route to literacy skill in Amharic easier, but have had less contribution to improve one's literacy knowledge in Gamo. Due to their status in the country, Amharic and English are the main channels of national and international communication. So, respondents had great interest to access publications channeled in these languages. It is also convincing that they deserved access to information in these channels. A similar finding was reported from Philippines. Sibayan (1975: 119) puts his finding as:

It seems strange that a people who use their vernaculars for speaking, when asked in what language they prefer to read certain types of material, indicate a definite preference for reading in English, with a relatively small percentage indicating a preference for their native language and a still smaller percentage indicating for Pilipino. ... This proves the very important influence or effect of

the language of instruction in the schools as well as the influence exerted by the predominance of newspapers, magazines, and books published in English. Another factor influencing this preference for English is the fact that the quantity of reading matter in the vernacular is very scanty.

The finding confirms the potential role of publications in the dominant languages hold to influence people's everyday communication practice. The data generally indicate that for standardization to be practical and effective, publications should be encouraged in Gamo as well.

Other researchers also found out that Gamo speakers had interest to learn the Amharic language. In a study, Gashaw (2012:40) interprets that his Gamo participants' motivation to master speaking in Amharic was to consolidate their Ethiopian identity:

...the majority of respondents' attitudes toward Amharic were encouraged by country level identity. This means that the respondents were enthusiastic to be fluent in Amharic. As Ethiopians they believed that they should be fluent speakers of Amharic. Therefore, the respondents considered Amharic as a marker of Ethiopian identity.

The rationale to relate the prevalence of positive attitude towards learning Amharic to one's Ethiopian identity does not seem to be working in the current situation where people's indigenous consciousness and diversity has risen, and it is a bit far from what Gamo speakers aspired for. Instead, Gamo speakers' aspiration to master Amharic was primarily to communicate to the wider society and to benefit from the economy Amharic occupies in the country. They wanted to be part of the wider national development by utilizing their multilingual skills. It is a fact that Amharic holds the key for one's vertical mobility than can Gamo does. So, the respondents knew that being able to speak and to write in Amharic would allow them to get a good job or involve in the economy across the country. They knew speaking Amharic would allow them to freely move outside their own village as it is the default lingua franca of the country. In a bilingual situation, other researchers also found out the same intention from speakers. For example, in a research conducted on Inuktitut minority language in Canada, Tulloch (2004: 396) reports that speakers' of Inuktitut wanted to master English, the widely spoken language in the country, for they believed that it would help them to communicate to people outside their community area.

Individuals should believe in multilingualism. That means like the linguafranca the indigenous language also deserves development at individual and societal level. In order to encourage

people to develop the culture of using a local language for every day communication purpose, landscape should meaningfully connect them to their ethnic and historical background (A.D Smith, 1986: 183, cited in Chiost, 2003:112). This implies that there should be a reasonable means of associating the linguistic landscape of Gamo to the local community.

It was also attested in the research that respondents maintained Gamo in their spoken communication while they usually used Amharic to write in different areas. The reasons they gave include, forgetting the orthography; feeling not comfortable with the orthography for it frequently employs vowel length and consonant gemination that makes the written form unnecessarily long and cumbersome compared to Amharic and English; and Gamo was not developed and was not commonly practiced to write messages to others. A comment from a teacher adduces one of these claims:

(19) *ine yämīt't'äkämāw bābizat bāamarāṇṇa nāw gamoṇṇa s'afi biluṇṇ bādānb mäs'af alfilim bānigiggir gin kābetäsābofffe gar bābizat yämīt't'äkämāw bāgamoṇṇa nāw*

‘I usually write letters, notes, memories or anything in Amharic. If you ask me to write these things in Gamo I cannot do it. But I often speak with my family in Gamo’ (Melkam, Dec 2015).

This teacher recognized that she used Gamo to speak to close social members, but never used it for written communication purpose. The reason given was lack of appropriate literacy skill in Gamo. The respondent indicated that she used Gamo as a medium of learning during her early primary education and took it as a subject afterwards, but she still claimed not to have the skill to write in the language. The resistance to use Gamo in written communication shows the attitude the respondent maintained towards the status of Gamo in different mode of communications. Similarly, another teacher, from the Kucha dialect, also claimed to forget the writing rules of Gamo after he completed school:

(20) *indä ine gamoṇṇan lāmāgbabiya yahil nāw yämīt't'äk'ämāw bānigiggir nāw indzi bäs'ihuf bāamarāṇṇana bāingilizāṇṇa nāw yāmis'ifāw lāmīn ahun ine yätāmarkut iskā hiskūl diräs nāw kāzza bālay yällām ine ahun iyyätāräsāṇṇ nāw yämāt't'aw anāballāhu gin tolo tolo lāmanbāb k'alatan fidālatum yikābdūṇṇal*

‘As to me, I use Gamo just to communicate to others in speaking, but I write a note to myself or to others in Amharic and in English. This is because I learnt the Gamo language only up to high school, then learning and writing in it ended there. Since I did not learn it beyond high school, I am even now starting to

forget it. I can read it but I cannot read properly. The words and the letters are difficult for me to identify or to read' (Mustafa, Dec. 2015).

For this Kucha dialect speaker, the standard words and letters used in books were difficult to identify and to pronounce. In other words, he forgot the knowledge he received in schools about the association between the graphemes and the sounds they represent in the standard language. The variation of the Kucha dialect from the standard norm was shown earlier (4.2). The prevailing dialectal variations added to his tendency to forget the standard forms for there were less interactions to the orthography, deterred the respondent's literacy skill in the standard form.

Other teacher participants clearly reflected unfavorable attitude towards Gamo by saying that they did not like to write in it or they were not comfortable as shown in the next quote:

(21)ine bäs'ihuf gamoŋna tät'täk'ime alawk'im gamoŋna yämäs'af yämanbäb ffiggir yäläbijnim gin gamoŋna bämäs'as'af alillämädikum gamoŋna mäš'af bizum ayyimäffäjjim siläzih tät'täk'ime alawk'im

'I have never written information for personal or public use in Gamo. I do not have any problem with reading and writing in Gamo since I learnt it since Grade one, but I do not have the experience to write in it for others or for myself. I am not that much comfortable to write in Gamo' (Aster, Dec. 2015).

These kinds of negative attitudes towards using Gamo to document information in writing could have resulted from various factors, but one thing respondents mentioned was the orthography. They held unfavorable attitude towards the orthography of Gamo as expressed by another teacher participant:

(22)zim biyye sasibäw ehe amaräŋna läš'ihuf yik'allall mäšäläŋŋ läš'ihufim yik'allall indägänam rädzim gize bizuhanu yällämädäw bäayimirowum yätäk'äbäläw bäk'a kä... intinu ahun fidälofffu lämissale läš'ihuf and fidäl gamoŋna ahun /d/ lämalät hulät fidäl iskä sost fidäl yihedal amaräŋna gin "ḏ" lämalät and fidäl yit'täk'k'ämal

'When I simply think of it, the Amharic language is easy to write. In addition, it has been practiced by the majority of the population for a long time and has gained acceptance. For example, if you write one Gamo sound /d/ it has two graphemes <d> and <h> as in the diagraph <dh>and it sometimes goes up to three letters. But in Amharic, it takes only one letter <d>' (Kaleb, Dec. 2015).

This reflection is an evidence to show the attitude the respondents have embraced towards Gamo as a means of written communication. It can be said that due to frequent interaction with the Amharic language in publications or person to person written interactions, people considered its

orthography to be simple and economical to write. Gamo is perceived to have an orthography that consumes much time and space. This attitude has been reflected by the following teacher who mentioned earlier (excerpt 21) that she did not feel comfortable to write in Gamo:

(23) and k'al yalä anababiw mä's'af ayiffalim siläzih känä anababiw sis 's'af bizu bota yifälligal indä amaräññaw bäaf'f'ir gize bäaf'f'ir bota bizu nägär mä's'af ayiffalim ingilizäññam indäzaw bätinnif bota lay bizu k'alatn mä's'af yiffalal gamoññaw gin anababiw allä issum dabl siddärräg tänäbabiwoffum indäzzaw siddärrägu bizu bota yiyizal malät näw siläzih bota lämäk'ot't'äb ine bäabizäññaw bäamaräññana bäingilizäñña näw yämis'ifäw

‘In Gamo a word cannot be written without vowels. When every letter is written with vowels, it takes a lot of space. It is not possible to write many things in short time and little space unlike in Amharic. In English as well, it is possible to write many words in a small space. But Gamo has vowels that need to be doubled, and when consonants are also geminated, it occupies much space. So I write notes or any information in Amharic and in English to save time and space’ (Aster, Dec. 2015).

This shows that people are diverging from using Gamo for writing purpose as it is less economical in terms of time and space. In the current dynamic world, people's interest and worldview has changed a lot; as a result, many citizens have become more conscious about the time and space they spend on activities than they used to be before. They think of the duration of time they spend on an activity and calculate the profit they gain in return. In the same way, some of the respondents, who have become sensitive to time and space concepts felt that writing in Amharic was more economical than Gamo whose orthography implements diagraphs and requires vowels to be lengthened and consonants to be geminated. These social attitudes oblige language standardization in Gamo to look for a better means of making the orthography more simple and user friendly (cf: Hirut, 2014).

Other participants thought that Gamo was not well augmented and established as a means of written communication. It is not long since the standardization process started and many people, especially elders, around them did not know its orthography. If one had to send written message to the social members who are less familiar with Gamo orthography, they used Amharic. A student said the following:

(24)ine käzih bäfit yämt't'äk'amäw bäamaräñña näw bägamoñña ininägäralän bihonim git'mna mäzmur yäbetäkirstiyanm honä däbdabe bäamaräñña näw yämis'fäw läbzuhan silämik'ärb gamoñña aladägäm käzih

*bäfit k'wank'waffin issu hono gin bäs'huf däraḍḍa aladägäm bäs'huf däraḍḍa
yilläyyal bämänägärna bämäs'af yilläyyal siläzih hulgize yämit t'äk'amäw
bamaräḥna näw*

‘I write letters, notes and poems in Amharic, but I often speak in Gamo. When I write a note or song in Church to present for the wider public, I use Amharic. It has not been long time since Gamo is standardized as a written language; though it is our language, we do not use it to communicate to each other in writing because it is not developed well to be used in a written communication. Using a language to write a message for others is different from to speak in it. So Gamo needs more time and development efforts to be used in written communication. Until Gamo develops well and its orthography becomes known to the people, I should always use Amharic’ (Abera, Nov. 2015).

The respondent tried to point out that the language he used to write in public settings like Church was Amharic. He acknowledged Gamo to serve adequately as a means of spoken communication but said that its orthography is not well known by the public to effectively serve the speakers. The Amharic language is established as means of written communication for a very long time, and it still requires no less time to get people familiar with standard Gamo.

Another informant reiterated the same ideology for not using Gamo to write to others:

*(25) awo ahun bägamoḥna lämissale läbetäsäb däbdabe käs'afn bägamoḥna
lins'f infilallän gin bizu gize ine bäamaräḥna is'fallähu mäḍämäriya gamoḥna
silaladdägä betäsäb yägamoḥnawn s'ihuf ayawk'um yämiyawk'ut amaräḥna näw
ina bamaräḥna is'fallähu betäkristiyan wist'im bägamoḥna inaworalän däbdabe
sins'f timhirit bet yäminimaräwn näw yämins'ifäw*

‘For example, we cannot write letters to our parents in Gamo though we have the skill to write in it. Our parents do not know the orthography because Gamo was not standardized before. The elders know Amharic, so I write letters or any message in it. But in case I write a message in Gamo, I use the standard variety’ (Yenenew, Nov. 2015).

Yenenew predominantly wrote in Amharic while he could also use Gamo. Like the previous respondent (24), this one also justified his language use saying that people in his communication circle did not know the Gamo orthography so Amharic was the medium of instruction if one wanted to address message through writing to elders. This has been confirmed by other participants as well like the following one:

*(26) ine bäbzat bäamaräḥna näw däbdabem betäkristiyanm yätim honä
bäamaräḥna näw yämis'ifäw lämindinäw indäzza yäminaddärgäw
mäḍämmäriya yäḥna abatoḥfaffin timhirt simaru bägamoḥna altämarum*

bamaräñña näw yätamarut siläzih bamaräñña näw yämins'ifäw bägantijñnam als'ifm mikinyatum andäñña kifil sigäba bädatf'etsso näw yädzämärkut täwäldze iskä säbat amäte diräs gantijñña näw yämawäraw kätza tämallife datf'etsson yädzämärkut ine bärgit' sis'f bädeff'etsso wäyim bamaräñña näw däbdabe minamin sis'f

‘When I write a letter to my parents, take a note in Church or anywhere else, I usually use the Amharic language, because our elders learnt to read and to write in Amharic, not in Gamo. I do not write in Ganta either because when I started education I learnt how to write and read in Dache. I did learn how to write in Ganta. Ganta is my mother tongue. But I learnt in Dache in school. So I indeed write letters or anything in Amharic. In school I write notes in Dache’ (Alemu, Nov. 2015).

The participant repeated the idea that most of the people especially the educated elders read and write in Amharic, but not in Gamo as they did not learn the orthography in schools. Therefore, in order to be understood by the elders, the respondent should be writing in Amharic. The other reason given was the linguistic difference between the standard norm and Ganta which is his mother tongue. Since Ganta is not developed as a written language, the people had two options; to write to each other in Amharic or to learn to write in Dache, the standard Gamo. They most often chose Amharic as it was the language most of the people learnt as a subject in schools.

One controversial point is that attending a formal school is not a mandatory requirement to write or to read in Gamo for educated people. Most of the textbook writers did not receive formal education in Gamo, but they wrote the learning materials in it. This shows that individual effort is a more important factor than a formal education to be familiar with the Gamo orthography.

Still some other participants accepted that they used both Gamo and Amharic⁹ based on the context they were engaged in:

(27) *ine bägamoññam it'äk'ämallähu bäamaräññam it'äk'ämallähu lämissale ahun yäbiheräsäboff k'an agäroff yärasatffäwn bahil lämasayyät bämisäbäsäbubbät k'an bägamoñña git'm minamin bägamoñña inak'äriballän betäkirisitiyan sihed yämis'ifäw bäamaräñña näw gamoññan aworallähu sis'f bäamaräñña is'ifallähu*

⁹ Some informants mentioned that they used both the conventional Latin orthography of Gamo and Fidel, which is used in the Semitic languages of Ethiopia like Amharic, to write information in Gamo.

'I use both Gamo and Amharic to speak to others or to write to them. For instance, during nations and nationalities day, when people gather to show their culture, I present poems in Gamo. On the other hand, in Church, I write messages in Amharic. I speak in Gamo but I use Amharic to write any message' (Almaz, Nov. 2015).

This participant identified the domains where she used the Amharic and the Gamo language. Gamo was used to write presentations or poems in the culture day where the indigenous languages and cultures of the country are celebrated. The respondent, in addition, said that in the Church she wrote messages in Amharic. The respondent implemented multilingual literacy skills according to the demand of the contexts at hand. Poems are creative works, so the respondent created in her native language. That means she became productive in the language which she commands well and expresses her feelings and cultural identity. But when it comes into domains which require technical knowledge of a concept, like religious terms, the respondent said that she diverted into the language in which she read and constructed religious knowledge.

5. 4. Attitude towards Gamo and its Standardization

The research envisaged to explore the respondents' attitude towards Gamo and its standardization. Some of the concepts which respondents were asked to express their attitude towards Gamo include but not limited to learning the standard language; their feelings in speaking in Gamo, and the capability of Gamo to express their emotions. The items related to standardization of Gamo mentioned its role as a medium of instruction and official communication; its codification for literary materials and in school textbooks; its standardization to include new words to express science and technological concepts; and whether they endorse Gamo as a standard language or not. It was believed that the respondents' views towards the language have significant contribution to make the necessary intervention and remedy for language standardization in Gamo. The table below contains the data for the items.

Items		SA ¹⁰	A	CD	D	SD	missing	Total
7. Learning to write Gamo is easy	No.	145	89	17	56	28	5	340
	%	42.6	26.2	5	16.5	8.2	1.5	100
8. I like to use Gamo in communication	No.	168	104	21	37	10	-	340
	%	49.4	30.6	6.2	10.9	2.9	-	100
9. I am not ashamed of using Gamo with others	No.	141	116	27	37	15	4	340
	%	41.5	34.1	7.9	10.9	4.4	1.2	100
10. Gamo provides me words to express my feelings	No.	112	88	40	68	32	-	340
	%	32.9	25.9	11.8	20	9.4	-	100
11. Gamo can be used to teach/learn any subject	No.	142	59	35	67	35	2	340
	%	41.8	17.4	10.3	19.7	10.3	.6	100
12. Gamo is not widely used in books and other literature	No.	164	104	33	27	10	2	340
	%	48.2	30.6	9.7	7.9	2.9	.6	100
13. Gamo has not developed words for modern science and technology	No.	91	109	51	55	34	-	340
	%	26.8	32.1	15	16.2	10	-	100
14. I want Gamo to be used in offices	No.	97	73	51	65	54	-	340
	%	28.5	21.5	15	19.1	15.9	-	100
15. Gamo textbooks are written in a standard language that uses words, spelling and grammar similarly.	No.	85	69	40	102	42	2	340
	%	25	20.3	11.8	30	12.4	.6	100
16. Gamo is a standard language	No.	75	69	56	87	51	1	340
	%	22.1	20.3	16.5	25.6	15	.3	100

Table 22: Respondents' attitude towards Gamo and its standardization

As seen from Table 22, respondents were asked (item 7) to indicate whether they agree or disagree with the idea that stated learning to write Gamo is easy. The majority of the respondents, 234 (68.8%), showed positive attitude towards learning the standard Gamo, but about a quarter of them, 84 (24.7 %), showed unfavorable attitude towards learning the standard form. On the other hand, very few respondents, 17 (5%), preferred to say that they could not decide on the issue. The data indicate that the role of Gamo as a written standard since its introduction in the education system has made most of the respondents familiar with the standard form and helped to create optimum attitude towards learning it. The respondents' positive attitude towards learning Gamo shows their motivation to learn it. They were also confirming their knowledge of the standard language by providing favorable data. In fact, respondents might have found it dubious to label their own language a difficult one to learn. So, their favorable attitude on rating their standard language an easy one to learn shows their motivation to master it and this attitude can facilitate the standardization process of Gamo in education and to extend it

¹⁰ SA= strongly agree, A= agree, CD= cannot decide, D= disagree, SD = strongly disagree

into other social service sectors. Another study focusing on primary school students and parents found out somehow a similar result, but relatively increased attitude towards learning the Gamo language. That study is Gashaw (2012: 39), who reports, "80% of participants had favorable attitudes to achieving high proficiency in Gamogna. This demonstrates that they rationed for learning Gamogna in a formal setting." It is interesting to find out the attitudes towards learning the standard language declined a little bit when we go from primary school to high school and college levels. This might be due to the fact that the respondents' exposure to languages of wider communication, namely Amharic and English, affected their attitude towards standard Gamo. This claim requires a further comparative research on the subject matter though.

As shown above (Table 22), about a quarter of the respondents (24.7%) showed unfavorable attitude towards learning the standard language. One of the reasons for these groups to restrain from describing standard Gamo to be easy to learn could be the dialectal variation between the standard language and the respondents' dialects. Lack of standardization procedures that manage language variations in the standard form could have produced the attitude. However, crosstabulation of the results to different social backgrounds of the respondents shows that their education level had great and significant contribution to the attitude they demonstrated than all the rest of the respondents' backgrounds. This still justifies the international claim that educated people or elites show interest to more standardized languages of education and intellectualization.

The majority of the respondents, 272 (80%), also reflected that they loved their language. Their emotion towards Gamo was very positive that they liked to use Gamo to communicate to others. Only very few of them, 47 (13.8%), had unfavorable attitude towards Gamo, and insignificant number, 21 (6.2), could not mention their attitude towards Gamo. The data show that the respondents expressed positive affection towards Gamo by saying that they like to use it in their every day communication.

The respondents reaffirmed their positive attitude towards Gamo by saying that they, 257 (75.6%), were not embarrassed to speak Gamo with other people. Few of them, 52 (15.3%), had expressed to have negative feelings to use their language while only very few, 27 (7.9%), could

not make a decision on reflecting their attitude towards Gamo. The data again consolidate the claim that the respondents had strong confidence and trust in their own language to express their ideas to others. When it comes to attitude towards the Gamo words, it was most of the respondents, 200 (58.8%), who believed that Gamo has words to fully express their feelings and thoughts. More than a quarter of them, 100 (29.4%), however, had negative evaluation of Gamo words. Few of the respondents, 40 (11.9%), could not show a clear attitude towards Gamo words. The data suggest that though most of the respondents were positive towards recognizing their language to include the words they need to express their feelings, the number of those respondents who did not favor Gamo words to be sufficient enough to express their world view was significant as well. It can be inferred from the data that as educated people, the respondents had more lexical demand that the standardization of Gamo should respond to.

The research also tried to investigate whether the respondents' support the role of Gamo as a medium of instruction in schools and beyond. The majority, 201(59.2%), were positive towards the use of Gamo as a medium of instruction. On the contrary, more than a quarter of the respondents, 102 (30 %), disfavored the use of Gamo as a medium of instruction in education, and few of them, 35 (10.3%), could not decide. The data back up one to claim that most of the respondents had positive attitude towards their language serving as a medium of instruction. A significant number of respondents did not also favor the use of Gamo as a medium of instruction. The attitude of the latter group could be affected by the reason that they did not see their language being promoted as a standard language of wider communication. So, they might believe that learning in a language which the learners do not use to serve the wider public is not convincing. Lack of sufficient learning materials and issues related to mother tongue education could be seen as the other major challenges to the full endorsement of Gamo as a medium of instruction.

It is known that using a language as a medium of instruction demands development of the language through publications and other endeavors that augment knowledge transmission. Some of the items (item 12-16) indicated in Table 22 were meant to explore respondents' attitude towards the development of Gamo as a standard language. As the study reveals, the prevalence of published materials that encourage citizens to build knowledge and information in Gamo was the first concern. The majority of the participants, 168 (78.8%), took Gamo to be less developed

in publications like dictionaries and literature books. Only few of them, 37 (10.8%), disagreed to this point and 33 (9.7%) of them said that they did not decide on the issue. The data show that respondents were unhappy about the magnitude of literary materials development in Gamo. Their dissatisfaction on the development of Gamo in print materials obviously reduces their trust to use it as a means of high level communications that, in turn, might discourage their literacy skill in their own language (see excerpt 18). One can assume that absence of adequate publications that diffuse standard use of Gamo may also delay the development of a stable standard language in settings like textbook development. Lack of stability in the language of education again affects social attitudes towards Gamo. Respondents also thought that shortage of publications in Gamo contributed to the observed high language variability in the textbooks. This has also been demonstrated by the respondents as presented below:

(28) *yäk'wank'wa liyyunnät indinor yarägäw mäsärätu wannaw mindinnäw kalämadägu yätänässa näw yätäläyayu bägamoŋna yätäs'afu mäs'ihaf alämänoraffäw mat't'ak'äfa alämänoru yätänässa näw*

‘The main reason that caused high language variation in the language of education is its underdevelopment in publications. It is because of lack of different books and references published in Gamo’ (Mesfine, Nov. 2015).

Though diversity in a language may not necessarily entail underdevelopment, the respondents’ tendency to relate lack of publications to the delay in the establishment of standard language in Gamo seems reasonable. The data added to the visible reality in the area indicate that Gamo was not widely used in written documents. Only very few publications were available in the language, and among these textbooks were the major existing documents. Even the textbooks themselves were not easily accessible in public shops or bookstores.

Materials published in a standard language are capable to address the wider public and to establish a standard use in the minds and practices of users. It has already been acknowledged by scholars that accessibility of resources like textbooks, other learning aids or reference books, electronic materials or additional literary texts are the basic necessities to effectively implement education in indigenous languages (cf: Ferguson, 2006:188). They have the potential to establish a standard language and to generate positive social attitude towards the languages. In the absence of these publications, the development of Gamo as a standard language will be very slow. In addition, lack of sufficient materials hampers the diffusion of the standard language and

discourages speakers' opportunity and readiness to read and to write in Gamo. The scarcity of written materials in the language might relate to lack of interest and motivation of writers and publishers to write and publish in Gamo. The education Department of the Gamo Gofa Zone (2004 EC: 9) also puts that lack of interest to write in Gamo or translate different materials like creative works into the language are among the pressing challenges of mother tongue education efforts in the area languages. These situations contribute a lot to the observed unfavorable attitude towards the standardization process of Gamo.

The emergence of a print media has been a major agent of language standardization in the case of English and French, for example. Introduction of some African languages into the print media like, textbooks, newspapers, radio and television has also changed the status and prestige value of the languages and the associated social attitudes towards them. Adebija (1994:39) explains the role of print media on shaping language attitude as, "The print media had, and still has, a very important impact on glorifying a language, making it reproduce itself and multiply its effect, and giving it the potential to reach audiences not physically present." Some of the African languages whose esteem and prestige increased due to their becoming of the language of information in newspapers and books are Yoruba and Kiswahili (see Adebija, 1994:40). In the same way, in order to generate positive social attitudes towards the standard Gamo, different kinds of books including textbooks, literary materials and learning aids should be produced adequately through time. Availing relevant publications in the language will also enhance the quality of mother tongue education.

The result to the next item tried to prove respondents' attitude towards the standard Gamo as having the capacity to express scientific and technological concepts. To the item that states, "Gamo has not developed words for modern science and technology," more than half of the participants, 200 (58.9%), agreed and indicated that adequate terminologies to express modern science and technology concepts were not installed into the Gamo language. On the other hand, over a quarter of them, 89 (26.2 %), disagreed to the idea that new words to express science and technological concepts are not developed in Gamo. Some of them, 51 (15%), could not decide. It is, therefore, possible to deduce from the data that the respondents' felt that standard Gamo lacks words that could enable them to participate in and demonstrate modern scientific thoughts in the

education domain and in the modern life style. This is a proof for lack of proper standardization process that involves the creation of scientific and modern terminologies in the language.

It is important to note that the language addresses the growing communication needs of people in the education, science and technology domains if its words are elaborated enough to contain the concepts required to do so. So far, the main approach followed by language developers in the standardization process of Gamo appears to be simple borrowing and literal translation. At a quick glance at Mathematics or Science textbooks prepared for mother tongue education in Gamo, it is possible to know that writers heavily borrowed words from Amharic and English languages, or literally translated them to overcome the existing problems of lexical development. This has also been sensed by informants like the one below:

(29) iskahun diräs ahun zim bilo tîrgum näw yämitärägomäw indji adadis k'alat fät't'ära lay malät hullum yäsayîns k'alat bägamonña yällum siläzzih yaw gamonnan mäsläw yämimät't'u k'alat mänor alläbatffäw inna yanin iskahun täsärt^{wal} yämil iminät yäläppim läzza näw yämäsrat nägär bäwust'e allä inna tinnifri: sihon issun isärallähu

‘Textbook writers gave a simple literal translation [from Amharic and English] of words to represent new concepts. But with regard to creating new words, all scientific concepts did not receive equivalent Gamo expressions. So, I think indigenous Gamo should be created to effectively implement science education. I do not believe that part is done well in Gamo, so for this reason I have a plan to fill in that gap’ (Yishak, Dec. 2015).

This participant was a Mathematics teacher who was not happy about the standardization of scientific and mathematics terminologies in Gamo. He then promised to fill in the gap by developing a scientific dictionary in the language to realize quality science education.¹¹

Student interviewees also regrettably mentioned the negative impact of poor lexical development in the teaching and learning process of Gamo. One of them pointed out that the present

¹¹ In addition to technical word development, it was the interviewee's stance that the lexical development process needs to consider the cultural and ideological experiences of the Gamo society. Yishak and Gumbo (2014: 289) also criticize that the Gamo textbooks used to teach science subjects like Environmental Science and Mathematics were merely translated from Amharic versions and the whole "curriculum was non-responsive to the culture, heritage and context of the ethnic group." The culminating effect of this culturally non responsive curriculum is that it continues to maintain positive attitudes towards Amharic while attitudes towards Gamo remain neutral or unfavorable.

standardization enabled to learn basic scientific concepts. But, if one tries to explain ideas involved in complex processes like “from conception to child birth, they need appropriate words to scientifically describe these kinds of sophisticated scenarios (Bereket, Jan.2013)”. Indeed, new terms are also necessary to facilitate speakers' every day interactions in Gamo. In this dynamic world we live in, sport, science, technology, weather conditions, environment and other social issues are at the heart of every social group's discussions. In order to address the issues involved in these concepts and to process information, speakers seek for appropriate expressions. Therefore, a standard language is expected to fulfill these communicative needs if it has to gain speakers' acceptance and to maintain favorable attitude.

Though any language is structurally sufficient enough to impart knowledge from generation to generation, we cannot deny the need to empower the language with new terms of science and technology when it is placed to function in these domains. Especially in the Ethiopian context where most science and technology knowledge is imported from abroad, the need to find equivalent indigenous terms for those scientific and technological concepts and to upgrade the capacity of indigenous languages is unquestionable. In connection with lexical development, Schiffman (1996:41) theorizes:

In pre-industrial societies the languages lack legal, technical, scientific and medical registers and sub varieties of these (e.g. the register that airline pilots use to communicate with air-traffic controllers). Such languages either function without such registers, which relegates them to a marginal status within a larger multilingual society..., or the members of such linguistic cultures acquire proficiency in these registers in other languages.

The languages in the countries like Africa have not been used in education, media, and other high level domains for a long time. Indigenous language speakers have been trained in other languages which offered the required scientific terms for the fields. When these situations change due to the recognition for the need to mediate education, science and technology in mother tongues, the languages have to be empowered with the words and terms the new functions demand. The development of scientific and other essential terms, however, was very slow and that affected the implementation of indigenous languages into different social sectors. Ferguson (2006:188) identifies lack of language development as a major barrier to successfully use African languages as media of instruction:

One of the more commonly cited, and even more frequently exaggerated, obstacles to the use of African languages as media of instruction is that they lack the requisite level of linguistic resources for performing this function: graphisation, standardisation, codification, scientific and technical terminology and an extensive elaborated vocabulary. Certainly, it is true that many indigenous languages remain understandardised, lacking the developed orthographies and vocabulary that would facilitate their introduction as educational media.

Shortage of the resources to deploy multilingual policies and the resulting underdevelopment destined the languages to be accorded with a low social status level as compared to other standard languages which serve different social needs. The low social status annexed to the indigenous languages in turn impeded the development of favorable attitudes towards them.

Seidel and Moritz (2009:1127) also present an evidence that show the rationale for language development from an education expert in SNNPR who said, "When science and technology are developed and when the language remains behind, the language cannot be strong enough to accumulate the scientific concepts. Therefore the language must try to follow the development of technology and science." Change and transformation in science and technology are evident, but if a particular language remains static and does not adjust itself to the changing world, the respective speakers tend to take it as traditional and impotent to express modern values. The lasting effect is that users tend to implement words of the language scientific concepts are borrowed from. The borrowed features obviously preserve the legacy of the source languages as the only keys to open the gates for science and technology knowledge. So, without upgrading the lexical capacity of a language, placing it to function in education makes less contribution to the intended goal of educating citizens.

The status of Gamo as an official language is also another crucial factor for the kind of social attitudes reflected towards it. In the research, there was an effort to know whether respondents wanted Gamo to have an official status or not. As shown in Table 22, half of the respondents, 170 (50%), favored Gamo to be the official language of the area. On the other hand, 119 (35%) of the respondents disfavored Gamo to function in official settings while some of them, 51 (15%), hit undecided among the options given in the questionnaire. Though half of the respondents showed positive attitude towards using Gamo as an official language, it is difficult to say that there was complete consensus among the majority of them about allocating official roles for

Gamo. Since Gamo Gofa is a place where hetro-linguistic societies reside, the respondents might have wanted the official language policy to accommodate all linguistic groups with a neutral language. It can be said that the respondents did not favor a monolingual policy to be implemented in offices.

Though there is no legal frame that bans the use of Gamo in offices, the common trend in Gamo Gofa Zone is to use Amharic for all kinds of verbal or written official communications. The present researcher visited offices in Gamo Gofa Zone Education Department, Culture and Tourism Department of the Zone, Arbaminch Zuria Education Office and Arbaminch Zuria Culture and Information Office. In all of these official environments, it has been witnessed that people spoke in Amharic. In schools located in village towns like Shelle and Shara, teachers and officials also talked to each other in Amharic. Due to the established trend, half of the respondents found it uncomfortable to go for Gamo as the only official language. This also shows the persisting legacy of Amharic as the only official and a wider means of communication (see section 5.2).

Other researchers also found Gamo participants to favor Amharic to be an official language of their districts. For instance, Bekale (2012: 251) puts that 51.9% of Gamo participants chose Amharic to serve as an official language of their zonal or district government but only 38.3% favored Gamo to be the official language of their administration. But, in addition to mother tongue speakers, the research included Gamo as a second language speakers who might have preferred Amharic than Gamo. In addition, it can be seen that the number of respondents who favored Gamo (50%) in the current research exceeded those who were reported by Bekale (2012:251) as favoring Gamo (38.3%) to serve as an official language. This shows that the society's attitude and interest towards using their mother tongue in formal settings has improved a lot from time to time though Amharic is still a celebrated official language in the area. The people started to believe that their own indigenous language as well deserves an official position at least in the indigenous places to facilitate its standardization. As Garvin (1993:40) puts it, providing an official status to a language facilitates its standardization by encouraging favorable attitudes towards using the language in public settings.

The other factor that affects social attitudes towards Gamo is the way it is standardized in the textbooks. There was a concern to put on some light on the attitude towards Gamo by studying respondents' attitude towards its use in the textbooks of mother tongue education. To the item that states "Gamo textbooks are written in a standard language that applies words and spelling uniformly," less than half, 154 (45.3%), of the respondents reflected favorable attitude towards the standard use of Gamo in the textbooks, and almost respondents of that size, 144 (42.4%), disagreed to accept the quality of language used in the textbooks. On the other hand, some of them, 40 (11.8%), said that they could not decide. From the data, it can be said that most of the respondents did not consider the language used in mother tongue textbooks to be a standard one. Though some of the respondents were positive on the decision to use Gamo in the textbooks, the standard quality of the language in textbooks still remains in question. As has been discussed earlier (4.2), there were frequent instances where a word was written in various spelling, phonological or morphological features in the textbooks. Writers used features of different dialects to express the same grammatical concept at different times or places as also expressed by a teacher respondent:

(30) alfo alfo sihitätoffj allu yäkäfu silalhonu iyyastäkakälän insärallän nägär gin tirgum yämanagännilafjāw k'alat allu mäs'hafoffju dżärbam mäigäbä k'alat wust'im tirgumafjāwin anagännim yäas'as'af speliñ and ayyinät ayyidälläm ffiggiru bäsäfiw allä lämissale "hedza" yämilawn k'al izzih ga lela izza ga lela hedaw dägmo bälela ayyinät yis'ifallu

‘We sometimes find errors in the textbooks. They do not pose that serious problem, or at times they do so we give corrections while we teach. For example, there are some words whose meanings we do not know. We do not find their meanings in the glossaries or in dictionaries. The spelling of some words is not also uniform throughout the textbooks. This problem is widely found in the textbooks. For example, when they write the word *hedza* ‘three’, they use the standard spelling in one place and a different spelling elsewhere’ (Ayehu, Dec. 2015).

Words which respondents considered to lack meaning could be the ones newly created and borrowed from other languages, and they could also be the ones taken from different Gamo dialects which respondents were not familiar with. This circumstance has already created a negative social attitude towards standard Gamo used in education since it affects teachers’ efficiency to deliver lessons. Instability of the standard language also reduces its possibility of acceptance by different social groups. From this, one can suggest that newly introduced words

and their meanings should be dispatched to the users in several ways to create familiarity. At the same time, it is also equally important to maintain a stable way of using words in the textbooks to avoid confusion among students and teachers.

Respondents' attitude towards the status of Gamo as a standard language was the last point among the items aimed to assess attitude towards language standardization. Less than half of the respondents, 144 (42.3%), agreed with the consideration of Gamo as a standard language, while a little less than that number, 138 (40.6%), did not agree to take in the role of Gamo as a standard language of wider communication. Some of the respondents, 56 (16.5%), could not decide. These data may indicate that there is no consensus among the respondents to confirm the current status of Gamo as a standard language. A significant number of them declined to accept it as a standard language. This overall respondents' evaluation of Gamo can be seen as an outcome of the drawbacks noted in the standardization process of their language. Respondents personally held positive attitude towards their own language and they were aware that orthographic rules of Dache were fixed as standard norms. But again they were dissatisfied with its development as a modern language of science and technology. As discussed above, most of them were not also happy about the quality of the standard language used in publications like textbooks. It was also found out from focus group discussions and interviews that respondents' expectation of a standard language does not go in line with the current development status of Gamo. Accordingly, they expected a language to be widely used in spoken and written media in order to be taken as a standard one. During focus group discussions, the participants frequently cited Amharic, Oromifa, and Wolaitta as examples of standard languages to indicate the need to develop the status of Gamo as a means of wider and every day public communication. It may be due to such and other factors that respondents refrained to fully acknowledge Gamo as a standard language of social interaction.

Cross Tabulation of Respondents' Attitude and the Independent Variables

This cross tabulation intends to disclose the association between attitude towards Gamo and the respondents' social backgrounds. It assessed the respondents' attitudes visa vize their dialect and occupational backgrounds. A significant variation has been noted on the two of the items. The first meaningful variation was witnessed between the respondents' dialectal background and

their attitude towards the use of Gamo as a medium of instruction. And the other was difference between teachers' and students' attitude towards the use of Gamo in the textbooks. The next table presents the data correlated for the first item.

Gamo can be used to teach or learn any subject in schools.	Respondents' dialects	Strongly agree	Agree	Can't decide	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	Dache	42 (51.9)	12 (14.8)	8 (9.9)	12 (14.8%)	7 (8.6%)
	Dorze	37 (56.9%)	11 (16.9)	6 (9.2%)	7 (10.8%)	4 (6.2%)
	Ochollo	19 (32.2%)	10 (16.9%)	6 (10.2%)	19 (32.2%)	5 (8.5%)
	Ganta	13 (26.5%)	9 (18.4%)	4 (8.2%)	11 (22.4%)	12 (24.5%)
	Kucha	21 (35%)	14 (23.3%)	6 (10%)	14 (23.3%)	5 (8.3%)
	Other	10 (41.7%)	3 (12.5%)	5 (20.5%)	4 (16.7%)	2 (8.3%)
	Total	111 (40.5%)	47 (17.2%)	29 (10.6)	53 (19.3%)	34 (12.4%)

Table 23: Crosstab results of respondents' dialect and attitude towards Gamo as a medium of instruction

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	35.190 ^a	20	.019
N of Valid Cases	338		

a. 4 cells (13.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.49.

According to Table 23, the majority of the Dache dialect respondents, 54 (66.7%), agreed to the statement that said Gamo can be used to teach or learn any subject. Similarly, the majority of Dorze dialect respondents, 48 (73.8%), and those respondents who claimed to have other dialectal background, 13 (64.2%), showed strong positive attitude for the use of Gamo as a medium of instruction. Similarly, most of the Kucha dialect respondents, 35 (58.3%), also expressed their agreement to the use of mother tongue in education. The number of respondents who agreed with the decision that puts Gamo as a medium of instruction declines when we move to the other respondents, Ochollo 29 (49.1%) and Ganta 22 (44.9%). On the other hand, 19 (23.4%) of Dache, 11 (17%) of Dorze, 24 (40.7%) of Ochollo, 23 (46.9%) of Ganta, 19 (31.6%) of Kucha and 6 (25%) of other dialect respondents disfavored the point while 8 (9.9%) of Dache, 6 (9.2%) of Dorze, 6 (10.2%) of Ochollo, 4 (8.2%) of Ganta, 6 (10%) of Kucha, 5 (20.8%) of

other dialect speakers marked that they could not decide. The data show that a more positive attitude was observed on Dorze, Dache, other dialects and Kucha dialect respondents as the majority expressed agreement towards the use of Gamo as a medium of instructions. On the other hand, the number of Ochollo and Ganta dialect speakers who disfavored the proposal was greater than the rest. Throughout the focus group discussions, Ganta and Ochollo dialect speakers repeatedly expressed with strong emotion that the standard language differs from the respective dialects they speak in their village. This evaluation of the standard language could be the reason for the majority of them to disfavor its use as a language of education. This dialect item relationship is significant that the Chi-Square test output is $\chi^2 = 40.34$, $df = 20$, $Sig. = .005$.

Another significant difference was found between students' and teachers' attitude towards use of Gamo in the textbooks as displayed in the following table.

Gamo textbooks are written in a standard language that applies words, spelling and grammar consistently	Respondents' job	Strongly agree	Agree	Can't decide	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
	Students	77 (28.3%)	59 (21.7%)	34 (12.5%)	73 (26.8%)	29 (10.7%)	272 (100%)
	Teachers	8 (12.1%)	10 (15.2%)	6 (9.1%)	29 (43.9%)	13 (19.7%)	66 (100%)

Table 24: Crosstab results of respondents' job and attitude towards the language of textbooks

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.805 ^a	4	.003
N of Valid Cases	338		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.81.

Table 24 demonstrates that half of the students, (136 or 50 %), agreed that textbooks are written in a standard language, but only a little over a quarter of the teachers, 18 (27.3%), accepted the language of the textbooks to be a standard one. On the other hand, the majority of the teachers, (42 or 63.6%), and an average number of students, 102 (37.5%), disagreed and did not support that the existing textbooks used Gamo in a standard way. Very few students, (12.5%), and teachers, 6 (9.1%), replied that they could not make decision. To see the extent to which this

association was significant, a Chi-Square test was processed and the result was $\chi^2=15.8$, $df = 4$, $Sig. = .003$.

The data reveal that teachers were very curious about the quality of the language implemented in the textbooks. Some of them have already mentioned that high inconsistencies in the spelling and morphological structures of words used in the textbooks caused challenges to teach in the language. There were instances where a single word was spelled differently using different grammatical forms not only across textbooks but also within a single textbook as well (see also 4.2). This variation might be accounted for the writers' dialectal backgrounds added to lack of planned standardization procedures. The level of variability in the spelling and grammatical forms of words used in the textbooks could have been managed properly if clear and unambiguous norm selection policies and standardization activities were enacted. There should have been clarity as to which dialectal structure should be used in the learning materials as a standard form of Gamo.

5.4.1. Social Perceptions of Standard Gamo

The research tried to create understanding of attitudes towards the standard norm of Gamo by investigating respondents' perceptions towards it and its selection process. It attempted to find out their general evaluation of the standard norm and hoped to reflect on the level of its social acceptance. To this end, the respondents were asked if they consider the standardization process to fix written rules; the degree of flexibility of the standardization process to accommodate different dialects; whether they take in the standard form as their own language; whether the standard language used in education was creating an impact in the learning process; and whether they consider it to be different from their dialect or not. The following table presents the range of the respondents' perceptions on the standard dialect of Gamo.

Items		SA	A	CD	D	SD	Missing	total
17. The standardization process has established written standards to Gamo.	No.	128	73	38	61	40	-	340
	%	37.6	21.5	11.2	17.9	11.8	-	100
18. Some dialects are overlooked in the standardization process.	No.	121	104	38	58	19	-	340
	%	35.6	30.6	11.2	17.1	5.6	-	100
19. The standard language used in mother tongue education is my language.	No.	148	87	15	53	37	-	340
	%	43.5	25.6	4.4	15.6	10.9	-	100
20. Implementation of a standard norm in education does not hinder different dialect speakers from understanding lessons.	No.	127	73	31	69	37	3	340
	%	37.4	21.5	9.1	20.3	10.9	.9	100
21. The standard language is different from the dialect that I speak at home.	No.	114	75	26	76	46	1	340
	%	33.5	22.1	7.6	22.9	13.5	.3	100

Table 25: Respondents' general evaluation of the standard norm of Gamo

As the results in Table 25 show, most of the respondents, 201 (59.1%), agreed that Gamo has established a standard written norm. On the other hand, more than a quarter of the respondents, 101(29.7%), disagreed to believe the standardization process enabled to realize a standard application of written Gamo. Few of them, (11.2%), replied that they could not decide. The data show that most of the respondents perceived Gamo to have a written standard. That means they had knowledge of the standard norm that should be applied in the learning materials. The respondents believed that the orthographic rules applied in the textbooks were standard uses of Gamo.

As it has been identified earlier (chapter 4), the Gamo words and grammars which were used in major places were mainly implemented in the texts analyzed though few forms of other varieties were sometimes mixed. In principle, Dache was taken as the base dialect of standard Gamo though the plan to establish a stable use of the standard language in the textbooks was not yet realized. Stability of the language of publications especially textbooks has pedagogical and cognitive values. It develops students' confidence and does not create burden on their education. According to Garvin (1993: 43), flexible stability of vocabulary is one of the structural properties of a standard language. When the standard language is stable in applying different forms, it becomes easy and simple for the users to implement it in their day to day written or spoken communication. They will not have any difficulty to predict the forms of the language that should be implemented in different public settings. In schools, as well, students will receive

consistent form of information throughout different grade levels if a fixed language form is already maintained. A standard language also mediates communication among diverse dialect speakers. Haugen (1966:931) says.

The ideal case of minimal variation in form would be a hypothetical, “pure” variety of a language having only one spelling and one pronunciation for every word, one word for every meaning, and one grammatical framework for all utterances. For purposes of efficient communication this is obviously the ideal code. If speakers and listeners have identical codes, no problems of misunderstanding can arise due to differences in language.

Though a complete consistency is not yet achieved in standard Gamo, and homogenous ways of articulation cannot be aspired due to the prevailing dialect diversity, there is a direction of standardization that every person is conscious of. As Garvin (1993:43) also believes, "standardization is a question of degree: the standard variety of a given language can be more or less standardized." Based on this concept, it can be said that the standardization of Gamo has created a certain degree of norm consciousness among users.

However, in the questionnaire some teachers criticized that the standardization process of Gamo has not yet resulted in consistent written rules in learning materials. A Dache dialect speaker put the following aspect :

*(31) minalbatim wät't' yähonä yas's'as'af zäde balämänoratffäw/balämänoru
mikinyat läk^wank^waw idgät alutawi täs'i?no alläw bay näññ*

'Perhaps, I can say that lack of a consistent standard negatively influenced the development of Gamo.'

The respondent intended to indicate the reluctance of textbook writers to apply a standard language. As it has been noted earlier, though the Dache dialect was selected to serve as a standard Gamo, writers did not seriously apply it. Some textbook writers tended to be influenced by probably their own dialects when they wrote the textbooks. They sometimes used dialectal variations than the standard forms or the widely spoken varieties. This observation has been shared by another respondent, a teacher from Shara, a dialect much closer to Ganta dialect, who said the following:

*(32) ahun balläw yägamoñña as'as'af huneta k^wank^wawn mädäbäñña lämadiräg
yalläw t'irät bät'am t'iru hono sallä yämämmariya mäsi'haf azzägädzädzätöf lay*

*gäna yik'äral mäsihafun yämmiyazägadጅጅu säwwoff bäabizayገaw
yärasaffäwn akkababi zäyä yit't'äk'amallu*

'Though the present effort to standardize Gamo in textbooks and other publications is good, a lot of language standardization issues in the textbooks demand solution. Textbook writers are usually biased towards using their own dialects instead of the standard ones.'

This and the former (excerpt 31) comments may indicate that teachers as users of the standard language in the classrooms faced some language outflows in the textbooks. They thought that the spelling or grammar inconsistency of the language reduced the quality of the textbooks. So, it can be said that the way the language was used in textbooks was a serious challenge to the process of constructing a stable standard Gamo.

The other item presented to the respondents, as indicated in Table 25 was, "Some dialects are overlooked in the standardization process." To this, the majority of the respondents, 225 (66.2 %), expressed their agreement that the standard language did not include dialectal features. It was less than a quarter of the respondents, 75 (22.7 %), who disagreed to the idea that the standardization left some dialects out. Few of them, 38 (11.2 %), could not decide. The data support that respondents considered the standardization process as excluding their respective dialects. Respondents of some dialects also reflected during discussions that the standard language did not involve their dialects like one of the Ganta dialect speakers:

*(33) yäገገa akkababi ganta yibbalall ine täwäliጅጅe yaddäkut izza näw izza
yämminawäraw zäyä allä lela akkababi yämmyaworut lela zäyä däጅmo allä
iheገገaw bätimihirt yalläw käገገa wät'a balä mänigäd näw wädä leloገ akkababi
yämminnäggaräwun zäyä täkättlo näw yätäs'afut mäsihafoffu siläzzih inäገገih
mäsihafof bätikikkil izza akkababi kämminnäggaräw gar yimmäsasälallu
lämalät läne yikäbidäገገal*

I was born and grew up in an area called Ganta. There is a dialect we speak in the village and another dialect is spoken in other areas. Since there is meaningful difference between our dialect and the other dialects, the standard language used in education is standardized in a different language from the one we speak in Ganta. The textbooks are written following the dialect spoken in the other areas. So, it is difficult to me to say that these textbooks include the language I speak in my area, since the standard language they used is different from ours and the relationship is low' (Gebre, Dec 2015).

The interviewee explained that the norm selected as a standard language of education and textbooks was divergent from the one spoken in the Ganta area. The respondent was aware that the standard language was based on the dialects used in other areas that mainly mean Dache, Kucha, Ochollo and Dorze. This implies that people perceived that the Ganta dialect and other dialects as being overlooked in the standardization process.

A similar opinion was reflected by an Ochollo dialect speaker who reiterated that some dialects like Ochollo and Ganta were not sufficiently mentioned in the standard norm:

(34) *bäs'ihuf yätäk'ämmät'äwn lidzof yirradutal k'ät't'ita gin yamayinnaggärut yäzäye abalat allu ahun ine bätawälädkubbät akkababi lay offfolijña tanageriwofff yihennin gamojña k'ät't'ita ayinnagärutim k'alatun yirradutal hasabun yirradutal bäs'ihufim bälimimmid s'ihufun yis'ifutal gin yäzäye liyunnätu gæpu säfa yilall wädä gamo wist' dägmo lelofff akkababiwofff ahun zargulla akkababi ganta gantijña izzih s'ihuf wist' yälläm gantawofffim yisämallu yihennin yaw yihe gamo gofa bät'äk'lalla bözämäd azmad yätäsassärä silähonä irs bärssu yitawawäk'al k'alatun bät'am yisämal andu andun mäsimat yisämal gin bäs'ihuf dәрädzä ahun bäs'ihuf dәрädzä lay yalläwun k'ät't'ia tanageriw bätäläy ahun indäne malät näw gamojña sastämrim bämüst ämiribbät säat yannin k'wank'wa tinnaggäriyalläf ayidälläm yämis'afäwun k'al direktli tinnaggäriyaläf bäabizayñaw ahun bädägamma akkababi bätäläy käbonke akkababi dzämmiro yalläwun dägamma pa:rt lay yalläwn k'al näw bäs'ihuf bäbizat tät't'äk'k'af hono k'alatofffin yämmittagäjñiw*

'Students can understand the standard language used in the textbooks. But there are dialect members who do not speak the standard language directly. For example, speakers of Ochollo, the area where I was born, do not directly speak this [the standard] Gamo. They understand the idea mentioned in the words, they can also know the standard language through education but the gap between the standard language and the Ochollo dialect is wide. In Gamo areas, as well, in Zargulla, Ganta... Ganta is not included in the standard norm. Ganta villagers also listen to the standard one since this Gamo Gofa area is tied to each other in kinship and social interaction is very high, they know each other's language. But they do not use the standard language for every day life activities... especially, as to me, when I taught Gamo in schools... when you teach a language you learn to speak it directly, right? Through my teaching experience [I have known that] in most cases, the highland area variety, particularly the one used in places starting from Bonke area, is mostly mentioned in the standard norm and the words are taken from that area' (Kaleb, Dec. 2015).

The Ochollo dialect shares most of the words used in the standard Gamo as shown before (chapter 4), but it also has its own unique features. These variations, however, as has been confirmed by many earlier researchers and by the above interviewee, do not hinder Ochollo

speakers from understanding the standard language. From the interviewee's perception of the standard norm, it is possible to note that Ochoollo speakers were so sensitive to their dialect features that indexed their Ochoollo personality. The interviewee deduced that "*Ochoollo speakers do not directly speak the standard Gamo.*" By saying so, the speaker tried to highlight that standard Gamo was far from the one learnt and practiced at home in Ochoollo. Through his teaching experience, the speaker learnt that in addition to the Ochoollo dialect, the Ganta dialect was overlooked by the standardization process. However, it was mentioned in the earlier chapter (chapter 4) that these two dialects are not in the same state of standardization. That means most of the Ochoollo words were standardized in the textbooks better than the Ganta words were.

Another respondent, from Ochoollo dialect, wrote the following on the questionnaire which asked their ideas on the standardization of Gamo:

(35)ahun iyyätäsät't'ä yalläw gamoŋŋa wädä and akkababi yadälla silähonä wädä offfollona dorze yämäsassälutin zäyäwoffif yärässa yämäsiläŋŋall

‘Since the standard Gamo language used in education at the present time is dominated by one dialect, I think I can say that it has forgotten dialects like Ochoollo and Dorze.’

The respondent intended to show the absence of features that are common to Ochoollo and Dorze dialects, which are known for their high level of similarity particularly in articulating some sounds like alveolar consonants (Hirut, 2013b:377), in the standard form and considered them as the “*forgotten*” ones. When the respondent said that the standard language was taken from one dialect, it certainly meant the Dache dialect that contributed most of the features mentioned in the standard language. These comments imply that the respondents whose dialectal forms were not included in the standard language felt detached and excluded from the language development endeavors. The overall effect of these kinds of sentiments on the standardization process is that the selected standard norm does not get acceptance from these social groups.

Dialect representation has been reported as a major concern of language standardization in other language situations too. For example, standard Chinese was believed to be a common form that was used as a mechanism to unite the Chinese society under one nation. Many researchers, however, point out that standard Chinese was based on Mandarin, one of the dialect groups of

Chinese language, though the dialects in China are diverse that “A Mandarin speaker, for example, may not understand Cantonese speakers at all (Liu, 2010:1).” Many other major dialect groups of Chinese, including Cantonese were not allowed in the standard written language. Liang (2015:13) puts the following note in relation to the development of Standard Modern Chinese:

During the language reform of the early twentieth century ... the vernacular written language based on Mandarin dialects was chosen as the prototype of written SMC and rigorously promoted. The vernacular written forms of other Chinese dialects gradually became marginalised and faded away in the process.

The researcher further mentioned that the standardization process of Chinese Vernaculars in written texts was started as early as in 618–907, and the process flourished in 1368–1644. As stated in the quote, throughout the standardization process, other Chinese written dialects were reduced from the standard language and eventually disappeared from the public use.

Though respondents considered that some dialects were overlooked in the norm selection process of Gamo, the majority of them, 255(69.1%), opted to consider the standard variety used in education to be their own language. A little more than a quarter of the participants, 90 (26.5%), were reluctant to take the standard language as their own. Very few respondents, 15 (4.4%), replied that they could not decide. From the data, one can understand that the majority of the respondents preferred to identify themselves with the standard language may be because it takes their ethnic name Gamo. The linguistic similarity between some dialects and the standard language could also be the reason for the observed positive understanding of the language. It is possible to infer that the name Gamo given to the standard language is a bond that unifies dialect speakers, and contributed to the development of ethno linguistic loyalty.

Since language is a means to index people's identity, the name Gamo also indexes both the language and the speech community. So respondents might have considered rejecting the standard language to be denying their Gamo identity. Some respondents, for example, tried to show the extent they valued their Gamo identity by writing the common name "*Gamo*" when they were asked to nominate their dialects on the questionnaire. This feeling of the respondents shows that their consideration of the standard variety as their own language emphasized their

solidarity with Gamo ethnic identity. As it is also pointed out by Hirut (2016: 308), Gamos, in spite of their dialectal variation, do not compromise with anything when the generic Gamo identity is at stake.

As shown above (item 19), a quarter of the respondents did not feel like fully endorsing the standard language as their own. For respondents who had this view the difference that existed between their dialect and the standard language was significant. So, even if they cannot be considered as if they were denying their Gamo identity, the data show that they did not want to accept the standard language. It is true that one risk of language standardization is creating this kind of user dissatisfaction through dialect convergence. The possible mismatch between standardization ideologies and the real outcomes is when speakers do not prefer to identify themselves with a standard language as expected. With regard to this, Lane (2014:2) advises:

Developing a standard for a minority language is not a neutral process; this has consequences for the status of the language and how the language users relate to the new standard. A potential inherent problem with standardisation is whether the language users themselves will accept and identify with the standard chosen.

Respondents were also asked whether the standard norm is different from the language they communicated with their family at home and in their neighborhoods. Most of the research participants, 189 (55.6%), took the standard language used in textbooks to be different from their home language. On the other hand, a lot more than a quarter of them, 124 (36.4%), did not agree with the statement that the standard language is different from the one they used at home, and 26 (7.6%) did not make a decision. The implication is that the majority of different dialect speakers did not think that the standard language was similar to the one they spoke at home and in their villages.

The results from the qualitative data did not confirm the general data from the questionnaire though. During the focus group discussions, participants were also asked to evaluate to what extent the norm implemented in textbooks and in classroom instructions was closer to the dialects they spoke at home. To this, two kinds of responses were found. On the one hand, students who were from Ditta, Daramalo, Kamba districts, where Dache and related varieties were mainly spoken, said that the standard norm was the same to the dialect they spoke with

their parents and in their neighborhoods. An excerpt taken from the focus group discussions supports this idea:

(36) *firehiwot: yämät't'ahut kākāmba nāw yämīnnīmarāw inna yämīnninaggārāw yīgānājjal*

‘Firehiwot: I came from Kamba. The language we learn in schools and the one we speak at home are related.’

Mīhrät: ine kābonke nājñ yämīmarībät k'wank'wa ibet kāmaworaw gar bāt'am yīmāsassälall

‘Mihret: I am from Bonke. The language we learn in is very similar to the one we speak at home.’

Abatä ibbalallāhu yämät't'ahut kädita nāw bämīmarbät ina bämīnaggārāw k'wank'wa mākakkäl liyyunnät yälām kājjña nāw yätāwossädāw malätm rasu yiffälall

‘I am Abate. I came from Ditta. There is no difference in the language I learnt in and the one I speak. It can be said that it is taken from our variety.’

Sime abärä yibbalall yämät't'ahut kāk'uf'a nāw bāgamojña andājña dārädzan tämireallāhu ijña bāk'uf'a sinninägaggär tinnif andand k'alofff yilläyyallu yäzzih yätimhirtunna yäk'äbäle k'wank'wa yilläyyal ijña ga andand fidälofff bätmihirt yallutin ayyit't'äk'amum gin yan yahil... yaw tirgumu and lay yihonal bāgamojña mämaraťfifin läwut't'etaťfifin t'iru nāw hagäraťfifin lay and lay fik'ir yasayyal yan yahil kifū ayyidälläm läwädäfit indäzzih biyyadg t'iru nāw

‘My name is Abera. I came from Kucha district. I learnt primary education in Gamo. When we speak in Kucha, some words are a little different. The dialect and the standard language are different. Some letters of the standard language are not used in our area. But we can understand the meaning. Learning in Gamo is good for us to get good result in our education. It shows unity and love in our community. It is good if the standardization activity continues’ (Nov. 2015).

As can be seen from these responses, students who speak Dache in Kamba, Bonke and Ditta districts considered the standard language to be similar to their home dialect. It was also found out that the Kucha dialect speakers had the same view like the former ones, but they were concerned more about the phonetic variation. As shown above in the excerpt, the respondent from Kucha tried to emphasize the sound differences between the standard and the Kucha dialect. Though he sounded positive about the standardization, like the use of Gamo as a medium of instruction, the participant highlighted the existing phonetic difference between the standard

and the language people practice every day in Kucha. This concern was shared by other participants from Kucha, namely, Markine, Lukas, Tamene and Desta (See Appendix D:323).

The standard language was perceived differently by Balta and Ganta dialect speakers. They mentioned that the standard variety used in education was completely different from their dialect. Yenenew, a speaker of the Balta dialect compared the two varieties as:

(37) *käandäñña iskä asräñña yätämarkut balta näw säfär yämaworaw lela k'wank'wa allä timhirt bet yämaworaw lela gamoñña näw gamoñña bähulät yikkäfäلال säfär yämaworaw inna timhirt bet yämaworaw dägmo bädat'enna näw*

‘I learnt grade one to ten in a village called Balta. In my village I speak Balta and in the school I speak the standard Gamo. The Gamo language is grouped in to two: one is which I speak in the neighborhood and the other is Dache which I speak in schools’ (Yenenew, Nov. 2015).

The respondent put the standard variety to be different from his dialect. He grouped his variety as a home language and Dache a school language. This clarifies that the respondent knew the gap between his dialect and the standard language. The point was strengthened by another fellow who mentioned:

(38) *ine bäbete wist' käbetäsäbofffe gar kakkababiye gar yämminnagäräw gantñña k'wank'wa näw timhirt bet gäbiñffe lela dat'etso yämibball gamoñña näw yätämarkut mädzämäriya gin timhirt bet salgäba yihen dat'etsto yämibbaläwun alawkäwim mädzämäriya gantñña näw yämiñfiläw bärgit' siläzzih ahun kätza bäh'ala timhirt bet kägäbahu bäh'ala näw dat'etson yawäkut*

‘At home with my parents and in the neighborhood, I speak the Ganta language. When I joined school, I learnt another standard Gamo called Dache. But before I entered to school, I did not know the Dache dialect. I indeed speak Ganta as my mother tongue. So after I entered school I have learnt Dache’ (Alemu, Nov. 2015).

This Ganta informant, as well, considered that the standard Gamo language he learnt in the school was different from his mother tongue. For the respondent the difference between his home dialect and the one used in the schools was equivalent to the difference that exists between two independent languages. So the respondent held the opinion that the standard language of Gamo was different from the Ganta dialect.

An interview with Wubit, a Balta dialect speaker, reinforces the above claim about the difference between the standard language and their dialect.

(39) *yätijñawun zäye näw yämtinaggäriw?*

‘Which dialect of Gamo do you speak?’

baltäñña näw

‘It is Balta.’

bämämariya mäsihaf wist’t allä?

‘Is it available in Gamo textbooks?’

bäbaltäñña altäs’afäm bagamoñña näw yätäs’afäw

‘Textbooks are not written in Balta, they are written in Gamo.’

käbaltäñña gar liyyunnät alläw?

‘Is the standard language different from Balta?’

awo liyyunnät alläw

‘Yes, it is different.’

timhirtif lay täsi?no alläw?

‘Does it affect your education?’

*ayy minim ffiggir ayyamät’t’am bädaf’enna yämiyawäru tämariwofff allu
känäsu gar siläminimar yäsäfaru k’wank’wa yik’ärna baltäññaw*

‘It does not cause any problem on my education. There are students who speak Dache and since we learn with them the village language, Balta, will be forgotten then’ (Nov. 2015)

Though the student did not see learning in the standard Gamo to cause a problem on her education, she at the same time confirmed that the standard was different from her dialect. That means the Balta dialect was not represented in the standard form of Gamo. The respondent also expressed her fear that the standard language might eventually end up replacing the dialect used at home since it is the one frequently used among peer groups in every day communication. When the standard language expands its territory over wider speakers of different dialects, it may gradually displace some varieties from significant social domains like every day communication. Dialects of other languages like Greek had the same fate. Mackridge (1985:2) describes the

influence of standardization on minority languages and dialects of Greek as, “Just as the minority languages of Greece are fast disappearing, so are the dialects, which have gradually been giving way to a standard language since the Greek War of Independence (1821-9), and especially during the twentieth century.” Dialect endangerment was also a feature in the standardization process of Japanese. In the process of Japanese language standardization and national unification through "Kokugo" dialect, “the speech of Tokyo dwellers,” other dialects spoken in Islands called Hokkaidō and Ryūkyū were endangered (Coulmas, 2002:214). Coulmas (2002:214) compares, “Like the patois of the Occitans, Bretons, and Corsicans in France, Ainu and Ryūkyūan thus came under pressure.” So, the only way to stop this kind of drastic language loss is to preserve different dialects into the standardization process.

Generally, the informants’ decision to see the standard language and their own dialect differently is congruent to Wondimu's (2010:67) consideration of Gamo dialects into two categories as South Gamo that includes Ganta, Balta, Garbansa, Kole, etc., and North Gamo dialects like Dache, Kucha, Dorze, Ochollo, etc.

The research also intended to find out the respondents' perception about the impact of the standard language in the learning process. Accordingly, most of the respondents, 200 (58.9%), demonstrated their agreement that the standard form had no negative impact on education while 106 (31.2%) disagreed to this. On the other hand, 31 (9.1 %) of them said that they could not decide. It is evident from the data that more than half of the respondents did not consider the standard language used as a medium of instruction as a barrier to comprehend lessons in Gamo. During interviews and focus group discussions, all of the participants said that the standard medium of instruction was not difficult to understand for grown up students. This could be due to the high social interaction among different dialect speakers that is prevailing at schools and other social settings like markets, religious places, funerals, weddings, etc. The social interactions in those settings might have helped speakers to be familiar to the standard norms, and so the respondents might not see learning in the standard language a problem as long as they comprehend it.

It is, however, important to note that Kucha participants mentioned that early grade level students who speak the Kucha dialect could not understand lessons delivered by teachers who natively speak the standard dialect or the highland variety of Gamo. The following quote may substantiate this concept:

(40)... awo gin kägäräse käbonke käganta mämhiran wädä mirab k'olla simät'u tinnif lätämariwoff yikäbidatffäwall innässu yäminnagärut k'alatna izih ga yallut bizum bayilläyyim tinnif liyyunnät allä ine ahun läpraktikəm wädäzza sihed iñnaga yäminnaggärutna izihga yäminnaggärut liyyunnät allatffäw äzäyä liyyunnät indäzza ayyinätn mäsihafu tatimo bihed käand iskä arrat yallu tāmariwoff bizum layirädu yiñfilallu

‘When teachers are assigned from highland dialect areas, like Geresse, Bonke, Ganta to the lowland places Kucha, Boroda and Mirab Abaya, it is somehow difficult for students to understand the teachers’ accent. Though the words the teachers speak are not totally different from what we speak, there is some accent difference that makes listening to teachers very difficult. For example, when I went to highland areas for a practicum course, I noticed that the language they spoke was completely different from what is spoken in our area. If that kind of dialect variation is included in the textbooks to Grade one to four, children may not understand it well. I think they do not understand it’ (Ahmad, Nov.2015;)

In occasions where highland variety speakers were assigned to lowland varieties, participants said that teachers often provided translations in Amharic or if possible in the students' dialects to words and expressions which students failed to comprehend.

Cross Tabulation of Perception towards standard Gamo with Independent Variables

Items presented to investigate respondents' perceptions towards standard Gamo were cross tabulated with their dialectal backgrounds and a Chi- Square test processed to see if there was any significant association between the two variables. The results revealed that there were significant associations between respondents' dialect and the last two items (item 20 and 21) of the questionnaire. The results for the items were summarized and presented in the next two tables. The first table presents perceptions about the potential of a standard language to cause comprehension problems due to dialectal variations.

Implementation of a standard language in education does not hinder different dialect speakers from understanding lessons.	Respondents' dialects	Strongly agree	Agree	Can't decide	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	Dache	48 (51.2%)	21(25.6%)	9 (11%)	8(9.8%)	2 (2.4%)
	Dorze	27 (42.2%)	12 (18.8)	6 (9.4%)	14 (21.9%)	5 (7.5%)
	Ochollo	16 (27.6)	18 (31)	4 (6.9%)	8 (13.8%)	12 (20.7%)
	Ganta	11(22.4%)	11(22.4%)	7(14.3%)	13(26.5%)	7(14.3%)
	Kucha	24(40%)	10(16.7%)	4(6.7%)	12(20%)	10(16.7%)
	Other	7(29.2%)	1(4.2%)	1(4.2)	14(58.3%)	1(4.2%)
	Total	127(37.7%)	73(21.7%)	31(9.2%)	69(20.5%)	37(11%)

Table 26: Crosstab results of respondents' dialects with perception about implementation of a standard language

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	57.725 ^a	20	.000
N of Valid Cases	337		

a. 4 cells (13.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.21.

As shown above in table 26, the majority of Dache (63 or 76.8%) and Dorze (39 or 61%), and more than half of Ochollo (34 or 58.6%) and Kucha (34 or 56.7%) dialect speakers believed that implementation of standard Gamo in education does not contradict with their dialectal variations. These respondents did not perceive the standard language to impede education of various dialect speakers. Less than half of the respondents from the Ganta dialect, (22, 44.8%), agreed that the use of standard Gamo does not affect one's education. On the other hand, a majority of respondents, 15 (62.5%), from the other dialect variants and a considerable number of Ganta, 20 (40.5 %), Kucha, 22 (36.7 %) Ochollo, 20 (34.5 %), Dorze 19 (29.4%), and Dache, 10 (12.2%), dialect speakers perceived that implementation of a standard Gamo in schools may cause a problem in one's education. The Chi-square test for these dialect- response association indicates that the relationship is significant ($\chi^2= 57.7$, $df=20$, $Sig =.000$).

The above data indicate that the majority of Dache and Dorze dialect respondents and most of Kucha and Ochollo dialect respondents did not consider learning in the standard language to create a problem to different dialect speaker. On the other hand, the Ganta dialect respondents who favored the use of standard language were less than half. It is also true that a good size of Ganta and more than a quarter of Kucha, Ochollo and Dorze dialect respondents believed that the use of a standard language in education may cause a language barrier. They thought that the existing linguistic

variations between standard Gamo and some dialects have the potential to reduce success in mother tongue education.

A significant variation was also observed between teachers' and students' to the same item that cross checked if the standard language used in education was believed to create misunderstanding for different dialect speakers. The results from the cross tabulation of the variables is indicated in the coming table.

Implementation of a standard language in education does not hinder different dialect speakers from understanding lessons.		Strongly agree	Agree	Can't decide	disagree	Strongly disagree
	Students	110(40.4%)	59(21.7%)	31(11.4%)	46(16.9%)	26(9.6%)
	Teachers	17(26.2%)	14(21.5%)	-	23(35.4%)	11(16.9%)
	Total	127 (37.7%)	73(21.7%)	31 (9.2%)	68(20.2%)	37(11%)

Table 27: Crosstab results of respondents' job and perception about implementation of a standard language

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22.310 ^a	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	337		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.17.

Table 26 shows that the majority of the students, 169 or 62.1%, did not take implementation of a standard Gamo in education to contradict with their diverse dialects, while only a quarter of them, 71 (26.5 %), of them disagreed with the idea. Contrary to the data from the students, only less than half of the teachers, 31(47.7%), had the opinion that standard language of education does not discourage comprehension due to dialectal variation. More than half of the teachers, 34 (52.3%), disagreed with the statement that the standard language does not cause any educational challenge to learners. That means most of the teachers considered dialectal variation in Gamo to put pressure on learning in the standard language. The teachers might have taken this position from their wider work experience. It could be said that they noticed the existing variations

between the standard and the dialects causing misunderstandings and miscomprehensions. The Chi-square test for the data yielded that these differences in the responses of teachers and students was significant ($\chi^2=22.3$, $df= 4$, $Sig=.000$).

The other item (item 21) which cross tabulation of results with the respondents' dialects resulted significant association said "the standard language is different from the dialect I speak at home." The results are shown in the following table.

The standard language is different from the dialect I speak at home.	Respondents' dialects	Strongly agree	Agree	Can't decide	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
	Dache	24 (29.3%)	8 (9.8%)	9 (11%)	21(25.6%)	20 (24.6%)	82 (100%)
	Dorze	24 (36.9%)	11(16.9%)	3 (4.6%)	20 (30.8%)	7 (10.8%)	65 (100%)
	Ochollo	15 (25.4%)	26 (44.1%)	3 (5.1%)	10 (16.9%)	5 (8.5%)	59 (100 %)
	Ganta	18 (36.7%)	13 (26.5 %)	6 (12.2%)	7 (14.3%)	5(10.2%)	49 (100%)
	Kucha	26 (43.3%)	10 (16.7%)	4 (6.4%)	13 (21.7%)	7(11.7%)	60 (100%)
	Other	7 (29.2%)	7 (29.2%)	1(4.2)	7(29.2%)	2(8.3%)	24 (100%)
	Total	114 (33.6%)	75 (22.1%)	26 (7.7%)	78(23%)	46(13.6%)	339 (100)

Table 28: Crosstab results of respondents' dialects and opinions about the standard norm

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	43.753 ^a	20	.002
N of Valid Cases	339		

a. 6 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.84.

As seen from the cross tabulation of the results in Table 28, most of the respondents from Ochollo, 41 (69.1%), Ganta, 31 (63.2%), Kucha, 36 (60%), Dorze, 35 (53.6%) and other dialects, 14 (56.4%), considered the standard language as different from their respective home dialects. On the other hand, the number of Dache dialect speakers who agreed to this concept was 32 (39.1%). Half of Dache, 41 (50%), and less than half of Dorze, 27 (41.6%), dialect speakers disagreed to take the standard language used in education to be different from their own dialect. Similarly, less than a quarter of Kucha, 20 (23.4%), a quarter of of Ochollo, 15 (25.4%), and of Ganta, 12 (24.5%), dialect speakers marked that they did not perceive the standard language to be different from their mother tongue. The Chi-square test to the dialect response relationship produced a value of $\chi^2=36.99$, $df =20$, $Sig=.012$.

It can be said from the data that more than half of respondents from dialects such as Ochollo, Ganta, Kucha, Dorze and other dialect seemed to perceive the standard language to be different from what they practiced at home. However, as it has already been reported earlier (4.2), there was high lexical correspondence that exists among the Dache, Ochollo, Kucha and Dorze dialects in the textbooks. It is therefore intriguing to see the respondents' claim that the standard was different from their dialects in spite of the observed significant lexical share among them. This opinion might be an indication of exaggerated perception of the phonetic and grammatical variations between the standard language and their respective dialects like the variations attested by Hirut (2013b: 377). In the case of Ganta, the claim made by the respondents about the divergence between the Ganta dialect and the standard language was also attested in the document analysis (see chapter 4). The existing linguistic divergence is also reported in the grammatical system of the concerned dialect and the standard language as well (see Hirut, 2013a).

5. 6. The need for Standardization of Gamo

In different sections of the dissertation, the contribution of standardizing Gamo to generate positive social attitude towards the language, to improve the quality of mother tongue education, and to ensure equality in the social and economic development of citizens has been emphasized. This assertion is going to be realized effectively when it is accompanied with the society's needs on the standardization of Gamo. Investigating social needs also helps to improve the situation of language use in Gamo and to accelerate acceptance of the standard language. When the society knows that they have participated in the process of language standardization and their beliefs and experiences are valued, they feel confident in contributing to the development activities that operate in their areas. They develop a sense of ownership to all kinds of activities planned to transform the society. In regard to social participation in language standardization endeavors, Røyneland (2016: 83) recommends, "One of the first steps in a standardization process is thus to find out whether people actually think that they have a language worthy of written representation and that a standard would be worth using."

One of the major conditions for the development of a standard language is speakers' motivation to participate in the developing world. The speakers of a given language must first believe that their language needs to be standardized. They must have the interest to accommodate it in their

day to day life activities. Bearing this belief in mind, the research tried to address if the respondents supported the standardization of the Gamo language with item 22 of the questionnaire that read: "Gamo needs to be standardized." The results are shown in the following table.

Gamo needs to be standardized	Number	Percent
Strongly agree	251	73.8
Agree	48	14.1
Cannot decide	13	3.8
Disagree	18	5.3
Strongly disagree	10	2.9
Total	340	100

Table 29: Respondents' views on the need to standardize Gamo

The data in Table 29 show that the majority of the respondents, 299 (87.9%), supported the standardization endeavors of Gamo. Only very few of the respondents, 28 (8.6 %), did not show support to the decision to standardize Gamo, and the rest, 10 (2.9 %), could not decide. The data allow one to claim that respondents showed great support to the decision to standardize Gamo in different social sectors. They had high interest to see their language advanced and promoted in more areas they participate. The data from the focus group discussions and interviews also revealed the same opinion from the respondents. They believed that the opportunity for Gamo to establish a standard norm allows it to serve in the wider public domains. It is further considered that having a common standard form could strengthen the social identity and cohesion among members of the community. See also the response below:

(41) *inem and aynät indihon näw yämifälliggäw mädzämäriya gamoŋna and aynät kähonä lägamo hizb mät 't'äriya yihonal*

‘I, too, support the standardization of Gamo. When Gamo becomes a standard language, it unites the society, and the standard language serves as a common social identity’ (Alemu, Nov. 2015).

As can be seen from the quote, the standardization of Gamo was defended for its unifying function. The participant aspired to see the Gamo language to be popular or known to all social members of the country to identify the Gamo society. The process of standardization has been considered as an opportunity among members of the Gamo community to create a unified

identity across the various dialectal groups of Gamo. This goes in line with what Garvin (1993:47) highlights as a function of standard language to be "a unifying function ... to serve a unifying bond in spite of dialectal and other differences."

Further reasons have also been given for considering the standardization of Gamo positively, like the following one who expressed:

(42) *ine yämiläw ahun bāk'irb silätädžämärä mäf'w tiwliid gamoŋŋan lämissale oromiya amaräŋŋan tito issun näw yämiyawärraw dämo gamo honän gamoŋŋawn indä amaräŋŋa wäsdän indäminit'täk'am käh'ala yaläw tiwliid issun indämit'täk'am t'inat tädärgo bätägäbiw huneta bik'oyim tatimo biwot'a t'iru näw ilallähu*

'What I want to say is that the standardization of Gamo is only on its initial stage. But in the future, the coming generation of Gamo should confidently use their language just like speakers of other standard languages. For example, the Oromo people have started to use their own language in every place. They have slowly left Amharic to communicate in the wider public domains. We should start to use Gamo in the coming generation just like Amharic which we are using in many social domains now. So, I say that the standard language must be carefully prepared to give the chance for the future generation to use it in their every day communication (Yenenew, Nov. 2015).'

The participant compared that standardization helps the Gamo language to capture a higher social status in its function like that of the Amharic and Oromo languages. This informant understood the prestigious place the Amharic and the Oromo languages own in the public attitude. He then hoped Gamo to attain the same status through standardization. In order to establish standard Gamo as a means of wider communication on the coming generation of speakers, the informant warned that it should be done with great care. This data could be interpreted as high social participation should be involved in the standardization process to make the language attain a significant function in science, technology and modern life. It should be done in a way all Gamo speakers can see it as their ethnic pride.

Another participant indicated what is thought to be important to the standardization of Gamo. A belief that Gamo should be visible in the public sphere is stated in the following quote:

(43) *kälelaw k'wank'wa gar ikkul indihon yämiyadärgäw wannaw mindinäw kätäma lay mälat't'äfu näw lämin lämissale amaräŋŋa kätäma lay tälat't'ifo sittay yäk'wank'wawin idgät yasayyal lik indäzzaw yäŋŋam bilät't'äf idžäzig bät'am näw däs yämilläŋŋ*

‘What makes the language equal [in its status] to the other languages is its standardization. Its possibility to be posted on cities is very important for its standardization. For example, when Amharic is posted on city advertisements, it shows the language's development stage. I will be very happy if our language is also posted in public places just like that. It facilitates its standardization (Genet, Nov. 2015).’

The respondent desired Gamo to have a wider public function like that of the Amharic language which is visible in the public sphere via bill boards and sign boards. The respondents mentioned with great passion that they wanted to see their language to be widely used in different social spheres and to assume a standard level.

Cross tabulation of the present item to the respondents' dialects or other different independent variables did not produce any significant difference among them. However, some teachers who were from Ganta dialect strongly mentioned in the questionnaire that they did not like the way the Gamo language is being standardized. They opposed the standardization process. Some of their critics said:

(44) mädäbäñña kähonä bizu limatawi ffigirofffin yasikkätälall siläzih mähon yälläbbätim

‘Language standardization in Gamo causes many development problems. So, Gamo should not be standardized in the present way.’

bäfis's'um ayismamaññim mikniyatum läidiğät bät'am asiffägari yihonall biyyä aminallähu

‘The idea of standardizing Gamo in the present time never complies with my need because I believe it is difficult for equal social development.’

bayihon bät'am däs yilläññall

‘I would be very happy if Gamo is not standardized like this.’

Läwädäfitim ahunim alismamam

‘I do not agree now and in the future.’

tirigumun yamayirrädu bät'am bizu säwoff silallu mädäbäñña madirägu bät'am bämahibäräsäb wist' ikononiyawina mahibärawi ffiggirin bät' t'am yamat't'al läwädäfit läk'ät't'ayu tiwliid f'immir

‘Since there are community members who do not understand the standard language, making Gamo a standard language of the wider society causes many economical and social inequalities and problems for the future generation, too.’

tikkikkil ayidälläm yäk 'wank 'waw zäyä ayigäbanim

‘The standardization is not correct. We do not understand the standard language at all.’

Ganta dialect students who participated in the interview and focus group discussions already showed their support, as shown in excerpt 41 and 42, to the standardization of Gamo. But, as indicated in the above excerpt, individual teachers resisted the standardization decision especially the approach followed in the process. They mentioned that the standardization process did not comply with their linguistic needs and with their community. The data from the teacher respondents’ show that they had a belief that standardization of Gamo by taking norms only from Northern dialects or from the Dache dialect had an impact on the education provided to the Ganta dialect speakers. Their intention was to indicate the need to improve the standardization process of Gamo. They presented their justifications for opposing the present decisions on the standardization as follows:

*(45)t'inatna mirimir indägäna yasfälligall mikniyatum lähullum biheräsäb gils'
yähonä k'wank'wa ayidälläm*

‘Before the standardization takes place, the dialects of Gamo should be studied again because the standard language is not understandable for many people.’

t'inat bät' t'am mäddärdäg alläbbät ilalähuyj

‘I say that a good research should be done ahead of standardization.’

bät' t'am yät' t'äläk'ä t'inat yasifälliggäwall wädä mahibräsäbu bämäwräd

‘The standardization of Gamo needs an in-depth study on the languages and attitudes of the society at the grass root level.’

*yäzäyäwoffj liyyunnät bät'am t'inat mäddärräg alläbbät mikniyatum and
gamoŋna zäyä biŋffa wut'et linoräwu ayiŋfiŋilläm*

‘The diversity of Gamo dialects should be studied well because making one of the Gamo dialects a standard language of all speakers will not be effective at all.’

As can be seen from the respondents' comments, they did not oppose the very idea of standardization, but they were rather against the technique implemented to take one of the dialects as a standard form of Gamo. They suggested a thorough dialectal study to proceed the actual standardization efforts undergoing. The respondents emphasized on the need for a study that demonstrates the divergence and similarity of Ganta and related dialects from the standard Gamo. Their main concern could be that Ganta deserves to be part of the standard language. The

respondents' apprehension in fact deserves a significant attention in the standardization process of Gamo. It is obvious that several endeavors have already been exerted to standardize Gamo particularly in education, so the comments from Ganta teachers and from the other respondents can serve as inputs to improve and modify the situation of standardization in the language.

5.6.1. Functions of Standard Gamo to the Speech Community

It has been mentioned in section 5.1 that a standard language does play many symbolic and instrumental functions to a speech community. In the development process of a standard language, it is very essential that the speech community should first suggest its needs and interests about the standardization of the language, and should believe in its social roles. One of the issues the research tried to find out was the respondents' opinions about the social values of a standard Gamo and its different functions. The data to item 23 that said, "To what extent do you agree in the significance of standardization in Gamo?" are presented in the coming table followed by the discussions.

Statements		SA	A	CD	D	SD	Total
Standardization strengthens social unity in Gamo	No.	222	62	14	21	21	340
	%	65.3	18.2	4.1	6.2	6.2	100
It enhances social positive attitudes towards Gamo	No.	133	100	45	41	21	340
	%	39.1	29.4	13.2	12.1	6.2	100
It establishes a prestigious Gamo language	No.	178	92	32	21	17	340
	%	52.4	27.1	9.4	6.2	5	100
It develops the Gamo language	No.	223	53	18	25	21	340
	%	65.6	15.6	5.3	7.4	6.2	100
It helps to further expand the function of the language in science and technology areas	No.	202	86	20	23	9	340
	%	59.4	25.3	5.9	6.8	2.6	100
It supports to improve mother tongue education	No.	198	91	17	22	12	340
	%	58.2	26.8	5	6.5	3.5	100
Standardization helps to improve the condition of textbooks for mother tongue education	No.	146	87	34	55	18	340
	%	42.9	25.6	10	16.2	5.3	100

Table 30: The significance of standardizing Gamo

It was significant to see the respondents' attitude towards the social, linguistic and educational values of a standardizing Gamo. It could be said that the majority of the respondents who filled in the questionnaire supported the whole items that stated various functions of standard Gamo. It

can be understood from Table 30 that to the first point that stated the unifying function of standard Gamo, the majority of the respondents, 284 (83.5%), agreed that standard Gamo strengthens unity of the Gamo society while the number of those who disagreed to the statement was very few, 42 (12.4%). Insignificant number of respondents, 14(4.1%), could not decide. The data show that the respondents acknowledged the role of standard Gamo to keep the society under a unified identity.

Participants of interviews and focus group discussions also expressed their hope on the unifying function of standard Gamo like the following one:

(46) *and wät't' hono mäsa'afu t'ik'mu yämimäsläyñ yaw andäyña standardun yit't'äbik'al lidzoff his'anat bäzza diveläpt yihonallu siläzih ekänamikäl t'ik'im yinoräwall soufal t'ik'im yinoräwall mäf'ärräfa lay dägmo andinätin yägamo andinätin yamät'all hullum säw bäkul t'ik'im lay yawuläwal k'wank'waw lidabbir bahilum inidäzihu bäzzam teknaledzi indäzaw lihon yiffilall*

‘Standardizing the Gamo language in different domains has different roles. First, there will be a standard use of the language in different sectors like in the education sector. Second, children will grow speaking it. So, standardization has economical and social values. When all people use it uniformly for every day communication at all places, the standard language brings unity in Gamo. The language and the culture will develop and the society’s exposure to technology in its own language will increase’ (Yishak, Dec. 2015).

The central idea in the data is that standardization in Gamo becomes a tool for social integration. The interviewee imagined that when the standard language is used by every Gamo speaker, imparted from generation to generation of the community, it becomes the social identity and the language of commonality that keeps children of Gamo united for development. It helps them to support each other and to defeat their enemy. The standard language is seen as a power to different dialect speakers to participate in the process of poverty reduction.

Many languages in the world were also standardized with the idea of building national unity and identity among speakers. For instance, when Norway got its independence from Denmark in 1842, all the officials and elites were engaged in search of a common language that unifies the people as Norwegians, and two standard languages were formulated for Norwegians to write in their own language (Jahr, 2003). The standard languages served to unite the society and to think of themselves and their environment as one Norwegian nation.

Among the respondents, it was also the majority, 233 (68.5%), who asserted that standardization creates and enhances positive attitudes towards Gamo. Some of them, 62 (18.3%), disagreed and few, 45 (13.2 %), could not decide. We can say that the upper hand of the respondents thought that standardizing Gamo lifts up its status and accordingly improves social attitude towards the language.

Social attitude towards Gamo was one of the major factors that impeded its role in social and official communications. Respondents expressed that they did not use Gamo especially to write messages to others for the public attitude towards using Gamo was not positive. See the following excerpt as an example:

(47) *gamoŋna bizu alit't'äk'amim mindinaw ahun s'ihufu bawäräk'ät lay yämis'afu däbdabewoffin ins'falän izza ga ins'falän milafun gin anagäŋŋm ahun yäsaw amäläkakät ine ahun bägamoŋna bis'if bäamaräŋna näw izza yallaw milafu wäy likäbdaw yiffilall wäy layfäligaw yiffilall minalbat mälikten indihu bägamoŋna s'ife amäläkakät gudayoff' allu*

'I do not use Gamo to write messages to other people so often. The problem is people's attitude towards using and learning in Gamo. If I write letters to other people in Gamo, I know I do not get the response back in it. They reply to me in Amharic or in English. That is why I do not write information to others in Gamo. Gamo may be difficult for the others or they may not want to write their ideas in it. Simply writing a message in Gamo does not make sense unless I get the response in it. There are attitude issues' (Manna, Dec. 2015).

The participant pointed out that the negative attitude his interlocutors involved towards using Gamo in writing messages to others affected his language behavior and prohibited his effort to use his language to write information to others. In fact it is not only the receivers' attitude that seemed to hinder opportunities to write letters in Gamo, but also the respondents' attitude that evaluated Gamo to be '*difficult*' for others to understand a message or to respond in it played a significant role. So, the comments made by the respondent demonstrate the present social attitude towards using Gamo in every day communication.

Several scholars noted that social attitude has been a major drawback to implement local languages in various domains like in education. For instance, Turner and Wildsmith-Cromarty (2014:299), quoted in Kamwangamalu and Tovares (2016: 2), explain:

Mother tongue policies fail due to the negative attitudes of speakers (both mother tongue and non mother tongue) towards the use of African languages, and the perceptions of both parents and learners that the indigenous languages lack value in important social and economic markets.

According to the scholars, the major challenge for language policies to implement mother tongue education in Africa has been speakers' attitude towards the indigenous languages. The consideration of African languages to bring no significant change on individuals' life affected the effectiveness of indigenous language standardization. It is also evident that these attitudes come from the fact that the languages have not been empowered to hold valuable positions in the socioeconomic spheres.

Such social attitudes towards undeveloped languages do not easily change though. Different strategies need to be implemented to improve the social condition of a language, and standardization is one of the possible strategies. The observed unfavorable attitudes towards local languages can be enhanced by standardization activities that improve their situations in textbooks. As Adegbija (1994:44) mentions, "Language standardization in which a particular speech variety becomes the preferred norm, is in and of itself an image boosting sociolinguistic procedure."

A standard language also has a prestige function to a speech community. With regard to having a prestigious Gamo language, the greatest number of respondents, 270 (79.5%), believed that Gamo deserves to establish a prestigious norm through standardization. A very small number, 38 (11.2%), did not think standardization could have that effect, and 32 (9.4%) could not make a decision. It is seen that the highest number of respondents supported the establishment of high prestige for Gamo through standardization. The prevalence of a prestigious Gamo form will increase the interest of not only native speakers but also second language speakers to learn and to speak it. The prestige function of the language also provides the speakers to develop a sense of pride.

Ferguson (2006:192) takes upgrading the status of indigenous languages to be a means to realize social equality, saying, "Laudable, too, and amply justified on other grounds – the reduction of social inequalities, for example – is the rehabilitation of the status of African languages, to which

their use as educational media can make a significant contribution.” He believes that promoting the function of African languages in education and other sections helps to revive their social status. In order to improve social attitude towards using indigenous languages, Kamwangamalu and Tovares (2016:2) even propose a prestige planning to be an independent component of language planning in Africa saying, " We propose prestige planning (Haarmann, 1990) as the way forward for African languages if they are to be used like English (and Afrikaans in South Africa), a viable medium of instruction in schools."

Other strategies also helped to establish the prestige for some African languages like Kiswahili. As Adegbija (1994:43) describes, some of the strategies used to increase the use of Kiswahili are, “The Germans had a policy of encouraging it as an official language in their east African territories. In the then Tangayika, German and African civil servants, members of the armed forces, etc. needed to know Kiswahili to get employment. This helped the rapid spread of the language.” Kiswahili, being spoken across different African countries, is now considered as an international language. In China, as well, members of non Chinese ethno-linguistic groups are provided with Cantonese language training if they want to serve in the Police army in Hong Kong. The provision of training with the local language was believed to be important to address effective services to the community (Lim, 2017: <http://www.scmp.com>, viewed on 4/05/2017).

Allocating a language to play significant roles in the wider communication areas is believed to establish its prestige. This is stated by Elkarte (2010: 48) who makes connection between a language function and its prestige formation as:

A language’s prestige depends to a large extent on its role in society. a language that is only used within the family is doomed to exclusion from the social domains where important decisions are made, and may eventually die out altogether; if it is used locally, or is present in the work place or in culture, it will have greater prestige.

The prestige for the Gamo language can be maintained through designing various strategies like launching compulsory Gamo classes in colleges or universities, providing other official roles to it and making it the language of every day communication. Indeed, some endeavors are being expended to enhance the prestige of Gamo. For example, Gamo is given as a subject and a field

of study in a College, and there is a preparation to provide Gamo at a university degree level. It is also included in national school leaving examination programme, not compulsory though.

The linguistic value of standardizing Gamo is elaboration of its function in various social and private domains. In relation to this, the majority of the respondents, 288 (84.7%), were positive towards the idea that the function of Gamo will be expanded in science and technology through standardization, while only few of the respondents, 34 (9.4%), did not believe so. Very few of them, 20 (5.9%), could not decide. The data tell that most of the respondents trusted the standardization process to empower Gamo with new technical words, styles and expressions.¹²

Language standardization also supports the efforts of mother tongue education programmes. The role of standardization to enhance mother tongue education was recognized by the majority of respondents, 289 (85%). Only few of the respondents, 34 (10%), did not accept standardization to play educational roles, and a half size of that number, 17 (5%), did not decide. What can be seen is that the respondents believed in the standardization of Gamo to bring mother tongue education endeavors into a better position by improving several projects involved in it like teacher training programmes and textbook production projects.

Most of the respondents, 233 (68.4%), also agreed that standardization of Gamo helps to improve the current status of textbooks prepared for mother tongue education. It was less than a quarter of the respondents, 73 (21.5%), who disagreed to the idea that textbooks need to be written in a standard language, whereas 34 (10%) could not make a decision on the issue. The majority of the respondents, once again, showed their support to the standardization endeavor of Gamo in order to alleviate major language related problems that persist in the mother tongue textbooks. They wanted a strong policy decisions that ensure the quality of the learning materials to be ineffect.

Respondents of interview and focus group discussions also pointed out different functions of standardizing the Gamo language for textbook preparation. They emphasized that a standard

¹² There were efforts to standardize and elaborate the lexies of Gamo, but as mentioned in quote 29, words were literally translated from Amharic and English without any adaptation to the cultural context of Gamo.

language should be used throughout different grade levels. The following quote echoes this point:

(48) *kātaf sidzāmiru bātäläyyayyā māngād s'ifāw kāmāt'u wädä andināt mämt'ataffāw ayk'ärīm wädä koleḍ akkababi simāt'u bātäläy wädä and näw yämimāt't'ut yāzane yätäläyyayyā stail yizāw kāmāt'u lastāmariwim ffiggir näw biyye silāmasb and ayināt yāas'as'af stail bikätäl yätāfalä yimäsläññall*

‘Though children are trained in different inconsistent orthographies at lower grade levels, it is necessary that they come into one center especially in colleges where a standardized language is highly required. If they come with a different writing style, I think, that is difficult for a teacher to handle. So, a standard language use must be followed in textbook preparation’ (Gebre, Dec. 2015).

The interviewee wanted to express that a standard language use in education enables to deliver a consistent form of knowledge at different grade levels. It helps students to comprehend a stable form of information that does not fluctuate whenever the grade level changes. The respondent clarified that higher institutions deal with higher level of knowledge and demand standardization of a language they use. Standardization of a language should be maintained beginning from lower grade levels to support the establishment of long lasting knowledge in mother tongue.

Meskele (Dec. 2015) also stressed that standardization of Gamo helps to produce adequate and quality publications, including textbooks in the language as follows:

(49) *awo bāt'am aminallāhu ahun bāk'k'ät'ay mirimiroffim bihonu mässārat yalläbatffāw bāzza ængl näw mikniyatum k'wank'waw wāt't' bāhonä huneta sisārabāt yārassu yāhonä idgät yinorāwall*

‘Yes, I totally believe that Gamo should be standardized. In the future, research works should be done on the standardization of Gamo because when the language is standardized, it brings different social growths.’

linor yämiffilāwn idgät yit'äk'isulijñal

‘Can you mention some of the possible growths?’

mäsik'äle: idgātu andäñña yämirimir sirawoff yissärubätall lelaw ināzih k'wami yāhonu dikfänaeriwoff inna bātäläy yāmastāmariya mäs'haftoffim bihonu bätāmakälä bätāmakälä k'alat hullum bāmit't'äk'amibbät gize läidgātu yārassu yāhonä astāwas's'o yinorāwall biyyä aminallāhu

‘The growth is that first the language is used in research works. In addition, when these permanent publications like dictionaries and especially textbooks

are written in a standard language and when everyone uses standard words, it has its own contributions for the development.’

This respondent also described the potential of standardization to upgrade the role of Gamo in scientific researches. He stressed that writers' decision to apply standard words in textbooks contributes to the development of the language and the society. It improves mother tongue education by building students' confidence to learn in it.

On the other hand, participants tried to point out that unless standard use of Gamo is followed, the publications may potentially generate negative social attitude towards the language and its function in different domains is going to be low. In relation to this, Manna (Dec. 2015) stated:

(50) mäs's'af yalläbbät bäand mälk bihon yiʿalall mannim bäyyärasu yis'af kätäbalä yätäs'afu nägäroff minalbat anbabi liyat'u yiʿfilallu yäzza ayinät sigat allä

‘Gamo textbooks should be written in a standard language. If we allow everyone to write in their own different dialects, the materials may not attract readers. No one will be motivated to read textbooks or literature published in a confusing language. We have that kind of insecurity and skepticism.’

It is true that if a concept is represented in different words and if words are spelled differently, the chance for a consistent word to appear frequently across written materials and to establish standard use becomes very low. Using a word in a variable grammatical form creates user uncertainty that in turn results in lack of interest to read the materials. It is obvious that if the written materials do not attract as many readers as possible, the cost expended to write and publish them will not generate profits.

As has been indicated before (chapter 4), one of the pressing problems that persists in the Gamo textbooks was lack of consistency in the words and other language features. This problem was also noted by the concerned organization itself. In a conference manual, the Gamo Gofa Zone Education Department (2004:10) lists, lack of attention to erroneous or inconsistent spelling of words during textbook preparation as a major challenge to mother tongue education efforts in the zone. In other words the reluctance to carefully edit the textbooks is pulling back the quality of mother tongue education. What can be seen is that not only access to textbooks or published materials but also the quality of the textbooks and the clarity of the language highly influence the attitudes developed towards the language. These kinds of language related problems can be

overcome by language standardization activities that establish standard uses in the practices of writers. It avoids social uncertainties about the forms of a language that would appear in publications. Maintaining stable forms throughout textbooks of different grade levels can also circumvent confusion which learners encounter due to inconsistent application of words. Clarity in the language is again believed to increase the chance for its acceptance.

Textbooks are one of the main educational resources that address a larger portion of a given society. They may be the only or major means through which the society accesses the standard or written form of its language in some situations. Their role as a tool to fix a standard language use and to increase its status has been widely recognized by sociolinguistic scholars. For example, Adegbija (1994: 40), in the following text, considers that the production of textbooks in Kiswahili and Hausa languages facilitated their standardization process and generated positive social attitudes towards them:

In east Africa, with the establishment of an Inter-territorial Kiswahili Language Committee in 1932, the literary and other uses of the language were greatly encouraged. Textbooks began to be produced in the language and these continued to spread its status and influence. Also in northern Nigeria, the Literature Department of Zaria, which later became Gaskiya Corporation, produced a lot of Hausa textbooks and encouraged writing in the Hausa language. The east Africa Literature Department also produced textbooks and general literature in the major languages of the then Tanganyika (now part of Tanzania) and Uganda. By 1950, about ten vernacular Literature Department had been established in British Africa. Their primary task was the production of teaching and reading materials.

Kiswahili and Hausa textbooks that were produced by those organized bodies played great roles to standardize the languages and to form positive social attitudes towards them. The textbooks carried the languages on to villages and houses. That means the materials delivered the language to the wider users.

The overall aim of language standardization is to bring overall change and development to the language and its speakers. The majority of the respondents, 276 (81.2%), believed that standardization of Gamo would develop the language and the society. Few respondents, 46 (13.6%), did not agree and only 18 (5.3%) said that they could not decide. The data indicate that respondents had great hope that the expansion of Gamo into different domains, the generation of positive social attitude towards it, its use as a symbol of ethnic pride and unity could contribute

to its development. The standardization activities will also create the chance for the language to be developed in different spoken and written materials.

5.6.2. Social Preferences of Norm Selection

If the need to have a standard Gamo variety was not questioned, the next concern was to find out how respondents wanted the standard language to be formed. As has been discussed in the literature review part (chapter 2), standard norms of a language can be selected in two ways. On the one hand, the norms can be taken from a single dialect, especially the one which already established as a prestigious dialect and the one with greater number of speakers as compared to the rest. On the other hand, standard norms are taken from different dialects. They are established through an approach that allows the participation of different dialects as much as possible.

It was also mentioned that standard norms in Gamo were selected from a single dialect though some words of other selected dialects were rarely mentioned in the texts analyzed. Therefore, investigating social needs and comparing them with the identified selection policy would be a major contribution to improve the standardization process of Gamo. To this effect, the respondents were asked to state their views regarding items that put, one of the Gamo dialects should be selected as a standard norm; monocentric selection provides equal language benefit to all dialect speakers; the norm selection should follow a polycentric approach; one of the dialects spoken by the majority like Dache can continue basing the standard norm; about allowing parallel use of some established forms; creating a writing system for divergent Gamo dialects; and their opinions about reduction of some of their dialect features to include the others. The data on these issues are presented in the table underneath.

Items		SA	A	CD	D	SD	missing	Total
24. The norms of one of the dialects should be used as a standard language.	No.	75	67	34	69	95	-	340
	%	22.1	19.7	10	20.3	27.9	-	100
25. Every dialect speaker benefits equally if one of the dialects become a standard.	No.	80	52	23	89	96	-	340
	%	23	15.3	6.8	26.2	28.2	-	100
26. The standard language should include features of various dialects.	No.	171	115	24	24	6	-	340
	%	50.3	33.8	7.1	7.1	1.8	-	100
27. One of the dialects spoken by the majority, like Dache can be used to base the standard language.	No.	116	92	43	54	35	-	340
	%	34.1	27.1	12.6	15.9	10.3	-	100
28. I do not mind if some features of my dialect are reduced from the standard and replaced by other dialects	No.	85	95	38	68	54	-	340
	%	25	27.9	11.2	20	15.9	-	100
29. I think the language policy should allow parallel use of some forms.	No.	156	113	20	36	10	5	340
	%	45.9	33.2	5.9	10.6	2.9	1.5	100
30. It is good if another written standard is created for dialects which greatly diverge from the present standard	No.	124	88	31	63	34	-	340
	%	36.5	25.9	9.1	18.5	10	-	100

Table 31: Respondents' views on how a standard norm should be selected in Gamo

The data can be seen from Table 31 that less than half of the respondents, 142 (41.8%), agreed with the first statement that assessed ideas on selecting standard norms from one of the Gamo dialects. On the other hand, nearly half of them, 164 (48.2%), did not approve monocentric norm selection approach. Very few of the respondents, 34 (10 %), indicated that they could not decide. Number of respondents who supported selection of standard norms from a single dialect is not sufficient enough to propose it as a best way of norm selection in Gamo. Due to their increased knowledge about dialect variation in Gamo, the respondents rejected the monocentric idea of norm selection.

Again, only less than half of the respondents, 132 (38.3%), believed that selecting standard norms only from one of the dialects or Dache is good for everyone. Most of the respondents, 185 (54.4%), did not think that a kind of norm selection that leaves many dialects behind benefits all of the speakers. Only few of the respondents, 23 (6.8%), replied that they could not decide. This implies that there are social groups who will be disadvantaged if standard norms are not flexible and participatory. The data from both of the items (item 24 and 25) lead one to say that most of

the respondents did not support monocentric norm selection technique to be a good mechanism of standardizing the Gamo language.

Very few respondents of interview and focus group discussions supported that taking standard varieties from one of the dialects makes the standardization process easy. They also indicated that words which are used by the majority of the population should be selected to be standard norms of Gamo. Some of them also preferred that words which are not originally from Gamo should not be included in the standard language. This view was reflected in the following quote.

(51) *zät'äjju wist' kamba, bonke, dita, f'entffa inna daramallo inäzih abzaññawn tämäsasay k'al yit't'äk'amallu inäññih ahun dägmo lelawoññ mira, borodana k'uf'a lela k'al yit't'äk'amallu läwodayita zon goräbet silähonu yäwodayta k'alatın yit't'äk'amallu wolaitawoñ yäminagärutin.. ahun infa "matsa" inilallän 'wätätin' malät näw innässu dägmo izza min yilallu läwodayita goräbet silähonu sostu wärädawoññ 'matta' biläwu yit't'äk'amallu /ts/n at'fitäw /t/n yit't'äk'amallu indäzza ahun hullum zäy äwoññ tāt'äntäw abzaññaw yämit't'äk'amäw k'al sint wäräda näw yihinin k'al yämit't'äk'amäw sint wäräda näw yämayit't'äk'mäu yägamo k'al yätu näw yäwodayita k'al yätu näw läzza ine bäabılaf'a dıms' hullum zäy äwoññ tāt'äntäw abızaññaw yämiyawäraw bäzih mälik yihin k'al mä't'äk'am alläbbät gamo wärädawoññ abızaññaw yihinnin k'al yit't'äk'amall yämiläw tāt'änto bäzih mälik bis's'af t'iru näw*

'Among the nine districts, people in Kamba, Bonke, Ditta, Chench and Daramalo use similar words and expressions. The other three districts, Mirab Abaya, Boroda and Kucha use different words. Since the latter districts are adjacent to Wolaitta area, they mostly use words borrowed from the Wolaitta language. For example, we say *matsa* for 'milk.' But the three districts speak the Wolaitta word *matta*. They delete /ts/ and replace it with /t/. The words which are used in many places should be identified from the ones which are spoken in limited areas. The original Gamo words should be differentiated from the words borrowed from the Wolaitta language. After that process, the Gamo words which are used in the many districts should be taken as standard words of the textbooks' (Tadesse, Nov. 2015).

The respondent identified the variation among the Gamo dialects. He grouped the Kucha dialect to be different from the rest of the dialects since it contains borrowed features. Therefore, to secure the use of "original" Gamo words and sounds, respondents preferred the Dache dialect to be the safest standard norm of Gamo (see 4.3 for further explanation about Dache). The following participant identified Dache to have many speakers and wanted it to continue its position as the standard norm of Gamo:

(52) *k'uf'a, borodana mirab natffäw ahun wanna yäk'wank'waf'fin f'iggir yalläbba'ffäw bät'am f'iggir alläbba'ffäw ganta datf'ejnan yirräddal honom gin ahun izih bäboroda mirabna k'uf'a lay yäwodayita fidäl yit't'äk'amallu ijna ahun t'immir tänäbabiwo'ff innit't'äk'amalän inässu gin ayit't'äk'amum kätza hullu bädimis' bilf'a bädaf'ejna bi'ffa mä's'ihafu tatimo biwät'a innässum ayi'ffägärum yirräddallu /ts/ ina /t/ mannim bäs'nälbona yirräddall izza yallut mä's'ihafun yanäballu yirräddallu ayi'ffägärum bädaf'ejna biwät'a t'iru näw biyyä igämitalähu*

'Kucha, Boroda and Mirab Abaya are the main challenges to language standardization in Gamo. The Ganta dialect speakers understand Dache. However, in Boroda, Mirab Abaya and Kucha districts, people use the Wolaitta letters. We use diagraphs but they do not. So, instead of taking Ganta words or others as standard forms of Gamo, they do not have any problem if textbooks are written in Dache. Psychologically everyone also understands words written in /ts/ or /t/ sounds. That means students who live there can read and understand the Dache dialect. I guess it is good if the Dache dialect is taken as standard Gamo' (Mihret, Nov. 2015).

Both of the informants considered the three districts, Kucha, Boroda and Mirab Abaya, as “challenges” to the standardization process of Gamo. The three districts were taken to cause challenges to the standardization process because they use phonetically different words, and the word forms which are believed to be borrowed from other languages. The respondents believed that speakers who live in these places experience difficulty to comprehend the standard forms, and they use words that deviate from the conventional standard uses. The participants considered /t/ sound to be the one which the Kucha dialect of Gamo borrowed from a neighboring language or from Wolaitta.

It should be noted, however, that the varieties the respondents disputed are already maintained in the Kucha dialect, and that the sound forms cannot be considered as outsiders anymore. There is no scientific evidence to adduce the social claim that those variants were the borrowed ones. This claim indeed needs further investigation.

The respondents' need to develop a written norm distinct from the forms used in the Wolaitta language can be seen as a process of “differentiation.” The respondents showed a strong attitude of language loyalty by demanding standard Gamo to be a symbol of separation (Garvin 1993 :47). It can also be said that they expected standard Gamo to ensure its complete divorce from the norms used in its predecessor standard WoGaGoDa. The respondents wanted those standard

varieties to portray a unique Gamo identity. According to Ferguson (2006: 2), differentiation is a sociolinguistic phenomenon of selecting a language that culturally unifies a nation under a unique identity or in a direct words it is a "... conscious differentiation of the national language variety from other related varieties through a process known, following Kloss (1967), as *Ausbau* (German for 'building away'), involving the selection and promotion of those variants in the national variety dissimilar to equivalents in the other varieties on the same dialect continuum." In the process of differentiation, the varieties selected to mark social identity also imply the difference of one society from the other.

Some countries where a single dominant language group exists, demography was, in fact, a criterion to select national languages. This was the case, for example, in the selection of Somali spoken by 90 % of the nation and in the development of Danish which had 98% of the country's speakers (Holmes, 2013:106). On the other hand, according to Holmes (2013: 106), "Numerical dominance is not always what counts, however. Political power is the crucial factor." In countries where multilingual speakers dwell, standard norms are selected for not only they had large number of speakers but also the political and economic power of the speakers backed up the promotion of the forms as standard languages of a nation.

It is also shown in Table 31 item 26 that the majority of the respondents, 286 (84.1%), preferred the standard norm of Gamo to include features of different dialects. On the other hand, only very few of them, 30 (8.9%), disagreed with the point that mentions the importance of inclusion of dialectal features in the standard norm whereas the rest, 24 (7.1%), of the respondents replied that they could not make a decision. The data reveal that most of the respondents wanted their dialectal features to be included in the standardization process and become part of the standard language.

Participants of interviews and focus group discussions also strongly mentioned that the standard language should include distinct dialectal forms of Gamo. They expressed that if the standard language is taken from a single dialect, speakers of the remaining dialects may develop a feeling of being excluded from the standardization process, and feel disconnected from their own society and their own language. The respondents wanted the standardization to be open and inclusive like the following informant who said:

(53) *sis'fu indalnäw mädäbäñña k'wank'wa yähonä lähullum mäls yähonä bis'fu t'iru näw and akkababi lay biyattäkur mälikä tolo ayalfim dägmo hizbum k'ireta yadirbaffäwall siläzih mädäbäñña mähon alläbbät*

‘When people write textbooks, they should use a standard language that responds the language demand of every speaker. They should take the language's situation into account. Every dialect speaker should find itself in the standard language. If the standard is taken from a limited area, the message cannot be conveyed easily across the wider society, and the society may not be happy about that. The language should be standardized like that with a pluralistic approach.’ (Esayas, Nov. 2015).

The informant pointed out that to have a standard language is the question of the Gamo society, but their question is going to be addressed well if the standard language accommodates different dialects they speak. If the standard norm is taken from one area or one dialect, it does not win every speaker's endorsement whatever symbolic or instrumental functions it plays.

Other respondents even envisioned the standardization process to yield a standard language that is neutral to every dialect speaker. This has been mentioned in the following quote:

(54) *hullunim yammakkällä mähon alläbbät iyyalku bätäf'amari yäminnaggäräw kähullum zäyä yallu k'alatän awt'itäw bämäzgäbä k'alat mälk yätäläyyayyä zäyäwofffin awt'itäw and wät't' yähonä turgum mässät't'ät alläbbät malät issu nägär bis's'af käzih bäfit bägamoñña yätäs'afä nägär yälläm wät't' bähonä täs'fo yämiyasffägir nägär kalä kätza kämäzigäbä k'alatu yirräddallu siläzih indäza ayinät nägär bis's'af lämamarim ayasffägiränim ahun dägmo iyätämaru lallutim ayasffägrim*

‘The standard language should be neutral to every dialect speaker. Some words should be taken from different dialects, and a consistent meaning should be given to them in dictionaries. Nothing is published in the Gamo language before, but if a dictionary is available, it is possible for everyone to find meanings of words they do not know from that dictionary. So, if the standardization goes in that way, it is good for those of us who are learning in Gamo now and for the others who learn in Gamo in the future.’ (Ahmad, Nov. 2015)

This informant also supported the adoption of a polycentric approach that brings a neutral standard to different dialect speakers through time. The point is that when words of different dialects are included in the standard language, it is obvious that readers or learners encounter new words which are out of their language repertoire. Though speakers have the willingness to accommodate these new forms in their language command, as highlighted by the participant,

access to dictionaries and other resources is of great importance to familiarize users to the diverse features included in the standard form.

Participants also tried to remark the significance of including different dialects into the standard norm. They believed that polycentric approach makes the standard norm closer to the practices of diverse dialect speakers. The standard language facilitates communication among speakers as reflected by a participant:

(55) indäne kähullum zäyawofff biwäsäd yiiffalall mīkniyatum ahun säw bärassu bähonä aggälaläs' säw bädänb indigäbaw kähullum kähizihñawm kyäziyaññawm zäyä gäbto kähullum täwwäsdo bis's'af yilk' läsäww läänbabiw yigäball

‘As to me, the standard language should be formed from words of different dialects. This helps the people to easily understand things in their own ways of expression. The standard language becomes more understandable for the people and for the readers’ (Asnakech, Nov 2015).

The respondent is aware of the fact that things are expressed differently across the various dialects of Gamo, so the standard language is expected to address dialectal expressions to make things easily comprehensible by members of the language. Inclusion would give a sense of ownership of the standard form to all members of the Gamo language.

Still other informants preferred the polycentric way of norm selection for the monocentric standard language ideology affected their every day communication to others. Selam (Nov.2015), an Ochollo dialect speaker, described the problem she faced while speaking her dialect in inter-dialect communication as follows:

(56) ine ahun iskahun izzih gibbi kämät't'ahu offfoliñña lanteñña iñña biiffa nän kätza yämät't'ut biiffa nän yäminaworaw izihim mäsihaf layim ayis'afim gibbi wist'im yämiyaworu sämiiffa alawk'im bännässu näw yäminigbabbaw izzih sis's'afim simarim mäsihaf layim yälläm siläzih indäzih andand ine kaworahu innässu ayisämum bärase kätanagärku bäh^wala lännässu ifätallähu “min iyalf näw?”kälu ine indäzih indäzih iyyalku näw biyye lännässu inna... iskahun kämät't'ahu izzih gamoñña mäsihaf lay täsfom minamin siyawärum mämihir siyastämirm sämiiffa alawk'im gamo täblän gamoñña iyawäran “gamoñña näw inde yämätawärut mindinäw?” yilallu siläzih yärasen bäk'a alawäram izzih kännässu gar bännässu igbaballähu izza kähedku dägmo offfolo lanteñña näw yämaworaw

‘Since I came to this College, what I see is that the Ochollo dialect is spoken only by those of us who came from Lante area. I feel terrible because it is not included in books nor known by others. We communicate with the other dialect speakers in their own [the standard] dialect. If I speak in my own dialect, I am expected to translate everything I said into their dialect. Our identity is Gamo, we are identified by the name Gamo, but it is sad that when we speak in the Ochollo dialect, my friends always said "are you speaking Gamo? What is this?" These comments are embarrassing to me. So I do not usually speak my dialect here. I speak to them in their dialect, and when I go to Lante, I speak in Ochollo to my friends and family members.’

Since distinct features of Ochollo were not shown in the written or spoken standard norm of Gamo, the standard language users developed an attitude that Ochollo dialect items looked uncommon and strange even when they were spoken by the natives. Standard language users did not perceive Gamo to be a multidialectal language since the standardization process failed to accommodate dialectal features in it. Instead, speakers thought that Gamo meant the monocentric standard, which got the chance to be codified in the textbooks and used by teachers and the wider public. This attitude of communicants forced Selam to withdraw from using her own dialect while communicating with Dache or related dialect speakers. It is also true that speakers often make significant meaning out of dialect variations than the existing dialectal similarities. Though Ochollo dialect had much similarity to the current standard (see chapter 4), interlocutors appeared to be sensitive to the features that made Selam's speech variety distinct from the rest or from the standard language. The features that made Ochollo different from the standard norms were given high social value than the enormous similarities that existed between the two dialects. In relation to speaker linguistic sensitivity, Byron (1978:398) states, "It is precisely the distinctions, rather than the similarities, to which speakers are sensitive and to which they attach the greatest social significance."

The language choice of individuals is highly determined by the interlocutors engaged in the conversation (Holmes, 2013: 9). As Selam spoke to standard norm users, she noticed the need to divert to the standard norm since she understood that her friends could not comprehend her Ochollo speech, and they did not favor it.

Another respondent, a Kucha dialect speaker, also mentioned on the questionnaire that people's attitude towards his dialect affected his every day communication. See the next quote:

(57) *ine yätawolläddikut bämīrab abaya woräda näw bäand wäk'it bäf'entfffa woräda bäand yämängist mäsiṛiya bet sisära yärasen zäyā sīt't'äk'am säwofff, "wolayita näh inde?" biläw yit't'äyik'uṣṣ nābär bälela gize bäziwuwur wädä däga akkababi hedze zäyāyen sīt't'äk'am andit set "yānt daf'ejña läjña ayigābanim ibakihñ bāgamoṣṣa awura" aläfffiṣṣ siläziḥ yih yäjña zäyā bāgamo akkababi tāk'ābayinnät yälläwum yämil hasab alläjñ*

'I was born and grew up in Mirab Abaya. Once, I went to Chenchä district to work in a government office. When I spoke in my dialect there, people used to ask me, "Are you Wolaitta?" Another time, I moved to work to the highland area¹³, and when I used my dialect, a woman said to me, "We do not understand your Dache¹⁴. Please, speak in Gamo." So, I think my dialect Kucha is not accepted in some Gamo areas.'

Both in Chenchä and in the highland area, probably Ganta area, this Kucha dialect speaker, just like Selam, did receive comments from local speakers. The first groups were the ones who strictly demanded speakers to abide by the standard words and accents. Since the respondent was from the Kucha dialect, there were language elements that made his dialect different from the standard one used in Chenchä area. The other communicant whom the respondent identified to be a woman was the one who expected local dialects to be exercised in day to day communication in local places. In both ways, the respondent experienced challenges to communicate to people in his own dialect.

It can be seen that speakers' used the standard norm of Gamo as a reference to evaluate their communicants' language behavior. As Garvin (1993:47) states, a frame of reference is a practice which the language of every dialect speaker is evaluated for its proximity to the standard norm. Everyone who fails to meet the requirements of legitimate uses is judged negatively. Then it becomes difficult for diverse dialect users to speak with the prestigious dialect speakers. Milroy and Milroy (1999:1) call this kind of authority in the language of others as "prescription." According to the scholars, "prescriptive attitudes" highly influence the daily activities and lives of individuals. Prescriptive attitude of interlocutors puts pressure on every day language practice of individuals.

Though Selam and the latter respondent knew the norms of the standard language, they did not want to strictly follow it in their speech. They did not desire to measure their Ochoollo and Kucha

¹³ Some people commonly consider Ganta and its surrounding places to be a highland area.

¹⁴ According to informants, Ganta and related dialect speakers identify the standard language as Dache and their own dialect to be Gamo (see Bereket, Appendix F).

dialect speeches in line with the standard norms; instead they exercised their dialect right by trying to speak with standard language users in their own dialects. In their attitude, the standard language did not function as a frame of reference.

Further, out of her experience Selam wished Ochoollo features to be included in the standard language. She hoped that inclusion of some Ochoollo words into the standard norm would create awareness about the dialect to her friends. The interview continued and Selam said:

(58) *siläzih ahun mäsihafu wust' indikkattät tiffälliggiyalläf?*

‘Do you want the Ochoollo dialect to be included in the standard language?’

sälam: awo andand binor t'iru näw yasmamall leloffim indiyawk'ut indäzza kähone yihe k'wank'wa ayadgim malät näw manim ayawk'äwum käza kälante wif'fi manim ayawukä'wum andande bis's'af t'iru näw biyans mulu bämulu intin kämil bigäba t'iru näw

‘Yes, it is good if some Ochoollo features are included in it. We can agree on that. When Ochoollo is included in the standard language, the other people start to know what kind of dialect it is. But if the standardization of Gamo continues in the present way, the Ochoollo dialect does not develop and nobody intends to know and to learn it except residents of Lante. It is good at least if some Ochoollo forms are included in the standard language instead of totally ignoring it.’

The respondent proposed for the inclusion of items from her dialect in the standard form of Gamo. That would enable Gamo speakers to realize the prevalence of diverse forms in Gamo, in addition to the standard uses. Selam's native Gamo could not have been viewed bizarre if the others had met and learnt some of its words in texts before. In her speech, the participant showed high tolerance that other people should maintain as well. She did not inquire for taking the Ochoollo dialect as a sole standard norm. She rather reflected an inclusive approach and said “*It is good if at least some Ochoollo forms are included in the standard language instead of totally ignoring it.*” This concept is foregrounded in a give and take principle that brings mutual benefit to a multilingual society. It emphasizes that in order to include features of some dialects in the standard language, equivalent features of other dialects should be compromised.

Many languages have been standardized by compromising various dialects into one form. For instance, written Norwegian (the Nynorsk version) was taken from various dialects spoken in the rural part of the country though the urban dialects took their own direction and formed another standard called Bokmål (Jahr, 2003: 331 -333).

The cases discussed above show that it is not always true that speakers accept an already prestigious and dominant dialect to be the only standard norm of a language. People can also be optimistic and can open their minds to accept different dialectal features of a language. If standardization allows, non popular dialects may also generate positive social attitudes towards the standard norm. Holmes (2013: 107) compares dialects of Indonesia as follows:

In Indonesia... the government did not select the language of the political and social elite, the Javanese, as the national language. Instead they developed and standardised a variety of Malay which was widely used in Indonesia as a trade language. Indeed, the successful spread of Indonesian owes a great deal to the fact that it is a very useful neutral linguistic choice in many situations.

The variety selected as a standard language of Indonesia did not have any popularity among the political and the educated class. It was the language of the society at the grassroots level, so it had no social prestige at all. But, selection of standard norms from such a language variety was considered to be a neutral choice. This experience shows that if language features are selected from dialects which do not have wider geographical coverage, the standard language plays more symbolic and instrumental functions and remains prestigious.

It is, however, strange that almost all of the respondents did not support the inclusion of the Ganta dialect words into the standard Gamo language. They strongly resisted that they were never familiar to the Ganta dialect and they did not want it to be mixed with standard Gamo. They emphasized that since Gantas could speak and understand the standard language, they should continue using it for education and wider communication. Lack of consent to include Ganta was adduced in the responses of many interviewees and focus group discussion participants.

For example, Meseret (Nov. 2015) a Dorze dialect speaker was among the ones who said that she and members of her dialect were not familiar to Ganta dialect and it should not be included in the standard Gamo:

(59) *innässu indalut kähullum zäyäwofff malät näw mäsihaf biyawot'u t'iru näw lämin bäand ayinät zäyä käwot't'a yäzaakkababi säw biiffa näw märräddat yämiiffiläw ina kätäläyayyä zäyäwofff käwät't'a t'iru näw lämin hullum yärräddall kätäläyayäbota silämät't'u yätäläyayyä k'wank'wa mawrat yiffillallu nägär gin izih timhirt bet kägäbbu bäh'ala siläzih innäzihin k'wank'wa hullu akkatto biwät'a arif näw ffiggir yälläm*

‘Like what the others said Gamo should be standardized by taking words from all of the prevailing dialects. If the standard is taken from one area, only people from that area are able to understand it. So it is good if it is taken from different dialects because everyone understands a standard language formed in that way. Students may speak different places since they came from different places. But when they join schools and colleges, they should use a standard language. So it is good if it includes all these languages the students bring with them into the school setting. There is no problem.’

gantaynam bigäba t'iru näw?

‘What if Ganta is included?’

yägantawofffun ine sämiiffem alawk'im izih käñña gar ganta tämarim yälläm

‘I have never met the Ganta dialect. We do not also have Ganta students learning with us here. We do not understand the dialect at all.’

The participant showed positive attitude towards the standardization of Gamo, but highly objected the inclusion of the Ganta dialect into the standard language. Another participant named Abate, (Nov. 2015) who was from the Dache dialect added:

(60) ine yämiñälliggäw nägär yäboroda yäk'utf'ana yämīrab läñña aykäbdänm zäyā binorim ink'an läñña aykäbdim gin bägantijña and säw mäsihaf biyazzägaḍ bägantijña zäyā biyazzägaḍ minim ine hibrätäsäbu yirräddall biyyä aliğämim lämissale bägantijña bäre malät bifälligu bänña ahun bäboroda bäf'entfifa, bädita bora innilallän gin gantijnofff maydo näw yämilit yihin hibrätäsäbu mawok' minim yikäbdal bätimhirt kaltämaru wiñ'fi mawok' yikäbdal siläzih ahun abizayñaw bäbzat bäminagärut mäsihaf bis's'af yiffalall

‘What I want to say is that the dialect people speak in Boroda, Kucha and Mirab Abaya areas is not difficult to us to understand. Though there is difference between their dialect and our dialect, it is not difficult for us to understand to each other. But if someone writes a textbook in the Ganta dialect, I do not think the society from other dialect areas understands the information in it. Their words are not familiar to many people. For example, in Ganta, if they want to say ‘ox’, they use the word *maydo*. This word is not known to others. In Boroda, Chenchä and in Ditta areas we commonly call it ‘bora.’ It is difficult to know most of the Ganta words and their grammatical expressions unless one learns them in school or in the local places. Therefore, I want to say that it is better if textbooks and other materials are written in the one the majority of the population speaks. Gamo should be standardized in the dialects already known to the wider people.’

gantawofffs yihayñawn yirräddutal?

‘Do Gantas understand the dialects spoken in the other places?’

*yirräddutall awo innässu gin yäñña yalelaw hibrätäsäb yännässun ayirräddam
bägoräbet yallut naññaw yännässun yämmirräddut yikäbdal ahun yihennin
masik'k'ämät'*

‘Yes they understand the Dache dialect, but the other community does not understand their speech. Only their neighbors may understand their dialect. For that reason it is difficult to include Ganta in the standard language.’

This informant maintained solidarity with the communities who speak the Kucha dialect¹⁵ by saying that it is not difficult to comprehend. But, at the same time, he differentiated the Ganta dialect from the rest and labeled it to be incomprehensible by the majority of the Gamo language speakers. In fact it is true that if speakers do not have the exposure to each others' dialects, there is less chance for them to know the Ganta dialect. But what this shows is that the present standard language is more frequently used in public settings where different dialect speakers meet, and the education system is not helping people to get to know the Ganta dialect. Therefore, the speakers are trying to defend their linguistic rights by preventing less familiar words from entering into their standard language. They did not want to allow divergent dialect features to be mixed into the standard language and by doing so they showed loyalty to it.

The standard norm was defended with different justifications. The respondents wanted the standard language to be taken for granted as the language of every dialect speaker. The following respondent from the Dache dialect emphasized this concept:

(61) *yihe ahun sira lay yallaw gamoñña bädäga akkababi yäminnägäräw
gamoñña näw bäsira lay yallaw bärgt' gamoñña zäyäu yiläyyayyall bizu
gamoñña ayinätoññ allu gin sira lay yallaw abzaññawoññfun yiwäkkilal biyyä
näw yämiggämätaw yäne ginizabe näw lämin leloññ k'äbälññawo ññ yannin
yisämutall sira lay yallawn gamoñña yisämutal andərstænd yarägutall liyunnätu
mindinäu yihinnin yämisämu säwoññ lämissale gantñña yämibalut kole zärgulla
yalutin indäzih ayinätoññin inäzaa tänarariwoññ yihin gamoñña yisämutall*

‘The standard Gamo that prevails in mother tongue education is the one spoken in the highland area. In fact, Gamo has different dialects in it. There are many Gamo varieties but I think the standard language represents the majority of the people. This is my understanding because speakers of vernacular dialects listen to the standard language. They understand the standard Gamo. Even people who speak highly divergent dialects, like the ones we call Ganta, Kole, Zargulla, understand the standard Gamo language.’ (Yishak, Dec. 2015).

¹⁵ In the earlier discussions (excerpts 51&52), other respondents challenged the inclusion of words from the Kucha dialect into the standard Gamo.

The interviewee acknowledged the presence of diverse dialects in the Gamo language, but then put that the majority of the society can understand the one selected as a standard norm. In fact, since the standard language got the chance to spread into many places through education or other social interaction settings like markets, public sermons, weddings, funerals, etc, the majority of dialect speakers, like Ganta, have developed the skill to use the standard language.

Ganta speakers themselves held a similar attitude about inclusion of their variety in the standard language. They mentioned that to include Ganta words in the standard Gamo becomes difficult and cumbersome because other dialect speakers do not understand it. The following quote presents one of the Ganta speakers' views:

(62) *ine ahun yäñña bät'am yilläyyal divə:rdʒ yaddärägal tinnif wät'a yalä näw wät'a yilal mikniyatum bizuwoffif ahun iñnan ayadamit'um iñña gantijña sininagär ayadamit'um läzih iñña dägmo kalän ikspouzər ans'ar yajñawn inadamit'alän*

'Our dialect is very different from the standard Gamo language. It diverges a lot from the dialects other speakers use. Its words and grammars are not common because most of the other dialect speakers do not understand it. They do not listen when we speak in the Ganta dialect. But due to the exposure we have, we listen to the standard dialect' (Gebre, Dec. 2015).

It is possible to understand the attitude the speakers have developed towards the Ganta dialect. The Ganta dialect was considered to diverge and deviate from the standard norm since its morphological systems do not abide by the standard rules and are not shared by any of the dialects which are believed to be closer to the standard form like Dache, Kucha, Ochollo or Dorze.

Wubit (Nov.2015), a Balta dialect speaker, also felt that features of her dialect should not be included in the standard language of Gamo since the others do not know it:

(63) *mädäbäññaw s'ihuf käand akkababi biwwässäd yiffalall wäyis yätäläyayyu zäyäwoffif bikatätu yiffalall tiyalläf*

'Should the standard language be taken from one dialect or from different dialects?'

bädaf'e biiffa bis's'af t'iru näw

'It is good if the standard language is formed from only Dache'

lämin yännanitäts

‘Why? How about your own dialect?’

*lämindināw baltäŋŋa wäyim ganitäŋŋa yämayiŋŋilu lidzoff allu kädaramalo
käkuŋ’a käboroda yämät’t’u lidzoff gantäŋŋa wäyim balitŋŋa ayawk’um läzza
innässu ligodu yiŋŋilallu*

‘It is because students who live in Daramalo, Kucha, and Boroda districts do not know Balta or Ganta. So they will be disadvantaged if the standard language is developed from Balta or Ganta dialects.’

bädaŋ’e sis’s’af gantana balitawoŋŋ ayigodum

‘Do not you think that Ganta and Balta dialect speakers are disadvantaged when the standard language is taken from one dialect Dache?’

balitana gaitawu daŋ’en silämiyawuk’u daŋ’en mäsimat yiŋŋilallu

‘Balta and Ganta speakers know the Dache dialect in their village, so they can listen to lessons delivered in it.’

The respondent thought that since her dialect is not known by other dialect speakers, it does not suffice to be chosen as a standard language. She theorizes that if her dialect is not understood by many speakers, it cannot be taken as part of the standard norm. Both of the respondents pointed out that their dialects are difficult for others to learn and to understand. Respondents raise the prevailing linguistic gap between their dialect and the standard norm to be the major challenges for dialect inclusion.

It is possible to refer to other situations where speakers rejected their own language to be a national or standard language of a society. Adebija (1994: 57) quotes his own work Adebija (1992) a study about language attitude in Nigeria where he reported an interviewee persistently avoiding to choose her own language to be the national language of the country. Part of the interview transcription is presented here as a sample:

I: Now, if you're asked to suggest a common language . . . Uuum . . . for this country, what language would you suggest?

R: I suggest, . . . suggest em . . . Hausa, Hausa language.

I: Why ma?

R: Because it's more easier to learn . . .

I: You think so?

R: Yes . . . It's more easier . . .

I: What about . . .

R: than Yoruba and Igbo, you know . . .

I: Why wouldn't you suggest your own language, Gwari?

R: Ah . . . because I know it will be very difficult for people to learn . . .

I: Is it a very difficult language?

R: It's not all that difficult but em . . . it won't be all that easy for people to learn, easily . . .

The Hausa language, which was favored by the interviewee, is one of the major languages of Nigeria extensively developed by standardization activities that triggered positive attitudes towards it. The interviewee in the above citation reasoned out that Gwari does not fit to be the national language of the country because it is a difficult language for the others to learn. These kinds of self imposed language attitudes towards one's vernacular find their base on language standardization processes that promoted a single language but paid less attention to the others.

The other factor that contributed to the growth of resistance to learn and to include Ganta in the mainstream language comes from the attitude the respondents held about the status of the dialect. The respondents had a mindset that considered Ganta as a village language spoken in a very limited geographical place. They reflected a view that learning a language less used by the wider public does not provide one with the economical benefits as compared to the advantages one could have gained from learning the widely used languages. The idea casted by most of the participants looked that while Gantas could speak the standard variety or Dache, there was no need to take words from a dialect with smaller number of speakers as standard words. This idea was demonstrated by the following quote:

(64) *gantijna lamindinaw yalitäs'afaw ganta ahun yäsäfar k'wank'wa näw indzi bäsifat ayitawäk'im gamojäa yawärallu indzi gantijäa yämibal k'wank'wa yälläm innässu irs bars yäsäfar k'wank'wa näw andand bota ahun mäsi'hafu wist'ijna bita'yäminilawun bita wäyim saka bilaw gantijna yasgäballu gin bizu gantijna bayigäbam ayik'of'afäw biyyä näw yämigämätaw lämin gamojnan käijna bälay yawärallu gamojnan yirräddallu yawk'allu yis'fallu his'anatim yirräddallu gin täf'amari k'wank'wa näw gantijna indzi bays'afim fäggir yälläm gantijna*

"The Ganta dialect is not included in the standard language because it is a language spoken in a small village. It is not known by the wider community. They even speak Gamo everywhere, and there is no language called Ganta... it is a vernacular. They use it amongst themselves but in public areas like in Churches, schools or markets, they use the standard language. I sometimes see its words in the textbooks. For example, for the word 'earth' the writers use the standard word *bitta* and then they put the Ganta word 'saka' in a bracket. This is not important I think. But even the Ganta dialect speakers do not feel sorry if it is not included in the standard because they can speak the standard Gamo even more than we can do. They can speak, read, write and listen to it. Even the Ganta children can understand the standard language. It is an additional language for them so there is no problem if it is not included in the standard language' (Mihret, Nov. 2015).

The interviewee tried to justify the reasons why the Ganta dialect was not included in the standard norm of Gamo. In her view, Ganta is a slang used among smaller groups of community. So, including it in the standard form was not believed to be important in any aspect. That means, the contribution of including the Ganta dialect features into the standard language to the social and cognitive development of the students was not recognized. The language ideology reflected towards the Ganta dialect verifies the presence of erasure of linguistic variation. As Irvine and Gal (2000: 38) describe it, "Facts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme either go unnoticed or get explained away. So, for example, a social group or a language may be imagined homogeneous, its internal variation disregarded." The participants did not consider the myriad linguistic variation between Ganta and the standard Gamo even though they did not deny that they could not understand the Ganta dialect. They rather focused on the point that Ganta was spoken by a smaller portion of the society who could still speak the standard norm well.

Similar social attitudes towards standardization of minority languages can also be cited from other contexts. For instance, a dialect of English in USA, which they name as AAVE (African American Vernacular English), was viewed, by many white English speakers, as a difficult dialect not comprehensible to a listener. One of the major points Cooke (2007:259) highlights out of the debates emerged on the AAVE dialect says, "Many people believe that listeners cannot understand Ebonics." The writer mentions that when a school in Oakland, California State, decided to include AAVE into a classroom system, many people resisted the idea saying that it is a difficult language as well as a slang that does not deserve to be used and taught in formal settings like schools. Cooke (2007:259) quotes a comment from Sneider (1996:1) that says, "I think it's tragic. . . . These are kids [who] have gotten themselves into this trap of speaking this

language this slang, really – that people can't understand. Now we are going to legitimize it.” These kinds of attitudes towards including diverse varieties of a language into an existing standard language are, hence, wide and common in the international context, as well.

A language serves in social contexts which hold the power to influence attitudes towards the codes. In this aspect, Holmes (1973: 132) says, “The contexts in which certain speech codes are habitually used will generally influence attitude towards these codes.” In other words, languages which are used in domestic or local situations are going to be always considered as low status codes. On the other hand, if a language is used in a situation where high human development is demonstrated, the code is going to be taken as a developed and an advanced language. From this understanding, one can say that the situation of Ganta to remain a village language for a long time not codified in the school textbooks and included in the standard language has badly affected the social attitude towards it. Had the standardization introduced some of its words from time to time, these kinds of attitudes towards the dialect could have been avoided or at least minimized.

Only two respondents of the focus group discussion believed that since Gantas are part of the Gamo community, they should not be excluded from the language development process. They felt that excluding Ganta from standard Gamo may create ethnic disintegration and separation. A participant from Dache dialect here stands for the inclusion of Ganta features in the standard norm saying:

(65) *ahun ine yāmask'āmit't'āw nāgār ahun kāhullum kāhullum k'wank'wawofff tāf'āfilik'o kätāwāsādä tāmariwofff anbibāw mäs'ihafu kätāzāgadzä tāmariwofff anbibāw liyagäñnut yiiffilallu gin hibrätäsäbu mawäk' silāmayiiffil hibräsäbu mārāddat bāmiiiffilāw mängäd bizāgadz t'iru nāw biyā asballāhu dāgmo yāmiif'āmīrāw nāgār ahun gantijña läñña ayigābanim bilān binwäsīd kānnässu k'wank'wa kalitāwāsādä innässu bāgamo wist' allān malāt ayiiffilum kānnässu linwäsīd kaliiffaln innässu allān malāt silāmayiiffilu iñnannim bāmāyigodan mängäd kinnässu k'wank'wa māwwässād allābbät lähibirätäsäbu bāmīgäba mängäd mäsäbsäb wāyīm māwwässād allābatiffāw biyyä ask'āmit't'allāhu*

‘What I want to put is that if the standard language mixes from other dialects to prepare textbooks, students may understand the dialect from publications like dictionaries. But the other society does not know Ganta. If we do leave Gantas by saying it is difficult and not known for us, the Ganta speakers do not feel that they belong to Gamo. They cannot identify themselves with Gamo unless the

standard language takes words from their dialect as well. I think Ganta words should be taken into the standard language in a system that does not harm our dialects. A system that does not totally change the established standard should be devised' (Abate, Nov. 2015).

In excerpt 60, the same participant resisted the inclusion of Ganta dialect in the standard norm. He, however, became flexible through discussions and started to support the inclusion of the dialect in a systematic way. The participant tried to emphasize on the function of the standard language to maintain ethnic identity and solidarity among the Gamo social members. He believed that the solidarity among the society can be maintained by increasing participation of different dialect groups including Ganta in the standard norm.

Other respondents who supported the inclusion of Ganta words in the standard norm restricted that Ganta words should not be written as main words, but they should be placed in brackets next to the standard ones. Using Ganta words as alternative forms in brackets was seen as a technique that does not harm the major standard varieties. Bekele (Dec. 2015) a Kucha dialect speaker, agreed with the inclusion of Ganta words in the standard language but limited them to be used in brackets as alternatives:

(66) *yaw yägantijñaw ganta bājña wist' yallä k'wank'wa näw bihonim bäk'innif wist' bigäba ffiggir yälläm gin k'ät't'ita issu kätäs'afä läjña ayigäbanm siläzih bäk'inif wist' binor ffiggir yälläm*

'Since Ganta is a dialect in us, it can be used in the textbooks in brackets but if it is written directly or alone in the books, we do not understand it.'

gantijña mädzämäriya hono yännanitä bäk'innif wist' bik'amät't'is?

'What if Ganta is written first and your dialects placed in brackets?'

ijña issun linawk' anffilm yännässu mädzämäriya kätäs'afä yäjñaw bizu näwa säw bäbzat yämiyawk'äw yäjñaw näw siläzih yännässu k'innif wist' bihon ffiggir yälläm bizu säw yäminnagäräw yäjñaw näw

'If theirs is written first in the textbooks we cannot know the meanings of the words. And our dialect has many speakers. The majority knows ours. So, there is no problem if theirs is provided in a bracket.'

The participant wanted to emphasize the importance of translating Ganta words into the other dialects. Since he already claimed, with the others, that he did not know Ganta, he inquired for translation if standard words are taken from the Ganta dialect. It was however, not only

translation issue that mattered. The position given to the words also reflected the respondents' attitude towards the status of the standard forms. For the respondents, putting dialectal forms in main places and standard words in brackets symbolizes taking an established higher status from the standard norms and giving it away to the non standard words. All in all, most of the respondents did not want to abandon the established standard system. From their attitude, it can be said that they wanted to build on the ground that is already laid.

It should be noted that language is a mechanism to include or exclude individuals or groups into national or social systems (Crowley, 2003:56). Acceptance is also a major aspect of language standardization that leads the efforts into success. Therefore, the data indicate that attitudes respondents held towards Ganta were multifaceted that they make norm selection in the standardization process of Gamo a bit challenging. In addition to the social attitudes, the attested linguistic variations between Ganta and the standard language make the inclusion process very complex. Deciding on the forms of the dialects to be included in the standard norm is not a simple task. Words of the standard language and the Ganta dialect have got a complex relationship that a similar word may have a different grammatical construction in the two dialects. So, if one tries to entirely mix Ganta words with the standard norm, they risk rejection from the majority of the society.

In the present research, there was also an effort to know the role Dache could play in the standardization process of Gamo. From its historical background and from the current situation, the Dache dialect may play a significant symbolic role in the standardization process of Gamo. For this reason, respondents were asked to show to what extent they could agree on taking Dache still a baseline dialect to the standard Gamo language. To the item that stated "one of the dialects spoken by the majority of the people, like Dache, can be used to base the standard norm of Gamo", the majority of the respondents, 208 (61.2%), were positive towards the selection of Dache as a norm up on which standard Gamo should be based. It is also important that a little more than a quarter of the respondents, 89 (26.2%), disagreed to this point and some of them, 43 (12.6 %), said that they could not make a decision on that. The data supplement that the majority of the respondents had a positive attitude to the establishment of standard Gamo on the Dache dialect. They considered Dache to be a dialect that could help them to be united and integrated as it is a means of inter-dialect communication. Even those respondents who supported the

inclusion of dialectal features in the standard norm repeatedly mentioned that the established norm should not be abolished but be made open to accept the others. As has been shown earlier (4.3), the Dache dialect covers many districts in Gamo and bears a lot of similarity to the dialects spoken in different areas. Hence, this dialect may serve as a base and can play tremendous social functions to bring all of the Gamo language speakers into one language center.

From these data it could be said that the participants did not oppose if the norms of the standard language continue to depend highly on the Dache dialect, but they demanded that the norm should include features of other dialects so that their prevalence in the language is acknowledged and the diversity of Gamo is made known to everyone. The majority were pro the inclusion of diverse forms in the rules of the standard norm.

One thing that went in line to their need to include various features into the standard norm was their willingness to tolerate dialect variants. More than half of the respondents, 180 (52.9%), agreed to the statement that checked on their decision to allow the reduction of some words of their dialects from the standard norm. Again, more than a quarter of the respondents, 122 (35.9%), did not like the idea of dialect reduction. Some of them, 38 (11.2%), did not make any decision. The data show that though a bit more than half of the respondents agreed that the standard language may include features of other dialects while at the same time reducing some of their features, the number of those who disagreed to this decision was meaningful too. We can understand from the respondents' feeling that deciding to give up one's language feature is not that simple.

In the interviews and focus group discussion as well, respondents reflected a mixed attitude towards dialect inclusion and exclusion. Most of the teachers were positive that since the standardization was meant for the benefit of the speakers, they did not regret if some of their dialectal features were reduced from the standard language (See Meskele, Manna, Dec.2015; Appendix F). However, student respondents were very sensitive and some were even very angry about the idea of omitting their dialect features out of the standard language to include others (see Hailu, Tadesse, Almaz, Nov. 2015; Appendix D). These student respondents who resisted the idea of displacing some linguistic features from standard Gamo and replacing them with others were the Dache dialect speakers. They still wanted Dache to continue as the unquestioned

standard norm of Gamo. They did not support the concept of dialect reduction lest the Dache dialect should lose its present prestigious social status.

It is important to recommend that if the standard language has to include new dialectal features as much as possible, speakers should understand that there is always reduction of the others. Inclusion of dialectal forms and social participation cannot be realized without involving exclusion of the counterparts. The explanation may go like if words or some grammatical forms of the Ochollo or the Kucha dialect have to be included in the standard norm, equivalent Dache words or grammatical forms have to be reduced. It should, therefore, be emphasized that there is always something to be given up for something better to come out. If standard Gamo has to be established in a polycentric and inclusive way just like what many other languages of the world have done, speakers must tolerate the inclusion of dialectal features in some texts.

The reduction of some dialects to include the others into the standard norm was not really seen positively especially from the students' side. So, the other option could be to introduce some linguistic items as parallel forms of the standard language. There was an effort to gather data on respondents' views on using parallel standards as an alternative. The majority of the respondents, 269 (79.1%), preferred the use some forms of Gamo like the sounds /t/ and /ts/ as standard norms. Very few of the respondents, 46 (13.5%), did not like the idea of using parallel standards and small number of them, 20 (5.9%), could not decide. The data indicate that the respondents were positive if the norm selection policy allowed some dialects which embrace social concerns to be part of standard uses. They were happy if the policy permits writers of different dialects to maintain either of the forms in their practices. This allocation in fact has to be wisely managed in textbook productions since the education sector should maintain stable knowledge. The majority of the respondents, 212 (62.4%), also considered creating a standard dialect that fits to the language needs of divergent Gamo dialect speakers, like Ganta, to be a solution. More than a quarter of them, 97 (28.5%), did not like the idea of devising an independent written standard to divergent dialects of Gamo. In an earlier item (item 26) most of the respondents to the qualitative data already showed resistance to the inclusion of the Ganta dialect into the standard form of Gamo. So, they thought that developing a standard language that fully entertains the language needs and rights of divergent dialect speakers is a good option for both groups. The data provides a ground for the Gamo language standardizers to look for possible ways of developing divergent

dialects of Gamo like Ganta and the related ones through an approach that accounts both social and linguistic factors.

5.6.3. Dialect Preference to Base Standard Gamo

In one way or in another, the foregoing sections presented respondents' attitude and their needs towards the standardization of Gamo. One related issue that could come under their need of norm selection is their choice of a dialect to be promoted as a standard norm of Gamo. The majority have actually favored the Dache dialect to continue basing standard Gamo. Though they highly wanted other dialectal features to be introduced in the standard, they still chose Dache to be the widely used standard norm of Gamo. Though we have this knowledge about dialect preference for promotion, the following section still aims to give freedom to different dialect speakers to directly put the dialect they wanted to be the major source of standard norms in Gamo. Their responses to item 31 that asks, " which dialect should be used as a standard norm of Gamo?" are crosstabulated with their dialects and compiled in the following table.

Respondents' dialects		Dache	Dorze	Ochollo	Ganta	Kucha	a neutral standard	Other	Total
Dache	No.	71	-	-	-	1	9	1	82
	%	86.6				1.2	11	1.2	100
Dorze	No.	26	18	3	-	1	12	5	65
	%	40	27.7	4.6		1.5	18.5	7.7	100
Ochollo	No.	5	5	16	4	2	27	1	60
	%	8.3	8.3	26.7	6.7	3.3	45	1.7	100
Ganta	No.	10	-	2	12	1	23	1	49
	%	20.4		4.1	24.5	2	46.9	2	100
Kucha	No.	15	3	4	-	23	14	1	60
	%	25	5	6.7		38.3	23.3	1.7	100
Other	No.	4	2	-	1	-	11	6	24
	%	16.7	8.3	-	4.2		45.8	25	100
Total	No.	131	28	25	17	28	96	15	340
	%	38.5	8.2	7.4	5	8.2	28.2	4.4	100

Table 32: Dialect preference for standardization among different dialect respondents

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	338.111 ^a	30	.000
N of Valid Cases	340		

a. 25 cells (59.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.06.

Table 32 proves that the majority of the respondents from the Dache dialect, 71 (86.6%), and the Dorze dialect, 26 (40%), preferred the Dache dialect itself to persist its position as a standard norm of Gamo. In the same way, a good size of the Kucha dialect, 15 (25%) and the Ganta dialect, 10 (20.4%), respondents showed positive attitude towards Dache. On the other hand, the majority of the Ochollo dialect, 27(45%) and the Ganta dialect, 23 (46.9%), respondents favored the standard norm of Gamo to be neutral to all dialect speakers. That means they wanted standard norms of Gamo to be equally taken from all of the prevailing dialects. More than a quarter of respondents from the Kucha dialect, 23 (38.3%), the Dorze dialect, 18 (27.7%), the Ochollo dialect, 16 (26.7%), and the Ganta dialect,12 (24.4%), chose their own respective dialect to base standard Gamo. The difference between different dialect speakers on their preference of a standard norm is highly significant that the Chi-Square test is $\chi^2=338$, $df = 30$, $Sig=.000$.

It can be inferred from the data that the majority of the Dache dialect and the Dorze dialect speakers wanted the Dache dialect to continue being the standard norm of Gamo. However, the majority of the respondents from the Ochollo and the Ganta dialects preferred the standard norm to be the one that fairly mixes from various dialects. In order to clearly figure out respondents' standard norm choices, it is important to see how many votes each choice got. It is indicated in Table 31 that the form of a standard that was preferred by the greater number of respondents was the Dache dialect (131 or 38.5%). More than a quarter of the respondents, 96 (28.2%), also wanted the standard norm to be formed from a combination of the dialects. All the other dialects were chosen by less than ten percent of the total respondents. The data shows that the majority of the respondents wanted standard Gamo to include features of various dialects and at the same time they did not want to abandon Dache, the central dialect. Again, in the present item (item

31), both Dache and a neutral dialect were preferred by the majority of the respondents. Its past sociohistorical contexts and its level of codification in textbooks might have bestowed Dache with the popular acceptance. The ones who wanted Dache to be the standard one might have felt that creating a new standard may destruct the already established system and may pose a new kind of challenge to the users. On the other hand, those who favored a mixed standard, especially the Ganta and the Ochollo dialect respondents, were the ones who had great passion to see their dialects included in a better way in the standard norm. In order to reconcile these varied needs, it is important to design a strategy that maintains the position of the Dache dialect as a base to standard Gamo and mix standard norms of other dialects in the standard language. Forming a standard that is neutral to the dialects seems challenging and costly because the respondents already did not will to take the Ganta dialect into the standard norm. In addition, since the rest of the other dialects have minor variations from the standard norm, so what is more feasible is to represent these significant variations in the standard norm.

Generally, the discussions in this chapter considered attitudes towards Gamo and its standardization. The data showed that Gamo was widely used in the spoken domain, in particular, among close social groups like friends and family members. However, the respondents' chance to prefer Gamo to listen or read materials was discouraged by the lack of adequate materials in the language. The respondents also preferred Amharic to contact their absent family members, but Gamo was also used to write some personal information. Further, attitudes towards Gamo proved to be very positive. The respondents reflected favorable feelings towards their language, but they were not happy about its level of standardization to express scientific and technological concepts. The respondents preferred a polycentric norm selection method in the standardization process of Gamo. They wanted features of their dialects to be taken as part of the standard norms. These preferences remind us that further standardization endeavors should consider the possibility of including dialect features in the standard norm.

Chapter Six

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

6.0. Introduction

This final chapter of the dissertation puts a recap of what has been done in the thesis from the beginning to the end. It provides with a summary of main concepts that came out of the data and the discussions. The summary section tries to revise significant activities included in the whole scenario. The conclusions drawn from the data analysis are presented in the conclusion section. The section tries to connect the results with the questions they addressed. In the end, the chapter forwards possible recommendations that could be considered to improve the language standardization process of Gamo. It forwards suggestions that different stakeholders involved in the development process of Gamo may take into consideration.

6.1 Summary

This research was undertaken in an attempt to describe the major social related challenges of language standardization in Gamo. The research focused on norm selection and norm acceptance or attitude phases of language standardization. One of the pressing issues in norm selection and standardization of a language is acceptance of the standard norm by the speech community. It is believed that studying social attitudes and their needs towards language standardization are significant to increase our knowledge of language acceptance. Hence, the study envisioned to cast major events of language standardization in Gamo.

Since its introduction as a medium of instruction in early primary education, Gamo passed through different processes of standardization. It is codified in school textbooks and other few literary materials, given as an independent subject in upper primary and high school classes, and promoted to be studied at higher education level. It is argued that the placement of Gamo into these different functional domains makes its standardization very pertinent. The standardization process should consider the social attitudes and needs of the speakers at the grassroots level.

The research was led by three principal concepts anchored in the research questions that asked: Which dialect bases the standard norm of Gamo? And what criteria are put in place to select one of the dialects? What are the social challenges that accompany the standardization process of

Gamo? How do selection policies and the social attitudes and needs towards Gamo and its standardization interplay? Is there any better way to standardize Gamo? Relevant data which would provide possible answers to these questions and inform the research were gathered using a mixed method approach where both quantitative and qualitative data gathering techniques were applied. The qualitative data came from interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis while the quantitative data were drawn from a questionnaire survey.

The research first dealt with identifying the dialect or dialects that base standard Gamo in written texts and assessed the selection process. The section critically analyzed the development path of Gamo as a standard language from its amalgamation with the other North Omoto languages up to its independent standardization history. The main data used in this section came from words collected from document analysis, and the discussions were supplemented by other qualitative data obtained from the field work. The words selected from the texts were quantified and presented in a table. They were sorted across five dialects of Gamo namely Dache, Kucha, Ochollo, Dorze and Ganta. Besides, in the section which dealt with norm selection in Gamo, the role of other languages like Amharic and English on the standardization process of Gamo was explored. The research tried further to scrutinize the social foundations of norm selection in Gamo.

The other major concern of the research was norm acceptance in Gamo. Norm acceptance was scrutinized through studying respondents' attitude towards the standard language and its standardization process. The social needs of language standardization were compared with the language standardization decisions made from above. Based on the data acquired about these two major thematic areas so far, number of conclusions and possible recommendations were forwarded.

6.2 Conclusions

Analysis of the quantitative and the qualitative data enabled to draw the following conclusions about norm selection and norm acceptance in the standardization process of Gamo.

- From the document analysis and the other qualitative and quantitative data, it is possible to point out that the Gamo language has a standard variety that is used mainly in written texts and in inter-dialect spoken communications. One of the major drawbacks in the

standardization process was identified to be inconsistent application of the standard norm in the textbooks. A word was spelled differently and used with varied grammatical items that came from different dialects. For instance, the meaning ‘that said’ is once written using the form *gizay* and again as *giyay* at another place. This situation obliges one to conclude that the stability of the standard norm in the written domain was at an early stage of establishment.

- The research also revealed that the standard norm of Gamo was mainly based on the Dache dialect. The document analysis and the social ideology gathered from the qualitative data indicated that the Dache dialect was considered as a central dialect understood by many Gamo language speakers. It was the only one that shared many linguistic items with different dialects of the language. For that reason, Dache was used as a major source of standard norms in Gamo. It meets the criteria specified on the definitions of a standard dialect like the one given for standard English by Trudgill (1995:5–6), quoted in Wardhaugh (2006:35):

Standard English is that variety of English which is usually used in print, and which is normally taught in schools and to non-native speakers learning the language. It is also the variety which is normally spoken by educated people and used in news broadcasts and other similar situations.

Dache plays all the educational and social roles in Gamo area. It is the Gamo variety used in textbooks and other publications. Its norms cover wider geographical areas than the norms of the other dialects do, it is learnt by second language Gamo speakers, and it is a means of inter- dialect communication in public settings.

- The major social conditions that influenced the selection of standard norms in Gamo were individuals’ role in the standardization process of Gamo in textbooks added to the geographical coverage of the dialect that resulted from sociohistorical processes. Dache had all these social privileges and gained a standard position. It was first used by an envoy selected to standardize Gamo with the other North Ometo languages, and after that other standardizers followed the same path since it was historically spread into many districts where the Gamo language speakers occupy. The decision to maintain the already

existing standard variety in fact facilitated the standardization process and reduced some social inconveniences that could have arisen had a new standard form been introduced in the mother tongue education.

- Other dialects like Kucha, Ochollo and Dorze shared with Dache most of the words used in the texts. Those words which make one of these dialects different from the other had the same lexical base in most cases but differ in their phonetic and morphological process. Very few words were used with the grammatical features of Kucha, Ochollo and Dorze, and Ganta words used in the texts were insignificant. Some of the research participants, especially the Ochollo dialect speakers, were dissatisfied that their dialects were not fairly included in the standard norm. An Ochollo dialect speaker said the following about Ochollo and Ganta:

*(67) ahun yädzämärut bätäffalä mät'an akkatto yämäsratun nägär näw ahun
nägäru golto altayyäm näw offollijña algäbbam sil offollijña bädänb golto
altayyäm indäzihu yägantijñaw altayyäm sil yälläm ayiddälläm yäne hassab
mindinäw bätäffalä mät'an k'alatoffun bätäffalä mät'an iyabäzu makkatät
alläbät*

'They have now started to include other dialects in the standardization process as much as they could, but the inclusion is insignificant. When I say Ochollo is not incorporated in the standard norm, I mean the inclusion is not significant. When I say Ochollo and Ganta are not used, I do not mean they are not available at all, but I mean that they are not proportionally incorporated. The number of words included in the standard language should be increased as much as possible' (Kaleb, Dec. 2015).

Even those few varieties of Kucha, Ochollo and Dorze, and of course Ganta, were neither systematically selected and nor consistently applied. A concept was expressed in a word from one dialect at one time and in a word from another dialect at another time. These inconsistent applications of words in the texts reduced stability of the standard language and the chance for those dialectal forms to maintain themselves as standard uses. Selections of norms from dialect features were not systematic because most of the dialectal features included in the standard norm, like the Kucha grammar form {-naw} which adds 'to-' into verbs, were not the focuses of public controversies. The participants

of the Kucha dialect speakers valued phonological differences than morphological variations.

- On the other hand, the Ganta dialect shared small number of the words used in the standard language. The Ganta words were sometimes replaced by their equivalent forms of the standard norm just as were words of the other dialects. When Ganta words are used in parallel with Dache words, their chance to maintain a standard position in public use gets small.
- Based on its scope of dialect inclusion, the present process of language standardization in Gamo can be characterized by dialect convergence. As shown above, the standardization process followed a monocentric approach to select standard norms in the textbook preparation. This implies that the standardization activity did not address the linguistic needs of different dialect speaking communities. Especially the prospect of the Ganta and other related dialects of Gamo in the standardization process is vague or unknown.
- Unlike the former standard languages such as DaGaGo and WoGaGoDa, a formal or planned procedure was not reported to be followed in the standardization process of Gamo. Such situation, apparently, created chaos in the preparation of textbooks. Unplanned language standardization is a fact in other societies as well. Ouane (1991:5) describes the Mali language situation where a planned norm selection procedure was not executed and the written productions remained awkward:

...it was decided from the outset not to operate a selection between the languages, but to give rather equal chance of promotion to all of the existing languages. It is obvious that such an approach could have not been adopted towards the different dialects of each of these languages. The need, thus, for a selection.

- One major factor that challenged the norm selection and standardization in Gamo was the degree of its dialectalization and absence of clear decisions that fix standard forms to be used across publications. Wondimu (2010) enumerates more than 42 dialects of Gamo. The number of the dialects involved in the language, the social meanings attached to

them and the methods followed to mediate these dialectal variations in the norm selection make the standardization process of Gamo so demanding. Some dialect speakers developed a feeling of being excluded from the language development process, and they started to resist the implementation of a standard language in education. Degree of dialectalization and the related social values are also the main drawbacks to set standardization policy in Mali languages (Ouane, 1991:6).

- The other challenge to fix standardization in Gamo came from the widely used languages like Amharic and English. Many Amharic and English words were used in the textbooks, and most of the respondents preferred to write in these languages. In fact, speakers have the cognitive freedom to exercise their multilingual skills in language choice. But the long trend to use Amharic and English as languages of one's literacy influenced textbook writers to have more confidence on these languages to express concepts than in Gamo. Even when a concept could be referred to in Gamo, a lot of Amharic words were used alongside the Gamo terms. Establishing consistency in a standard language is in fact a matter of time and process, so it may not be realized within a short history of language standardization. Other languages also passed through the same scenario. For instance, in relation to Macedonian language standardization, Koneski (1945: 34), cited in Kramer (2008:40), accepts, "Of course, a language does not form a literary language in a day. Time will have to pass before all the forms of the literary language would be strictly applied." Considering the duration of standardization in Gamo, the use of Amharic and English features could be accepted as an unavoidable part of the process itself. However, overusing other languages for a minor reason in the textbooks is a potential challenge to the standardization process of Gamo and a burden to the students. The words also play other social roles. They continue to maintain the positive attitude towards themselves than the target words and their source languages. In contrast, the practice discourages the development and transmission of indigenous knowledge through the indigenous language.
- The other social factor that would contribute a lot to the standardization of Gamo is its role in the public and private communication sectors. In terms of this, the majority of the

respondents, (79.5%), said that they always used Gamo to speak to other members of their family and close friends. They (62.3%) also acknowledged that they often read written materials, mainly educational resources, in their own language. It was only some of the respondents (38.9%) who often listened to audiovisual materials in Gamo. Most of them (52.6%) reasoned out that lack of published resources in Gamo affected their interaction to their language.

- When it comes to writing, Amharic was reported to be the language most often used (36.5%) to write to others. The major social background that resulted in variation in language use among the respondents was their occupation. The majority of teacher respondents (54.5%) frequently used Amharic to send written messages to others and 32.1% of the students did the same. The data confirm the claim that as one advances in education, they incline to prefer more standardized languages as means of expressing literacy knowledge.

- During the interviews and focus group discussions, the majority of both teachers and students mentioned that they did not write in Gamo except in the mother tongue classrooms. Teachers and students had given various justifications to explain why they used Amharic most often than Gamo to write to others. Some of the teachers showed unfavorable attitude towards the orthography of the Gamo language. They said that writing in Gamo takes time and consumes space for the orthography uses diagraphs, consonant gemination and vowel lengthening. To avoid such circumstances, the respondents preferred to write in Amharic. They also stated that since they had frequent interaction to Amharic through publications like books, magazines and news papers, and since the linguistic landscape of Gamo uses Amharic and English, they had high motivation and encouragement to use and master these languages than Gamo. That means the media made the route to literacy in Amharic easier, but have had less contribution to improve one's literacy skill in Gamo. On the other hand, one of the major reasons that impeded the chance of students' from using Gamo to write to others was their elders or parents' illiteracy in Gamo. They said that most of the elders read and write in Amharic

but not in Gamo. That forced the students to implement Amharic in writing messages more often than Gamo.

- Attitudes of respondents towards the Gamo language and its standardization process were also considered to be significant factors in the standardization endeavors. The kind of attitude they hold about Gamo determines the destiny of the standardization. The data generally allow us to claim that the majority of the respondents held positive attitude towards their language. They were, however, very skeptical about the adequacy of the standardization activities to upgrade the Gamo language into a vehicle for knowledge of science and technology. The steady development of Gamo in written and spoken publications and the related shortage of adequate terms for science and technology affected the respondents' attitude towards considering Gamo as a standard language of modern life demonstration. The respondents were aware of the presence of a standard norm that is mainly applied in the education sector. But they added that in order to be a fully standardized language, Gamo needs to be promoted in the wider written and spoken communication channels like Amharic and English languages. They criticized that the standard norm was not promoted in the wider public. The data point out that a lot of activities have to be carried out in order to establish the figure of Gamo as a standard language of wider communication and to change the attitude of the public.
- Though its role as a means of every day communication and a channel of information is limited, standard Gamo was perceived to mark a social identity. The majority of the respondents, (69.1%), accepted standard Gamo used in mother tongue education to mark their ethnic and regional identity. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the generic name Gamo ascribed to the standard language helped to unite and integrate the society and establish a holistic ethnic identity. Though respondents identified themselves with the standard language, they were dissatisfied about the process of its standardization. They felt that the standardization process did not include their dialectal features. In this regard, no significant variation was attested among responses of different dialect speakers; nevertheless, in the interviews and focus group discussions, speakers of Ochollo and

Ganta dialects commented that features of their respective dialects were neglected in the standardization process. Though Ochoollo shared with Dache many of the words used in the written texts analyzed, Ochoollo participants appeared to be very sensitive on the forms that make their dialect unique from the standard norm. These sentiments towards the standard norm can be considered as great challenges to its acceptance in the respective areas. In general, it is possible to understand that regardless of their dialect variation, respondents endorsed the standard language of Gamo to be their identification and a means of ethnic unity and cohesion.

- It was found out that more than half of the teachers (52.3%) believed that implementation of standard Gamo hinders some dialect speakers to understand lessons delivered in the standard language, but the majority of the students (62.1%) did not think the standard language to impede education of different dialect speakers. The data show that as one's exposure to different dialects of Gamo increases, they become highly informed about the difficulties that students of different dialect speakers could experience due to medium of instruction.
- On the other hand, the majority of, Ochoollo, Ganta, Kucha and Dorze dialect speakers considered the standard language to be different from the dialects they speak at home and in their villages. The responses from Dorze and Kucha dialect speakers were not, however, substantiated by the qualitative data. During interviews and focus group discussions, speakers of the Kucha dialect limited the difference between their dialect and the standard language to be mainly phonological. They did not take the difference to deter adults to comprehend the standard language, but they were worried that children of early grade levels could not comprehend lessons delivered in the standard language. Respondents of Dorze and Dache dialects accepted the standard language to be the same to the dialect they speak at home places. During face to face discussions, only Ganta and Ochoollo dialect speakers claimed the standard Gamo to be different from the one they use at home or in their neighborhoods. They said that they did not use standard Gamo to speak to their family members or friends from the same dialectal background. Moreover, Ganta dialect speakers put that they learnt the standard language after they joined school.

They had limited exposure of the standard language before they went to schools. The data generally informs one that the majority of the respondents highly valued and focused on dialect features that were not included in the standard norm than the ones they shared with it.

- Regarding the respondents' opinion about the need for standardization, the majority of the participants (87.9%) were positive about the decision to standardize Gamo. They expressed a great ambition to see their language more upgraded to high levels like the other developed languages of the country. This reflects the respondents' willingness to support and cooperate with further language development efforts. They wished to participate in the standardization efforts because they trusted standard Gamo to play multiple symbolic and instrumental roles in the history of the society. They believed that the standard language is a symbol of unity and identity to the Gamo society.

- The respondents' opinions and the approaches used to select standard norms in Gamo were found to be at odds. While written standards were selected following a monocentric method from part of the Gamo area, mainly from the Dache dialect, the participants of this research wanted the standard norm to be participatory that enacts the rights of diverse dialect speakers. In relation to this, more than three fourth of the participants (84.1%) preferred a polycentric technique of selecting norms among the Gamo alternates. They proposed a gradual introduction of dialectal forms into the standard language to lay the grounds for dialectal equality. This demand requires all the stakeholders of standardization to improve the current situation in the education sector.

- With regard to maintaining the established standard norms, a very striking result was found. The majority of the respondents (61.2%) wanted the Dache dialect to continue to base standard Gamo. The majority of different dialect speakers (38.5%), especially the Dache (86.6%) and the Dorze (40%) dialect speakers, also preferred Dache among the other dialects to be promoted into the standard position and base the standard Gamo form. From this, it can be concluded that Dache has gained a good level of social acceptance as a standard dialect of wider communication in Gamo. It is also possible to

understand that though they insisted for inclusion of dialectal features, the respondents preferred to maintain the already established culture of language standardization and to avoid a major change in it.

- However, the respondents had some reservations concerning introduction of features of different dialects in the standard norm. During the interviews and focus group discussions, almost all of the participants did not support the Ganta dialect to be mixed with the present standard Gamo. They defended their position by saying that the majority of the Gamo language speakers do not understand Ganta. Ganta dialect speakers themselves, who participated in the research, did not want to stand for inclusion of Ganta words in standard Gamo for they thought that other dialect speakers did not understand it. From their stance, it can be concluded that public attitude towards including the Ganta dialect and learning it in the standard norm of Gamo is unfavorable.

- Some linguistic items of Gamo, the sounds like /ts/ and /dz/, were believed to be anchored with the Gamo identity while their counter parts /t/ and /z/ were understood as borrowed features. So, maintaining the use of the former phonemes in the standard norm was taken to consolidate the ethnolinguistic bond. Throughout the discussions the respondents took phonological variations to be the critical elements to group the Gamo dialects. As Hymes (1974:123), cited in Wardhaugh (2006:26) asserts, "...a difference of accent may be as important at one boundary as a difference of grammar at another." The respondents generally understood the Gamo dialects as highland and lowland varieties. In their perception, highland varieties included dialects spoken in the highland Gamo areas such as Ditta, Daramalo, Chenchu, Bonke, Kamba and Arbaminch Zuria districts. Lowland varieties, as to the participants' classification, are the ones spoken in Kucha, Mirab Abaya and Boroda districts. The participants, then, considered the Kucha dialect to be a major challenge to decide on a common standard norm to Gamo since its sound features are different from the rest. The Ganta dialect was not considered a problem at all because it shares similar sounds with the Dache dialect. This public perception of the Gamo dialects is not parallel to what many researchers believe. As to the linguists, the variation between

Kucha and the others like Dache and Dorze dialects is not complex as compared to the difference between these dialects and the Ganta dialect.

6.3 Recommendations

The ultimate goal of a sociolinguistic research is to forward some possible suggestions to overcome the problems it identified and analyzed. In this research as well, a number of points are believed to contribute to the improvement efforts of language standardization in Gamo. At first, general recommendations as to how to promote the Gamo language in the wider public are proposed. Later on, some comments are reflected towards norm selection and norm acceptance in the language.

Issues that need to be considered in the standardization process of Gamo may include, but not limited to, the following general points.

6.3.1. General Considerations

- **Consent among stakeholders:** Language standardization is a process that requires many individuals and institutions to coordinate and work hand in hand. The decisions involved in language standardization cannot be handled by a single sector. The social and language related decisions should be carefully scrutinized in a coordinated effort of stakeholders, like the public, the government, individuals, writers and researchers. They should reach agreement on the objectives and directions of language standardization. These bodies are believed to know the social and language related factors affected by the phenomenon. As some scholars describe it, framing a language policy to choose an alternate from a given ones involves a meticulous work that “requires an attempt to predict what will occur if certain aspects of the language situation are modified in certain directions (Kaplan, 1990:8).” Language standardization is obviously a deliberate effort to introduce change in the linguistic practices of a society. So, in order to carefully plan the standard, experts from different fields of study such as politicians, historians, linguists, anthropologists etc, need to participate. That enables to investigate the possible effects of language standardization on several aspects of a society.

- In the standardization of Gamo, not only specialists of different scientific fields are required, but also delegates who are native in different dialects of the language and the whole speakers at large should participate in the process. Røyneland (2013) considers that the process of revising standard Norwegian gained considerable acceptance due to the involvement of different people from different walks of life and inclusion of social views in the process. A similar and good result will be achieved if public participation is increased on the standardization process of Gamo. Participants of this research also highlighted that speakers of different dialects should participate in the textbook preparation projects. Their participation helps to identify the possible language elements of each dialect to be selected as part of the standard norm.
- Consider the language ecology: It is also essential that language standardization in Gamo should take into account the ecology of the language, i.e., the composition of its speakers, the degrees of variation in the dialects, language use and attitude of native and second language speakers towards Gamo. The empirical data presented in this research about attitudes of speakers towards the language and its standardization can serve as good source of information to start the improvement process.
- Create awareness: The wider public has to be convinced about the social values of standardizing the Gamo language. They should be informed about the social responsibilities necessary to transform the situation of their language. Everyone should be aware that Gamo can become a fully fledged standardized language of education, literature, science and technology when it is promoted and used by the speakers in different communication domains. Its use in different media of communication builds its prestige and makes the language strong enough to take high domains of function in the landscape, media and education. Therefore, educated people of Gamo speakers should take further endeavor to write and publish different materials in their own language so the standard form could get closer to the users. The publications also motivate the public to spend their resources to standardize the language. It is known that language use determines the attachment a language has with its society and its life span. In relation to this, O'Rourke (2011:12) asserts, "...the survival of a language depends on the degree to which it is used by members of a community." The speakers' willingness and motivation

to practically implement Gamo in their daily life guarantees its standardization. This sociolinguistic situation requires a meaningful connection to be formed between individual's life and their language. Lafon and Webb (2008:16) recommend the promotion of Bantu languages of South Africa in different domains as follows:

...the Bantu languages be used for intellectual purposes, for example in writing, besides school text-books, literary work such as novels and poetry, newspaper articles, tertiary textbooks, philosophical treatises, religious theses, scholarly journals, etc. Accompanying the acquisition of economic and intellectual value will be the acquisition of social value. In such ways, Bantu languages will develop into badges of high social standing.

- Empower the language: The Gamo language needs to be empowered by the resources required for standardization. In this regard, the administration, organizations and public figures are highly accountable to facilitate the linguistic capacity of the language. The administration should plan to support both financially and materially, and encourage writers who write and innovate in Gamo and other less developed languages of the area. Through such and other efforts, the area administration should show its diligence to protect and develop indigenous resources like the languages. Administrative commitment to support language development is evaluated mainly in terms of the resources they spend for the related activities. This has been emphasized by Ginsburgh & Weber (2010:2) who say, "The importance people and countries attach to their native language and culture can also be illustrated by the substantial resources devoted to advertise and promote their culture, language and literature."

As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:66) describe, language standardization is a gradual time and resource demanding process. So, the observed compelling social needs on norm selection and standardization in Gamo and the controversies over norm acceptance oblige it to set short and long term plans as stated in the following way.

6.3.2. Short Term Plans of Language Standardization

The standardization of Gamo was surrounded by different factors that impeded its progress and acceptance by the respective speakers. In order to select an acceptable standard norm, it is very

important that the prevailing challenges should be reduced or overcome. The following points can be considered as indispensable measures that the standardization of Gamo should handle.

6.3.2.1. Norm Selection

- Norm selection in the standardization process of Gamo requires the cooperation and contribution of individuals like teachers, linguists, administration or politicians and ordinary native speakers. It needs a thorough analysis of the symbolic consequences of selecting one form instead of the other.
- As noted by Wardhaugh (2006: 35), language standardization plays diverse roles:

It unifies individuals and groups within a larger community while at the same time separating the community that results from other communities. Therefore, it can be employed to reflect and symbolize some kind of identity: regional, social, ethnic, or religious. A standardized variety can also be used to give prestige to speakers, marking off those who employ it from those who do not, i.e., those who continue to speak a nonstandard variety.

A standard language can be used to establish and signal regional, social, ethnic, etc., identity. On the other hand, it can create a social border line by providing speakers of standard norms with power and prestige, but denying these social privileges for the rest. To overcome such negative consequences and realize social equality, a polycentric approach where features of various dialects are accommodated and harmonized should be followed. From an account of Quecha language standardization, Wolck (1991: 46) suggests,

When searching for the best contemporary or historical variety to standardize one should bear in mind that none of the world's major standard languages is based mostly or entirely on one of its constituent (historical) dialects. It is well known that, standard English, German, or Italian, for example, have grown gradually through a process of amalgamation of features from several different dialects.

If we can see that the most known languages are standardized with a polycentric approach, it is, therefore, ideal to think to base standard Gamo entirely on one dialect and to expect full endorsement from the linguistically diverse society. As history shows,

elevating one of the dialects has already faced many challenges from different dialect speakers. This is time to improve that approach and follow a pro-social way. Instead, maintaining the role of the Dache dialect as a standard base, the lexical features of other dialects should be introduced into the standard Gamo form. This grows the sense of ownership of the standard language and creates equal chance to share the prestige and the power of their language. Further, as McGroarty (1996: 20) indicates, the introduction of “some aspects of a community dialect, such as commonly used lexical items” into the school system creates opportunity for students to comprehend classroom instructions in a better way.

Some other languages used this mixed approach towards standardization and created a common standard to the dialects involved in the language. One such example is the Shona language of Zimbabwe. According to Adegbija (1994:44), Shona:

...was created from several dialects, namely the Zezuru, Karanga, Korekore, Manyika and Ndau dialects. The dialects were said to have an underlying unity of vocabulary and to share particular phonetic and grammatical features. Shona was the name given to the basic dialect agreed upon from the various dialects.

As a multidialectal language, Gamo requires the adoption of such standardization technique. The standardization should take actions to compromise different needs and introduce the ones already ingrained in public use to standard norms of Gamo. For example, from the sociolinguistic data gathered so far, it is possible to recommend that the major public controversies of dialect variants, /ts/and /t/ can be used as parallel standard features of Gamo. This approach was already supported by the majority of the respondents to the questionnaire. On the other hand, throughout the texts analyzed and in the writings of different dialect respondents, the past marker {-d-} has already been maintained and became conventional, and this morpheme can be consistently applied into verbs of written standards. In fact further decisions like this one need additional analysis of the social and linguistic situation of various dialects.

- In fact a more convincing recommendation would be that the democratic and polycentric guideline that allows the inclusion of dialectal features into standard Gamo should be

framed by native speakers who are language experts, politicians and representatives from the grassroots level of the society. They should devise different social, political and linguistic parameters that are built on the goals of standardizing Gamo and that enable selection and harmonization of standard norms from different dialects. The norm selection frameworks should, then, be made open to the wider public, and different comments, opinions and feelings should be welcomed for consideration.

- Textbooks and other learning materials published and distributed centrally by the administrations or institutions should be written in a standard language that applies selected words of different dialects in a consistent manner, and maintains stable use of Gamo in literary works.
- Writers should play a pioneering role to introduce selected dialectal features into publications like literature, dictionaries, newsletters, fliers, etc. A dialect feature introduced in one material should be used consistently throughout the material so that the feature can be taken as the standard use of the writer or the material. These kinds of materials written in local people's vernaculars are believed to facilitate literacy among different dialect speakers. Liang (2015:13) acknowledges the role of texts written in Chinese Vernaculars along with the development of Standard Mandarin as follows:

However, Mandarin was not alone in developing its vernacular written language in this period. Other major dialects, such the *Yue* and *Wu* dialect groups, also had popularised vernacular written languages used in religious texts, local operas, folksongs, and published literature. The circulation of these vernacular written texts helped to spread basic literacy among ordinary people, and contributed to the development and standardisation of the vernacular written languages.

Texts of different kinds produced in dialectal forms of Gamo will have far reaching significance in the knowledge development of the society who speaks the language in a wide degree of variability. They can also introduce different dialectal forms into the standard norm and the standard gradually grows into a common language of different Gamo dialect speakers.

- The folk perception about dialect diversity in Gamo, which goes at odds to the scholarly classification of dialects, should be treated wisely. Public institutions like schools and colleges should inform and positively shape speakers' attitudes towards the dialectal features. As has been suggested in the former general notes, the wisdom to standardize a language with such public controversies comes from experts of different scientific fields.

6.3.2.2. Norm Acceptance

The acceptance process of the standard norm of Gamo as a means of wider communication depends on the extent at which the standardization process is open to include public attitudes and needs. Social attitude towards Gamo is affected by its diffusion in publications, its attachment to every day economic life of the society, its use in print media and its degree of stability.

- It is very important that the surveys done in this and other researches about social attitude towards Gamo and its standardization should be included into further revisions of the process.
- In order to facilitate diffusion of standard Gamo, materials should be published and distributed to the wider population. The materials create opportunities to diverse dialect speakers to explore their potential to think, create, innovate and invent in their own indigenous way.
- As has been noted earlier, Gamo is loosely attached to its speakers' every day written communication. In order to improve this condition, a lot of works that could build a feeling of prestige in one's own language, culture and history should be done. This, again, requires the cooperation of many stakeholders, but the administration should take a leading role in empowering the language by creating opportunities to individuals and institutions who think, create and innovate in the language and want to disseminate their skills and talents via the indigenous language. For instance, Gamos' wealth in knowledge, culture, history, living style, administration, philosophy, etc, can be explored and published in the indigenous language itself so the people could see the language's power to express one's indigenous knowledge and scientific thought.

- Using a language in schools as a medium of instruction is not believed to be sufficient enough to strengthen the sociolinguistic bond. Kamwangamalu and Tovares (2016: 3) urge a further step to be taken as, “Language policies designed to promote use of African languages as the medium of instruction in schools must establish unambiguously that school-acquired knowledge of officialized African languages will be recognized as one of the criteria for access to employment” just as it is done to other languages like English or Amharic acquired in schools. The language skills gained from the school environment always need a meaningful space in the social life. That means they need to be implemented into activities that benefit one financially or materially. Such remarkable investments to lift up the status of the language enable speakers and others to understand the economic advantage of learning the Gamo language.

6.3.3. Long Term Plans

It is obvious that achieving a standard use of a multidialectal language takes time and energy. The following suggestions locate areas that need to be managed through time.

- Due to its divergence from the other dialects and the stance of most of the participants, the Ganta dialect cannot be entirely mixed with the others in the standard norm of Gamo. Ganta root words can be represented in the textbooks, in a better way than they are now, pending the development of a written orthography to the related South Gamo dialects. This makes the standard norm of Gamo impartial and closer to the respective students’ language repertoire. Other researchers also believe in the accommodation of non standard varieties into the school system. For example, considering the multilingual situation of Australian schools, Miller (2003:4) recommends:

Linguistic minority students must achieve self-representation in the dominant discourses of the mainstream language if they are to participate in mainstream social and academic contexts, renegotiate their identities in new places, and accrue the necessary symbolic capital to successfully integrate into school and the wider society.

In the same manner, the Gamo dialects which were considered to be spoken in geographically and demographically limited areas need a fair representation in the school context. This enhances the participation of the respective speakers in the regional and national development.

- There still exists a compelling interest in the participants of this research on the selection of /tʰ/ and /dʒ/ versus /t/ and /z/ sounds. The feelings reflected by the participants suggest that using the /tʰ/ and /dʒ/ sounds in textbooks distributed to the areas where the latter dialects are spoken creates a feeling of disenfranchisement of one's linguistic citizenship. At the same time using the latter varieties in the textbooks of the former dialect speakers makes them unhappy and gives them the feeling of being denied of their linguistic identity. Both features define their respective speakers as Gamo ethnic groups. Therefore, such social evaluations of the linguistic items require that when textbooks are revised and published again in the future, systems that incorporate the varieties into the textbooks should be designed. This can be done by modifying textbook management system. The Education and Training Policy (1994) article 3.8.2 states, "Educational management will be decentralized to create the necessary condition to expand, enrich and improve the relevance, quality, accessibility and equity of education and training." So, one of the best ways to ensure equity of education for the Gamo speakers could be to decentralize textbook management. Administrations of areas where /t/ and /z/ dialect forms are spoken can be given the freedom to edit the Gamo textbooks in a way it responds to their pupil's linguistic rights, and publish and follow up the distribution in the respective schools. In other publications, the freedom should be left for writers to use either of the parallel standard norms. In this way, the standardization can adopt a pluralistic approach.
- It is also important to recognize the cost that publishing two forms of textbooks for a mother tongue education would incur. In order to alleviate the financial questions, in the future, language standardizers and linguists should work together and look for a common orthography that can represent both /t/ and /tʰ/, and /z/ and /dʒ/ and other parallel sounds in one and the same grapheme. The common orthography that can be pronounced in either ways will strengthen the social integration and identity of Gamo, further to its economical benefits. A letter that the Kucha dialect speakers pronounce differently from the others is also available in the present Gamo orthography. For example, the Kucha dialect speakers pronounce letter <x> as /tʰ/ while all the other dialect speakers of Gamo pronounce it as /sʰ/. Applying this kind of single orthography system for the other

disputable sounds would result in a far more social and economical values for textbook and other materials published by the administration.

6.3.4. Potential Areas for Future Research in Gamo

In order to realize socially acceptable language standardization in Gamo, other more research findings are needed. So, interested researchers can involve in many areas including the ones noted below.

- Descriptive researches are significant to standardize the language better. The linguistic and cultural properties of the language should be analyzed thoroughly and made available for standardizers to be well informed about the language. Research works that show the linguistic features of different Gamo dialects that speakers want to keep in the standard norm are very valuable. This could supplement the decisions the localities make on dialect inclusion in the standardization process.
- Lexicography works, dictionary publications and thorough comparative researches on the similarity and difference that exists between the Gamo dialects at different linguistic levels are also important. Especially, comparative studies on the level of lexical semantics are very urgent. Some teachers witnessed to the present researcher that variation of lexical semantics created miscommunication between themselves and their students like the following Kucha dialect speaker who shared experience saying:

(68) *kätäwsänä amät bāfit bonke wist ballä andäñña dārädza timhirt bet self
kanteind asitāmr nābār tāmariwofffin wädāsport meda wäsīdḏzä
bägampñña "kuḥe t'essa bolla wotite" biyyä tizaz sisät't'aaffāw hullum
tāmariwofff sak'u ine "t'essa" yalkut bännassu wägāb malät alinābārām "
hage poko watsidi wotsane" alu "t'essa" malät min malät näw biyye
sitäyyik'affāw yāwond bilīt näw aluññ innässu wägābin "dabbe" yilutal*

‘Once, I was assigned to teach in a self contained primary grade in a school located in Bonke district. In one of the classes, I took my students to a sport field to teach them sport subject. And I gave them an instruction saying ‘put your hands on your waist.’ But the word *t'essa* that I used to mean ‘waist’ did not say so in the students’ dialect. All of my students laughed, and they put their hands on their mouths. They were shocked and said, ‘No teacher. How do we do that! That is a taboo.’ Then I asked them what *t'essa* was in their

dialect. They told me that it meant ‘a male’s genital organ.’ I was so shocked and embarrassed for using that word in front of the kids. They use the word *dabbe* to refer to ‘waist’ (Meskerem, Dec. 2015)

Many other respondents were worried about the use of words which contain contradictory meanings across the dialects in the standard language. So, it seems significant for researches to be carried out in this area of interest.

- Many dialect areas are left untouched in this sociolinguistic research. Therefore, future researchers can take the chance to assess the social attitude and needs of other dialect speakers like Kole, Balta, Garbansa, Zargulla, etc, towards the standardization process of Gamo. The present researcher learnt a further fact that each of the Gamo dialect areas deserves to be treated from the macro-sociolinguistic points of view to improve the standardization experience.
- Finally, a detailed research on the folk linguistics in Gamo informs and strengthens the language policy decisions, and researchers should also consider this phenomenon when they group and regroup Gamo dialects under various categories. With regard to social views in language classification, Wardhaugh (2006: 26), citing Hymes (1974: 123), recommends that besides the linguistic items, “attitudes and social meanings” related to those items should also inform the boundaries made amongst languages.

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በጋሞ ጎፋ ዞን ትምህርት መምሪያ፡ 2004 (E.C)፡ በጋሞ ጎፋ ዞን ብሄረሰቦች በአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ ትምህርት አሰጣጥ ላይ የቀረበ የማወያያ ሰነድ፡ ፡ አርባምንጭ፡፡

የጋሞ ጎፋ ዞን ህዝቦች ታሪክ፡ 2004፡ ፡ አርባምንጭ፡፡ ጋሞ ጎፋ ዞን ማስታወቂያና ባህል ዋና መምሪያ (ጋንማባ)፡፡

ወንድሙ ጋጋ እና ሳሙኤል ጎንደራ፡ 2004 (E.C)፡ የቋንቋ ፖሊሲ ፕሮጀክት የጋሞ ጎፋ፡ ወላይታ አካባቢ የቋንቋ ዳሰሳ ጥናት ሪፖርት ኢ.ፌ.ዲ.ሪ ባህልና ቱሪዝም ማኒፎስቲር፡ ያልታተመ

<http://blog.godreports.com>: 2012/08/. Viewed on 14/9/2016.

Appendix A

Number of Gamo People and Mother Tongue Speakers across Ethiopia

Regional and City Administrations	Number of Gamo people	Number of Gamo as mother tongue speakers
Tigray	44	33
Afar	24	13
Amhara	157	111
Oromia	13,339	11,427
Somali	32	30
Benishangul	27	13
SNNPR	1,044,589	1,030,757
Gambella	5	8
Harari	69	58
Addis Ababa	45,985	28,128
DireDawa	60	26
Especial Enumeration areas	29	22
Total	1,104,360	1,070,626

Compiled from CSA (2008: 74-89; 92-107)

Appendix B

Sample words taken from textbooks and their synonyms in the five Gamo dialects

Words from the texts	English	Dialects				
		Dache	Kucha	Ochollo	Ganta	Dorze
dosses	he loves	√ ¹⁶	siiqees	√	dosakosine	√
attenna	It will happen	√	√	√	attase	√
poo7issidi	Having been late	√	√	√	poo7ussi	√
guuridi	Being early	√	√	√	ketati	√
loytsidi	Doing very well	√	loyittidi	√	lo7atsti	√
kufe	Hand	√	√	√	kuche	√
kessidi	Having picked	√	√	√	kessi	√
eeson	Quickly	√	√	√	ellusi	√
Jemppora	With rest	√	√	√	√	√
diza	That is present	√	diya	√	yesees	√
wora	Forest	√	√	√	√	√
haaro	Property	√	√	√	√	√
uuga	Small	guutsta	guutta	guutsta	√	guutsta
dere	Community/ open place	√	√	√	√	√
issino	One	√	ista	√	bizzo	√
nu	We/ our	√	√	√	√	√
addappe	Really	√	√	√	√	√
kaya	Mourning	√	√	√	√	√
ekka	Take	√	√	√	eppa	√
goolffiza	That pulls	√	goolffiya	√	goolffees	√
medeta	Creation	√	√	√	medutta	√
mitsi	Tree/ wood	√	mitta	√	mints'a	√
moqootsi	Bone	√	moqooti	√	√	√
jaakkettidi	Having been divided	√	√	√	ƶagutti	√
geelle	Probably	awakko	awakko	√	anakko	√
mole	Fish	√	√	√	√	√
fiffay	Collection	√	√	√	fiffees	√
omarsi	Night	√	√	omade	ƶeema	Omade
bonffees	He respects	√	√	√	boonƶakosine	√
doquu	Up/ high	√	√	√	√	√
wogaa	The norm/ culture	√	√	√	√	√
dumma	Different	√	√	√	hara	√
haatsta	Water	√	haatta	√	√	√
yootanaw	That tells	yootana	√	yootanas	ohada	yootanas

¹⁶ The tick marks(√) show that the respective dialect uses the same word mentioned in the texts.

bessizayta	That show	√	bessiyageta	√	beysesede	√
xeellanaw	To see	s'eellana	√	s'eellanas	wotffada	s'eellanas
		s				
ootstsides	He-worked	√	oottis	ootstsires	oottsakoside	ootstsires
qommoti	Kinds/ races	√	√	√	ummedhe	√
heeray	The area	baggay	√	baggay	baggay	baggay
wotstida	That was put	√	wottida	wotstsira	gaddees	wotstsira
wode	Time	√	√	√	√	√
ha?i	Now	√	√	√	hatte	√
lo??o	Good	√	√	√	√	√
hirga	Fear	√	√	√	√	√
kumetsa	Full	√	kumetta	√	kumuttsu	√
suntsay	Name	√	suntay	√	sunsi	√
oykettidi	Linked/ tied	√	√	√	aykutti	√
dettsan	At the level	√	√	√	detstsuga	√
naago	Waiting	√	√	√	kafo	√
kafo	Bird	√	√	√	√	√
xalla	Only	√	√	√	xalala	√
giya	Market	√	√	√	gaaya	√
laytsa	Year	√	laytta	√	√	√
gallas	Day	√	√	√	k'amma	√
iffidi	While sleeping	√	√	√	wuy?i	√
oge	Road	√	√	√	√	√
siya	Listen	√	√	√	√	√
awuppe	From where	√	√	anappe	anafu	anappe
yiza	That comes	√	yiya	√	yeese	√
oyiffides	He-asked	√	oyiffis	oyiffires	oyiffokoside	oyiffires
baabbijfe	While feeling	√	√	√	babbijfi	√
	fright					
soo	Home	√	√	√	zawa	√
sintsta	Face/ front	√	sinta	√	sina/ sino	√
gooddda	Chase	√	√	√	√	√
guutsi	Small	√	guutta	√	uuga/ eeres	√
boora	Ox	√	√	√	maydo	√
nam77a	Two	√	√	√	√	√
maaran	In the order	√	√	√	maarana	√
guppi	Having jumped	√	√	√	dolli	√
denddidi	Standing	√	√	√	dendi	dendiri
zaari	Returning	√	√	√	mahi	√
fof'ay	you hit?	√	√	√	guydday	√
woosa	Begging	√	√	√	qaze	√
wolqqaamas	For the powerful	√	√	√	√	√
tohay	The leg	√	√	√	tukey	√
quma	Meal	√	√	√	√	√
do?ata	The wild animals	√	√	√	do?ede	√
ooswa	The task	oottsoz	√	oottsoza	oottsoza	oottsoza
		a				
meto	Problem	√	√	√	√	√

wozana	Heart	√	√	√	√	√
aginata	The months	√	√	√	agunnede	√
dayidi	Being lost	√	xayidi	√	dayi	√
asi	Person	√	√	√	atsti	√
matan	Near	√	√	√	mataga	√
ufayettidi	Being happy	√	√	√	ufaɔutti	√
paraza	The horse	√	√	√	oolloza	√
oonee	Who	√	√	√	oodewa	√
gides	He said	√	gis	gires	gikoside	gires
bonɕɕ'o	Tree branch	√	√	√	√	√
dale	Medicine	√	xale	√	√	√
wurssa	Finish	√	√	√	altsa	√
ubbaa	All	Wuri	√	wuri	udda	wuri
era	Knowledgeable	√	√	√	√	√
bolla	Body	√	√	√	galla	√
hargey	Disease	√	√	√	√	√
ɕ'igissontta	Without making	√	√	√	ɕ'igussatɕɕe	√
maduntsay	Sore body/ scar	√	maduntay	√	hargutsti	√
dees	He-is present	√	√	ye7ees	yesakkoside	√
afo	Meat	√	√	√	aɕ'o	√
kase	In the past	√	√	√	√	√
saxxanaw	to sting/ bite	sas's'ana	√	sas's'anas	meycada	sas's'anas
mino	Strong	√	√	√	s'iigo	√
goɔeto	Make use of	√	√	√	goɔutta	√
diɕɕidayita	Those grown	√	diɕɕidageta	diɕɕirayit	diɕɕeeseɕe	diɕɕirayita
intes	for you	√	√	√	huturo	√
talɔos	Borrow	√	√	√	talɔoda	√
baggara	On the side	√	√	√	bagganna	√
metoy	The problem	√	√	√	√	√
yiza	That comes/ follows	√	yiya	√	yeesees	√
pilliggidi	Having identified	√	√	pilliggiri	pilggi	pilliggiri
yelaga	Young	√	√	√	naato	√
ba	Go	√	√	√	hamma	√
giza	That is called	√	giya	√	hisees	√
giddon	In the middle	√	√	√	gidda	√
ɕiɕees	Collects	√	√	√	ɕiɕjakosine	√
kaalizayttakko	Are Those follows	√	kaalliyatakko	√	kalleseɕekko	√
gede	Across	√	√	√	gode	√
aatšana	To pass	√	aattana	√	aatšana	√
danddaɔiza	That is able	√	dandaɔiya	√	dandaɔees	√
erana	To know	√	√	√	erada	√
koffees	Is necessary	√	√	√	worgusakosin	√
woga	Culture/ norm	√	√	√	√	√
guyye	Behind	√	√	√	ginda	gunde
oykketsas	To catch	√	oykkanaw	√	aykkada	√
aahokko	Is wide	√	√	√	paɕɕakko	√
qaaday	Luck	√	√	√	√	√

missena	Is different	malaten	√	malatenn	malata?a	malatenna	
dayettenna	Will not be missed	na	√	a	daba?awus	√	
bayndda	Without/ in the absence of	√	√	√	banta	√	
koyontta	Without searching/ interest	√	√	√	worga?ffe	√	
meddees	Creates	√	√	√	medakosine	√	
k'akkidi	Having kicked	√	√	√	yeddi	√	
ahisana	To pass the night	√	√	√	ahada	√	
daabura	Exhaustion	√	√	√	√	√	
gidana	Enough	√	√	√	gidokosittaam	√	
k'ohidee	Has it hurt?	√	√	√	e	k'ohaside	√
maadees	Helps	√	√	√	maadakosine	√	
pe??ana	To pass the day	√	√	√	peyfada	√	
dfoqu	High	√	√	√	√	√	
jammos	Let's buy	√	√	√	jammaynuune	√	
kes's'annas	To build	√	keexxanaw	√	kees's'ada	√	
mata	Near	√	√	√	√	√	
losisa	Familiarize	√	√	√	mata/losusa	√	
koyidayisa	That wanted	√	koyidaaga	√	worgeesa	√	
haffji	Today	√	√	√	hantso	√	
kehi	Much	√	√	√	daro	√	
dentstsada	Having removed	√	√	√	dentsi	√	
tuk'k'iza	That prevents	√	tuqqiya	√	tuqqees	√	
gatso	Delivering	√	√	√	√	√	
baawa	Is absent	√	√	√	ba7a	√	
jaakketo	Division	√	√	√	ƶagutta	√	
affisa	That saves/ protects	√	affiya	√	afjees	√	
essanass	To plant	√	essanaw	√	essada	√	
zal??e	Trade	√	√	√	√	√	
gitta	Big	√	√	√	ada	√	
gaada	having said	√	√	√	hidi	√	
bitta	Soil	√	√	√	saka	√	
koyro	First	√	√	√	√	√	
ke?ada	getting out	√	√	√	kesi	√	
yuuya	Go round	√	√	√	ƶuuƶƶa	√	
doomawus	She-starts	Manga	√	mangaw	aykokiide	mangawus	
hannoo	This	wus	√	us	√	√	
daro	Very	√	√	√	√	√	
hessappe	Then/ from that	√	√	√	higapu	√	
aaddifin	While passing/ crossing	√	√	√	aaddeska	√	
badala	Maize	√	√	√	√	√	
doggiza	That gnaw	√	xoggiya	√	doggees	√	
gawarati	The cats	√	√	√	gawaredey	√	
ay	What	√	√	√	aala	awa	
keena	Much	mala	√	mala	mala	mala	
taassi	For me	√	tau	taar	taro	taar	
yoota	Tell	√	oda	√	oha	√	
buro	Yet	√	√	√	haga	hawa	
demmada	Having found	√	√	√	dengi	√	

koſattida	became hungry	√	√	koſatira	gafuttokoyde	koſatira
hameta	Walking	√	√	√	hanta	√
guɔɔɔɔ	Add	√	√	√	√	√
maata	Grass	√	√	√	√	√
miza	That eats	√	miya	√	muusees	√
hytſa	Ear	√	maytta	√	haaye	√
bonſſ'o	Branch	√	√	√	√	√
gooffa	Farm	√	√	√	√	√
wassa	Shout	√	√	√	uukka	√
aadho	Longer	√	√	√	√	√
ufayetta	Be happy	√	√	√	ufaɔutta	√
lage	Friend	√	√	√	√	√
zuma	Mountain	√	√	√	√	√
danddayida	That was able	√	√	√	dandaɔeesa	√
yilottidi	Being angry	√	√	√	yiloti	√
tulle	Deaf	√	√	√	√	√
yida	That came	√	√	√	yeedees	√
zaarana	Answer	√	√		mahoda/ mahada	√

Appendix C

The Amharic Version of Data from Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions were transcribed and presented in Amharic in the following section.

የቡድን ወይይት አንድ

- ጥ: ሁላችሁንም በቡድን ወይይት ለመሳተፍ ፈቃደኛ ስለሆናችሁ በጣም አመሰግናለሁ። የመጀመሪያ ጥያቄዬ ለትምህርት አገልግሎት የዋለው ጋሞኛ እናንተ በቤት ውስጥ ወይም በአካባቢያችሁ ከምትናገሩት ጋር ተመሳሳይ ወይም ተቀራራቢ ነው?
- መ1: እኔ የመጣሁት ከከምባ ወረዳ ነው። ስሜ ፍሬህይወት እባላለሁ። በርግጥ እኛ የምንማረውና የምናወራው ይገናኛል።
- ጥ: ወደ አንተ ልቀጥል?
- መ2: ስሜ አህመድ እባላለሁ የመጣሁት ከምእራብ አባያ ወረዳ ነው። እኛ የምንናገረው ጋሞኛና እዚህ የምንማረው ቋንቋ ይመሳሰላል። የቀሩት አሉ። ዲክሽነሪ ስለሌለ ብዙ የሚቸገሩ አሉ ከዛ የመጡ አንዳንዶች ማለት ነው። አስተማሪዎች የሚናገሩት ደግሞ “standardize” የሆነ ቋንቋ ነው። እንደዚህ አድርገው ያወጡት። አንዳንዱ ነው ከውስጥ የሚያስቸግሩት። አንዳንዶቹ አዳዲስ ቃላቶች ብለው አስተማሪዎች ያወጡት አሉ። እኔ ደግሞ እዛ ከአንድ እስከ አራት የተማርኩት ይመሳሰላል። ከእኛው ጋር አንድ ነው። ብዙ ጊዜ ለንግድና ቆላ አካባቢ ያሉት የሚነጋገሩበት ቋንቋ አንድ ነው። ለትምህርትና ለንግድ የሚጠቀሙት ቋንቋዎች አንድ ናቸው። ስለዚህ ከትምህርት ጋር ይመሳሰላል። ድንግርግር የሚለኝ የለም መጻፍም መናገርም በደንብ እችላለሁ።
- መ3: ስሜ መስፍን እባላለሁ የመጣሁት ከጨንቻ ወረዳ ነው። ያው ይህ ጋሞኛ የሚባለው የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋችን ነው። ከአንድ እስከ አራት በጋሞኛ ተምሬአለሁ። ሁሉንም አካባቢ ሳይንስ ምናምን የሚባለው ሁሉንም፣ ግን ከአምስት እስከ ስምንት ድረስ አንድ ጋሞኛ ብቻ ነች ያለችው ሌላው በእንግሊዝኛ ነው። ቢሆንም ከዘጠኝ እስከ አስርም አንድ ጋሞኛ ነች ያለችው። እሱ እንደ መደበኛ ሆኖ እስከ አስር ድረስ ቀጥሏል። የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ ስለሆነ ምንም አይከብደኝም። አንዳንድ ዘዴዎች የተፈጠሩት በድሮ በአባቶቻችን ዘመን ነው። እንዴት ተፈጠረ ቢባል አንድ አካባቢ ያሉት ትንሽ የጉሳ መለየት ባህሪ ኖሯቸው እዛጋ የራሳቸውን ድንበር ለማስጠበቅ ሲሉ በዛው እንደተፈጠረ ይታወቃል። ይህ ደግሞ በዛወቅት ቢፈጠርም እስካሁን ግልጽ እየሆነና በዛ እየተማርን ነው ። በዚሁ ቢቀጥል ወደ መደበኛ ቢገባልን እስከ ኮሌጅ እስከ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ቢደርስልን ምንም ችግር የለውም። በዚሁ ቢቀጥል አሪፍ ነው እላለሁ።
- መ4: እኔ የመጣሁት ከከምባ ወረዳ ነው። ስሜ ገነት ይባላል። እኛ የምንማረው ቋንቋ በቀጥታ ከአካባቢው ጋር እንደምንገናኘው እርስ በርሳችን ከምንገናበት እንደዛው አድርገን ነው የተማርነው።

መ5: ስሜ ኢሳያስ ይባላል። የመጣሁት ከቦርዳ ወረዳ ነው። እኔ ከንድ እስከ አራት የተማርኩትና የምናገረውን ሳነጸጽር በጣም ተመሳሳይ ነው። ልዩነት የለውም። በጣም ተመሳሳይነት አለው። ሆኖም አንዳንድ ከጎሳ ልዩነት የተነሳ አንዳንድ አዲስ የሆኑ ቃላቶች አሉ። እነሱን እየተማርን እያወቅን ነው አይከብድም። የእኛ ቋንቋ ስለሆነ አይከብድም። በቀላሉ እንረዳለን እንደሌላ ቋንቋ አንቸገርም። ሌላ ነገር “Refer” አናደርግም። ቶሎ የምንረዳው የራሳችን ቋንቋ ስለሆነ የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋችን ስለሆነ ነው። ቶሎ እንረዳለን አያስቸግረንም። አንድ አይነት ነው።

ጠ: ሁላችሁም ተመሳሳይ ሃሳብ ነው ያላችሁ?

መ2: አዎ ግን ከደጋማ አካባቢ የመጡ ሰዎች፣ ከገረሴ፣ ከቦንኬ፣ ከጋንታ ወደዛ የመጡ አስተማሪዎች ወደ ምዕራብ ቆላ ሲመጡ ትንሽ ለተማሪዎች ይከብዳቸዋል። እነሱ የሚናገሩት ቃላትና እዚህ ጋ ያሉት ብዙም ባይለይም ትንሽ ልዩነት አለ። እኔ አሁን ለፕራክቲክም ወደዛ ስሄድ እኛጋ የሚናገሩትና እዚህ ጋ የሚናገሩት ልዩነት አላቸው። የዘዬ ልዩነት እንደዛ አይነትን ከአንድ እስከ አራት ያሉ ተማሪዎች መጽሐፉ በወጣው መሠረት ቢኖር ነው እንጂ እንደ ዘዬዎች ያሉት ወደ ደጋማ ቦታ ያሉት ከምባ፣ ገረሴ፣ ወደ ጋንታ እንደዛ መጽሐፉ ወጥቶ ታትሞ ቢሄድ ብዙ ላይረዱ ይችላሉ። አይረዱም ብዬ አስባለሁ።

መ3: በብዛት አስተማሪው የልጆችን ሁኔታ ይገነዘብና በመጽሐፉ መሠት አርጎ ነው ትንሽ የሚከብድ ቃል ካለ ትንሽ ማብራሪያ ይሰጣል፤ ግን ወደ እዚህ ወደ ስምንት ወረዳዎች ወደዚህ በኩል ያሉት ብዙም እስከዛ አይቸገሩም። ግን በተለይ የሚቸገሩት ወደ ካምባ አካባቢ ያሉት ትንሽ የመረዳት ችግር አለባቸው። የእነሱ ትንሽ ለየት ይላል። ከስምንቱ ወረዳዎች ትንሽ ወጣ ይላል። ደሞ እዚህ የምንናገረውና እዛ ካምባ ብንሄድ የሆነ የስድብ ቃል ሊሆን ይችላል። ከምባ አካባቢ ያለው ለየት ይላል። ግን አስተማሪ ሲያስተምር በመጽሐፉ መሠረት ይሄድና ትንሽ የሚከብዳቸው ካለ ያስረዳል።

ጠ: መጽሐፍት ሲፃፉ በተለይ የመማሪያ መፃሕፍትና ሌሎች በጋሞኛ ተጽፈው የሚወጡ መፃሕፍት አንድ ወጥ በሆነ መደበኛ ቋንቋ መፃፍ አለባቸው ብላችሁ ታስባላችሁ?

መ1: እኔ በራሴ በኩል የምለው የሚቻል ከሆነ በአንድ ለምሳሌ እኔ የመጣሁት ከካምባ ወረዳ ነው፤ የእኛን የሚችል ሰው ቢኖር የእኛን አጠቃላይ ቢጽፍ ለእኛ ልጆች ይበልጥ ግልጽ ይሆናል። ግን እንደዛ ለመፃፍ የማይመች ከሆነና ሰው ከሌለ ችግር የለም። እዚህ አሁን ከምእራብ የመጡትና ከካምባ የመጡት የሚያወሩትን ጋሞኛ ሁሉንም እንሰማቸዋለን እንደዛ ቢፃፍ በሁሉም ቢፃፍ ችግር የለም እንረዳለን።

መ2: እኔ ሐሳብ የምሰጠው ወጥ በሆነ መንገድ ቢፃፍ አሪፍ ነው፤ ግን የሚፃፈው ቋንቋ ሁብት ስለሆነ የተለያየ ቋንቋ አለ በጋሞ ውስጥ ብዙ ቋንቋዎች ስላሉ የኛ ቋንቋ ሁብት ነው። ወጥ በሆነ መልክ ከተፃፈ አንዱ ብቻ ነው የሚታወቀው። ስለዚህ ወጥ በሆነ መልክ አንዱ ተጽፎ የራሳቸው የሆነ ዘዬ ያላቸው ሁሉም ሰዎች ደግሞ የየራሱን ዘዬ ደግሞ ቢፃፍ ግልጽ ይሆናል ብዬ አስባለሁ። ደግሞ ቋንቋ ሁብት ስለሆነ ቋንቋው እያደገ ይሄዳል የብዙ እየሆነ ይሄዳል ብዬ አስባለሁ።

መ3: እኔ በዚህ ላይ የምለው የቋንቋ ልዩነት እንዲኖር ያረገው መሠረቱ ዋናው ምንድነው ካለማደጉ የተነሳ ነው። የተለያዩ በጋሞኛ የተፃፉ መጽሐፍት አለመኖራቸው ማጣቀሻ አለመኖሩ የተነሳ ነው። ይህ ደግሞ ማጣቀሻ

እንዲዘጋጅ ወጥ ለማድረግ ከዘጠኙ ወረዳዎች ተወክሎ ውይይት ተደርጎ ቢሆን ጥሩ ነው። ለምን እዛው በአንድ ቦታ ለምሳሌ እኔ ከጨንቻ ነው የመጣሁት የጨንቻውን ብቻ ቢወጣ፣ በዛ ጊዜ ወደ ካምባ ቦንኬ ያለው ምን ይላል? ይችን ቃል ለምን አወጡ የነሱን አንማርም ብለው ላይቀበሉ ይችላሉ። ስለዚህ ከዘጠኙ ወረዳዎች ከነዚህም ራሱ ልዩ ሆነው በተለይ ስንሄድ ልዩ ልዩ የሚናገሩ አሉ እዛ ውስጥ ወረዳ ውስጥ ሆነው ማለት ነው። እነዚህም ተለቅመው መውጣት አለባቸው ለምን ሃብታችን ነው። ልዩታችን ሃብታችን ነው። ስለዚህ ያ ሁሉ ተለቅመው ስብሰባ ተደርጎ ተወስኖ በዚህ በዚህ አንድ ወጥ መንገድ ይውጣ በሚለው እንደዚህ ቢሆን ነው የሚመቸው ብዬ ነው አስተያየት የምሰጠው።

መ4: ጥሩ ነው የመ2 እና መ3ን ሃሳብ የምጋራ ይሆናል። ግን የምለው ምንድን ነው አሁን እንዳለው ከዘጠኙ ወረዳዎች ለምሳሌ እኔ የራሴ የሆነ አነጋገር አለኝ ሌላውም የራሱ አነጋገር አለው። ስለዚህ በኛ ወረዳ ውስጥ ሆኖ ይህንን ጋሞኛ በደንብ አድርጎ የሚናገር ዘዬውንም የሚችል ሰው ሆኖ ከዘጠኙ ወረዳም የመጣው ስብሰባ ተደርጎ እያንዳንዳችን ወረዳችን ተወክሎ ስብሰባ ነገር ኖሮ በዞን ፀድቆ እንደዚህ በወጥ መንገድ ቢገፍ ነው እንጂ እሱ የራሱን የሚጽፍ ከሆነ እኔ የራሴን የምጽፍ ከሆነ ይህ የራሱን ብሄረሰብ ማንፀባረቅ ሊሆን ይችላል። የእኔን ተወና የራሱን ጻፈ ይባላል። ስለዚህ ዘጠኙንም ወክሎ መጨረሻ ላይ ይሄ እንትና ይሻላል ያ ይሻላል በዚህ ተናግሮ እንደዚህ ጽፎ የኛን ሊያሳይ ይችላል በሚል ሁኔታ አንድ ሰው ዘጠኙን ጨርሶ ከዘጠኙ በኋላ ሌላ አንድ ተወክሎ መጨረሻ ላይ ማለት ነው። ዞኑ ወስኖ አንድ ሰው የኔንም የሱንም የሚችል ሰው መሆን አለበት። ስለዚህ እንደዚህ ተወስኖ አንድ ወጥ በሆነ መንገድ ቢገፍ ጥሩ ነው።

ጠ: የተለየ ሃሳብ አለህ አንተ?

መ5: አንድ ሰው መጽሐፍ እጽፋለሁ ብሎ ቢያስብ ቋንቋውን ሚዛን ላይ ማስቀመጥ መቻል አለበት። የቱ ቢገፍ ሰው ይረዳል? በየትኛው ብጽፍ መልእክት ለሰው ግልጽ ሆኖ ይታያል? ብሎ ሚዛን ውስጥ አስቀምጦ ሚዛን እኩል የሆነ ለሁሉም ዜጋ አጠቃላይ የእኛ ብቻ የጋሞ ሕዝብ ብቻ ሳይሆን ሌላውም አንብቦ እንዲረዳ ግልጽ በሆነ መልኩ “Standardized” መደበኛ የሆነ ቋንቋ ላይ ቢጽፍ በጣም ይመቻል ተቀባይነት አለው። አንዱ የራሱን ዘዬ ቢጽፍ እኛም ሌላ ሰውም የራሱን ቢጽፍ መልእክቱን ያወሳሰባል። ስለዚህ መደበኛ በሆነ ቋንቋ ቢገፍ በጣም ይመቻል እላለሁ።

መ3: አሁን አንድ መዝገበ ቃል መመሪያ ነበር። መመሪያው የተጻፈው ሲታይ ወደ ደጋማ አካባቢ ወደ ወይና ደጋ አካባቢ ያየለ ነው። ለምሳሌ ወደ ሻላ አካባቢ፣ ወደ ጨንቻና ዲታ ደራማሎ አካባቢ ወደ ዛ ይጠጋል፤ ወደ ቦሮዳ ያይላል። በሁለት ወረዳ ውስጥ ያደላ ነው።

ጠ: እሱ ጥሩ ነው ትላለህ?

መ3: በእኔ በኩል ጥሩ አይደለም። ለምን የቀሩት ወረዳዎች ደግሞ የእኛን ቃል አልተጠቀሙም ይላሉ።

ጠ: መዝገበ ቃላቱን መጠቀም አይችሉም?

መ3: ይጠቀማሉ ይረዳሉ ግን የእነሱ ቃል ይቀራል። ስለዚህ የእኛ የት ሄደ የሚል ሃሳብ ሊነሳበት ይችላል።

ጠ: መደበኛ የሆነው ጽሁፍ ከአንዱ ዘዩ ቢወጣ ነው ጥሩ ወይስ ከሁሉም ዘዩዎች መወሰድ አለበት?

መ5: ሲጽፉ እንዳልነው መደበኛ ቋንቋ የሆነ ለሁሉም መልስ የሆነ መካከለኛ የሆነ ቢጽፉ ጥሩ ነው። ሌላው ሌላው አንድ አካባቢ ላይ ቢያተኩር መልእክት ቶሎ አያልፍም። ደግሞ ሕዝቡም ቅሬታ ያሳድርባቸዋል። ስለዚህ መደበኛ መሆን አለበት።

መ2: ሁሉንም ያማከለ መሆን አለበት እያልኩ በተጨማሪ የምናገረው ከሁሉም ዘዩ ያሉ ቃላትን አውጥተው በመዝገብ ቃላት መልክ የተለያዩ ዘዩዎችን አውጥተው አንድ ወጥ የሆነ ትርጉም መሰጠት አለበት። ከዚህ በፊት በጋሞኛ የተጻፈ ነገር የለም። ስለዚህ እሱ ከሌለ አሁን መዝገብ ቃላትን ቢጽፉ ለእኛ ጥሩ ነው። ደግሞም ወጥ በሆነ ተጽፎ የሚያስቸግር ነገር ካለ ከዛ ከመዝገብ ቃላቱ ይረዳሉ። ስለዚህ እንደዛ አይነት ነገር ቢጻፉ ለመማርም አያስቸግረንም። አሁን ደግሞ እየተማሩ ላሉትም አያስቸግረንም። ደጋ ቆላም አያስብለንም። ችግር የለም ወጥ የሆነው ከዘጠኙ ወረዳ ተሰብስቦ ይጻፍና እሱን እናያለን።

መ3: እኔ በራሴ በኩል የምለው የተለያዩ የተወሰኑ ወረዳዎችንም ቢያካትት እንደዛው በደጋማው አካባቢ ቢጻፍ ቆላው አካባቢ ያሉት እንዲረዱት ምን መደረግ አለበት ግሎሰሪ የሚባል አለ መጨረሻ ላይ መጽሐፍ ሲታተም ግሎሰሪው እሱ ላይ ለአንዱ ቋንቋው እዛው ያለው ፍቺው መጻፍ አለበት። ለዚህ ቃል ፍቺው ይሄ ነው የሚለውን ግሎሰሪው ላይ ማስቀመጥ አለበት።

ጠ: ከፍቺው ይልቅ ቃላቱን ውስጥ ቢጠቀሙስ?

መ3: የመጡበት አካባቢ ይወስነዋል። ሲያሳትሙ አካባቢያቸው ያለውን ቋንቋ ይጠቀማሉ። ሌላውን በብዛት ካገኙ ይጠቀማሉ እንጂ ጊዜ ስለሌላቸው ለእነሱም ድክመት ይሆናል።

ጠ: በግላችሁ ከትምህርት ቤት ውጪ በጋሞኛ ትጽፋላችሁ? በግላችሁ ስትጽፉ በአብዛኛው የምትጠቀሙት ጋሞኛ ነው ወይስ አማርኛ?

መ5: እኔ አሁን ለመጻፍም መልእክት ለማስተላለፍም ቢሆን ጋሞኛ ይቀለኛል። በአማርኛ አንድ ነገር ለማስተላለፍ ብፈልግ ይወሳሰብብኛል። የእናቴ ቋንቋ ስላይደለ ይከብደኛል። ለማውራት የፈለጉትን በአጭር ጊዜ እጨርሳለሁ በጋሞኛ ስጠቀም ማለት ነው። ስለዚህ ለመጻፍም ለመናገርም የትኛውም አካባቢ ላይ ለመስራት ስፈልግ ጋሞኛ ይመቸኛል።

መ4: እኔም እንደዛው ነው። አሁን በጋሞኛ ትምህርት /ጋሞኛ/ ክፍል ሆነው ለመናገር የሚፈሩ አንዳንድ ሰዎች አሉ በጋሞኛ ትምህርት ክፍል መጥተው ማለት ነው። ያ ለምንድን ነው ከተማ ላይ አንዳንድ ማስታወቂያዎች ወጥተው እንዳይለጠፉ ራሱን የቻለ እንቅፋት ነው። ከረምት አካባቢ እዚህ የሆነ ማስታወቂያ ተለጥፎ ነበር እላይ ትልቁ አደባባይ። ላይ ባህልና ቱሪዝም የሚለውን ነገር ለማክበር ነው መሰለኝ እዛ ጋ ለጥፈው አይቻለሁ ሌላ አላየሁኝም ይህን እንዴት መቅረፍ እንደሚቻልም አናውቅም ግን ጥሩ ነው።

ጠ: ጋሞኛ በስፋት ለጽሁፍ ቢውል ጥሩ ነው እያልሽ ነው?

መ4: አዎ እኔም እንደዚሁ ብዙ ቦታ ላይ በጋሞኛ መናገር ነው ደስ የሚለኝ። ሌላው በራሱ ቋንቋ ሲናገር እኔ ከሌላው ተደብቄ በአማርኛ የምናገር ከሆነ ጋሞኛን ወደ ኋላ እንዲሆን የሚያደርግ ስለሆነ እንቅፋት ነው።

ጠ: ቅድም ያሳየኸኝን ጽሁፎች (ከተሳታፊዎቹ አንዱ) ስትጽፍ በቁጫ ነው የተጠቀምከው ወይም ለትምህርት የዋለውን ጋሞኛ ነው የተጠቀምከው?

መ2: እኔ የምጽፈው ለትምህርት በምጠቀመው ነው። ይመሳሰላል የትምህርቱና የኛ የምዕራብ ወይም የቁጫ አንድ አይነት ስለሆነ እኔ በዛ እጠቀማለሁ። እኔ ሙስሊም ነኝ እዛ ስኖር መሪ ሆኜ ግጥሞችንም በጋሞኛ ነው የማቀርበው ብዙ ጽሁፎችን በራሴ ጋሞኛ ጽፌ የሰዎችን ስም ዝርዝርም ስጽፍ በጋሞኛ ነው ብዙ ነገር የምጽፈው። ጋሞኛ እወዳለሁ መጻፍም መናገርም በደንብ እችላለሁ። በዛ ነው የጻፍኩት እኔ አሁን።

ጠ: የተለየ ሃሳብ አለሽ?

መ1: የተለየ ሃሳብ ባይኖረኝም እሱ እንዳለው መጽሐፍ አዲስ አይሆንም የተፃፈው ሃሳብና እኔ የማወራው ወይም እኛ ሰፈር የሚያወሩት ተመሳሳይ ነው።

መ3: ይህ ከተማ ላይ የሚፃፉት ነገሮች እኛን በብዛት አይወክሉም። እኛ ሃሳብ ብናቀርብም የማይቀበሉ ይኖራሉ። ግን በራሴ አስተሳሰብ የሕይወት ታሪኬንም ለመጻፍ የተለያዩ ነገሮችን ለመጻፍ የምጠቀመው በጋሞኛ ነው እንጂ አማርኛም እንግሊዝኛም ይከብደኛል ስለዚህ ጋሞኛ ነው የምጠቀመው።

ጠ: እሺ ምናልባት በአካባቢያችሁስ በጋሞኛ ይጽፋሉ?

መ1: ቤተክርስቲያን በጋሞኛ የፀሎት ርዕሶች ይጻፋሉ፣ መዝሙሮች፣ ፀሎቶች በጋሞኛ ይጻፋሉ በትልቅ ወረቀት ግድግዳ ላይ ይለጠፋሉ።

መ4: ትምህርት ቤት እያለሁ መልእክቶች የሚተላለፉት በጋሞኛ ነው። ርዕስ መምህሩ የወላይታ ሰው ነበር ሁልጊዜ በራሱ ቋንቋ ነው የሚናገረው። ግን ወደ ሁለተኛ ደረጃ ካለፍን በኋላ ይህን አላየሁኝም እንደዚህ ዓይነት ነገር በጋሞኛ ሲያስተላልፉ አላየሁኝም ብዙ ጊዜ በአማርኛ ነው የሚጠቀሙት። አንዳንድ የተለጠፉ ነገሮች ትምህርት ቤትና ቤተክርስቲያን ማስታወቂያዎች ሲተላለፉ መዝሙሮች ሲዘመሩ በጋሞኛ ነው ግን ጽሁፎች በጋሞኛ የሉም።

ጠ: በጋሞኛ ቢጻፍ ጥሩ ነው ብለሽ ታስቢያለሽ?

መ4: በጣም በጣም ጥሩ ነው። ከሌላው ቋንቋ ጋር እኩል እንዲሆን የሚያደርገው ዋናው ምንድን ነው ከተማ ላይ መለጠፍ ነው። ለምን ለምሳሌ አማርኛ ከተማ ላይ ተለጥፎ ሲታይ የቋንቋውን እድገት ያሳያል ልክ እንደዛው የእኛም ቢለጠፍ እጅግ በጣም ነው ደስ የሚለኝ።

መ1: ቢሆንልንም የቤክትርስቲያንም የከተማም ማስታወቂያ በጋሞኛ ቢጻፍ ደስ ይለናል። ብዙ እውቀት እያለን ለማውጣት አውጥተን ለመናገር የሌላውን ቋንቋ እየፈራን እውቀታችንን ደብቀን ዛሬ በብዛት የኛ ልጆች ቤት የቀሩ

አሉ። ቋንቋችንን ለማሳደግ ጥረት እናደርግ ነበር። ግን አቅም አጥተናል። ስለዚህ በትብብር ቋንቋችንን ጽፈን ቋንቋችንን ለማሳደግ በበኩሌ ጥረት አደርጋለሁ። በጣም ቋንቋዬ የሳዝነኛል።

ጠ: ሐሳባችሁን ስለሰጣችሁኝ ሁላችሁንም በጣም አ

የቡድን ውይይት ሁለት

ጠ: ሁላችሁንም በቡድን ውይይት ለመሳተፍ ፈቃደኛ ስለሆናችሁ በጣም አመሰግናለሁ። የመጀመሪያ ጥያቄዎ ለትምህርት አገልግሎት የዋለው ጋሞኛ እናገተ በቤት ውስጥ ወይም በአካባቢያችሁ ከምትናገሩት ጋር ተመሳሳይ ወይም ተቀራራቢ ነው?

መ1: ምህረት እባላለሁ ከቦንኬ ወረዳ ነው የመጣሁት። እኛ የምናወራውና የምንማረው ጋሞኛ በጣም ተመሳሳይ ነው። እኔ የማወራው ጋሞኛ ወይም ቦንኬኛ ነው የማወራው መጽሐፉም የታተመው በዳጩኛ ነው ለዛ በጣም ይቀራረባል።

መ2: የመጣሁት ከአርባምንጭ ዙሪያ ወረዳ ስሜ አስናቀ እባላለሁ። ትምህርት ቤት የምንማረው ቋንቋ ግለጽ ነው። ግን ጋንትኛ ቢገባበት ከቦድ ይላል ትንሽ። የዚህ የትምህርቱ ቃላት ግን ቀለል ያለ ነው የጋንትኛ ቃላት ይከብዳል። ለጋንታ ሰዎች ቀላል ነው። እኔ ቀላልነው ያልኩት ለጋንታ ሰዎች ሊከብድ ይችላል።

መ3: እኔ ስሜ ለምለም ይባላል። የመጣሁት ከጨንቻ ወረዳ ነው። እዚህ የምንማረው ጋሞኛ ቀላልና ለሁላችንም ግልጽ እንዲሆን የተደረገ ነው። ለምሳሌ እኛ ከጨንቻ ጋሞኛም እንናገራለን፣ ዶርዜኛም እናስገባለን፣ እዚህ የምንማረው ግን ከሱ የተሻለ ነው። በመፃፍ ደረጃ የዚህን ጋሞኛ ነው የምንጠቀመው። ከአንድ እስከ አራትም በዚህ ጋሞኛ ነው የተማርነው እቤት ከማወራው ጋር ተሳሳይ ነው ግን ወደ ዶርዜ አካባቢ ትንሽ ለየት ይላል። እዚህ ግን የተሻለ ነው ሁሉም ያውቃል የዚህን ጋሞኛ። እኔም አውቀዋለሁ ግን ትንሽ ትንሽ ቃላት ይለያያሉ በዘዬዎች ምክንያት።

መ4: ስሜ ታደሰ እባላለሁ የመጣሁት ከከምባ ወረዳ ነው። እኛ እዚህ የምንማረው ጋሞኛና እዛ የምናወራው ጋሞኛ ትንሽ ይቀራረባል ግን የሚለያየው እኛ አሁን አንዳንድ ቃላትን ከአማርኛ ቀልቅለን እናወራለን። አሁን ቁጫ አለ ቦንኬ አለ እነሱ ደግሞ ሌላ በጋሞኛ ስም ሰጥተው ቃላት ሰጥተው ይጠቀማሉ።እኛ ግን አሁን ቃላትን ከአማርኛ ወስደን ልንጠቀም እንችላለን።እዚህ ኮሌጅም ለእንግሊዝኛ ቃላት ፈጥረው በጋሞኛ ፍቺ ይሰጣሉ።አንዳንድ በማርኛና በእንግሊዝኛ ኖረው በጋሞኛ የሌሉ አሉ። እኛ የምናውቀውን ቃል ፈጥረው ይሰጣሉ።

መ5: ስሜ ሀይሉ ከዳራማሎ ነው የመጣሁት። እኛ እዛ የምንናገረውን እዚህ የምንማረው ትንሽ ለየት ይላል። እንዴት ካለችሁ አሁን እኛ hatsse እንላለን።እዚህ እኛ የምንማረው መጽሐፍ ላይ hatsaza ይላሉ።መጽሐፉ አሁን ገዜ ሰፈር ተመስርቶ ነው የወጣው። የእኛን ብዙ አይመስልም።

ጠ: ልዩነቱ ሰፊ ነው? የተፃፈውን አንብቦ እስከማትረዳ ድረስ ያደርስሃል?

መ5: አያደርስም እስከዛ።

ጠ: መጽሐፍት ሲፃፉ በተለይ የመማሪያ መጻሕፍትና ሌሎች ቢጋሞኛ ተጽፈው የሚወጡ መጻሕፍት አንድ ወጥ በሆነ መደበኛ ቋንቋ መፃፍ አለባቸው ብላችሁ ታስባላችሁ?

መ1: ወጡ በጣም ይመረጣል ለምን አሁን እዚህ ቢጋሞ ውስጥ ዘጠኝ ወረዳዎች አሉ። አሁን የዘጠኝ ወረዳዎች የራሳቸው ዘዬ አላቸው (Diratso) አለ። አሁን እኛ ቁጫ በቁጭኛ ጋንታ ቢጋንትኛ ቦንኬ በቦንኬኛ እኛ ካወራን ለትምህርቱ መጽሐፍ አዘጋጆቹ ይቸገራሉ። ከዛ ሁሉ ከየወረዳቸው ዘጠኝ ሰው የተማረ ኃይል ተመርጦ ሁሉንም ያካትታል ወይስ ለሁሉም ይገባል የሚሉትን አንድ ወጥ ሆነ መጽሐፍ (አፃፍ) ተመርጦ በዘጠኝ ወረዳችን ስም ተጽፎ ቢወጣ በጣም ተማሪዎቹ ይረዳሉ። እኛም ተጠቃሚ እንሆናለን። አጠቃላይ ጋሞ ለመረዳት አይቸገርም ብዬ ነው የማስበው።

መ2: እኔም አንድ ወጥ የሆነ መጽሐፍ እንዲወጣ እፈልጋለሁ ግን ከተለያዩ አካባቢ የተለያዩ ቃል ቢኖርም ሌላውን ወይም እያለ ቢጽፍ እንደዚህ እያስለመዱ ከየሁሉም አካባቢ ዘዬ ካለባቸው መጥቶ አንድ ላይ መጽሐፍ ውስጥ ቢገባ ጥሩ ነው ብዬ አስባለሁ።

ጠ: ወይም እየተባለ ከወጣ ምን ያህሉ ይወጣል አይበዛም በጣም እንደዛ ሲሆን?

መ2: አይ በጣም የሚራራቅና የማይራራቅ አለ። በጣም የሚራራቀውን እናስቀምጠዋለን። አንድ ሰው የራሱን ከፃፈ ሌላው ላይፈልግ ይችላል ሌላ ነገር ሊፈጠር ይችላል።ስለዚህ ይህ ማሳመኛ ሊሆን ይችላል።

መ3: እኔ ለምሳሌ እሷ እንዳወራችው ሁሉም ከዘጠኝ ወረዳ ተወስዶ አንድ ላይ ቃላቶች የሚቀራረቡ ለልጆች እንዲገባ በእንደሱ ቢካሄድና አፃፉ ወጥ ቢሆን፡ ለምሳሌ ከቁጫና ከጨንቻ አሁን ላይገናኙ ይችላሉ እኛ ልናውቅ እንችላለን እኛ ከእነሱ ጋር ስለተማርን እዚህ ልናውቅ እንችላለን እዛ ግን ሕፃናት አያውቁም ለእዛ በይበልጥ እዚህ ቢሆን የተሻለ ይሆናል አንድ ላይ ቢጽፉ።

መ3: እኔ ደግሞ የእሷን እደግፋለሁ። ለምንድን ነው የምደግፈው አሁን ዘጠኝ ወረዳዎች አሉ ጋሞ ውስጥ አንዱን ቃል ለምሳሌ 'ቂጣ' *ukeጅ* እና *oyጅ* አለ። "Oyጅ" ከዘጠኝ ወረዳዎች ስንት ወረዳ ነው የሚጠቀመው የሚለው የጋራ ቃሉ ለምሳሌ ሰባቱ ወረዳ ከተጠቀመ በአብላጫ ድምጽ እሱ ቃል ቢወስድ ጥሩ ነው። እንደዛ ዓይነት እንዲህ አይነት ቃል አሁን ደግሞ ከዘጠኝ ወረዳ ስድስቱ ወረዳ አንድ ቃል የሚጠቀም ከሆነ ቃሉ ሁለት ከሆነ ሶስቱ ለምሳሌ *oyጅ* የሚለውን ከተጠቀመ ስድስቱ *ukeጅ* የሚለውን ከተጠቀመ በአብላጫ ድምጽ የስድስትቶቹ ቢወስድ ጥሩ ነው ብዬ እገምታለሁ። ወጡ አፃፍም ጥሩ ነው ብዬ እገምታለሁ።

መ5: አዎ እነሱ እንዳሉ ጋሞ ብሔረሰብ ውስጥ ብዙ ዘዬዎች አሉ።ያን ዘዬውን ለማጥፋት ከዘጠኝ ወረዳ ዘጠኝ ሰው ተመርጦ በቃ መደበኛ (standardized) እየተደረገ ከዘዬ (*diratso*) ወደ *medetsida* ቋንቋ መደበኛ ቢቀየር በጣም ጥሩ ነው።

ጠ: መደበኛ የሆነው ጽሁፍ ከአንዱ ዘዬ ቢወጣ ነው ጥሩ ወይስ ከሁሉም ዘዬዎች መወሰድ አለበት?

መ5: ከአንዱ ሳይሆን፡ ዘዩኛው ጋሞቶ ይለያል ትንሽ እሱ ስለሚለይ ዘዩኛው እሱ ጋሞቶ ይባላል፡፡ደግሞ የኛ ጋሞቶ ዳጩቶ ይባላል፤ ያ የደጩቶን ዘዩኞች ለማጥፋት ነው እኛ የፈለግነው እንጅ ያን የዘዩኛውን እንጃ እሱን እንዴት እናስገባለን፡፡

ጠ: መካተት የለበትም ማለትህ ነው?

መ5: አዎ፡፡

ጠ: ዘዩኞችን ማጥፋት ስትል ምን ማለትህ ነው?

መ5: ዘዩኞች እኮ እንደእኛ ማውራት ይችላሉ፡፡እንደ እኛ ማውራት ሲችሉ ለእነሱ ዘዩኛ ነው እንጂ ጋሞኛ አይደለም፡፡

መ4: እኔ ይህንን ጥያቄ እንኳን ተነሳ እያልኩ የምናገረው፡ አሁን ጋሞ ወረዳዎች ዘጠኙ አሉ፡፡ ዘጠኙ ውስጥ ከምባ፣ ቦንኬ፣ ዲታ፣ ጨንቻ እና ደራማሎ እነዚህ አብዛኛውን ተመሳሳይ ቃል ይጠቀማሉ እነኝህ አሁን ደግሞ ሌሎች ሚራ፣ ቦርዳና ቁጫ ሌላ ቃል ይጠቀማሉ፡፡ ለወላይታ ዞን ጎረቤት ስለሆኑ የወላይታ ቃላትን ይጠቀማሉ፡፡ ወላይታዎች የሚናገሩትን አሁን እኛ matstsa እንላለን 'ወተትን' ማለት ነው እነሱ ደግሞ እዛ ምን ይላሉ፡፡ለወላይታ ጎረቤት ስለሆኑ ሶስቱ ወረዳዎች matte ብለው ይጠቀማሉ፡፡ |ts|ን አጥፍተው |t|ን ይጠቀማሉ፡፡ አምስቱ ወረዳዎች አብዛኛዎቹ ተመሳሳይ የሆነ ቃል ይጠቀማሉ፡፡ እንደዚህ አሁን በአብላጫ ድምጽ ሁሉም ዘዩኞች ተጠንተው አብዛኛው የሚጠቀመው ቃል ስንት ወረዳ ነው ይህንን ቃል የሚጠቀመው ስንት ወረዳ ነው የማይጠቀመው፤ የጋሞ ቃል የቱ ነው ከወላይታ ቃል የቱ ነው ከእዚህ፡፡ ለዛ እኔ በአብላጫ ድምጽ ሁሉም ዘዩኞች ተጠንተው አብዛኛው የሚያወራው ስንት ወረዳ ይህንን ቃል ይጠቀማል የሚለው ተጠንቶ በዚህ መልክ ይህንን ቃል ይጠቀማል የሚለው ተጠንቶ በዚህ መልክ ይህን ቃል መጠቀም አለበት፡፡ ጋሞ ወረዳዎች አብዛኛውን ይህንን ይጠቀማሉ በዚህ መልክ ቢጻፍ ጥሩ ነው፡፡

መ3: እኔም እሱ እንዳወራው ሁሉም ወረዳዎች አንድ ላይ ተሰብስበው ቃላቶችን አንድ ላይ አውጥተው የሚለየውን እሱ ቅድም እንዳለው ወላይታና ቦርዳ፣ ምዕራብ አባያ፣ ቁጫ ተለይተው ስለሚሉ፡ የእኛዎች እኛ ስለምንበዛ ከዘጠኝ ስድስቱ አንድ ላይ ነው፡፡ የእነሱ ቢሆን ይሻላል፡ የእነሱ ትንሽ ወደ ሌላ ቋንቋ ስለሚሄድ የእኛው ቢወጣ ይሻላል አንድ ላይ በእጅ ብልጫ ቢሆን ይሻላል፡፡

መ2: እኔ የምለው ቅድም እንዳልኩት ማለት ነው ወጥ ቢሆን አሪፍ ነው፡፡ግን ለምሳሌ እኛ አካባቢ አንድ ሰውዬ ነበር "ሁልጊዜ የሚወራው የእናንተ ዶርዜኛ ነው የእኛ ግን የጋንትኛ ግን የለም ምንድን ነው" ይላል ሁልጊዜ፡፡ አካባቢው እዛ ጋንታዎች ጋ ነው፡፡ በጋሞኛ ቋንቋ ውስጥ ግን ጋንትኛ ነው ትንሽ ራቅ የሚለው ማለት ነው የሚለያየው ጋንትኛና ባልታ አካባቢ ትንሽ ይቀራረባል ትንሽ የእነሱ፡፡ ስለዚህ ከእነሱ ከጋንትኛ ትንሽ ትንሽ ቢያስገቡ እየጠቃቀሱ ቢያስገቡ ጥሩ ነው የሚል ሃሳብ አለኝ፡፡

መ1: ያው እነሱ እንደጠቀሱ እኔ ለማለት የፈለግኩት ነገር አንድ ይህ ዘዩኛ ስለሚበዛ ዘዩኛ የሚበዛው ዋና ለዘዩኛ ዋና ሃሱቡ ምንድን ነው የቦታ ርቀት ነው፡፡ አሁን ወላይታ ውስጥ ትንሽወረዳዎች አሉ፡፡ እኛ ጋር ወረዳ ብዙ ነው፡፡ በጣም ብዙ ቅርበት የለንም፡፡ ከቅርበት የተነሳ በመካከላችን ዘዩኛ ተፈጠረ፡፡ እኔ ግን ይህ 'atstsa/hatta,

matsta/matta ይገባኛል። አሁን የእነሱ ቋንቋ ግራ አይገባኝም እረዳለሁ። እነሱ ላይረዱም ስለሚችሉ ቁጫ፣ ቦርዳና፣ ምዕራብ ናቸው አሁን ዋና የቋንቋችን ችግር ያለባቸው በጣም ችግር አለባቸው። ጋንታ ዳጩኛን ይረዳል። ዳጩኛ ጋንትኛ ይረዳሉ። እኔ እነሱ ሰፈር ስለሆንኩ የእነሱን ቋንቋቸውን አልችልም እንጅ ያው እነሱ የሚያወሩትን እረዳለሁ። እነሱ የእኛን ይረዳሉ። በጣም ይረዳሉ። የእነሱ የተለየ ነው ግን በአካባቢው የተወሰነ ሰው ነው የሚያወቀው እንጅ አይበዛም። ግን እሱ ምንም የዘዬ ቋንቋ ነው የሚባለው እንጅ አብዛኛው ስዎች ዳጩኛ ይጠቀማሉ። ሆኖም አሁን እዚህ በቦርዳ፣ ምዕራብና ቁጫ ላይ የወላይታ ፊደል ይጠቀማሉ። እኛ አሁን ጥምር አናባቢዎች እንጠቀማለን። እነሱ ግን አይጠቀሙም። ከዛ ሁሉ የአናሳና የብዙሃን መብት የሚባለው በእጅ ብልጫ ወይም በድምጽ ብልጫ በዳጩኛ ብቻ መጽሐፉ ታትሞ ቢወጣ እነሱም አይቸገሩም ይረዳሉ። |፱| እና |፲| በስነልቦና ማንም ይረዳል አሁን። እዛ ያሉት መጽሐፉን ያነባሉ፣ ይረዳሉ፣ አይቸገሩም። በዳጩኛ ቢወጣ ጥሩ ነው ብዬ እገምታለሁ።

ጠ: በግላችሁ በጋሞኛ ትጽፋላችሁ። በአብዛኛው የምትጠቀሙት ጋሞኛ ነዉ ወይስ አማረኛ?

መ1: እኔ አሁን በራሴ የተወለድኩት ቦንኬ የላ ቀበሌ ውስጥ ነው። የላ ቀበሌ ብዙ ሰዎች ጋሞኛ ይጠቀማሉ። አማርኛ አያውሩም። አማርኛ እነሱ ስለማያውሩ ወንጌልም ሆነ መጀመሪያ ወንጌልን በአማርኛ ካነበበ ያ ሰባኪው በጋሞኛ ለእነሱ ለብሔረሰቡ ይፈታል። ያን እሱ ሲፈታ በጋሞኛ ነው የሚጽፈው። ጥቅሱንም በጋሞኛ ነው የምንጽፈው፣ በሚኒሚዲያ ደግሞ በአብዛኛው በአማርኛ ነው የምጽፈው እጠቀማለሁ። ግን የአማርኛ የማይገቡኝ አንዳንድ ቃላት አሉ እነሱንም በጋሞኛ ጽፎ ሄጄ ከመዝገበ ቃል አይቼ እረዳለሁ። እኔ ጋሞኛን ከፃፍኩ በጣም ቶሎ ነው የምረዳው።

መ2: በእኔ በኩል የምጠቀመው ወደ ሃገር ቤት ደብዳቤ ጽፎ ለመላክ ስል ሰዎች አማርኛውን በደንብ ስለማይችሉ በጋሞኛ ነው ጽፎ የምልከው። በሞባይሌ ላይ ደግሞ የሆኑ ነገሮችን ስጽፍ በጋሞኛ ነው የምጽፈው።

መ3: እኛ ጋ የድሮ እናቶቻችን፣ አባቶቻችን፣ አያቶቻችን ስለማያውቁ ስብሰባ ላይ በአማርኛ አውርተው ከሄዱ ለእነሱ በጋሞኛ እናብራራለን። በቤተክርስቲያንም ከሆነ በአማርኛ አውርተው ካዛ በኋላ በጋሞኛ እያውሩ ለሕዝብ እንዲገባ ያደርጋሉ። እኔ በግሌ ስጽፍ አሁን በይበልጥ ጋሞኛም አማርኛም እጠቀማለሁ። ግን አብዛኛውን የምጠቀመው አማርኛ ነው።

መ5: አሁን እኛ አካባቢ ያሉ ሰዎች በአብዛኛው በጋሞኛ ነው የሚያወሩት። ሁሉም የሚጠቀሙት በጋሞኛ ነው። ሲጽፉ ግን በአማረኛ ነው። እኔም በአማርኛ የሚወራ ነገር ስጽፍ በአማረኛ ነው የምጽፈው። ግን ያልተማሩት ሰዎች ጋሞኛ ብቻ ነው የሚያወሩት። የተማሩት ብቻ ናቸው በአማረኛ የሚያወሩት፤ ጥቅስ ስጽፍ በአማረኛ።

መ4: እኛ አካባቢ ሰዎች የሚጠቀሙት በጋሞኛ ነው። ከተማ የተወለዱት ትንሽ አማርኛ እኔ ግን ገጠር ስለተወለድኩ በጋሞኛ ነው የምጠቀመው። ግጥም ለምሳሌ ትምህርት ቤት እያለሁ የትምህርት መዝጊያ ሰዓት ላይ ግጥም ምናምን አቀርባለሁ። በዛን ጊዜ በጋሞኛ ነው የምጽፈው ለምን እኔም አማረኛ ብዙ አልችልም። ሰዎችም አይረዱም። ለዛ በጋሞኛ ጽፎ አነባለሁ። ቤተክርስቲያንም የቃል መሪ ከሆንኩኝ በአማረኛ የተፃፈውን በጋሞኛ ፈትቼ ነው የማስረዳው።

ጠ: አፃፃፉ ወጥ ሆኖ ከንድ ዘዬ ከተወሰደ የሌሎቹ ይቀራል። የሁሉም ተካትቶ ሲፃፍም የአንዱ ሲወሰድ የሌላው ይቀራል። እናንተ ከምታወሩት ዘዬ አንዳንድ ቃላት ቢቀነሱ ምን ይሰማችኋል ?

መ5: የእኔ ቢቀር እውነት አይመስለኝም ለእኔ እኛ ጋ ተናጋሪ እያለ እንዴት ነው የእኛ ቋንቋ የሚቀንሱት የማይወስዱት። የጋንታ ተወስዶ የእኛ ከቀረ እኛ ጋ ያሉ ሰዎች የጋንታን አይረዱም። እንዲረዱ መውሰድ አለበት። ቋንቋውን standard (መደበኛ) ለማድረግ ሁሉም መጠቀም አለበት።

መ4: የእኛ ዘዬዎች አንዳንድ ቢቀነሱ ሌላ ደግሞ ከእኛ ጋር ጋሞኛን የሚያወሩት አሉ ከአምስቱ ወረዳዎች ለምሳሌ አንዱ ቢወሰድ ምንም አይቆጩኝም። ግን አብዛኛው ቃል ተመሳሳይ ነው። ለምንድነው የቦረዳ፣ የምዕራብና የቁጫ ሲቀር የቦንኬ፣ የጋንታ፣ የጨንቻ የዲታ፣ የዳራማሎ ቢወሰድ ምንም አይቆጩኝም። ለምንድነው ቃሉ ጋሞኛ ነው። ግን ከወላይታ አይደለም የተወሰደው ከወላይታ ቃል አይደለም የተወሰደው እኔ የሚቆጩኝ ምንድን ነው አሁን የቦረዳና፣ የምዕራብ የቁጫ ቢቀር እነሱን ሊቆጫቸው ይችላል እኔን ግን አይቆጩኝም። ለምንድን ነው እነሱ ከተቆጩ እነሱን እንደምንም ብዬ ማስረዳት አለብኝ “እኛ የምንጠቀመው የጋሞን ቃል ነው እናንተ ደግሞ ለወላይታ ጎረቤት ስለሆናችሁ ይህ የወላይታዎች ነው” ወላይታ አሁን ለኛ አይተውም ይህንን ቃላት የጋሞ ነው አይልም የወላይታ ነው። ደግሞ እነሱ ከራሳቸው ፈጥረው የሚያወሩት ቃል የሉም። አብዛኛው እነሱ የሚያወሩት ምንድን ነው የወላይታ ነው። ወላይታ ከጋሞኛ ጋር ሊያግባባ ይችላል ግን የእኛ ሰዎች በወላይታ ወይም በቁጫ፣ በቦረዳ፣ በምዕራብ ቢፃፍ እኔ እረዳለሁ አብዛኛውን የእኛ ሰዎች ሊረዱ አይችሉም። ለምንድን ነው ከወላይታ ነው አብዛኛው የወሰደው። እኛ ስድስቱ ወረዳዎች ተመሳሳይ ስለምናወራ የእኛ ሲወስድ ደግሞ እንደምንም ብለን እነሱን “ይህ የወላይታ ቃል ነው እናንተ የወላይታ ጎረቤት ስለሆናችሁ ነው ይህን የምታወሩት ከዚህ በኋላ የጋሞን አንደምንም ብላችሁ መለማመድ አለባችሁ። በጋሞን እንደምንም ብላችሁ መለማመድ አለባችሁ በጋሞ ቋንቋ መቀጠል አለባችሁ። የእኛ ሆናችሁ ጋሞ ናቸው “የእኛን ቋንቋ ተለማምዳችሁ በእኛ ቋንቋ መቀጠል አለባችሁ የእነሱን መጠቀም የለባችሁም” ብለን እነሱን እንደምንም ብዬ ማሳመን አለብኝ።

መ3: በእኔ በኩል ያ ነገር ቢደርስ ጥያቄ ወደዛ እጠይቃለሁ። የሌላ ወረዳዎች ተጽፎ የእኔ ሳይፃፍ ጥያቄ ይፈጠራል። ለምን ካላችሁ የእኛን እንዴት እኛ ጋሞ አይደለንም ጋሞ ውስጥ የሉንም ለምንድን ነው የእኛ የማይፃፈው ብለው እዛ የጨንቻ ብሔረሰቦችም ሰዎችም ሊጠይቁ ይችላሉ። የእነሱ ሲወሰድ የእኛ ለምንድን ነው የማይወስደው ብለው ስለሚጠይቁ የእኛው ቢፃፍ እላለሁ።

ጠ: ለምሳሌ የጋንታ አልተፃፈም የእናንተ ተጽፏል እነሱ ምን ይሰማቸዋል?

መ3: የእነሱ ስላልተፃፈ ህሊናቸው ሊጎዳ ይችላል። እኛ ጋሞ ውስጥ እያለን ሕዝብ አይደለንም ወይ ምን ሆነን ነው የእኛ ቋንቋ ትንሽ ቢጠቀስ ብለው መናገር አለባቸው። በእኔ አስተሳሰብ እኔ ጥያቄ ወደ ዛ አቀርባለሁ። የጋንታዎች ቢገባ አሁን እኔ አልሰማም ግን ቢጨምር የሁሉም ደስ ይለኛል። የምዕራብም የቁጫም እነሱም ቢገቡ ለምን የእነሱም ህሊናቸው ይጎዳል። ለምን የእኛው አልገባም እኛ ጋሞ አይደለንም? ይላሉ። እንደርቀቱ ነው እነሱ ወደ ወላይታ ስለሚጠጉ የወላይታን ይናገራሉ። አውቀው ሳይሆን በድሮ ሰዓት ሳይታወቅ የተወሰደ ነው የእነሱ ቢቀየርም አሪፍ ነው ወደ እኛ።

መገ: አሁን እኛ ዘጠኙ ወረዳ ጋሞ ነን። ጋሞ ስለሆንን ዘጠኙም የምናወራው ችግር የለበትም። አንደኛው ቦታ ነው እኛ አሁን የማናውቀው። እኛ አሁን 'ወገብ' *dabbe* እንላለን። እነሱ *s'essa* ይላሉ። የወላይትኛን ቃል ይጠቀማሉ። እና የእነሱ የሚከብዱ ቃላት ላይ ወይም ብሎ (በቅንፍ) ተጠቅመን እነሱን አስገብተን ብንጽፍ ቋንቋው ሙሉ ለሙሉ እንዲቀየር ሳይሆን ለጊዜው እንደዛ ገብቶ ቢጻፍ አሪፍ ነው። እነዛም ስነልቦናቸው አይጎዳም። እኩል ያያሉ። ጋንትኛ ደግሞ ለምንድነው ያልተጻፈው ለሚለው ጋንታ አሁን የሰፈር ቋንቋ ነው እንጅ በስፋት አይታወቅም። ጋሞኛ ያወራሉ እንጂ ጋንትኛ የሚባል ቋንቋ የለም። እነሱ እርስ በርስ የሰፈር ቋንቋ ነው። አንዳንድ ቦታ አሁን መጽሐፉ ውስጥ እኛ *bita* የምንለው *bita* ወይም ብለው ጋንትኛውን *saka* ተጠቅመው በቅንፍ ያስገባሉ። ግን ብዙ ጋንትኛ ባይገባም አይቆጫቸውም ብዬ ነው የምንምተው። ለምን ጋሞኛን ከእኛ በላይ ያወራሉ። ጋሞኛን ይረዳሉ፣ ያውቃሉ፣ ይጽፋሉ፣ ሕፃናትም ይረዳሉ ችግር የላቸውም። ግን ተጨማሪ ቋንቋ ነው ጋንትኛ እንጅ ባይጻፍም ችግር የለም ጋንትኛ።

መገ: ያው አንዱ ቋንቋ ወይም የእኔ ቋንቋ እኔ እዚህ አካባቢ ስለተወለድኩ ሰፋ አድርጌ ሳየው አንድ ቋንቋ ከተነሣ ዘወር ካደረጉት አንዳንዱ ፀሐፊ ይህ ጥሩ አይደለም የሚል ሃሳብ አለኝ። ለምን ካላችሁ አሁን እዚህ እየተጻፈ ያለው "ህዳሴ" የሚባል መጽሐፍ ወጥቷል በጋሞኛ። ፀሐፊው የራሱን ሀገር ቃላትና ቋንቋ ነው በተለይ የተጠቀመው። ግን የጋንትኛ ወይም የተለያዩ አካባቢዎችን አልተጠቀሙም። ጋንትኛ ወይም ፀለለ አረት ፊወ የጸማተ ይህንን መጽሐፍ ቢያይ ይህ እንዴት ነው የእኛ ቋንቋ ወይም ቃል አልገባም ብሎ ሊቆም ይችላል። ስዎችንም ሊያነሣ ይችላል።

ጠ: ህዳሴ መጽሐፍ የተጻፈው በምንኛ ነው?

መገ: በጨንቻ ወረዳ በዶኮ ነው የጻፈው።

መገ: የሚገባንም የሚከብድም ቃል አለ። ዲክሽነሪ ሲወጣ ሁሉም ቃላት ቢቀመጡ ጥሩ ነው።

መገ: ይህን መጽሐፍ እኔ እንደምለው ስድስቱ ወረዳዎች ሕፃናትም ሳይቀሩ አንብበው መረዳት ይችላሉ። ከምዕራብ ቦረዳና ቁጫ ሲቀር። ጨንቻ ጻፈ ዳታ ጻፈ ሁሉም ሊረዱ ይችላሉ፤ ከሦስቱ ወረዳዎች ውጪ።

ጠ: ሁላችሁንም በጣም አመሠግናለሁ።

የቡድን ውይይት ሶስት

ጠ: ሁላችሁንም በቡድን ውይይት ለመሳተፍ ፈቃደኛ ስለሆናችሁ በጣም አመሰግናለሁ። የመጀመሪያ ጥያቄየ ለትምህርት አገልግሎት የዋለው ጋሞኛ እናንተ በቤት ውስጥ ወይም በአካባቢያችሁ ከምትናገሩት ጋር ተመሳሳይ ወይም ተቀራራቢ ነው?

መገ: ስሜ አልማዝ እባላለሁ የመጣሁት ከዲታ ወረዳ ነው። የተማርኩት በራሴ በማወራው ጋሞኛ ነው።

መ2: እኔ የመጣሁት ከካምባ ወረዳ ነው የኔነው እባላለሁ። ከአንደኛ እስከ አስረኛ የተማርኩት ባልታ ነው። ሰፈር የማወራው ሌላ ቋንቋ አለ ትምህርት ቤት የማወራው ሌላ ጋሞኛ ነው። ጋሞኛ በሁለት ይከፈላል ሰፈር የማወራውና ትምህርት ቤት የማወራው ደግሞ በዳጩኛ አወራለሁ።

ጠ: አንተ ሰፈር ውስጥ የምትናገረውና ትምህርት የምትማርበት ልዩነት አለው።

መ2: አዎ ሄዶ ፍቺው አንድ ሆኖ ይለያያል ትንሽ በአነጋገር ትምህርት ላይ ተጽእኖ የለውም ግን እቤት የማወራው ሌላ ጋሞኛ ትምህርት ቤት የማወራው ሌላ ጋሞኛ ነው።

መ3: ስሜ አለሙ ጫንዳ እባላለሁ ከአርባ ምንጭ ዙሪያ ወረዳ ነው የመጣሁት ዝጊቲ ባኮሌ ከአንድ እስከ ስምንተኛ ተምራክለሁ። እኔ በቤቴ ውስጥ ከቤተሰቦቼ ጋር ከአካባቢ ጋር የምናገረው ጋንትኛ ቋንቋ ነው። ትምህርት ቤት ገብቼ ሌላ ዳጩኛ የሚባል ጋሞኛ ነው የተማርኩት። መጀመሪያ ግን ትምህርት ቤት ሳልገባ ይሄን ዳጩኛ የሚባለውን አላውቀውም መጀመሪያ ጋንትኛ ነው የምችለው በርግጥ። ስለዚህ አሁን ከዛ በኋላ ትምህርት ቤት ከገባሁ በኋላ ነው ዳጩኛን ያወቅኩት። ምንም አይከብደኝም ጥሩ ነው።

መ4: እኔ አስናቀኝ እባላለሁ የመጣሁት ከካምባ ወረዳ ነው። ትምህርት የተማርኩት በጋሞኛ ነው። ከወላጆቼ ጋር የምግባባው በሱ ጋሞኛ ብቻ ነው።

መ5: ስሜ አበራ እባላለሁ። የመጣሁት ከቁጫ ወረዳ ነው። በጋሞኛ አንደኛ ደረጃን ተምራክለሁ። እኛ በቁጫ ውስጥ ስንነጋገር ትንሽ አንዳንድ ቃላቶች ይለያሉ። የዚህ የትምህርቱ እና የቀበሌ ቋንቋ ይለያል። እኛ ጋ አንዳንድ ፊደሎች በትምህርት ላይ ያሉትን እዛጋ አይጠቀሙም። ግን ያን ያህል ያው ትርጉሙ አንድ ላይ ይሆናል። በጋሞኛ መማራችን ለውጤታችን ጥሩ ነው ሃገራችን ላይ አንድ ላይ ፍቅር ያሳያል ያን ያህል ክፉ አይደለም። ለወደፊት እንደዚህ ቢያድግ ጥሩ ነው።

ጠ: መጽሐፍት ሲፃፉ በተለይ የመማሪያ መፃሕፍትና ሌሎች በጋሞኛ ተጽፈው የሚወጡ መፃሕፍት አንድ ወጥ በሆነ መደበኛ ቋንቋ መፃፍ አለባቸው ብላችሁ ታስባላችሁ?

መ5: አዎ እናስባለን። ጥቅሙ ትንሽ ቶሎ እንደዛ ባይፃፍም ከጊዜ በኋላ ይፃፋል። አንደንድ የደጋና የቆላ አነጋገር በጋሞ ውስጥ ይለያል። ቢሆንም አንዳንድ እስካሁን እየተጠቀምን ያለው (ቅንፍ) በኮማ ውስጥ ነው። አሁን እኔ በጋሞኛ ትምህርት ክፍል ሦስተኛ ዓመቴ ነው ልመረቅ ነው። እስካሁን ድረስ ግን አዳዲስ ቃላቶች ይገኛሉ። ይሁን እንጂ ቃላቶችን በቅንፍ አንዳንድ ነገሮችን በዘዬ ወይም በአካባቢ ቋንቋ እየተጠቀምን ነን። ይሁን እንጅ ከጊዜ በኋላ አንድ ወጥ ማድረግ ያው ሃሳብ አለን እናስባን። ከመምህራኖቻችን ጋር የቋንቋ ጥናት ከሚያደርጉ ጋር አንድ ወጥ ማድረግ ያስፈልጋል ብለን እናስባን። ግን ዛሬም ነገም ቶሎ ማድረግ አይቻልም። የብዙሃን ሕዝብ ዘጠኝ ወረዳዎች ነንና ጊዜ ይወስዳል አንድ ላይ በአንድ ቀን ካደረግን ለአንዳንዶች አዲስ ስለሚሆን ተያይተን ከዛሬ አንድ ሁለት ሦስት ዓመት በኋላ አንድ ሊሆን ይችላል።

መ4: እኔም እንደዛ በአንድ አይነት ቢሆን ይሻላል ብዬ ነው የማስበው። ለምን እኛ አንድ ቋንቋ ስለምናወራ አንድ አይነት አንድ ከሆነ በጣም ጠቃሚ ነው ብዬ ነው የምገምተው።

መ3: እኔም እንደነሱ አንድ አይነት እንዲሆን ነው የምፈልገው። መጀመሪያ ጋሞኛ አንድ አይነት ከሆነ ለጋሞ ሕዝብ መጠሪያ የሆነ አንድ የትምህርት አይነት ሊሆን ይችላል። ስለዚህ አንድ አይነት እንዲሆን የተለያዩ አባባሎች ተረቶች ሁሉም ነገር አለ። እነሱ ሁሉ ተሰብስበው አንድ ላይ ታትመው በየተራ ታትመው አንድ አይነት ሆነው ያው ለጋሞ ጥሩ የትምህርት ዓይነት እንዲሆን ነው የምፈልገው።

መ2: እኔ የምለው አሁን በቅርብ ስለተጀመረ መጪው ትውልድ ጋሞኛን ለምሳሌ ኦሮሚያ አማራኛን ትቶ እሱን ነው የሚያወራው። ደሞ ጋሞ ሆነን ጋሞኛውን እንደ አማራኛ ወስደን እንደምንጠቀም ከኋላ ያለው ትውልድ እሱን እንደሚጠቀም ጥናት ተደርጎ በተገቢው ሁኔታ ቢቆይም ታትሞ ቢወጣ ጥሩ ነው አላለሁ።

መ1: እኔም እንደዛው በጣም ጥሩ ነው አንድ ዓይነት ሆኖ ቢወጣ ለምሳሌ በሌላ ሀገር የራሳቸውን ቋንቋ በደንብ እንደሚያሳድጉና በደንብ እንደሚሰሩ ነው። የእኛም ጋሞኛ እንደዛው በጥሩ ሁኔታ ቢወጣ በጣም ጥሩ ነው ብዬ አደግፋለሁ።

ጠ: መደበኛ የሆነው ጽሁፍ ከአንዱ ዘዬ ቢወጣ ነው ጥሩ ወይስ ከሁሉም ዘዬዎች መወሰድ አለበት?

መ1: አንድ አይነት ቢሆን ጥሩ ነው። ለምሳሌ ጋሞኛው አንድ አይነት ሆኖ ዘዬዎቹ አሉ ከእነሱም ተካቶ በንድ አይነት ቢወጣ ጥሩ ነው ብዬ አስባለሁ። ግን አንዱን መውሰድ ጥሩ ነው። ለምን ሌላው ትውልድም ያውቃል።

መ2: እኔ የምለው ከሁሉም ዘዬዎች ቢወሰድ ጥሩ ነው አላለሁ። እኔ የምናገረው በልታኛ ዲታ ያለው ልጅ አያውቅም። እኔ ደግሞ ዲታ ያለውን ዘዬ አላውቅም። ለዛ ከሁሉም አካባቢ ተስዶ ጥናት ተደርጎ ቢጻፍ ጥሩ ነው አላለሁ።

መ3: እኔ የምለው በርግጥ አንድ አይነት ይሁን ብዬ ነው የማስበው ግን ሁለቱ (ዘዬዎች) አንድ ላይ ከተጻፈ በኋላ ከአንዱ አካባቢ የመጣው አንዱን ሲል ከሌላ አካባቢ የመጣው የራሱን ሲል (ሲጠቀም) ሁለት ያወጣል። ስለዚህ ሁለት ከምታወጣ አንዱ ብቻ በተግባር አንዱ ቢቀመጥ ይሻላል ብዬ ነው የማስበው።

መ4: እኔ ከሁሉም ዘዬዎች ቢወሰድ ይሻላል። ምክንያቱም አሁን ሰው በራሱ በሆነ አገላለጽ ሰው በደንብ እንዲገባው ከሁሉም ከዚህኛውም የትኛውም ዘዬ ገብቶ ከሁሉም ተወስዶ ቢጻፍ ይልቅ ለሰው ለአንባቢው ይገባል።

መ5: እንደጥያቄው መሠረት አሁን ዘዬ አብዛኛውን ጊዜ ብዙ አለ። ስለዚህ ሁሉንም በቅንፍ ውስጥ አሁን ዘጠኙ ወረዳ የተለያዩ ከከተማ አስተዳደሩ ጋር አስር ነው። በጋሞኛ የሚሚረው ከዛ ውስጥ በአንድ ወረዳ ውስጥ ጋንታ፣ ጋርባንሳ ምናምን ስለ ቋንቋ አለ። ስለዚህ እያንዳንዳቸው በቅንፍ ብናስገባ ብዙ ነው። ደግሞ አናስገባም ካልን የአንዱ ይገኛል፤ የአንዱ ይከሳል። ስለዚህ ዘጠኙ ወረዳ ከከተማ አስተዳደሩ ጋር አስር አሰባስቦ አብዛኛው ጊዜ የሚቀጠም ማን ነው የአብዛኛው መደገፍ። ስለዚህ የእኔ የእኔ ይወስድ ከማለት እንደ ቋንቋው እድገት አንጻር አብዛኛው ጊዜ ከአምስት ወረዳ በላይ የሚያወሩት የሚጠቀሙት እሱ ተለይቶ ከታወቀ በኋላ እዛ ላይ ተደግፎ አርጅናል የሆነ አንድ ወጥ የሆነ ነገር ቢወጣ ጥሩ ነው። ሌላው አንዳንድ ቋንቋ ውስጥ ለምሳሌ አማርኛ ከሆነ የሰሜን ሸዋ፣ የደቡብ ምናምን እያለ “ባቄላ” “ባኤላ” የሚሉ አሉ። በእንግሊዝኛም የብሪቲሽ፣ የፈረንሳይ አለ። እንደዛው ቢበዛ ቢበዛ የእነሱ ሁለት ሦስት እስከ አራት ነው። የእኛ ግን በዘዬዎችን ሁሌ እንጠቀም ካልን ከሃያ

በላይ ነው። ስለዚህ የብዙሃኑ ተደግፎ ተሰባስቦ ቢበዛ ቢበዛ በቅንፉ ውስጥ አንድ ቃል ብቻ ተጠቅመን አንድ ወጥ ብናረግ የብዙሀኑን ተደግፈን ማለት ነው።

ጠ: ወጥ የሆነው ጽሁፍ ሲወጣ በእናንተ ዘዬ ውስጥ ያሉ ንግግሮች ቢቀነሱ ምን የመስላችኋል?

መ2: ቋንቋ ፍቺው አንድ ሆኖ ከሁሉም ዘዬ ቢወስድና ወጥ በሆነ መንገድ ቢወጣ ጥሩ ነው። ከሁሉም እኩል ተወስዶ እኩል ቢወጣ አሪፍ ነው። የማንም አይቀነስም። ከማንም እኩል ተወስዶ ፍቺው አንድ እስከሆነ ድረስ ከሁሉም ከጋሞ አካባቢ ካለ ሕዝብተወስዶ ቋንቋው አንድ ወጥ የሆነ መንገድ መወጣት አለበት።

መ4: እሱ ቋንቋ ሁሉ እኩል ነው። አንዱ ተቀንሶ አንዱ ተጨምሮ አይልም። ስለዚህ ሁሉም ቋንቋ አንድ ትርጉም ይሰጣል እንጅ ተጨምሮ ተቀንሶ አይሆንም።

ጠ: በግላችሁ በጋሞኛ ትጽፋላችሁ። በአብዛኛዉ የምትጠቀሙት ጋሞኛ ነዉ ወይስ አማረኛ?

መ2: አዎ። አሁን በጋሞኛ ለምሳሌ ለቤተሰብ ደብዳቤ ከፃፍን በጋሞኛ ልንጽፍ እንችላለን። ግን ብዙ ጊዜ እኔ በአማረኛ እጽፋለሁ። መጀመሪያ ጋሞኛ ስላላደገ ቤተሰብ የጋሞኛውን ጽሁፍ አያውቁም። የሚያውቁት አማረኛ ነው። እና በአማረኛ እጽፋለሁ። ቤተክርስቲያን ውስጥም በጋሞኛ እናወራለን። ደብዳቤ ስንጽፍ ትምህርት ቤት የምንማረውን ነው የምንጽፈው።

መ3: እኔ በብዛት በአማረኛ ነው ደብዳቤም ቤተክርስቲያንም የትም ሆነ በአማረኛ ነው የምንጽፈው። ለምንድነው እንደዚህ የምናደርገው መጀመሪያ የእኛ አባቶቻችን ትምህርት ሲማሩ በጋሞኛ አልተማሩም በአማረኛ ነው የተማሩት ስለዚህ በአማረኛ ነው የምንጽፈው። በጋንትኛም አልጽፍም ምክንያቱም አንደኛ ክፍል ስገባ በዳጩቶ ነው የጀመርኩት ተወልጄ እስከ ሰባት ዓመቴ ድረስ ጋንትኛ ነው የማወራው። ከዛ ተመልሼ ዳጩቶን የጀመርኩት። እኔ በርግጥ ስጽፍ በዳጩቶ ወይም በአማረኛ ነው ደብዳቤ ምናምን ስጽፍ።

መ4: እኔ በአማረኛ ነው በጽሁፍ የምገልፀው ግን የማወራው በጋሞኛ ነው። ደብዳቤም የተለያዩ ጽሁፍ በአማረኛ እጽፋለሁ። ግን የማወራው በጋሞኛ ነው።

መ5: እኔ ከዚህ በፊት የምጠቀመው በአማረኛ ነው። በጋሞኛ እንነጋገራለን ቢሆንም ግጥምና መዝሙር የቤተክርስቲያንም ሆነ ደብዳቤ በአማረኛ ነው የምጽፈው ለብዙሃን ስለሚቀርብ። ጋሞኛ አላደገም ከዚህ በፊት ቋንቋችን እሱ ሆኖ ግን በጽሁፍ ደረጃ አለደገም። በጽሁፍ ደረጃ ይለያል በመነጋገርና በመፃፍ ይለያያል ስለዚህ ሁልጊዜ የምጠቀመው በአማረኛ ነው። ግን ከቅርብ ጊዜ ወዲህ ደብዳቤም ግጥምም በጋሞኛ መፃፍ ጀምረናል በዚህ መቀጠል አለበት ጥሩ ነው።

መ1: እኔ ደግሞ በጋሞኛም እጠቀማለሁ በአማረኛም እጠቀማለሁ። ለምሳሌ አሁን የብሄረሰቦች ቀን አገሮች የራሳቸውን ባህል ለማሳየት የሚሰበስቡ ቀን በጋሞኛ ግጥም ምናምን በጋሞኛ እናቀርባለን። ቤተክርስቲያን ስሄድ የምጽፈው በአማረኛ ነው። ጋሞኛን አወራለሁ ስጽፍ በአማረኛ እጽፋለሁ።

ጠ: ሁላችሁንም በጣም አመሰግናለሁ።

የቡድን ውይይት አራት

ጠ: ሁላችሁንም በቡድን ውይይት ለመሳተፍ ፈቃደኛ ስለሆናችሁ በጣም አመሰግናለሁ። የመጀመሪያ ጥያቄዎ ለትምህርት አገልግሎት የዋለው ጋሞኛ እናንተ በቤት ውስጥ ወይም በአካባቢያችሁ ከምትናገሩት ጋር ተመሳሳይ ወይም ተቀራራቢ ነው?

መ1: ስሜ ሰላም እባላለሁ የመጣሁት ከአርባምንጭ ዙሪያ ወዳ ከላንቴ ቀበሌ ነው። እኛ አካባቢ የሚያወራት የተለያየ ነው። ላንቴ ማለት ልዩ ቀበሌ ናት። እዚህ ትምህርት ቤት መጥቼ የማወራውና ሰፈር የማወራው የተለያየ ነው። ላንቴ ለምሳሌ “አንታ” የሚባለው እዚህ “አይቤ” ይባላል። ስለዚህ ላንቴኛ እና የምናወራው ከምንማረው ጋር አይገናኝም። እዚህ መጥቼ የምንማረው ሌላ ነው። ስለዚህ የየራሱ ቋንቋ ሰው ሲማር በጣም ደስ ይላል። ጽሁፉን አነባለሁ አያስቸግረኝም ግን የማወራው ሌላ ነው። መስማትም እሰማለሁ፣ ማንበብም አነባለሁ፣ ግን ይለያያል።

መ2: ስሜ አባተ ይባላል የመጣሁት ከዲታ ወረዳ ነው። ያው የኛ ከአንድ ጀምሮ እስከ ኮሌጅ ትምህርት ቤት የተማርነው በኛ ቋንቋ ነው ማለትም ራሱ ይቻላል። የተገናኘ ነው ምንም እኛ በምንናገረውና በምንማረው የተለየ ነገር ስለሌለ ብዙ አንጎዳም። ከእኛ ቋንቋ ነው እንደውም የተወሰደው ማለት ይቻላል።

መ3: ስሜ ታመነች ይባላል የመጣሁት ከቦንኬ ወረዳ ነው። እኛ የምንማረው ቋንቋና እቤት የተለመደው አንድ ነው ማለት ይቻላል። በጣም ቀላል ነው ለመረዳትም አንድ ነው። በጣም ይገባኛል። ለምሳሌ ዘዬኛ አለ ‘hathe’ እንላለን የምንማረውም ‘hatha’ ብለን ነው የምንማረው በቃ። ስለዚህ አንደሱ በቃ አንድ ሆኖ ነው የሚፃፈው ሞጁሉና የእኛ ቋንቋ አንድ ነው።

መ4: ስሜ ታመነ እባላለሁኝ ከቀጫ ወረዳ ነው የመጣሁት። አሁን በዚህ በጋሞኛው ከእኛ ትንሽ ይለያል ። ጋሞ እዚህ ቦንኬ አካባቢ፣ ካምባ አካባቢ hatha ይላል። እኛ ጋ hata ይላል። ትንሽ ልዩነት አለ።

ጠ: ያ ታዲያ ትምህርት ላይ ተጽእኖ ያመጣል?

መ: እኛን አያስቸግርም። እኛ ስለተማርን ለእኛ ይገባናል። ግን ህጻናት አያውቁም።

ጠ: ትምህርትቤት ሲገቡስ?

መ: ተምረው ያውቃሉ። ግን የማይማሩት ግን ሊያውቁ አይችሉም። ከእኛ ሰምተው ነው። ግን ዘዬው ነው የዘዬ ልዩነት ነው። ግን እኛ ተምረን ሁሉንም አውቀናል። የእኛ ችግር የለውም እቤት ውስጥ ያሉት አባቶቻችን በጣም ይቸገራሉ ለማወቅ።

ጠ: ለማወቅ?

መ4: አዎ።

መ5: ስሜ ማህደር እባላለሁ። የመጣሁት ከቦርዳ ወረዳ ነው እና ትምህርቱን ይህን ስንማር ከአንደኛ እስካሁን ድረስ የተማርነው ነገር ምንም የተለየ ነገር ያን ያህል የለም፤ ምክንያቱም አንዳንድ ቦታ ላይ ይህ ዘዩ ሲቀር ቢቃ ሌላው ሁሉ አንድ ነው ተመሳሳይ ነው። ችግር የለም ተመሳሳይ ነው እና እ... የተለያየ ነገር የለም ያው ቀንቋውን ወደ ላይ ማሳደግ ነው እንጅ ሌላ ነገር የለም።

መ6: ስሜ መሰረት እባላለሁ። ከጨንቻ ወረዳ ነው የመጣሁት። እና እዚህ ትምህርት ቤት ከመጣሁ ዛሬ ሶስተኛ ዓመቱ ነው። ስማር የገጠመኝ ነገር ጥሩ ነገር ነው እንጂ ያልገባ ነገር ምንም የለም ነገር አልገጠመኝም። ለምሳሌ ቤት እኔ ማወራው ቋንቋ ቤተሰቦቼ ጋር እና እዚህ ምማረው ቋንቋ አንድ ነው። እና የተለያዩ ከአገራቸው ዘጠኝ ወረዳ የመጡት ልጆች ጋር ማውራት እችላለሁ። ባለው ሰዓት ማለት ነው። እና ደግሞ እኔ ምማረው ሞጁል ውስጥ ስታንዳርድ የሆነ ቃላቶች ነው የተጠቀሙት ለምሳሌ እነሱ እንዳሉ ማለት ነው “Kebeletetha” ምለው “መጥፎ” ማለት ነው እና በእንትን ኮማ (ቅንፍ) ውስጥ አስገብተው “Kebeletatha” ምለው ብዙ ለመግለጽ ሲፈልጉ “Ita” ብለው ይገልጻሉ እና ብዙ ታይም ቢቃ አያስቸግረኝም። ለምን አንዱ ባያውቅ እንኳን ያኛውን አንዱን ማወቅ እችላለሁ። ስለዚህ ጥሩ ሁኔታ ነው ባለው ሰዓት እየተማርኩት ያለሁ እና ባለው ሰዓት ያንኑ ትምህርታችን እኛ አሁን እንደ ጀመርን አንቺ እንዳልሸው በእኛ ላይነው ዲፕሎማ የተጀመረው። እዚህ ኮሌጅ ላይ እና ዲግሪውም ማስትሬቱም ለመማር ጥሩ ቻንስ እንዲሰጡን ነው እኛ ፍላጎታችን ባለን ሰዓት። በሌላ ትምህርት ቤት ማለት በሌላ ቋንቋ እንግሊዝኛ፣ አማርኛ፣ ኦሮምኛ ማስትሬት ዲግሪ ምናምን አለው። ግን በእኛ ቋንቋ የለም አላደገም። እና የተፃፉት መጽሐፍትም የለም የዚህ ያህል ስለዚህ ያ መጽሐፍም እኛን ይጠብቃል ለመፃፍ ማለት ነው። ስለዚህ በጥሩ ሁኔታ ተምረን ጥሩ ውጤት አምጥተን እሱን ያልተፃፈውን በራሳችን ቋንቋ ዘጠኙ ወረዳችን አሁን ጋሞኛ ምናወራው እኛ ነን እና በዛው ላይ ሌላውንምቀይረን ለመፃፍና ለመማር እንሞክራለን በማለታችን ነው። እና ጥሩ ነው።

ጠ: መጽሐፍት ሲፃፉ በተለይ የመማሪያ መፃሕፍትና ሌሎች በጋሞኛ ተጽፈው የሚወጡ መፃሕፍት አንድ ወጥ በሆነ መደበኛ ቋንቋ መፃፍ አለባቸው ብላችሁ ታስባላችሁ?

መ6: ወጥ የሆነው ነገር ለእኛ ጥሩ ነው፤ ለምን አንዱ ዘጠኝ ወረዳችን ውስጥ የተለያዩ ቋንቋ የቃል ግን አንድ ወረዳ ውስጥ ያለው በአንዱ ቢፃፍ ያ ሰውየው ነው የሚጠቀሙ እንጂ የተለያዩ ቦታ የመጡት ልጆች እና ሰዎች መጠቀም አይችሉም። ለምን ያ ወረዳ ላይ ለምሳሌ ቅድም እንዳልኩኝ “Kebeletetha” ምለው ሌላ ወረዳ ላይ “Ita” ነው ምሉት እና ያ “Kebeletetha” ምን እንደሆነ አላወቁም። እና ያ ነገር በተያዩ ቋንቋ ቢፃፍ ማለት ነው በዘዩው ማለት ነው፤ በዛ ቢፃፍ ጥሩ ነው። የተለያዩ ቢፃፍ መልካም ነው ብዬ አስባለሁ።

ጠ: አሁን ለምሳሌ ወጥ በሆነ መንገድ ነው እየተፃፈ ያለው?

መ6: አዎ።

ጠ: እና የአሁኑ ችግር አለው እያልሽ ነው? በተለያዩ መንገድ ይፃፍ ስትይ?

መ6: አይ በአሁኑ ሰዓት የተፃፈው በጣም ምርጥ ነው። እና እንደዛው ሆኖ አሁኑ እኔ ማለት የምፈልገው ነገርምንድነው በኮማ (ቅንፍ) መልክ የተለያዩ ቋንቋዎችን የሚጠቀሙት ሰዎች ለአንድ ቋንቋ አሁን ማለት ለአንድ አረፍተ ነገር

ውስጥ ያለውን አሳብ ለመግለጽ ሲፈልጉ በብራኬት ውስጥ አስቀምጠው ቢገልጹ ያ ቋንቋ ግልጽ አድርጎ ለመረዳት።

መ5: ያው ወጥ በሆነ መንገድ ቢጻፍ ነው የሚሻለው። እኛ እዚህ ስንማር ከተለያዩ አቅጣጫ ከተለያዩ ወረዳዎች መጥተን ስለተማርን እኔ ለምሳሌ ከቦሮዳ መጥቼ የምዕራብን አቃለሁ። የቁጫን አቃለሁ እንደዛ እያልኩኝ የተለያዩ ወረዳዎችን እንትን ዲያሌክቱን ስለምያቅ ምንም ችግር የለም። ይህ ደግሞ ሄደን ስናስተምር ተማሪዎችን ሄደን ስናስተምር አሱ ወጥ ሆኖ ከተጻፈ በኋላ እኛ ስናስተምር በዚህኛው ቋንቋ ለምሳሌ በካምቦዲያ ለምሳሌ 'ው' የምባለውን *haatsa* ከተባለ በእኛ ደግሞ በቦሮዳኛ *haatta* ይባላል እንደዛ እያልን ወጥ ሆኖ ከተጻፈ በዚህ ቋንቋ በዚያኛው አገር ቋንቋ እንዲህ እንዲህ ነው ብለን ልናስተምር እንችላለን።

መ4: ያው እነሱ እንዳሉት ትክክል ናቸው። እንደዛ ነው የእኛም ብዙ አይለይም እ... ትንሽ የሚለየው ለእኔ የምሰማማው አሁን ከቦሮዳ፣ ቁጫ፣ ቦሮዳ፣ ምዕራብ ደራማሎ እነኚህ አንድ አይነት ነው የሚናገሩት የእነሱ ለእኛ በጣም ይገባል። ቋንቋው አንድ አይነት ነው። ግን አሁን እንደ ቁጫ አነጋገር ይጻፍ አይደለም። ለሁሉም እንደምገባ እንደምጻፍ ይሁን ግን ቋንቋችን እንደዛ እኛ በሀገራችን ወይም በዘያችን ልንነጋገር እንችላለን ግን ጽሁፍ ለሁሉም እንደምገባ ቢጻፍ ይሻላል ለማለት ነው።

መ3: አሁን እኛ የእኛ ቋንቋ በዘዩው መለያየት ይቻላል። ግን ስንማር ስንጽፍ አንቺ ቅድም እንዳልሸው እንደ አማረኛ ቋንቋ ስንጽፍ አንድ ነው የምሆነው። እዚህ ላይ አሁን ከየወረዳችን የመጣነው እ... አንዳንድ ወረዳ ሌላ ሌላ ነው አሁን የሚያወራው። *haatta*, *haatsa* እንዳለው አሁን ቅድም ልጁ እንዳለው ሌላ ሌላ ነው እንትኑ *dirats* የሚለው ሌላ ሌላ አለ ግን ስንጽፍ አንድ ነው። ስለዚህ አሁን ያው እንደሱ ቢሆን ይሻላል።

መ2: እኔ የምፈልገው ነገር የቦሮዳ፣ የቁጫና የምዕራብ ለእኛ አይከብደንም ዘዩ ብኖርም እንኳን ለእኛ አይከብደንም ግን በጋንትኛ አንድ ሰው መጽሐፍ ቢያዘጋጅ በጋንትኛ ዘዩ ቢያዘጋጅ ምንም እኔ ሕብረተሰቡ ይረዳል ብዬ አልገምትም። ለምሳሌ በጋንትኛ አንድ ሰው መጽሐፍ ቢያዘጋጅ በጋንትኛ ዘዩ ቢያዘጋጅ ምንም እኔ ሕብረተሰብ ይረዳል ብዬ አልገምትም። ለምሳሌ በጋንትኛ 'በሬ' ለማለት ቢልጉ በእኛ አሁን በቁጫ፣ በቦሮዳ፣ በጨንቻ፣ በዴታ *bora* እንላለን ግን ጋንትኛች *mayido* ነው የሚሉት ይህን ሕብረተሰቡ ማወቅ ምንም ይከብዳል በትምህርት ካልተማሩ ወጪ ማወቅ ይከብዳል። ስለዚህ አሁን አብዛኛው በብዛት በሚናገሩት መጽሐፍ ቢጻፍ ይሻላል ለምለው ነው ማለት የምፈልገው።

ጠ: ጋንታዎችስ ይሄኛውን ይረዱታል?

መ2: ይረዱታል አዎ እነሱ ግን የእኛ ያ ሌላው ሕብረተሰብ የእነሱን አይረዳም። ጎረቤት ያሉት ነው የእነሱን የምረዱት ይከብዳል አሁን ይህንን ማስቀመጥ።

መ1: እኔ የምለው ደግሞ ሁሉም ዘጠኙ ወረዳ ጋሞ ተብሎ ነው የሚጠራው እኛ የምናወራው ጋሞኛ ነው ግን የተለያዩ ነው እና ወጥ በሆነ መንገድ ቢጻፍ በጣም ጥሩ ነው። እኔ ስሰማ ችግር የለም ወጥ በሆነ መንገድ ቢጻፍ ለእኛም ጥሩ ነው ለእነሱም ጥሩ ነው ለማንኛውም ከተለያዩ ቦታ ለመጡት በጣም ጥሩ ነው። እንደዚህ ብለው አሁን

እነሱ እንዳሉት እዚህ በሚገፈው ተጽፎ ላላውቅ እችላለሁ። በቦንኬኛ ምናምን ሊገፍ ይችላል። አንዳንድ የሚያስቸግር ቋንቋዎች አሉ። ስለዚህ እኔ እነሱ ኮማ ውስጥ (ቅንፍ) አስገብተው ሲጽፉ እረዳለው እና ጋሞኛ 29 ቀበሌውም ጋሞ ተብለን ይጠራል ብዙ ጋሞኛዎች አሉ። እዛ ውስጥ የማላቃቸው አሉ። እኔ ከቦረዳው ከቆጫው የተለያየ ስለሆነ አንዳንድ ከእነሱ እማራለሁ የእኔውን ይማራሉ ወጥ የሆነ እንደዛ ቢገፍ በጣም ጥሩ ነው።

ጠ: መደበኛ የሆነው ጽሁፍ ከአንዱ ዘዩ ቢወጣ ነው ጥሩ ወይስ ከሁሉም ዘዩዎች መወሰድ አለበት?

መ5: ያው ለእኔ የሚሻለው ከየትም ከየትም ተጨፍልቆ ነው ቢገፍ የሚሻለው። ያው ከሁሉም ቦታ ተሰብስቦ ማለትም ከየትም ከየትም ከዘጠኙ ወረዳዎች ተሰብስቦ ቢገፍ ነው የሚሻለው። ምክንያቱም እኔ ያንን ኮርሱን ተምሬ ያንን ደግሞ ለተማሪዎች ስለማስተላለፍ። ካልሆነ እኔ ማሳደግ አልችልም ቋንቋው አያድግም ማለት ነው። በአንድ ቋንቋ በአንድ ሕብረተሰብ እንትን ወይ በአንድ ወረዳ ብቻ ቋንቋ ከተጻፈ ቋንቋው ማደግ አይችልም። ስለዚህ ከአያንዳንዱ ከአያንዳንዱ እየተጨፈለቀ የሚለየው የትኛው ነው የማይለየው የትኛው ነው ተብሎ ተጨማሪ ቢገፍ ነው የሚሻለው።

መ3: እኔ የምለው የሌላኛው ወረዳ ለእኔ ላይገባ ይችላል ወይም የእኔው ለሌላ ላይገባ ይችላል። ለምሳሌ አሁን ያ አሁን የበሮዳው ለእኔ ላይገባ ይችላል። የእኔ ወይም ለእነሱ ላይገባቸው ይችላል። ስለዚህ ሌላ ሌላ ሁሉም ዘዩ ተውጣቶ ከተጻፈ ይቻላል ብዬ ነው የማስበው።

መ1: ቋንቋውን ለምሳሌ እንግባባን የእኔውንም እነሱ ይሰማሉ ግን አንዳንድ የሚያስቸግሩ እኔ አሁን እስካሁን እዚህ ግቢ ከመጣሁ አቅፍኛ ላንቴኛ እኛ ብቻ ነን ከእዛ የመጡት ብቻ ነን የምናወራው። እዚህም መጽሐፍ ላይም አይጻፍም ግቢ ውስጥም የሚያወሩ ሰምቼ አላውቅም ግን በእነሱ ነው የምንግባባው። እዚህ ሲገፍም ሲማርም መጽሐፍ ላይ የለም። ስለዚህ እንደዚህ አንዳንድ እኔ ካወራሁ እነሱ አይሰሙም። በራሴ ከተናገርኩ በኋላ ለእነሱ እፈታለሁ። ምን እያልሽ ነው ካሉ እና እንደዚህ እንደዚህ እያልኩ ነው ብዬ ለእነሱ እነ ... እስካሁን ከመጣሁ እዚህ ጋሞኛ መጽሐፍ ላይ ተጽፎም ምናምን ሲያወሩም መምህር ሲያስተምርም ሰምቼ አላውቅም። እስካሁን እዚህ ተምረን ጋሞ ተብለን ጋሞኛ እያወራን እ ... ጋሞኛ ነው እንዴ የምታወሩት ምንድን ነው? ይላሉ። ስለዚህ የራሴን ቢቃ አላወራም እዚህ ከእነሱ ጋር በእነሱ እግባባለሁ። እዛ ከሄድኩ ደግሞ አቅሎ ላንቴኛ ነው የማወራው።

ጠ: ስለዚህ አሁን መጽሐፍ ውስጥ እንዲካተት ትፈልገላለሽ አቅሎኛ?

ሰላም: አዎ አንዳንድ ቢኖር ጥሩ ነው ያስማማል። ሌሎችም እንዲያውቁ እንደዛ ከሆነ ይህ ቋንቋ አያድግም ማለት ነው ያው ማንም አያውቅም ከዛ ከላንቴ ውጪ ማንም አያውቀውም አንዳንዴ ቢገፍ ጥሩ ነው ቢያንስ ሙሉ በሙሉ እንትን ከሚል ቢገባ ጥሩ ነው።

መ2: አሁን እኔ የማስቀምጠው ነገር አሁን ከሁሉም ከሁሉም ቋንቋዎች ዘዩዎች ተጨፍልቆ ከተወሰደ ተማሪዎች አንብበው መጽሐፉ ከተዘጋጀ ተማሪዎች አንብበው ሊያገኙትይችላሉ።ግን ሕብረተሰቡ ምንም ማወቅ ስለማይችል ለሕብረተሰቡ በሚመች ሕብረተሰቡ መረዳት በሚችል መንገድ ቢዘጋጅ ጥሩ ነው ብዬ አስባለሁ። ደግሞ እኔ የምጨምረው ነገር አሁን ጋንትኛ ለእኛ አይገባም ብለን ብንወስድ ከእነሱ ቋንቋ ካልተወሰደ እነሱ በጋሞ ውስጥ

አለን ማለት አይችሉም። ከእነሱ ልንወስድ ካልቻልን እነሱ አለን ማለት ስለማይችሉ እኛንም በማይጎዳን መንገድ ከእነሱ ቋንቋ መውሰድ አለበት። ለሕብረተሰቡ በሚባ መንገድ መሰብሰብ ወይም መውሰድ አለባቸው ብዬ አስቀምጣለሁ።

መ4: ያው እሱም እንዳለው የጋንተኛው ጋንታ በእኛ ውስጥ ያለ ቋንቋ ነው። ቢሆንም በቅንፍ ውስጥ ቢገባ ችግር የለም ግን ቀጥታ እሱ ከተጻፈ ለእኛ ምንም አይገባም። ስለዚህ በቅንፍ ውስጥ ቢኖር ችግር የለም። እ ... ኤሄ አሁን

ጠ: ለምሳሌ አንዴ ይቅርታ ጋንታኛ መጀመሪያ ሆኖ የእናንተ በቅንፍ ውስጥ ቢቀመጥስ?

መ4: እኛ እሱን ልናውቅ አንችልም የእነሱ መጀመሪያ ከተጻፈ የእኛው ብዙ ነዋ። ሰው በብዛት የሚያውቀው የኛው ነው። ስለዚህ የእነሱ የእነሱ ቅንፍ ውስጥ ቢሆን ችግር የለም። ብዙ ሰው የሚናገረው የእኛው ነው። ስለዚህ አሁን ከብዙ ወረዳዎች ተጨፍልቆ ተወስዶ ቢጻፍ በጣም ይሻላል እያልኩ ነው።

መ6: እነሱ እንዳሉ በቃ ከሁሉም ዘዴዎች ማለት ነው እስካሁን ደርሶ ባለን ሰዓት እንደተማርነው እንደዛው መጽሐፉ አሁን ሞጁሉ እንደወጣ ቢያወጡ ጥሩ ነው። የተለያዩ የተጻፉት መጽሐፎችም ቢያወጡ መልካም ይመስለኛሉ። ለምን በአንድ አይነት ዘዴ ከወጣ ያ አካባቢ ሰው ብቻ ነው መረዳት ምችለው እና ከተለያዩ ከዘይቤዎች ከወጣ ጥሩ ነው። ለምን ሁሉም ይረዳል። ከተለያዩ ከቦታ ስለመጡ የተለያዩ ቋንቋ ማውራት ይችላሉ። ነገር ግን እዚህ ትምህርት ቤት ከገቡ በኋላ ከማንኛውም ሰው ጋር ባለው ሰዓት እ ... እኔ አሁን እሷ እንዳለች የእነሱ አይገባም ለእኛ። ግን ሌላ ወረዳ ቦንኬ፣ ዛራ፣ ዴታ፣ ጨንቻ፣ ከምባ ምናምን የሚያወሩት ቋንቋ አንድ ነው። ስለዚህ እነዚህን ያ ቋንቋ ሁሉ ቢወጣ አሪፍ ነው ችግር የለም።

ጠ: የጋንታዎቹ ቢገባስ?

መ6: የጋንታዎቹን እኔ ሰምቼም አላውቅም እዚህ ከእኛ ጋር ጋንታ ተማሪም የምማርም የለም።

ጠ: ተጨማሪ ሐሳብ

መ1: ተጨማሪ ሃሳብ አሁን እንደ እኔ ከጋንታ መጥቶ እዚህ የሚማሩ እኛ አይተን ላናውቅ እንችላለን። ግን ለመማር ይመጣሉ። መጥተው ግን እዚህ ያሉት የእነሱን ቋንቋ ስለማይሰሙ እዚህ ስላልተጻፈ በእኛ ነው እነሱም የሚጠቀሙት ልክ እንደ እኔ ማለት ነው። እዛ ሌላ ተጠቅመው የራሳቸውን ተጠቅመው እዚህ መጥተው በእኛ ይግባባሉ። ለምን ስላልተጻፈና ልጆች ስለማይረዱ የእኛን ይጠቀማሉ። ስለዚህ አልፎ አልፎ አሁን ቅንፍ ውስጥ ቢገባ ችግር የለም። ኮማ ውስጥ አርገው የእነሱ ቢጻፍም ለእነሱም ጥሩ ነው። እያወቁ ነው እነሱም ዝም ያሉት ። እዚህ ለእኛ ከሌላ ያው የእኛ ይጻፍ ለማለት ስለማይችሉ ነው ዝም ያሉ ግን በኮማ ውስጥ ቢገባ ለእኛም ጥሩ ነው እና ይሄ ነገር በጋሞኛ በዝኛው እንደዚህ ነው በጋንትኛ እንዲህ ነው ለማለት ለማወቅ ጥሩ ነው ቢገባ ጥሩ ነው።

ጠ: አሁን እኔ ለመጠየቅ የፈለግኩት አሁን እናንተ ጋንትኛ ምንም አንሰማም ትላላችሁ ትልልቆች ናችሁ ከአንደኛ ደረጃ ሁለተኛ ደረጃ አልፋችሁ ኮሌጅ ገብታችኋል። ጋንትኛን ግን እስካሁን አትሰሙትም ቢያወሩም? አንደኛ ክፍል

የሚገቡ ሕፃናት ጋንታዎች እቤታቸው የሚያወሩት ጋንትኛ ነው። አንደኛ ክፍል ሲገቡ ይህኛውን ጋሞኛውን አይችሉትም።

መ: አዎ።

ጠ: ለእነሱ እንዴት ውስብስብ ሊሆን እንደሚችል ያደጉት እንዳልሸው የራሳቸውን ትተው ጋሞኛውን ያወራሉ። ሕፃናቱስ?

መ6: በእነሱ ማለት ነው መጽሐፍ መውጣት አለበት ለምን ይህኛው ቋንቋ አይረዱም ለእዛ ግድ ደግሞ እኛ ስለተማርን ከሁሉ ቦታ ያን ነገር ማወቅ እንችላለን አንብቦን ማለት ነው። እነሱ ግን ገና አንደኛ ስለሚማሩ እኛ ብዙ ጋሞኛዎችን ዘዩዎችን ለይተን አውቀናል። እና እንዲህ ማለት ነው እንዲህ ማለት ነው ብለን በሂንት (hint) እንኳን ማወቅ እንችላለን። ግን ሕፃናቶች ካልተማሩ አይችሉም ማወቅ አይችሉም። ለእዛ በራሳቸው ቋንቋ ደግሞ ቢማሩ መልካም ነው ለእነሱ።

መ4: እነሱ ጋሞኛን ያቃሉ እ.. እነሱ ሚማሩት ጋሞኛ ነው ግን ይህ ጋንትኛ “ሪዘርቭ” ነው ለእነሱ። ዋናው እነሱ ሚማሩት በጋሞኛ ነው። ስለዚህ ከጋሞኛ ብቻ ሌላ መጽሐፍ ለእነሱ ሊወጣ አይገባም። ምክንያቱም ሁሉም ሰው ሚማረው ጋሞኛ ብቻ ነው እነሱ ጋሞ ውስጥ ናቸው ተለያይቶ ሌላ መጽሐፍ ስለዚህ ሌላ መጽሐፍ ለእነሱ አይገባም። ጋሞኛ ስለሚያወሩ ስለሚችሉ።

ጠ: ግን መካተት አለበት በሚለው ትስማማለህ?

መ4: ቢካተትም ችግር የለውም ያው ለእነሱ reserved ስለሆነ እነሱ ይችላሉ ጋሞኛ በደንብ ይችላሉ። ሚማሩት

ጠ: እነሱ የእናንተን እየተማሩ ነው። እናንተ የእነሱን ብትማሩ ምን ችግር አለዉ? መጽሐፉ ውስጥ ተካትቶ?

መ4: ቢካተት ችግር የለም ግን ልዩነት ያመጣል።

መ2: ተጨማሪ ሃሳብ እኔ ማስቀምጠው ቢኖር የእነሱ ቢጨመርም ምንም ችግር የለም። እንዲያውም ቢጨመር ነው የሚሻለው። የእነሱ ቢጨመር እንዳውም ለእዚህኛው ቋንቋ የቃላት እድገት አለ። ቃላት በጣም ለመወድ ለእኛ ይመቻል። አሁን ቃላት እዚህ ሲያጥሩ ቃላት እዚህ ሲያንሱ ከእንግሊዝኛው ከአማርኛው የምንወስድበት ጊዜ አለ። ለእዛ ፋንታ ከጋንታ ቋንቋ ከጋንታ ዘዩ ብንወስድ ለእኛ እራሱ ከሌላ ቋንቋ ከመውሰድ ከእሱ ብንወስድ የቃላት እንትን አለ ብዬ እገምታለሁ። ደግሞ ለሕፃናት እ ትምህርት ላይ ትምህርት ሲማሩ ለእነሱ ሲከብድ የእኛው ሊከብድ የእኛ ቋንቋ ስለሚችል ቤተሰቦቹ መጀመሪያ እነሱን ቋንቋ ከተወለደ በኋላ ቋንቋውን ሲለማመድ ቀልቅለው ማለማመድ አለባቸው። ይህ ጋሞኛው ከእነሱ። ስለዚህ የእዛን ሰዓት ለሕፃናት አይከብድም ብዬ እገምታለሁ።

ጠ: በግላችሁ በጋሞኛ ትጽፋላችሁ። በአብዛኛዉ የምትጠቀሙት ጋሞኛ ነዉ ወይስ አማርኛ?

መ1: እስካሁን እኔ ሳየው ከትምህርት ቤት ውጪ ቤተክርስቲያን ምናምን ስንሄድ ጋሞኛ ተናግረው አያውቁም ደግሞ በጋሞኛ ጽፈን አናውቅም።

ጠ: በምንድን ነው ምትጽፋት?

መ1: በአማረኛ በአማረኛ ነው ቃልም ደግሞ ሲሰብኩ በአማረኛ ነው። ከዛም ያው እንደ አገሩ አሁን ጋንታ ላይ ከሆነ በጋንትኛ ይፈታሉ። በአማረኛ አሁን መጽሐፍ ቅዱስ ላይ በአማረኛ ስለሆነ እሱን አንብበው በጋሞኛ ይፈታሉ። ለምን አዚህ እናቶቻችን ስለማይሰሙ ብዙዎች አይሰሙም። ወጣቶች ምናምን ይሰማሉ ስለዚህ በጋሞኛው እየፈቱ እንደዛ ነው የሚያደርጉት እንደየ ሃገራቸው ጋንታ ከሆነ በጋንትኛ አቸሎም ከሆነ በቃ እንደሚግባቡት አርገው በቃ እየፈቱ ምናምን ሕብረተሰቡ እንዲገባ እንደዛ ነው የምናረገው። ለወጣቶች ከሆነ ችግር የለም ያስማማል።

ጠ: አንቺ ለምሳሌ በጋሞኛ ትጽፈያለሽ?

መ1: አልጽፍም በጋሞኛ አልጽፍም። እኔ ለምሳሌ ትምህርት ቤት ካልሆነ እከ ምንም አያረግም ለእኔ ምንም አያረግም።

መ2: እሽ እኔ የማስቀምጠው ነገር እ... ከትምህርት ቤት ውጪ እኔም ያው ጋሞኛው በጽሁፍ እጠቀማለሁ ብዬ አልገምትም። ግን አማርኛን የማይችሉ ይጠቀማሉ በጽሁፍ። አማርኛ ማይችሉ ይጠቀማሉ Church ውስጥ ሲሰብኩ በአማርኛ ሰብከው ሲሰብኩ አማረኛውን አንብበው ጽሁፉ እከ አማረኛ ስለሆነ መዝሙር ሲጽፉም ደግሞ በአማረኛ ነው ሚጽፉት። ስለዚህ ኢሄ ጋሞኛውን በጽሁፍ ደረጃ ብዙ አይጠቀሙም አይጽፉም ደብዳቤዎችን በቢሮም፣ በመስጊድም ምናምን በጽሁፍ ጋሞኛውን አይጠቀሙም ብዬ ነው ማስቀምጠው።

ጠ: ላይብራሪ ስትሄዱ በጋሞኛ የተፃፈ ብዙ መጽሐፍ ታገኛላችሁ በግላችሁስ ትተገብራላችሁ?

መ3: ላይብራሪ ስሄድ አሁን እኔ አይቼ አላውቅም። አንዳንዴ አስተማሪ ሲያስተምር የተፃፈ ትንሽ መጽሐፍ የሆነ መጽሐፍ ሳይሆን የሆነ ማስታወሻ ነገር እንትን ተጽፎ ያለ ነገር አለ ብሎ ሲያስተምር ነገር ነበር። እኔ ብሆን አሁን እኛ ጋ “Church” ስንሄድ በጋሞኛ የታተመ መጽሐፍ ቅዱስ ትንሽ አለች። ከአምና ነው አቻምና ነው መሰለኝ የታተመችው። የሆነ መጽሐፍ ቅዱስ አለች። እኛ ጋም አንዳንድ ተማሪዎች እ በጋሞኛ መጀመሪያም የመጀመሪያ ቋንቋችን ጋሞኛ ስለሆነ በጋሞኛ መዝሙርን ሲጽፉ ነበር ሐ ... ከእከ በኋላ አሁን ቆይቶ ከቆይታ በኋላ ትተው በትምህርት ሲሄዱ ሌላ ዲፓርትመንት ሲሆኑ በሌላ ሌላ ወጥተው ሄዱ። የእኔ ታናሽም ነበር በጋሞኛ እየፃፈ ነበር አሁን የሆነ ሐኪም ሆኖ በሌላ ዲፓርትመንት ስለሄደ እሱ አሁን በአማርኛ ነው አማርኛ ነው ሚጠቀመው በእንግሊዝኛና በአማርኛ ይጠቀማል።

መ4: እኔም እንደዛው እኛ ጋ Church ውስጥ መዝሙር ስንዘምር ስንጽፍ በአማረኛ ፊደል ነው። በጋሞኛ ጽፈን አናውቅም ግን ምንጽፈው በአማረኛ ሆኖ ምንዘምረው በጋሞኛ ነው።

ጠ: መዝሙሩን በአማረኛ ፃፋችሁ ስትዘምሩ በጋሞኛ?

መ4: አዎ ፊደሉ ነው እንጅ ጋሞኛ ነው።

ጠ: ላቲኑን አትጠቀሙም?

መ4: አዎ አንጠቀምም። እ... ከዛ ብዙ ምክንያቱም ብዙ ሰው አማረኛ ማያቅ የለም ገጠር ነው። አማረኛ ከተማ አካባቢ ሄደን ነው ምንሰማው።

ጠ: ላቲኑን ለምንድን ነው የማትጠቀሙት?

መ4: አንጽፍም ሰው ሁሉ ሚጽፈው በአማረኛ ነው እንጅ ጋሞኛ ጋሞኛ መፃፍም በደንብ የተማረ የለም። ገጠር አካባቢ ስለሆነ በደንብ አያውቁም። እ ... አማረኛው በቃ ድሮ ሰዎች አማረኛ በደንብ የቃሉ በፊደል ስለዚህ አይናገሩ እንጂ ያውቃሉ። ፊደሉን ያውቃሉ። Church ም ፊደል ሰው ሁሉ ስለሚማር ያቃል።

መ5: ያው እኔ የምለው ነገር ምንድን ነው አብዛኛው ጊዜ ትምህርት ቤት ኤለመንታሪ ከአንድ እስከ ስምንት ባለው ቦታ ላይ ተማሪዎች አንዳንዴ ከበባት ምናምን ተሳትፎ ሲኖር በጋሞኛ የሆነ ነገር ይጽፋሉ ግን ያንን ደግሞ ሲጽፉ ማለት ፊደሉን በአማረኛ ጽፈው ማንበቡን ግን በጋሞኛ ነው ሚያነቡት ማለት ነው። ቤተክርስቲያንም ፊደሉን በአማረኛ ተጠቅመው ደግሞ ትርጓሜው በጋሞኛ ነው ሚተረጎሙት ሚዘምሩት ምንም ሚያደርጉት በአማረኛ ነው። በ ... በጋሞኛ አድርገው ፊደሉን ግን በአማረኛ ይጽፋሉ። የተፃፈ መጽሐፍ ደግሞ አላገኘሁም አላየሁም እስካሁን ረጅም ጊዜ ያስቆጠረ በጋሞኛ አላየሁም።

መ6: አሁን እኛ ጋ ጨንቻ ወረዳ 2005 ላይ ነው የገባው እኛ ጋ ከዛን ሰዓት ጀምሮ እስካሁን ሶስት ዓመት ሙሉ በጋሞኛ ይጽፋሉ ደግሞም በChurchም ብዙ time እኛ ጋ በጋሞኛ ነው ሚሰማው ሰው ስለዛ በጋሞኛ ያወራሉ። እዚህ ደግሞ እዚህ ከመጣሁ በኋላ አምና እኛ ለእኛ አሳይመንት ተሰጠና ባህልና ቱሪዝም እዚህ አላይ ሴቻ ሄደን ከዛ ብዙ በጋሞኛ የተፃፉ ታሪኮችን አግኝተናል። በጋሞኛ የተፃፉ መጽሐፍት በጣም ደስ አለን። እንደዛው ከዚህ በፊት የፃፉት በጋሞኛ እንዳለ እኔ አላውቅም ግን

ጠ: አንቺ በጋሞኛ ትጽፈያለሽ?

መ6: አዎ ከትምህርት ቤት ውጪ ቤተክርስቲያን ላይም ለጓደኞቼ ደብዳቤ በጋሞኛ እጽፋለሁ። ምማረውን ነው የምጠቀመው።

የቡድን ዉይይት 5

መ1: ስሜ ሙስጠፋ ይባላል። የመጣሁት ከምእራብ አባያ ነው። ያዉ እኛ ምናወራው ቋንቋ ያዉ ብዙ ብሄረሰብ ስለሆነ ቅርርቦሽ ቢኖርም እንትን ተመሳሳይ አይደለም። ለምሳሌ ብንወስድ የኛ የምራብ አባያ ወደ ወላይታ ይቀርባል። እኛ ስናወራ ወደ ወላይታ ይመሳሰላል። ቅርርቡ ወደ ወላይታ ነው።

መ2: ስሜ መልካም ይባላል። የመጣሁት ከጋሞንፋ ዞን ድርዘ ነው። የትምህርቱ ጋሞኛ ከምናወራው ጋር ግንኙነት አለው። ቢለያይም ብዙ አይለያይም ግንኙነት አለው።

መ3: ስሜ ዘመን ይባላል የመጣሁት ከጨንቻ ወረዳ ነው። አካባቢዉ ላይ የምናወራው ከመጽሀፉ ለትምህርት ከተዘጋጀው ትንሽ ለየት ይላል። ግን ቢሆንም አንብበን ለመረዳትና ለመጻፍ አያስቸግረንም።

መ4: ስሜ አስቴር ነው። የመጣሁት ከጨንቻ ወረዳ ዶርዜ ነው። ስንማር ከእኛ ቋንቋ ጋር ቢለያይም ያዉ እንረዳለን ግን አንዳንድ የሚለያዩ ቢኖሩም ከእኛ ቋንቋ ጋር በማገናኘት ለመረዳት እንሞክራለን። የሚራራቁም አሉ።

መ5: ስሜ ዘለቀ ነው። ከጨንቻ ወረዳ። ቋንቋው በጋሞ የተለያየ ማህበረሰብ ወይም ብሄረሰብ እንዳሉ ሁሉ በየወረዳው የተለያዩ የቋንቋ ልዩነት ሊኖር ይችላል። ሆኖም ግን ያለውን ወይም የአንዱን ማህበረሰብ ቋንቋ በሚያማክል መልኩ ከሪኩለሙ በተቀረጸበት ሊግባቡ ይችላሉ ማለት ነው። በመነጋገር ባይግባቡ ራሱ በተቀረጸው ሊግባቡ ይችላሉ። መምህራንም በተቀረጸቁ ነው የሚያስተምሩት ስለዚህ ለፈተና ለሚኒስትሪም ለማትሪክም በዛ ስለሚዘጋጅ እስካሁን ተግባብተው እየሰሩ ነው።

መ6: ስሜ ማርኪኔ ነው። ከጋሞ ጎፋ ዞን ቁጫ ወረዳ ነው የመጣሁት። ስማር ቋንቋችን ጋሞኛ ነው ልዩነቱ እኛ ሃታ እንላለን ዉሀን ማለት ነው። እነሱ hatsa ይላሉ ልዩነቱ በጣም pronunciation ችግር አለ። ያዉ መጽሃፉ ግን ለመረዳት አያስቸግርም እንረዳለን።

መ7: ስሜ ሉቃስ ይባላል የመጣሁት ከጨንቻ ወረዳ ነው። እስካሁን በጋሞኛው መጽሃፍ የማንበብ ምንም ችግር የለብንም ግን ወደ እያንዳንዱ ብሄር ስንሄድ የ... እንትን የ pronunciation እና የቋንቋ ልዩነት አለው። ልክ አሁን እሱ እንደተናገረው ወላይታ ላይ th የሚባለውን ፊደል አነሱ ወላይታዎች ሙሉ በሙሉ አይጠቀሙም የ pronunciation ልዩነት ነው እንጅ ይህን ያህል ለማንበብም ከእነሱ ጋር ለመግባባትም አያስቸግርም።

መ8: ስሜ ታመነ ነው። የመጣሁት ከቁጫ ወረዳ ነው። pronunciation ነው የተለያየው እንጅ ሌላው ተመሳሳይ ነው።

መ9: ስሜ ደስታ ይባላል የመጣሁት ከምራብ አባያ ወረዳ ነው። ቋንቋዎቹ እንደተባለው የተለያየ ዘይቤ ነው ለምሳሌ ወደ ወላይታ የሚጠጉት ወደ ቁጫ ያሉት ጥምር ቃላትን አይጠቀሙም። ለምሳሌ ወደ ላይ ያሉት ሄዛ ለማለት ሄደዛ ይላሉ ግን ለማግባባት አንዳንድ የተጻፉ ጽሁፎችን ለማንበብ አንቸገርም።

ጥ2: በጋሞኛ የሚጻፉ ነገሮች ደረጃውን በጠበቀ ተመሳሳይ መንገድ ቢጻፉ ጠሩ ነው ብላችሁ ታስባላችሁ።

መ1: አዎ ተመሳሳይ ቢሆን አንቸገርም በተመሳሳይ ካልሆነ ስለሚያስቸግር አንድ የይነት ቢሆን ችግር የለም።

መ2: እኔ ጥሩ ነው እላለሁ ቢሆንም ግን የተለያዩ ቋንቋዎችን ለማወቅ ሌላ አገር ስንሄድ ያንን ቋንቋ ለማወቅ ስለሚጠቅመን

መ3: በእኔ አስተያየት ቋንቋዎች የተለያ ቢሆኑም መጽሃፎች ሲዘጋጁ በአንድ አይነት ቋንቋ ቢዘጋጁ አሪፍ መስሎ ነው የሚታየኝ። ሚክኒያቱም ሁሉንም ባማከለ መልኩ ከሪኩለሙ ስለተቀረጸ ለምሳሌ የዶርዜ ቁጫ ጋንታ የመሳሰሉ የተለያ ቋንቋ የሚያወሩት በአንድ ላይ ከሁሉም ተዉጣጥቶ ካሪኩለሙ ስለተቀረጸ በጣም አሪፍ ነው ብዬ ነው የማስበው።

መ4: እንደ እኔ ሁሉም ተመሳሳይ ቢሆን ደስ ይለኛል። ለምን በትንሹ መረዳዳት ብንችልም በተወሰነ ቦታ ላይ ትንሽ እንትን የሚሉ ቋንቋዎች ስላሉ ሁሉንም ያማከለ ሆኖ መደበኛ ተመሳሳይ ቋንቋ ቢሆን ደስ ይለኛል።

መ5: ጥሩ ነው የቋንቋ ልዩነት ቢኖርም by the way የቋንቋ ልዩነት የመጣው በpronunciation ምክንያት ነው። ስለዚህ ካሪኩለሙ ሲቀረጽ አንዳንዱን pronunciation ባማከለ መልኩ ቢቀረጽ ለሁሉም በተመሳሳይ መልእክት ይደርሳል ብዬ አስባለሁ። ምክንያቱም አሁን በአንዱ ብቻ ከተሰራ ሌላው ጋ ሲሄድ ሌላ ልዩነት ይፈጥራል ሌላ ግርታ ወይም ዉዝግብ ስለሚፈጥር ከእያንዳንዱ መረጃ ተወስዶ ከእያንዳንዱ ሰው በቋንቋው ብቃት ያለው ሰው ተመርጦ በምን መልኩ ነው

ፕሮግራም የሚደረገው ብሎ ሁሉን ባማከለ መልኩ ቢቀረጽ ለተማሪውም ሆነ ለሚሰራው ሰው ግልጽ ይሆናል ብይ ነው የማስበው።

መገ: አንዳንድ ቦታ ላይ ቋንቋዎቹ ያዳግቱናል ለምሳሌ ወደ ጨንቻን ዶርዜ ያለው ተጽፎ ሲመጣ ወደ ቁጭና ምራብ አባያ ያሉት ይቸገራሉ ስለዚህ ሁሉን ባማከለ መልኩ ቢጻፍ ጥሩ ነው። አሁን ከኦሮሞኛ ጋር ሳነጻጸራ ኦሮሞ አሁን ብዙ ብሄር ናቸው ግን አጠቃላይ የሚጠቀሙት ቋንቋቸው ተመሳሳይ ነው። ወደ ጋሞ ስመጣ ግን ለምሳሌ ወደ ጨንቻ ስንመጣ 56 ቀበሌዎች አሉ። የእያዳንዳቸውን ቋንቋ ስንሰማ ይለያያል። ስለዚህ ሁሉንም ያማከለ ቋንቋ ተጽፎ ካሪኩለም ቢዘጋጅ በተለይ ደስ ይላል ብዬ ነው የማስበው። ያለው ብሄር አንድ ጋሞኛ ከሆነ ያንን ጋሞኛ እንዴት ይሰጡጥድ ከሆነ ለሰውም ጥሩ ነው ። ሰውም ለመረዳት ለምሳሌ የኛ ቀበሌ ሻማ ይባላል፡ ወደ ኤዞ ቀበሌ ስመሄድ ደግሞ ቋንቋው ይለያል። ስለዚህ ሁሉንም ያማከለ ካሪኩለም ቢቀረጽ ለቋንቋው ለጋሞኛ በጣም አሪፍ ነው ብዬ አስባሁ።

ጥ3: መደበኛ የጋሞኛ ጽሁፍ ከአንድ አካባቢ ቢወሰድ ይሻላል ወይስ ከተለያዩ አካባቢ ቢወሰድ ይሻላል ትላላችሁ;

መ3: የተማሪ አይጠፋም በጋሞኛ እና ከሁሉም ቢወሰድ ጥሩ ነው።

መ4: ከአንዱ ብቻ ከተወሰደ ለሌላው ችግር ስለሚፈጥር ከተለያዩ ከሁሉም ተወስዶ ለሁሉም በሚመች መልኩ መደበኛ ተመሳሳይ ቢሆን ደስ ይለኛል።

መ5: ከተለያዩ ቢወሰድ አንደኛ ህብረተሰቡ ላይ ያለውን ምንድነው አመለካከት አራሱ የመለያየት ወይም የዘረኝነት አመለካከት ይቀርፋል ብዬ ነው ተማሪውም ማህበረሰቡም የሚያነው። የተወሰነው ቋንቋ ላይ ታርጌት የሚያደርግ ከሆነ መጥቶ ማህበረሰቡ ላይ ተጽዕኖ ስሚፈጥር የሆነ ነገር ጭሮ ስለሚሄድ ከተለያዩ ቢወሰድ የሆነ ነገር ያገኛል ማለት ነው። አንድነቱን ለመግለጽም ተማሪውም ደግሞ የራሱ የሆነ ሙሉ ለሙሉ ባይሆንም ወደራሱ ሲመጣ የሆነ ነገር ያገኛል ማለት ነው። በአንዱ ላይ ብቻ ከሆነ ተማሪውም ብዙም የመረዳት ክህሎቱም ብዙም ከአካባቢው ጋር ማገናኘት አይችልም።

መ7: በሚጠቀሙበት ጊዜ የራሳቸውን ቀበሌ ወይም ወረዳ የሚያጋንኑበት ጊዜ አለ፡ ይህም አንድ ራሱን የቻለ ዘረኝነት ነው።

ጥ4: ጋሞኛን በጽሁፍ ምን ያህል ጊዜ ትጠቀማላችሁ?

መ1: እንደ እኔ ጋሞኛን ለመግባቢያ ያህል ነው የምጠቀመው፡ በንግግር ነው እንጅ በጽሁፍ በአማረኛና በእንግሊዘኛ ነው የምጽፈው ለምን አሁን እኔ የተማርኩት 2005 ዓ.ም ድረስ ብቻ ነው፡ ከዛ በላይ የለም እኔ አሁን እየተረሳኝ ነው የመጣው ፡ አነባለሁ ግን በአንድ ጊዜ ቶሎ ቶሎ አላነበውም ሀሳቡ ይገባኛል ግን ቶሎ ቶሎ ለማንበብ ቃላቱም ፊደላቱም ይከብደኛል። ቃላቱን ሲመርጡ ደግሞ በአብዛኛው ሰው የሚያውቀውን ቢወስዱ ከአንድ ቦታ ብቻ ከሆነ ግን ሌላው ላይረዳ ይችላል ስለዚህ ብዙህኑ የሚረዳውን ቃላት ብንጠቀም ያኛው ደግሞ እንደ ሎካል ላንጉጅ ብንጠቀም ጥሩ ነው።

መ2: እኔ የምጠቀመው በብዛት በአማረኛ ነው የምጠቀመው ጋሞኛ ጻፊ ቢሉኝ በደንብ መጻፍ አልችልም። በብዛት በአማረኛ ነው የምጽፈው። በንግግር ግን ከቤተሰቦቼ ጋር በብዛት የምጠቀመው በጋሞኛ ነው።

መ3: እኔ በንግግር ከአያቶቼ ጋር የምጠቀመው በጋሞኛ ነው። በጽሁፍ ግን አንዳንድ ጊዜ ሚስጥራዊ በሆነ ነገር ላይ ጋሞኛ እጠቀማለሁ ሌሎች እንዳያዩ ብዬ። ሌላ ሰአት ላይ ደግሞ አማረኛና እንግሊዘኛ ነው የምጠቀመው ሚስጥራዊ ባልሆነ ነገር ላይ።

መ4: እኔ በጽሁፍ ጋሞኛ ተጠቅሜ አላወቅም ጋሞኛ የመጻፍና የማንበብ ችግር የለብኝም ከኛ ክፍል ጀምሮ ነው የተማርኩት ግን ጋሞኛ በመጻፍ አልለመድኩም። ጋሞኛ መጻፍ ብዙም አይመቻኝም ስለዚህ ተጠቅሜ አላወቅም።

መ5: ብዙ ጊዜ ሶስቱንም እጠቀማለሁ እኔ የምጽፍለት ሰዉ ይወስናል፡ አብዛኛውን ግን ጋሞኛና አማረኛ ነዉ የምጠቀመዉ ስለዚህ፡፡

ጥ5: ጋሞኛን በብዛት እንዳትጠቀሙ ያደረጋችሁ ነገር ምንድነዉ;

መ4: አንድ ቃል ያለ አናባቢዉ መጻፍ አይቻልም፡፡ ስለዚህ ከአናባቢዉ ሲጻፍ ብዙ ቦታ ይፈልጋል፡፡ እንደ አማረኛዉ በአጭር ጊዜ በአጭር ቦታ ብዙ ነገር መጻፍ አይቻልም፡፡ እንግሊዘኛም እንደዚህ በትንሽ ቦታ ላይ ብዙ ቃላትን መጻፍ ይቻላል፡፡ ጋሞኛዉ ግን አናባቢዉ አለ እሱ ደብል ሲደረግ ተነባቢዎቹም እንደዚህ ሲደረጉ ብዙ ቦታ ይይዛል ማለት ነዉ፡፡ ስለዚህ ቦታ ለመቆጠብ ምናምን ብዬ ነዉ፡፡

መ3: ልክ እንደ ሌላ ቋንቋዎች ክልሎች የተጻፈ ነገር ብዙ የለም በጋሞኛ፡ መጻሕፍት ልባለዎች በጋሞኛ የተጻፉ አንድም ነገር የለም፡፡ እነሱን ስናነብ በጋሞኛ ጋዜጦች ቢወጡ በእነሱ ተንተርሶ ሰዉ እነሱን አንብቦ በመጻፍም ይፈጥናል አሁን ኦሮምኛ ብንሄድ ብዙ መጻሕፍት ለምሳሌ እኔ ያየሁት መጽሃፍ ቅዱስ የተተረጎመዉ 2000ዓ.ም አካባቢ ነዉ በጋሞኛ እሱም

መ5: እኔ የምጽፍለት ሰዉ ይወስነዋል፡፡ ጋሞኛ የሚችል ሰዉ ከሆነ በጋሞኛ እጽፋለሁ አለበለዚያ ግን በአማረኛ ነዉ የምጽፈዉ፡፡

መ7: እኔ ለጉዋደኞቼ ሚስጥር የሆነ ነገር በጋሞኛ ነዉ የምጽፈዉ፡፡ ለምሳሌ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ተማሪዎች በነበርንበት ወቅት በግቢ ወስጥ ችግር ምናምን በሚፈጠርበት ጊዜ እርስበርሳችን በጋሞኛ ነዉ መልእክት መረጃ የምንለዋወጠዉ በንግግርም በመጻፍም ሌሎቹ እንዳያወቁ ብለን እንጂ በአብዛኛዉ ጋሞኛ ብዙ ጊዜ አንጠቀምም፡፡

መ3: ልክ እስከ እንዳለችዉ አሁን ፊደሎች በጣም የሚደጋገሙ አሉ እሱ ይከብዳል፡፡ ለምሳሌ እኔ ኦሮሚያ ስለተማርኩ አወቀዋለሁ፡፡ ኦሮሚያ ክልል ብዙ መጻሕፍት ኖቭሎች በኦሮምኛ የተጻፉ አሉ፡ በኦሮምኛ ተጽፈዉ ወደ እንግሊዘኛና አማረኛ translate ተደርገዉ ብዙ አሉ ገበያ ላይ፡፡ ወደ እኛ ጋ ግን ወደ ጋሞ የሚደርሰዉ ሆሎም ነገር በአማረኛና በእንግሊዘኛ ተጽፎ ነዉ፡፡ እና እነሱን እናነባለን እጅ የምናነበዉ ጽሁፎችም በጋሞኛ ስለሌሉ ብዙ አይደለም ሳይሆን እንደዉም የለም፡፡ በዛ ምክንያት ነዉ የማንጠቀመዉ፡፡

መ1: እኛ አሁን በጋሞኛ የማንጽፍበት ዋናዉ ምክንያት ከእኛ በፊት የነበሩ ሰዎች አሁን በዚህ በጋሞኛ አልተማሩም እኛ በአብዛኛዉ የምንጽፈዉ ከእኛ በላይ ለሆኑ ሰዎች በጋሞኛ ስንጽፍ አያወቁም እነሱ፡፡ አሁን እኛ ከእኛ ወዲህ ከእኛ በታች አሁን ያሉት በደንብ ያወቃሉ እኛ ብንጽፈዉ ማለት ነዉ ግን ከእኛ በላይ የሆኑት አያወቁም፡፡ ስለዚህ እኛ የምንጽፍለት ሰዉ ላይረዳ ይችላል ብለን ነዉ የምንተወዉ ማለት ነዉ፡፡

መ7: ለምንድነዉ ጋሞኛን በጽሁፍ የማትጠቀሙት ለሚባለዉ ለምሳሌ በጋሞ ነፋ ወይም በደቡብ ክልል እንዳለ የስራ ቋንቋ አማረኛ ነዉ አማራ ክልልም አማረኛ ነዉ ወደ ኦሮሞ ብንሄድ ደግሞ ኦሮምኛ ነዉ፡፡ በየወረዳዉ አሁን ጋሞኛ የተለያየ ነዉ፡፡ ከአንድ ወረዳ ወደ ሌላ ወረዳ ብንሄድ በአብዛኛዉ አንጠቀምም ስለማንጠቀም ሁሉንም ያማከለዉ አሁን ወደ ደቡብ ብንሄድ የስራ ቋንቋ አብዛኛዉ መግባቢያ አማረኛ ነዉ፡፡ ከሰዎች ጋር ከየትኛዉም ሰዎች ጋር መግባባት የምንችለዉ አማረኛ ስለሆነ በዛ ምክንያት ነዉ አማረኛ በአብዛኛዉ develope እያረግን የምንሄደዉ፡፡ even ከአንድ ቀበሌ ወጥተን ወደሌላ ቀበሌ ከሄድን በአማረኛ ነዉ የምንግባባዉ ለምን መፎጋገር አለ አንዳንድ **ዎርዶችን** አነሱ ማይጠቀሙት እኛ ምንጠቀመዉ አለ እኔ አሁን መሎኮዛ ወረዳ ነዉ የምሰራዉ እዛ አሁን በእኔ ምንም ችግር የሌለበት ቃል በእነሱ በጣም shame ሊያስይዝ ይችላል፡፡

ጥ6: ጋሞኛ የቢሮ ቋንቋ ቢሆን ጥሩ ነዉ ትላላችሁ;

መገ: በየቢሮው በየቦታው ላይ እኛ ይህን ነገር ብንጠቀም ማለት ነው ለማንበብ ክህሎትን ይጨምራል ለምን አሁን እኛ ለምንድነው ጽሁፍ አሁን በየቦታው ስለሌለ አናስበውም ቢቃ ቋንቋውን እንትን ለማለት ለማዳበር አናስበውም። ግን ቢሮ ላይ ቢኖር በየማስታወቂያው ላይ ቢኖር እኔ አሁን የተማርኩት ነገር እየተረሳኝ ነው። ግን በየቦታው ላይ የተጻፈ ነገር በማስታወቂያ ቢኖር እሱን አነባለሁ። ለምን የተማርኩት ስለሆነ ቶሎ እሱን ወደሁዋላ ሪቫይዥ ለማድረግ እሞክራለሁ። እንደዚህ ባላወቀውም እንኩዋን ሄጄ ሌላ የተማርኩትን ነገር revise ለማድረግም ይጠቅመኛል። አለበለዚያ ግን እነዚህን ማስታወቂያዎች በአማራጭ ስለሆኑ እኛም ትኩረት የምንሰጠው ለአማራጭ ነው።

መገ: የቢሮ ቋንቋ ቢሆን ጥሩ ነው እያልኩ ከሌላ ቦታ የመጡ ሰዎችም አሉ ከሌላ ክልል መጥተው የሚሰሩት ለእነሱ ማስታወቂያ ቦርድ ላይ ጋሞኛ ከሚጻፍ ይልቅ በአማራጭ ተደርጎ ጋሞ ብሄሮችን የሚወክል ስራ ወይም እነሱን የሚወክል ነገር በቦርድ ላይ ቢለጠፍ በጣም አስፈላጊ ነው ብዬ እላለሁ። ደግሞ አሁንም ይህ ሚዲያው ላይ የሚያስተላልፉ ሚዲያዎች አሉ። ደቡብ ሚዲያም አለ እና በዛ ላይ ጋሞኛ ቢቃ የራሱ የሆነ position ቢኖረው የራሱ የሆነ አስተዋጽኦ የሚያደርግ ነገር ቢኖር በጣም አስፈላጊ ነው። ምክንያቱም አሁን ያለው ትውልድ በዙ ጊዜ እኔ አሁን የማየው ጨንቻ ላይ ትንሹ እኛን የሚያከለውም ጋሞኛ አያውራም። ገና አንደኛ class ሲገባ ጋሞኛውን ትቶ ወደ አማራጭ ይሄዳል። ወላይታ ስንሄድ ደግሞ በጣም ብዙ ያጋጠመኝ ነገር ትልቅ መስሪያ ቤት ላይ ቢገቡ ወላይትኛ ነው የሚያወሩት ትልቅ ስቅ ላይ እንትን ብዬ ስገባ በወላይትኛ ነው የሚያወሩት። ግን ወደ ጋሞ አካባቢ ወደ አርባምንጭ ወደ ጨንቻ ሄጄ ብዙ ጊዜ ትናንሽቼም እንኩዋን በጋሞኛ ሰላም ለማለት አይፈልጉም። ወደ አማራጭ ነው። ሚዲያዎችም ጋሞኛ ላይ እንትን ሲሆን ይዘጋሉ አንዳንዴ እና እነሱም አዌርነስ ክርኤት ቢደረግላቸው ለጋሞኛ ያላቸውን አመለካከት የሚቀይር ነገር ቢደረግላቸው እና የስራ ቋንቋ ጋሞኞችን ባማከለ መልኩ የስራ ቋንቋ ቢደረግ ሌሎችን በማማከል ደግሞ አማራጭ እንግሊዘኛ ቢሆን

መገ: ማስታወቂያዎች በጋሞኛ ቢደረጉ የተሻለ ነው። ምክንያቱም ለዛ ለአካባቢው ቋንቋ ለአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ ቢገለጽ ተናጋሪውም በጣም የሚሰማው ይሆናል። የሚተላለፉለትን መልዕክትም በሚገባ ሊያዳምጥና ሊተገብረው ይችላል ማለት ነው። ቅድም ምንድነው ጋሞኛ በአካባቢው ጥቅም ላይ እንዳይውል ያደረገው ምንድነው ለተባው እንደዚህም አንድ ጊዜ ምንድነው ምክር ቤት አንዴ ስብሰባ ሄጄ ዛሬ ስብሰባ የምናደርገው በጋሞኛ ነው ይልና እንደምን አደራችሁ ብሎ ይቀጥላል። Even ከዛ ከinitial ሲጀምር ጋሞኛ አልጀመረበትም ማለት ነው። ምንድነው ለማለት የፈለኩት እዛ የሚመለከተው አካላት ቢሮ ውስጥ የሚነጋገረው እራሱ ለእያንዳንዱ ማህበረሰብ እራሱ ሲያስተላልፍ የሚያሰባስበው አካል እራሱ ብዙ ሳይረዳ ነው የሚወጣው። እራሱ በአማራጭ ነው ከወረዳ ወደ ቀበሌ ወደ ዞን ሲመጡ እራሱ የሚያሰባስባቸው ሰዎች እራሱ አርሶ አደር ናቸው። አርሶ አደሩ ጋ መጥቶ እራሱ የሚያውራው አማራጭ ነው ምክንያቱም ጋሞኛ በሱ አፍ ላይ አላደረገም ጋሞኛውን ቢያውራለት ። አርሶ አደሩ እራሱ ማስተላለፍ ያለበትን መልእክት በትክክል አስተላልፋል ማለት አንችልም ማለት ነው። የሚመለከተው አካል የሚያደርጉትን activity ሁሉ በአማራጭ ነው የሚፈጽሙት ማለት ነው። ስለዚህ የዛኔ እራሱ የእነሱ ተጽእኖአለ ብዬ ነው ማምነው ማለት ነው። እንዳይጽፉ ተነሳሽነት እንዳይኖር ከሚያደርገው ነገሮች አንዱ አሉ ነው። ለምሳሌ ወረዳ ላይ ግብር ስብሰባ ማስታወቂያ ሲያደርጉ በጋሞኛ ማድረግ ሲገባቸው በአማራጭ ነው የሚያደርጉት። ስለዚህ የሚመለከተው አካል የግብር አሰባሰብ ብለው በጋሞኛ ቢያወሩ የዛኔ ለማህበረሰቡ ያለውን ተነሳሽነት ይገልጻል ማለት ነው። ግን አንደዛ አይነት ተጽእኖዎች ደግሞ ሞር ዴቪሎፕጽ እንዳይሆን ያደርጋሉ።

Appendix D

The English Version of Data from Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions carried out with the research participants (P) are transcribed in the Amharic language and translated into English. The data are presented in what follows.

Focus Group Discussion 1

Q: I thank you all for your cooperation to participate in this focus group discussion. Is the Gamo language used at schools similar or closer to the one you speak at home or in the neighborhood?

P1: I came from Kamba district. My name is Firehiwot. In fact the language we speak and the one we learnt is related.

P2: My name is Ahmed. I came from Mirab Abaya district. The Gamo language we speak and we learn in school is related. But some dialects are not included in the standard language. Since there is no Gamo dictionary to get meanings of new words, there are many difficult words for some students who came from areas where dialects different from the standard language are spoken. The teachers also speak a standard language. They made their language a standard one. We find some difficult words from their speech and in the standard language. Some of the teachers take new words out from their lessons and teach us their meanings in different dialects. But when I learnt from Grade one up to four, the teachers' language was similar to the one I spoke at home. Often, the language used for trade in markets and the one spoken in the lowland areas is the similar. The same standard language is used for education and for trade. So, our dialect is related to the standard language used in education. The standard language does not confuse me, I can understand it. I can speak and write the standard language well.

P3: My name is Mesifine. I came from Chencha district. Gamo is our mother tongue. I learnt every subject from Grade one up to four in Gamo. But from Grade five up to Grade eight there was only one Gamo language subject. The rest subjects were taught in English. And there was also only one Gamo subject in Grade nine and Grade ten. That means Gamo continued up to Grade ten as a standard language of education. Since it is my mother tongue it is not difficult to me to understand. Dialects of the Gamo language were created during our fore fathers. If we ask how they were created, the Gamo community had different clans and kingdoms, and the dialect

variation happened when one king tried to protect their territory from being occupied by the other clan. Even if dialects were available since that time, the standard form is now making us one and the same, and it is clear for us now. We are learning in it. If it continues in this way, and our language is used at colleges and universities level, if it becomes a standard, there is no problem. It is good if it goes on like this.

P4: I came from Kamba. My name is Genet. We learnt in the language just like the way we communicate in our area. What we learn in was similar to what we speak.

P5: My name is Esayas. I came from Boroda district. When I compare the language I learnt in from Grade one to four and the one I speak, it is very similar. There is no difference between my home language and the standard language used in education. But there are some new dialect words which were caused by clan differences. We are learning them now and trying to know them. So, it is not difficult because it is our language. We do not worry and feel like we are learning another language. We do not refer to further materials to know the language used in education. We understand the new things easily because it is our language, our mother tongue. It is not difficult and it is the same to what we speak.

Q: Do you all have the same idea?

P2: When teachers are assigned from highland dialect areas, like Geresse, Bonke, Ganta to the lowland places Kucha, Boroda and Mirab Abaya, it is somehow difficult for students to understand the teachers' accent. Though the words the teachers speak are not totally different from what we speak, there is some accent difference that makes listening to teachers very difficult. For example, when I went to highland areas for a practicum course, I noticed that the language they spoke was completely different from what is spoken in our area. If that kind of dialect variation is included in the textbooks to Grade one to four, children may not understand it well. I think they do not understand it.

P3: Most of the time, the teacher considers the students' situation and based on the textbook, if there are difficult words, he explains to students. But some around here in the eight districts do don't have any difficulty. But some around Kamba have got some problem of understanding. Theirs is a bit different. It diverges from the eight other districts. What we speak here may be an

insult if we go to Kamba. The one in Kamba is a bit different. But when a teacher teaches, he uses the textbook and if the students have some difficulty, he explains.

Q: When textbooks and other materials are written in Gamo, do you think they should be written in a standard language?

R1: What I want to say on my part is if it is possible the language should be written in a standard way. For example, I came from Kamba district, if there is anyone who knows our dialect and writes a book only in it, it will be clear for our children. But if it is difficult to write the language in that way and if there is no one who can do it, it is okay if it is written in the standard language. We can hear the dialect that students from Kamba or Mirab speak here. I think there is no problem if that is also included in the standard. We understand it.

P2: My idea is it is fine if textbooks and other Gamo materials are consistently written in a standard language. The language being written and standardized is a national resource and an asset. There are many languages in the Gamo area, and our language is our resource. If the language is standardized, only one dialect is going to be known. So, I think Gamo should be standardized, and other dialects should be developed and preserved. In addition, since language is an asset, I think the language will grow and become the language of many.

P3: What I want to say on this is that the main reason that caused high language variation in the language of education is its underdevelopment in publications. It is because of lack of different books and references published in Gamo. To make the language consistent to have references, it is good if it is done in discussion among people represented from the nine districts. Why? Because if it is taken from one place, for instance I came from Chench, if only Chench is used, what does the other person from another area, like Kamba, Bonke say at that time? They may say ‘why did they take our words out? We don’t want to learn theirs?’ and they may refuse it. Therefore, they should be taken from the nine districts. Even within one district, there are differences when we go through small villages. There are different speeches. They should be differentiated and known because they are our assets. Our diversity is our prosperity. So, all these should be taken out in meetings and a decision should be made on ways of making it consistent. I suggest that it is good if it is created in that way.

P4: It is good. I share the other students' ideas. But it is like, as it is now in the nine districts, for example, I have my own speech and the other one has got his own speech as well. So people who speak different dialects meet and discuss. And the writing system they create should be endorsed by the zone's officials. The consistent form should be created in this, but if he writes in his own way and if I also write in my own way, others may say 'he wrote his own variety leaving ours.' So, by representing the nine districts, it should be formed in the end by making a decision on which one is better to be written and which one shows ours. In this way, it is better if it is written in one way.

Q: Do you have a different idea?

P5: If someone wants to write a book, he should put the language in a balance. He should ask which form should be written and which one does a person understand? Which writing system should make my message clearer to a reader? He should put it in a balance, and should take a form neutral to every citizen. It is acceptable if it is written not only to Gamo society, but it should be written in a clear standard language that the other society can also read and understand. If someone writes in his own dialect and we write in our own dialect, and again if another person does the same, it makes the message complex. Therefore, it is convenient if it is written in a standard language.

P3: There was one dictionary. When it is seen the dictionary is written in a dialect spoken in the highland areas. It is closer to Shala area, to Chenchu and to Ditta Daramalo area. It is biased to these districts.

Q: Do you think that is good?

P3: In my view it is not good. Why? Because the rest districts may say 'they did not use ours.'

Q: Can't they use the dictionary?

P3: They can use and understand it. But, their words are left aside. So, a question that says 'where has ours gone?' may rise.

Q: Should the standard be taken from one dialect or should it include features of various dialects?

P5: When people write textbooks, they should use a standard language that responds the language demand of every speaker. They should take the language's situation into account. Every dialect speaker should find itself in the standard language. If the standard is taken from a limited area, the message cannot be conveyed easily across the wider society, and the society may not be happy about that. The language should be standardized like that with a pluralistic approach.

P2: The standard language should be neutral to every dialect speaker. Words should be taken from different dialects, and a consistent meaning should be given to them in dictionaries. Nothing is published in the Gamo language before, but if a dictionary is available, it is possible for everyone to find meanings of words they do not know from that dictionary. So, if the standardization goes in that way, it is good for those of us who are learning in Gamo now and for the others who learn in Gamo in the future.

P3: What I want to say is that if the materials are written in different districts, or if it is written in the highland language, a glossary should be given in the end of textbooks in each language for the lowlanders to understand it. The meaning to each word should be given in glossaries.

Q: What if the words are used inside instead of in glossaries?

R3: Well, it depends on where the writers came from. When they publish they use their area language. If they find enough of other words, they may use it, but that is still time taking and tiresome for them.

Q: Do you write in Gamo? Which language do you mostly use to write, Gamo or Amharic?

P5: To me Gamo is easy to convey any message in writing. If I want to use other languages like Amharic, my idea gets complicated. It is difficult for me to write in another language which is not my mother tongue. But when I use Gamo, I can finish my idea very quickly in short time. Therefore, Gamo is convenient to me to speak, to write or to work in any area. I feel comfortable in it.

P4: I too feel like that. Our education is in Gamo, but in our class, even those who are Gamo and who study the Gamo language are afraid of speaking in Gamo. That is an obstacle to post some advertisements in towns in Gamo, too. One last summer, I saw one advertisement posted on the

big square up there in the center of the town, I think, to celebrate culture and tourism day. I didn't see another post than that. We don't know how this can be overcome but it is good.

Q: Do you mean Gamo should be used in writing widely?

R4: yes, I like speaking in Gamo in many places. When others speak in their own language, if I hide myself and speak in Amharic, this is an obstacle to the development of Gamo.

Q: you (one of the participants) showed me things you wrote in Gamo. Did you use Kucha (the participant's dialect) or the one used in education?

P2: I write different notes using the standard Gamo. Since the standard variety is similar to the one we speak in Mirab or in Kucha, I write different things in it. I am Muslim. When I was serving as a leader in Mosque, I always wrote poems and names of people in Gamo. I can write and speak in Gamo well. I like Gamo. It is my language'

Q: Do you have a different idea?

P1: though I don't have a different idea, as he said the textbooks are not new to me. I can understand the ideas written in it, and what I speak or what is spoken in my area is similar to the one used in the textbooks.

P3: these things written in towns do not fully represent us. Some may not accept even if we forward our ideas. But in my view, I use Gamo to write my autobiography and to write many other things. But both Amharic and English are difficult to me to write longer texts like autobiographies.

Q: Okay perhaps, do people write in Gamo in your areas?

P1: in church prayer titles are written in Gamo. Songs and prayers are written on in Gamo and are posted on the wall.

P4: when I was in school, messages were delivered in Gamo. The school director was Wolaitta. He always used his own language. But after we entered secondary school, I didn't see this. I didn't see them delivering this kind of message in Gamo. They always used Amharic. In Church

and schools, advertisements are announced, songs are sung in Gamo, but writings are not available in Gamo.

Q: do you think it is good if it is written in Gamo?

P4: It is very very good. What makes the language equal [in its status] to the other languages is its standardization. Its possibility to be posted on cities is very important for its standardization. For example, when Amharic is posted on city advertisements, it shows the language's development stage. I will be very happy if our language is also posted in public places just like that. It facilitates its standardization.

P1: We would have been happy if advertisements in towns and in Churches are written in Gamo. We have many talents and knowledge, but we can't show it because we are afraid of speaking and using in another language. We hide our talent for that reason. Most Gamo children remained at home because of this. We want to develop our language, but we don't have the power to do that. Therefore, in order to develop our language and to standardize it, we should cooperate and I am willing for that. I feel sorry for my language.

I thank you all very much for sharing your ideas.

Focus Group Discussion 2

Q: I thank you all for your cooperation to participate in this focus group discussion. Is the standard Gamo used at schools similar or closer to the one you speak at home or in the neighborhood?

P1: I am Mihret. I came from Bonke Woreda. Gamo we speak and we learn in is very similar. The Gamo I speak is Bonke, and the books are published in Dache. For that they are so close.

P2: I came from Arbaminch Zuria district. My name is Asnake. The language we learn in schools is clear. But if Ganta is included it will be a bit difficult. The words of the standard are easy but Ganta words are difficult. It is easy for Ganta people. What I said easy could be difficult for Ganta people.

P3: My name is Lemlem. I came from Chenchu district. The standard Gamo we learn here is easy and clear to all of us. For example, in Chenchu we speak Gamo and mix Dorze. But what

we learn here is better than that. When we write we use this Gamo. I learnt from grade one to four in this Gamo. It is similar to the one I speak at home, but it is a little different from Dorze. But here it is better. Everyone knows this Gamo. I also know it but some words are different for there are dialects.

P4: My name is Tadesse. I came from Kamba district. The language we learn in schools and we speak are close but what makes it different is that when we speak we mix some Amharic words. In Bonke, in Kuca people use other Gamo words. But we may use words from Amharic. Here in the college they create a Gamo word for some English words. Some words are available in Amharic and English, but not in Gamo. They create and give us a word we know.

P5: My name is Hailu. I came from Daramalo. What we learn in here and what we speak there is a bit different. If you ask how, like we say *hatsse*, but here in the book we use, it says *hatsaza*. The book is written depending on the language in Geze area. It doesn't look ours.

Q: Is the gap wide? Is it difficult for you to read and understand the books?

P5: It is not difficult to understand.

Q: When textbooks and other materials are written in Gamo, do you think they should be written in a standard language?

P1: The standard is better. Why? Now in Gamo there are nine districts. These districts speak their own dialects (*diratso*). Now, if Kuchas, speak in Kucha, Gantas speak in Ganta, Bonkes speak in Bonke, it is difficult for textbook writers to put all these variations into the standard language. Instead of that, educated people should be selected from the nine districts, and they should prepare textbooks on behalf of the districts by choosing one standard language that they think includes all dialects or that is understandable to all. The students do understand it and we benefit from it. I think the whole Gamo do not have a problem to understand it.

P2: I, too, want a consistent book to be published. Though there are different words in different places, they can include the rest in brackets as options. I think it is good if they bring words from every dialect in to the textbooks and train the people on its use.

Q: How much of it is going to be used in brackets?

P2: No, some are too far while others are not. We can put the very far ones in brackets. If someone writes in his own language the other may not want it. Soething bad might happen. So, this one may convince people.

P3: I say, for example, closer words should be taken from the nine districts so that children can understand it. If the language is standardized, to make it more understandable to children, for example, Kucha and Chencha may not be related. We know it because we have learnt together with those dialect speakers here. But, children do not know it. For that reason, it is good if it is standardized together in that way.

P4: I support her idea because now there are nine districts in Gamo. One word, for example 'baked flour' is *uketsa* or *oytsa* in Gamo. In order to take the common word, it should be sorted out that how many of the nine districts use the word *oytsa*. For example, if the seven districts use the word *oytsa*, by considering the majority, it is better to use this word. From the nine districts, if six of them use the word *uketsa* and three of them use the word *oytsa*, I guess it is good if the word used by the majority, the six, is taken. I also think the standardization is good.

R5: Yes, as they said, in Gamo society there are many dialects. In order to reduce that diversity in the dialects, nine people should be chosen from the nine districts and the language should be promoted from a dialect (*diratso*) status to a formed *medetsida* standard language.

Q: Should the standard norm be taken from one dialect or should it include features of various dialects?

P5: Not from one. The dialect Gamo is different. Since it is different the dialect is called Gamo (*Gamotso*). And our Gamo is called Dache (*Dachetso*). We rather wanted to avoid the diversity in Dache (*Dachetso*), but that dialect, I don't know, how we can include it.

R: Do you mean it should not be included?

P5: Yes.

R: What do you mean by avoiding the dialects?

P5: Dialects can speak like us. While they can speak like us, theirs is a dialect to be included in the standard.

P4: I am happy that this question is raised. What I want to say is that there are nine districts in Gamo. 'Among the nine districts, people in Kamba, Bonke, Ditta, Chench and Daramalo use similar words and expressions. The other three districts, Mirab Abaya, Boroda and Kucha use different words. Since the latter districts are adjacent to Wolaitta area, they mostly use words borrowed from the Wolaitta language. For example, we say *matsa* for 'milk.' But the three districts speak the Wolaitta word *matta*. They delete /ts/ and replace it with /t/. The words which are used in many places should be identified from the ones which are spoken in limited areas. The original Gamo words should be differentiated from the words borrowed from the Wolaitta language. After that process, the Gamo words which are used in many districts should be taken as standard words of the textbooks. Like what I said, Boroda, Kucha and Mirab mostly use Wolaitta words. It is good if it is standardized by explaining to the people that in this way they use this word, and all the Gamo districts should use this word since most of the districts use it.

P3: I too say the whole districts should meet together and take the words that differ from each other. Like what he said before, since Boroda, Kucha and Mirab Abaya are different, but we the rest are many in number, from the nine the six districts speak the same language. Since their dialect is closer to another language, it is better if ours is taken by taking the majority as a rule.

P2: What I say is like I said before it is good if it is standard. But, for example, there was one man in our area. He always asked; 'only Dorze is spoken, but ours, Ganta is not available. Why is that?' In Gamo, Ganta is a bit far and different from the others. It is close to Balta area. So, I think it is good if they also take few from Ganta and include it in the standard.

P1: As they pointed out, what I want to say is dialect diversity is high in Gamo. The main reason for the prevalence of many dialects is the distance between places. There are many districts in Gamo. We are not geographically close. Due to the distance among us, dialects are created. But to me this *hatsa/hata*, *matsa/mata* is not a problem. I understand it. Their language does not confuse me. As they may not understand our speech, our major challenges for standardization are Kucha, Boroda and Mirab Abaya. They have a great problem to understand the standard Gamo. Ganta understands Dache. I lived in their neighborhood and I understand their language very little but I don't know it well, but they understand ours very well. Theirs is different and only limited number of people know it. It is limited in small area; it is not spoken by many. But it is called Ganta dialect. Most of them use Dache. However, in Kucha, Boroda, and Mirab people

use Wolaitta letters. We use diagraphs, for example, but they don't use them. Instead of that, majority and minority rights should be respected and the books should be published only in Dache based on the majority, and I think Gantas do not have any problem to understand it. Psychologically everyone understands /ts/ and /t/. Those living there in Ganta can read the book, they understand it. They don't have any trouble. I guess it is good if Gamo is standardized in Dache.

R: Do you write in Gamo? Which language do you mostly use to write, Gamo or Amharic??

P1: I was born in Bonke, Yella Kebelle. In Yella many people use Gamo. They don't speak Amharic. Since they don't speak Amharic, if a Scripture is read in Amharic, the preacher translates it into Gamo to the community. So, when he translates into Gamo, I write it in Gamo. We also write the Scripture in Gamo. But in Mini-media (at school media), I write in Amharic. But I sometimes find words I don't understand in Amharic, I write them in Gamo and see their meaning from a dictionary. When I write in Gamo, I understand it easily.

P2: On my part, when I send a letter to my local place, since people do not know Amharic well, I write in Gamo. When I also write something on my cellphone, I write in Gamo.

P3: In my area, since our fathers and mothers do not know Amharic, if people speak in Amharic in meetings, we translate that into Gamo. In Church as well after they speak in Amharic, they then repeat it in Gamo and make the message understandable to the public. When I personally write, I often use both Amharic and Gamo. But I usually use Amharic.

P5: Now, people in our area usually speak in Gamo. All speak in Gamo, but they write in Amharic. I too write in Amharic something spoken in Amharic. But uneducated people speak only Gamo. Only educated people speak in Amharic. I write a scripture in Amharic.

P4: In our area people mostly communicate to each other in Gamo. People who were born in towns usually use Amharic. I was born in a rural area where Gamo is spoken so I often use Gamo to write in different places. For example, when I was in school, I used to write poems in Gamo and presented them on parents' day. I do not write those kinds of things in Amharic. When I lead a programme in Church, I translate the Amharic scripture into Gamo and explain it to the Church attendants.

Q: When the standard is formed from different varieties, what do you feel if some forms of your own dialect are reduced and others are included?

P5: I can't believe it if mine is left. When speakers of our dialect are available, why is it reduced, from the standard language, and why don't they take it? If Ganta is taken and ours is reduced, people in our area do not understand the Ganta dialect, and they do not accept it. In fact, if their words are taken, the standard language will be more understandable for them. In order to standardize Gamo, what is more needed is that everyone should use it.

P4: If our dialects are reduced from the standard, there are some who speak Gamo like us. I don't regret if it is taken from the six districts, for example, most of the words are the same. Except Boroda, Mirab and Kucha, I don't regret if it is taken from Ganta, Chench, Ditta or Daramalo because the words are Gamo. It is not taken from Wolaitta. Boroda, Kucha and Mirab may not be happy if theirs is not taken, but I don't regret to do that. If they are unhappy, I have to explain to them saying "we use Gamo words, but you use Wolaitta words because you are neighbors to Wolaitta. This is Wolaittas'." Wolaitta doesn't give this word for us. They don't say this is Gamo word. It is Wolaitta. They (Kucha, Boroda and Mirab Abaya) don't speak their own words. They mostly speak Wolaitta words. Wolaitta may understand each other with Gamo, but our people do not understand if it is written in Wolaitta or Kucha, Boroda, or Mirab. I understand it but most of our people do not know it because most of it is taken from Wolaitta. Since the rest of us in the six districts speak the same language, if ours is taken we have to convince them, "this is a Wolaitta word. Since you are neighbors to Wolaitta, you speak it. But after here you should try to practice Gamo. You should continue using Gamo language. You are Gamo and you are ours. You should practice our language and continue in our language. You should not use theirs." We should convince them like that.

P3: To me, if that thing happens, I ask the responsible body back. It raises a question if the others' is taken into the standard and mine is not. If you ask why? I would say why not ours? Aren't we Gamos? Don't we live in Gamo? Chench people may ask, 'why isn't ours written in books? Since they may ask, why ours isn't taken while theirs is taken, I say ours should be taken as a standard norm.

Q: For example, Gantas' is not included in the written standard but yours is written. What do Gantas feel?

P3: They may be psychology discouraged. They must ask, "aren't we Gamos while we are living in Gamo? What happened to us? Ours should be used." In my view I am going to ask back there to the standardizers. For example, I don't listen to Ganta, but I am happy if theirs is included. Kucha and Mirab should also be included because excluding their forms psychologically discourages them. They may think, "aren't we Gamo? Why isn't ours included?" It is because of the distance that they use Wolaitta features. Since they are closer to Wolaitta, they speak Wolaitta. They did not do it deliberately, but it happened in ancient times. It is good if theirs is changed into ours.

P1: Now, we the nine districts are Gamos. Because we are Gamos, the nine districts don't have any problem in what we speak. It is in some places that we don't know each other's dialects. For example, we call 'waist' *dabbe*. They (Kucha, Boroda, Mirab Abaya) call it *xessa*. They use Wolaitta. If we put their words in brackets, it is oky to include them. It is not to change the language totally, but for the time being it is good if the standard is written like that. They don't be psychologically discouraged, we see it equally. About Ganta, Ganta is not written because Ganta is a village language. It is not widely known. They speak Gamo but there is no such language called Ganta. It is a village language which they use among themselves. Sometimes, like we call 'earth' *bita* they call it *saka*. In the books they use *bita* and put the Ganta word *saka* in bracket. But I guess they (Gantas) don't regret if Ganta is not used in the standard that much. Why? Because, they speak Gamo even more than we do. They understand, know, write Gamo. Kids, too, understand it. They don't have a problem. But Ganta is an additional language. There is no problem if Ganta is not written or included in the standard.

P2: I was born here. When I see it from different sides, when one language is raised up, I think it is not good if some writers try to divert it. If you say why, for example, there is one book called 'Hidase' written in Gamo. The writer used words especially from his own dialect. But he did not use Ganta or dialects used in other areas. If Ganta or others see this book, they may say 'what is this? Our language or word is not included here?' It or exclusion may trigger people to question the standardization process.

R: In what language is ‘Hidase’ written?

P3: It is written in Doko language found in Chench district.

P2: Some of the words are easy but there are some difficult words. When a dictionary is written, all of the words should be included.

P4: What I say is, even children in the six districts can read and understand this book except Mirab, Boroda and Kucha. Except these three, Ditta, Chench or whoever writes, all can understand it.

R: I thank you all.

Focus Group Discussion 3

R: I thank you all for your cooperation to participate in this focus group discussion. Is the standard Gamo used at schools similar or closer to the one you speak at home or in the neighborhood?

P1: My name is Almaz. I came from Ditta district. I learnt in a language I speak.

P2: I came from Kamba district. My name is Yenenew. I learnt grade one to ten in a village called Balta. In my village I speak Balta and in the school I speak the standard Gamo. The Gamo language is grouped in to two: one is which I speak in the neighborhood and the other is Dache which I speak in schools.

Q: Is what you speak in your village different from what you learn in school?

P2: Yes, the meaning is the same but it is different a little in speech. It doesn’t affect education but I speak another Gamo at home and I speak another Gamo at school.

P3: My name is Alemu. I came from Arbaminch Zuria district. I learnt grade one to eight in Zegete Bakole. At home with my parents and in the neighborhood, I speak the Ganta language. When I joined school, I learnt another standard Gamo called Dache. But before I entered to school, I did not know the Dache dialect. I indeed speak Ganta as my mother tongue. So after I entered school I have learnt Dache. I learnt Dache, and it is not difficult to understand. It is good.

P4 : I am Asnakech. I came from Kamba district. I learnt in Gamo. I communicate with my parents only in that Gamo.

P5: My name is Abera. I came from Kucha district. I learn first cycle in Gamo. When we speak in Kucha, some words are a bit different. The village language and the school language are different. In our area, people do not use the letters in the education. But that much... the meaning is the same. Learning in Gamo is good for our result in education. It shows unity and love in our country. It is not that bad. It is good if the language grows better in the future.

R: When textbooks and other materials are written in Gamo, do you think they should be written in a standard language?

P5: Yes, we do think so. The importance is though the language is not standardized so quickly like that, it will be standardized through time. Some speeches in the lowland and highland places are different in Gamo. However, until now, we are sometimes using the different ones in brackets or comas. I am now a third year student in Gamo language department. I am going to graduate, but I still find new words in the language. But we are using the dialects or village languages in brackets. We have an idea to make the consistent in the future. We think it is important to make it consistent cooperating with our teachers and language researchers. But it is not possible to make it today or tomorrow. Since we are many living in nine districts, it takes time. If we make it a standard suddenly, it becomes new to some speakers. It can be one in the coming two three years if we cooperate.

P4: I, too, think that it is good if it is similar. Since we speak one language, it is significance if it is one and the same.

P3: I, too, support the standardization of Gamo. When Gamo becomes a standard language, it unites the society, and the standard language serves as a common social identity. It brings quality of mother tongue education. So, in order for the language to be a standard, proverbs, folktells and others should be collected and published one after the other in a standard language. I want the standard to be a good Gamo subject.

P2: What I want to say is that the standardization of Gamo is only on its initial stage. But in the future, the coming generation of Gamo should confidently use their language just like speakers

of other standard languages. For example, the Oromo people have started to use their own language in every place. They have slowly left Amharic to communicate in the wider public domains. We should start to use Gamo in the coming generation just like Amharic which we are using in many social domains now. So, I say that the standard language must be carefully prepared to give the chance for the future generation to use it in their every day communication.

P1: Me too say that it is good if the language is standardized. We see that in other countries people work to develop their language well. I support that it is very good if our Gamo should be developed like that as well.

R: Should the standard be taken from one dialect or should it include features of various dialects?

P1: It is good if it is standard. For example, there are dialects. It should be created by including from them as well.

P2: What I want to say is it is good if the standard is taken from different the dialects. One from Ditta doesn't know my Balta speech. I also do not know Ditta dialect. For that reason, I say it is good if it is researched and taken from all areas.

P3: What I say is, indeed I think it should be standard, but after the two dialects are standardized into one, when one from one area writes in one of it and the other from another area writes or uses his own norm, two forms will be created. So, I think instead of creating two forms, only one should be applied in the standard.

P4: As to me, the standard language should be formed from words of different dialects. This helps the people to easily understand things in their own ways of expression. The standard language becomes more understandable for the people and for the readers.

P5: Based on the question, now there are many dialects. So, all in brackets, now there are nine different districts, it is ten including the town administration. There are who learn in Gamo from Ganta, Garbansa and other languages. If we put each of them in brackets, it is too much. And if we say we don't include it, one will be disadvantaged. One of it will be diminished. Therefore, nine districts, including the town administration should gather, it should be identified which one is used most and the one used by the majority should be supported. So instead of saying mine should be taken mine should be taken, based on the development of the language, the one used

usually by more than five districts should be identified and known, and it is good if an original writing system should be created based on that. Dialects are available in other languages too. For example, in Amharic 'pea' is "bak'ela" or "baela." And there are variations in British English and American English. Variations in their language is not too much though, it could be two three or four. But if we say we shall always write in dialects, they are more than twenty. For that reason, it should be based on the major ones, and if not possible we should use only few in brackets and we should make Gamo a standard language. It should be based on the majority usages.

R: When the standard language is created, what would you think if some features of your speech are reduced from the writing system?

P2: With a similar meaning, it is good if it is created consistently by taking from every dialects. It is good if it is taken equally from all dialects. None should be reduced. It should take equally from every dialect as far as the meaning is the same, the consistent way should be taken from every area where Gamo communities are available.

P4: All languages are the same. Nothing should be reduced and nothing should be added. So, every language gives one meaning, but doesn't say this one is added and that one is reduced.

R: Do you write in Gamo? Which language do you mostly use to write, Gamo or Amharic?

P2: Yes, if we write letter to our parents we can write it in Gamo. But usually I write in Amharic. Since Gamo was not developed at first, our parents do not know the writing of Gamo. They know Amharic. So, I write in Amharic. In Church we speak in Gamo, but when we write a letter we use the one we learn in school.

P3: When I write a letter to my parents, take a note in Church or anywhere else, I usually use the Amharic language, because our elders learnt to read and to write in Amharic, not in Gamo. I do not write in Ganta either because when I started education I learnt how to write and read in Dache. I did learn how to write in Ganta. Ganta is my mother tongue. But I learnt in Dache in school. So I indeed write letters or anything in Amharic. In school I write notes in Dache'

P4: I express things in writing in Amharic, but I speak in Gamo. I write letters and different things in Amharic. But I speak in Gamo.

P5: Before now, I used in Amharic. We speak in Gamo. However, we write poems, songs in Church in Amharic since it is presented to the public. Before this time, Gamo is not developed. It is our language but in terms of writing it is not developed. Speaking and writing are not the same. So, I always use Amharic. But, in recent times we started writing letters poems in Gamo. It should continue like that and it is good.

P1: I use in Gamo and in Amharic. For example, in nationalities day, when people gather to show their culture, we present poems and other things in Gamo. But when I go to Church, I write in Amharic. I speak Gamo. When I write I write in Amharic.

R: I thank you all for your participation.

Focus Group Discussion 4

R: I thank you all for your cooperation to participate in this focus group discussion. Is the standard Gamo used at schools similar or closer to the one you speak at home or in the neighborhood?

P1: My name is Selam. I came from Arbaminch Zuria from a village called Lante. People speak differently in our area. Lante is a special village. What I speak here in school is different from what I speak in the village. Lante for example, says *anta* to mean 'what.' But here they say *aybe*. So, Lante that we speak is not related to what we learn. What I learn after coming here is different. So, it is good when someone learns in his own language. I read the standard language, it is not different but I speak a different language. I can listen and read the standard, but it is different.

P2: My name is Abate. I came from Ditta district. Yes, it is possible to say that we learnt from grade one to college in our own language. It is related. We don't experience any problem since there is no difference between what we speak and what we learn. It is even possible to say that it is taken from our language.

P3: My name is Tamenech. I came from Bonke district. It is possible to say that the language we learn and we speak at home is the same. It is so easy to understand. It is the same. I understand it well. For example, there is dialect we say 'water' *hatsa* but we learn in *hatsa*. Therefore, like that it is written similarly. The module and our language are the same.

P4: My name is Bekele. I came from Kucha district. Now this Gamo is a bit different from us. We learn a little, like when we make a sentence it is a little different.

R: Does it affect education?

P4: It doesn't make any problem to our education. Since we are educated it is clear for us.

R: How about children at home?

P4: They don't know.

R: When they enter to school?

P4: They know it by learning. But those who don't go to school do not know it. They listen it from us. It is the dialect, the dialect difference. But we learnt everything and know it. It is not a problem for us, but our fathers who are at home have a big problem to know it.

P5: My name is Mahider. I came from Boroda district. When we learn the language from grade one up to now, there is no much difference except the dialect in some places, the others are all the same. There is no problem it is similar. There is nothing different. The only thing is to develop the language up wards, but there is nothing else.

P6: My name is Meseret. I came from Chenchu district. So, it is my third year since I came to this college. When I learnt I had many good things. There is nothing difficult to me. For example the language I speak with my family at home is similar to the one I learn here. I communicate with students who came from the nine districts. For example, in the module we learn with, they use the word *kebeletetha* for 'bad', and they put the word *ita* in a bracket. So it is not difficult for me. Why? Even if I don't know one, I know the other. It is good at this time. But since the diploma programme has started in us in this college, our wish is to get a chance to continue our degree and masters. There is degree and masters in other languages like English, Oromo, and Amharic, but not in our language. It is not grown and there are no written books that much. So, it means that book also waits us. Therefore, being educated well and getting good result, we have to write or change the other (translate) in our language Gamo which we speak in the nine districts. It is good.

R: When textbooks and other materials are written in Gamo, do you think they should be written in a standard language?

P6: The standard one is good for us. In the nine districts there are different languages. But if someone from one district writes in one of it, only that person benefits from it. But children and people who came from different places do not benefit. Why? In that district, for example as I said earlier the word *kebeletetha* is *ita* in another district. They don't know what that *kebeletetha* is. So, it is good if that thing is written in different languages, means in dialects. I think it is good if it is written in different dialects.

R: Is it written in a standard way currently?

P6: Yes

R: When you say it should be written differently, do you mean the current one has a problem?

P6: No, currently, it is good. So, just like that, what I want to say is that they should put the different languages in brackets to express an idea in a sentence. The language is going to be clear in that way.

P5: Yes, it is better if the language is standardized. When we learn here, we came from different districts. So, for example I came from Boroda and I know Kucha and Mirab. Like that since I know different dialects, there is no problem. So, when we teach later after it is written consistently, when we teach we can teach explaining to students that, for example, if 'water' is written as *hatsa*, in Boroda we call it *hata* in this language it is said like this and in the other it is said like that.

P4: As they said, they are right. It is like that. Ours is not also that much different. A bit different is.. . What I agree on is that, now Boroda, Kucha, Mirab, Daramalo speak similarly. Theirs is clear to us. The language is the same. But, now it doesn't mean it should be written like Kucha's speech. It should be written in a way that is understandable to everyone. But we can speak our language in our dialect in our country, but the standard should be written in a way everyone understands it.

P3: Now, our language can be different in dialects, but when we learn and write, like Amharic language, when we write it Gamo becomes standard. In here, we came from different districts, and every district is different in speaking. As has been said, *hatsa/ hata* is dialect difference, but it is the same when we write. So, it is better if it is like that.

P2: What I want to say is that the dialect people speak in Boroda, Kucha and Mirab Abaya areas is not difficult to us to understand. Though there is difference between their dialect and our dialect, it is not difficult for us to understand to each other. But if someone writes a textbook in the Ganta dialect, I do not think the society from other dialect areas understands the information in it. Their words are not familiar to many people. For example, in Ganta, if they want to say 'ox', they use the word *maydo*. This word is not known to others. In Boroda, Chenchu and in Ditta areas we commonly call it 'bora.' It is difficult to know most of the Ganta words and their grammatical expressions unless one learns them in school or in the local places. Therefore, I want to say that it is better if textbooks and other materials are written in the one the majority of the population speaks. Gamo should be standardized in the dialects already known to the wider people.

R: Do Gantas understand the standard one?

P2: Yes, they understand it, but the other society does not understand theirs. Only their neighbors understand their language. It is difficult to put this [Ganta] in the standard.

P1: What I say is that all the nine districts are called Gamo. We speak Gamo, but it is different. So it is very good if there is one standard language. There is no problem if books are written in a standard. It is good for us and it is good for writers. It is also good for people who come from different places. As they said I may not know the written standard. It might be written in Bonke. Some languages are difficult, but I understand it when they write those difficult languages in brackets. The 29 kebelles are Gamos. There are many Gamos. I don't know some in those. Since mine is different from Boroda, Kucha I learn what I do not know from them and they also learn mine. So it is good if it is standardized like that.

R: Should the standard be taken from one dialect or should it include features of various dialects?

P5: For me it is good if it is created by taking from all dialects. It is good if it is taken from every place collected from the nine districts because after learning in the standard I transfer it to students. Unless I do it that way, I don't help the language grow. The language does not grow. The language does not grow if it is standardized in one communities' language or in the language of one district. So, it is better if the standard is taken from everyone's language. The similarity and the difference between the dialects should be known.

P3: What I say is that the other district's language may not be understandable to me, and mine may not be understandable to the other. For example, Boroda may not be understandable to me or they may not understand my dialect. So, I think it is possible if it is taken and standardized from every dialect.

P1: Since I came to this College, what I see is that the Ochollo dialect is spoken only by those of us who came from Lante area. I feel terrible because it is not included in books nor known by others. We communicate with the other dialect speakers in their own [the standard] dialect. If I speak in my own dialect, I am expected to translate everything I said into their dialect. Our identity is Gamo, we are identified by the name Gamo, but it is sad that when we speak in the Ochollo dialect, my friends always said "are you speaking Gamo? What is this?" These comments are embarrassing to me. So I do not usually speak my dialect here. I speak to them in their dialect, and when I go to Lante, I speak in Ochollo to my friends and family members.

R: Do you want Ochollo to be included in the standard language?

P1: Yes, it is good if some Ochollo features are included in it. We can agree on that. When Ochollo is included in the standard language, the other people start to know what kind of dialect it is. But if the standardization of Gamo continues in the present way, the Ochollo dialect does not develop and nobody intends to know and to learn it except residents of Lante. It is good at least if some Ochollo forms are included in the standard language instead of totally ignoring it.

P2: What I want to put now is if the standard is taken by merging all the languages' dialects and books are written, students may read and understand it. But since the society cannot know it, I think the standard should be prepared in a way the society understands it. Further, what I want to add is, if the standard is not taken from Gantas by saying it is difficult for us, Gantas do not feel

like they belong to Gamo. Since they can't say they are in Gamo unless we take from theirs too, it should also be taken from them in a way which does not harm ours.

P4: As they said it, Ganta, Ganta language is within us. However, it is okay if it is included in brackets. But if it is written directly, we do not understand it. Therefore, it is okay if it is used in brackets in books.

R: For example, what if Ganta is written first and yours in brackets?

P4: If theirs is written first we cannot be able to know it. Ours has many speakers and the majority knows ours. So, there is no problem if theirs is put in a bracket. Many people speak ours. So, I say it is good if the standard is taken from many districts.

P6: Like what the others said Gamo should be standardized by taking words from all of the prevailing dialects. If the standard is taken from one area, only people from that area are able to understand it. So it is good if it is taken from different dialects because everyone understands a standard language formed in that way. Students may speak different dialects since they came from different places. But when they join schools and colleges, they should use a standard language. So it is good if it includes all these languages the students bring with them into the school setting. There is no problem. As she said earlier we can't understand theirs. But in other places, like Bonke, Zara, Ditta, Chench, Kamba speak one language. So, it is good if all these languages come together.

R: What if Ganta is included?

P6: I have never heard Ganta language. There is no student here learning with us from Ganta either. We don't understand it.

R: Any additional idea?

P1: What I add is, there might be students who came from Ganta and learn here like me. We may not know them, but they come to learn here. But, since no one listens to their language here and since it is not written here, they use ours like me. They use theirs there and when they come here they communicate in ours why because it is not written and people do not understand it, they use ours. Therefore, there is no problem if it is sometimes mentioned in brackets. It is also good for

them if theirs is written. They deliberately kept silent. They could not say ours should be written, so they are quiet. But if it is included in brackets it is also good for us if they put one thing in Gamo and give the Ganta equivalent. We can also know it.

R: What about children from Ganta, do they know the standard Gamo when they enter grade one?

P6: Books should be published in their language because they don't understand this language. Since we are educated and know the language of every place, we can know it by reading. But since they are only kids, they can't know it unless they learn it. For that reason, it is good if they learn in their own language.

P4: They know Gamo. They learn in Gamo but Ganta is reserved for them. They mainly learn in Gamo. So, an additional book should not be produced for them except in Gamo because everyone learns only Gamo. They are in Gamo and a different book should not be published for they know Gamo.

R: But do you agree on including it?

P4: There is no problem if it is included but it causes separation.

P2: What I want to add is there is no problem if Ganta is included in the standard. It is even better if it is included. If theirs is added, it brings lexical development to the language. It is convenient for us to take words. When words are not available in Gamo, there are times when we take words from Amharic and English. If we take words from Ganta instead, I guess it is better than taking from another language. And for children, since our language may be difficult for children, parents should mix the standard Gamo with their language and train their children since their birth. At that time, I guess it won't be difficult for children.

R: Do you write in Gamo? Which language do you mostly use to write, Gamo or Amharic?

P1: When I see it, until now outside classroom, Ocholloos have never written in Gamo.

R: What language do you write in then?

P1: In Amharic. It is in Amharic. They also preach the Gospel in Amharic. Then, they translate it into the area language. If it is in Ganta they translate it into Ganta. Since the Bible is written in Amharic, after they read it in Amharic, they translate it into Gamo because most of our mothers do not listen to it except the youth.

R: Do you write in Gamo?

P1: No, I do not write. I do not write in Gamo. Unless it is in the school, writing in Gamo does nothing for me there in Ochollo.

P2: Okay, what I want to say is that outside the classroom I too do not write anything in Gamo. But people who do not know Amharic speak and write in Gamo. When people preach in Church, they first preach the Gospel in Amharic, they read the Bible in Amharic because the Bible is written in it, and they also write songs in Amharic. So they do not use Gamo on the level to write letters, notes or religious information in Church or in Mosque

R: Do you find many books in Gamo in the library?

P3: I have never seen it when I go to library. Once a teacher told us when he taught us that there was a kind of note written in Gamo. In our area, there is one small Bible published in Gamo. It was printed last year or before, I think. We Gamos were writing songs in Gamo because Gamo was our first language. But after that when they join other departments at Universities, for example, my younger brother was writing in Gamo, but when he joined medicine, since he went to another department, he started writing in Amharic and currently he writes in Amharic. he uses both Amharic and English.

P4: I also say that in our area in Church when we sing and write songs, we use the Amharic alphabet. We have never written in Gamo, we write in Amharic but we sing in Gamo.

R: Do you mean you write the songs in Amharic but sing in Gamo?

P4: Yes, it is the alphabet, but it is in Gamo.

R: Don't you use the Latin alphabet?

P4: Yes, we don't use it because there is no one who doesn't know Amharic.

R: Why don't you use the Latin alphabet?

P4: We don't write in it because all people write in Amharic, there is no one who learnt how to write in Gamo well. It is a rural area and they don't know it well. Amharic, at early times people know Amharic alphabet well even if they don't speak it they know the alphabet.

P5: What I want to say is that sometimes at school when there is a programme in school clubs students write in Gamo but they use the Amharic alphabet. They use the Amharic alphabet but they read in Gamo. In Church as well, they use the Amharic alphabet but the meaning is in Gamo. They sing in Amharic. It is Gamo but the alphabet is Amharic. And until now I have never seen a book written long time ago in Gamo.

P6: In our area people have been writing in Gamo for about three years. In church also they speak in Gamo. After I came here, last year we went to Culture and Tourism office to do an assignment, there we saw stories written in Gamo and we were very happy.

R: Do you write in Gamo?

P6: Yes, outside school, I write in Gamo in church and letters to my friends. I use the one I learn.

Focus Group Discussion 5

R: I thank you all for your cooperation to participate in this focus group discussion. Is the standard Gamo used at schools similar or closer to the one you speak at home or in the neighborhood?

P1: My name is Mustafa. I came from Mirab Abaya. The language we speak since there are many nationalities even though there is social contact and closeness it is like it is not the same. For example if we take ours, Mirab Abaya's, is close to Wolaitta. When we speak it looks like Wolaitta language. Its closeness is to Wolaitta.

P2: My name is Melkam. I came from Gamo Gofa Zone Dorze. Gamo language which education is given in is related to what we speak. The difference is not that much wide. It is related.

P3: I am Zemen. I came from Chench district. The language we speak in our area is a little different from what is used in the education. But we do not have any problem to read and understand and to write in it.

P4: My name is Aster. I came from Chench Dorze. Even if the language in education is different from what we speak, we understand it. Though there are some differences, we try to relate it to our way of saying and try to understand it. But still some are far from each other.

P5: My name is Zeleke. I came from Chench district. As there are many societies or nationalities in Gamo, there could be different languages or language differences. However, they can communicate each other with the neutral one which is used in the curriculum. Even if the people do not communicate each other in their own dialects, they can use the standard language. Teachers also use the standard one when they teach. It is used in the national or regional exam, and they are peacefully working with it until now.

P6: My name is Markine. I came from Gamo Gofa Zone Kucha district. Our language is Gamo, but the difference is we say *hatta* for 'water', but they say *hatsta*. The major difference is the pronunciation. There is pronunciation problem. But it is not difficult to understand the standard language used in books.

P7: My name is Lukas. I came from Chench district. Until now we did not face any problem to read the books but when we go to each society, we find pronunciation and language difference. As he said, in Wolaitta, people do not fully use the sound /ts/. Except the variation in the pronunciation, it is not difficult to read the standard one or to communicate with them.

P8. My name is Tamene. I came from Kucha district. The difference is in the pronunciation, but the other is the same.

P9: My name is Desta. I came from Mirab Abaya district. As the others have said, the difference in the languages is dialect variation. For example, those who are close to Wolaitta and Kucha do not use the diagraphs. For example, the highland ones say *hedezza* in order to say *hezza*. But it is not difficult for us to communicate and to read some written materials.

R: Do you think that books should be written in a uniform standard language?

P1: Yes, it is not bad for us if the language used in books is standard. If the language varies every time, it is difficult. There is no problem if it is the same.

P2: I would like to say that it is good, but in order to know other languages and to communicate with others, it is good to know other languages' too.

P3: In my view, even if the languages are spoken in a different way, I think it is good if books are prepared in a standard language since the language used in the curriculum is established by mediating variations. For example, Dorze, Kucha, Ganta speak different languages, but the curriculum is designed in a neutral language so I think it is very good.

P4: As to me, I am happy if the language is standardized. If you ask why, because even though we understand each other to some extent, there are differences at some point so, I would be happy if it is standardized in a way all varieties participate.

P5: It is good though there is language difference. By the way the difference in the language has come due to pronunciation. Therefore, I think if the language is standardized in one of the pronunciations that is common to all, it reaches all speakers in the same way. If the standard is taken from one of the dialects, it makes difference when it is taken in to other dialect speakers. It creates other confusion or confrontation. For that reason, the language should be standardized by taking information from all, people from all variation should be taken and should see how the language is pronounced in different places. I think it will be clear for students and workers if the books are written in a standard language created in a neutral way.

P7: the languages spoken in some places are difficult for us to understand. For instance, when the language spoken in Chench and Dorze is written and brought to Kucha and Mirab Abaya, the speakers are troubled. So, the standard should be written in a neutral language. When I compare it with Oromo language, Oromos are many societies but they generally use the same language. When we come to Gamo for example, when we come to Chench there are 56 small villages. In each of these places people use a different language. Thus, I think the standard should be created by including all varieties. The language is Gamo and it is good for every one if that Gamo language is developed. It is also good for someone to understand the other. For example, our village is called Shama, and when we move on to another village called Ezo, people have a different form. So, I think it is good for Gamo if the standard is taken from all variations.

R: Should the standard language be taken from one of the Gamo dialects or from all of the dialects?

P3: There are educated people who speak different dialects. So, the standard language should be taken from all of the dialects.

P4: If the standard is taken only from one of the dialects, it creates a problem to other dialect speakers. So, I think it is convenient to every speaker if the standard language is taken from all of the dialects.

P5: I think if the standard is taken from different dialects, it helps to overcome the attitude of racism or differentiation some people run. The students and the society also believe this. If the standard favors and targets on a particular language or dialect, it creates influence and triggers something bad in the society. But if it is taken from different dialects, every one finds their own language in the standard. It helps to strengthen unity among the society. The students are also able to find their own dialects in the standard though it is not totally the same to their dialect. On the other hand, if the standard is taken from one area, it does not help students to relate their language knowledge to their environment.

P7: When people write, they exaggerate their own dialect. I think this is another form of reflecting ethnicity.

R: Do you write in Gamo? Which language do mostly use, Gamo or Amharic?

P1: As to me, I use Gamo just to communicate to others in speaking, but I write a note to myself or to others in Amharic and in English. This is because I learnt the Gamo language only up to high school, then learning and writing in it ended there. Since I did not learn it beyond high school, I am even now starting to forget it. I can read it but I cannot read properly. The words and the letters are difficult to me to identify or to read. When they select words, I think it is good if they take the ones the majority understands. If they take only from one area, the others may not understand. So, we should take the words used by most of the people and use our own dialect in our local area.

P2: I usually write letters, notes, memories or anything in Amharic. If you ask me to write these things in Gamo I cannot do it. But I often speak with my family in Gamo

P3: I use Gamo to speak to my grandparents. But in writing, I use Gamo to write secret things to hide it from others. Other times I write in Amharic and in English.

P4: I have never written information for personal or public use in Gamo. I do not have any problem with reading and writing in Gamo since I learnt it from Grade one, but I do not have the experience to write in it for others or for myself. I am not that much comfortable to write in Gamo.

P5: I often use all Gamo, Amharic and English. It depends on a person to whom I write.

R: What is the problem to write in Gamo?

P4: In Gamo a word cannot be written without its vowels. When it is written with vowels, it takes a lot of space. It is not possible to write many things in short time and little space unlike in Amharic. In English as well, it is possible to write many words in a small space. But Gamo has vowels that need to be doubled, and when consonants are also geminated, it occupies much space. So, I write in Amharic and English to save time and space.

P3: Unlike the other languages, we do not find any publications in Gamo. Even the Bible was translated very recently in 2000 I guess. If we have books in Gamo, we will be good at writing it when we read in it. But if you see Oromo language, many books are written in it.

P5: In my case the problem is the person whom I write to. If I write to a person who knows Gamo, I write in Gamo; otherwise, I write in Amharic.

P7: I write something secret to my friends in Gamo. For example, in University, when a certain problem happened, we used to exchange messages in Gamo. We did that to hide the information from other people, but we do not usually use Gamo.

P3: Like what she said, letters are very repeated or doubled in Gamo. It is difficult to do that. In addition, for example I learnt in Oromia region, and I saw that many books are and novels are written in Oromo language. Books are written in Oromo and translated into Amharic and English. There are many books like this in the market. But all information reaches our area, Gamo, in Amharic or English. Therefore, we read those Amharic and English books. We have nothing to read in Gamo. It is for that reason that we do not use Gamo so often.

P1: The major problem that hinders us from writing in Gamo is people's knowledge of the written language. Our elders did not learn in Gamo. If we write to people older than us, they do not know the standard written Gamo. It is only known by the current generation like us or the younger ones. So we fear that people may not know it if we write in Gamo.

P7: We do not use Gamo because the official working language in Gamo Gofa or in Southern Region is Amharic. In Amhara region it is also Amharic, and if we go to Oromia region it is Oromo language. Gamo varies in every district. If we move from one district to another district, we do not use Gamo because there is variation. We normally use Amharic as we move from one Gamo area to the other. Amharic is the neutral language that is used in official communications Southern nations. We communicate to everyone in Amharic. For that reason, we always want to develop and use Amharic. Even, we communicate in Amharic if we move from one village to the other because there are semantically different words in Gamo. If a word has a common meaning in my dialect, the same word may be a taboo in the other. So, instead of that, we prefer to speak or write in Amharic because it is a common language in Southern nations.

R: Do you want Gamo to be an official language?

P1: Had Gamo been used in offices or in different public posts, it would have enhanced our literacy skill. But since Gamo is not used in the linguistic landscape, we do not also care to improve and develop our skill in it at all. Since all advertisements and posts are written in Amharic, we pay more attention to develop Amharic literacy skill than Gamo.

P3: I say it is good if Gamo is lifted up as an official language. But many people have also come from other places. Amharic should be used in for posts to serve these people who speak other languages, and something that represents Gamo people should be posted. I think both of these are very important. People should be served in their own language. Other communication media should also play a role to promote Gamo. Gamo should be given its own good position in broad cast media. There are media transmitted by the regional administration. So, Gamo should play its own role in transmitting information to the people. The media should play a great role to change people's attitude because the current generation does not usually want to speak Gamo. I sometimes see that a small kid in Chencha does not speak Gamo. Since from when they enter to grade one they leave Gamo and speak Amharic. But what I saw in Wolaitta, for example, is that

even when they enter into a very big office, they speak Wolaitta. In Gamo, even small children do not want to greet others in Gamo. They always switch to Amharic. They even close radios when the media transmission begins in Gamo. So, the media should create awareness to these groups and change their attitude towards Gamo. I want to emphasize that Gamo should be promoted into an official language to serve the Gamo society, and to serve others Amharic and English should be used.

P5: Announcements, meetings and advertisements should be handled in Gamo because the local community understands the message well if it is transmitted in the local language. The local community listens to the information properly and applies it if it is transmitted in its own language. For example, once I went to a meeting held in the municipality's office. The leader of the meeting started saying, "today we are going to handle our meeting in Gamo." Then, after that he continued saying, "good morning" in Amharic. Even when he initially opened the meeting by greeting the audience, he did not begin it in Gamo. What I want to say is that the responsible body itself gathers people in offices and talks to them in Amharic, but the audience leaves the hall without understanding the message properly. In addition, when they go to villages and districts from Zonal offices to have a meeting with the farmers, they talk to the farmers in Amharic because they have not practices to speak official matters in Gamo. In those situations, I do not think the farmers said what they wanted to say and I do not also think they understood what the official wanted to say. The body responsible to develop Gamo does every activity in Amharic. At that time, I think it has its own negative impact on the development of Gamo as a standard language. That is one of the things that discourage people from writing in Gamo. For example, if officials use Gamo to make announcements for the farmers to pay taxes, the people can see their effort to develop and use the language. I believe these kinds of influences hamper the development of Gamo as an official and standard language.

R: I thank you all.

Appendix E

The Amharic Version of Data from Individual Interviews

Data found from interviews with individual native Gamo language speakers were transcribed in Amharic and presented below. (አ= አጥኝ; መ = መላሽ)

ቃለመጠይቅ አንድ

አ: ለቃለ መጠይቅ ስለተባበርከኝ/ሽኝ አመሰግናሁ:: ስምህ/ሽንና የሥራ ድርሻሽህን ትነግረኛለሽህ?

መ: እሺ ስሜ ይስሃቅ ይባላል፤ የሥራ ድርሻዬ የአርባምንጭ መምህራን ምህርትኮሌጅ መምህር ነኝ:: ይህ ነው እንግዲህ የሥራ ድርሻዬ::

አ: ትምህርት ላይ ያለውን መደበኛ ቋንቋ ወይም የአፍ መፍቻ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበትን ጋሞኛ ታውቀዋለህ? እዛ ላይስ የሰራሽው ስራ አለ?

መ: ትምህርት ላይ ባለው ጋሞኛ ሰርቻለሁ:: ከዚህ በፊት በአንድ የግል ተቋም አም መምህራን ትምህርት ኮሌጅ በሚባል በ98, 99, 2000 አካባቢ የመጀመሪያ ደረጃ መምህራን ምሩቃንን አስተምሬያለሁ:: የመጀመሪያ ደረጃ ትምህርት በዛ መፃሕፍቶችን ሁለት መፃሕፍቶችን፣ ሞጁሎችን ተርጉሜያለሁ ወደ ጋሞኛ ጋሞኛ ማለት አሁን ሥራ ላይ ያለውን ወደዛ ተርጉሜያለሁ:: እዚህ ኮሌጅ ከገባሁ በኋላ ደግሞ አንድ የአራተኛ ክፍል የሂሳብ መጽሐፍ ወደ ጋሞኛ ተርጉሜያለሁ:: እና እንደዚህ ዓይነት ‘experience’ አለኝ::

አ: የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበት መደበኛ ጋሞኛ ሁሉም ተማሪዎች በቤት ወይም በአካባቢ ከሚነጋገሩበት ጋር ተቀራራቢ ነው?

መ: እሺ ይህ አሁን ሥራ ላይ ያለው ጋሞኛ በደጋ አካባቢ የሚነገረው ጋሞኛ ነው በሥራ ላይ ያለው:: በርግጥ ጋሞኛ ዘዬው ይለያያል፤ ብዙ አይነት ጋሞኛ አይነቶች አሉ ግንሥራ ላይ ያለው አብዛኛዎቹን ይወክላል ብዬ ነው የምገምተው:: የእኔ ግንዛቤ ነው:: ለምን ሌሎች ቀበሌኛዎች ያንን ይሰሙታል:: ሥራ ላይ ያለውን ጋሞኛ ይሰሙታል “understand” ያረጉታል:: ልዩነቱ ምንድን ነው ይህንን የሚሰሙ ሰዎች ለምሳሌ ጋንትኛ የምባሉት: ኮሌ: ዘርጉላ ያሉትን እንደዚህ ዓይነቶችን እ... እነዛ ተናጋሪዎች ይህን ጋሞኛ ይሰሙታል:: እና ቅድም የነገርኩሽን አብነት እንደገና እነግርሻለሁ:: ለአብነት አንድ ጊዜ ያው አያቶቼ ጋ ስሄድ የእኔ አባት ቤተሰቦች ኮሌ አካባቢ ናቸው:: ኮሌ አካባቢ ደግሞ ትንሽ ያው ለየት ያለ ጋሞኛ ነው:: የእኔ እናት አካባቢ ማለት ደግሞ ላካ ነው:: ለካ ማለት ደግሞ አሁን በስፋት የሚነገረው ጋሞኛ አይነት ነው እና ቅርብለቅርብድንበር ለድንበር ስለሆኑ የሚለይ ነገር የለም:: እንደሌቻና ሲቀለ እንኳንአይሆንም ቅርብ ነው በጣም:: ሕፃናት ላይ ያየሁት ነገር ምንድን ነው ሁለቱ ሕፃናት የራሳቸውን ከብቶች ይጠብቁ ነበር በዚህና በዛ በኩል ሲጠብቁ አንደኛው የራሱን ከብት ወደ ሌላኛው ሲያሻግር ለምን ታሻግራለህ አይነት ጥል የሰባት የስምንት የዘጠኝ አስር እዛ አካባቢ እድሜ ያሉ ልጆች ናቸው ሲሰዳደቡ አየሁ:: አንደኛው በራሱ ዘዬ ይሳደባል ያኛውም በራሱ ይሰደባል አሎ ማለት ምን ማለት ነው

አንደኛው አንደኛውን ሰምቷል ማለት ነው። ቅርብለቅርብ ስለሆኑ ይሰማሉ የሚል ግምት ነው ያለኝ። በተለይ ኮሌና ለካ አካባቢ ያሉ ሰዎች ላካ ማለት አሁን የምናገረውን ጋሞኛ የተባለውን የምናገሩ ናቸው። አፋቸውን በዛ የፊቱ ናቸው ኮሌ የሚባለው ደግሞ ትንሽ ለየት ያለው ማለት ነው ዘዬ ያለው እንደዛ አይነቶቹ ናቸው እና ይሰማሉ ሕፃናቱም ይሰማሉ የምል ግምት ነው ያለኝ። ከዚህ “experience” መናገር የምችለው ማለት ነው። ስለዚህ አሁን እየተነገረ ያለው ጋሞኛ እየተነገረ ያለው ጋሞኛ ተገቢ ነው ብዬ የምወስደው ግን መሻሻል ያለበት ነገርም ይኖራል እ... ምንድን ነው ሌሎቹ የእኛ እንዲሉ ለምሳሌ ኮሌ ያሉት ጋንታም ሌሎች ያሉት ይህም የእኛ ነው ማለት እንዲችሉ ቃላት ያሉት ቃላቶች ሁሉ ጥቅም ላይ ማዋል አለባቸው። “ዋርዶች” እንዳለ ተሰብስበው እነዚህ እነዚህ “ዋርዶች” የጋሞኛ አካል ሆነው ጥቅም ላይ ለመጽሐፍም ቢሆን በምን ላይ “ኢንከርፓሬት” ሆነው የ... አካል መሆን አለባቸው ማለት ፈልጌ ነው።

አ: የመማሪያ መጽሐፍት ወጥ በሆነ መደበኛ ቋንቋ ቢጻፉ ጥሩ ነው ብለህ ታስባለህ

መ. አዎ ይህን ጥሩ ነው ነው የምለው። ለምሳሌ እኔ ስጽፍ እኔ ወደ ሚቀርበኝ ለምሳሌ ወደ አሁን ጋሞኛ ተናጋሪ ጋሞኛ ወደሚባለው ወደ ዋናው ነው ወደዛ ነው ቀረብ የምለው ሌላ ሰው ደግሞ ሲጽፍ ወደሚቀርበው ሊጽፉ ይችላል ስለሚችል ስታንዳርዱን ቢጠብቅ ጥሩ ነው። ስታንዳርዱን ለማስጠበቅ ደግሞ ... ቃላቶች መለየት አለባቸው። የመጀመሪያ ደረጃ መጠቀም ያለባቸው ቃላቶች ተለይተው ድምፆች ተለይተው፣ በርግጥ ጋሞኛ ከሆነ ጋሞኛን ለየት ሊያደርጉ የሚችሉ ድምፆችም አሉ። እነኞ ድምፆች ቅርሶችም ስለሆኑ መጠበቅ አለባቸው። ለምሳሌ |ts| |dz| የመሳሰሉ ቃላቶች ስለሌሉ ሌላ ቦታ ቃላቶቹ ተጠብቀው ጋሞኛን መስለው መቅረብ አለባቸው ሌሎችም ይህንን ቢቀበሉ ጥሩ ይመስለኛል። ምክንያቱም ይህ

አ: በአንድ ወጥ መንገድ መፃፉ ጥቅሙ ምንድን ነው?

መ. አንድ ወጥ ሆኖ መፃፉ ጥቅሙ ሚመስለኝ ያው አንደኛ ስታንዳርዱን ይጠብቃል። ልጆች ሕፃናት በዛ ዴቨሎፕመንት ይሆናሉ። ስለዚህ ኢኮኖሚካል ጥቅም ይኖረዋል፣ ሶሻል ጥቅም ይኖረዋል፣ መጨረሻ ላይ ደግሞ አንድነትን የጋሞ አንድነትን ያመጣል፣ ሁሉም ሰው በእኩል ጥቅም ላይ ያውላቸዋል። እ... ቋንቋው ሊዳብር ባህሉም እንደዚህ እ ... በዛም ቴክኖሎጂም እንደዛው ሌሆን ይችላል። በቋንቋው ምክንያት።

አ: መደበኛ የሆነው የጽሁፍ ቋንቋ ከአንዱ ዘዬ ቢወሰድ ይሻላል ወይስ ሁሉም ዘዬዎች ቢካተቱበት ጥሩ ነው?

መ. በእኔ ግምት አሁን ለምሳሌ እ... ሌሎቹ አካባቢዎች ለምሳሌ ጋሞ ውስጥ ያሉት ዘዬዎች አቀራረባቸው አጥሮቻቸው የቋንቋ ሰው ባልሆንም የሆነ ሁሉንም አንድ ላይ ላቀላቅል ቢባል ምንም ሚሆን ነገር አይመስለኝም። አቀላቅሎ መውሰድ ሚሆን አይመስለኝም። ግን ቃላቶችን መጠቀም ይቻላል። የእኔ ግምት ነው። ስለዚህ የእኔ ግምት ምንድን ነው አሁን ባለው አሰራር ቃላቶቹ ግን ዳብረው ከሌሎቹ የማ ... የማንጠቀማቸው ቃላት እንደቃላት ገብተው አንዱን ዘዬ እንዴት አካባ ... አሁን የ ... ጋሞኛ ምባለው ያው በብዛት ነው በሕዝብ ብዛት ሰፊው እሱ ስለሆነ በሕዝብ ብዛትም ሰፊው እሱ ስለሆነ ማጀራቱው ስለሆነ በዛ ያን የተከተለ ሆኖ ግን የሌሎችን ቃላት በቃላት ደረጃ የሌሎችን ቢወሰዱ የተሻለ ይመስለኛል።

አ: ሰዋሰዋቸውን መውሰድስ አይቻልም?

መገ. እኔ አላቅም እሱን እንግዲህ ሚቻል ከሆነ የቋንቋ ሰዎች የሚቻልበትን ሁኔታ ቢያመቻቹ ደስ ይለኛል። ግን የቋንቋ ሰዎቹ ... ስለ ሰዎቹ እንግዲህ

አ፡ በጋሞኛ ትጽፋለህ?

መገ. በግሌ ጽፌያለሁ ያልኩሽ መጽሐፍ ነው። የአንደኛ ደረጃ የኮሌጅ የቲቲአይ ተማሪዎች መማሪያ መጽሐፍ ጽፌያለሁ ተርጉሜያለሁ። ሌላ በግል ግጥሞችን እጽፋለሁ። እ... አንድ ሁለት ግጥም የማስታውሳቸው አንድ ሁለት ግጥም ጽፌያለሁ። ይህን ነው ማስታውሰው እ... መጽሐፍ ለመጻፍም ሃሳብ አለኝ ጊዜ አጣሁ እንጂ መጽሐፍ ለመጻፍ ሃሳብ አለኝ። ሌላ ደግሞ የሳይንስናቴክኖሎጂ ዲክሽነሪ ሳይንስ ቴክኖሎጂ ዲክሽነሪ ልሰራ እየተዘጋጀሁ ነው። ዲክሽነሪ ለመሥራት ማለት ቋንቋው ሲያድግ ለቋንቋው የሚመጥን የሳይንስናቴክኖሎጂ ቃላት እንዲኖሩት ለማድረግ የራሴን እሰራና በሌሎች አስተቻለሁ የሚል ሃሳብ አለኝ እሱን እየዘጋጀሁ ነው።

አ፡ እሱን ልጠይቅህ ነበር ስላነሳኸው በጣም አመሰግናለሁ። አንተ የሂሳብ አስተማሪ ነህ። እና አሁን ጋሞኛ ለሳይንስ ለፈጠራ የሚሆን ቃላት ከጋሞኛ በደንብ ወጥተዋል ብለህ ታስባለህ? የሌሎች ደግሞ ተፈጥረዋል ዳብረዋል ብለህ ታስባለህ?

መገ. እስካሁን ድረስ አሁን ዝም ብሎ ትርጉም ነው ሚተረጎመው እንጂ አዳዲስ ቃላት ፈጠራ ላይ ማለት ቃላት የሳይንስ ቃላት ሁሉም በጋሞኛ የሉም ስለዚህ መስለው ጋሞኛን መስለው የሚመጡ ቃላት ያው ይኖራሉ መኖር አለባቸው። እና ያንን እስካሁን ተሰርቷል የሚል እምነት የለኝም ለዛ ነው የመሰራት ነገር ውስጠኔ አለ እና ትንሽ “ፍሪ” ስሆን እሱን እሰራለሁ።

አ፡ አሁን ጋሞኛን ስታንዳርድ የማድረግ ደረጃው ምን ያህልነው ብለህ ታስባለህ?

መገ. ጋሞኛን ስታንዳርድ የማድረግ ደረጃው ገና ነው ብዙ መሥራትይጠይቃል። ብዙ ልፋት ይጠይቃል። ስለዚህ የብዙ ሰዎች አስተዋጽኦም ያስፈልጋል እና ብዙ ሰዎች ግጥም የሚጽፉ፣ መጽሐፍም ልባለድም የሚጽፉ እ... በጋሞኛ እንደዚህ አይነት ነገሮች የተለያዩ ስነጽሑፎችን የሚጽፉ ሰዎች ተበራክተው በተለያዩ ሚዲያዎች መውጣት አለባቸው። እንዲህ ሲሆን ስታንዳርዱ ከብዙ ተነባቢ ይሆንና ሰው ውስጥ ይገባል ከዛ በኋላ ስታንዳርዱን በዚህ ሁኔታ ነው ሊጠብቅ የሚችለውና ብዙ ሰዎች ተሳታፊ መሆን አለባቸው።

አ፡ በጣም አመሰግናለሁ ።

ቃለ መጠይቅ ሁለት

አ፡ ለቃለ መጠይቅ ስለተባበርከኝ አመሰግናሁ። ስምህንና የሥራ ድርሻህን ትነግረኛለህ?

መገ. እሽ ስሜ ማና ይባላል አርባምንጭ መምህራን ትምህርት ኮሌጅ የጋሞኛ መምህር ነኝ።

አ፡ ትምህርት ላይ ያለውን መደበኛ ቋንቋ ወይም የአፍ መፍቻ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበትን ጋሞኛ ታውቀዋለህ? እዛ ላይስ የሰራኸው ስራ አለ?

መ2: አዎ ጋሞኛ እድገት ላይ እንግዲህ እዚህ ቅርብ ጊዜ ነው የገባሁች ግን ጋሞ ላይ ከዚህ እታች ዞን ላይ ባለሁበትና ሃይስኩል ትምህርት ቤቶች ጋ ፊደል ገበታ ጀምሮ መግባታት በማዘጋጀት እ... በተለይ እኚህ አምስት እስከ አስር ያሉት መጽሐፎች በማዘጋጀት ላይ ከፍተኛ ተጀማትፎ አድርጌያለሁ? እ... ጋሞኛ ቋንቋ ዘጠነኛ ክፍል እንዲጀመር ጋሞ ጎፋ ዞን ትምህርት መምሪያ ጋር ግፊት እና ሞጁሎችን ወደ የወረዳዎቹ ለሁለተኛ ደረጃ ትምህርት ቤቶች ደርሶ ለመምህራኑ ስልጠና ከየቦታው ተውጣጥተው እዚህ እኛ ኮሌጅ (አርባምንጭ መምህራን ትምህርት ኮሌጅ) መጥተው እንዲወስዱ የተቻለንን ነገር ከሌሎች ባለድርሻ አካላት ጋር አድርጌያለሁ።

አ: የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበት መደበኛ ጋሞኛ ሁሉም የጋሞኛ ተናጋሪ ተማሪዎች በቤት ወይም በአካባቢ ከሚነጋገሩበት ጋር ተቀራራቢ ነዉ?

መ2: አዎ እሱ እንግዲህ እ... ነገሩ ምንድን ነው አሁን ቋንቋውን ሁለት አይነት ሐሳብ አለ። ቋንቋው እታች አንድ እስከ ስምንት ላይ በጣም ቆይቷል ስለቆየ አሁን በተለይ ሁለተኛ ደረጃው ላይ ዘጠነኛና አስረኛ የተዘጋጁ ማቴሪያሎች መግለጫት ክፍተቱ አለበት። ለምን ሳይጀመር ብዙ ዘመን ስለቆየ አዘጋጆችም ከተለያዩ እ... መሥሪያ ቤቶች ተወስደው ስለአዘጋጁ ዋናው ምንድን ነው ፕሮግራሙን ለማስጀመር ትምህርቱን ዘጠኝ አስር ለማስጀመር ስለሆነ ክፍተቱ አለ። ሁሉን ለማማከል መደረግ ያለበት እ... ኤሄ “Need analysis” የሚባለው ተደርጎ ነበር መጀመር የነበረበት የዞን ያክል ለማድረግ ሳይሆን የታሰበውን ቅርብ ሆነ አጀማመሩም ማቴሪያሉም በሌለበት ጊዜ ስለሆነ ክፍተቱ አለ። ዘዎቻችን ያካተት የጽሁፍ ሂደት የተከተለ ፊደላትን ሁሉ ያካተተ መልክ ሳይሆን የተወሰነ ትምህርት አስጀምሯል ግን እ... ከተጀመረ በኋላ ሁለኛ ጊዜ ከአመት ሁለት አመት በኋላ ነው እንዲቀየር ብለን ነው እኛ አስበን ያስጀመርነው በዛመልኩ ነው እንጅ ክፍተት አለ “ማቴሪያሉ” ላይ።

አ: አሁን አልተቀየረም?

መ2: አሁንም አልተቀየረም፣ በወቅቱ እንዲቀየር ከሁለት አመት በኋላ መቀየር ነበረበት ተብሎ ግን ከበጀት ከሆኑ ነገሮች ጋር ብቻ ተያይዞ ያልተቀየረበት ሁኔታ አለ እስካሁን ድረስ።

አ: ጋሞኛ ሲጻፍ የት አካባቢ በሚነገረው ነው የተጻፈው?

መ2: ጋሞኛ ብዙ ጊዜ እንግዲህ ትኩረት ያደረገው ምንድን ነው ሚያማክለው ኤሄ ጋሞ “ሃይላንድስ” ወይ ጋሞ ከፍታዎች ላይ የለውን ብዙ ያካተተል ያ ለምንድን ነው አሁን ቆላው ላይ ያለው ጋሞ የደጋውን ይረዳል ይረዳል ስለምረዳ እ... ደጋውን እንትን ይወስዳል እ... የቆላው ከተወሰደ ደጋው ላይ ያለው በጣም ይቸገራል። ከመናገርም አልፎ መስማት የሚያቅትበት ሁኔታ ስላለ በዛ መልኩ በጣም ሚቸግርበት ሁኔታ ስላለ ብዙ ጊዜ እንደ “ስታንዳርድም” ሚወሰደው ምንድን ነው የትኛው ነው ካለው የሕዝብ ብዛት ለምለው መጀመሪያ አዘጋጆች አማካይ የወሰዱበት ሁኔታ አለ ስለዚህ የደጋው የሚያመዘንበት ሁኔታ አለ በዛ መልኩ ነው የተዘጋጀው “ማታሪያሉ”።

አ: የመማሪያ መጽሃፍት ወጥ በሆነ መደበኛ ቋንቋ ቢጻፉ ጥሩ ነዉ ብለህ ታስባለህ?

መ2: መጻፍ ያለበት በአንድ መልክ ቢሆን ይሻላል። ማንም በየራሱ ይጻፍ ከተባለ የተጻፉ ነገሮች ምናልባት አንባቢ ሊያጡ ይችላሉ የዛ አይነት ስጋት አለ። ማንም በየዘዩው እንግዲህ እስከ አሁን ጋሞኛ ላይ ያሉ ዘዬዎች ቁጥር እስከ አርባ ምናምን ነው አርባ ሁለት አርባ ሶስት ነው በየቀበሌው ከነኛ ሁሉም እንግዲህ ማንም ፀሐፊ እንደየ እንትኑ ሊጽፍ ይችላል ግን ቢቻል ወደ ስታንዳርዱ በቀረበ ሁኔታ ሁሉን ያማከለ በመማሪያ መጻሕፍ ላይ ባሉት ማስተማሪያ መጻሕፍት ላይ ባሉት መልኩ ማዘጋጀት አለበት እንጅ አጋዥ የተባሉት ሌሎች ነገሮችን ማዘጋጀት አለበት እንጅ እዚህ ጋ የተዘጋጀው በስታንዳርዱ መሰረት ተዘጋጅቷል። እዛጋ ደግሞ በሰፈር በተለያዩ ነገሮች ከተጻፈ እ... አንባቢው ራሱ ሚቸገርበት ሁኔታ ስላለ እሄን ነገር ደግሞ ለማስተካከል ደግሞ ዞን ላይ ራሱ ስርዓተ ትምህርቱ በደንብ ይከታተላል ማንም ሰው መጻሕፍትን አዘጋጅቶ ለማሳተም ከፈለገ ዞን መምጣት አለት። ፈቃድ አግኝቶ ነው ሚያስተምረው ኤሄ ዞን ላይ የተዘረጋበት ስርዓት ስላለ በዛ ፈቃድ አልፎ፣ ኤዲት ተደርጎ ዘዬዎችና እዚህ ጋ ትምህርት እየተጠቀመ ባለበት ሁኔታ ከዛ ውጪ የሆነ ነገር ካለ ኤዲተርም ተመድቦ ነው ከዞን ሥርዓተ ትምህርት እ... ካስፈለገ ከኮሌጅም መምህራን ሄደው የሚሰራበት ሁኔታ አለ። በዛ መልክ እየተሰራ ነው የለው አሁን በኔ አስተሳሰብም በዛ መልኩ ስታንዳርዱን ጠብቆ አዘጋጅቻልም በዛ መልኩ ቢያዘጋጁ ይሻላል። አጋዥ መጽሐፍ ሊሆን ይችላል። ልቦለዶች ሊሆን ይችላል ሌሎች ነገሮችም የመደበኛ ጽሁፉን የተከተለ ሁኔታ ቢሆን ነው የተሻለው።

አ: መደበኛ የሆነው የጽሁፍ ቋንቋ ከአንዱ ዘዬ ቢወሰድ ይሻላል ወይስ ሁሉም ዘዬዎች ቢካተቱበት ጥሩ ነው?

መ2: አዎ ነገሩ እንትን ብሎ ቢካተት ነው ጥሩ ለምን አሁን አሁን ላይ ያለው ምንድን ነው ቆላው ጋ ያለው አንዳንድ ጋ ምን አለ የማኩረፍ ባህሪ አለ ሕብረተሰቡ ሕብረተሰቡ ራሱ። ያው ቋንቋ ማለት የሕብረተሰቡ የባህሉ መገለጫ ስለሆነ ቆላው ጋ ያለው አንዳንድ ዝም ብሎ አመለካከቱ እኛን አይወክለንም የሚለውም አለ። በርግጥ ይረዳዋል የደገኛውን እንትን የደጋውን የኃይላንዱን እንትን ይረዳዋል። የደጋ ጋሞኛውን የራሱን ማየት ይፈልጋል። ለምሳሌ ያህል የቁጫ አለ አሁን ወደዛ በቁጫ በኩል ያለው አሁን እኛ የቁጫ ጎረቤት ስለሆንን ማነው የወላይታ ጎረቤት ስለሆንን የወላይትኛውን መጠቀም አለበት ይላሉ። የኛ ልጆች ሁሉ የወላይታ ጎረቤት ስለሆንን እኛ ጽሁፉንም መጽሐፉም ለእኛ ሲላክ በዛኛው መጻፍ አለበት ብለው አንዴ ክርክር አንስተዋል። እዚህ መጥተው ለሆነ ስልጠና ላይ ለሁለተኛ ደረጃ መምህራን ስልጠና ስንሰጥ ማለት ነው በወላይትኛ ለምሳሌ በጋሞኛ *haatsba* የሚለውን *haatta* እያለ ለእኛ በእኛ መጻፍ አለበት አሉ። እኛ ይህ በተግምር አይሆንም አንድ ጋሞኛ ስር ሁለት አይነት ካሪኩለም መቅረጽ እሄ ቋንቋውን ማዳከም ይሆናል አይሆንም ቢቻል ግን ወደፊት መሆን ያለበት ዘዬዎችን ያማከለ ዘዬዎችን ሁሉ ባካተትን ቁጥር እ ... የ ... word አቅማችን የቃላት ብዛትን እየጨመረ ይሄዳል። የእኛ ግብዓት ሀፍት ናቸው። resource ናቸው። በዛ መልኩ ከየ ከየ ደጋውም ከየምኑም ከየምኑም ተዋህዶ መብዛቱ ለእኛ ይጠቅመናል ግን በጥናት ነው በሂደት ወደዚያ እየጨመርን ከቅርስ እንግዲህ ያለውን ሰው resource በአንዴ አይጨርስም። በሂደት የቱ ያስፈልገናል አሁን በሚለው ሁሉም ዘዬዎች ለእኛ ቅርሶች ናቸው። በእዛ መልኩ ሁሉም ቢገባ እንደ እኔ ባለሙያም ይሻላል።

አ: አንተ እንደግለሰብ ለምሳሌ አንዱ ሲካተት ሌላው ይወጣል የዚህኛው ቢካተት የዚህኛው ይወጣል አንተ አሁን እንደጋሞኛ ተናጋሪ ግለሰብ አንተ የምትናገራቸው ቃላት ወይም የቋንቋ ባህሪያት ከደበኛው ጽሁፍ ቢቀነሱ ሃሳብም ምንድን ነው?

መ2.: ኤሄ ችግር አይፈጥርም ኤሄ ማለት አንዱ ቃል በሌላ ተተካ ማለት ምንድን ነው ኤሄ ምንድን ነው ተመሳሳይ የምለውን ነው ተመሳሳይ ትርጉም ወይም በእንግሊዝኛ synonyms ሚባለው ነው እንግዲህ አንድ ሰው በተለያዩ ዘዎች ውስጥ ተመሳሳይ ትርጉም ሚሰጣቸው ቃላት አንድ ቃል በራሱ እንግዲህ ፍቺ በአገባቡ ነው ሁለትም ሶስትም አስርም ፍቺ ሊኖረው ይችላል። ለዛም ደግሞ በተለያዩ ቃላት መፍታት ይቻላል። ስለዚህ በተለያዩ ዘዎች ውስጥ ያሉትን እ... ሕብረተሰቡን በሂደት እያለመዱን ጽሁፍ ውስጥ አካተት ማለት ሕብረተሰቡ አወቀ ማለት ቀያይረን ብንጠቀም ችግር የለም synonyms ተመሳሳይ ነው በቃ ተመሳሳይ ትርጉም ከሰጠ የኔውም ገባ የሌለውም ገባ የቁጫውም ገባ የደጋውም ቆላውም ገባ እዛ ጋ ትርጉም የሚሰጥ ከሆነ ሕብረተሰቡ ደግሞ ወደ “ስታንዳርዳይዜሽን” እኮ መጀመሪያ አድጓል ነው አሳድገናል። እንግዲህ በሂደት እየወሰድን እሱን በዛ በግሎሰሪ መልክ አለ። ዲክሽነሪዎች አሉ በዛ እያላመድን ነው እንግዲህ ከዛ ጋ ዘዎችን ስንወስድ ዝም ብለን አይደለም ምናካትተው። ዲክሽነሪ ውስጥ አለ መዝገብ ቃል ምኞች እያዘጋጀን ጎን ለጎን በነኛ ሕብረተሰቡ “awareness” እንዲኖራቸው ይደረጋል። ከዚህ side ደግሞ እነኚህን በተዘዋዋሪ የእኔ ዘዎ አልገባም ብዬ እኔ ትርጉሙን ካወቅኩኝ እሱን ለምን እቃወማለሁ በቃ ትርጉሙን ከተረዳሁ ምንድን ነው ተመሳሳይ ነው ተመሳሳይ ፍቺ ከሰጠ በቃ ቃል አወቅኩ አንድ ሰው ደግሞ አዲስ ቃል አወቀ ማለት ኤሄ ለእኔ ጥሩ ነገር ነው እንጂዳ መጥፎ አይደለም። ስለዚህ የእኔ ወጥቷል የእኔ ገብቷል የሚለው ለእኔ ብዙ sense አያደርገኝም ልዩነት አይፈጥርም በንደዚህ መልኩ ነው። የግድ አንዱን ቃል ሁለት ግዜ መጻፍ ይከብዳል። እሱን እንደዛ ለማድረግ በሌላ መልኩ እንዲረዳ ኤሄ ቅድም ያልነው መዝገብ ቃሉ አለ ምኑ አለ በዛው ሰው ይረዳ እንጂ እዚህ ጋር በብራኬቱ በምኑ በምኑ ተደርጎ አይደለም እንደዛ ከተጻፈማ ጽሁፉን ያበላሻል።

አ: በጋሞኛ ትጽፋለህ?

መ2.: ጋሞኛ ብዙ አልጠቀምም። ምንድን ነው አሁን ጽሁፉ በወረቀት ላይ ሚጻፉ ደብዳቤዎችን እንጽፋለን እዛ ጋ እንጽፋለን ቢቻል response ግን አናገህንም። አሁን የሰው አመለካከት እኔ አሁን በጋሞኛ ብጽፍ በአማረኛ ነው እዛ ያለው ምላሹ ወይ ሊከብደው ይችላል ወይ ላይፈልገው ይችላል ምናልባት መልእክቴን እንዲሁ በጋሞኛ ጽፎ አመለካከት ጉዳዮች አሉ። በኢሜሌ ለምንም እንትን ላይ ብዙ ጊዜ የተለመደው ያው internationally የተለመደው ነው በዛ ነው የምንጠቀመው ብዙ ጊዜ የሰው አመለካከት ነው እንጂ ብዙ ጊዜ አልተለመደም። ቢሮዎች አካባቢም የትም እዚህ ጋ ማስተማሪያ ቦታ ላይ ነው አሁን ብዙ የእኛ ቋንቋ አገልግሎት ላይ ያለው ምንድን ነው። ትምህርት ቤት ላይ ብቻ ነው። ወደ ሌሎች አገልግሎቶች አልተዘረጋም አይደለም። በጽሁፍ ቀርቶ በንግግር ራሱ ቢሮዎች ውስጥ ሆነን የዚህ የጋሞ ሰዎች ትውልዶች ሆነን እንጠቀምም። ኤሄ ስለተለመደ አሁን ወደ ጽሁፉ ለመጠቀም ገና በጣም ወደ ሷላ እኔ እራሴም እ... አልጠቀመውም። ማልጠቀመውን እጠቀማለሁ ማለት አልችልም። ግን መጠቀም አለበኝ እራሴን አሁን ወደዛ እያሳደግሁ ነው ግን።

አ: ጋሞኛን በጽሁፍ እንዳትጠቀም የሚያደርግህ ጀክንያት ምንድን ነው? ሌላው ሰውስ እንዳይጠቀም የሚያደርገው ምንድን ነው?

መ2.: ምክንያቱ ምንድን ነው አንዱ አመለካከቱ ነው አመለካከቱ የሰው አመለካከት “still” ያልተቀየረበት ሁኔታ አለ የእኛው ቋንቋ የምለው።

አ: አላደገም ነው?

መ2.: አላደገም ሳይሆን ድሮ ምናውቀው ቋንቋ ስለሆነ አሁን የእኛ ችግር የጋሞ እንትኑ ድሮ እኛ ምናውቀው ጋሞኛ ስለሆነ አንድ ሰሞን ትምህርት እንትን ስል አንድ ሰው አሁን በዚህ ቢቀጥል በጋሞኛ ቢቀጥል “አንተ ደግሞ ሁሌ እዚህ ተወልደህ አድገህ በጋሞኛ ነው። አሁን ደግሞ ሥራ በጋሞኛ ምንልትሰራ ነው?” የዛ አይነት ሁኔታ አለ። በጋሞኛ ለምን ትማራለህ? በጋሞኛ ለምን እንዲህ ታደርጋለህ? ምታቀው ነገር ነው። ሌላ ለምን አዲስ አትማርም የዛ አይነት አመለካከት አለ። የተማረውም ሰው ጭምር አንዲ እንደዛ እንዳላደርግ ሚያደርገው ምንድን ነው እነኛ አመለካከቶች ናቸው። ሁለት ደግሞ እኔ እራሴ አለመድከም አሁን በኢሜሎም በምኑም በምኑም

ቃለመጠይቅ ሶስት

አ: ለቃለ መጠይቅ ስለተባበርከኝ አመሰግናለሁ። ስምህንና የሥራ ድርሻህን ትነግረኛለህ?

መ3.: እሽ ስሜ መምህር አገና እባላለሁ። እ... ሥራዬ ያው እዚህ ኮሌጅ የጋሞኛ ቋንቋ መምህር ነኝ።

አ: ትምህርት ላይ ያለውን መደበኛ ቋንቋ ወይም የአፍ መፍቻ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበትን ጋሞኛ ታውቀዋለህ? እዛ ላይስ የሰራኸው ስራ አለ?

መ3.: አዎ የተወሰኑ አሁን ከዚህ በፊት እዚህ ኮሌጅ ገብቼ ገና አንድ ሁለት ሞጁሎችን እያዘጋጀሁ ነው ተደራጅተው አልወጡም ከዚህ በፊት ግን በhigh schoolና Junior ማጣቀሻ መጻፍቶች እ... ችግር ስለነበረ እነኛን ችግሮች ከማቅለል አንጻር አንዳንድ ጥራዞች እሰራ ነበር።

አ: የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበት መደበኛ ጋሞኛ ሁሉም የጋሞኛ ተናጋሪ ተማሪዎች በቤት ወይም በአካባቢ ከሚነጋገሩበት ጋር ተቀራራቢ ነው?

መ3.: Okay አሁን እሱ ምንድን ነው የተቀራረበ ነው በርግጥ ጋሞ ተናጋሪዎች በዘጠኙም ወረዳዎች የተወሰነ የ “dialect” ወይም ደግሞ የቀበልኛ ልዩነት ጥቂት የቀበልኛ ልዩነት አለ ግን እ... በዋነነት ግን ሁሉም የሚረዳውና ሁሉም የሚሰማው ዳጩኛ የሚሉት ነው። እሱ ማለት አሁን ደጋ አካባቢ “Gamocho” የሚባል አለ አሁን ባልታ አካባቢ፣ ጋርባንሳ አካባቢ፣ ኮሌ አካባቢ፣ መሌ አካባቢ፣ ይህ ደጋውን ፓርት የሚናገሩት እሱን ለራሳቸው ይናገሩና ይህን ዳጭኛው ላይ commonly ሁሉም understand ያደርጋል ማለት ነው ቋንቋውን ስለዚህ እኛ ሞጁሎችን በምናዘጋጅበት ሰአት ሁሉም በሚረዳበት በ... ወይም በዳጭኛው ነው የምናዘጋጀው። ያ ማለት ሕፃናት ሁሉንም ይረዳሉ ማለት ነው አልፎ አልፎ rarely ጥቂት ልጆች ካልሆኑ በስተቀር ሁሉም ይረዳሉ።

አ: የመማሪያ መጽሐፍት ወጥ በሆነ መደበኛ ቋንቋ ቢጻፉ ጥሩ ነው ብለህ ታስባለህ?

መ3.: አሁን ቋንቋው ገና በእድገት ላይ ስላለ ሰው የራሱን ወጥ በሆነ በ... ሲጽፍ ወይም ደግሞ ዘዩ ቢጽፍ ነው ሚሻለው። አንድ አይነት በሆነ ማለት የተለያየ ቢሆን ገና ያልዳበረ ስለሆነ በዘዩው ተጽእኖ የተነሣ መጽሐፉን ምናልባት ላይረዱት የተላለፈውን መልእክት በአግባቡ ሊቀበሉ ስለሚችገሩ እኔ እንደኔ በተቻለ መጠን ሁሉም በሚረዳውና ወጥ በሆነ በአንዱ አይነት የአፃፍ system ውስጥ ገብቶ ቢጻፍ ጥሩ ነው ነው ምለው።

አ: መደበኛ የሆነው የጽሁፍ ቋንቋ ከአንዱ ዘዩ ቢወሰድ ይሻላል ወይስ ሁሉም ዘዩዎች ቢካተቱበት ጥሩ ነው?

መ3: Okay አሁን ይህንን ለመጻፍ ምናልባት ከዘዩዎች አንጻር የአንደኛው ዘዩ ተጽእኖ ስር ሌሎች እንዲውሉ አያስፈልግም። ምክንያቱም ሌላ የራሱ ደግሞ የ... ቋንቋ ተጽእኖ ወይም ደግሞ የተናጋሪዎች ርድ ሊያሰማ ስለሚችል በሚቻል መልኩ በቅንፍም ሆነ በሌላ መልኩ የሌላውንም ጭምር እያጋሩ ወደፊት commonly ሁሉም ከየአንትኑ እ... ከዩዘዩው ማለት ነው ሹ... ለምሳሌ እኔ አሁን ብጽፍ እ ... ከምባ አካባቢ የሚባል አንድ ዘዩ ካለ ዴታ አካባቢ ወይም ደግሞ ጨንቻ አካባቢ ያለውን ሌሎች የእኔን እኔ የምጽፈውን ላይረዱ ስለሚችሉ ብራኬት ውስጥ አስቀምጧለሁ። ሦስተኛ ዙርም የማስቀምጥበት አለ እ... ስለዚህ ለምሳሌ አሁን አንድ ቁጥርን እ... ደጋው አካባቢ በጋሞቶ bizo ነው ሚሉት እ... ደግሞ አንዳንድ ቦታ እ... petro ነው ሚሉት commonly ደግሞ በዳጮ isino ነው ሚሉት። ስለዚህ አሁን እ ... isino ሚሉውን ምናልባት የማይረዱ ከሆነ እነዚህን አማርጠው ሊጠቀሙ ይችላሉ እና አፃፉ አንድ አይነት መንገድ የተከተለ ሆኖ ነገር ግን ዘዩዎቹ ከየዘዩው በአጋርነት ቢወስዱ የተሻለ ነው እላለሁ። ለምን ቋንቋውን አንድ ለማደረግ።

አ: እስከመቼ ድረስ በሕዝባዊ ወይም በቅንፍ ይፃፋል?

መ3: Okay እኔ አሁን የምለው by the way በቃላት ደረጃ ነው። ምናልባት አንዳንዴ እንደ አማራጭ ካልሆነ በስተቀር እኔ ያው እንደገለጽኩት መጻፍ ካለበት አሁን ሁሉ በሚረዳው በዳጬ ዘዩ ቢጻፍ አንዳንድ ደግሞ word ችን የማይረዱ ሊኖሩ ስለሚችሉ በ word ደረጃ ይህ አንድ አማራጭ ነው። ኤሄ ግን ሁሉም እንደዚህ ይቀጥላል ማለት አይደለም። አሁን አንደኛ ገና በ... መሠረታዊ ትምህርት ደረጃ ከታች ግራውንዱን ጠብቆ እየመጣ ነው የለው ገና አሁን አስረኛ ክፍል ደርሷል። አሁን በዚህ አመት ደግሞ አሥራ አንድና አሥሪ ሁለት እየቀጠለ ነው በራሱ በቋንቋው የተማሩ መምህራን አሁን produce እየተደረጉ እየወጡ ናቸው ያሉት awared ሆነው እነኚህ የሚመጡ ተማሪዎች በጥሩ ሁኔታ ከዚህ እኛ ምናስተምረውንም awared ሆነው ስለሚወጡ እዛጋ ያለው የዘዩ ልዩነት diminished ሆኖ አሁን በአንድ እራሱን በቻለ አሁን especially እኛ በምናስተምረው ቁጭ አካባቢ ያለው ቦሮዳ አካባቢ ያለው እንደገና እ ... እንደገና እዚህ ምዕራብ ዓባያ አካባቢ ያሉት የወላይታ የዘዩ ተጽእኖ አለ። ግን አሁን እሱ እዛጋ አይደለም በዚህ በመጽሐፉ በዳጮኛው ስለሚማር የዛን የእነሱ ተጽእኖ እንደዚህ አይመጣም። ሌላ ቦታ ሄደውም ቢያስተምሩ በዚህ መልኩ በዳጬኛው ነው የሚቀጥሉት ማለት ነው። መጽሐፉ normally በዛ የተዘጋጀ ስለሆነ ምናልባት ... የአንዱ ዘዩ የበላይነት አይኖርም ወይ ለሚለው ዘዩው እራሱ ዳጬኛ the whole ነው ቢባል ጋሞኛ በሚነገርበት በሁሉም ነው ያለው የአንድ አካባቢ ለማለት ያስቸግራል አሁን በሁሉም spread አድርጓል። ሁሉም ጋ ይሰማል ስለዚህ የኔ ነው ወይም ደግሞ የዛ ነው የሚል ዓይነት እንትን የላቸውም እንደምታ የላቸውም common ዓይነት ልክ አሁን አማርኛ ዘዩዎች እንዳሉ ሆነው ይህ የሚዲያ ቋንቋዎች አገልግሎት እንደሚጠጡት ነው ዳጬኛም በዚህ አካባቢ የሬዲዮ ፕሮግራም መጽሔቶች ሌላ ስብከት ሌላም ሌላ ነገር በዚህ በዳጬኛው ነው service እየሰጠ ያለው ስለዚህ እሱ ወጥ ያረገዋል እላለሁ እንደ እኔ።

አ: በጋሞኛ ትጽፋለህ?

መ3: በጥንቃቄ በጣም ነው ምጠቀሙ በ... አሁን እንዲያውም አንዳንድ ወደፊት አቅሙ እግዚአብሔር ቢፈቅድ የሆነ በራሴ እንትን እላለሁ የምላቸው ነገሮች አሉ። እነኚህ ወጥ የሆኑ እ ... አባባሎች አሉ። እ ... ታሪክና ምሳሌያዊ

አገላለጾች በጋሞኛ አሉ *Tosse* ነው ሚባሉት እ ... እንደገና እነኚህ እ ... “ፕሮቨርቦች” አሉ። በጣም ጥሩ የሆነ አላለጽን የያዙ ግን አጭር የሆኑ ቃላት ምክር ለገሰ ወደፊት ብዙ የሚያስተምሩ እነዛን እነዛን አሁን “store” እያረኩኝ ነው ሌሎችንም ነገሮች እ ... ግጥማች፣ ፊክሽን ነገርም የሆነ ጊዜ አጥፎ እንጂ የጀመርኳት አለች። እና ብዙ ጊዜ በጋሞኛ ነው ምጽፈው ስጽፍ ግን አሁን የኛውን የሚያማክለው ዘዬ ስለሆነ በዳጭኛው ነው ምጽፈው።

አ: አንተም የዳጩ ተናጋሪ ነህ?

መ3: አዎ የሱ ተናጋሪ ነኝ።

አ: በጋሞኛ የተፃፈ መጽሐፎች፣ ማጣቀሻዎች ጋዜጦችና፣ መልእክቶች ምን ያህል ተስፋፍተዋል ብለህ ታስባለህ?

2.3: እዚህ ላይ እንኳን መዋሸት ጥሩ አይደለም። ገና ነው ቋንቋው በዚህ በጽሁፍ ደረጃ ጠም ነው ያልተስፋፋው ምክንያቱም አሁን አንዳንድ ከ“textbook” ጀምሮ እ ... በዲክሽነሪም አንፃር ስናያቸው በጣም ጥቂቶች ናቸው። በresearch ደረጃ ገና compiled ያልሆኑ አንዳንድ ጽሁፎች ቢኖሩም ግን ይፋ ሆነው በላይ-በራሪ ደረጃ ተቀምጠው ለተማሪዎች service እየሰጡ ነው ማለት አልችልም ግን ሞጁሎች አሉ አሁን በዚህ በኮሌጁ ደረጃ በየኮርስ ኮዱና ታይትሉ ተዘጋጅተው compiled ሆነው የተቀመጡ ሞጁሎች አሉ። እነዛን refer ያረጋሉ in addition እነኚህ ሞጁሎች ደግሞ address የሚያደርጉት ከእንግሊዝኛና ከአማርኛ አንዳንድ ግራማቲካሊ ስትራቴጂካል ይዘት ያላቸው ስለሆነ እዚህ ያዩትን ነገር እዛ ጋ ሪፈር ያረጋሉ። አንድነቱን የቋንቋ አንድነቱንና ያለው ተዋሃጅነት ወይም ደግሞ ተስማሚነት እ ... መስፈርቱን ያለቀቀ መሆኑን እዛጋ እንትን ይላሉ አንዳንዴ ሲያስፈልጋቸው ይተረጉሙታል።

አ: ሰዎች በጋሞኛ ጽፈው እንዳያሳትሙ የሚያረገው ችግር ምንድን ነው?

መ3: የበጀት ችግር ነው። የማሳተም ሥራ ለመስራት ትንሽ የአቅም ውስንነቶች እንደገና አንድ ነገር ፈቃድ ማግኘት መቻል አለበት። ባህልና ቱሪዝም ማየት አለበት። የትምህርት እንትኖች ላይ የትምህርት ባለሞያ ወይም ደግሞ ከዛው ጋር ተያያዥነት ያለው ባለሙያ ማየት አለበት። ለምን አንዳንዴ ፐርሰናል ይዘው የሚመጡ መልእክቶች ሌላ አይነት መናጨት ሊያስከትሉ ይችላል ከሚል አንፃር ያያሉ። ግን ዋናው እንደትልቅ ችግር እኔ የማየው የተለያዩ ግለሰቦች ቋንቋውን ለማሳደግ እ ... ገና አንዳንድ ነገሮችን ለመሥራት በእጅ ጽሁፍ ደረጃ የተሰራ አለ እንጂ ተዘጋጅቶ በአግባቡ በጥራት እንዲታተም የተወሰነ አጋር ያስፈልጋል።

ቃለመጠይቅ አራት

አ: ለቃለ መጠይቅ ስለተባበርከኝ አመሰግናለሁ። ስምህንና የሥራ ድርሻህን ትነግረኛለህ?

መ4: እሺ ስሜ መስቀሌ እበላለሁ እዚህ ኮሌጅ የአራቱ ቋንቋዎች ጋሞኛ፣ ዳውሮኛ፣ ጎፍኛና ወላይትኛ ቋንቋዎች አስተባባሪ ነኝ መምህር ነኝ የስትሪም አስተባባሪ ነኝ።

አ: ትምህርት ላይ ያለውን መደበኛ ቋንቋ ወይም የአፍ መፍቻ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበትን ጋሞኛ ታውቀዋለህ? እዛ ላይስ የሰራኸው ስራ አለ?

መ4: አዎ እኔ ሞጁል ሰባተኛ አመቴ ነው። ሳዘጋጅ ያው እያዘጋጀን ነው ምናስተምረው። ስለዚህ ያው ልምዱ አለኝ እያዘጋጀሁ ነው። የተማሪዎች መማሪያ መጻሕፍት በከፊል አውቃቸዋለሁ ጊዜው ትንሽ ሄድ ያለ ቢሆንም አቃለሁ።

አ: የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበት መደበኛ ጋሞኛ ሁሉም የጋሞኛ ተናጋሪ ተማሪዎች በቤት ወይም በአካባቢ ከሚነጋገሩበት ጋር ተቀራራቢ ነው?

መ4: ተመሳሳይ ነው ያው እንትኑ ዝግጅቱ ወጥ በሆነ ሁኔታ ነው የሚዘጋጀው እና ተመሳሳይ ነው already በኛ context ብዙ ዘዴዎች እዛም እዚህም ያሉ ቢሆንም ያው ተመሳሳይ ነው በተመሳሳይ መልክ ነው እየሰጠ ያለው ዝግጅቱ ተመሳሳይ ነው።

አ: ከተማሪዎቹ ዘዴ ጋር የተቀራረበ ነው?

መ4: እርግጠኛ መሆን አይቻልም በሁሉም በታየው በአንድ area ላይ መጽሐፉ ተዘጋጅቶ ስለሚሰራጭ እ ... ሊለያዩ ይችላል በውስን መልኩ ሊለያዩ ይችላል ልዩነት ሊኖር ይችላል ያው ዘዴዎች ስለዚህ ቋንቋው ወደ ላይ እያደገ ስለሆነ እ ... ምን መሆን አለበት የምለው ገና ተማክሎ እስከሚሰራ ድረስ አሁን ባለው ሁኔታ ያው የዘዴዎች ልዩነት ሊኖሩ ይችላሉ የምልነው። ቀጥታ በራሳቸው በተናገሩበት ወይም በሚናገሩበት ቋንቋ የተዘጋጀላቸው መፅሀፍቶች አሉ እነዚህ ወደ አካባቢያቸው ሲሄዱ ያው ልጆች ቀጥታ የሚያገኙትም አለ የማያገኙትም አለ ያው ዘዴው ልዩነት አለ።

አ: የመማሪያ መጽሐፍት ወጥ በሆነ መደበኛ ቋንቋ ቢጻፉ ጥሩ ነው?

መ4: አዎ በጣም አምናለሁ በጣም አምናለሁ አንደኛ በቀጣይ ሊሰራ የሚገባም እ...ምርምሮችም ቢሆኑ መስራት ያለባቸው በዛ angle ነው እና በጣም አምንበታለሁ ምክንያቱም ቋንቋው ወጥ በሆነ ሁኔታ ሊሰራበት የራሱ የሆነ እድገት ይኖርዋል

አ: ለምሳሌ ሊኖር የሚችለውን እድገት አንዳንድ ጠቀስ ያድርጉልኝ

መ4: እድገቱ already አንደኛ የምርምር ስራዎች ሊሰሩ ይችላሉ፤እ ምርምር ስራዎች ይሰራሉ ሌላው ደግሞ ወጥ በሆነ እነዚህ አሁን ቋሚ የሆኑ ድክሽነሪዎች ፤ እ ሌሎችም በተለይ የማስተማር መፅሀፍቶችም ብሆኑ በተማክለ ቋንቋ በተማክለ ቃላት ሁሉም በሚጠቀምበት ጊዜ የራሱ የሆነ አስተዋጽኦ የእድገቱ አስተዋጽኦ ይኖርዋል ብዬ አምናለሁ።

አ: መደበኛ የሆነው የጽሁፍ ቋንቋ ከአንዱ ዘዴ ቢወሰድ ይሻላል ወይስ ሁሉም ዘዴዎች ቢካተቱበት ጥሩ ነው?

መ4: በርግጥ ቀድሞ እንዳልኩት በጥናትና ምርምር ሊታገዝ የሚገባ ቋንቋ ሆኖ ነው እያገኘሁ ያለሁት ከዚህ angle ከአንዱ ብቻ ከሆነ የራሱ የሆነ አደጋ አለው። ቋንቋ ሀብት ነው የጋራ ሀብት ስለሆነ ምናልባት በሰው ልጅ አስተሳሰብ ውስጥ የራሱ የሆነ ጫና ሊፈጠር ስለሚችል መሆን ያለበት በጥናት ላይ መነሻ ሆኖ at least አለም አቀፍ ቋንቋዎች እ ... የተሰሩበት አካሄዶች አሉ። እነዛን ተጠብቆ የብሔረሰቡን የጋራ ተጠቃሚነትን እ ... በሚያማክል መልኩ ቢዘጋጅ ቆንጆ ነው። ወደ አንዱ ማዘንበልም የለበትም already በምርምር ተደግፎ በጥናት ወጥቶ በጣም የሰፋና በብዙ ቀበሌያት ወይም ወረዳ አካባቢ የሚጠቀሙ ቃላቶች እ ... እየተመረጡ በጥናት አሳማኝ በሆነ ሁኔታ

ቢሆኑ የተሻለ ነው የምል ነው። ዘር ዘር ኤሄ ሊደረግ ደግሞ ሚጨፈለቁ እንትኖች አሉ እነዛን consider መደረግ አለበት ነው።

አ: እርስዎ እንደጋሞኛ ተናጋሪ ከሁሉም የተውጣጣ ይሁን ከተባለ አንዱ ተወስዶ ሌላው ሊቀር ቢችል የርስዎ ቢቀነስ ምን ይሆናል ስሜትዎት?

መ4: ስሜቱ ለእኔ ፖዘቲቭ ነው ማቻቻል ጉዳይ ነው ባላንስ የማድረግ ጉዳይ ነው እና እ... በአንድ በኩል የአንዱ ብቻ ይወሰድ ቢባል ኢቭን ቋንቋው ሙሉ አይሆንም። ሙሉ ማይሆንበት ምክንያት አለ እና እ... ከዛም ከዚህም እየተወሰደ በጥንቃቄ ሚሰሩ እንትኖች አሰራሮች ቋንቋውን ሙሉ ሊያረጉ ይችላሉ እና አንደኛ ሁለኛ ደግሞ ተጠቃሚው ጋ የሚፈጠረው ሳይኮሎጂካል ሕክምና ኖርማል የሚሆንበት ሁኔታ አለ እና እኔ አንዴ ከዛም ተወስዶ አስፈላጊ ከሆነ ከዚህ እንደዚህ አቀላቅሎ እ ... ሁሉንም በሚያማክል መልክ ቢሰድ ጥሩ ነው የሚል ሃሳብ ነው ያለኝ።

አ: አሁን ያለው ጽሁፍ ከንድ አካባቢ ነው ወይስ ከሁሉም ነው የወሰደው?

መ4: አሁን ያለው ጽሁፍ አልፎዲጽ በውስን መልክ ያልተነሱ አሉ። ያልተነሱ አሉ። በተለይ በአንድ ወረዳ ሳይሆን አልፎ አልፎ ብቻ ዘዩ ያሉ አሉ። እነሱ እየጠቀሙ አደሉም። ቅድም እንዳልኩሽ ስለዚህ አሁን ከምዕራብን ይዞ እንደዚህ ያው በተወሰነ መልክ ጽሁፍ እንደዚህ እኛ አሁን በዲፓርትመንት አካባቢ ሰዎች አሉ የቋንቋ ስብጥራችንን ያህል ነው። ስለዚህ ከንድ ቦታ ተስዶ አይደለም ማነው ከሁሉም ቦታ እየተወሰደ አይደለም። አሁን እየተሰራ ያለው በተወሰነ ቦታ ብቻ ነው እየወሰደ ያለው።

አ: እርስዎ ዘዩዎቹ በሙሉ ተዳሰሰው ታስበበት መደበኛ በሆነ መንገድ ቋንቋው መደበኛ ጽሁፍ ቢወጣለት ጥሩ ነው ብለው ያስባሉ?

መ4: ጥሩ ነው ብዬ ነው እኔ ማስበው አንድ ያ ቅድም ያልኩት አልፎ በተማሪዎቻችን ላይ አዌርነስ እየሰጠን ነው ያለው በኛ ዞን በጋሞ ብሔረሰቦች በተለይ በዘጠኙ ወረዳ ካሉት ዘዩዎች አንዳንዱ እ ... በትምህርት ቤት ደረጃ እዚህም ቢሆን በተፃፉ መሣሪያዎች በግልጽ ያልወጡ ሁኔታ አለ። ግን እነዚህን ነገሮችን አሁን ክፍል ላይ እኛ እናቀርባለን። ተማሪዎች እ ... የአይምሮ ዝግጁነት እየሰራንባቸው ነው ያሉት እና ዘር ዘር እ ... ሁሉን የሚያማክልን ቅድም እንዳልኩት አስተካክሎ ወደ ደረጃውን የጠበቀ መደበኛ የሆነ የሥራ ቋንቋ ማምጣት አግባባዊና ፍትሐዊ ነው የሚል ነገር ነው።

አ: እዚህ ኮሌጅ ውስጥ ዘዩዎች ላይ የምትሰጡት ትምህርት-ጥቅሙ ምንድን ነው?

መ4: እውነት ነው። እሱ ጥቅሙ አንድያ ተማሪዎቻችን ከሰለጠኑ በኋላ ወደ ሕብረተሰቦቻችን ነው ምወርዱት እና ስለዚህ እዛ ሄደው ያገኛሉ። ስለዚህ ተዘጋጅተው ነው ሚሄዱት። እ ... ሌላኛው እነዚህ ተማሪዎች ነገ ፀሐፊዎች ናቸው። ሪሰርች የሚሰሩ ናቸው። ምርምር በቋንቋው የሚሰሩ የመጀመሪያ ልጆች ስለሆኑ እ ... በአስተሳሰብ ቀደም ብለው ነቅተው ነው ሚሄዱት ተዘጋጅተው ነው ሚሄዱት እና አዲስ አይሆንባቸውም። በሄዱበት አዲስ

አይሆንም ኢቭን በሚሰሩበትም አዲስ አይሆንም። ስለዚህ እ ... በጣም በዚያ ዙሪያ እኛ አጠናክረን እየሰራን ነው ያለው። እሺ።

አ: በጋሞኛ ትጽፋለህ?

መ4: እኔ ጋሞኛን እጠቀማለሁ። ያው እንደ ዲፓርትመንት አስተባባሪም እ ... እሱንም እየሰራሁ ስለሆነ እጠቀማለሁ። ስናገርም ስጽፍም እጠቀማለሁ እኔ አዘውትሬ ነው ምጠቀመው።

አ: ሌሎች ሰዎች ግን በተገቢው ሁኔታ እየተጠቀሙት ነው ብለው ያምናሉ?

መ4: በተገቢው መልክ ኦልሬዲ እየተጠቀሙ ነው ብሎ ደፍሮ መናገር አይቻልም። ምክንያቱም ቋንቋው ገና እያደገ ነው ያለው። እ ... የሕብረተሰቡ አመለካከት አለ ከዛ ጋር ተያይዞ በተገቢው ሁሉንም እ ... እየተጠቀሙ ... ቅድም ቋንቋው የሥራ ቋንቋ ቢሆን መደበኛ ቢሆን ይጠቀማል ብዬ ያልኩት ከዚህ አንግል ነው እና እየተጠቀመ አይደለም ሞር አፍ አሁን በትምህርት በሚሰጥባቸው አካባቢ ነው ቋንቋውን በደንብ እየተጠቀምን ያለው ከዛ ውጭ ታች ሲወጣ at least ያልተማረው ቤተሰብ እየተጠቀመ ካልሆነ በስተቀር ከተማ አካባቢ በስፋት አይጠቀሙም። በሥራም እየተሰሩበት ስላይደለ ማለት ነው።

ቃለ መጠይቅ አምስት

አ: ለቃለ መጠይቅ ስለተባበርኩኝ አመሰግናለሁ። ስምህንና የሥራ ድርሻህን ትነግረኛለህ?

መ5: እኔም አመሰግናለሁ። አቶ ካሌብ እባላለሁ በጋሞ ጐፋ ዞን ባህል ቱሪዝምና መምሪያ የኮሙኒኬሽን ጉዳዮች ቢሮ የእደ ጥበብና ጥናትና ልማት ባለሙያ ነኝ።

አ: ትምህርት ላይ ያለውን መደበኛ ቋንቋ ወይም የአፍ መፍቻ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበትን ጋሞኛ ታውቀዋለህ? እዛ ላይስ የሰራኸው ስራ አለ?

መ5: አዎ ቀደም ሲል መምህርም ስለነበርኩ በጋሞኛም የተወሰነ እንደመምህርም ስለነበርኩ በጋሞኛውን ገና ለማሳደግ ሂደት ላይ በነበረ ሰዓት አስተምሬአለሁ ተናጋሪም ነኝ። የጋሞ ብሔረሰብ ተናጋሪና የቋንቋው ተናጋሪም ነኝ በዛ መሃል ያለ በዘዬ ልዩነቶችም ሁለት የተለያዩ ዘዎቻችን በሚባ እናገራለሁ። አንደኛው ጋሞኛ አሁን በጽሁፍ በብዛት ደሚኔት ሆኖ እየተገለፀ ያለውን ዘዬ ነው። ያማለት አብዛኛው እዚህ የደጋማው የቦንኬና የደጋማው ፓርት ጋሞኛ ነው በጽሁፍ በብዛት ሰፍሮ ያለው የዛም ተናጋሪ ነኝ። እዛ ብዙ ስለሰራሁ እዛ አካባቢ ላይ ብዙ ስለሰራሁ ከዛ ባሻገር በኔ በተወለድኩበት በአርባምንጭ ዙሪያ ላይ አቸልኛ በሚባለው ንግግር ዘዬ ተናጋሪ ነኝ ማለት ነው አፍ መፍቻዬም ነው ያ ዘዬ።

አ: የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበት መደበኛ ጋሞኛ ሁሉም የጋሞኛ ተናጋሪ ተማሪዎች በቤት ወይም በአካባቢ ከሚነጋገሩበት ጋር ተቀራራቢ ነው?

መገናኛ፡ ኤሄ በጽሁፍ የተቀመጠው በጽሁፍ የተቀመጠው ይረዱታል ልጆች ይረዱታል። ቀጥታ ግን የማይናገሩ የዘዬ አባላት አሉ። አሁን እኔ እኔ በተወለድኩበት አካባቢ ላይ አቸልኛ ተናጋሪዎች ይሄንን ጋሞኛ ቀጥታ አይናገሩትም። ቃላቱን ይረዱታል ሃሳቡን ይረዱታል። በጽሁፍም በልምምድ ጽሁፉን ይጽፏታል። ግን የዘዬ ልዩነቱ ጋፑ ሰፋ ይላል። ወደ ጋሞ ውስጥ ደግሞ ሌሎች አካባቢዎች አሁን ዘርጉላ አካባቢ ወረድ ብትይ ጋንታ ወጣ ብትይ ጋንትኛ እዚህ ጽሁፍ ውስጥ የለም። ጋንትኛ በ ... ጋንታዎችም ይሰማሉ። ይሄንን እ... ያው ኤሄ ጋሞ ጎፋ በጠቅላላ በዘመድ አዝማድ የተሳሰረ ስለሆነ ሁላችንም ከታች እኔ ካለሁበት እስከ ጠቅላላ የጋሞ ጎፋ አካባቢዎች በዘመድ አዝማድ የሳሰረ ነው። ስለዚህ እርስ በርሱ ይተዋወቃል ቃላቱን በጣም ይሰማል አንዱ አንዱን መስማት ይሰማል ግን በጽሁፍ ደረጃ አሁን በጽሁፍ ደረጃ ላይ ያለውን ቀጥታ ተናጋሪው በተለይ አሁን እንደ እኔ ማለት ነው ጋሞኛ ሳስተምርም በምታስተምሪበት ሰዓት ያንን ቋንቋ ትናገሪያለሽ አይደለም? የሚጻፈውን ቃል ዳይሬክትሊ ትናገሪያለሽ በአብዛኛው አሁን በደጋማው አካባቢ በተለይ በቦንኬ ከቦንጅክ አካባቢ ጀምሮ ያለውን ደጋማ ፓርት ላይ ያለውን ቃል ነው በጽሁፍ በብዛት ተጠቃሽ ሆኖ ቃላቶችን የምታኝው። ለምሳሌ አሁን እንደምሻሌ መጥቀስ ይቻላል አሁን እ ... “ምንድን ነው? የሚል የአማርኛ ቃል ጥያቄ ወደ ጋሞኛ ብትተርጉሚ “aze” ነው የምለው ይሄንን የምለው ደጋማው አካባቢ ነው “aze” የምለው። ወይም ደግሞ ወደዚህ ወደ ቦረዳው aybe ይላል። arta ነው ሚለው ደግሞ እዚህ ጋንታ ላይና ዝርጉላ አካባቢ ወጣ ብትይ aluma ይላል። aluma ነው ሚለው aluma የሚል የተለየ እንትን ነው ያለው። ጽሁፉ ላይ ያለው ግን aluma ሚለው ወይም anta የሚለው አይደለም aze ወይም በቅንፍ ውስጥ aybe ብሎ ነው ያለው የምለው ቃል ነው የተቀመጠው ማለት ነው ስለዚህ ትንሽ ጠቅላላ ዘዬዎችን ለማካተት አስቸጋሪ ስለሆነ ይመስለኛል ኤሄንን ወደ ጽሁፍ የ ... ወደ ጽሁፍ ያወረዱ ሰዎች የተጠቀሙት ሰፋ ብሎ የሚጠቀሙትን ብሎ ሊሆኑ ይችላሉ እና በብዛኛው የአንዳንድ አካባቢ ዘዬዎችን አያካትትም።

አ፡ የመማሪያ መጽሐፍት ወጥ በሆነ መደበኛ ቋንቋ ቢጻፉ ጥሩ ነው ብለህ ታስባለህ?

መገናኛ፡ የእኔ የግል ሃሳቤ ፐርሰናል አፕሪክን እ ... እንደኔ ሃሳብ በተቻለ መጠን በተቻለ መጠን እየ ተቀራረበ ወደ ወጥነት እየተቀራረበ መሄዱ ለእኔ ጥሩ ነው ባይ ነኝ። ነገር ግን እረጅም ጊዜ የሚወስድ ነገር ነው ይህ ማቀራረቡ ነገር በርግጥ አሁን ሰው እየተግባባ ነው በሥራ ምክንያት በምን ምክንያት እየተግባባ ነው እርስ በርስ እየዋሕደ አብሮ እንዲሰራ ባህሪው እየተጋነነ ነው ወደ መረዳቱ መጥቷል ነገር ግን ኤሄ እረጅም ጊዜ ይወስዳል። ዘሮ ዘሮ አሁን ያለው ... በተወሰነ ደረጃ አሁን ያለው እየተሻሻለ እያቀላቀለ እያዋሃደ እያዋሃደ እየሄደ ሲሄድ እራሱ ወደፊት ከረጅም ጊዜ በኋላ ወደ አንድነት ይመጣል የምለው ሃሳብ ይኖረኛል። ግን አሁን ላይ በአንዴ አንድ ማድረግ ከባድ ነው። በአንድ አንድ ማድረግ ከባድ ነው ያው ኤሄንን ቋንቋ ያጠኑ ሰዎች ማለቴ የጽሁፍ ቋንቋውን እንዲቀመጥ ያሰበው እየሰሩ ያሉ ሰዎች ባለሙያዎች ማለቴ ነው ሰዎቹን ብዬ ስል እነዚህ ባለሙያዎች እ ... እንደኔ እኔ ሁኔታም የማስበው ነው። ኤሄ የጋሞኛ ቋንቋ እነዚህን ዘዬዎች እንዴት አድርገው ነው አንድ ሊያደርጋቸው የሚችለው የምለው ነገር ሁሌ ነው ማስበው ዘሮ ዘሮ ግን ጊዜ ይወስዳል ባይ ነኝ። አንድ ለማድረግ መጀመሪያ አንድ መሆን ያለበት ቃሉ አይደለም። ሰዎቹ አንዱ እየሆኑ እራሳቸው እየተናገሩት እራሳቸው ወደ እየተዋሃዱ የአስተሳሰብ ውህደት ሲያመጡ ወደ ቃሉ እራሱ ወደ አንድነት እየተሳሰረ ነው ሚሄደው አሁን እዛ ሰው በየራሱ አስተሳሰብ ውስጥ ሆኖ በየራሱ አካባቢ ዘዬ ሙሉ ዘዬውን እየተጠቀመ ያሉ አካባቢዎችን ቀጥታ አንስተን አንድ እናድርግ ብንል ከባድ ነው። አሁን ፊት የነበሩት ናቸው ሲነጋገሩ እኮ ጋሞኛ የጋሞ ጎፋ ተናጋሪ ተብሎ የነበሩ

ናቸው ተለያይተው አይ የኛ የራሳችን ነው ብሎ የለያዩት። ኤሄ ደግሞ ወደፊት ቀጣይ እንዳይሆን አንድ እየሆነ የሚሄድበትን አሁን የተያዘው ዳይሬክሽን ጥሩ ሆኖ እየጨመረ ጥናቱ እያሻሻለ እያሻሻለ ቢያንስ ዘዬ ቃላቶችን እያቀላቀለ አሁን አንዳንድ ቃላቶችን ይጠቀማል። ወይም እያለ አንዳንድ ቃላቶችን ኤሄ ከባድ ካልሆነ የአንዳንድ ዘዬዎችን ማስገባት አለበት። ሌሎች የሚሰማ ከሆነ አሁን የሌሎችን ሙሉ በሙሉ አንጠቀም የአንድ አንድ አካባቢዎችን ደግሞ ካላስገቡ ዶምኔትድ ነን የምለው አስተሳሰብ አለ። አሁን እኛ ጋ ኦቾልኛ ዶምኔትድ ነው የምል ሃሳብ አለኝ። ኤ ... እንትኑ ውስጥ ጽሁፍ ቋንቋ ላይ ማለት ነው አልገባም የምለው ሩመሮች አሉ ስለዚህ ማካተት አለበት።

አ: መደበኛ የሆነው የጽሁፍ ቋንቋ ከአንዱ ዘዬ ቢወሰድ ይሻላል ወይስ ሁሉም ዘዬዎች ቢካተቱበት ጥሩ ነው?

መፅ: አሁን የጀመሩት በተቻለ መጠን አካትቶ የመስራቱን ነገር ነው የጀመሩት አካትቶ ጀምረዋል። አሁን ጎልቶ አልታየም ነው። ኦቾልኛ አልገባም ስል ኦቾልኛ ማለት በደንብ ጉልቶ እ ... እንደዚህ የመሳሰሉት አሁን የጋንትኛው፣ የኦቾልኛው ጎልቶ አልታየም ስል የለም አይደለም የእኔ ሃሳብ ምንድን ነው በተቻለ መጠን ቃላቶቹን ማካተት እያበዙ ቃላቶችን ማካተት እያበዙ ሲመጡ ምንድን ነው ምሆነው እሄንንም ሳይተው ማለት ነው የተያዘውን ዳይሬክሽን እንደነበረ ሆኖ ጠቅልሎ አብሮ አንድ አሁን የጋሞኛ ቋንቋን ጠቅልሎ አንድ የሚያደርግ አንድ ወደ ወጥ አንድ ጋሞኛ እራሱ ወደፊት ወጥ እንዲሆን መሠረቱ ካሁኑ የማቀናጀት አብሮ አያይዞ የመሄዱ ነገር ጠቃሚ ነው እንደ እኔ ተለያይቶ ተለያይቶ ከሄደ በየሰፈሩ የራሱ ዘዬ ሁሉ የራሱ ቋንቋው ሙሉ ቋንቋ ሆኖ ይወጣ ብለን ከመጣን ማሞላድ ይከብዳል። ስለዚህ በተቻለ መጠን አንድ እየሆነ አሁን ቃላቱ የተወሰነ መጀመሪያ መካተት ያለበት ምንድን ነው? መጽሐፉ ለመጻፍ ሰዎች ባለሙያዎቹ በሚጠሩበት ጊዜ ቀጥታ ዝም ብሎ አሁን የተወሰኑ ሁለት ሰው ይምጣ ወይም እ ... የጋሞኛ ተናጋሪ የሆነ ሁለት ሰው ይምጣ ከሚል ሁለታችንም የዛርጉለ ተናጋሪ ከሆንን ወይም ሁለታችንም የጋንታ ተናጋሪ ከሆንን ወይም ደግሞ ሁለታችንም የቦንኬ ዳጩኛ ተናጋሪ ከሆንን ሄደን ያንን ነው የምናስተላልፈው እንትን እኛን ተጽእኖ ያረጋል። አሁን እኔ ኦቾልኛ ተናጋሪ ነኝ አይደለም ከባህልና ቱሪዝም ሰነድ ሰዎች መጥተው አንድ መጽሐፍ ላይ ይሰሩ ከበለ ሦስታችንም ስንሄድ የአንድ የኦቾልኛ ብቻ ቋንቋ ተናጋሪዎች እዛ ከሄድን እኛ ... እኛ ላይ ተጽእኖ የሚፈጥረው ምንድን ነው ምናልባት እኛ ሌሎችን ቋንቋዎች ጠልቀን የምናቅ ከሆነ ተጽእኖ ይፈጥራል። ስለዚህ ቢያንስ ያማከሉ ከተናጋሪዎችም የማከሉ ተሰብስበው ቢያወጡ መፍትሔውን ጭምር እዛው እየሰጡ ይሄዳሉ ብዬ ነው ማሰብ። አንዴ አስታውሳለሁ ጋሞኛን ለተወሰነ ጊዜ ተምሬአለሁ። ስማር ምንድን ነው እ ... ከየአካባቢው የተወሰኑ ሰዎች ተሰብስበው ይሄን ቋንቋ አውጥተዋል። ከዶርዜ አካባቢ አንድ አስተማሪ አንድ አስተማሪ አሁን ፐፐ ላይ ጋሞኛ ቋንቋን አወርነስ ለኛ ለመስጠት ሊያስተምሩ ኤሄንን ያተሙ ሰዎች አንዱ ከዶርዜ ጨንቻ አካባቢ ከዶርዜ አካባቢ ነው ይባላል። ሌላው ከቦንኬ ነው ተባለ። ሌሎችም ከሌሎች ተባሉ እነዚህ ተሰብስበው ወይም እድሉ ስለተቸገሩ ትርጉሙን ለመስጠት ወይም እያሉ ሰፋ ብሎ ያለው በብዛት ሰው የሚናገረው በፐርሰንት ብዙ ሰው የሚናገረውን ቃል ይጠቀሙና ሌሎችም እንዲረዱ በቅንፍ ውስጥ ወይም እያሉ ያስቀምጣሉ ትንሽ ለየት የሚል ከሆነ።

አ: በወይም መንገድ ወይም በቅንፍ እስከመቼ ድረስ መቀጠል ይቻላል?

መገ: እንግዲህ እነዚህ ሁለቱ ተናጋሪዎች አንድ እስከሚናገሩ ድረስ ነዋ። እስከሚገባቸው ድረስ አንዱ የአንዱን ተምሮ እስከሚናገሩ ድረስ አሁን እኔ አይከብደኝም። እና የማይከብደኝ ለምንድን ነው እኔ ሌሎች ቦታዎች ላይ ሰርቻለሁ ስለሰራሁ አሁን ይህ ቃል ምኑ አይከብደኝም። የወጣው ነገር ግን በእኔ አካባቢ እኔ በተወለድኩበት ቀበሌ አካባቢ ያሉ ሕፃናትን ስታስቢ ኮምፕሊትሊ የዘዬው ልዩነት ያለበትን ሳስበው ግን ትንሽ ጋፕ አለ። አሁን እኔ ጋ ሄደሽ anta ስትይ “ምን ሆንክ?” ለማለት wakay? እ ... ዘዬው እንደዛ ነው እዚህ ጋ ስትመጭ ደግሞ wanay? እ ... ሲባል ልዩነት አለ አይደለም? ከፍ ያለ ልዩነት አለ ኤሄንን ቢያንስ ቀስ በቀስ እየቆዩ እየቆዩ አሁን ሕብረተሰቡም እራሱ በሥራ በተለያየ ነገር ቅድም ብዬሻለሁ መግቢያ ላይ ራርርት ላይ ችግር የለም። አንዱ የአንዱን ይሰማል። በጽሁፍ በጽሁፍ ሊቀርብ ግን ዝም ብሎ የኔ ብዬ ጭራሽ እዛ ውስጥ አይታይም የለም የምለው እንዴት ነው መጽሐፍ ሲታተም እናንተ እንዴት ነው ጭራሽ አሁን የእኛ ዘዬ እዛ ውስጥ ተጠቅሶ አይታይም ብለው አንዳንዶች ይላሉ እንጂ መግባባቱ ይሰማሉ።

አ: በጋሞኛ ትጽፋለህ?

መገ: አዎ እችላለሁ እጽፋለሁ።

አ: ሲጽፉ የትኛውን ነው የሚጠቀሙት ኦቭሎኛ ነው ወይስ ጋሞኛ ነው?

መገ: እኔ ጋሞኛን ነው የምጠቀመው። ኖርማሊ ኤሄ ውሁዱን ነው የምጠቀመው። በጽሁፍ አንድ ጊዜ እንደ ሕግም ወጥቷል። በጋሞ ጎፋ ዞን ማንኛውም ማመልከቻም በተለይ በትምህርት መስክ ላይም ማመልከቻም እ ... ጽሁፎችንም ራፖርቶችንም በጋሞኛ አቅርቦ ተብሎ አንድ ወቅት ጋሞኛን ማበረታታት ተብሎ ወጥቷል። ከወጣ በኋላ ከኋላ ነው ደግሞ ጋሞኛን የማይናገረው ሰውስ አፖርቺኒቲው ኤህን ለማስተናገድ ያለው ከላይ አፊስ ያለው ሰዎችኮ

አ: የሚታተም ካልሆነ የግል ማመልከቻ በራስዎ ዘዬ ቢጽፉ ተቀባይነት አይኖረውም?

መገ: ማመልከቻ በኦቭሎኛ ቀርቶ አሁን በጋሞኛም ቀርቷል። ግን ቢፃፍም ደግሞ በኦቭሎኛ ቢፃፍ ዘዬው ከባድ ነው የኦቭሎኛ ሌሎች አይረዱትም። ኦቭሎኛ ሌሎች ዘዬና ጋንታኛ ዘዬ በርግጥ ለተናጋሪው ቀላል ነው ግን ከባድ ነው። ችግሩ ምንድን ነው ኦቭሎኛን በብዛት ሲናገር የነበረው የአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ አካል ነው። ግን ኤሄ ጋሞኛ አሁን በተለይ በደጋው ፓርት ላይ የሚጠቀሙትን ጋሞኛ ሲናጋር የቆየው ብዙ ሰው ነው። በሥራ ምክንያት በምን ምክንያትም ሰፋ ብሎ ተበትኖ ከተማው አካባቢም ቆላማው አካባቢም ሌሎች የኦቭሎ ማሕበረሰብ ያሉበት አካባቢም ደርሶ በብዛት ተሰራጭቶ ተንቀሳቅሶል የኦቭሎኛ ተናጋሪዎች ግን በአብዛኛው የኛዎቹ በአካባቢያቸው ላይ ነው ብዙ ጊዜ የተገደቡት።

አ: ጋሞኛን በብዛት ሰው ለጽሁፍ የማይጠቀመው ለምንድን ነው?

መገ: ዝም ብዬ ሳስበው ኤሄ አማረኛ ለጽሁፍ ይቀላል መሰለኝ ለጽሁፍም ይቀላል እንደገናም እረጅም ጊዜ ብዙሁኑ የለመደው በአይምሮውም የተቀበለው በቃ ከ... እንትኑ አሁን ፊደሎቹ ለምሳሌ ለጽሁፍ አንድ ፊደል ጋሞኛ አሁን ለምሳሌ እ... “dih” ለማለት ሁለት ፊደል “q” ለማለት እስከ ሦስት ፊደል ይሄዳል። አማረኛ “q” ለማለት አንድ

ፊደል ነው። ክልሉ ብዙ ቋንቋ ነው የሚናገረው። አልፎ ተርፎ መጥቶ ጋም ጎፋ ሲደርስም ጋም ጎፋ ውስጥ ብዙ ቋንቋ ነው የሚነገረው። እንደ እኔ መጀመሪያ ሁሉም አንድ ሆኖ አይቻለሁ። አንድ ሆኖ አንዱ ከአንዱ ጋር ሲነጋገርም እኔም ተናጋሪ ሆኜ አይቻለሁ። ኢቭን እስከ ዳውሮ ነበር የሚናገረው እያልኩሽ ነው። ግን አሁን ላይ ባለው የዘዬ ሰፋ ያለ ትንሽ ጋፍ የሰፋው ዘዬ እራሱን ችሎ ይሰራበት የምለው መብት ጋር ተያይዞ እራሱን ችሎ ነው አሁን ሰፋ ያለው ዘዬ። አሁን ይህ ዳውሮ ጋም ጎፋ ወቅት ነው ጋሞኛንየተማርኩት ዳውሮዎችና እኛ አንድ ፈተና ነው የተፈተንነው። አንድ ፈተና ተፈትነን ነው ያለፍነው ግንዳውሮዎቹ ከኋላ ቋንቋችንሌላ ነው ብለው ወጡ። አይገናኝም አሉ። ሰው ሌላ ነው ሲባል ቋንቋውም ሌላ ነው ተብሎ ልዩነቱ ወደዛ ሰፍቷል። በጋም አካባቢ ያለው ልዩነት ግን አንድነቱ ተጠብቆ ቋንቋው ዙሪያ ላይ ግን የዘዬ ልዩነቶችን ማቀላቀል ነው።

ቃለ መጠይቅ ስድስት

አ: ለቃለ መጠይቅ ስለተባበርከኝ አመሰግናለሁ። ስምህንና የሥራ ድርሻህን ትነግረኛለህ?

መ6: እኔ ስሜ ገብሬ እባላለሁ።

አ: ትምህርት ላይ ያለውን መደበኛ ቋንቋ ወይም የአፍ መፍቻ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበትን ጋሞኛ ታውቀዋለህ? እዛ ላይስ የሰራሽው ስራ አለ?

መ6: የጋሞኛ ተማሪዎችን ለልምምድ ይገኙቸው እወጣለሁ። እና በዛን ጊዜ ተማሪዎች ወደ ትምህት ቤት ሲሄዱ ቅጽ አሉ የሚሞሉ እነሱ ብዙውን ጊዜ የሚዘጋጁት በጋሞኛ ነው ቃለ መጠይቆቹ እዛ አካባቢ ሂደው የሚሰበሰቧቸውን መረጃዎች በዛ ነው እና ልምዱ አለኝ ከቅዶቹ ጋር በጋሞኛ ይጠየቃሉ በጋሞኛ ይጠየቃሉ በጋሞኛ ሞልተው ያመጣሉ ያንን እያነበብኩ አሞላላቸውን ኢቫልዌት ለማድረግ እሞክራለሁ። መፃሕፍቶችንም እቤት ልጆች በጋሞኛ ስለሚማሩ አውቃቸዋለሁ።

አ: የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበት መደበኛ ጋሞኛ ሁሉም የጋሞኛ ተናጋሪ ተማሪዎች በቤት ወይም በአካባቢ ከሚነጋገሩበት ጋር ተቀራራቢ ነው?

መ6: Okey እኛ ያው በአካባቢ ገንታ አካባቢ ነን እኛ ስለዚህ እኔ አስተዳደጌም እዛ ነኝ እዛ አካባቢ ያለው ነገር እዛ አካባቢ የሚናገሩት እንትን አለ ዘዬው አለ ሌሎች አካባቢ ደግሞ የሚናገሩት እንትን አለ ዘዬው አለ ሌሎች አካባቢ ደግሞ የሚናገሩት እንትን አለ ስለዚህ ትንሽ ልዩነት አይነት ነገር ስላለ እ እሄኛው በትምህርት ዙሪያ ላይ ያለው ከእኛ ወጣ ባለ መንገድ ነው ኤሄ እንትኑ ወደ ሌሎች አካባቢ ሚነገረውን ዘዬ ተከትሎ ነው ሚፃፈው መጽሐፎቹ። ስለዚህ እነኚህ መጽሐፎች በትክክል እዛ አካባቢ ከሚነገረው ጋር ይመሳሰላሉ ለማለት ለኔ ይከብደኛል። አሁን ካልኩት አንፃር ይመስላል አይመስልም ለማለት እቸገራለሁ። ከኛ ትንሽ ወጣ ስለሚል መገናኘቱ ዝቅተኛ ስለሆነ።

አ: የመማሪያ መጽሐፍት ወጥ በሆነ መደበኛ ቋንቋ ቢጻፉ ጥሩ ነው ብለህ ታስባለህ?

መ6: ጋሞኛ ... ማለት? አንድ ቋንቋ ተብሎ የተከተተ እንደ አንድ መፃፍ አለበት ብዬ አስባለሁ። አንድ ከተባለ ወጥ በሆነ መንገድ ልጆች እንግዲህ ከታች ሲጀምሩ በተለያየ መንገድ ጽፈው ከመጡ ወደ አንድነት መምጣታቸው

አይቀርም ወደ ኮሌጅ አካባቢ ሲመጡ በተለይ ወደ አንድ ነው ሚመጡት የዛኔ የተለያዩ ስታይል ይዘው ከመጡ ለአስተማሪውም ችግር ነው ብዬ ስለማስብ አንድ አይነት የአጻጻፍ ስታይል ቢከተል የተሻለ ይመስለኛል።

አ: መደበኛ የሆነው የጽሁፍ ቋንቋ ከአንዱ ዘዬ ቢወሰድ ይሻላል ወይስ ሁሉም ዘዬዎች ቢካተቱበት ጥሩ ነው?

መ6: አሁን ቅድም ካልኩት ጋር የሚጋጭ ይመስለኛል ወደ አንዱ ካደላ እንግዲህ ሌላው እንትን እንግዲህ ሌላው ሊጠፋ ነው ማለት ነው። ሌላው ሊጠፋ ነው። ስለዚህ የሚያማክል ወይም የተውጣጣ ቢሆን ዶሚና ትንሽ በዛ የሚለው ሚጠቀሙ ቢሆን ወይም ከዛም ከዚህም ተደርጎ ከዛም ከዚህም ሊደረግ እንግዲህ ዘዬው አንዱ ጋ በብዛት አንዱ እኩል ላይሆን ይቻላል። ስለዚህ የተውጣጣ ቢሆን የተሻለ ይመስለኛል።

አ: ለአንዱ ብቻ ከተጻፈ ምን ተጽእኖ ይኖረዋል?

መ6: በአንዱ ብቻ ከተጻፈ ሌላዎቹ ይጠፋሉ ማለት እኮ ነው። ሌሎቹ ዘዬዎች ይጠፋሉ። ስለዚህ የኔ አይደለም የሚባል ነገርም ሊኖር ይችላል። የኔ አይደለም የሚል ጠያቂዎችን ይነሳሉ። ከዛ አንፃር።

አ: የጋንታ ዘዬ በዚህ መንገድ አብሮ የሚሄድ ይመስልሃል? ከሌሎቹ ጋር ተካትቶ መሄድ ይችላል ወይስ ራሱን የቻለ የጽሁፍ ሥርዓት ያስፈልገዋል?

መ6: እኔ አሁን የኛ በጣም ይለያል ዳይቨርጅ ያደርጋል ትንሽ ወጣ ያለ ነው ወጣ ይላል ምክንያቱም ብዙዎች አሁን እኛን አያደምጡም። እኛ ጋንትኛ ስንናገር አያደምጡም። ለዚህ እኛ ደግሞ ካለን ኤክስፖዥር አንፃር ያኛውን እናደምጣለን። በተለይ ሌሎች የሚናገሩትን እናዳምጣለን ግን ለመለየት አሁን የትኛው ወላይትኛ ይሁን፣ የትኛው ጋሞኛ ይሁን የትኛው ጎፍኛ ይሁን እኛ አካባቢ ያሉ ሰዎች አይለዩም። በቃ አንድ ነው ወደዚህ ያለው በቃ አንድ ቋንቋ ነው። እንደምንም ታግለው ያዳምጣሉ በቃ አይናገሩም። አይናገሩትም በኛ ስንናገር ደግሞ አያዳምጡም ምናልባት ከኛ ጋር አጎራባች ላይ የሆነ ሰዎች ትንሽ ያዳምጣሉ። ትንሽ በሥራ በምን ትንሽ እነሰ ያው ቋንቋ ይማራሉ አይደል? እንደዚህ ካልሆነ በስተቀር ሌሎች የኛን አያዳምጡም የኛን ይቸገራሉ።

አ: በጋሞኛ ትጽፋለህ?

መ6: ጋሞኛ ተጠቅሜ አላውቅም ከኛ አካባቢ ልጆች ጋር ከጋንታዎች ጋር ስነጋገር ቻት ሳደርግ በጋንትኛ ቻት እናደርጋለን። በኛ በጋንትኛ ቻት እናደርጋለን ከዛ ውጪ በስነጽሁፍ ደረጃ ከሙያዎ አንፃርም ጽሁፍ ስላይደለ የሳይንስ አስተማሪ ስለሆንኩ ሞክሬ አላውቅም።

አ: ሳይንስ በጋሞኛ የተወሰነ ጽፈህ አታውቅም?

መ6: በአማርኛ ነው የምጽፈው ጋሞኛው አልተለመደም። መጀመሪያ ጽሁፍ ፊደል መቁጠር ስንጀምር በአማርኛ ጽሁፍ በአማርኛ እኔ ጋሞኛ አልተማርኩም የድሮ ተማሪ ነኝ በአማርኛ ነው ግን በጋንትኛም እጽፋለሁ ቅንፍ ምናምን እያደረግሁ ለእራሴ ደስ ይለኛል። የገጠሙኝን አጋጣሚዎች ስጽፍ ደስ ይለኛል።

ቃለ መጠይቅ ሰባት

አ: ሊቃለ መጠይቅ ስለተባበርከኝ አመሰግናለሁ። ስምህንና የሥራ ድርሻህን ትነግረኛለህ?

መገ: ስሜ ሞላ ይባላል። በጋሞኛ ዲፓርትመንት መምህር ነኝ።

አ: ትምህርት ላይ ያለውን መደበኛ ቋንቋ ወይም የአፍ መፍቻ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበትን ጋሞኛ ታውቀዋለህ? እዛ ላይስ የሰራኸው ስራ አለ?

መገ: አዎ ትምህርቱን እንደ ዲፓርትመንት ስንጀምር ካራኩለም ብቻ ነበር የበረው። ስለዚህ በአንድ በኩል እያስተማርን በአንድ በኩል ደግሞ ሞጁል እንጽፍ ነበር። ከዚህ በፊትም ዘጠኝና አስር ጋሞኛ አስተምር ነበር።

አ: የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበት መደበኛ ጋሞኛ ሁሉም የጋሞኛ ተናጋሪ ተማሪዎች በቤት ወይም በአካባቢ ከሚነጋገሩበት ጋር ተቀራራቢ ነው?

መገ: በርግጥ የመረዳት ችግር እስካልፈጠረ ድረስ ዘዬዎቹ ብዙም የተራራቁ አይደሉም። አሁን ከዘጠኙም ጋሞ ወረዳዎች የመጡ ናቸው እዚህ የሚማሩት እና ልጆች ምንም እንኳን በየአካባቢያቸው ዘዬዎች ቢለያዩም አንዱ አንዱን ይረዳል። ብዙም የተራራቁ አይደሉም እና ይህ ዘዬው ደግሞ አሁን የቋንቋ ባህሪም ስለሆነ ማስወገድም አይቻልም። ለሁሉም ለሚመች ዘዬ ደግሞ ትምህርት አይዘጋጅም ሌሎች ቋንቋዎችንም ሳይ አብዛኛው ሰው ሚጠቀማቸው ዘዬዎችን ነው እኛም እዚህ እየተጠቀምን ያለነው። እና ወደፊት ሞር ስታንዳርዳይዝድ ሲሆን ከስር የሚያድጉ ልጆች ከአንደኛ ክፍል ጀምሮ አንዳንድ ነገሮችን እያወቁ ቢመጡ እ ... ብዙም የሚያስቸግራቸው አይሆንም እና ዘዬዎቹ አይራራቁም።

አ: የመማሪያ መጽሐፍት ወጥ በሆነ መደበኛ ቋንቋ ቢጻፉ ጥሩ ነው ብለህ ታስባለህ?

መገ: አሁን ... ምክንያቱም ከዚህ በፊት ይህ ቋንቋ ስታንዳርዳይዝድ ሆኖ ሁሉም የሚያውቀው ዘዬ የለም። ስለዚህ መጽሐፍት መምህራን የሚያዘጋጁት መጽሐፎች መምህሩ ባደገበት ዘዬ ሞር ሊሆን ይችላል። ይህ ስጋት አለ። ሆኖም ግን ማንም ያዘጋጀው እ ... አያስቸግርም ለመረዳት። ለምሳሌ እኔ ልጅ ሆኜ ጨንቻ አካባቢ ያሉ ዘዬዎች አሉ። እዛ አካባቢ ያሉ መምህራን ናቸው ሲያስተምሩን የነበረውና ምንም ችግር አይፈጥርም እና አሁን ኤሄን ያህል የተራራቀ ነገር አይሆንም ዘዬዎቹ አያስቸግሩም።

አ: አንድ መደበኛ ጽሁፍ ቢኖረው ጥሩ ነው ትላለህ?

መገ: አይሆንም አንድ መደበኛ አይሆንም። ምክንያቱም እ ... ሰው ሁሉ ራስ ወዳድ ነው። እና የኔ የኔ የሚል ስሜት አለው። ስለዚህ ያንድን ዘዬ ብቻ መጠቀም አስቸጋሪ ነው። ከድሮ ጀምሮ እንደዛ አይነት ነገር ቢለመድ ጥሩ ነበር። ነገር ግን አሁን ያለው ደግሞ ሁሉም የእኔ ስለሚል የሆነ ፖለቲካ ነገርን ያነሳል ይቀስቅሳል ይህ ነገር።

አ: ስለዚህ መጻሕፍት እንዴት ይታተሙ?

መገ: መጻሕፍት አብዛኛው ሰው በሚጠቀሙት።

አ: ወጥ በሆነ?

መ7.: በአንድ ጊዜ ወጥ ማድረግ አይቻልም አሁን እኛ “ሞር ኦፍ ጋሞ” አካባቢ በብዛት የሚታወቁ የደጋና የቆላ አካባቢ አነጋገሮች አሉ። እነዚህን ባስማማ መልኩ ነው ምናዘጋጀው። “ኤንተርፎንጅኤብሊ” እንጠቀማለን። የቆላውንም እንጠቀም የደጋውንም እንጠቀም ልጆች ይረዳሉ። ያቃሉ። ስለዚህ ይህ ስለሆነ ዘዬው ብዙም አያስጨንቀንም። እኔ አሁን የተለያዩ አካባቢዎች የመሥራት አጋጣሚ አግኝቻለሁ። እኔ አሁን የደጋ አካባቢ ልጅ ነኝ ባደኩበት ዘዬ ስናገር ይሰማሉ፤ እኔም ደግሞ እነሱ በሚናገሩት አስመስዬ መናገር ስለምችል ብዙም አያስቸግረኝም። እስካሁን ስንሰራ ብዙም አላስቸገረንም። ጋሞኛ በሂደት ስታንዳርዳይዝድ ይሆናል፤ ይችላል፤ ምንም ሚክላክል የለም። በቆይታ በጣም ስታንዳርዳይዝድ ይሆናል። ግን በአንድ ጊዜ አይሆንም።

አ: ከአሁን ምን መጀመር ይቻላል?

መ7.: ከዚህ አሁን ስታንዳርዳይዝድ ለማድረግ የዘመኑን ቴክኖሎጂ መጠቀም መቻል ነው። የሚመለከታቸው (ኮሌጃ፣ ዞኑና ክልሉም መንግሥትም) ይህ ቋንቋ ወደ ኮምፒተራይዝድ ወደ ሆነ ሲስተም እንዲገባና ከዛ ሕፃናት ከስርዓት ይደቀው ማድረግ ነው። ይህ የመረዳዳት ጋፕ ቀድሞውንም አይፈጥርም። ግን የባሰውን ሁሉን ነገር ፍንትው አድርጎ ሕፃናት እንዲያዩ ይህንን ነገር ከስርጀምሮ በቪዲዮ በተለያዩ ለልጆች በሚታይ በሚሰማ ነገር ተቀርጋ ታች ላይ ወደ ሕፃናት መውረድ አለበት። ከስር አድገው እየሰሙ ከመጡ ሲያድጉ ምንም አይፈጥርም። እና ስታንዳርዳይዝድ እየሆነ ነው ሚሄደው።

አ: መደበኛ የሆነው የጽሁፍ ቋንቋ ከአንዱ ዘዬ ቢወሰድ ይሻላል ወይስ ሁሉም ዘዬዎች ቢካተቱበት ጥሩ ነው?

መ7.: ቅድም ብያለሁ። የዚህን አካባቢ ይህንን እንጠቀም ብንል ሰው ራስ ወዳድ ነው። ቋንቋውን እንደ ቋንቋ ለማሳደግ አብዛኛው ሰው ሚጠቀመው ለምሳሌ አሁን በንግሥት መሥሪያ ቤቶች አካባቢ ለምሳሌ የጋሞ ዋና ከተማ አርባምንጭ ነው። አርባምንጭ ያለው ሰው የሚጠቀመው የቱ ነው? ለምሳሌ አማራኛ አዲስ አበባ ያለው ሰው ሚጠቀመውን ነው ሚዲያዎችም የሚጠቀሙት። ስለዚህ አሁን ኤፍ ኤም ላይም ከተማው ላይ ያለው አካባቢ የትኛውን ነው የሚጠቀመው? አብዛኛውን ሰው ሚጠቀመው የትኛውን ነው? ብለው በሱ እስካሁን እየተሰራበት ባለው ቢቀጥል ምንም ችግር አይፈጥርም።

አ: የሌሎች ዘዬዎች ተናጋሪዎች ጥያቄ አያነሱም ብለህ ታስባለህ?

መ7.: አያነሱም አያነሱም። ለምሳሌ ቁጭ ላይ ቢነገርም ጋሞኛ ነው። ጨንቻ ላይ ቢነገርም ጋሞኛ ነው። ከምባ ላይ ቢነገር ጋሞኛ ነው። ስለዚህ በራሱ በእናቱ ቋንቋ እየማረ የእኔ አክሰንት ይሁን ብሎ ግድ አይልም። ይህ ደግሞ ሰው ሲፈጠር የተለያየ ነው። መንትያዎችም የተለያዩ ናቸው። እያንዳንዱ ሰው ለእያንዳንዱ ቋንቋ መፍጠርም አይቻልም። አሁን አማራኛ የጎጃም፣ የወሎ፣ የዐንደር አክሰንት አለ። ስለዚህ ጎጃም ላይ ያሉ የአማራ ልጅ አዲስ አበባ የሚነገረው አማራኛ የአዲስ አበባ ነው እና አልቀበልም ማለት አይችልም። ስለዚህ እኛ ጋሞ ያለው ይህ ነው። ለምን በዚህ እንደተሰራ የሌሎች አገሮች ተሞክሮ እንደዛ የሚጠይቁ ካሉ ማስረዳትና ቋንቋውን ጀምሮ ማሳደግ የተሻለ ነው።

አ: ለምሳሌ የአንተ የንግግር ባህሪያት ተቀንሶ የሌሎቹን ቢጠቀሙ ምን ይሰማሁል?

መገ.: ምንም አይሰማኝም። ከእኔ የሚቀነስም አይኖርም። የእኔ ላይ ሚጨመርም አይኖርም። የነበረውን መጠቀም ነው ሚሆነው። ምናልባት በእኔ አካባቢ የሌለውን ሊጠቀሙ ይችላሉ። የእኔን አካባቢ ሊጠቀሙ ይችላሉ። ለምሳሌ ቋንቋው እያደገ ሲሄድ ስነጽሁፍ እዛ ውስጥ ሲገባ ገጠህሪያት ሲቀረጹ የእኔ አካባቢ ሰው ከሆነ እንደ እኔ አካባቢ እንዲናገር ማድረግ ይቻላል። የሌላውን አካባቢም እንደዛ አድርጎ። ይህ ደግሞ ወደ ትምህርቱ ወደ ሰፊው ሲመጣ ደግሞ የት አካባቢ እንደሚማር ይታወቃል እና ለማሳደግ በሱ መፃፍ መጀመር ነው። በሱ መናገር መጀመር ነው በሱ ሁሉንም ነገር ማድረግ ነው ለማሰደግ።

አ: ብዛት ተናጋሪ ያለው ከተወሰደ ሌሎቹ ከቀሩት?

መገ.: ሌሎቹ ይቀራሉ የሚባል፤ ሕብረተሰቡ ተናጋሪው እስካለ ድረስ እኮ አይቀርም። አሁን የትምህት ቋንቋ ከመሆኑ በፊት ሰው ከተፈጠረ ጀምሮ አኮ አለ። እስካሁን አልጠፋም። ነገም ይህ ተናጋሪ ሕዝብ አለ፤ ይኖራል አይጠፋም። ደሞ አንድ አካባቢ ላይ የሚገረው ሌላ አካባቢ ፀያፍ ሊሆን ይችላል ይህንን ነው መጠንቀቅ ምሁራን መጽሐፉን የሚያዘጋጁ ሰዎች እዛ አካባቢ ይህ ምንድን ነው? ሲያዘጋጁ አንድ ሁለት ሦስት ሰዎች ሆነው ከየአንግሉ ተወስደው ነው ማቴሪያል ሲያዘጋጁ ማዘጋጀት አለባቸው። አሁን ለምሳሌ እኔ ሞጁል ሳዘጋጅ ምጠቀማቸውን ቃላት ክፍል ውስጥ እጠቀምና ተማሪዎቼ ይነግሩናል። ክሮስ ጅክ አረጋለሁ። አንዳንድ እንደውም አንዴ የሆነ ቃል ሳስተምር በኔ አካባቢ ምንምማለት አደለም፤ ግን በነዛ አካባቢ የሆነ የሰውነት ክፍል የብልት ስም እንደሆነ ነገሩኝ። እንዲህ አይነቱን ደግሞ እጠነቀቃለሁ። ሌሎችም ሲያዘጋጁ ኤዲት የሚያረገው ያን ነገር ያያል። ለምሳሌ አሁን አንጅሎ ከጋንታ ነው። ስለዚህ ጋንታ አካባቢ ምን እንደሚባል ሁሉንም የቃል፤ በየ ከቦንኬ አካባቢ ነው እዛ አካባቢ ሚገረውንእኔ ከዲታ አካባቢ ነኝ ሚልኪያስ ከጨንቻ ነው ስለዚህ ኢቭን ፕሮፖሪሽናሊቲ በጠበቀ መልኩ ነው እኛ ዲፓርትመንት ያለውና ስንናገር ምንም የመግባባት ክልከላ የለም እንሰማለን አንዳችን ያንዳችንን።

አ: ታስቦባት የሚሰራ ስታንዳርዳይዜሽን መኖር አለት ትላለህ?

መገ.: ስታንዳርዳይዜሽን መደረጉ ለሁሉም ጥሩ ነው። የበለጠ ያግባባል። ስታንዳርዳይዜሽን ለማድረግ ደግሞ ለረጅም ጊዜ ኤክስርሃይስ ማድረግን ይፈልጋል። ስለዚህ አሁን አንድ ዘዬ መርጠን በዛች ዘዬ ብቻ እንጠቀም ብለን ኮንፍሊክት ነው የምንፈጥረው። ስለዚህ ይህንን በሄደት ለምሳሌ አሁን የማናውቃቸውን ነገሮች እኮ አውቀናል። መጀመሪያ ቋንቋው ወጋጎዳ ሆኖ ወላይታ ጋሞ ጎፋ ዳውሮ ኮንታ በሙሉ እዚህ በነበረ ጊዜ እዚህ እኔ ተምሬአለሁ። ቲቲአይ የዞን ጊዜ ያልነበሩ ነገሮች አሁን ፕላንት ኢክዊቫሊንት የሆነ ትራንስሌሽን የለውም። dozaya ብለዋል። አሁንም እኛ ስናዘጋጅ እንዲህ ዓይነት ከዚህ ቀደም የተከተሉትን ፕሪንሰርል ነው የምንከተለው። እኛ ደሞ አንድ አካባቢ ቅድም እንዳልኩሽ የሚባል ካለ እና ሌላ አካባቢ የማይባል ካለ እዛ በአካባቢው ነው ሚቀረው ይህ መማሪያ መፃሕፍት ውስጥ አይገባም። ደሞ የት አካባቢ ምን እንደሚባል በብዛትአናቃለን ምክንያቱም አንደኛ ከልጆች ጋር ነው ምንውለው እ ... አንድ አካባቢ ያለው ከአንድ አካባቢ የተሰበሰቡ ልጆች የሆነ ነገር ሲያርቡ ሌላ አካባቢ ያሉ ይህ እኛ ጋ እንዲህ ነው ሲሉ ምን ማለት እንደሆነ እንደዛ አይነት ነገሮችን ስናገኝ እኛ ወዲያውኑ ስለምናቃቸው ወደዚህ ወደ መጽሐፉ እንዳይገቡ እንጠነቀቃለንና በሄደት ስታንዳርዳይዜሽኑ ላይ ይመጣል። ግን በአንድ ጊዜ

ማድረግ ይከብዳል። ምክንያቱም አሁን ኮምፒውተራዊነድ ቢሆኑ ለምሳሌ መጽሐፎች ሲዘጋጁ ቢብልዩግራፊ ላይ እነዚህ ነገሮች መፍ አለባቸው ማለት ነው።

አ: በግል በጋሞኛ ትጽፋለህ?

መገ.: ፊስብክ ጓደኞቼ በብዛት የጋሞ ልጆች ከሆኑ የማቃቸው ጓደኞቼ ከሆኑ በዛ ነው የምጽፈው።

አ: ምላሽ ታገኛለህ?

መገ.: ይጽፋልኛል። አሁን በተለይ ላቲኑ ከመጣ ወዲህ ምናልባት ይህን ላቲኑን ያልተማሩ ሰዎች ከሆነ በአማረኛ አርቶግራፊ ጽሁፉን አማረኛ አድርገው ቋንቋውን በጋሞ የሚጽፉ አሉ። ሊትሬቸር ግን የለም ያስቸግራል። ምክንያቱም መምህራን ለማሰራም ሲፈልጉ የሚያግዛቸው አካል ያጣሉ። አበረታች የሆነ ነገር ከጎፋ መንግስትም ከክልልም የለም።

አ: መደበኛ የሆነ አፃፃፍ አለመኖሩስ?

መገ.: መደበኛ የሆነ አፃፃፍ አለ እንጂ? ወጥ የሆነ አፃፃፍ አለ። አሁን የላቲኑን እንዴት መከተል እንዳለብን ወጥ ሁሉም የሚያውቀው እስካሁን እኮ አስረኛ ክፍል ድረስ ወጥ የሆነ አፃፃፍ ባይኖር አይደርስም ነበር። ሕግ አለ እንዴት መፍ እንዳለበት ሕግ ወጥቶለት አየተፃፈበት ትምህርትም እየሰጠበት ዛሬ በዚህ አመት ዲግሪ ተጀምሮበታል። ስለዚህ ወጥ የሌለው አፃፃፍ ማለት አይቻልም። ወጥ የሆነ አፃፃፍ ሕግ አለው ግን አሁን የሚፈለገው በሰርቶች ይህ ኢንተርናሽናል ፎኖቲክ አሶሴሽን ሚክተላቸውን ሲምበሎች ተጠቅሞ መፍ አለባቸው የሚል እምነት አለኝ። አሁን እኛ ፊደላት “th”ን እንደ “ts” ፊደል እንጠቀማለን። ግን ኢንተርናሽናል ፎኖቲክ እንደ Z እና Q sound ስለሚጠቀሙ ኢቭን ትርጉሙን ባያቅ ከሌላ አለም የመጣ ሰው ማንበብ እንዲችል አድርገን በስታንዳርድ መፍ እንዳለብን ፊል አደርጋለሁ። በIPA ቢሆን ደስ ይለኛል። ይህ ደግሞ ትላልቅ የተማሩ ሰዎችን ይፈልጋል።

አ: ጋሞኛን በጽሁፍ በስፋት ለመጠቀም ያለው ሂደት ላይ ይሻሻል ብለህ የምትሰጠው አስተያየት ምንድን ነው?

መገ.: አዎ አሁን ይህ ጊዜ ጥሩ ነበር፤ ሰዎች አልነቁም እንጂ መንግሥት ብሔር ብሔረሰቦች በራሳቸው ቋንቋ የመፍ የመናገር ባህላቸውን ቋንቋቸውን የማሳደግ መብት በሕገመንግስት ጽፎ ሰጥቷል። ይህ ለምን እንደተቀለበሰ አላውቅም እኔ አሁን እኔ እኮ በጋሞኛ ተምራለሁ በጋሞኛ ተምራለሁ በጋሞኛ ተምራ በጋሞኛ መፍ ጀምራ ነበር፤ የአካባቢው የሥራ ቋንቋም እኮ አንድ ጊዜ ሆኖ ነበር። ከዛ በኋላ በአልታወቀ ሁኔታ ኢቭን እኮ ቡና ቤት፣ መንገድ ላይ ጽሁፎች፣ ስዕሎች ሁሉ እንዲለጠፉ ተደርጓል። ይህ አማረኛን ለማሳደግ ጥማት ካላቸው ሰዎች የፈለቀ ይመስለኛል። ምክንያቱም አሁን ኢቭን እኮ በኛ ዞን በዞን ደረጃ ጋሞ እና ጎፋ ነው ያለው። ምንም የቋንቋ ልዩነት የለም የፖለቲካ ካልሆነ በስተቀር አንድ ቋንቋ ናቸው። እኔ ከጎፋ ልጆች ጋር አብረን እዚህ ከወላይታ ልጆች ጋር ተምራለሁ። አሁን ሻይ ቤት እኔ ከወላይቶ ልጅ ከጎፋ ልጅ ስገናኝ አማረኛ አላወራመ አልጠቀምም። አስገዳጅ ሁኔታ ካልተፈጠረ እነሱ በወላይታኛ ያወራሉ፣ ያኛው በጎፋኛ ያወራል። ቋንቋው ግን አንድ ስለሆነ አንዱ አንዱን ይሰማል ያለምንም ባርዬር በቃ ምንም ኢንፎርሜሽን ጋፕ ሳይኖር እንሰማለን

አይደለም እዚህ ጋሞኛ ውስጥ ያለውን ተይናንደውም አክሰንቱ ጋሞኛ ውስጥ ያለው ይሰፋል ከነዚህ ከወላይተኛ፣ ከኮንትራኛ፣ ከዳውሮኛ፣ ከጎፋኛ ካለው በጋሞ ውስጥ ያለው እንትንይሰፋል። ስለዚህ ቋንቋውን ለማሳደግ እያንዳንዱ ሰው ኃላፊነት መውሰድ አለበት አስተማሪዎች እንደአስተማሪ ተማሪውም እንደተማሪ ሕብረተሰቡም እንደሕብረተሰብ መውሰድ አለበት።

ቃለ መጠይቅ ስምንት

01 Dec., 15 04:00 pm

አ: ለቃለ መጠይቅ ስለተባበርሽኝ አመሰግናለሁ። ስምሽንና ከየት እንደመጣሽ ትነግራኛለሽ?

መጻ: ከካምባ ወረዳ ወ.ቢ.ት

አ: የምትናገረውን ዘዬ ታውቁኋለሽ?

መጻ: ባልተኛ ነው

አ: የመማሪያ መፃህፍት የተፃፉበት ነው?

መጻ: በባልተኛ አልተፃፈም በጋሞኛ ነው የፃፈው

አ: ከባልተኛ ጋር ብዙ ርቀት አለው?

መጻ: አዎ ልዩነት አለው

አ: ትምህርትሽ ላይ ተጽእኖ አሳድሯል?

መጻ: አይ ምንም ችግር አያመጣም። በዳጩኛ የሚያወሩ ተማሪዎች አሉ ከእነሱ ጋር ስለምንማር የሰፈሩ ቋንቋ ይቀርና ባልተኛው ቋንቋ

አ: በጋሞኛ በግልሽ ትጽፈያለሽ?

መጻ: አዎ እጽፋለሁ። በጋሞኛም በባልተኛም እጽፋለሁ።

አ: የመማሪያ መጽሃፍት ወጥ በሆነ መደበኛ ቋንቋ ቢጻፉ ጥሩ ነዉ ብለሽ ታስቢያለሽ?

መጻ: ወጥ በሆነ ቋንቋ ቢፃፍ ጥሩ ነው። በሱ እድገት ይኖራል።

አ: ሁሉም የጋሞኛ ተናጋሪዎች እኩል ተጠቃሚ ሊሆኑ ይችላሉ?

መጻ: አይሆኑም። ለምሳሌ ቁጫኛ ሚያወሩትና ጋንተኛ ሚያወሩት ሌላ ስለሆነ አይሆኑም።

አ: መደበኛ የሆነዉ የጽሁፍ ቋንቋ ከአንዱ ዘዬ ቢወሰድ ይሻላል ወይስ ሁሉም ዘዬዎች ቢካተቱበት ጥሩ ነዉ?

መገ: በዳጩ ብቻ ቢጻፍ ጥሩ ነው።

አ: ለምን?

መገ: ለምንድን ነው ባልተኛ ወይም ጋንተኛ የማይችሉ ልጆች አሉ ከዳራማሎ፣ ከቁጫ፣ ከቦረዳ የመጡ ልጆች በጋንተኛ በባልተኛ አያቁም ስለዛ እነሱ ሊጎዱ ይችላሉ።

አ: በዳጩ ሲጻፍ ታዲያ ጋንታና ባልታዎቹ አይጎዱም ብለሽ ታስቢያለሽ?

መገ: ባልታና ጋንታው ዳጩን ስለሚያውቁ ዳጩን መስማት ይችላሉ።

ቃለ መጠይቅ ዘጠኝ

አ: ለቃለ መጠይቅ ስለተባበርሽኝ አመሰግናለሁ። ስምሽን እና ሙያሽን ትነግሪኛለሽ

መገ: ስሜ አየሁ እባላለሁ። ያው በመምህርነት ውስጥ ሃያ ሁለት ዓመት አሁን ሃያ ሦስተኛ አመት አገልግሎት አለኝ። እዚህ አካባቢ ተወልጄ ስላደኩኝ የአካባቢውን ቋንቋ እያስተማርኩበት ነው ያለሁት። በቋንቋው ብዙ የተሰራ ነገር ስለሌለ ተማሪዎቹ ብዙ ፍላጎት የላቸውም። ከተማው ውስጥ እንደገና ደግሞ የመጽሐፍት እጥረት አለ።

አ: ቋንቋውን መጻፍና መናገር ትችላለሽ? ትምህርት ላይ ያለውን መደበኛ ቋንቋ ወይም የአፍ መፍቻ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበትን ጋሞኛ ታውቁዋለሽ? እዛ ላይስ የሰራሽው ስራ አለ?

መገ: አዎ መጻፍም መናገርም እችላለሁ። መጽሐፎቹ ብዙ ክፍተት ብዙ ችግር አለባቸው።

አ: የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበት መደበኛ ጋሞኛ ሁሉም የጋሞኛ ተናጋሪ ተማሪዎች በቤት ወይም በአካባቢ ከሚነጋገሩበት ጋር ተቀራራቢ ነዉ?

መገ: የተቀራረበ ነው። አልፎ አልፎ ሚሊዮውን በአማርኛ ተርጉሙን እናስረዳቸዋለን እዚህ በብዛት በአማርኛ ነው ምናወራው። የጋሞኛውን እንናገርና ቀጥሎ ሙሉ በሙሉ በአማርኛ ምተረጉምላቸው ዙሪያ ወዳ ስንሰራ በጣም ደስ ይላል። ተማሪዎች በጣም ይገባቸዋል። በጣም ይሰራሉ። እዚህ ግን ብዙ እንጥራለን፣ እንለፋለን፣ ውጤት የለም። እዚህ ታችኛው ላይ አሁን የቤት ሥራ ቀላል ነገር ሰጥተናቸው እንኳን እቤት ጋሞኛ የሚያወራ የለም፣ ጎረቤቴ ጋሞኛ የሚችል የለም፣ ጋሞኛ የሚያወራ የለም ጎረቤቴ ጋሞኛ የሚችል የለም። ጋሞኛ ስለማልችል አልጽፍም ሚሉ ሕፅናት ሁሉ ይገጥመናል።

አ: የመማሪያ መጽሃፍት ወጥ በሆነ መደበኛ ቋንቋ ቢጻፉ ጥሩ ነዉ ብለሽ ታስቢያለሽ?

መገ: በዛ አሁን በአካባቢው ባሉ ቋንቋዎች አንድ ላይ ሲጻፉ እራሱ የዚህ አካባቢ አሁን ጋሞ ላይ ያሉ ይህ ዘይቤው አለ፣ አሾሎው አለ ከዚህ ከአካባቢው የተውጣጡ ሆነው ቢጻፉ ነው የተሻለ የሚሆነው ለማስተማርም ውጤታማ የሚሆነው ልጆቹ ምክንያቱም ከተለያዩ ሕብረተሰብ ውስጥ ነዋ ወጥተው የሚመጡት። አንድ በጋሞ ላይ ብቻ

ቢሰራ ጥሩ ይሆናል ብዬ አልገምትም ለራሴ በዚህ ይህን ይባላል። በዚህ ይህን እየተባለ ወጥ የሆነ ትርጉም ተሰጥቶት ቢፃፍ ጥሩ ነው።

አ: መጽሐፎቹ ላይ ያለሽ አስተያየት ምንድን ነው?

መፃ: አልፎ አልፎ ስህተቶች አሉ የከፋ ስላልሆኑ እንጅ እያስተካከልን እንሰራለን፤ ግን ትርጉም የማናገኝላቸው ብዙ ቃላት አሉ። መጽሐፎቹ ጀርባም መዝገብ ቃላትም ትርጉማቸውን አናገኝም የአፃፍ ስፔልንግም አንድ አይደለም በሰፊው አለ። ለምሳሌ *healdza* የሚለውን ጽሁፍ እዚህ ጋ ሌላ እዛጋ ሌላ ሄደው ሌላ አይነት ይጽፋሉ እኛ ግን ብዙ ስለገባንበት እንጽፋለን።

አ: መደበኛ የሆነው የጽሁፍ ቋንቋ ከአንዱ ዘዩ ቢወሰድ ይሻላል ወይስ ሁሉም ዘዩዎች ቢካተቱበት ጥሩ ነው?

መፃ: አይ የሁሉንም ዘዩ የወከለ ቢሆን ቆንጆ ነው። ምክንያቱም ልጆቹ የሚያወሩት አሁን እቤት ውስጥ ጋሞኛ የምናወራ ከሆነ ያንን ጋሞኛውን ነው የሚሰሙት አሁን አቸልኛ የሚወራበት ቤት የዛ አቸልኛውን ነው እየሰማ አይ እኔ ቤት እንዲህ ነው ሚባለው እንደዛ የሚል ነገር እኮ አለ። በዛ በዛ ይጋጫል ለልጆች በትርጉም። ስለዚህ እንደዛ እየሆነ ቢሰራ የተሻለ ነገር ይሆናል ብዬ አስባለሁ በራሴ።

አ: በግልሽ በጋሞኛ ትጽፈያለሽ?

መፃ: እየገባ እያስቸገረኝ ነው ጋሞኛው ምንም ነገር ስጽፍ ስልክ ላይ ሴቭ ሳደረግ ሁሉ በጋሞኛ ነው የምጽፈው በጣም እየቀናኝ ተቸግሬአለሁ። ስማርም ይህ ምንድነው ብሎ መምህርም ይጠይቀኝ ነበር። በአብዛኛው እሱን ስለስተማርኩ ወደ እሱ ነው ማደላው እኔ አሁን እሱን አንድ ገጽ ሙሉ ፃፊ ብትይኝ ቶሎ ነው ጽፌ ምጨርሰው አማረኛም እንግሊዝኛም ከምጽፍ።

አ: ጽሁፍ ላይ ያለውን ነው የራስሽን ዘዩ ነው ስትጽፈ የምትጠቀሚው?

መፃ: የራሴን ነው የምጠቀመው እሱም ጽሁፍ ላይ ያለው ነው።

ቃለ መጠይቅ አስር

አ: ለቃለ መጠይቅ ስለተባበርሽኝ አመሰግናለሁ። ስምሽን እና ሙያሽን ትነግሪኛለሽ

መፃ: ስሜ መስከረም ይባላል። ሥራዬ ዩኒት መሪም ነኝ አንደገና ጋሞኛ አስተምራለሁ የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ።

አ: የመማሪያ መጽሐፍት የተፃፈበት ጋሞኛ የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋሽ ነው?

መፃ: አዎ የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋየም ነው። ጋሞኛ ትምህርት የመጠው እኔ ሦስተኛ ክፈለ እያለሁ ነው እና የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋየም ነው እንደገናም ተምሬበታለሁ።

አ: የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ ትምህርት የሚሰጥበት መደበኛ ጋሞኛ ሁሉም የጋሞኛ ተናጋሪ ተማሪዎች በቤት ወይም በአካባቢ ከሚነጋገሩበት ጋር ተቀራራቢ ነው?

መገደብ፡ ያው ጋሞኛ እንደሌለው ቋንቋ ወጥ አይደለም። የዘዬ ልዩነት ያለበት አለ ጋሞኛው ላይ። አሁን እኔ የምዕራብ አባያ ልጅ ነኝ የኔ እና ደሞ በንኬ ወረዳ ላይ ያሉ ተወላጆች አሉ። ጋሞኛ ቋንቋ ሚያወሩ እኛም ጋሞኛ ነው ምናወራው ግን የነሱ የዘዬ ልዩነት አለ። አሁን እኛ haatta ምንለውን እነሱ haththe ይላሉ። የዘዬ ልዩነት ነው እንጂ ያው ትርጉሙ ግን ይገባል። እኛ ምናወራውን እነሱ ይቀበላሉ። የእነሱንም እኛ ፐርጌክትሊ ይገባናል።

አ፡ መጽሐፍት ሲጻፉ ወጥ በሆነ መንገድ ቢጻፉ ጥሩ ነው ትያለሽ

መገደብ፡ ልዩነት ሲኖር ልዩነት ነው የሚያመጣው።

ቃለ መጠይቅ II (ከመስከ ስራ አንድ የተወሰደ)

ጥ፡ በመጀመሪያ ስምህን የመጣህበትን አካባቢ ንገረኝ

መገደብ፡ ስሜ በረከት ይባላል። የመጣሁት ከቦንኬ ወረዳ ከቆቦ ባኬ ቀበሌ ነው

ጥ፡ በጋሞኛ ተምረሃል?

መገደብ፡ ተምራክለሁ በጋሞኛ ተምራክለሁ። ከአንደኛ እስከ አራተኛ ክፍል ተምራያለሁ ከዛብሁዋላ እንደ አንድ ትምህርት ወሰኛለሁ።

ጥ፡ እናንተ አካባቢ የሚነገረው የትኛው የጋሞኛ ዘዬ ነው?

መገደብ፡ በእኔ አካባቢ የሚነገረው ጋሞኛ ከዛርጉላና ከጋንታ ጋር የሚመሳሰል ሆኖ መሌ ይባላል። ከልሎቹ ትንሽ ይለያል ግን ከጋንታና ከዛርጉላ ጋር ይመሳሰላል። አንዳንድ የሚለያዩ ቃላት ቢኖሩም ሰዎቹ ምን ማለት ነው ብለው አዛው ይፈታሉ እንጂ ወደ ሌላ ሰው አይሄዱም።

ጥ፡ መደበኛውን ቋንቋ በደንብ ታወቀዋለህ? አንተ ከምትናገረው ቋንቋ ጋር ግንኙነቱ ምን ያህል ነው?

መገደብ፡ በመደበኛው ጋሞኛ አስተማሪዎች ጋር በጣም እግባባለሁ እነጋገራለሁ፤ እራሴም ያው ጋሞኛውን ጽሁፉን ሁኔታውን ሁሉ በደንብ በስነስርአት በጣም እችላለሁ።

ጥ፡ እሺ ስለ ጋሞኛ ቋንቋ ስታንዳርዳይዜሽን ሁኔታ ያለህ አስተያየት ምንድነው?

መገደብ፡ ቋንቋውን እንደ ማንኛውም ቋንቋ የሚያሳድግ ሰው ቢኖር ህዝቡ የራሱን ሀሳብ፣ ታሪካዊ አመጣጣቸውን በቋንቋቸው ይገልጹ ነበር። ነገር ግን እኔ አሁን በራሴ እድሜ ሳይ ትልቁ ችግር ምንድነው የቋንቋው እዛ ተወልደው ያደጉ ለቋንቋው ትኩረት አይሰጡም በትምህርት ሲወጡ ቋንቋውን ለመናቅ ያስባሉ።

ጥ፡ እናንተ አካባቢ ነዋሪዎች መደበኛውን ጋሞኛ ይረዱታል

መገደብ፡ ጋሞኛ ሲባል አንድ ለሰዎች ያልገባ ነገር አለ። ይህ ጋሞኛ ሲባል አሁን አባቶች ጋሞኛ ሲባል ቶሎ አይረዱም ዳጩኛ ሲሉ ይገባቸዋል። ለምን ድሮ ዳጩ የሚባሉ ሰዎች ነገሩ እና እነኝ ሰዎች ለየት ያለ ቋንቋ ይናገራሉ። ዛሬ ላይ እኔ ሳስብ ደግሞ ያ ዳጩኛው ከወላይትኛ ትንሽ ለየት ብሎ አሁን ተማሪዎች በትምህርት ቤት የሚማሩበት መጽሀፍ የተጻፈበት ጋሞኛ ነው። ነገር ግን አባቶች ይህንን ቋንቋ ዳጩኛ ብለው ስለሚናገሩ አንዳንዶች አይረዱትም። ለምሳሌ ዛሬዎች ያንን ዳጩኛ አይችሉም አይሰሙም መነጋገር አይችሉም። ለእኔ የሚመስለኝ ድሮ ባለማወቅ ዳጩኛ ነው ያሉት አሁን ግን ጋሞኛ ተብሎ ጥሩ ትርጉም ተሰጥቶት ያው መጽሀፍ ባለፈው ተማሪዎች ከ1-4 ቀጥታ እየተማሩበት ያለው ትምህርት በጋሞኛ ነው የተጻፈው ስለዚህ ጥሩ ነው። አንዳንድ የተበላሹ ነገሮች ቢኖሩም።

ጥ፡ የተበላሹ ስትል ምን ማለትህ ነው?

መዘ: አሁን ዛርጉለኛ አለ ግን ዳጩኛ ተብሎ ወይም አሁን ተማሪዎች የሚማሩበት ጋሞኛ ተብሎ ቀጥታ ከዛርጉለኛው ጋር ወይም ወደ ዛርጉለኛው ስላልተተረጎመ ወይም ወጥ ሆኖ እንደ ወላይትኛ ስላልሆነ ቋንቋዎች አሉ መሀል ላይ ትርጉማቸው ደክም ያለ

ጥ: የተለያዩ ቃል ይጠቀማሉ የተለያዩ አጻጻፍ ይጠቀማሉ ለማለት ፈልገህ ነው?

መዘ: አዎ እነዚህ ደግሞ ሰው ለማስተካከል ቢፈልግ ወዲያውኑ መቅረፍ ይቻላል

ጥ: ወጥ ቢሆን ማለትህ ነው?

መዘ: አዎ ወጥ ቢሆን ጥሩ ነው:: ስለዚህ በዚህ ሁኔታ ሰው አሁን አማረኛ ብቻ ነው የሚባለው የሚለው መረዳት እየቀነሰ ጋሞኛም ይጠቅማል የሚል ሁሉም ወደዚህ መረዳት ሊገቡ ይችላሉ::

ጥ: ሳይንስ ትምህርቶችን ስትማሩስ የሳይንስ ዘርፎችን ስትማሩ ከሳይንስና ከቴክኖሎጂ ጋር የሚመጡ ሀሳቦችን ለመግለጽ የሚያስችሉ ቃላት ተፈጥረዋል?

መዘ: በጋሞኛ ሲሆን ማለት ነው አይደል?

ጥ: አዎ

መዘ: በጋሞኛ ሲሆን የተፈጥሮ ሳይንስም የአካባቢ ሳይንስ ላይ በአጭሩ ስንመለከት ተማሪዎች ይረዳሉ ቶሎ ይረዳሉ:: ወደ ጥቃቅን የሰውነት ክፍሎች ካልገባ ግልጽ ነው ይጠቀማሉ:: ለምሳሌ ወደ ውስጥ ሲሆን በቃ አሁን ስለ ጽንሰ ከጽንሰ እስከ ልጅ ያሉ ነገሮችን እዛ ውስጥ መሀል ላይ ያሉ ነገሮችን ለመግለጽ ግን ሊከብድ ችላል:: ለዛ የሚሆኑ ቃላት ያስፈልጋሉ::

ጥ: ከሌላ ቋንቋ የመጡ ቃላት አሉ:: ለምሳሌ ከአማርኛ ከእንግሊዘኛ ቀጥታ የተወሰዱ ቃላት አሉ መጽሃፍ ሲጻፉ:: የእነሱ ጥቅም ምንድነው ትላለህ?

መዘ- እኔ ስማር ነበሩ እስከዛሬም አሉ እኔ ስማር ከፀ በፊት የነበረው በጋሞኛ መጽሀፍ ላይ ብዙ ቋንቋዎች ነበሩ ዳውሮኛ ጎፋኛ በቅንፍ አስቀምጠው እንደዛ ሁኔታዎች ነበሩ ዛሬ ዛሬ ግን ቀጥታ ከአማርኛም የተወሰዱ ቃላቶች ይገኛሉ ዛሬም:: እንግሊዘኛ ደግሞ በሳይንሳዊ ሁኔታ አሁን የተጻፉ አንዳንድ መጤ ቋንቋዎችን ቀጥታ እንግሊዘኛን አምጥተው ነው ያስቀመጡት:: ያው ፊደሉ ጋሞኛ ሆነ እንጅ ቃላቱ እንግሊዘኛ እና አማርኛ የሆኑ ዛሬ መጽሃፎችን ስፈትሽ አገኛለሁ::

ጥ: አሁን ለምሳሌ እዛ ላይ ከአማርኛ ወይም ከእንግሊዘኛ ከመውሰድ ከሌሎች ተቀራራቢ ቋንቋዎች ቢወሰድ ለተማሪዎች ይቀላል የሚል ሀሳብ አለህ?

መዘ: አሁን ለምሳሌ ከወላይትኛ ቢወሰድ ለተማሪዎች ከወላይትኛ ይልቅ አማርኛው ለተማሪዎቹ ይቀላል:: ለምን በአካባቢው ከተማሩት አማርኛውን ቶሎ ጠይቀው ይረዳሉ:: ወላይትኛው ትክክለኛውን ስለወላይትኛ ለመግለጽ እዛ አካባቢ ላይ የወላይታ ሰው መሆን ያስፈልጋል የዳውሮም ትክክለኛውን የዳውሮን ለመግለጽ የዳውሮ ሰው እዛ አካባቢ ያስፈልጋል:: ግን ከዳውሮ አካባቢ ለዛርጉላ፣ ለዛይሴም ለመሌ አማርኛው ከተወሰደ ድሮ የተማሩ ተማሪዎች አንዳንድ በትምህርት ሁኔታ ያደጉ ሰዎችን ቢጠይቅ በአካባቢው ቋንቋ ለመተርጎምና ቀጥታ ለመተርጎም ቢከብድም አቀራርቦ ለመግለጽ ይቀላል:: ግን ዝም ብሎ የተያያዘ ቋንቋ ነው ቅርብ ነው ብሎ ከመግለጽ ቀጥታ አማርኛን ማስቀመጥ በጣም ይሻላል:: ድሮ የተማሩትም በአማርኛ ነው ቢሮ ውስጥም በአማርኛ እስከ ዛሬ እተሰራ ስለሆነ

ጥ- ስለትብብርህ በጣም አመሰግናለሁ

Appendix F

The English Version of Data from Individual Interviews

Interviews with individual interviewees are transcribed and translated from Amharic in to English and presented as follows. I= interviewer, R= responder

Interviewee 1

I. Thank you for your willingness to participate in the interview session. Would you tell me your name and your occupation?

R1. Okey. My name is Yishak. I am a teacher.

I. Do you know the standard Gamo used in schools as a medium of instruction? And have you worked anything on that?

R1. I worked in the standard Gamo. Before now, I taught first cycle teachers in a private college in Gamo. I translated two modules and two first cycle books in to Gamo, Gamo means the one at work. I translated in to that. After I joined this college I translated a grade four Mathematics book in to Gamo. So, I have had that kind of experience.

I. How close is the standard language used in books and textbooks to the language students use at home?

R1. Gamo that prevails at work now is the one spoken in the highland area. In fact, Gamo differs in its dialects. There are many Gamo varieties but I think the one at work now represents the majority of the people. This is my understanding because the other vernaculars listen to it. They understand the working Gamo. The difference here is those who listen to this one, for example, those we call Ganta, Kole, Zargula residents and speakers listen to this Gamo. So, let me tell you the example I have been telling you earlier. For example, once I went to my grandparents who lived in Kole. In Kole the variety is a bit different. My mother is from Laka. Laka is similar to the Gamo widely used now. They [Kole and Laka] are close and adjacent. Nothing is different in them. They are not even as far as Secha is from Sikela. What I saw between kids of the two areas was that two children were looking after cattle in their own places and one tried to pass his cattle to the other's area. Then they were fighting for one tresspassed the other's territory. They were

around seven or nine years old. Each of them used their own dialect and insulted each other. That shows one child heard the other's speech since they were close to each others' dialect.

I: When textbooks and other books are written, do you think they should be written in a standard language?

R1. Yes, I say this is good. For example, when I write if I write in the one which is close to me, the one now called Gamo the main one, I am closer to that, and when another person writes, sine he may write in the one close to him,... it is good if it keeps the standard. In order to keep the standard use of the language in the textbooks, Gamo words should be identified. The original words and sounds of Gamo that should come on the first level of standardization should be known. In fact there are sounds that make the Gamo language unique. If the standard language should be taken as standard Gamo, it should consider these unique features. Those sounds are souvenir and must be protected in the standard language. For example, sounds like /ts/ and /dz/ are not available in the other Ethiopian languages. So the sounds must be protected and given a position they deserve in the standard. After all, the words of the standard language must look like Gamo. I think it is good if other Gamo speakers also accept this fact.

I: What is the significance of writing it in a standard language?

R1. Standardizing the Gamo language in different domains has different roles. First, there will be a standard use of the language in different sectors like in the education sector. Second, children will grow speaking it. So, standardization has economical and social values. When all people use it uniformly for every day communication at all places, the standard language brings unity in Gamo. The language and the culture will develop and the society's exposure to technology in its own language will increase.

I: Should the standard be taken from one area or should it be taken from different dialects?

R1. In my view, though I am not a language expert, if we try to mix all the dialects in Gamo in to one standard, I don't think that is possible. I don't think it is possible to mix them. But it is possible to use the words. This is my assumption. So, my assumption is the words we do not use in the present system should be included, but they should be developed. At present, the one

called Gamo is the one that spoken by the majority of the public. It follows the one used by the majority, the widely used one, but I think it is good if the others can be taken at word level.

I: Isn't it possible to take their grammar?

R1. I don't know. If it is possible, I am happy if language experts arrange this.

I: Do you write in Gamo? Which language do you mostly use, Gamo or Amharic?

R1. I personally wrote a book. I wrote and translated primary education textbooks and for primary teachers' training materials. Personally, I wrote poems. I remember I wrote two poems. I have a plan to write a book. I have a shortage of time but I want to write a book. And another, there is no science and technology dictionary, I am preparing myself to write a science and technology dictionary. What I mean is when the language grows, it need word that fit to science and technology.

I: Do you think Gamo has developed words for science and technology?

R1. Till now, concepts are simply and literally translated, but with regard to creating new indigenous words, not all scientific words have got Gamo equivalents. So, words that look indigenous to Gamo should be created. I don't believe that part is done well, and for this reason I am planning to do it when I am free.

I: What is the level of standardizing Gamo currently?

R1. The standardization level of Gamo is low. It requires many things to be done. It requires effort. So, many people should contribute to it. People who write poems, books, fictions and other literature in Gamo should come out in different media. When it is done like this, it will get many readers and will be established in the generations. After that, it achieves its standard and will keep it. So many people should participate.

I: Thank you very much.

Interviewee 2

I: Thank you for your willingness to participate in the interview session. Would you tell me your name and your occupation?

R2: Okey. My name is Manna. I am a teacher

I: Do you know the standard Gamo used in schools as a medium of instruction? And have you worked anything on that?

R2: Yes. When I was working in the education Department of the zone, I participated in devising the alphabet, in writing textbooks, especially for grade five to ten. I have done everything possible in cooperation with the stake holders to provide a short training to high school teachers from every district.

I: How close is the standard language used in books and textbooks to the language students use at home?

R2: Yes. It is like, the point is there are two ideas regarding the language. The language has been used for a long time at lower grade levels. But there is some gap in the textbooks prepared for grade nine and ten. It took long time to start it, and the writers were taken from different offices. Since, it was just done to start the programme in grade nine and ten, there is a shortcoming in it. In order to create a neutral one, it should have been done by doing a need analysis at first. It was started when there were no enough materials. It helped to start the education to some extent but the writing process did not include dialects, it did not include all the sounds. We started it in the knowledge that it would be improved and changed after a year or two. So, since it started in that way, there is a drawback in the material.

I: Isn't it changed now?

R2: It is not changed now. At that time, it was assumed that it should be changed after two years but due to lack of budget and other related things, it is not changed until now.

I: On which area language is standard Gamo based?

R2: Most often, standard Gamo focuses on the neutral one, the one in the Gamo highlands. It includes much of the dialects spoken in the Gamo highlands. That is done because the one in the lowlands understands the highland Gamo. If the lowland variety is taken in the standard, it will be difficult for the highland speakers. They can't even listen to it. Since they have that difficulty,

most of the time, based on the majority of speakers, the highland one is taken as a standard. The materials are prepared using the highland variety.

I: When textbooks and other books are written, do you think they should be written in a standard language?

R2: They should be written in a standard language. If we let everyone write in his/ her own variety, there is a risk that the written materials do not get readers. Until now, the dialects in Gamo range up to forty or forty two in every Kebele. In all these, every writer may write in his own way, but if possible it should be close to the standard, the neutral one used in textbooks. People should prepare supportive materials in the one used in textbooks. The textbooks are prepared in the standard one, but if the other prepares books in different way that will be a problem to readers. So in order to correct this, in the zone, the curriculum development follows it. If anyone writes a book and wants to publish it, he should come to the zone. He should get permission. This structure is available in the zone and the writer should get permission and the book should be edited in line with the dialects and the one used in the school. If it is out of this, there is an editor and if it is necessary teachers can also go and work. It is now done in that way. In my view, it should keep the standard in that way and it is also good if writers should prepare books in that way. It is good if supportive materials, fictions or other related things are prepared following the standard writing system.

I: Should the standard be taken from one area or should it be taken from different dialects?

R2: Yes, the thing is it is good if they are included. The reason is what is available now is ... now, there is dissatisfaction in some of the lowland dialect speakers. Since language carries the society's culture, some lowland Gamo districts residents have had the attitude that said, 'the standard language used in schools does not represent us.' In fact, they understand the highland or the standard variety, but they want to see their own forms to be included in the standard language. For example, Kucha dialect speakers once argued saying, 'since we are neighbors to Wolaitta, we should use Wolaitta textbooks. When textbooks are sent to us, they should be published in the Wolaitta language.' They said that when the word *hatsa* 'water' is written, it should be written as *hata*. Then we replied to them that this can never happen in Gamo. Devising two curriculums under one language /Gamo/ makes the standard language weaker. But, if it is

possible, in the future, the standard language should include all of the dialects. When we accommodate others our lexical capacity increases. The dialects are our resources. We cannot abandon them. We can take from the lowland and the highland varieties. They are our resources and one cannot finish using his natural resources at once. But through time and a gradual process, we can think of which one is needed immediately and which one can wait for later use. In that way, in my view as a professional, it is good if all of the dialects are included in the standard norm.

I: What would be your feeling if some of your varieties are reduced and others are included?

R2: This is not a problem. It means one word is replaced in the other. It means they have the same meaning and it is like what we call synonyms in English. A word has its own context and there are different words in different dialects that give the same meaning. A concept can be expressed in different words. So, there is no problem if we use words interchangeably taking them from different dialects in the writing system, the society will practice and know it. If it gives the same meaning, whether the highland or the lowland is taken, it gives the same meaning. The society should grow in to the standard level. There should be glossaries, dictionaries to help the society practice it, but we can't simple put it. If we prepare dictionaries side by side, they create awareness in the society. On the other hand, if it gives the same meaning, why do I oppose saying why my variety isn't included if I understand the meaning? To me if someone knows a new word, it is good but it is not bad. So, the assumption that says mine is taken away and mine is taken doesn't give me sense. It is difficult to write two words in one place. People should understand things from dictionaries and other things, but everything should not be put in brackets. If it is written like that, the layout will be bad.

I: Do you write in Gamo? Which language do you mostly use, Gamo or Amharic?

R2: I don't use Gamo so often. What makes the language equal [in its status] to the other languages is its standardization. Its possibility to be posted on cities is very important for its standardization. For example, when Amharic is posted on city advertisements, it shows the language's development stage. I will be very happy if our language is also posted in public places just like that. It facilitates its standardization. We use the common internationally used languages, like English, in emails. It is not often used in offices except in schools where our

language is widely used. It is only in schools but it is not used in other sectors. Let alone in writing, we are Gamos and we were born here but we don't even use it in speaking in offices. Since this one is the trend, we are not good in using it in writing. I can't say I use it while I don't use it. But I believe I should use it. I am trying to do that.

I: What is the cause that hinders you from using Gamo in writing?

R2: The reason is the first one is attitude. People's attitude about our language is not still changed.

I: What is the attitude? Is it about its growth?

R2: It is not about its growth. They say we already know it. Our language is not a problem we already know it. So if someone continues his education in Gamo people would say, 'you were born and grown in Gamo. What job are you going to get with Gamo?' they have that kind of attitude. They would say, 'why do you learn in Gamo, why do you do this advanced study in Gamo? It is something you know? Why don't you learn something new? These attitudes even block the educated people from doing something good in the language.

Interviewee 3

I: Thank you for your willingness to participate in the interview session. Would you tell me your name and your occupation?

R3: Okay, my name is Agena. I am a teacher.

I: Do you know the standard Gamo used in schools as a medium of instruction? And have you worked anything on that?

R3: Yes, after I joined this college, I am preparing two teaching materials. They are not yet duplicated. Before, I prepared unpublished compilations as reference materials when I was in high school.

I: How close is the standard language used in books and textbooks to the language students use at home?

R3: Okay. It is related. In fact there are dialect or vernacular differences in the speakers of Gamo in the nine districts. But mainly, the one everyone knows and listens to is Dache. In the highland area there is one called 'Gamotso.' In Balta, Garbansa, Kole, and Male areas, they speak Gamotso in their neighborhood and they use Dache in common places. So everyone understands Dache. When we prepare teaching materials, we used Dache, which everyone understands. That means even children can understand it except very few.

I: When textbooks and other books are written, do you think they should be written in a standard language?

R3: Since the language is in the process of development, it is good if people write in a common dialect. If the language is used variedely, since it is not developed, people do not understand the books due to dialect influence. Since it may be difficult to get the message, as to me it is good if books are written in a common standard language that everyone understands.

I: Should the standard be taken from one area or should it be taken from different dialects?

R3: Other dialects should not fall under the influence of one dialect. Since it may trigger social dissatisfaction or language hegemony, it is good if others can be included like in brackets and have their share until a common one is created in the future. For example, when I write since others in Kamba, Ditta or Chenchu may not understand it, I use theirs in commas or brackets. For example the number 'one' is called *bizo* in the highland Gamo. In some places they call it *petro*. Commonly in Dache, they call it *isino*.. If they don't understand the word *isino* they can use the others as options. Therefore, the standard should be the same and consistent, but other dialects can be taken as supplements. This makes the language a standard and united.

I: How long should it be written in brackets?

R3: What I say is at word level. Except to use this as an option, as I said if it is written it should be written in Dache which all understand, but since some may not understand the words, so this can be a means to creat understanding. But it doesn't mean it always continues like that. At present, it is coming from lower grade levels as a basic education. It is yet in grade ten. It is started in grade eleven and twelve. Teachers are being trained in the language, they are now aware of it. Since our students we teach here are now aware of it, the dialect difference will be

diminished. Now, the one in Kucha, Boroda and Mirab Abaya has an influence from Wolaitta dialect. Since they are now learning in Dache, that influence won't come into standard Gamo. Even if they go to other places, they teach in the Dache dialect since the textbooks are prepared in it. We cannot say one dialect dominated the standard language. The Dache dialect itself belongs to all Gamo language speakers. It is available in the whole areas where Gamo is spoken. We cannot say it is a dialect of a limited area. It spread into all places and understood by all people who reside in Gamo. So, nobody says 'it is theirs, but it is not ours'. It is common to everyone, for example there are different Amharic dialects but the one in the media and in books is commonly used by all native Amharic and non native Amharic language speakers. Just like that the Dache dialect of Gamo in this area is used in radio programmes, in magazines, in textbooks, for preaching in Churches and for other public activities. Since it plays different social functions, I think as to me the Dache dialect is the only one to promote Gamo into a standard level

I: Do you write in Gamo? Which language do you mostly use, Gamo or Amharic?

R3: There is no question about it. I use it very much. In the future, I want to write proverbs, stories and symbolic expressions in Gamo. I also started to write fiction but I have shortage of time now to finish it. I often write in Gamo, but since Dache is neutral, I write in it.

Interviewee 4

I: Thank you for your willingness to participate in the interview session. Would you tell me your name and your occupation?

R4: Okay, my name is Meskele. I am a teacher.

I: Do you know the standard Gamo used in schools as a medium of instruction? And have you worked anything on that?

R4: Yes, I prepared modules. We prepare materials for the courses we teach. So, I have the experience. I also know the textbooks used in schools though the time is long.

I: How close is the standard language used in books and textbooks to the language students use at home?

R4: it is similar. It is prepared in a consistent way. So it is similar. Though there are many dialects in our context, it is prepared and given in a similar way.

I: Is it close to the students' dialects?

R4: We can't be sure. As it can be seen, since the book is prepared based on one area, they can be different, there can be dialect difference in some aspects. Since the language is growing, until a neutral variety is created, in the present situation there might be some dialect differences. There are some whom textbooks are prepared directly in the language they speak. When they go to their areas, some students find it directly and for some there is dialect difference.

I: When textbooks and other books are written, do you think they should be written in a standard language?

R4: Yes, I believe it. First, that should be done next. Researches should also be done in that direction. I believe in that because when the language is used consistently, it brings development.

I: Can you mention some of the developments?

R4: The growth is first researches will be done. And the other is, when dictionaries and textbooks are written in a consistent neutral language, neutral words and when everyone uses it, I believe it has its own contribution to the development.

I: Should the standard be taken from one area or should it be taken from different dialects?

R4: In fact it should be supported in researches but it has risk if it is taken from one area. Language is a resource a shared resource, and sine it may create its own influence on human's thought, it should be done in research. There are ways in which international languages are done. It is good if it is done by taking those worldwide experiences and focusing on the common benefit of the ethnic group. It shouldn't bias on to one. I think it is good if it is supported by research and words which are used widely in many districts should be known in percentage and selected. Obviously, it should be taken in to consideration that in this way or another, there will be words merged.

I: What would be your feeling if some forms of your dialect are reduced and others are added?

R4: to me the feeling is positive. It is a matter of tolerance. It is a matter of keeping balance. In one way, if it is said only one should be taken, the language won't even be complete. There is a reason that the language won't be full. A careful work that takes from this and that will make the language full. Second, it serves as a psychological therapy in the mind of the users. I have an idea that it is good if it mixes from this and from that as necessary in a neutral way.

I: is the present writing taken from one place or from all areas?

R4: In the present standard some are not included. Not in one district but there are rare dialects not used in it. In the current condition, it is not taken from all areas, but it is taken from limited places.

I: Do you think a standard writing system should be devised formally by surveying all the dialects?

R4: Yes it is good. As I said already, we are creating awareness in our students. In the nine districts of Gamo, there are some dialects which are not clearly used in the textbooks and written materials. But we present these in our classes. We are getting our students mentally ready. I think it is essential and justice to bring a neutral and an official language that is a standard one.

I: Do you write in Gamo? Which language do you mostly use, Gamo or Amharic?

R4: I use Gamo. As I am the coordinator of the department, I use it when I am working on it. I usually use it when I speak and when I write.

I: do you think other people use it to the required level?

R4: It is difficult to dare say they are using it as required because the language is yet developing. There is the society's attitude. It is from this angle that I said earlier it is significant if the language is an official language. It is only in the education sector that we are using the language more. Except that and the uneducated society, it is not widely used in towns since it doesn't have a functional status in offices.

Interviewee 5

I: Thank you for your willingness to participate in the interview session. Would you tell me your name and your occupation?

R5: I thank you, too. My name is Kaleb. I work in Gamo Gofa Zone Culture and Tourism Department.

I: Do you know the standard Gamo used in schools as a medium of instruction? And have you worked anything on that?

R5: Yes, since I was a teacher formerly in Gamo. I taught when the language was in the process of development, and I speak the language. I am ethnically Gamo and I am a speaker of the language. among the dialects, I perfectly speak two dialects. The one is which is now used in writing and documented in books. That is usually spoken in highlands in Bonke and other highland areas. It is used mainly in the writing. I speak that because I worked there many years. In addition to that I was born in Arbaminch Zuria and I speak Ochollo dialect. This dialect is my native language.

I: Do you think the language used in schools and textbooks is similar to or close to the language students speak at home or in the neighborhood?

R5: Students can understand the standard language used in the textbooks. But there are dialect members who do not speak the standard language directly. For example, speakers of Ochollo, the area where I was born, do not directly speak this [the standard] Gamo. They understand the idea mentioned in the words, they can also know the standard language through education but the gap between the standard language and the Ochollo dialect is wide. In Gamo areas, as well, in Zargulla, Ganta... Ganta is not included in the standard norm. Ganta villagers also listen to the standard one since this Gamo Gofa area is tied to each other in kinship and social interactions is very high, they know each other's language. But they do not use the standard language for every day life activities... especially, as to me, when I taught Gamo in schools... when you teach a language you learn to speak it directly, right? Through my teaching experience [I have known that] in most cases, the highland area variety, particularly the used in places starting from Bonke area, is mostly mentioned in the standard norm and the words are taken from that area I: When

textbooks and other books are written, do you think they should be written in a standard language?

R5: My personal opinion is that it is good if the standard gets closer to a consistent one as much as possible. But creating a standard from the dialects takes time. In fact, people are now good at communicating each other due to work, and they are working together. But this takes long time. I think when the one at work now is improved and mixes others, it becomes one on its own time after long time. But making it one all of a sudden is difficult. I think those people who worked on devising the writing system and who wrote the textbooks are thinking over it. I always worry about how they could bring all the Gamo dialects in to one. In any ways, I think it takes time. In order to make one, it is not the word that should be one. When people are one at first, when they bring attitude change and speak mixing it, the word itself becomes united. If we try to make it one by taking the dialects used in the wider places while the people are in their own world speaking their own dialects, it is difficult. These people were once speaking a Gamo Gofa language. They are now separated and said we speak our own language. This should not continue, and this should improve and there should be a way of mixing the words in order to bring it in to one. If it is not difficult, some words should at least be included in brackets. When we completely use the other area varieties, people assume that they are dominated. I think in Gamo Ochollo variety is dominated. There is a rumor that it is not included in the written language. So, it should be incorporated.

I: Should the standard be taken from one area or should it be taken from different dialects?

R5: They have now started to include others in the standard as much as possible. The point is the inclusion is not significant. When I say Ochollo is not incorporated, I mean the inclusion is not meaningful. When I say Ochollo and Ganta are not used I do not mean they are not available at all, but I mean they are not proportionally incorporated. As much as possible, it should include words in a reasonable amount without losing its ground to bring a unified language that makes Gamo one and the same. It should lay a ground now and should unify the language in the future. If every dialect is developed separately, it is difficult to unify them in the end. So, the words should be incorporated and the language should be unified. Especially, when textbooks are written, instead of calling one or two Gamo speakers, like if two of them are from Zargulla, or from Ganta or from Bonke-Dache, they implement their dialect and this creates influence. So at

least the writers are neutral and know most of the dialects, they can give it a solution in the meantime. Like when we were studying in TTI, teachers took mainly spoken words and gave the others in brackets if they are that divergent.

I: How long should it be written in brackets?

R5: Until the speakers speak one language, until they communicate each other, until one learns the other and speaks it. For example, it is not difficult to me because I worked in different areas so the words are not difficult. However, when I think of children in the area I was born in, the dialect is completely different and the gap is wide. Now, in my area if you want to say ‘what happened to you?’ it is *anta* or *wakay*? But here in the standard it is *wanay*? There is difference here, right? As you go up there is difference. The community may be able to understand each other step by step when they go to different places for job. At the level communication they can listen to each other, but when it is in writing, some said ours is not totally included in the textbooks and in the standard, but they can communicate and listen to each other.

I: Do you write in Gamo? Which language do you mostly use, Gamo or Amharic?

R5: Yes, I write in it.

I: Which variety do you use when you write in Gamo?

R5: I normally use Gamo. I use the mixed one. It is once declared in law. It was said that in Gamo Gofa zone, every application, education material and reports should be presented in Gamo. It was done to encourage the use of the language in offices. But later this law was changed due to the cases related with non Gamo speakers.

I: If it is not for publication, isn't it acceptable if you write applications in your own variety?

R5: Application letters is not written even in Gamo now. Even if I write in Ochollo, people do not understand it. Ochollo is a difficult dialect. Ochollo and Ganta varieties are simple to the speakers but difficult for the others. The problem for that is only that area's community has been speaking Ochollo. But many people have been able to speak the highland Gamo. Due to job and other movements, it is able to spread in to towns and other the lowland areas where Ochollo communities reside. But Ochollo speakers are usually limited to their own areas.

I: Why do you think people do not use Gamo in writing?

R5: When I simply think of it, the Amharic language is easy to write. In addition, it has been practiced by the majority of the population for a long time and has gained acceptance. For example, if you write one Gamo sound /d/ it has two graphemes **d** and **h** and it sometimes goes up to three letters. But in Amharic, it takes only one letter **d**. Many languages are spoken in the Southern of Ethiopia. Above that, many languages are spoken in Gamo Gofa Zone alone. As to me I witnessed when these all languages had one standard language. They spoke one language to each other. I was also one of the speakers of that standard language. But now, since the idea was to give the right of independence to the widely divergent dialects, the divergent one is now autonomous. I learnt in Gamo when the Dawro Gamo Gofa (DAGAGO) was implemented. Dawuros and we Gamos took the same exam. We passed the same exam. But Dawuros left that standard saying our language is different. They said the standard language is not related to their language. When the people claimed to be different, the language was taken to be different as well. The process of differentiation went that further. However, the dialectal difference in Gamo should be managed by unifying the society through a standard language mixes the dialects.

Interviewee 6

I: Thank you for your willingness to participate in the interview session. Would you tell me your name and your occupation?

R6: My name is Gebre.

I: Do you know the standard Gamo used in schools as a medium of instruction? And have you worked anything on that?

R6: I often take Gamo students for teaching practice. When students go to schools, there are forms filled in. these forms are usually prepared in Gamo. There are interview questions for information they gather from those schools. So, I have the experience with the forms. They ask in Gamo and fill in the form in Gamo. I read that and try to evaluate their work. Since children at home also learn in Gamo, I know textbooks they use.

I: How close is the standard language used in books and textbooks to the language students use at home?

R6: Okay, our area is Ganta. I was born and grew up there. There is a dialect we speak there and there is another dialect spoken in other areas. Since there is some difference, this one, the standard language used in education is standardized in a different way from the one spoken in Ganta. The books are written following the dialect spoken in other areas. So, it is difficult to me to say that these textbooks are written in a language similar to the one spoken in my area, since the standard language used in the textbooks is different from ours and the relationship is a bit low

I: When textbooks and other books are written, do you think they should be written in a standard language?

R6: I think Gamo should be written following standard form as one language. Though children are trained in different inconsistent orthographies at lower grade levels, it is necessary that they come into one center especially in colleges where a standardized language is highly required. If they come with a different writing style, I think, that is difficult for a teacher to handle. So, a standard language use must be followed in textbook preparation.

I: Should the standard be taken from one area or should it be taken from different dialects?

R6: If it is biased in to one area, it contradicts to what I said earlier. It means the other will disappear. The other is going to disappear. I think it is good if it is neutral or taken from every dialect.

I: What influence would it create if it is written in one dialect?

R6: The others will disappear if it is written in one dialect. The other dialects will disappear. People may say this is not mine. A question that says this is not mine may rise.

I: Do you think Ganta dialect can go with the others like this? Should it be included with the others or should it have its own writing system?

R6: Ours is very different. It diverges a lot; it is a bit out of the common one because many do not listen to us. They don't listen when we speak Ganta. For this, due to the exposure we have we listen to the other one. We listen to the others, but we don't differentiate which one is Wolaitta , which one is Ganta of Gofa. People in our area do not differentiate these ones. It is just one to us.

The language around here is just one to use. People listen to it with difficulty but they do not speak it. And when we speak the others do not listen to us except our neighbors. Except they learn it at work or in other means, the others do not listen to us.

I: Do you write in Gamo? Which language do you mostly use, Gamo or Amharic?

R6: I have never used Gamo to write something. When I communicate to my friends from Ganta, when I chat to them on Facebook or on phone, I sometimes chat in Ganta. We chat in our Ganta. Without this, in writing, since I am a science teacher in my profession, I never tried it.

I: Haven't you ever written science in Gamo?

R6: I write in Amharic. Gamo is not common. When we started education, we learnt the Amharic alphabets and Amharic writing. I didn't learn in Gamo. It is in Amharic that I write, but I also write in Ganta. I like writing my diary in Ganta sometimes using it in brackets.

Interviewee 7

I: Thank you for your willingness to participate in the interview session. Would you tell me your name and your occupation?

R7: My name is Molla. I am a teacher.

I: Do you know the standard Gamo used in schools as a medium of instruction? And have you worked anything on that?

R7: Yes, when we started the subject as a department, we only had the curriculum. So, we wrote modules while we are teaching the courses. Before now, I taught Gamo in grade nine and ten, as well.

I: How close is the standard language used in books and textbooks to the language students use at home?

R7: In fact, as far as it does not create a problem to understand lessons, the dialects are not far from each other. Like here, students came from the nine districts, but even if they speak in their own dialects, one understands the other. The dialects are not that divergent, and since it is a feature of a language, it is not difficult to avoid dialect difference. Education cannot be also

prepared in a dialect that pleases everyone. When we see other languages, they use the one used by the majority of the population, and we use that one here too. In the future when it is standardized more, it will not be difficult for children if they know everything from the beginning. So the dialects are not far from each other.

I: When textbooks and other books are written, do you think they should be written in a standard language?

R7: Before now, there is no standard dialect that everyone knows of this language. For that reason, teachers may prepare books in their own dialect. There is this risk. However, it is not difficult to understand if it is prepared by any one. For example, I was in Chenchä during my childhood, when teachers taught us, there was no problem. So the dialects are not difficult, and it is not that far.

I: Do you think it is good to have one standard language?

R7: It cannot be. It cannot be a standard. The reason is people are always selfish. They have selfish thought. Therefore, it is difficult to use one of the dialects. It would have been good if it was like that from the beginning. But, in the present situation, since everyone wants their own to be used, it triggers political instability.

I: So, how should textbooks be published?

R7: with the one many people speak.

I: In a standard language?

R7: It is not possible to make it consistent at once. In Gamo, there are highland and lowland varieties most often known. We prepare harmonizing them. We use them interchangeably. Whether we use the highland or the lowland one, students can understand. They know it. So, since this is the fact, we don't bother about the dialects that much. I had the chance to work in different areas. I am from the highland area. When I speak in the dialect I grew up, they listened to me. Since I can also speak like them, it is not difficult. We have not faced any problem working on it until now. Gamo could be standardized through process. Nothing obstructs that. It can be a standard through time, but it can't be a standard at once. In order to standardize it we

need to be able to use the modern technology. The concerned bodies (the College, the Zone and the Regional state) should make the language to be used in a computer system so that children know it from the bottom. This wouldn't create a problem of intelligibility. But, to make it clear to children since the grass root level listening materials, reading materials and visual materials should be produced. If they grow listening to it, it won't be difficult for them. So in that way it goes on being a standard.

I: Should the standard be taken from one area or should it be taken from different dialects?

R7: As I said before if we say let's take this area language, humans are selfish. In order to develop the language as a language, the one many people use should be identified. Which variety is used in government offices? Which variety is used in towns? For example, the capital town of the zone is Arbaminch. So which one do people use in Arbaminch? So this should be identified. For instance, Amharic media use the one used in Addis Ababa. So, the variety the urban residents use should be known. They should know which variety the majority of the population uses, and it is good if they continue in that as it has been done until now.

I: Do not speakers of other dialects raise a question?

R7: They do not rise. They do not rise. For example, even if it is spoken in Kucha, it is Gamo. Though it is spoken in Chencha, it is Gamo. Though it is spoken in Kamba, it is Gamo. So, learning in his own mother tongue, no one claims my accent should be used. People are different naturally. Even twins could be different. It is not possible to create a language for each person. Like, in Amharic there are Gojam, Wollo and Gondar accents. The Amhara child in Gojam doesn't say I don't accept the Amharic spoken in Addis because it is Addis Ababa Amharic. So, this prevails in Gamo. It is good to explain the experiences of other countries who work on this to those who ask a question, and start developing the language.

I: For example, what would you feel if your varieties are reduced and others' are added?

R7: I don't feel anything. Nothing will be reduced from me as well. Nothing is added on mine, too. It is just using what already exists. They may use what is not available in my area. Or they may use the one in my area. For example, when the language grows and is used in literature, when characters are created, if it is from my area, it is possible to make that character use my

area language. The same can be done when other area characters are used. When this one comes in to the education, it is know which one is used, so order to develop the language, a lot has to be written in it. We should start speaking in it, and we should start doing everything in it in order to develop it.

I: What if others are left when the one used by the majority is taken?

R7: There is nothing like others will be left. They will exist as far as the speakers or the community exists. It has been available since humans started to live before it was used in education. This community will exist tomorrow, as well. It won't perish. It will live. Writers should be ware that one common language might be a taboo word in others. They should find out what something is in different areas. The material writers should be taken from two three or different places. When I write modules, I first use the words I do not know in the class room and my students used to tell me. I cross check meanings. I remember I once used a word, which is common in my area, but some students told me that that word referred to a human genital organ in their area. I take care of this kind of difference. When others also prepare materials, editors try to see this kind of things. For example, one of our friends is from Ganta, and he knows what words mean in Ganta. The other is from Bonke and another is from Chencha, I am from Ditta. We are proportional in our department, and when we speak we don't have a problem of communication. One listens to the other.

I: Do you think a planned standardization is important in Gamo?

R7: Standardizing the language is good for everyone. It helps to understand each other more. In order to standardize, it is important to exercise or practice it for a long time. If we select one language and use only it, we create conflict. So, this should be done through time. Like we now know new things. Once, there was a common language called WoGaGoDa, which was used in Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawro areas. I for instance learnt my certificate programme in it. So now we are following the techniques of language development used in developing that language. And if a word is used in one area and not used in another, it remains in that area. So, it is not included in textbooks. In addition, we know what is said what in which area because we live with many students. When one says something, the other says this has a different expression in our area so we should know everything like that and we take care not to include that different

word in leaning materials. So, the standardization will be realized like that through time. But it is difficult to make it a standard at once, because for example when things are computerized and textbooks are prepared, these differences should be written in glossaries.

I: Do you write in Gamo? Which language do you mostly use, Gamo or Amharic?

R7: On facebook, if I chat to friends who are Gamos, I often use it.

I: Do you get the response in Gamo?

R7: Yes, they reply especially after the Latin script came. If they are people who do not know the Latin script, they use the Amharic orthography and write in Gamo. But there is no literature so it is difficult. When teachers want to publish, there is no one that supports them. There is nothing encouraging from the zone or the regional government.

I: How about lack of a standard?

R7: There is a consistent writing. There is a consistent writing. The problem is on using the Latin script consistently, but it wouldn't have reached grade ten if there is no consistent writing system. There is a writing rule. A writing rule has been devised and education is provided in it. A degree programme is under way to be started in this year. So, it is not possible to say it lacks consistent writing system. It has a consistent writing, but I believe that supported by research, the International Phonetic Association symbols should be used in the writing. For example we use the letters /th/ as /ts/, but since the IPA uses /Z/ and /θ/ sounds, we should write it in a standard that people who come from another world can read even if they don't know the meanings. I will be happy if we can write in IPA. This again requires the work of educated people.

I: What do you recommend for the improvement of the development of standard Gamo?

R7: Yes, this time is ideal, but people are not awake. The government has granted in its constitution the nations and nationalities to write, speak and develop their language and culture. I don't know why this has been reversed. I once learnt in Gamo and started to write in Gamo. It was even once the language of work in the area. Posts in towns, names of bars, road writings were once posted in Gamo. But without a known reason, this has been reversed. This idea must have come from people hungry to develop Amharic. Even in our Zone, we have Gamo and Gofa.

There is no language difference except politics. They are one. I learnt with Gofa and Wolaitta children. Now, when I meet Gofa or Wolaitta people in tea rooms, I don't speak to them in Amharic except in some obligatory situations. They speak in Wolaitta, the other speaks in Gofa. But since the language is the same one listens to the other without any barrier, without any information Gap we listen to each other. Even, instead of the difference between Gamo, Gofa, Wolaitta, Dawro and Konta, the accent variation is wide within Gamo dialects. Therefore, in order to develop the language everyone should take responsibility. Teachers as teachers, students and students and the community as a community should take responsibility.

Interviewee 8

I: Would you tell me your name and your district?

R8: Wubit from Kamba.

I: Which dialect do you speak?

R8: It is Balta

I: Is it the one textbooks are written in?

R8: It is not written in Balta, it is written in Gamo

I: Is it different from Balta?

R8: Yes, it is different

I: Does it affect your education?

R8: It does not have any problem. There are students who speak Dache and since we learn with them the village language, Balta, will be forgotten then.

I: Do you write in Gamo? Which language do you mostly use, Gamo or Amharic?

R8: Yes. I write both in Gamo and in Balta.

I: Do you think textbooks should be written in a standard Gamo?

R8: It should be written in a uniform language. There will be development in it.

I: Do you think all speakers will benefit equally from the standard?

R8: they will not be. For example, Kuchas and Gantas speak a different language. So, they will not equally benefit from the standard.

I: Should the standard be taken from one area or should it be taken from different dialects?

R8: It is good if it is written only in Dache.

I: Why?

R8: Why, there are students who came from Daramalo, Kucha, Boroda. They do not know Balta or Ganta, so they will be disadvantaged.

I: So, do you think Gantas and Baltas will be disadvantaged when it is written in Dache only?

R8: Balta and Ganta speakers know Dache. They can listen to classes in Dache.

Interviewee 9

I: Thank you for your willingness to participate in the interview session. Would you tell me your name and your occupation?

R9: My name is Ayehu. I served as a teacher for about 23 years. I was born and grew up here , and now I am teaching in the language. Since many things are not done in the language, students do not have interest in it in the town. There is also shortage of books.

I: Can you speak and write in Gamo?

R9: Yes, I can write and speak in Gamo. The textbooks have many problems though.

I: How close is the standard language used in books and textbooks to the language students use at home?

R9: It is closer. We rarely translate the different ones in to Amharic. We often speak in Amharic here. After we speak in Gamo, we translate the whole thing in to Amharic. We were very happy when we worked in other districts. The students understood it very much. They worked hard. But here we try a lot we work hard but there is no result. When we give students a simple homework

here, they come without doing it. They always said no one speaks Gamo at home, no one speaks Gamo in the neighborhood, no one knows Gamo and they said I can't write it so I don't want to write in Gamo.

I: When textbooks and other books are written, do you think they should be written in a standard language?

R9: When textbooks are written, it is better if the writers are taken from each area like from Ochollo or Zayse. This will be effective to teach because the children come from the community. I don't think it will be good if it is worked on one Gamo. It is good if consistent meanings are given and written in that.

I: What is your idea on the textbooks?

R9: there are some errors. We correct them since they are not serious. But we find words we do not know meanings. We don't find their meanings either at the back of the textbooks or in dictionaries. There is also a big difference in the spelling used. For example, when they write the word *hedza* (*three*), they use one spelling here and another there. But since we deeply know it we can write it.

I: Should the standard be taken from one area or should it be taken from different dialects?

R9: No, it is beautiful if it represents all dialects. This is because children listen and speak the Gamo we speak at home. For example, in a house where Ochollo is spoken, the child learns that and they say no this one is said like this in our house. There is this kind of thing. As such, the meaning confuses children. Therefore, I think it is better if it is written like that.

I: Do you write in Gamo? Which language do you mostly use, Gamo or Amharic?

R9: it always interferes when I write. When I write anything and when I save anything on my phone, I write in Gamo. It is easy for me. Even when I was learning, teachers used to ask me meanings of words. Since I taught Gamo for many years, I incline to it. If you ask me to write something in it, I finish it quickly instead of writing in Amharic or in English.

Interviewee 10

I: Thank you for your willingness to participate in the interview session. Would you tell me your name and your occupation?

R10: My name is Meskerem. I am a unit leader and I teach Gamo as a mother tongue.

I: Is the one used in textbooks your mother tongue?

R10: Yes, it is my mother tongue. Gamo as a mother tongue has been started when I was in grade three. So I learnt in it as well.

Interveiwee 11

R: What is your name and where do you come from?

I11: My name is Bereket. I came from Bonke district from Kobo Bake village.

R: Have you learnt in Gamo in schools?

I11: yes I learnt in Gamo since grade one up to four and I took it as a subject onwards.

R: Do you understand the standard Gamo used in education well?

I13: Yes I know the standard language well and I also know the orthography well.

R: What is your evaluation of the standardization of Gamo?

I11: What I can say about the language is that if there is a responsible person or body that can standardize and develop Gamo, the people will be able to express their ideas and their historical background in their own language. But what I always notice since my childhood is that the native speakers do not pay attention to standardize and develop their own language. When they become educated, they try to abandon their own language.

R: which dialect of Gamo is mainly spoken in your area?

I11: the dialect spoken in my area is related to Zargulla and Ganta, but it is called Melle. Many people do not know it. It is a little bit different from the others. It is similar to Ganta and Zargulla. Even if there are words that differ from one dialect to the other, the people can communicate to each other without a translator.

R: Do people in your area also speak the standard Gamo?

I11: What people do not get now is that our elders do not understand when we call the standard language as Gamo. They call it Dache and they understand it to be Dache. This is because at old ages, there were people called Dache who spoke a different language. I think that Dache is the one used in schools to teach mother tongue education in Gamo. If you take some people like Zayse, they do not speak Dache. But Melle, Zayse, Zargulla and Ganta listen to each other's dialects. As to me, the name Gamo is now given to Dache. I think this is good and common to all people though there are some problems and inconsistencies.

R: What are the problems you see?

I11: For example, there is Zargulla and there is Dache or which they referred to Gamo used in the schools. Dache is not related to Zargulla or the textbooks are not translated into Zargulla. In addition, the standard language is not given consistent meanings unlike Wolaitta language. Some of the words used in the standard language look weaker as compared to the others.

R: Do you mean the language used in textbooks should be standard and uniform?

I11: Yes. A standard language should be used in books. Standardization of Gamo reduces people's attitude that takes Amharic to be the only appropriate language of education. It also enables people to see that Gamo is valuable in education and worth standardization.

R: Do you think the language is standardized to include words necessary to study scientific and technological concepts?

I11: Science education given in mother tongue is good and understandable if it does not go into specific and detail concepts. But I think it is difficult to express some scientific processes in the present standardization level of Gamo. For example, if one needs to explain the process from conception to child birth, they need the appropriate technical expressions. So the language should be standardized to express this kind of sophisticated scientific scenarios.

R: What is the purpose of using Amharic and English words in the textbooks?

I11: There were words taken from other languages when I was learning in Gamo. And they are available until now. In the former syllabus, many languages were used in one textbook like

Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro words were used in brackets and now writers use Amharic words directly in Gamo textbooks. English words are used scientifically to introduce new concepts into Gamo. When I see the textbooks I find Amharic and English words written in Gamo orthography.

R: Do you think it is easy for students if words are taken from the related languages than from Amharic?

I11: For example, if words are taken from the Wolaitta language, it is easy for students if words are borrowed from Amharic than Wolaitta. If a student does not know the Amharic word, he or she can ask people educated in Amharic in his or her area. In order to know a word taken from the Wolaitta or Dawuro language, they need Wolaitta or Dawuro people in their area. But instead of using a word from Wolaitta or Dawuro, if they take from Amharic, there are many people in Zargulla, Zayse, or Mele who were educated in Amharic in the former times. It is easy to get help from others if Amharic words are used. Most of our elders learnt in Amharic and it is also the means of official communication in the area until now. So using Amharic words is more preferable than using the other languages simply because they are neighbors or related to Gamo.

R: I thank you for your cooperation.

Interviewee 12

I. Thank you for your willingness to participate in the interview. Would you please introduce yourself and tell me what your contribution is in the development and standardization of the Gamo language?

R11. My name is Getachew. I am native speaker of the Gamo language. I was born and grew up there. I am a language specialist so I had been working with curriculum designers and standardization team, I mean with people who worked in elementary school curriculum. I closely followed the effort exerted to develop the language.

I. When was Gamo language written for the first time? And what are the challenges in the standardization of the language?

R11. Writing of Gamo is as recent as the implementation of nationality languages in elementary school curriculum in the country and the region. What I remember is during the Dergue regime, in the literacy campaign, people used to learn in not actually in Gamo, but in books written in Wolaitta language. The script used then was the Ethiopic script, which people sometimes call Sabean, and I remember that was not such used beyond the literacy campaign. It was only available in the literacy campaign materials. But apart from that...a well dealt with process Gamo writing dates back to the beginning of EPRDF regime, 1984/85 E.C, which was around 1992/93

I. It was written with the other languages?

R11. Sure. That was like a campaign across the country. The nationality, constitutional rights, political motives were involved in using all languages for elementary schools as a medium of instruction.

I. SO, the language used then, was Gamo or was it the mixed one with the other Ometo languages?

R11. At the beginning, what I remember was, people developed a language with the name Wolaittao and prepared textbooks at the Ministry of Education. The textbooks were sent to Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro areas, which were believed to speak very close related languages. But that decision created a unfavorable reaction from the localities especially among Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro people. The decision to use Wolaitta language as a medium of mother tongue education was not accepted by these groups. So the political wing of the time that administered the Semen Omo Zone tried to find a solution. They called up on language and education experts and asked them to rework on the materials and bring a common textbook that could work to all groups. The textbook preparation work started with that demand from the authorities, and some disagreements occurred among the groups of experts who were working on the materials. Variations occurred especially on using the sound /ts/. There was a big dispute between Wolaittas and the others because the sound /ts/ exists in Gofa, Dawuro and Gamo, but it doesn't exist in Wolaitta. There was a great objection from Wolaitta representatives about using those sounds in the textbooks prepared for all. So, the Wolaitta groups withdrew from the team work, and the remaining Dawuro, Gamo and Gofa groups continued on harmonizing the three languages under the name DaGaGo.

I. What does that mean?

R11. Dawuro, Gamo, Gofa

I. Mixed language?

R11. Yes. That material served for some time about 5 or so years, and to the end of 1990s, there was a political union among different political organizations that represent Dawuro, Gamo, Gofa and Wolaitta. These different political organizations administer the same zone, which then was called Semen Omo Zone. So, we are same people claimed, we speak the same language and we are administered in the same zone, why not we develop same language same material for our students so that can foster the union of the zone. That was the belief and with that belief people started working on same material and they named it WoGaGoDa, which is an abbreviation for Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro. The material was actually produced and distributed among the users schools of Semen Omo Zone. Again reaction occurred around Wolaitta.

I. How long was it used?

R11. Not much. Not a year, really. Oppositions groups, groups who oppose the political organizations which were affiliate to EPRDF, used that as a tool and you know they aggravated the issue and people went to the streets and said, "We do not want to say /ts/, and we do not want to learn Gamo." And they burnt books, damaged schools and there were casualties, death. Following that, the political elites decided to abandon the hybrid language and reconsider even the zonal organization. We got, instead of Semen Omo Zone, Wolaitta zone, Dawuro zone, Gamo Gofa zone, divided among these groups. To my knowledge, Basketo continued using Amharic and others started developing their own materials.

I. How about in Gamo area?

R11. In Gamo area, it was decided to have GamoGofaththo in the Zone because GamoGofa is the zone. But, the Gofa area again reacted "We should not again go back to the same problem", so they decided to have separate, Gamo and Gofa languages. In 1993 EC, in 2001 in GC, I remember Gamo experts were called from different sections of the society based on the subjects they taught. There was an argument in the meeting on how they should go on with the task of writing textbooks in the presence of dialectal diversity. Writers said, 'at least we should have a

direction on which variety we should use as a medium of instruction, one which represents Gamo in standard places'. There was disagreement on the discussion about norm selection on that workshop. The writers were arguing on selecting one form instead of the other, and some said that they did not want to use the others' forms. The organizing groups abandoned the idea of selecting standard norms and as it used to be, they asked the experts to go on as it suits them as they know, which means to use their own varieties. And that was how it went, but certain reshaping was made by editors. There was no variety decided to be used because Gamo area is linguistically very diverse to the extent that there is a continuum, on two extremities on two ends. People could not even understand each other.

I. Let me have one question here. For example, if the subject teacher or the subject expert writes a textbook, that textbook is going to be used across the Gamo area, right? So, that writer's dialect is going everywhere and the other writer's dialect is going to the other area. Can we say a standard language is followed in that case?

R11. That people knew, especially the organizers knew that the organizers sensed that. They brought a question to the group to the team of experts who were called to develop the material. The complexity in Gamo area, it went even to harm the political unity of the people. So it went to the zonal council even. People even raised the questions, "why do you touch such things, why do you raise such things. Everybody is...."

I. What was the reason for not agreeing in giving certain form?

R11. Well, you know the problem in Gamo area is that people were administered by different kingdoms over forty autonomous kingdoms. There was no Gamo kingdom. So, when you ask people to pick up of these dialects and abandon their own, for example you scarify one variety when you pick up another. So there was no agreement on that. People do not want to abandon their own. Even I remember, one guy said, "I cannot sell my own people." People argued to that extent. " I do not want to sell my people."

I. How about using other options?

R11. Yea. There was an explanation from the organizers that standardization is the fact, scientific fact. And, diversity is also fact even diversity exists in English. In England, even there

is a lot of diversity. So, taking these in to account, we can at least depend on demography, geographical coverage. Based on those factors, we can at least have a mind set. That was the argument. But many did not agree. Another problem is, usually there is a short time for material development. And the zonal curriculum office was very much worried to produce the materials because other zones were also working on it, then the fund the budget was from the region. If we do not use the fund, we would lose it. We would be behind the other zones. So, there was this

I. What was the fund? To develop the textbooks?

R11. Textbooks editing. Already there were textbooks in DaGaGo, WoGaGoDa, but you know, because the zone was separated in to different Gamo, Gofa, Dawuro and Wolaitta areas, people saw it is important to develop materials based on that division.

I. The language is being used in schools now?

R11. It is

I. So, isn't it possible to refer to one dialect one standard dialect of Gamo, which is being used in schools?

R11. Yea. You know, the problem is there is no strong commitment, political commitment. There is no any strong political consensus on the standardization of the language. As I mentioned to you, because of the diversity and because of attitudinal variation, you know, you cannot really bring people to one center. You cannot decide on that. They were unable to decide on that, and that really created problems in schools. Teachers found it very difficult to teach the materials. In most cases as I heard as I discussed with some teachers, what most teachers do is that they either use the accent of the students or their own and simply use the material as a reference. They do not hundred percent depend on the material. Sometimes they go explaining things when students do not understand it. Sometimes teachers complain themselves saying that this material I don't know it myself.

I. Why do not they know it?

R11. Because they said that what is in the material, terms that I do not know, terms that do not exist in my own variety of Gamo.

I. What is the major source, can you call up on a certain area that Gamo you used as a major source to write the textbooks is spoken? or is it like what you already said?

R11. It is like what I already said because there was no former literature that we could quote or we could refer to decide on which norm we should use as a standard. There was no base to refer to convince people that this variety is more preferable to that variety. It is even after this that people somehow started writing poems and some occasional magazines. Otherwise, it was not written as such earlier. So, there was no base to refer to convince people that this variety is more preferable to the other variety.

I. So the textbooks are written in different dialects according to the writer.

R11. in different dialects. Even in a single sentence, you can see mixtures.

I. Is that intentional or not? How can one person mix dialects?

R11. That is especially when the writers write, there is a mindset that the Dache variety, the highland area variety, is more widely used. For example, if you take the Amhara people who came to live in Gamo area mostly these groups of people speak the Dache variety. There was again a political dominance in the old days. When the writers wrote textbooks, they had a mindset that the Dache variety, the highland area variety, is more widely used and spoken by other ethnic members of the area. For example, the Amhara people who came to live in Gamo area mostly speak the Dache variety. There was again a political dominance by Daches in the old days. So, people in their mind just think that when they write in Dache their message gets wider audiences. When they started to write they worry that there is diversity. I think the textbook writers felt guilty to write everything only in Dache. So they wanted to incorporate other features as well using brackets. After that, somehow there was an effort to adapt grammatical features into the system of the target language.

I. I have seen that you edited some books, textbooks. Didn't you try, when you edited the textbooks, to bring a standard or did you leave those varieties as they are?

R11. Well, when I edited, for example I edited grade 9 Gamo language textbook, I had this in my mind that there has to be some sort of standard because I personally believe that the variety, for

example, which has larger coverage, the variety which has larger number of speakers should be the standard variety, should be promoted to the standard variety.

I. Don't you think that mixing up dialects would be more preferable?

R11. The mixing will not work for Gamo for sure.

I. Why?

R11. Because the mixing works when the varieties are smaller in number. Or for example if you have a variety at one place dominantly used and if you have another variety dominantly used in another place with other smaller varieties, so when you mix you should at least make it something understandable to the whole society. But with the Gamo case, the diversity is very high.

I. Do you think it is impossible to mix dialects?

R11. Yea. May be, if people exerted effort that could be possible, but it will take time. For example, if you take the WoGaGoDa case it did not work.

I. It may be because they are different languages, different society?

R8. They are not different languages. They are not.

I. But the people think they are different.

R11. Yea, there is attitudinal difference.

I. But in Gamo you do not have that problem?

R11. The same problem exists. For example, currently Dorze claims that Dorze is not Gamo, currently Kucha claims that Kucha is not Gamo, and there are people in prisons today because of these questions.

I. What is the reason for that claim?

R11. The reason for the claim is that you cannot locate Gamo unless you believe that the groups of kingdoms, the conglomeration of kingdoms are seen as Gamo. People should accept the diversity in Gamo.

I. Are the Gamo dialects intelligible?

R11. Yes, especially the North Gamo variety is mutually intelligible with Gofa, for example you cannot really draw a line between Gamo and Gofa in the border area. You cannot make a break between Wolaitta and Gamo, for example Kucha is believed to be Gamo, but Kucha variety and Wolaitta are intelligible and similar.

I. My point actually is, if you say you cannot impose a certain identity on people and rather you said that taking features of different dialects and having one standard does not work. So, isn't the picking up of one dominant dialect going to be more imposition on the people than the other technique?

R11. Well that is again challenging which did not work. It did not work because people did not agree. The other way round is again very challenging. How much of it are you going to mix? There are cases where you have for example Ochollo, Dorze within 100 kmsq you have multiple varieties leave alone in wider areas. So, still remains challenging but what I believe is that it requires a sit down checking on the theories, frameworks, standardization frameworks, choosing them and really going to the people, convincing the people what they are going to work this way or that way. But so far I cannot say that this is appropriate or that is not appropriate.

I. The language is standardized, especially in textbooks. What is your idea on that?

R11. With regard to the standardization process going on in Gamo Gofa area, I cannot really say that there is real serious work being done. Rather people were politically motivated and started with big bang but these days people are, you know, going back whimpering like African politicians. For example, there are no reference materials really well written reference materials available. There is a dictionary for example, a Gamo dictionary. It was written by one person. It was simply an initiation by one person.

I. It is not actually a Gamo dictionary. It is a Gamo Gofaththo. The varieties are now different.

R11. Yea. The writer is from Kamba woreda, and his mother tongue is different, South Gamo, Balta, which I believe is a different language. But because he knew the Dache variety, he used the Dache variety. But actually he says that he tried to accommodate some other items. He said he asked some localities, speakers of some varieties and tried to pick up some items some lexical items and included it. And even he claimed Gamo Gofaththo, and then there was a reaction from Gofa area saying that this is not definitely Gamo Gofaththo. There are no items that are typical of Gofa. Actually you cannot say it is not Gofaththo at all because you cannot make a clear distinction because when I go to Gofa area myself I cannot miss even single idea single information. I understand it very well. If I talk on my own variety, they do understand me. That means the two varieties are mutually intelligible. It is a matter of including some items. Some ways of saying. Much of the difference is reflected in the grammatical items, not in the lexical.

I. Can you suggest what could be the best way of standardizing Gamo? As you already mentioned in your discussion, I understand that there was no formal kind of process that was used to standardize the language. What do you think could be done to standardize Gamo with its very peculiar features?

R11. That really requires commitment from three parties who are responsible for standardization the political wing, the community at large and the experts. People are very much discouraged to use even Gamo as a medium of instruction in schools

I. Why?

R11. Because of these materials written by different experts from different areas. Parents do not know the writing system and could not help their children and again some of the items are not from their localities and they do not understand them. Similar problem is faced by the teachers. Because of that people are very much discouraged in these days even to learn in Gamo. So, before commencing on the job, it requires overall discussion big discussion among the people and suggestions should be taken from the people from the society from the users. You may come up with proposals, scientifically these and these are the ways, take suggestions, there has to be team of standardization which is permanent and responsible for this job which should organize this work. And again deciding carefully on the way on the methodology on the process, steps to be taken, parties to be involved should be carefully selected. It should be done that way. I think

the big problem was that it was a rush from the beginning. It was not well thought over. The diversity was not well thought over at the beginning. The job was not well thought over the expertise were very much worried about their per diem more than the produce the final product. I think it should be carefully thought, designed, discussed.

R11. Do you think all these problems have got an impact a negative impact on the education of the children?

I. Yes, that is what I am saying. Still what impressed me once was with all these problems students were doing better in subjects that were given in Gamo than Amharic as a subject English as a subject especially at the lower level. But had it been well planned and standardized it could have been much better.

Interviewee13

I: Thank you for your willingness to cooperate in the interview. What was your role in writing, developing and standardizing the Gamo language?

R12: Thank you very much for giving me this chance. Well, I am Saroka. I have been teaching in different schools and colleges, and Universities for about 28 years. Concerning language, our Gamo language, let me say Gamo language, it started e.... recently following the governmental change or system change of Ethiopia. Well I can say that it came with EPRDF. Thanks to this government who declared the equality of all languages or all nation nationalities of Ethiopia. Then having this chance, we participated in this role or in this activity. But first it was started in the ministry of education in Addis Ababa representing the four languages with Wolaitta language. When they came to people with their textbooks for introduction, objections raised, and then Gamo Gofa Zone education Department decided to reject that preparation and make another committee to prepare another school textbooks by the techniques named amalgamations or in Amharic “mamakl.” Then we the four nations and nationalities, Wolaitta, Gamo, Dawuro and Gofa came together. And from these nations and nationalities we had representatives for each subjects, language, science, social science and the like. Then the officials the Gamo Gofa officials ordered us to prepare new texts leaving the one prepared by the ministry of education in Addis Ababa. Then when we started some nationality identity issues rose there, and the Wolaitta groups were not happy about the neglecting of their prepared books since other people said, “We

do not want to take this textbook because it does not represent us, or our sounds are not there. Our language is not there, it is purely Wolaitta. It imposes Wolaitta identity up on us, but we are not Wolaitta. We are different nations and nationalities.” Because of these feedbacks from the wider public of Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro, the government gave us the freedom to develop the language again in a way it meets our language needs. Then we said, "we know we are one and the same people. Why don't we try another means to bring these nationalities into one center? We agreed to prepare textbooks in a standard language that includes varieties of the four languages. Automatically, this effort faced another resistance from Wolaitta groups. The Wolaitta representatives resigned from the work, and three of us remained, that means Gamo, Gofa and Dawuro. We started preparing school textbooks.

I: Was that time when Gamo started to serve as a written language for the first time?

R12: Exactly, that was the history. We first started to prepare as four groups, languages, then Wolaitta resigned. We three remained. We started preparing textbooks in Gamo Gofa Zone, not in Hawassa. Then when we started preparing, we were arguing on what the name of the language will be. That was our question. They said, “Don't worry about the name of the language. you prepare the books after that we will give the name as a government. We prepared the books and they finally brought the name DaGaGo, the abbreviation of the three nations nationalities. That was the first beginning in Arbaminch in Gamo Gofa Zone. After then, the Ethiopian government gave the freedom for the regions. Southeren Nations Nationalities took the curriculum development responsibility. They called us to Hawassa and we went there as having one language DaGaGo, and Wolaitta came with their own language. But what happened there was the books which we prepared in Arbaminch were sent to ministry of education for evaluation and for publication. But they couldn't finish the work and we again started the work in Hawassa. All of the books we were using were prepared in Hawassa and published by the help of the ministry of education. So, at that time, I had a role. I was the leader of the panel. The number of the members were about forty, I was a chair person or these people selected from three nations nationalities. The teachers/ panelists were from different subject areas. We started doing grade one textbook, after we finish that we send it for edition and evaluation processes by the experts in the ministry of education. We sent it for publication, then we started again grade two school texts. First we chose schools to try, one school from each area. It was works for one month or for

a semester. We evaluated it, and the result of evaluation would lead us for publication. This was the process we went.

I: When you led the group, What was your role in the preparation of the textbooks in standard DaGaGo? Did you participate in the writing process?

R12: Sure, I had two responsibilities. As a chair person, I coordinated the groups, and as a language teacher I wrote the textbooks and edited the textbooks for different subjectes concerning their language use. There was group which was established or formed as a word coining group. Those were language experts. One person was taken from Dawuro, one person from Gofa and one person from Gamo. Then we three, no we two from each group, we were six. Then we sat down around a table and we started to create new words which they, the writing groups faced problem with, from science, from natural science, from social science or from language. We discussed saying “what shall we say this idea or concept?” for example the textbook writing group did not have a word for “animal.” We do not have indigenou words for this. So what we did was to use coinage system. We coined a word and introduced for the panel members. If they agreed we took it. If it was from science, we asked science people the concept of what that word or phrase could be said. Having this knowledge again we tried to create something like, “Salosa” for “universe.” We did it in such way. That was another special committee which was responsible for word creation or word formation committee. And I was participating there as a member.

I: When you participated in the preparation, you represented the Gamo variety. Which dialect did you use to write and edit the textbooks?

R12: I used my own dialect.

I: What is the Gamo dialect you speak?

R12: My dialect is Bonke; locally we call it Dache or Zega, Zegatso or Datchetso.

I: What was the historical challenge of developing Gamo as a standard language? What was the challenge there when you wrote textbooks in Gamo?

R12: We faced many challenges. The first we faced, the major one was variation-dialect variation. Let alone with the different nations nationalities, even with in Gamo we have varieties. The developers were called from different varieties of Gamo, of Gofa and Dawuro. When we started to prepare a sentence in a text, there was fighting among us as to which word or phrase to use or which one was most spread or mostly used or all people could listen, which one was widely used. They we had to come to agreement to take that part. We fought a lot. For instance, we asked each representative what they called the word “cow.” In Gamo is “mizzi” in Gofa it is “miza” when the Dawuro representative said it is “miya” the man from Gofa said “this is the sound of cats.” Then the Dawuro person was unhappy about this comment, and they even started to physically confront each other. In addition, lack of terms for scientific concepts in different subjects gave us a lot suffer.

I: What materials did you use as references to base your written language?

R12: We used Wolaitta’s texts which were serving in the area in the adult education written in Amharic orthography, and the textbooks which were prepared in the ministry of education in Addis Ababa. So, Wolaitta texts were our references for writing. Apart from that we used English texts, Amharic texts. These were our sources, but we did not have any written books in the languages we developed in that time.

I: Do you think the standard language of Gamo used in schools represents all the dialects spoken across the region?

R12: This question takes me back to how Gamo came and how Dawuro separated. As I told you earlier, we first started as a four nations nationalities, Wolaitta went away. We prepared DaGaGo, Wolaitta had its own textbooks. At that time, there was an order from the government which told us to bring these four in to one in a form of amalgamation and the language was called WoGaGoDa. WoGaGoDa really brought many challenges many problems. Even individuals were attached on that problem. Then at that time, when WoGaGoDa started I was the representative of DaGaGo and the Wolaitta representative was named Altaye Ayele, and we were asked to present a report about the challenges in DaGaGo and about the challenges in Wolaitta. Then we as professionals presented our problems strong and weak points. Then the officials.... There was some secret agenda which we did not know as politicians. They just

forced us saying, “This is the order of the government, especially Southern Nations Nationalities government ordered this. You have to make one language from the whole, prepare one language that is WoGaGoDa.” Then I said, that is very difficult for me. How many times do I have to coin a language, these different dialects? We have DaGaGo and they have Wolaitta. Why do you want to bring them in to one? That is nor a good direction.” They said to me, “take care. You are the one opposing the unity of these nations nationalities. Then I said if I did that I do not want to work in this situation. I resigned. I went back from WoGaGoDa. Then another group and leader was selected and they started WoGaGoDa. After the preparation, books were distributed in to different schools. Then, the introduction programme was prepared. And, then when the developers went to different schools, they faced opposition, especially from Wolaitta side. In the preparation of the books there is a sound which is not known in Wolaitta, but which is common in other areas. That is /th/. Because of /th/ Wolaittas said, “Why do we take the sound which we do not have in our language? This is not our letter.” There was fight among nations and nationalities. Then the Ethiopian government automatically declared to stop this fight. “Let all nations and nationalities start to use your own language.” Then having this freedom-Wolaitta and Dawuro went away, and Gamo and Gofa stayed together. That is the historical background. Then we started working together as Gamo Gofa language. After we discussed this we distributed in schools. Again after a short time, another question rose. Gofas said, “I am Gofa, I am not Gamo. Even if we listen to each others’ language we are ethnically different. So you have to give us our right to write in our own language.” that was another challenging question. Then the Gamo Gofa Zone gave the freedom to Gofa and Gamo. Gamo started to write his own language. This was how Gamo started as an independent language.

I: Is the standard Gamo used in schools common to all people in Gamo area?

R12: Since dialect variation is there, the problem still exists. There is highland and lowland variation. Even there is woreda variation. People from Kucha, Mirab Abaya and Boroda consider themselves as Gamo but the language the dialect is very far from the other Gamo highland dialects. Then people from Kucha, Boroda and Mirab Abaya do not listen to or understand the Kamba people or the Ditta people or other varieties. These challenges are there. I think there are challenges in schools too when teachers teach. What our common trend was, teachers should try to present according to the dialects of those children. Even those who teach in Boroda, they have

to use and motivate to tell them in their dialect. Leave alone this, even in Gamo highlands there are different varieties. Still we are facing problem there.

I: what challenges, strong and weak sides do you see in the standardization of the language?

R12: this is really a very nice question. I can explain this as a language professional and as a layman of Gamo speaker. Standardization is very nice if it is smoothly done, but the problem is since the variation is very diverse, it is very diverse; it would be problematic to bring to one dialect. Still people are claiming in their kebele or tribe area woreda. Since such questions are there it is a problem to bring in to one dialect. So what should be done is just giving them freedom to have their own dialect experience, and come up with different texts. But when we come to school the problem is there. School subjects should be prepared in one dialect as I believe. It should be done uniformly. So, to do this still the problem is there. You don't have anybody who declared one dialect as one language. We do not have any experts who guide you. Having this entire problem it is very difficult. But if we get the chance to bring standardization, it will be very nice for the development of the language. All people should try to bring that standardization start and start to write in the standard dialect. But if the diversity is there, nobody can write in it. Everyone will hesitate. We do not have any supporting texts written materials for school teachers or students. Still only textbooks are there. And those textbooks are not prepared well. The quality is not that much appreciated. There is lack of written knowledge, lack of understanding and experience. When we have a good standardization, we will have standard textbooks, we will have grammar books then the language will be developed.

I: What way should be followed in the standardization of the language?

R12: first, the society the owner of the language, should take the responsibility of standardization. They have to admit it. They should not neglect any dialect or undermine any dialect. The dialects are their properties. They have to come to agreement and select one dialect as a standard dialect having the governmental judgment including intellectual outlook, without undermining any or without touching anyone's right. We come to one line I hope standardization will come. The responsibility should be taken by the educated people as well. They should come together and agree on how we can bring standardization. Discussion flour with the society should be opened. School teachers, students and the society should come together and discuss about

their own language development. If you make things open, it will be easy but if you do have another political order or force, well the politicians or officials should participate smoothly in the society.

The only problem in the mother tongue or orthography is the acceptance of the society. We did not introduce the society about Latin script. That was the major weak point. Including the politicians we did not do anything about that. People nowadays are saying, “Oh, people like you and others learnt their education in English and Amharic, but now they are teaching our children in our language. They planned to kill our kids.” Well, this claim seems foolish but it is not foolish. It is rather dynamic and really tough. This requires professional to give appropriate answer.

I: Thank you for sharing your ideas and experiences.

Appendix G

The English Version of the Questionnaire

Addis Ababa University

College of Humanities, Language studies, Journalism and Communication

Department of Linguistics and Philology

A Questionnaire

Dear respondents:

This questionnaire is designed to gather information for a PhD study being undertaken at Addis Ababa University department of Linguistics and Philology on the standardization of Gamo. Your genuine response has great contribution to the accomplishment of the research successfully. The research is purely academic and has nothing to do with any other ideologies, and your response will be confidentially used only for the goal of the intended study; hence, you are not expected to write your names anywhere on the questionnaire.

Thank you in advance

I. Back ground information

Please, circle one of the given options

Age A, 14- 20 B, 21-30 C, 31-40 D. Above 40

Sex A, female B, male

Education A, grade 9- 12 B, diploma C, 1st degree D, MA/MSc or above

Which woreda are you from? A. Kucha B. Boroda, C. Mirab Abaya D. Arbaminch

Zuria E. Chenchu F. Ditta G. Daramalo H. Kamba I. Bonke

Which dialect of Gamo do you speak as your mother tongue? A. Dache B. Dorze C.

Ochollo D. Ganta E. Kucha F. Other _____

II. Language Use

Please, give your responses according to the questions.

1. How often do you speak in Gamo with your family and other people?

A, Always B, usually C, sometimes D, rarely d. never

2. How often do you listen to music, songs, radio programmes, or other electronic messages in Gamo?

A, Always B, usually C, sometimes D, rarely E, never

3. How often do you read materials written in Gamo?

A, Always B, usually C, sometimes D, rarely E, never

4. What factor hindered your experience to read or to listen to materials in Gamo?

A, Lack of sufficient materials to be read or listened B, I do not understand them well C, They do not attract me because they do not use consistent language

D, Other (please mention it here), _____

5. Do you often use Gamo to write in the following settings? Please, give your answers by putting a tick mark (×) in the table below.

	Domains	yes	no
A	Different kinds of notes In schools, colleges or universities		
B	Official documents, messages or, application letters in offices		
C	Letters or notes to friends and family members		
D	Personal notes, diaries or autobiographies		
E	Religious notes in Church or in Mosque		
F	Messages in social media or emails		

6. In which language/languages do you mostly write messages to others or information to yourself? _____

III. Attitude towards Gamo

The following table contains statements about the Gamo language. Please, show your attitude putting a tick mark (√) in the boxes across each statement.

SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, CD = Can't Decide, SD= Strongly Disagree, D = disagree

		Alternatives				
	Items	SA	A	CD	D	SD
7.	Learning to write Gamo is easy					
8.	I like to use Gamo in communication					
9.	I am not ashamed of using Gamo with others					
10.	Gamo provides me words to express my feelings					
11.	Gamo can be used to teach/learn any subject					
12.	Gamo is not widely used in books and other literature					
13.	Gamo has not developed words for modern science and technology					
14.	I want Gamo to be used in offices					
15.	Gamo textbooks are written in a standard language that uses words, spelling and grammar similarly.					
16.	Gamo is a standard language					
	Beliefs about standardization					
17.	The standardization process has established written standards to Gamo.					
18.	Some dialects are overlooked in the standardization process.					
19.	The standard language used in mother tongue education is my language					
20.	Implementation of a standard norm in education does not hinder different dialect speakers from understanding lessons.					
21.	The standard language is different from the dialect that I speak at home.					

III. On the need for standardizing Gamo

Please, circle the letter that shows your agreement or disagreement to the statement in item 22.

22. Gamo needs to be standardized

a. strongly agree b. agree c. cannot decide d. disagree e. strongly disagree

23. To what extent do you agree on the significance of standardization in the Gamo language?

Please, indicate your ideas by putting a tick mark (✓) adjacent to each item.

statements	SA	A	CD	D	SD
Standardization strengthens social unity in Gamo					
It enhances social positive attitudes towards Gamo					
It establishes a prestigious Gamo language					
It develops the Gamo language					
It helps to further expand the function of the language in science and technology areas					
It supports to improve mother tongue education					
Standardization helps to improve the condition of textbooks for mother tongue education					

Please, show your opinion on how a standard norm should be selected to Gamo.

Items		SA	A	CD	D	SD
24.	The norms of one of the dialects should be used as a standard language.					
25.	Every dialect speaker benefits equally if one of the dialects become a standard.					
26.	The standard language should include features of various dialects.					
27.	One of the dialects spoken by the majority, like Dache can be used to base the standard language.					
28.	I do not mind if some features of my dialect are reduced from the standard and replaced by other dialects.					
29.	I think the language policy should allow parallel use of some forms.					
30.	It is good if another written standard is created for dialects which greatly diverge from the present standard.					

31. Which dialect, do you want, should be promoted as a standard for writing and for education in Gamo? A, Dache B, Dorze C, Ochollo D, Ganta E, Kucha F, A neutral standard G, Other

32. What is your general opinion about the present standardization process of Gamo?

33. What should be done to use the language for wider communication purposes in a better way?

Thank You

Appendix H

The Amharic Version of the Questionnaire

አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ

የሰነድ ምርመራ ጥናት፣ ጋዜጠኝነትና ኮሚዩኒኬሽን ኮሌጅ

የሰነድ ምርመራ ስነ-ምግባር ትምህርት ክፍል

የጽሁፍ መጠይቅ

ወደ መላሾች፤

ይህ መጠይቅ የተዘጋጀው በአዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ የሰነድ ምርመራ ስነ-ምግባር ትምህርት ክፍል ለሚደረገው የሰነድ ምርመራ (ፕሮጀክት) ማሟያ ጥናት መረጃ ለመሰብሰብ ነው። የጥናቱ አላማም የጋሞኛን ቋንቋ መደበኛ በማድረግ (ስታኒዳርዳይዜሽን) ያለው ሂደት ላይ የተናጋሪዎችን አመለካከት፣ ልምድና ፍላጎት በተመለከተ ግንዛቤ ለመውሰድ ነው። ጥናቱ የተሳካ እንዲሆን የእርስዎ ሀቅን የተመረኮዘ ምላሽ እጅግ ወሳኝ አስተዋጽኦ አለው። ጥናቱ ፍጹም ትምህርታዊ ና ከሌሎች አስተሳሰቦች ጋር ግንኙነት የሌለው ከመሆኑ በተጨማሪ የእርስዎ ምላሽ ምስጢራዊነቱ ተጠብቆ ለተፈለገው ጥናት አላማ ብቻ ይውላል። ስለዚህ ስምዎን በመጠይቁ የትኛውም ስፍራ ላይ መጻፍ አያስፈልግዎትም።

ስለትብብርዎ በቅድሚያ አመሰግናለሁ

I የመላሾች ዳራ

እባክዎን ከተሰጡት አማራጮች አንዱን በማክበብ ምላሽዎን ይስጡ

- እድሜ U. 14 -20 አመት ለ. ከ21-30 አመት ሐ. ከ31-40 አመት መ. ከ41 አመት በላይ
 ጾታ U. ሴት ለ. ወንድ
 የትምህርት ደረጃ U. ከ9-12 ክፍል ለ. ዲፕሎማ ሐ. የመጀመሪያ ዲግሪ መ. ሁለተኛ ዲግሪና በላይ
 የመጡበት ወረዳ U. ቁጫ ለ. ቦርዳ ሐ. ምራብ አባያ መ. አ/ምንጭ ዙሪያ ሠ. ጨንቻ ረ. ዲታ ስ. ዳራማሎ
 ሸ. ከምባ ቀ. ቦንኬ
 እንደ አፍ መፍቻ የሚናገሩት የጋሞኛ ዘዬ የትኛው ነው? U. ዳጩ ለ. ዶርዩ ሐ. አቸሎ መ. ጋንታ ሠ. ቁጫ
 ረ. ሌላ _____

II ስለ ጋሞኛና ዘዬዎቹ

እባክዎን ከቁጥር I እስከ ያሉትን ነጥቦች በማንበብ በጥያቄው መሰረት ምላሽዎን ይስጡ።

1. ከቤተሰቦትና ከሌሎች ጋሞኛ ተናጋሪዎች ጋር ምን ያህል ጊዜ በጋሞኛ ያወራሉ?
 U. ሁል ጊዜ ለ. አብዛኛውን ጊዜ ሐ. አንድ አንድ ጊዜ መ. አልፎ አልፎ ሠ. አወርቆ አላወቅም
2. የጋሞኛ፣ ሙዚቃዎችን፣ መዝሙሮችን፣ ሬዲዮ ፕሮግራሞችን ወይም ሌሎች የኤሌክትሮኒክስ መልእክቶችን ምን ያህል ጊዜ ያዳምጣሉ?
 U. ሁል ጊዜ ለ. አብዛኛውን ጊዜ ሐ. አንድ አንድ ጊዜ መ. አልፎ አልፎ ሠ. አዳምጬ አላወቅም
3. በጋሞኛ የተጻፉ ጽሁፎችን ምን ያህል ጊዜ ያነባሉ?
 U. ሁል ጊዜ ለ. አብዛኛውን ጊዜ ሐ. አንድ አንድ ጊዜ መ. አልፎ አልፎ ሠ. አንብቤ አላወቅም

4. በጋሞኛ የተጻፉ ጽሁፎችን ለማንበብም ሆነ መልእክቶችን ለማዳመጥ እንቅፋት የሚሆንብዎት ነገር ምንድን ነው? ሀ. በጋሞኛ የሚነበቡም ሆነ የሚደመጡ መልእክቶች በበቂ ስለሌሉ ለ. በሚገባ ስለማልረዳቸው ሐ. ወጥ ስላልሆኑ አይስቡኝም መ. ሌላ _____
5. በሚከተሉት ቦታዎች ሲጻፉ ጋሞኛን ይጠቀማሉ? በሰንጠረዥ ውስጥ ይህን(×) ምልክት በመጠቀም ምላሽዎን ይስጡ

	የመጠቀሚያ ቦታዎች	አዎ	አይ አልጠቀምም
ሀ.	የተለያዩ ማስታወሻዎችን በቢሮ በትምህርት ቤት በኮሌጅ ወይም የኒቨርስቲ ውስጥ		
ለ.	የቢሮ መረጃዎችን፣ መልእክቶችን፣ ማመልከቻዎችን ወይም ደብዳቤዎችን		
	ደብዳቤዎችን ወይም መልእክቶችን ለጓደኞች ማለገጥ		
ሐ.	የግል ማስታወሻዎች፣ ደያሪዎች፣ የህይወት ታሪኮች		
መ.	ሀይማኖታዊ ጽሁፎችን		
ሰ.	መልእክት በኢንተርኔት ወይም በማህበራዊ ድረገጾች		

6. የተለያዩ ጽሁፎችን ለምሳሌ ማስታወሻዎችን፣ ግጥሞችና ሌሎች መልዕክቶችን ሲጻፉ በአብዛኛው የሚጠቀሙት የትኛውን ቋንቋ ነው? _____

III በጋሞኛ ቋንቋ ላይ ያለ አመለካከት

በሚከተለው ሰንጠረዥ ውስጥ የጋሞኛ ቋንቋ ሁኔታን የተመለከቱ አረፍተ ነገሮች ተቀምጠዋል። የእርስዎን አስተያየት በእያንዳንዱ አረፍተ ነገር ትይዩ ባሉት አማራጮች የ × ምልክት በማስቀመጥ ይግለጹ።

	በጋሞኛ ቋንቋ ላይ ያለ አመለካከት	በጣም እስማማለሁ	እስማማለሁ	እርግጠኛ አይደለሁም	አልስማማም	በፈጹም አልስማማም
7.	የጋሞኛን ጽሁፍ መማር ቀላል ነው።					
8.	በጋሞኛ መጠቀም ወይም ማውራት ደስ ይለኛል።					
9.	ከሌሎች ሰዎች ጋር በጋሞኛ መነጋገር አያሳፍረኝም።					
10.	ጋሞኛ ውስጣዊ ስሜቴን እና ባህሌን ለመግለጽ የሚያስችሉኝ ቃላቶች አሉት።					
11.	ማንኛውንም የትምህርት አይነት በጋሞኛ ማስተማር/መማር ይቻላል።					
12.	ጋሞኛ በልቦለዶችና ሌሎች መጽሃፎች በስፋት ጥቅም ላይ አልዋለም።					
13.	ቋንቋውን ለሳይንስና ፈጠራ ለመጠቀም የሚያስችሉ መድበለ ቃላት በበቂ ሁኔታ አልባብኩም።					
14.	ጋሞኛ የቢሮ ቋንቋ ቢሆን ደስ ይለኛል።					
15.	የመማሪያ መጻሕፍት የተጻፉት ወጥ በሆኑ ቃላትና ፊደላት ነው።					
16.	ጋሞኛ መደበኛ ቋንቋ ነው።					
17.	የጋሞኛ ቋንቋ ስታንዳርዳይዜሽን ላይ ያለ ግንዛቤ					
17.	ጋሞኛ መደበኛ የጽሁፍ ዘዬ አለው ።					
18.	ጋሞኛን መደበኛ በማድረግ ሂደት ውስጥ አንዳንድ ዘዬዎች ችላ ተብለዋል።					
19.	ትምህርት እየተሰጠበት ያለው መደበኛ ጋሞኛ የኔ ቋንቋ ነው።					

20.	አንድ መደበኛ ቋንቋ ለትምህርት አገልግሎት ቢወልድ በዘዬዎቹ መካከለል ያለው ልዩነት መሰረታዊ ጽንሰ ሀሳቦችን ከመረዳት አያግድም።					
21	በመደበኛ የትምህርት ቋንቋው እና እኔ በቤት ውስጥ በምነጋገርበት ዘዬ መካከል ልዩነት አለ።					

IV. የጋሞኛ መደበኛ ቋንቋ መሆን አስፈላጊነት

እባክዎን ከሚከተሉት ውስጥ መርጠው ሀሳብዎትን ይግለጹ

22. ጋሞኛ መደበኛ ቋንቋ መሆን አለበት።

ሀ. በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ. እስማማለሁ ሐ. መወሰን አልችልም መ. አልስማማም ረ. በፍጹም አልስማማም

23. በሚከተለው ሰንጠረዥ ውስጥ የተመለከቱትን ማህበራዊ ክንዎኔዎች ለመፈጸም የጋሞኛ ቋንቋ መደበኛ መሆን አለበት ብለው ያስባሉ? በያንዳንዱ አረፍተ ነገር ትይዩ የርስዎን አመለካከት ይገልጻል የሚሉት አማራጭ ላይ የ × ምልክት በማስቀመጥ ምላሽዎን ይስጡ።

	በጣም እስማማለሁ	እስማማለሁ	መወሰን አልችልም	አልስማማም	በፍጹም አልስማማም
የማህበረሰቡን አንድነት ለማጠናከር ።					
ለቋንቋው ያለውን የማህበረሰብ አመለካከት ለማሻሻል ።					
ጋሞኛን ልክልና (ብዙ ሰዎች ሊያወቁት ሊማሩትና ሊግቡበት የሚፈልጉት መደበኛ ቋንቋ) ያለው ቋንቋ ለማድረግ።					
የጋሞኛን ቋንቋ ለማሳደግ።					
ቋንቋውን ለሳይንስና ቴክኖሎጂ አገልግሎት በስፋት ለማዋል።					
የአፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ ትምህርትን ለማሻሻል።					
እንደ መማሪያ መጻሕፍት ያሉ ህትመቶችን በመደበኛ ቋንቋ ለመጻፍ ።					

መደበኛ የሆነው ቋንቋ እንዴት ቢመረጥ ይሻላል ብለው ያስባሉ?

	በጣም እስማማለሁ	እስማማለሁ	መወሰን አልችልም	አልስማማም	በፍጹም አልስማማም
24. ከዘዬዎቹ አንዱ መመረጥ አለበት።					
25. አንዱ ዘዬ አንደመደበኛ ቢወሰድ ሁሉም ተናጋሪዎች እኩል ተጠቃሚ ይሆናሉ።					
26. መደበኛ ቋንቋው ሁሉንም ዘዬዎች ያካተተ መሆን አለበት።					
27. ዳጩኛ ዘዬ የመደበኛ ቋንቋው መሰረት ሆኖ መቀጠል አለበት።					
28. በእኔ ዘዬ ውስጥ ያሉ አንድ አንድ ሰዎች ለሀረፍት (ቃላት ወይም ቅጽሎች) ወይም አባባሎች ከመደበኛ ቋንቋው ቢቀነሱና የሌሎቹ ቢወሰድ አይከፋኝም።					
29. አማራጭ መደበኛ ቃላትን መጠቀም በቋንቋ ፖሊሲው መፈቀድ አለበት።					
30. አሁን ካለው መደበኛ ቋንቋ በጣም ለሚለዩ ዘዬዎች ሌላ መደበኛ ዘዬ ቢፈጠር ጥሩ ነው					

31. ለተለያዩ የጽሁፍ አገልግሎቶችና ለትምህርት እንዲወልድ የሚፈልጉት ዘዬ የትኛው ነው? ሀ. ዳጩ ለ. ዶርዜ ሐ. ኦቾሎ መ. ጋንታ ሠ. ቁጫ ረ. ሁሉንም ዘዬዎች የሚያሳትፍ ሰ. ሌላ _____

32. አሁን ስላለዉ የጋሞኛ አጻጻፍ ሁኔታና ቋንቋውን መደበኛ ለማድረግ ባለዉ ሂደት ላይ ያለዎት አጠቃላይ አስተያየትና ሀሳብ ምንድን ነዉ ?

33. ቋንቋዉ ከዚህ በተሻለ መልኩ በስፋት አገልገሎት ላይ አንዲወልድ ለወደፊት ምን መሰራት አለበት ይላሉ?

አመሰግናለሁ