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Causes and Remedies of Language Endangerment: The Case of Zay

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CAUSES AND REMEDIES OF LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT: THE CASE OF ZAY

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Negash Getachew Woldeamanuel, entitled: **Language Endangerment: The Case of Zay**, and submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics and Development complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Abstract

Causes and Remedies of Language Endangerment: The Case of Zay

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This study was conducted with the purpose of looking into the causes and remedies of the endangered minority Zay language. With this end in view, mixed methods design was used in the study. In fact, the study is more of qualitative, and the quantitative method was used for triangulation purposes. Quantitative data was gathered using questionnaires. Participants who filled out the questionnaire were drawn from the island and mainland residents via quota-sampling technique. The qualitative data was collected by means of key informant interview, in-depth interview and FGDs. Apart from this, ethnically Oromo people were interviewed to find out their attitudes towards Zay language. In all cases, informants were selected through purposive sampling technique. Further, observation was conducted to confirm the soundness of data procured by the use of other qualitative tools. While the qualitative data was analyzed through thematic analysis, the quantitative one was dealt with using statistical techniques.

The study found out that both the external and internal factors accounted for the shortfall of mother tongue speakers of Zay, particularly in the younger generation. The Zay confronted a problem of making living in their traditional settlement areas, because of which a sizeable number of people left the islands for the nearby lakeshore villages and towns. The other was absence of willingness from part of the government to recognize Zay as a distinct ethnic group, as well as exclusion of the language from any secondary domains. Part of the people tended to develop low opinion of themselves and their language as a result. No less important were historical factors, such as recurrent conflict with the dominant Oromo people over land and water which was said to have pushed part of the Zay people, who already settled along the lake shores, back to the islands. This situation caused the introduction of late marriage (in order to control population boom) as the resources on the islands were limited. Cultural and linguistic factors were also found to contribute to the diminution of the language.

These external forces appeared to put pressure on the attitudes of the Zay and their language use behavior. There were people who developed low opinion of their ancestral language where, in

some cases, the pride in being Zay seemed to be fading. In the same way, the finding emerged from the respondents of Oromo people revealed the presence of negative attitudes towards Zay language. However, the majority were still found to maintain their loyalty to their language. They regarded their distinctive language as a central part of their identity. When it comes to language use, almost all people on the islands of Lake Zway have still used the Zay language; in the rest of the areas where Zay people live, the shift to Afan Oromo has been progressing. The change in speech behavior, particularly on the mainland, resulted in structural consequences. That is, change in Zay's lexicon, phonology, morphology, and in rare case syntax is noticeable.

The results of the study show the presence of strong desire among the Zay to see their ethnic language reinvigorated. There was a strong belief among the respondents that changing the attitudes of the Zay and Oromo people who developed low impression of the language, improvement of the poor living standards of the people, establishment of Zay-medium primary school and creation of mother tongue based literacy education, above all, official recognition of Zay would be the possible restorative strategies.

A further major finding was that the Zay were waking up to the threat and gradually being more adamant in their demands for greater official recognition and support of their language. The Zay have been struggling for official ethnic recognition and political representation because they believed that achieving this opportunity could certainly pave the way for changes in their overall economic, political and social lives which would in turn lead to reinvigoration of their language. The Zay community also established a self-help association (ZDA) with the purpose of solving its economic and social problems, thereby protecting its language and culture.

On the basis of the findings, the researcher recommended that community members as well as out-group members' threatening attitude should be changed since it is a cornerstone for the success of all actions. The regional government should ensure sedentary settlement on the islands through building the capacity of the people to achieve a self-sustaining economic unit. Mother tongue primary education and Zay Cultural Center should also be made available to the Zay if the language and culture are to survive into the next generation.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

Hmm…,Umm ..., ah… Incomplete utterances

[…] Pause

… Inaudible

GAM Gaelic-Arvanitika Model

ZDA Zay Development Association

FGD Focus Group Discussion

KI Key Informant

NNPD Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Day

EPRDF Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front

FDRE Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

OPDO Oromo people Democratic Organization

Adj Adjective

S Subject

O Object

V Verb

Quant Quantifier

Dem Demonstrative

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Description of the Study Area

1.1.1 Geographical Location

The Zay people live on the islands of Lake Zway and along the shores, located about 160 kms south of Ethiopian capital city, Addis Ababa. It lies west of Assela, east of Zway town, south of Bora Mountain and north of the Aluto Mountain. Lake Zway is one of the seven lakes found along Ethiopian Rift Valley. It is a large and shallow lake with an altitude of approximately 1620 meters above sea level. It is 25kms long and 20 kms wide, which covers an area of 434 square kilometers (Tesfaye, 2000:1).

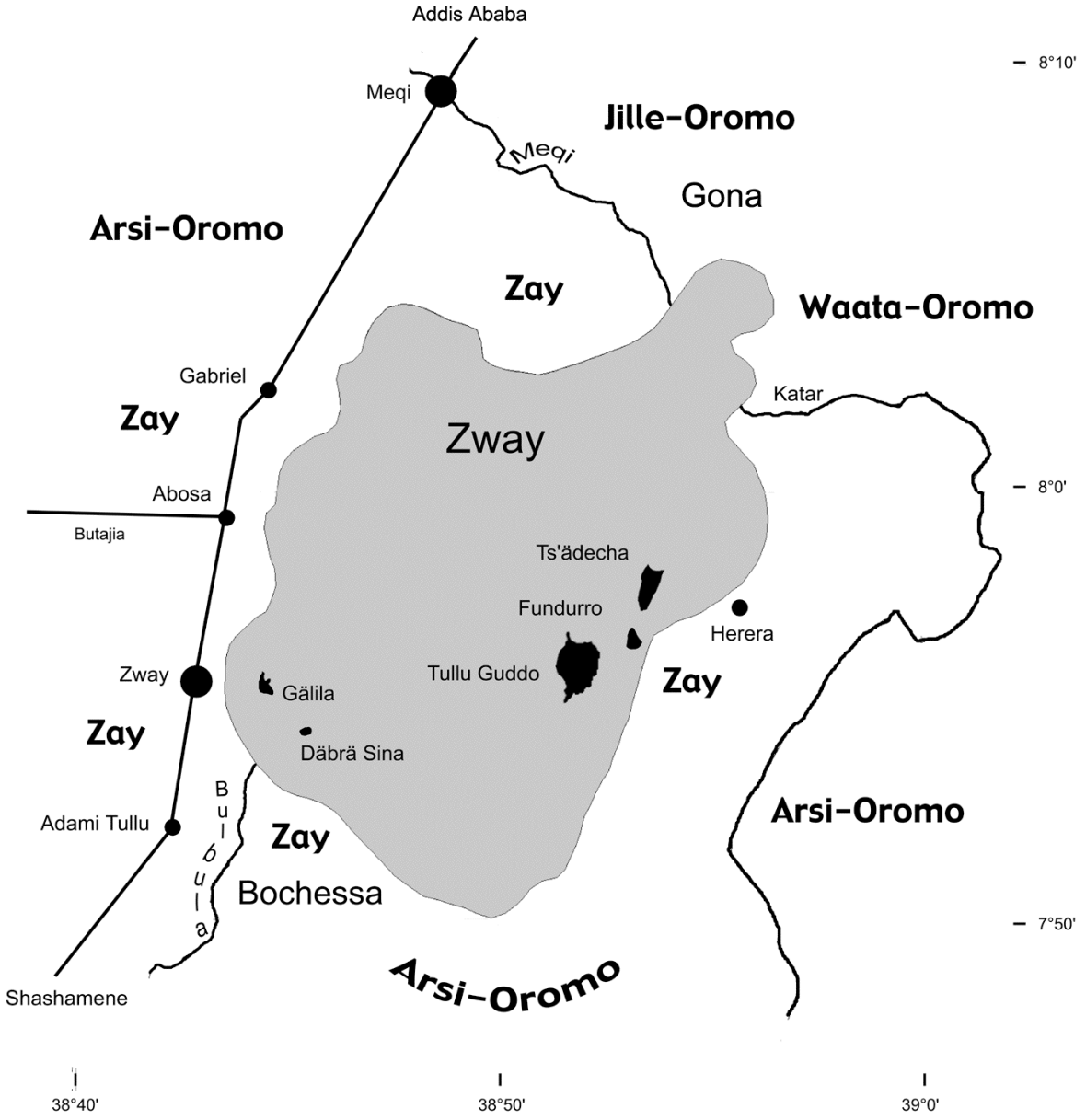
There are five islands in the lake. These islands are different in size and shape, but are identical in their geological structure- all are volcanic up-thrusts (Henze, 1973:76). On the basis of their geographical location, the islands of Lake Zway are classified into the South-Western and South-Eastern groups. The South-Western group comprises the two small islands such as Gelila and Debre Sina, whereas the South-Eastern islands include Debre Tsion (Tullu Guddo), Abraham (Tsedecha) and Gethsemanes (Fundurro) (Tesfaye, 2000:2). The largest of all islands in the Zake Zway is Debre Tsion (Tullu Guddo). As Henze (1973:76) described, "Tullu Guddo is a striking island, lying midway along the eastern shore, visible from all parts of the lake." It seems to have got its name 'Tullu Guddo' based on its size.

Churches were established on each of the islands, and each church was supplied with more than one sacred arks (the 'Tabot'), which were brought there, according to the Zay tradition, from the north. The church on Tullu Guddo Island is an exception. It was said to have been built in the 9th century (842 AD) during the time of Yodit (Gudit), but later supplied with additional arks from Menz. Sergew (1972) pointed out that the "Tabernacle of Law" of Zion stayed in Tullu Guddo Island for 40 years until the defeat of Gudit (cited in Tesfaye, 1988: 36). It seems that this island was named 'Debre Tsion' after 'Zion'.

These days, the southeastern islands are often referred to by the Oromo names which encode the following semantic concepts: *Tullu Guddo* means 'big mountain'; *Tsedecha* is the Oromo name

of a tree (kind of acacia), and the name *funduro* drives from the Oromo terms *fuula* 'face', and *dura* 'front', meaning 'in front of' (Meyer, 2002:36).

Figure 1: Lake Zway and its surrounding areas (Source: Meyer, 2006: 88)



1.1.2 Historical Origin of the Zay People

It was believed that the Zay people entered the islands of Lake Zway in three different historical periods. According to Tesfaye (2000:8), the history of the first immigrant settlers was connected with the rise of Yodit (Gudit). In the 9th century (842 AD), a woman called Gudit - Jewish religion follower - started killing priests and Christian religion followers, looting and burning

churches. Failing to resist the power of Gudit, the then king of Aksumite Kingdom, Anbesa Widim, accompanied by priests and some of the Christian people, took all the sacred arks and other church treasures and moved to Shoa (Menz). After a short time stay in Menz, these Christian people went further towards south and eventually took refuge on the present-day Tullu Guddo Island. It was said that they had stayed for 40 years there. When the power of Gudit came declining, some of the priests and Christian people with some of the sacred arks including "Ark of Covenant" (Tabote-Tsion) went back to their homeland- Aksum. Part of the people, however, thought foolishness to leave the land they had already acclimatized themselves to, and hence decided to maintain their lives on the islands (Tesfaye, 2000:8).

The other belief was linked to the spiritual father called Atsiqe Sellasie (also called 'Atsiqu'). As Tesfaye (2000:10) explained based on the Zay oral traditions, three brothers, such as Atsiqe Sellasie, Timirte Mesqel and Amha Sellasie moved along the shore of Lake Zway in flight from advancing enemy and finally settled to the east of the lake. Later, Atsiqe Sellasie, one of the three brothers, together with some Christian people entered the Tsedecha (Abraham) Island, crossing the water body on a big piece of swimming grass. As this spiritual father arrived exactly on the island he thought of with the help of the tide of the lake, he was said to have named it 'Aysut'. Hence, Tsedecha Island is also called *Aysut*, means 'he hit the target or he didn't miss'.

Although the Zay traditions do not clearly explain the exact time of arrival of this spiritual father on Tsedecha Island, the majority of the tribal elders guessed the fact that it was during the invasion of Ahmed Gragn, the Muslim conqueror in the sixteenth century (1524-1543). Tuma (1987) pointed out that after the defeat of Ahmed Gragn there was a fear that his followers might take revenge against Christian people. Because of this reason, Atsiqe Sellasie made his way to the island with the sacred arks and other treasures that were left out of destruction during the war (cited in Tesfaye, 2000:11).

Tesfaye further stated that the people of Silt'e and Ulbareg as well as Harar, who came from the eastern direction, were believed to have settled around Lake Zway during the invasion of Ahmed Gragn. A big evidence for this is the presence of close relationship between the Zay, Silt'e and Harari languages. The relationship between these languages indicates the fact that once a number of Semitic language speakers from eastern Ethiopia used to live in the Lake Zway region, expanding up to the islands (Tesfaye, 2000:11).

Further, the historical basis of the Zay people was connected with Oromo movement (1520-1600). The two major Oromo tribes, such as Borena and 'Bertuma', guided by the Geda system, expanded into the majority of Ethiopian territories within the mentioned period of time. Accordingly, the Borena Oromo tribes moved to the southern and central Ethiopia (Tesfaye, 2000:15).

It was believed that the Oromo people might settle on the islands in two different ways. First, the area around Lake Zway was a battleground from the half of 16th up to the beginning of 17th centuries, and hence the Oromo who used to live along the lakeshores were either forced to take refuge on the islands in flight from the fighting, or were taken to the islands as war captives. Second, since the Oromo people started settling along the lakeshores in order to get permanent grazing land and water for their cattle, the economic, cultural and social relationships between the two speech communities developed little by little. In the course of time, the Zay began to intermarry with Borena Oromo, particularly with those who accepted Christianity. The Oromo cultural practices called *Gudifecha* and *Mogasa* were thought to have further strengthened their relationships, which might in turn give them an opportunity to start living on the islands of Lake Zway (Tesfaye, 2000:16). These two words have their roots in Afan Oromo. *Guddifacha* literally means 'to bring up other's child in case one cannot get children in marriage or to foster orphan, which is equivalent to the English term 'adoption'', whereas *moggaasa* literally means 'to give a name to a man who originally belongs to a lower class or a weak group by ritually adopting into and conferring him with equal social status or identification with a stronger group. The name of the adopted individual along with that of his father and patrilineal linage is changed as a whole through a ritual ceremony.

Generally, the foregoing historical episodes were thought to have marked the genesis of the present-day Zay people. In other words, the Zay are the result of different wave of people's movement to the islands and their integration with one another in the course of time.

As succinctly explained, the movement of the people to the islands was a continuous process, and this process was, however, intensified when there was a strong Oromo pressure on the surrounding mainland. According to Henze (1973:80), the Zway region experienced a severe period of stress during Oromo expansion of the 16th and 17th centuries. At the same time, this was a period of maximum development for the islanders. Seeing that they were completely cut

off by the Oromo and Islam, which had also been adopted by several indigenous shore tribes, the islanders had to depend on their own resources to sustain their lives. As the population gradually grew because of natural increase and continuous movement of the people to the islands (seeking refuge as the situation on the mainland got worse), the fish, which had not been popular to the Ethiopian Semitic peoples, became an increasingly important component of the islanders' diet. Besides, both the lowlands and gentle slopes came all under cultivation before long. With the exception of cliffs and bare rock faces, the entire surface of the islands was covered by terraces. The islanders grew grains and cotton on the terraces. The principal grains were barley, wheat and finger millet (Dagusa). Although there were domestic animals, only the most productive ones could be kept on the islands because of the shortage of grazing land.

As they couldn't raise enough cattle or sheep to supply skins for clothing and other requirements, the islanders began to weave intensively to satisfy their needs. The Oromo expansion along the coastal areas of Lake Zway eventually provided the impetus for a great expansion of the weaving industry. Although there was a recurrent conflict between the two groups, mutual relationships were developed. As the Oromo began to adjust themselves to a more settled way of life, they acquired new needs. Among these was a desire for woven cotton cloth. In order to get their cotton cloth, the Oromo promised safe passage for islanders to the mainland markets and back to their islands. Accordingly, the Zay made frequent voyages to the mainland markets held on certain days and bought salt, butter, hides, and imported trade goods in return for their cotton cloth. They also bought subsistence crops to supplement their livelihood. Henze (1973:81-82) summarized this point as follow:

> a degree of mutually beneficial symbiosis grew up between the Christian Zay on the islands and the Islamizing [Oromo] on the shore. These interrelationships were clearly defined and limited and, once established, appear to have changed very little until the Shoan reconquest of the rift valley at the end of the Nineteenth Century.

The problem of shortage of land and isolation from the central empire continued until the lake Zway region was conquered by Emperor Menelik II in 1893. Thus Menelik's expedition to the rift valley region marked the end of the isolation for the islanders. He gave a special concern for the isolated Christians on the islands. He confirmed them as an independent tribal element under the leadership of their traditional chief. According to Henze (1973:82), Menelik gave the Zay

people an ownership of large amount of fertile shore land by evacuating the surrounding Oromo tribes. For instance, he evicted Arsi Oromo from the mainland along the Bulbula River and granted it to the south western islanders. Consequently, from the turn of the century onwards, large numbers of Zay moved from the two western islands to the flat plains along the Bulbula River (Henze, 1973: 83). According to Tesfaye (1988:7), from the turn of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries, a number of people moved to the mainland to occupy the extensive fertile shore land, where they were exposed to other speech communities. The last residents left Gelila for the lake shores in 1972. A large scale of movement from the eastern island- Tullu Guddo- to the fertile lake shores also took place in 1970-1972.

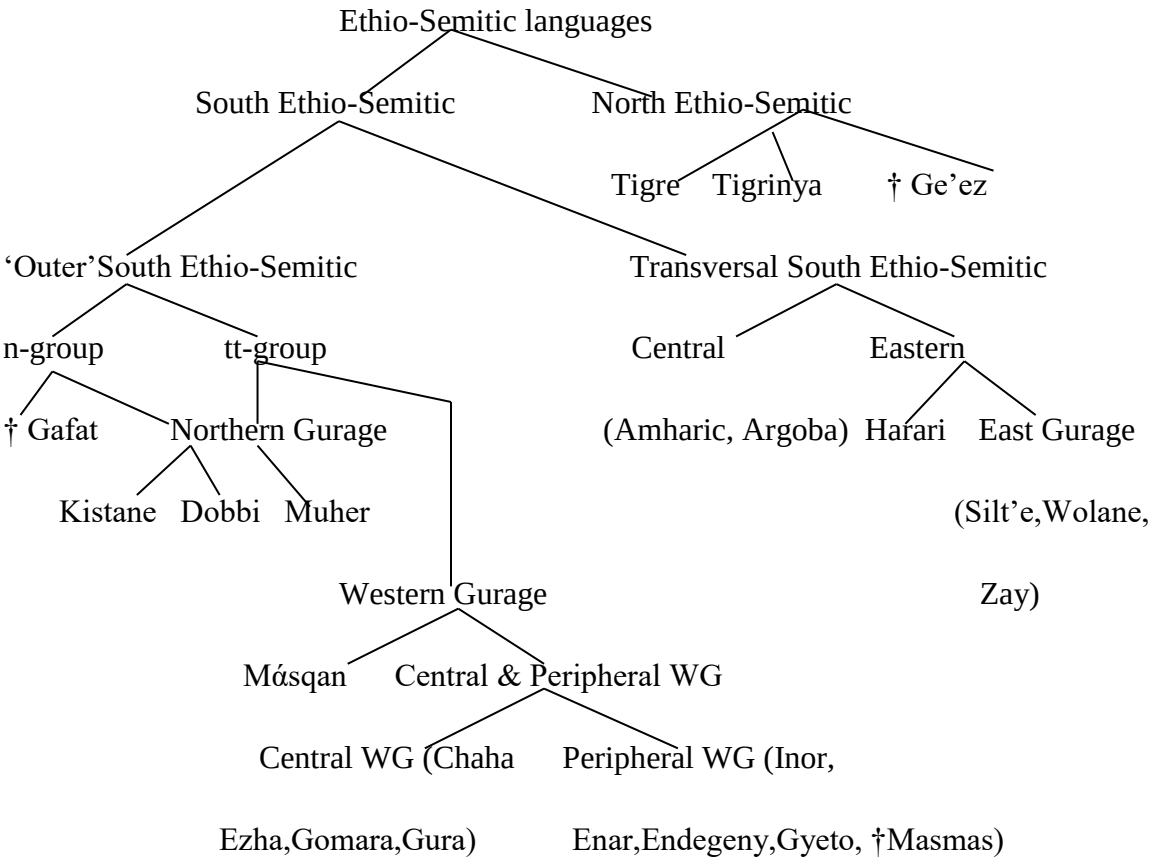
1.1.3 The Zay Language

The term 'Zay' is not only the name of the people but also the name of the language. It was believed that the waves of people who entered the islands of Lake Zway in different historical periods lived together for a long time and eventually developed their own common language named 'Zay' (also called Zayña). The Zay language was thought to have been created as a result of the integration of different languages, such as Geez, Gurage varieties, Tigrinya and Amharic (Tesfaye, 2000: 6). Of central importance is Henze's (1973:77) observation of the relationship between Gurage dialects, to which Zay belongs, and the north Semitic languages:

> the language of Harar and the cluster of the interrelated Gurage dialects which are still spoken by the people of South-Central Plateau region-including the people on the Zway islands, are basically Semitic and show close kinship to the main Semitic languages of the north, Amharic and Tigrinya.

As sample Gurage idioms and related languages' basic set of words collected from the book entitled "Gogot: History of the Gurage People" indicates, the Zay language has 70% similarity with Silt'e and 50% with Harari (Tesfaye, 2000:6). The lexicostatistical analysis by Bender (1971:173) also shows the fact that the Zay language has 70% and 61% lexical similarity with Silt'e and Harari respectively. In all, linguists who have conducted studies on Zay so far (e.g., Bender, 1971; Hetzron 1972; Leslau 1960; Meyer 2006) classified it under an Ethio-Semitic language family, belonging to the East Gurage group within the Eastern branch of Transversal South Ethio-Semitic, as shown in the figure below:

Figure 2: Classification of Ethio-Semitic Languages



Source: Hetzron, 1972: 119

As indicated by the above figure, the Ethiopian Semitic languages are classified into North Ethio-Semitic and South Ethio-Semitic. The North Ethio-Semitic includes Geez, Tigre and Tigrinya, whereas the South Ethio-Semitic consists of the Outer South Ethio-Semitic and Transversal South Ethio-Semitic languages. While the Central branch of Transversal South Ethio-Semitic comprises languages, such as Amharic and Argobba, the Eastern branch encompasses Harari on the one hand and the East Gurage dialect cluster (Silt'e, Wolane and Zay) on the other.

During his study on islands of Lake Zway, Henze (1973: 80) Pointed out that the future of the Zay language could be bleak since Amharic would be well on its way to replacing it after the next generation passed through the new school on Tullu Guddo. Henze's worry about the fate of the Zay language seems to arise from the fact that both the church and government schools on

Tullu Guddo delivered education in Amharic. It is, of course, factual to say that the non-teaching and use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction in school could make the children evaluate the language negatively, and inversely favor the learning of the second and socially prestigious language with the hope of better integration and greater professional opportunities. This situation could incontestably lead to possible attritions of the mother tongue. That is, when the children cease to learn a language as mother tongue, it will indeed be doomed to extinction.

Today, as predicted by Henze a few decades back, the language has seemed to be losing its speakers in the younger generation. Although not Amharic, Afan Oromo has been predominantly well on its way to replacing Zay. Even if the total number of the Zay people was estimated to reach 13000-15000 (Tesfaye, 2000: 6), approximately only 4880 people, both on the islands and lake shores, were assumed to speak the Zay language as mother tongue (Gardner and Siebert 2002: 11). This figure, according to some authors, sharply declined from then onwards. For instance, as to Brenzinger (2007:200), the total mother tongue speakers of Zay have diminished to less than 1000 people.

1.1.4 Education

When it comes to education, the Zay were not slow to understand the advantages of schooling. As it was well known, monasteries and churches were the only academic centers before the commencement of modern education in Ethiopia. Like other monasteries, the monastery of Zway was the academic centre which, as Henze reported, functioned for many years teaching elementary literacy and religious subjects. Students got knowledge of writing, reading and others only from church. However, a modern six-year school was established for the first time in early 1972 on Tullu Guddo (Debre Tsion) Island because of the Ethio-Swedish school building programme (Henze, 1973:87 and Tesfaye, 2000: 46). This school, according to Tesfaye, has gone operational since 1973 by accepting students who were attending religious education in the monastery of Tullu Guddo.

The introduction of modern Education has brought about a profound change on the social and cultural thoughts of the society. On top of that, the establishment of this modern school prompted some of the youth to leave the islands for further education, up on completion of the primary education. To put it differently, the opening of modern school on the island played a significant role in creating an opportunity for the islands' youth to come to greater contact and intermix with

the outside society. The Youth left the islands and lived in the nearby towns where they had access to high school and college educations (Tesfaye, 2000: 46 and Henze 1973: 87).

1.2 Background of the Study

It is an established fact that all individuals experience life on earth where they interact among themselves and with nature. These forms of interactive engagements among themselves and with the natural environment allow people to develop an array of wisdoms, ways of coping with the environment and strategies of continued existence, all of which are preserved and transmitted through the medium of language. Nettle and Romaine (2000:14) cogently argue: "in our languages lies a rich source of the accumulated wisdom of all humans." Language, knowledge and the environment are intimately interrelated: in each place the local environment sustains people by providing them food and shelter; in turn, people sustain the local environment through the traditional wisdom and practices embedded in their cultures and languages. This view is supported by Bradley and Bradley (2013: xii) who argue that every society has a different knowledge which is encoded in its language through distinctive linguistic patterns. Therefore, each language categorizes the world in a unique way which represents a worldview. In addition, they state that each society lives in a different ecological system and has a unique knowledge of its environment, and the plants and animals in it. Much of this knowledge has scientific value for the development of new drugs and materials, all of which may also have practical and economic benefits. From this, it is logical to infer that cultural knowledge encoded in a diversity of the world's languages is a necessary precondition for sustainable maintenance of natural resources, while languages are an essential precondition for intergenerational transfer of the knowledge.

Since language is an integral part of culture, embodying the worldview and collective store of knowledge of its speakers, it is not just the language but also the culture of its speakers which is in peril when a language comes under threat (Wurm, 2001:13). The reality in the world today is that languages and with them cultures are vanishing at a pace faster than ever before in human history (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000:5). Already Krauss (1992:7), for instance, predicts that the world will see the death of 90% of mankind's languages by the beginning of the next century if the trends are not reversed. Similarily, Batibo (2005:63) makes such a prediction for the year 2100. The situation is particularly severe in Africa where, as Batibo asserts, linguistic diversity is larger than in most regions of the world. Since Africa harbors over 30 percent of the world's

languages, only about 200 languages would remain there, less than 10% of the present number. Although this may seem to be an exaggerated scenario, Batibo (2005:63) believes that it, nonetheless, points up the gravity of the problem as the pressure on African languages comes not only from within but also from many and complex forces at work in the wider world.

As one of the multilingual countries in Africa, Ethiopia is facing the loss of linguistic diversity. A number of languages are highly marginalized in Ethiopia. For instance, Brenzinger (2007:199-200) identifies 22 endangered languages in Ethiopia. Similarly, Batibo (2005:147) finds out nine highly endangered and nineteen extinct or nearly extinct minority languages. Zelealem (2012:49) also points out the presence of several moribund languages in Ethiopia. Although all Ethiopian languages gained equal state recognition, no change has still come as regards the status of endangered languages, and the problem has even gone far to the extent that some of the languages are on the verge of extinction. Zay, which is the focus of this study, is a clear example of such highly endangered minority languages in Ethiopia.

The dynamics that contribute to this drastic language endangerment are contingent on a complex set of factors stemming from local language ecologies, and factors at regional, national and global levels (cf. Crystal, 2000; Dorian, 1998; Grenoble and Whaley, 1998; Sasse, 1992; Nettle and Romaine, 2000). Although language endangerment is frequently driven by both internal and external factors, the specifics vary with each individual situation. Grenoble and Whaley (2006:21) point out that, at a general level, alike forces can be said to operate in most language loss situations, but every case is, in fact, distinct, i.e., each situation is unique, though there are a commonality of factors shared by most communities. There are unique historical, economic, societal and political factors that have affected the manner in which language shift occurs (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006:21). Thus, as local situations vary greatly from one another, it is imperative to identify a complex set of factors at work in particular local language ecologies, and to recognize how these factors interrelate and affect patterns of language use. An understanding of these issues is a prerequisite to informed language planning and policy decisions.

The tasks of (Applied) Linguistics in situations where languages are on the brink of extinction is to describe and record endangered languages, to suggest measures for maintaining at least a state of bilingualism and to create an awareness of the value of the threatened language with its tradition and culture (Fill, 2007:182). Thus, within this realm of Applied Linguistics, this study

establishes the most pervasive and important forces of language endangerment in the Zay context, and suggests measures that could improve the Zay situation.

The researcher's aspiration to study Zay arose from a serious threat that the Zay ethnolinguistic group is facing as their history and culture are not well studied and documented. Most of the knowledge about them is confined to oral traditions, and thus mainly transmitted orally. These days, their language is being threatened by extinction. Since language carries the history of its speakers, its loss might imply that valuable information about this community is also lost. Thus, because of the value and importance of language in maintaining the history and culture of the people, the researcher thought, it is critical to investigate the causes that are leading to the loss of the Zay language and seek ways that help prevent it from such a loss.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The Zay people, who speak a South Ethio-Semitic language closely related to Harari, are inhabitants of the naturally fortified islands of Lake Zway in central Ethiopia. Therefore, one may come to believe that the language of this people remains safe. But the reverse is true. Before four decades, Henze (1973:80) said that the Zay people used their language among themselves; on the other hand, he commented that the Zay language may possibly disappear with time since Amharic was well on its way to replace it. Today, as predicted by Henze, the Zay language seems to be losing its speakers. If not Amharic, Afan Oromo has been usurping important communication contexts of Zay.

Before this project formally started, other studies were done with varying purposes. The pioneering work on the Zay language is Leslau's (1950) preliminary project. Leslau made a trip to the Zway area in 1950 and collected linguistic data on Zay. Based on the data gathered at that time, Leslau (1999) described the Zay language in detail in terms of its phonology, grammar and lexicon, thereby determining the position of Zay within East Gurage. Leslau's (1999) study primarily focused on the structure of the language than its sociolinguistic situation. Above all, the results of his study were based upon data from over many years back, and it is thus unclear if the then situation still exists.

A joint project of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies and SIL conducted a survey in which sociolinguistic information on the Zay language was collected and published in Gardner and

Siebert (2002). Interviews were conducted with 14 people. All the respondents were male, taken from the mainland areas. According to the result of the survey, Zay is a multilingual community with three languages in use: Amharic, Oromo and Zay, i.e., the tradition of acquiring only one language among the Zay people has disappeared (Gardner and Siebert, 2002). The informants were generally found to have positive attitudes toward their native tongue, asserting that their language would continue to be used over many generations. Although insightful, this result was limited to few Zay people living on the mainland, and is thus not representative of the study population. In other words, as only a small number of participants took part, it was unclear whether the whole (majority) people do have the same attitude. Other limitation of this study was its exclusion of the female - the group having a close relationship with children who hold a key to the continuation or cessation of the language.

In addition, Endashaw W/Michael (2005) conducted a study with the aim of determining the impact of migration on language shift. For the study 100 informants, comprising 12 island and 88 mainland dwellers, were randomly selected to fill out the questionnaire. The result indicates that the economic pressures that forced Zay islanders to move to the shores of Lake Zway also pushed the Zay language toward extinction. Nonetheless, the study result has to be taken with care for the fact that the approach suffers from certain weaknesses. One of the weaknesses is the procedure the researcher used to select the respondents, i.e. randomization. The mainland Zay lives intimately with Oromo and other language speakers. In addition to this, there has no population census conducted for the Zay so far, and hence random selection is impossible. The second one is a small sample taken from the islanders. Of 100 samples, only 12 respondents were drawn from the islands. Therefore, these methodological errors could result in biased findings.

A further sociolinguistic study on Zay language was the one carried out by Jordan et al. (2011) with a primary purpose of determining the optimal language or languages for literature and educational materials. The survey team members used group and individual interviews. Two group interviews, consisting of 10 participants each, were conducted on Tullu Guddo Island and Bochessa village. Added to this, a total of 19 individual interviews were conducted, 10 on Tullu Guddo Island and the remaining 9 on Bochessa area. The other is community ownership and support questionnaires, which were first administered on 19 and 20 April 2005, to ten traditional, political or religious leaders on Tullu Guddo Island, and then to ten more community leaders in

the Bochessa area on 21 April 2005, with the purpose of evaluating the level of interest in developing Zay. The information obtained through group and individual interviews points to Zay as optimal language for the islands and Oromo as optimal language for the lakeshores, whereas the result of community ownership and support questionnaire denotes the presence of some level of interest to the development of Zay, and the overall level of interest is fairly moderate. Although this sociolinguistic study is the most comprehensive account of Zay language produced thus far, it does suffer from some flaws. The main weakness of the study is the failure to address how the common people feel about the development of their language. The survey report show only the community leaders' level of interest in developing Zay, disregarding the multitude, whose interest and motivation is of the utmost importance in fostering language. To put it differently, the survey report has not made clear whether the ordinary people in the community had the same interest or not. Thus, since the study was based on a biased sample, it could not give fair or accurate results. Over and above, the survey was carried out only in two Zay settlement areas, and this could also have an effect on the results of the study.

In sum, the premise of all the sociolinguistic studies reviewed is that endangerment of the Zay language is undeniable. They are important as they provide a general understanding about Zay. However, they offer a picture that is by no means comprehensive because of the weaknesses dealt with above as well as the failure to address the following salient points. While they revealed that Zay was endangered, they did not give a complete picture of the various interconnected factors that were involved in the process of language endangerment. Of course, Endashaw W/Michael tried to make some relevant points like migration, along with it economy, as likely causes for Zay language endangerment but his study lacked thorough analysis of the vital language endangerment variables such as political, cultural and linguistic realities. In spite of the fact that the dominant language speakers' attitudes towards the minority languages are a recurrent theme in literature, these studies did not say anything about the attitudes of non-Zay speakers. Further, language attitudes in the aforesaid sociolinguistic studies did not provide a thorough analysis of such speaker variables as age, sex and domains, which are assumed to have a bigger impact on determining language attitudes and language use. The analysis of these speaker variables can be useful to understand whether the variation in these factors causes variation in language attitudes and that the associations among them are statistically significant. This might in turn show the focus of future pragmatic actions taken against the problem. What is

more, these studies did not say anything about the structural consequences in Zay. Most important of all, the studies to date have tended to focus on descriptions of the sociolinguistic situations, i.e., apart from mere descriptions of the endangeredness of the Zay language, all the studies reviewed did not suggest any preservation measures that could be taken by the Zay community to improve their weak sociolinguistic status. This can simply be interpreted as describing the medical conditions of an ill person lying in a deathbed without doing anything to save his life. That is to say mere understanding of the problem is not enough; suggesting solutions and courses of action is of central importance.

The foregoing arguments lead to the conclusion that no single study exists which adequately addresses language endangerment in the Zay community. Therefore, the situation calls for a more comprehensive and in-depth study that could fill the gaps, and this is what the present study devoted to. The investigation determines whether the Zay language is endangered, and if so, comes up with an exhaustive description of the sets of factors (both internal and external to the speech community) that have accounted for its endangerment. Additionally, the present study provides suggested solutions that could fit the Zay context in order to arrest further shrinkage of the language. Specifically, this study tries to answer the following research questions:

1. Is the Zay language endangered? If so, what are the macro-and-micro-level factors that have contributed to its endangerment?
2. Are the people aware of that their language is being threatened by extinction?
3. To what extent is the Zay language presently used?
4. Is there a statistically significant association between attitudes towards Zay language use and speaker variables, such as age and sex?
5. What are the attitudes of the non-Zay speakers towards Zay language?
6. Is the Zay language structurally affected?
7. Do Zay mother tongue speakers have the interest for the continuing use of the Zay language? Is it still worthwhile to descendants of these people to learn Zay in Oromo speaking environment?
8. Can anything be done to reverse the present situation of the Zay language? Are there multipronged strategies, more acutely sensitive to the underlying causes of the Zay language endangerment?

1.4 Objectives

The general objective of the study is to look into the current linguistic situation of Zay, i.e. whether the Zay language is in danger of extinction, and if so, the reasons for its endangerment and how its endangered status may possibly be reversed; whereas the specific objectives are:

1. To determine whether Zay is an endangered language;
2. To identify the underlying macro-and micro-level factors that are responsible for endangerment of Zay;
3. To describe the present day use of the language;
4. To analyze language attitudes in relation to the age and sex of the speakers;
5. To find out the linguistic consequences of Zay
6. To assess the current interest for language development in the Zay community; and
7. To indicate the way of dealing with the present linguistic situations of the Zay.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The factors responsible for the decline of the Zay language, identified in this study, could help the Zay people to make an informed decision in order to maintain their language, culture and inherited knowledge, and to pass them to the upcoming generation. Apart from this, the Zay situation could serve as an alarm bell for other threatened ethno-linguistic groups to closely follow up their languages before they reach a point of no return. The findings of this study also alert the government to the threatened minority languages and inform what actions should be taken. It could be an input for language policy makers because understanding the process of language endangerment is very important for policy making and language planning purposes.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

Geographically, the study has covered the Zay speaking areas on the islands of Lake Zway and nearby Zay settlements on the mainland. The Zay people living along the shores are intermixed with neighboring ethnic groups, and to the researcher's knowledge, no separate census has been conducted for Zay people thus far. Therefore, since random selection of informants was not possible, nonrandom sampling was used, which could minimize the generalizability of the results. The research outcomes could also be limited to some degree as it did not deal with the influence of Amharic well, the dominant language that displaced Zay in lakeshore towns.

Furthermore, the researcher has no knowledge of the Zay language, which could have biased parts of the gathered data.

1.7 Operational Definitions of Terms and Concepts

The following operational definitions provide clarification of the terms used in this study:

Dominant language: refers to a language that is widely used in various communicative domains, for instance in business, education and government. It is a language that possesses power and superiority as compared to others. (cf. non-dominant language) (Trask, 1999)

Language attitudes: refer to the opinions of individuals about why a certain language or language varieties is more appropriate in a particular situation or domain (Crystal, 2008).

Language use: refers to the choices that people make about which languages or language varieties to use in particular domains of communication (Blair, 1990).

Macro-level factors: refer to forces external to a linguistic community which have an impact on language vitality. They are beyond the control of any given local community, but their potential impact is felt in the community (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006).

Micro-level factors: refer to characteristics which are unique to specific speech communities. They involve the demographics, attitudes, cultural practices and language use in a local speech community (Grenoble and Whaley, 1998).

Non-dominant language: refers to a language which is spoken by few people and has no conspicuous public role. Thus, it is used within the confines of its speakers' territories. (cf. dominant language) (Trask ,1999)

Remedies: refer to pragmatic actions that can restore the natural or proper conditions to the endangered languages (researcher's own definition).

1.8 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is structured in five chapters. The first chapter presents the introductory concepts, followed by the second chapter which provides the theoretical framework of the study draws on, and reviews the prevailing relevant literature. The third chapter discusses the methodological issues which encompass the study participants and their selection, data collection instruments and procedures, and data analyses techniques used. In the fourth chapter, the data of this study are presented, analyzed and discussed thoroughly, whereas the final chapter contains the concluding remarks, recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

In the first section of this chapter, the theoretical framework establishing the vantage point through which the researcher observes the problem is presented. In the second section, literature related to language endangerment in general and the endangerment of the Zay language in particular is reviewed. Under this section, issues related to the magnitude of language endangerment in the world, the contributing forces and their likely remedies have been dealt with. This is followed by a discussion of previous studies on Zay.

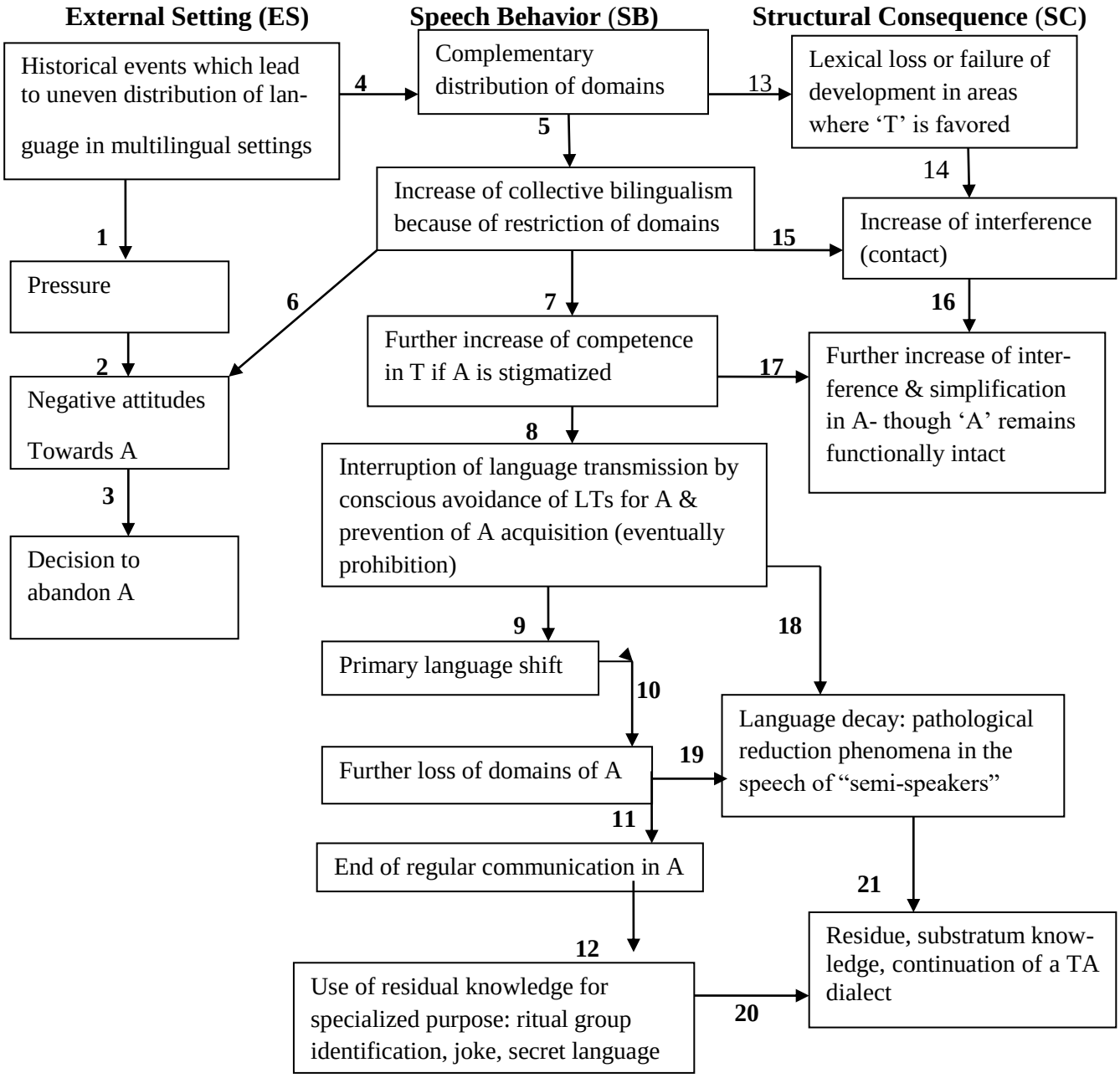
2.2 Theoretical Framework

It is commonly assumed that the currently increasing loss of indigenous languages is related to social, political and economic dominations. In this study, the comprehensive theoretical framework of language death proposed by Sasse (1992), which accounts for the interrelation of all relevant factors, is used to explain the gradual vanishing that the Zay language is undergoing.

Sasse's (1992:11) Gaelic-Arvanitika Model (GAM) of language death was originated from two case studies: on the Arvanitika Greek, and other on the East Sutherland variety of Scottish Gaelic. The model is based on three sets of phenomena which are relevant to the process of language death. These sets of phenomena occur in sequential order. The first, according to Sasse, is the entire range of extra-linguistic factors such as cultural, sociological, ethno-historical, economic etc., which create a situation of pressure in a certain speech community forcing it to give up its language. Such phenomena are known as the External Setting (ES) in the GAM model. The external setting acts as a catalyst in the process of language death since it prompts the occurrence of the second phenomenon called Speech Behavior (SB). By this, Sasse (1992:10) means that the regular use of variables, which, in a given speech community are bound with social parameters, such as the use of different languages in multilingual settings, the use of different styles of one language, domains of language use, language attitudes towards language variants, and so on. This kind of speech behavior, in turn, results in the third phenomenon, the Structural Consequences (SC), which involves changes in the sound system, morphological structure, syntactic rules and the lexicon. The interrelation of the three sets of phenomena is that

of an implicational chain: ES phenomena induce a certain kind of SB, which in turn results in specific SCs in the dying language. It seems that this implicational chain is paralleled by the historical development: the extra linguistic factors appear first; a change in speech behavior, then, takes place as a reaction to the extra-linguistic factors. Finally, structural changes emerge as a result of the change in speech behavior.

Figure 3: Sasse's (1992:19) Model of Language Death



As indicated in figure 3, the External Setting is defined through specific historical events, e.g. political domination, economic dependence or social inequalities that cause uneven distribution of languages in multilingual setting (only some dominant languages used in different domains, while the minority languages restricted to particular domain, such as home). The fact that only the dominant language functions in the majority of the social domains exerts pressure on the minority speech community (1 in figure 3). This pressure, in turn, causes the emergence of negative attitudes towards the language of the minority group (2). The speakers gradually make a decision to forsake their heritage language in favor of the language of the majority group (3).

Historical events, such as the rise of one group and their language variety to political and cultural dominance begin to cause some restriction of the community language to particular domains (4). This brings about increasing levels of bilingualism among members of the minority language group (5), e.g. minority language speakers have to use the dominant language instead of their heritage language in certain domains, such as the workplace or school. The increase of collective bilingualism owing to restriction of domains for the minority language exacerbates the development of negative attitudes towards the abandoned language (6). While the abandoned language (the minority language) is stigmatized, speakers' competence in the other language develops and increases (7). Once the speakers make a decision to relinquish their heritage language (8), they tend to avoid passing it onto the younger generations, and consequently prevent these generations from acquiring it. This results in primary language shift, which means shift from the abandoned (the minority) language as primary to the target (the dominant) language as primary (9). An abandoned language (A) is language that is dying out; a language that its speakers are shifting from because they feel that it is of no use for creating job opportunity or for upward social mobility. A target language (T) is dominant language that is continued; that is, a language to which speakers of a minority language are shifting may be because of its economic, social and political advantages. At this stage, the use of the minority language shrinks further (10) and the dominant language becomes the main communicative tool in the entire speech community. That is to say, the heritage language is not used regularly in everyday life (11); members of the community use their residual knowledge only for specialized purposes, group identification, or as a secret language (12).

The External Setting and Speech Behavior explain the social processes that cause Structural Change in figure 3. According to Sasse, the first phenomenon of this change is loss of lexicon (13). If the target language is favored, there will be a failure to develop new vocabulary in the new domains. Borrowing will be common and speakers will become competent bilinguals in the majority language. The failure of development in domains where the target language is favored (14) and the increase of collective bilingualism (15) lead to an increase of contact-induced interference. Gradually, even while the minority language is used in appropriate domains, it will still undergo structural simplification due to increased contact with majority language features (16) as well as an increase of competence in the target language (17). Simplification is removal of linguistic complexities; that is, the semi-speakers use their residual knowledge of their primary language by elimination of superfluous details so as to reduce complexity. By semi-speakers, Sassse means member of the post-language transmission break generation with imperfect knowledge of the minority language or abandoned language; i.e., a member of the speech community who is left with only little knowledge of the language he/she is shifting from. Provided that the process of intergenerational transmission is interrupted (18) and the domains of the minority language declines further (19), language decay is predicted in the speech of semi-speakers. According to Sasse, language decay (pathological language disintegration) is a gradual decrease or the spontaneous disintegration of the speakers' lexical, grammatical and pragmatic competence of their primary language. Ultimately, if the minority language only fulfills social or religious functions (20), it fossilizes in the form of unanalyzed words and phrases (21), as which it will persist in the speech community.

2.3 Review of Related Literature

2.3.1 Language Endangerment and Minority Languages

A language is said to be endangered when its speakers cease to use it or use it in an increasingly reduced number of communicative domains; it is also likely no longer transmitted from one generation to the next, and actively spoken by a steadily decreasing number of speakers (UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Language, 2003:3). Therefore, language endangerment is a process leading to a rapid reduction in the number of speakers and domains in which a given language is used; or as Wurm (2003:16) cogently puts, language endangerment, which leads to the ultimate extinction and disappearance of languages, constitutes the gradual shortfall of the speakers of a language, usually beginning with children, continuing with young adults, middle-aged speakers, aged speakers, until only a few very old speakers are left, with whose death the language becomes extinct. Batibo (2005:62) in his part regards language endangerment as a continuum, with "safe" languages at one end and "dying" languages at the other. A language with insignificant domains of use is usually at a serious risk of endangerment. Such language is commonly referred to as a minority language.

Trask (1999: 124) defines minority language as a long-established language spoken as a mother tongue by people in some part of a country in which the national or official language is something else. Batibo also describes it as follows:

> Socio-linguistically, a minority language is defined not only by its relative demographic inferiority but also, and more so, by its limited public functions. Thus a minority language can be identified horizontally by looking at its weak or non-dominant position in relation to other languages in the region or nation, and vertically on the basis of its low status and absence of use in public or official areas (Batibo 2005:51).

According to this definition, minority languages are primarily characterized on the basis of their marginalization and exclusion from serving in secondary public domains, and not on the basis of demographics. That is to mean, a language is deemed to be minority mainly when it is denied any role to play in the country's socio-economic and political domains. This, as Batibo argues, is the reason why the ex-colonial languages, although spoken by just a handful of educated people in most countries, are not regarded as minority languages. Therefore, one can say that it is not the

number of speakers but the power relation that counts when it comes to decide whether a given language is a minority language or not.

A minority language can be spoken in its area for centuries, sometimes even for millennia, but its speakers may simply find themselves incorporated into a nation-state in which the main language is other than their own vernacular. Most minority language speakers may, in some cases, live and die without ever acquiring an adequate command of the prestige language; conversely, all speakers may commonly become fluent in the official language, or at least acquire an adequate working knowledge of it (Trask, 1999: 124).

2.3.2 Current State of Language Endangerment

Although there is no exact number of languages that are spoken in the world, Crystal (2000:11) estimates somewhere in the range of 5000-7000 languages. Current reports estimate that there are slightly less than 7000 languages in the world. However, almost 80 percent of the world's population speaks one of just 83 languages (Harrison, 2007:14). The reality in the contemporary world is the rapid endangerment and death of many languages. In support of this view, Grenoble and Whaley (2006:2) articulate the magnitude of language loss:

> Whereas the phenomena of language death has been present in all epochs, the rate of decline in linguistic diversity is probably unique to our time, perhaps only rivaled by the loss of linguistic diversity believed to have happened during the agricultural revolution. Given this rate of language death, we must recognize that a significant proportion of communities in the world today are confronted with the loss of a language that has traditionally been an integral feature of their identity.

Observing the rate at which languages are decaying, linguists forward very worrying predictions about the fate of the world's presently spoken languages. The most frequently quoted prediction is that of Krauss (1992:7) who concludes: "I consider it a plausible calculation that - at the rate things are going - the coming century will see either the death or the doom of 90% of mankind's languages". As to the more optimistic estimates, however, only 50% of the word's language will be lost (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 8). Crystal (2000:19) argues that "to meet that timeframe, at least one language must die, on average, every two weeks or so".

Following the statistics, particularly of Krauss, the alarm bells over endangered languages have sounded louder than ever before, and subjects, such as language endangerment, language death,

language shift, language attrition, language loss have attracted a wide range of scholarship since then (e.g. Fishman, 1991; Crystal, 2000; Brenzinger 1998; Grenoble and Whaley, 1998). In 1992, linguists at a conference held in Quebec called on UNESCO to take urgent measure against the problem:

> As the disappearance of any one language constitutes an irretrievable loss to mankind, it is for UNESCO a task of great urgency to respond to the situation by promoting, and if possible, sponsoring programs of linguistic organizations for the descriptions in the form of grammars, dictionaries and texts, including the recording of oral literatures, of hitherto unstudied or inadequately documented endangered languages (quoted in Crystal, 2000: vii).

In response, UNESCO's general assembly adopted the "Endangered Languages Project" and the "Red Book of Endangered Languages" in November 1993 (Crystal, 2000: vii). On the whole, most parts of the world responded to the call of linguists for tackling the problem of language endangerment and death, and the response was mainly in the form of foundations and creation of research centres. Crystal (2000: viii) notes that a universal upsurge of professional linguistic concerns about the world's endangered languages, which saw the establishment of bodies and holding of conferences, was witnessed following the release of the alarming statistics on world's endangered languages. This is also supported by Batibo (2005: viii), who puts his observation in the following way:

> The rapidly growing concern over the problem among linguists can be seen in the number of conferences which have been organized in recent years to discuss aspects of language endangerment and death in international linguistics congresses, the creation of centers all over the world for research and custody of information on the endangered languages, the provision of funds by foundations and other nongovernmental organizations towards the empowerment of the endangered languages, and the recent heavy involvement of UNESCO in making consultations on how to deal with the problem of language shift and death among the minority languages.

2.3.3 Assessing Language Endangerment

Linguists have proposed various evaluative factors in order to better understand the different linguistic situations. According to Grenoble (2011:38) a number of factors, which deeply interconnected with the causes of language shift, are involved in determining the level of language endangerment. Grenoble put these evaluative factors into three broad categories: (1) the nature of the speaker base; (2) domains of use, and (3) both internal and external support for or

pressures against using the language.

In 2003 the UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit's ad hoc committee of linguists also proposed a core set of nine factors to assess the linguistic vitality and degree of language endangerment in a given community: (1) intergenerational transmission; (2) absolute number of speakers; (3) proportion of speakers within the total population; (4) loss of existing language domains; (5) response to new domains and media; (6) materials for language education and literacy; (7) governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use; (8) community members' attitudes toward their own language; and (9) amount and quality of documentation. These nine factors are a key in assessing language vitality/ endangerment.

The single most important factor, Grenoble believes, is the nature of the speaker base. This base comprises not only the number of speakers but also the generational distribution of these speakers, and the proportion of speakers of the target language within the total population. A clear indicator of language endangerment is low rates of sustainable intergenerational language transmission. Languages continue to exist only if they have future speakers (p. 38). The number of speakers is important in that a smaller speaker base may be more vulnerable to sudden shift, but this does not mean that smaller groups always abandon their ancestral tongue in favor of other language of wider communication. There are situations where some languages with relatively small numbers of speakers can be quite stable, particularly if the group lives in a relative isolation, without intense contact with other languages that involves an asymmetrical dominance relationship. Grenoble (2011: 38) further says that the total number of speakers is also pertinent in terms of the importance of the percentage of the population which speaks the language. If a language has a large speaker base, the shift of some of the speakers to another language is not a signal that the language is at risk. As to Krauss (2007: 2 cited in Grenoble, 2011:39), no language with fewer than 10,000 speakers could be seen as truly 'safe'. The important point that the author wants to make here is not whether such a language is viable, but rather that the small number of speakers means an even smaller number of young speakers, and consequently rapid attrition (over the course of a single generation) could occur if the social or political situation changed to destabilize the community in some way.

The other important indicator of language endangerment/ vitality is domains of use. Languages with an official status have much better chance of survival because of the fact that they mostly become the language of government, education and administration; in such cases the languages are relatively safe and stable. So, there is a strong link between language vitality/endangerment and the domains in which it is used, and one symptom of a healthy/endangered language is the number of domains in which it is used. If a language is used in all domains, it will be safe and stable, and the reverse holds true if it is used in an ever decreasing domains (Grenoble, 2011:39).

The attitude of the community toward the language is another indicator of language vitality/endangerment (Grenoble, 2011: 39). The correlation between language attitudes and vitality/endangerment is well established in the literature. A more positive attitude usually promotes language vitality, whereas a more negative attitude triggers language abandonment in favor of other. As a final point, Grenoble (2011:40) says, documentation is an important evaluative factor, but it should be noted that the act of documenting a language does not directly affect its vitality. An existing large body of documentation may point out that the language is vigorously used in many domains; this is the case with English or any of the world's major languages. It may also indicate that it was once robustly used, such as Manchu, which was once the main language of government and lingua franca in China during the first centuries of the Qing Dynasty, but is now highly endangered. More indirectly, the act of documentation may arouse discussion in the community about language shift and may motivate community members to think about language vitality.

Based on the aforementioned core evaluative factors, linguists classify languages according to their levels of endangerment. A common sense classification made by Crystal (2000:20) recognizes three levels of language endangerment: *safe*, *endangered* and *extinct*. To these, Krauss (1992) introduces the term "moribund" to refer to languages which are no longer being taught to children as their mother tongue (cited in Crystal 2000:20). This captures the notion of a language which is well beyond the stage of mere endangerment, as it lacks intergenerational transmission; the analogy is with a species unable to reproduce itself. Grenoble and Whaley (2006: 18) present a six-way classification which captures different levels of endangerment: *safe, at risk, disappearing, moribund, nearly extinct* and *extinct*.

Safe: All generations use the language in all or nearly all domains, and the language has a large speaker base relative to others spoken in the same region. A safe language usually has official status, and typically functions as the language of government, education, and commerce. Safe languages generally enjoy high prestige.

At risk: There is no observable pattern of a shrinking speaker base, but the language lacks some of the properties of a safe language: it may be used in limited domains, or have a smaller number of speakers than other languages in the same region. Language attitudes may be a key at this stage: positive attitudes toward the language may reinforce vitality, while negative attitudes may contribute to shift.

Disappearing: A language is disappearing when there is an observable shift towards another language in the communities where it is spoken. With an overall decreasing proportion of intergenerational transfer, the speaker base shrinks because it is not being replenished. Disappearing languages are consequently used in a more restricted set of domains, and languages of wider communication begin to replace them in a greater percentage of homes.

Moribund: the language is no longer transmitted to children, and so the speaker base is consistently shrinking.

Nearly extinct: Only a handful of speakers of the oldest generation remain.

Extinct: No remaining speakers.

Similarly, UNESCO's Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages (2003:7) introduces a six level classification system on the basis of the nine core evaluative factors listed in the foregoing section. Here is an instance of six degrees of endangerment distinguished with respect to intergenerational language transmission.

Safe: The language is spoken by all generations. The intergenerational transmissions of the language are uninterrupted.

Stable yet threatened: The language is spoken in most contexts by all generations with unbroken intergenerational transmission, yet multilingualism in a native language and one or more dominant language(s) has usurped certain important communication contexts.

Unsafe: Most but not all children or families of a particular community speak their parental language as their first language, but this may be restricted to specific social domains (such as home, where children interact with their parents and grandparents).

Definitely endangered: The language is no longer being learnt as the mother tongue by children at home. The youngest speakers are thus of the parental generation. At this stage, parents may still speak their language to their children, but the children do not typically respond in the language.

Severely endangered: The language is spoken only by grandparents and older generations. Although the parent generation may still understand the language, they typically do not speak it to their children, or among themselves.

Critically endangered: The youngest speakers are in the great-grand parental generation, and the language is not used for every day interactions. These older people often remember only part of the language, but do not use it on regular basis since there are few people left to speak with.

Extinct: There is no one who can speak or remember the language.

Grenoble (2011) believes that lack of transmission of the language to children determine a significant change in language vitality. According to Fishman (1991), intergenerational transmission is not just a factor of language shift but the *primary factor*, whereas absolute number of speakers, speaker number trends and domains of use are not necessarily defining elements to language shift, but they are indicators.

One basic problem with any system for evaluating vitality/endangerment is determining the number of speakers. At first, it might appear that it is at least easy to establish when a language is extinct; when there are no speakers left, but this is not always the case (Grenoble, 2011:41).

2.3.4 Language Death

Thomason (2001: 224) believes that there is no objective way of arriving at a definition of language death which will satisfy everyone and work on all occasions. The following definition, he says, useful but it won't cover all the possibilities: "a language dies when it cease to be used for any purposes of regular spoken communication within a speech community." Old English and Middle English are a case in point because no one has spoken them for centuries. Tsunoda (2006:36) also puts his view much the same way. Although there are some proposals on the definition of language death, Tsunoda asserts that no consensus exists among linguists as to when a particular language is to be considered dead. On the one hand, a language is declared to be dead even before the last native speaker of the language has died. On the other, a language is

considered dead when it completely loses its speakers and communicative contexts. A further proposal is that even if there are a few elderly speakers of a language remaining but they no longer use the language for everyday communication, then that language is considered dead. According to Campbell (1994: 1961), language death is defined as "the loss of a language due to gradual shift to a dominant language in language contact situations." These situations, Campbell says, involve an intermediate stage of bilingualism in which the dominated language is used by a decreasing number of speakers in an equally diminishing number of domains till it is completely replaced by the dominant language. A language that has reached such a reduced stage of use is generally considered **moribund**. If no children are being socialized into it as their primary language, the process of transmission is ended and the language itself will not survive past the current generation. For Trask (1999: 101), language death is "the disappearance of a language as a mother tongue."

Types of Language Death

Language death may manifest itself in one of the following ways:

A. Sudden Language Death

According to Campbell and Muntzel (1989:182), sudden language death occurs when a language abruptly disappears because of the fact that all of its speakers die or get killed, or language may suddenly become extinct due to the death of the entire population that speaks it (Tsunoda 2006:43). This was the case with Tasmanian; Nicoleño, a Native American Indian language in California (Campbell and Muntzel, 1989:183). In 1887, the last speaker of a Tasmanian language died, and so did the language. The causes for this type of death, as cited by Tsunoda, include the following: warfare, genocide, extermination, volcanic eruption, tsunami and epidemics. The transitional phase of sudden language death is so abrupt that there are often no structural consequences as the language dies, or sudden language death "leaves, by definition, no obsolescing state to investigate structurally" (Campbell and Muntzel, 1989: 182-183).

B. Radical Language Death

Radical language death resembles sudden language death in terms of the abruptness of the process. It differs from sudden language death in that it does not occur by complete disappearance of the speakers of a language, but rather by a total stoppage of the speakers to

speak the language, often because of a political suppression. In other words, the entire people stop speaking their ethnic heritage language as a matter of survival in the face of political repression and genocide (Campbell and Muntzel 1989: 183). Speakers, to avoid being identified as "natives", simply stop speaking their native language. Since children are unable to learn the language under this circumstance, it ends up dying. Campbell and Muntzel cited the case of radical language death for several Native American languages in El Salvador after an Indian uprising in the 1932. After a peasant rebellion where the insurgents were thought to be "communist-inspired Indians", those identified as Indians by either dress or physical features were besieged by Salvadorian soldiers and killed, 25,000 of them in an event called the *matanza* ('massacre'). After that event, many simply stopped speaking their native tongues to avoid being identified as Indians. This resulted in the abandonment of Lenca and Cacaopera which became extinct soon, and pipil became severely moribund, with hardly any new speakers after 1932.

C. Bottom-to-Top Language Death

Hill (1983: 160) calls this type of language death a "Latinate Pattern" because it is "exemplified by the famous case of Latin, where the repertoire of registers suffers attrition from the bottom up, being abandoned first in the family vernacular and surviving ultimately only in the most elevated contexts." The vanishing language lives in highly formal, often purely ritual contexts. That is to mean, bottom-to-top language death occurs when language change begins in a low-level environment such as the home. In many cases, a dying language will be retained in more casual and informal contexts while it is not used in more formal settings. In the case of bottom-to-top language death, however, the language is relinquished in everyday conversation and casual settings while it is retained in more formal, ritualistic contexts (Campbell and Muntzel, 1989: 185; Tsunoda 2006: 47). Therefore, bottom-to-top language death is the term that describes a language that survives only in specific contexts, such as a liturgical language. Latin is one such example. Another commonly cited case of such kind of language death is Geez, a liturgical language in Ethiopia.

D. Top-to-Bottom Language Death

Top-to-bottom language death happens when language change begins in a high-level environment such as the government. The formal domains can entirely be lost while the other (informal domains) persist in the context of top-to-bottom language death (Hill, 1973, and

Campbell and Muntzel, 1989). To put it another way, the formal domains such as education, business, administration and ritual, is taken over by the dominant language.

E. Gradual Language Death

Gradual language death, according to Tsunoda (2006: 46), occurs in language contact situation when a group of people shift to another language gradually. It happens to minority languages that are in contact with a dominant language. Many scholars identified bilingualism as a prerequisite to gradual language death (e.g., Campbell and Muntzel, 1989; Crystal 2000; Tsunoda 2006). Bilinguals may eventually become less proficient in the minority language due to a number of factors, including domain restriction of the minority language, cross-cultural marriages, and lack of transmission between the older speakers and the young. To put it differently, gradual language death goes through an obsolescing state. Language obsolescence involves "the gradual loss of a language, which takes place when its transmission between generations ceases, and the number of its native speakers diminishes (Crystal, 1997: 267). The obsolescing state is characterized by intermediate stage of bilingualism, in which the language is gradually replaced by the dominant language in an ever-increasing number of contexts, and by proficiency continuum, in which different speakers show different levels of proficiency, determined primarily by age (but also by attitude and other factors); older speakers are typically the more proficient and younger speakers are the less proficient (or no proficient at all) in the receding language (Tsunoda, 2006: 46). In the same token, Trask (1999: 101) asserts that native speakers of the language under pressure may find themselves compelled, not only to learn the local dominant language, but also to use it in an increasing number of domains. In the long run, a time may come when many children are no longer learning the threatened language as their first language, or are learning it only imperfectly. At this stage, the threatened language is said to be *moribund* or *dying,* and the almost inevitable endpoint of the process is called *language death* - the situation where no one will be able to speak the threatened language at all.

A final point to note is that gradual language death is the most common one. In any given place, at any given time, Trask (1999:101) says, some children are still learning the dying language as their mother tongue, while others are learning it only imperfectly and still others not at all. The language may disappear completely from some areas while surviving in others.

The language spoken by the last generation or so of native speakers may be very much changed from the language spoken by an earlier generation. Irregularities may be lost; the more complex or less frequent forms and sentence patterns may drop out of use; native words may be massively replaced by words taken from the prestige language; the pronunciation may change so as to become more similar to that of the prestige language; stylistic variation may be lost, leaving only a single unvarying style. The final result, of course, is a dead language (Trask, 1999: 101-102).

2.3.5 Rationale for Protecting Minority Languages

Before dealing with rationale for protecting minority languages, it is imperative to see arguments against multilingualism. There is a widely held belief that any reduction in the number of languages is a benefit for human kind, and not a tragedy. Multilingualism is economically regarded as a problem, instead of a resource. It is argued that huge amount of finance is required to develop multiple languages in the domains of education, media, law, administration, commerce, and international communication (Crystal, 2000 and Batibo, 2005). The most important argument is, however, the nation state argument. Dorian (1998:8) vividly contends that "it is the concept of nation state coupled with its official standard language… that has in modern times posed the keenest threat to both the identities and the languages of small (minority) communities". Bamgbose (1991:9) also cogently argues: "the rational for this approach are the notions that multilingualism inhabits national integration, and national integration necessarily involves the emergence of a nation state with only one national language". It is often assumed that the use of indigenous languages in official domains such as education will emphasize cultural pluralism and thus enhance ethnic chauvinism, and thereby cause national disunity. On the other hand, learning the official language automatically results in national integration and social mobility (Adegbija, 1994:107). Thus, monolingual dominant language speakers tend to deprive small and minority language speakers in their orbit of the advantages of bi-and multilingualism, and to instill the belief in them that monolingualism is the 'normal' state to be in and is preferable to bi-and multilingualism (Wurm, 2013:17).

Nevertheless, the nation state argument is clearly untenable. According to Adegbija (1994:107), monolingualism is not a universal remedy for the problem of national unity and integration. For example, in spite of the predominant monolingualism in Somalia, where Somali is largely used in the educational system and national life, there has been a serious conflict among different

clans for a long time, and consequently hunger and famine have completely devastated and ruined the nation. Further examples of frequent inter-clan disunity could be cited in other African countries with one predominant indigenous language, such as Swaziland, Burundi, Rwanda, and Lesotho.

In effect, therefore, national monolingualism doesn't necessarily guarantee national integration and unity; nor is national multilingualism a recipe for disunity (Adegbija, 1994:107). Nettle and Romaine (2000:23) assert: "difference itself is not the problem, but rather lack of respect for difference, its meanings and its values". As Adegbija (1994:108) sensibly puts, the recognition, acceptance and respect for linguistic and cultural diversity in a multilingual setting have great power for promoting unity and reducing the suspicion that normally exists when one language and cultural group feels threatened by the dominance of another. A frequently mentioned country where there is official respect for multilingualism is Switzerland. Different linguistic and cultural groups exist in harmony owing to the mutual respect for diverse languages and cultures in the country, rather than forced national monolingualism which denies the reality of the socio-linguistic situation (Adegbija, 1994:108).

So, there is no plausibility in the nation state arguments that say the fewer the languages are the better the world would be. Instead, the opposite view has several strong arguments. Below are some other basic arguments why we are supposed to care about languages.

The arguments, which support the need for biological diversity, can also be applicable to language. Crystal (2000:32) believes that increasing uniformity holds dangers for the long term survival of a species. In the language of ecology, the strongest ecosystems are those which are most diverse. The success of people in colonizing the planet has been due to their ability to develop diverse cultures which suit all kinds of environment. Skutnabb-Kangas (2001:121) adds that language loss can be seen as a symbol of more general crisis of biodiversity because a wealth of ecological information contained within indigenous languages will be lost as languages are lost. Indigenous and local languages store and transmit traditional ecological knowledge and the related social behaviors, practices and innovations. Such knowledge can, however, disappear with the loss of language. Just to cite one example of ecological knowledge lost, Skutnabb-Kangas (2001:121) presents the case of Mexico. Nuances in the knowledge about medicinal plants and their use disappear when indigenous youth in Mexico become bilingual without

teaching in and through the medium of their own languages- the knowledge is not transferred to Spanish which does not have the vocabulary for these nuances. So, this ecolinguistic school of thought regards saving endangered languages as an important part of the larger challenge of preserving biodiversity.

The other argument concerns the role of language in providing a speaker with individuality and group membership. For many people, particularly for those in linguistic minority, language is a central defining feature of identity. For example, one's utterance gives other people important clues about what sort of person he is: where he comes from; what social class he belongs to; even the sex and age of the person (like on telephone conversation). Such information says something about his individuality as well as the social, national, and ethnic groups to which he considers himself to belong (Trask, 1999: 95). Tabouret-Keller (1998:215) also argues about the existence of a strong link between language and identity: a single feature of language use suffices to identify one's membership in a group. By using one language, dialect or variety instead of another, people establish their identity in relation to other, either as part of a group or as not being part of a group. This is particularly frequent in a multilingual environment. Language loss has, therefore, a significant impact on these collective and individual identities of a community. James Henare, a leader of Maori people in New Zealand, for example, expressed the potential effect of the loss of Maori language in the following way: "The language is the life force of our Maori culture and *mana* [Power]. If the language dies, as some predict, what do we have left to us? Then I ask our own people who are we?" (Nettle and Romaine, 2000:23).

Language is also an archive of its speaker's history. It preserves the ancestral cultural events and practices, and transmits them to the upcoming generations. Crystal (2000:41) points out that several people give a considerable value to those linguistic scraps of personal documentation which have descended to them from their ancestors-for example, a grandparent's diary, the name written on the back of a photograph and grave stone inscriptions- all of which provide ample evidence for their own pedigree. Thus, if the language is lost, the links with their past will be gone forever; or "loss of a language deprives its speech community of much more since a large part of a culture must inevitably vanish with the language" (Thomason, 2001:232).

Equally important argument is that language is a source of knowledge, insight and wisdom, contributing to the sum of human knowledge. According to Crystal (2000:53), "the sum of

human wisdom is not contained in any one language, and no single language is capable of expressing all forms and degrees of human comprehension". This means, the learning of languages other than the native tongue can contribute a lot to the growth of people's intellectual wealth, i.e. learning several languages increases mental capacity, flexibility and creativity. This view is supported by Wurm (2013:16) who argues that knowledge of several languages gives speakers intellectual, emotional and social advantages over monolinguals. The thought patterns and the worldview of several language speakers are more balanced for the reason that they are familiar with diverse concepts; they have better abilities than monolinguals to learn something entirely extraordinary and to fit into new situations, as well as to understand different sides of a problem (Wurm, 2013: 17). As Reyhner (2007:4) also arguably puts, many of the keys to psychological, social and physical survival of human kind may well be held by the smaller speech communities of the world. These keys will be lost as languages and cultures die.

Another point worth making is the role minority languages have in successful economic development. There is an emerging awareness that development, poverty alleviation, and health improvement efforts can be fully successful only if they take into account the linguistic situation of the locales in which they are implemented, build on an understanding of what languages are used by whom, and in what situations, and make use of local languages as a resource (Harbert, 2011:411). It is believed that development plans can be made more effective and more targeted, and the delivery of services more efficient and more equitable, if linguistic access is extended to all local stakeholders. Aside from this, there is other facet in which indigenous languages can play a role in development. Minority languages often embody systems of knowledge about local environments and traditional technologies which can serve as the basis for alternative modes of exploiting local resources, modes which are less ecologically and culturally disruptive and more sustainable than are industries and technologies imported from outside (Harbert, 2011:414).

Scholars further contend for the protection of minority languages from linguistic point of view. If languages disappear undescribed, it is not possible to know whether they had otherwise unattested or rare structures. It is apparent that endangered languages change in different ways from other languages, and this has important implications for historical linguistic theory (Bradley and Bradley, 2013: xii). According to Thomason (2001: 223), every loss of a language deprives

the scholarly community of a window into the human mind and the human spirit; every language that dies deprives the scholars of a unique repository of human experience and thought.

2.3.6 Factors that Lead to Language Endangerment

It is rarely the case that one or two factors lead to language endangerment. Instead, language endangerment is believed to result from the complex constellation of a variety of factors (e.g. Dorian, 1998; Grenoble and Whaley, 1998; Brenzinger, 1998; Crystal, 2000). According to Grenoble and Whaley (1998), these factors can be categorized as macro- and micro-level factors.

2.3.6.1 Macro-Level Factors in Language Endangerment

Macro-level factors encompass the forces external to a linguistic community which have an impact on linguistic vitality (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006:22). These factors can include globalization and economic factors, political, historical and linguistic realities.

2.3.6.1.1 Globalization and Economic Factors

One of the major macro-level factors in language endangerment is globalization. According to Whaley (2003:969), globalization, broadly defined, is a "process of increasing international integration of economic life". As the process has transformed or eliminated the traditional political and economic barriers among nations, there has been a greatly enhanced ability for information, money, people, goods and services to move between regions. In other words, the increased integration of the world requires greater economic cooperation and more efficient transportation networks between countries; the removal of both legal and political barriers to trade and the efficient movement of manufactured goods; and communication that is quick and not costly (Grenoble and Whaley 2006:23). Under this circumstance, Crawford (2007:50) observes that opportunities for employment and commerce tend to be open only to those fully proficient in dominant languages since a wage economy has already started to replace an agricultural economy, and isolated markets become integrated into a consumer society.

In fact, it is a local globalization that has played a great role in the process of language endangerment. According to Mufwene (2006:8), languages have died the most in places where localized economy has been the strongest, and the language of the work place is the vernacular of the people who are economically dominant.

In connection to globalization, Crystal (2000:77) contends that urbanization and development in transport and communication facilitate the minority languages endangerment. In the earlier times, cultural, economic and geographic separations were factors that contributed to the continued existence of smaller languages. Nowadays, however, modern means of transportation and communication make such relative isolation much less of an issue. Urbanization has produced a number of cities which act as magnets to rural communities, particularly to working adults in the rural areas in search of alternative economic opportunities. Within these cities, rural communities have immediate access to the consumer society, and the homogenization effect which contact of this kind inevitably brings. Even if people stay in their rural setting, there is no escape since the same transport systems, which carry country people into the cities are used to convey consumer products and the associated advertising back to their communities. Crystal goes on spelling out that language of the dominant culture infiltrates everywhere reinforced by relentless daily pressure of the media and especially of television (Crystal, 2000:78). Krauss (1992:6) refers to television as 'cultural nerve gas' since it, as compared to others, is powerful in streaming the majority language and culture into the homes of indigenous people, thereby accelerating the rate at which indigenous people abandon their own languages and cultures.

In general, because of increasing globalization and urbanization, individuals and families have been forced by economic considerations to separate from their local language communities. Due to this reason, Grenoble and Whaley (1998:52) claim that "economics is perhaps the single strongest force influencing the fate of endangered languages". Hale (1998: 214) also supports this claim: "the economic factor, broadly conceived, combined with the almost overwhelming influence of the dominant language is, perhaps, the greatest contributor to language decline now".

2.3.6.1.2 Political Factors

Politics is another key factor in the process of language endangerment. Harrison (2007:8) argues that language endangerment and death typically begin with political or social discrimination against a language or its speakers. This may take the form of official state policies to suppress speech, or it may be benign neglect. The suppressive language policy has often been noted for some instances of language decline and death. The case in point is that of the once repressive language policy of Americans, which severely oppressed Indians not to promote their culture and

language (Crawford, 2007: 48). Much the same happened in France and Spain. After the French Revolution, the new Republican Government passed laws that favored the teaching and use of Parisian French, while the other languages were subjected to merciless condemnation and persecution; their use was regarded as unpatriotic, subversive and sinister, and their speakers were condemned as reactionaries and fanatics. A Similar scenario was observed in Spain after the Fascist victory in Spanish civil War, when the then dictatorial government declared the very speaking of any language other than Castilian Spanish to be illegal, and Basques, Catalans and Galicians were routinely ordered to 'stop barking like dogs' and to 'speak the language of the Christians' (Trask, 1999: 97).

However, this phenomenon is, in most cases, not observed these days, but there are very subtle ways of marginalizing minority languages. For example, the provisions of the language policies (Bamgbose, 2007:25) are such that non-dominant languages are not found in official domains, such as in the media, administration, court, higher education and formal economy. This is evident in situation of Africa, where low status of the languages is manifested in non-use or minimal use in education, poor funding of language instruction, failure to harness them for information and mass participation, and neglect in the formal economy (Bamgbose 2007:24).

Policy makers usually use the cost element as an excuse to legitimize the non-teaching of the minority languages. This excuse, according to Bamgbose (2007:25), is no longer tenable, given developments in technology, which have made possible desktop publishing and facilitated availability of fonts. In addition, new methods of producing materials for smaller languages have been evolved, including co-edition and bilingual/ multilingual texts. Therefore, according to Bamgbose, the major reason why many African languages are not actively promoted is lack of political will. This manifests itself in poor articulation of language policy, policy formulation without definite implementation strategies, building of escape clauses into policies and policies that are not backed by enabling funds (Bamgbose, 2007:26). Hence, the absence of minority languages in major public domains can be considered as a deliberate marginalization of the minority language and culture, thereby getting the language speakers to assimilate to the economically dominant group.

In all, the political factor emphasizes the role of governmental policies in undermining the use of minority language and cultural practices through a variety of oppressive measures that have

negative effects on preservation of minority languages. These measures may take the following forms: education policies which disregard local languages, lack of recognitions, or political representation, bans on the use of minority languages in public life (Sallabank 2010: 57).

2.3.6.1.3 Socio-Historical Factors

As noted by Sallabank (2010:57), the socio-historical dimension of language endangerment may be linked to colonization, conquest, boundary disputes, emigration and immigration- forced and other wise. Historically, many conquered or colonized people have faced linguistic ramification. In the past, colonialism was one of the main culprits. Colonialism brought with it a subtractive spread of languages. This happens when an incoming language displaces and then replaces original languages. This scenario was observed extensively in the America, Australia and in parts of Africa and Europe. Similarly, the kind of population movements usually described as immigration, where newcomers fit themselves into an existing polity rather than establishing a new one, has often led to rapid linguistic assimilation of new comers (Sankoff, 2001:642). There are, of course, exceptions whereby immigrations cannot bring about linguistic assimilation. These are cases where immigrants have populated previously unsettled, relatively isolated territories, and have thus constituted new language isolates, or relatively stable bilingual communities (Sankoff, 2001:642).

Forced migration (relocation) can also lead to language endangerment as has been observed in Japan where the Japanese government forced the people of Tokuyama-mura village to leave their territory:

> A village named Tokuyama-mura, in a deep valley north of Nagoya was well known for the unique features of its dialect. The government decided to build a dam there, in order to secure water supplies for human consumption and irrigation, and the villagers were forced to leave their home village and were dispersed, losing contact with their fellow- villagers. The dialect is now on the verge of extinction (Tsunoda, 2006:58).

It is known that a community displaced from its homeland, either through migration or other cases, is obviously under strong pressure to adopt the language of the new homeland, and so its own language and culture become threatened in the new setting.

2.3.6.1.4 Linguistic Factors

The absence of indigenous literature is a leading theme that has characterized the cause of language endangerment (Tsunoda, 2006:62). The minority languages normally lack a relatively stable orthography, a comprehensively described grammar and a useful dictionary or glossary. This fact leads the minority language speakers to develop a poor impression of the status of their language as opposed to the dominant endoglossic languages which are fully standardized and reasonably codified. The opposite side of this is that descriptions and codifications of a minority language normalizes the status of a language as well as leads to its maintenance. Köpke (2007:20) argues that descriptions and codifications allow the first language speakers to maintain contact with their heritage language through reading. In addition, they arouse speakers' motivation for maintaining their language by wishing to have access to written input.

2.3.6.2 Micro-Level Factors

Micro-level factors refer to characteristics which are unique to specific speech communities (Grenoble and Whaley, 1998:28), and the speech community with its patterns of language use, attitudes and strategies (Brenzinger and Dimmendaal, 1992:3). The major internal factors to be treated under this sub-heading are language attitudes and language use/choice.

2.3.6.2.1 Language Attitudes

According to Crystal (2008: 266), language attitude is "a term used in sociolinguistics for the feelings people have about their own language or the language(s) of others." Attitudes towards language develop on the basis of political, social and economic pressure, and this pressure in turn develops on the basis of the historical situation in which speech community finds itself (Sasse, 1992:10). Speakers of non-dominant language tend to view their language as a sign of backwardness, or a hindrance to making improvements in social standing. The feelings of shame and lack of self-confidence to use one's own language may be introduced by a more dominant linguistic community. The members of this dominant linguistic community stigmatize the speakers of non-dominant languages as being "stupid, lazy and barbaric" and their languages as "ignorant, backward, deformed, inadequate or even (in the case of some missionaries) a creation of the devil" (Crystal, 2000: 84). This basic notion can be exemplified by the situation of Africa, where decades and centuries of marginalization have created a deep-rooted negative prejudice in the minds of many Africans towards their own indigenous languages. Bamgbose (2000:88)

observes “with years of indoctrination many people have come to accept that “real” education can only be obtained in a world language such as English. Even the idea that a child would benefit if his/ her initial education is given in the first language is disputed by many so-called educated parents.” The impression conveyed, according to Bamgbose (2007:24), is certainly that African languages are not worthy to be used for education at all or only useful as a means of gently easing the child into the world of learning in a foreign medium.

Studies in India, for example, show that speakers of the minority languages do not think that it is useful or important to learn their first language. As part of a survey, Pandharipande (1992) interviewed educated farmers in the 30-35 age groups. She said that these farmers controlled both standard Marathi and their dialect (Varhadi) of Marathi. The subjects, as opposed to their parents, had replaced the use of their dialect by standard Marathi, even at home with the belief that the retention of their own dialect would hamper their socio-economic success in the rapidly urbanizing society of Maharashtra. They should control the dominant code so as to compete and succeed in the dominant culture These educated farmers, however, thought that the loss of their code would not result in the loss of their cultural identity. They believed that they could retain their identity through their rituals, foods and their “unique values” towards life (cited in pandharipande 2002:224).

The speakers’ attitudes towards their languages are also determined by a changing perception of their own cultural identity. According to pandharipande (2002:224), the modernization and technological development of the country has created a new vision of homogeneous culture with modern facilities available to all, where individuals are judged by their ability to succeed in the apparently fair competition. The path to success, in this view, is carved out through science and technology. Because of this reason, dominant languages are perceived as mechanisms to achieve the “dream of success.” This overarching vision of culture, as Pandharipande says, is shared by all, majority as well as minority communities.

In the same way, Trask (1999: 125) points out the presence of a widely held belief that a good command of the dominant language is very necessary in a contemporary globalized world in order to get quality education, find a job, travel around the country, and understand newspapers, television and films. Adequate knowledge of a major language, such as English or French is considered to open the door to opportunities (be it economic, political, educational or others), not

just throughout the country, but throughout the world. As a result, speakers of minority languages find themselves using the dominant language ever more frequently, while the role of their mother tongue decreases correspondingly. Further, Trask notes that, in some cases, parents may make an attempt to have their children learn the prestige language, rather than their own mother tongue, in the hope that the children would have a better life as a consequence.

In conclusion, people may develop negative attitudes towards their ancestral language. The development of such attitudes, of course, usually depends on the degree of symbolic or socio-economic value manifested by the language. For example, a particular language may be perceived negatively if it is not associated with money-making, better-paying jobs or progress, or if it does not afford its speakers a better social status, or if it is not more widely spoken demographically and/or geographically. The role of attitude in language endangerment is, therefore, very significant. Where non-dominant language attracts negative attitudes, the possibility of its speakers to shift to the dominant language is considerably high.

2.3.6.2.2 Language Use

Language use refers to the choices that people make about what speech varieties to use in particular situations (Blair, 1990:107). Language use is also connected to language attitudes. In the context where several languages or varieties coexist, people must make linguistic choice when they communicate. Bilingual or multilingual speakers vary their linguistic choices depending on their attitudes towards the language they use. Nevertheless, powerful or dominant languages have more chances to be chosen and used by many speakers. The emergence and continuous increase of speakers of dominant language may result in language change and language loss. Thus, the choice of the dominant language can be a contributory factor towards the abandonment of weak language.

The variables that associated with such language use/choice (Vassberg, 1993:57) are age, geographical location, gender, educational background/profession and domains. Similarly, Williamson (1991), cited in Sallabank (2011:286) identifies four main factors that determine attitudes towards minority languages use: age, gender, social class and rural versus urban, stating the fact that varying responses have been found in different contexts.

It is clearly noted that age is a critical factor affecting language use. A study of language use and language attitudes in Alsace, for instance, reveals that the younger generation uses the dialect (Alsatian) far less than their parents or grandparents do/did, and in a far fewer situation than the adults (Vassberg, 1993:137).

Age is an important factor to be considered in this study as the current state of the language is expressed by referring to the age of the speakers. The absence of children speaking the language is evidence that intergenerational transmission of language has ceased and that a variety may soon disappear. This can be looked at from the point of view of practice: for example, what language do the older and younger members of the family, neighborhood and the community at large speak, or concentrate especially on what variety is spoken to babies and young children.

The second most important factor which seems to influence the use of language is gender. Gender issues, according to Sallabank (2011:286), are very relevant for language endangerment or vitality. Intergenerational transmission is carried out in the home, and it usually falls to mothers. They know from every experience that what sort of language varieties is important for their children's future educational and employment opportunities. The language use and attitudes of women are thus very crucial for language maintenance, yet are rarely taken into account by policy makers (or, in many cases researchers) (Sallabank, 2011:286).

In sociolinguistic studies, women are generally seen as more likely to use higher status language varieties than men (Coates, 1998; Philips et al., 1987, cited in Sallabank, 2011:287). As the study conducted by Vassberg (1993:47) in Alsace reveals, in all situations, girls reported using the dialect (Alsatian) less than did the boys. This may, according to the author, be because French is the language of prestige, fashions, elegant living, and refinement, and women may be more sensitive to these characteristics.

A particular language use also identifies a domain. Domains of language use would commonly be home, playground and street, school, church, literature, press, military, courts and governmental administration (Fishman, 1971:18). Each domain has a constellation of factors such as location, topic and participants, which determine the language use of communities in a certain social context.

One may distinguish the distribution and use of various languages or more precisely language varieties within each domain. Language practices in the home or family domain constitute one of the most significant sites for evidence of the endangerment of a variety. At the family level, the choice of which language to speak to children is a critical issue, the final determination often of the survival or loss of a variety. Beyond the family, it is clear that the number of domains in which a variety is used is highly significant. A language restricted to the home or the school or church has less chance of survival than one used also at work or in business (Spolsky 2011: 151).

Educational background is also important variable in determining language use. In general, these variables seem to have an impact on the attitudes towards minority language use/choice which, in turn, has important implications for the relative position and the future role of the language in the wider linguistic community.

2.3.7 Some Endangered Languages in Ethiopia

According to Záhořík (2009:72) Ethiopia has more than 75 languages which can be categorized under the language families of Semitic, Cushitic, Omotic and Nilotic. The absolute majority of the languages are found in the west and southwest of Ethiopia. The author argues that the number of languages would certainly decrease since many of them are highly endangered. Stated another way, only a few of the languages have had written forms, which means that a wide majority of languages remained only in their oral form without a standardized script, leading them to demise in foreseeable future. Recently, Záhořík said, several attempts have been made to standardize languages, but in spite of the attempt, it is not probable that the number of standardized languages would increase dramatically. The more probable scenario is that while the number of people speaking Amharic, Oromo, Somali and some other majority languages would increase considerably, those speaking minority languages decrease correspondingly. He believed that the decision of the speaker to relinquish his/her own language always derives from a change in the self-esteem of the speech community. For example, it could be noticeable in the context of language shift that members, very often the younger generation of minorities, consider their own community as inferior (Záhořík, 2009:82). To have a general understanding of the situations in Ethiopia, the researcher presented some endangered minority languages as follows.

Anfillo: According to Debela and Girma (2005: 54), Anfillo, otherwise known as Southern Mao is an Omotic language family still spoken by some people living in Western Ethiopia. In more

precise terms, Anfillo has been spoken by the Mao found in Anfillo and Sayo Woredas in the West Wellega Zone, specifically west of Dembi-Dollo. The authors reported that the Anfillo people have switched to the Cushitic language, Afan Oromo, which became more dominant language in the area. As the Anfillo people came into intense contact with Oromo people of Wellega, they abandoned their Omotic language and became speakers of the Oromo language. These days, the southern Mao people that found around Anfillo in Oromia Region are all speakers of Afan Oromo. There are significant works on Anfillo. For instance, Debela et al. (2005) sketched out the grammar of Anfillo and described briefly its sociolinguistic aspects. Debela (2007) also presented concisely constructions of copula in Anfillo. Above all, a detailed description of the grammar of Anfillo was presented in Amanuel (2014).

Argobba: This language belongs to the south Ethio-Semitic sub-branch of the Afro-asiatic language phylum (Wetter, 2007). It was spoken by the Argobba people numbered around 30,000, who were Muslim cultivators and traders practicing some herding and craft working in the escarpment slopes of northeastern Shoa and southeastern Wollo. A minority of them lived in the adjoining settlements of the town of Harar in Estern Ethiopia (Abebe, 2006: 3). Wetter (2007) identified two varieties of Argobba which are referred to as the *Aliyyu Amba* and the *Shonke-T'ollaha* varieties. He claimed that these two varieties are not mutually intelligible (Wetter, 2007:104). The number of Argobba speakers has continually been decreasing owing to the dominance of Amharic and Afan Oromo. According to the survey report presented by Siebert and Zelealem (2001:4), the Argobba people in Shewa-Robit and the surrounding area predominantly spoke Amharic over Argobba while in the area of Shonke, Afan Oromo predominated over Argobba. Besides, Hussien et al. (2014) reported that Argobba people in all localities have spoken Amharic as either a first language or second language. While the Argobba variety in Dawa Ch'affa has been vital and still spoken by children, Argobba in other areas has been either extinct as in Afre/Aliyyu Amba or about to go extinct as in K'awat Woreda and Argobba Special Woreda (Hussien et al., 2014:15). Afan Oromo has been the principal medium of communication even in the predominantly Argobba-speaking areas of southeastern Wollo (Abebe, 2006: 5).

Gafat: According to Leslau (1945), Gafat is an extinct South Ethiopian Semitic language that was once spoken in the Blue Nile region, particularly in the district of Wemberma, southwest of

Gojjam. Its speakers pushed south of Gojjam in modern day Eastern Wellega, Oromia Region. There was a translation of the Song of Songs or Song of Solomon written in the 17th or 18th century, which was held at the Bodleian Library of Oxford University in the UK. Gafat was first described on the basis of a translation of this Song of Songs obtained by James Bruce (Leslau 1945). The latest works on this language are the reports of Leslau who visited the region in 1947, and after a considerable effort, was able to find few old people who could still speak the language. As Leslau found people speaking the language at the time, he was able to make available a thorough study of Gafat based on actual speech (Leslau, 1956). The language already became extinct. Its former speakers seemed to have shifted to the dominant languages in their localities and the working language of the country, Amharic.

Haro: Hirut (2003:5) reported that Haro is a very much endangered language which has been spoken by some people on Gidiccho Island in Lake Abaya, Ethiopia. It is part of the Ometo group within Omotic (Afro-asiatic). The language was described in detail by Hirut (2003). She made a comprehensive study on its grammar with comparative notes on the Ometo linguistic group. According to her, the language had only a few speakers who were mostly elders of the community. The survey conducted in the island identified only 24 households who spoke the language and the estimated population was about 200. While Brenzinger (1995) also estimated the population of Haro to be about 150, the 1994 National Census of Ethiopia, which was published in 1996, approximated it to 110 (cited in Hirut, 2003:5). Hirut pointed out that all members of the Haro community were bilinguals in Bayso, a Cushitic language spoken by a community living in the same island. This language has gradually been replacing Haro. In addition, the Haro people have an extended language contact with the people in the neighboring areas outside the island, such as Merab Abaya and Arba Minch, because of interactions in administrative and business affairs. Therefore, Haros have been known by their ability to speak several languages of the vicinity such as Guji-Oromo, Amharic, Wolaitta and Gamo.

K'emantney: To begin with, Kemantney (also referred to as Kemant, Kimant or Qimant), belongs to the Agaw (Central Cushitic) languages (Appleyard, 2006:4). According to Fallon (2015:72), the language has been spoken by some 1, 650 people in the regions of Čəlga and Kärkär. A dialect known as Dämbiya (Dembiya) was formerly spoken along the north shore of Lake Tana (Fallon, 2015:72). The language was thoroughly described by Zelealem. For example,

Zelealem (2002) presented a brief grammatical description of the language, including its phonology, morphology and syntax. Zelealem (2003) investigated it in detail and published a paper which contains an exhaustive description of K'emantney including observations on structural variation within the language. K'emantney has gradually given way to Amharic, the national lingua franca of Ethiopia. According to Zelealem (2002:12), it has not been spoken in public as a means of everyday communication any longer; its functions have been restricted to purposes like "secret talking" and praying. Those speaking the language fluently have been elderly people beyond the age of 60. Even, these people themselves have been more fluent in Amharic than in Kemant.

Ongota: According to the Savà et al.'s (2000:59) survey, Ongota, alternatively known as Birale, is a dying language of southwest Ethiopia. It is a genetic isolate spoken in the linguistically complex southwestern comer of Ethiopia, particularly in the South Omo Zone by the people living in the forest on the west bank of the Weyt'o River (known as Dullay in the area) (Sava, 2003: 172). Sava et al. (2000:59) stated that the language was on the brink of extinction; only eight out of an ethnic group of nearly one hundred actively used Ongota. The researchers indicated that this language was largely replaced by Ts'amakko, a neighboring East Cushitic language. The Ongota took part in the Ts'amakko Sunday market in the village of Weyt'o, as well as intermarried with Ts'amakko people, thereby giving up their traditional language. Stated differently, the Ufa ongota ("mouth" = "language of the Ongota") was in an advanced process of extinction. According to the National Census (cited in Sava, 2003:173), the Ongota were numbered at 85 in 1994. The language has not been taught to children most likely since two generations. Sava (2003:173) discovered that only a residual group of 8 elders spoke the language. He also noted the presence of four women having a very limited knowledge of Ongota at that time. It is also worth noting that there has been some knowledge of Konso as well as another dominant Cushitic language in the area, Oromo, among the Ongota. In addition, some Ongota speak the Omotic language Hamar-Banna.

Qwarenya: This is otherwise known as Quara, which belongs to Central Cushitic (Afro-asiatic) language, spoken in a region to the northwest and west of Lake Tana, Ethiopia (Fallon, 2015:72; Dimmendaal & Voeltz, 2007: 625). It is also known as Qwaräsa, the language of the Qwara, or Falashan as it was the major language of the Falashas or 'Black Jews' in Ethiopia, who

traditionally referred to themselves as Betä Israel (Dimmendaal & Voeltz, 2007: 625). According to Appleyard (1998), there were no longer any speakers of Qwarenya left until six elderly speakers were found amongst the last major wave of immigrants to Israel in 1991. All of the speakers, Appleyard said, were aged 70 and above, and two of them were bedridden, and added that these six people claimed to be the last surviving speakers of Qwarenya. The language was even no longer the normal means of spoken communication between these few individuals who retained some knowledge of it. That is, because there were apparently only six remaining speakers, with markedly differing levels of competence at the time of his research, Appleyard argued that the language was plainly dead as a spoken medium. As stated by Dimmendaal & Voeltz (2007), Amharic had already become the dominant languages for most Falashas in Ethiopia.

Shabo: Another endangered language spoken by hunter-gatherers in southwestern Ethiopia (Schnoebelen, 2009:3), particularly in Keficho and Shekicho Zones: Anderaccha, Gecha and Kaabo. Several studies conducted on Shabo language. For example, Anbessa (1991) worked on Shabo painstakingly. Accordingly, he published its grammatical sketch (1991) and phonological sketch (1995). Besides, Fleming (1991) presented the wordlists of Shabo in an attempt to determine its classification as Nilo-Saharan. Likewise, Fleming (2002) scrutinized the verb morphology of Shabo with a view to determining whether Shabo belongs to Nilo-Saharan or to a new African phylum, and concluded that it is a major branch of its own within Nilo-Saharan. Above all, a detailed grammatical description of Shabo (Chabu), which was well illustrated by lexical and syntactic examples, was presented by Kibebe (2015). These studies show that the population of Shabo was very small. For example, Gordan (2005) (in Schnoebelen, 2009: 4) estimated that there are about 400-500 Shabo speakers out of an ethnic group of about 600. As the people shifted from hunting and gathering to more settled agriculture and to working as laborers, many of its speakers have tended to abandon it in favor of other neighboring languages, such as Majang language, Shekkacho (Mocha).

Zargulla: It is also known as **Zergulla** is an endangered language which belongs to the East Ometo branch of Omotic (Afro-asiatic) languages (Azeb, 2009:200). Azeb thoroughly described the morphosyntax of negation in Zargulla. According to her, the language was left with around 300 speakers who lived mainly west of Lake Chamo in Ethiopia. The 1994 national census, for

instance, reported that there were 7800 mother tongue speakers of Zargulla (Azeb, 2009: 99). However, this number was reduced drastically since then as the people has been in the process of shifting to another Omotic language, Zayse, a major language in the area with around 12,000 speakers. Zargulla and Zayse are the closest within the branch and they are claimed to be dialects of the same language. The two indeed are very similar but there are some lexical as well as morphological differences between them (Azeb, 2009:200).

Zaysite: It is an Afro-Asiatic Omotic language, spoken in the southwestern part of Ethiopia, particularly to the immediate west of Lake Chamo. According to Abayneh's (2013) study, Zaysite was being threatened by extinction because of external pressure and influence of different languages from the surrounding ethnic groups; the overall results of his study indicated that Zaysite language was undergoing vocabulary loss and attrition. All elders clearly witnessed language loss; children and young generation of the ethnic group did not know proverbs and folktale of the people. He believed that the language could be obsolescent in the foreseeable future if not protected and documented (Abayneh, 2013: 30-33).

2.3.8 Structural Consequences of Language Endangerment

Language endangerment can have a considerable impact on the structure of the languages involved. The structural consequences of language endangerment include the kinds of changes that can take place in the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of endangered languages. Thomason (200: 230) contends that loss of structure in phonology, morphology and syntax may certainly belong to the symptoms preceding and accompanying the cessation of the vital functions of a code. The common process leading to structural attrition in contact situation is that speakers of a particular language may realize that societal discrimination exist about the language they speak. They believe that in order to become more successful economically, they need to learn language of wider communication (dominant language) since it has more prestige in the society. Because of this realization, parents who speak the minority language generally try to teach their children both languages. However, if the social environment increasingly marginalizes the minority language, its speakers will find fewer opportunities to use it. Hence, as the language is used less frequently, elements of the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon are gradually lost until the language dies out completely.

The grammatical features that may be affected, according to Crystal (2000:22), include an increase in the use of inflections and function words from the dominant language. Knowledge of vocabulary declines, with younger people familiar with only a proportion of the traditional vocabulary known by older people, and older people being unfamiliar with or antipathetic to the borrowed vocabulary replacing it. These include borrowed grammatical words, decline in the use of speech level (loss of a distinct phoneme), and a lot of loan words (Boluwaji 2010:5). From a purely linguistic point of view, one has to find out which particular changes are due to the influence of the dominant language and which could be explained otherwise. There is, however, one general belief which asserts that languages do not normally borrow grammatical items from other languages. Languages normally resist this act, thus words, such as conjunctions, prepositions, introducers, verbs, etc. are not usually borrowed from other languages. The assumption is that when a language does this, it is a sign of imminent endangerment and extinction, rather than enrichment (Boluwaji 2010:5).

It is believed that the most evident way to determine and establish the process of linguistic change is to examine the speech of young adults and that of the elders of the same language and then compare the differences in their mode of speech. One study of Welsh looked at lexical erosions across the three generations. According to Crystal (2000:22), the study encompassed three groups (N=20) of 60-80 year-olds, 40-59 year-olds, and 20-39 year-olds. Everyone was asked to provide the Welsh word for 150 items belonging to domestic (weather, animals, parts of the body, clothing, etc.) and agricultural vocabulary. The result of the study revealed the presence of a steady decline in awareness between the generations: 65% of the senior group knew over 90% of the vocabulary, compared with 40% of the middle-aged group – and none of the youngest group achieved the 90% level. Similar scenario was observed in Faeto, where native speakers of Faetar frequently claim that the younger generation has lost almost all native vocabulary due to Italian superstrate influence and that, for this reason, Faetar is on the verge of disappearing (Nagy 2010:4). Many speakers believe that the version of Faetar currently spoken is not a 'real language', but a basterdization, and cite numerous Italian vocabulary items which have infiltrated the system.

2.3.8.1 Contact-induced Language Change

Muysken (2010: 265) asserts that languages do not live in an ecological vacuum. The very nature

and properties of a language are influenced in many ways by the lives of the people who speak it. Most often than not, these people also speak other languages, and that other languages may exert an influence on it. This influence is called language contact. According to Trask (1999: 100), the speakers of a particular language are mostly in some kind of contact with the speakers of one or more other languages, for any of several reasons. When two different languages are spoken in adjacent areas, speakers on both sides of the boundary will be exposed to the other language, and may often gain some fluency in that other language.

So what is contact-induced language change? Thomason (2001:62) defines it as "any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation." According to O'Shannessy (2011: 78), languages are usually threatened by extinction when their speakers are in contact with a group whose language has, or is gaining, greater social, political and economic prestige in the local or wider arena. O'Shannessy states that changes in the language ecology of the speech community can occur when speakers of a language start to interact with speakers of one or more other languages. Social and cultural functions that were formerly conducted in one language may now come to be conducted, at least in part, in another. So, an enormous transference of linguistic materials from one variety to the other is inevitable in situations where two or more languages and even language varieties exist side by side. Changes may be observable in speakers' lexical choices, use of structure (phonology, phonotactics, morphology, syntax, semantics, discourse), or pragmatic conventions (the conventional ways that linguistic acts are performed). Some changes might not be observable in the speech of the first generation of speakers in contact, but may be seen in that of subsequent generations.

According to Fought (2010: 289), a very common pattern of interethnic contact, probably the most common, is that of contact between members of a minority ethnic group and members of the socially dominant ethnic group. If the two groups have different linguistic varieties, one might expect that there will be some influence between them, depending on the social context. Since the dominant language is the one that will be privileged in the school system, attempts may be made to impose it on speakers of other languages. In situations where the social context favors multiple interethnic contacts, however, some speakers who identify with minority ethnic groups may choose to incorporate features from a dominant language into their speech and the vice versa, although the latter possibility will be limited by the fact that the minority language is

usually socially disfavored. Again, the particular social and linguistic ideologies at work will affect the degree and nature of linguistic assimilation.

The fundamental cause of language contact (O'Shannessy, 2011:78) is social because of the fact that speakers of different languages come into contact with each other, for a variety of reasons, including migration (which occurs for many reasons), trade, colonization or military occupation, and increased mobility of speakers. Different social settings and attitudes lead to different outcomes. The Social factors, as O'Shannessy (2011:79) mentions, comprise the reason for the contact, the differences in size and social prestige or dominance of the groups of speakers, the amount of social and cultural pressure groups exert on each other, and the relative instrumental value of the languages. Instrumental value is a gauge of how helpful the language is for the economic, political and social advancement of the speaker. The notion of language dominance implies two kinds of phenomena. One is the sociolinguistic situation, in which a language is economically, socially and politically dominant. The other relates to an individual's differential use of two or more languages; for instance, a bilingual or multilingual speaker will often use one language more frequently than another, so the language being used more frequently can be said to be dominant (O'Shannessy, 2011:79).

Thomason (2001:66) believes that the most important social predictor of contact-induced language change is the *intensity of contact*. The more intense the contact is, the more kinds of interference are possible. The definition of intensity of contact hinges on the amount of cultural pressure exerted by one group of speakers on another, and some pertinent social factors. The first important thing to be considered is the *duration of contact period*. In borrowing situations, for instance, the longer two languages are in contact, the more time there is for speakers of one or both groups to become bilinguals, thereby setting the stage for extensive structural interference. The second point considered crucial in the definition of intensity of contact is *number*. If one of two groups in contact is much larger than the other, the smaller group's language is more likely to acquire features from the larger group's language than if the two groups are roughly equal in size. This is partly due to the fact that a larger culture is likely to be a dominant culture, which points to the third and most important intensity factor: the more socioeconomic dominance one of the groups exerts, the more likely it is that the subordinate group will adopt features from the dominant group's language. The social reasons are complex but one clear point is that members

of the dominated group are likely to become bilingual, and again, this makes extensive interference possible (Thomason, 2001:66). So, a major reason for language endangerment is an intensive contact with other group whose language has gained greater economic, cultural and political prestige and advantages. Simply put, if the dominant group aggressively imposes its language on the subordinate group, the language spoken by the dominated group is likely to be threatened. The threatened language is likely to lose its own features (especially those absent from the dominant language). The speakers may slowly lose the ability to fully communicate in their own vernacular. As a result, the language, under pressure from the dominant one, will progressively become obsolescent, which ultimately leads to language loss.

Scholars developed a robust hierarchical type of Borrowing Scales to predict the kinds of borrowed elements that can be expected to appear in contact situations (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 64-7; Thomason, 2001: 69). Borrowing is the incorporation of lexical or structural features of another language into the speakers' first language (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 37), known also as 'recipient language agentivity' (Van Coetsem, 2000, cited in O'Shannessy, 2011: 80). The agents of change through borrowing are either fluent bilinguals, or speakers with higher levels of proficiency in the recipient (borrowing) language than in the source language. More often than not, when contact is not intense, lexical items are borrowed first, and through them structural features can be borrowed, although this happens much less frequently. For instance, a suffix can be borrowed along with a word on which it occurs and then be extended as a suffix on other words.

O'Shannessy further states when contact is more intense, typically the case in contexts of language endangerment, structural features can spread from one language to another, so that the languages involved become more structurally similar, known as *structural convergence*. The agents of the change are most likely bilingual or multilingual speakers dominant in the source language ('source language agentivity'). They bring phonological and morphosyntactic features of their dominant language to their weaker language and these are then incorporated by other speakers of the recipient language.

The social factors and typological distance between the languages are emphasized by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 65). If the languages involved are more typologically similar, then more

material can be transferred with less intense contact (cited in O'Shannessy, 2011: 80). Much the same way, Thomason (2001:71) contends that it is easier to introduce borrowings into typologically matching structures than into typologically different structures. This means that greater intensity of contact is needed for the borrowing of structure into the typologically different languages. It is thus not unexpected that closely matching types of structures make borrowing possible at lower level of contact intensity, even if the structures themselves are highly organized. That is, the typological distance between two languages in contact is an important factor in any prediction of types of borrowing: languages that are typologically very different are likely to follow the borrowing scale closely, while languages that are typologically very similar are unlikely to do so in all respects (Thomason, 2001: 71).

Stage	**Features**
1. Casual contact	Lexical borrowing only
2. Slightly more intense contact	Slight structural borrowing; conjunctions and adverbial particles
3. More intense contact	Slightly more structural borrowing; adpositions, derivations, affixes
4. Strong cultural pressure	Moderate structural borrowing (major structural features that cause relatively little typological change)
5. Very strong cultural pressure	Heavy structural borrowing (major structural features that cause significant typological disruption)

(Source: O'Shannessy, 2011: 81)

The most basic prediction of this scale is that vocabulary is borrowed before structure. Using the intensity of contact as a measuring stick, one finds that only non-basic vocabulary gets borrowed under conditions of casual contact. As the intensity of contact increases, the types of borrowed features increase based on the relative ease of borrowing from a linguistic perspective, until all aspects of a language's structure are vulnerable to borrowing.

In the least intense contact situation, Thomason (2001:71) says, one finds only lexical borrowing, and typically only non-basic words rather than basic items, such as *mother, hand, run, sleep, float, sit, one, five, sun, water*, and *I*. At this juncture, Thomason, however, argues that the distinction between basic and non-basic vocabulary is a rough practical distinction, not a well-supported theoretical notion (Thomason, 2001: 72). Basic vocabulary items are less likely to be borrowed since they can be expected to be present already in every language, and hence no language will need 'new' words for the relevant concepts. Of course, there was and is no theoretical foundation for this notion of universal-and-thus-hard-to-borrow basic vocabulary, but still the distinction is useful in most cases since these items are at least less likely to be borrowed than more culture-specific vocabulary: there are many more languages with borrowed words for 'telephone' than languages with borrowed words for 'walk' or 'mother'.

2.3.8.2 Structural Effects of Contact on the Recipient Languages

According to Thomason (2001:86), the first effect of contact-induced change is feature loss or attrition. Language attrition is a contact-induced change. That is to say, a change in attrition would be less likely to happen outside a particular contact situation. It is a gradual process in which a language recedes as it loses speakers, domains and ultimately structure (Thomason, 2001:227). The linguistic material of a language undergoing attrition is not replaced by a new material borrowed from a dominant group's language. So, it is believed that lexical change and attrition is one of the main indicators or symptoms of language endangerment that can eventually lead to structural changes. As Sasse's Model predicts, lexicon is lost first when a language is excluded from domains where it used to be functional. It is also lost when assimilation eliminates former cultural practices of a language on its last legs. A case in point is Montana Salish elders who now have difficulty remembering certain words in the elaborate system of kinship terminology - such as the term for one's son-in-law after the death of one's daughter. This is so because of the fact that the kinship system itself has eroded within the culture over the past few generations. Since knowledge of traditional uses of plants has faded within the Montana Salish community, current elders can also no longer bring to mind the names of some plants and the terms for their former uses. In some context, attrition can be expressed by semantic shift. In his study of Kemantney (one of the endangered languages in Ethiopia), Zelealem Leyew (2003:109) indicated the fact that this language has undergone semantic shift. According to the author, the semantic shift even in the basic vocabulary has occurred for at least some speakers of

Kemantney, and he goes on arguing that certain polysemous forms in Kemantney are indications of attrition (Zelealem Leyew, 2003: 118).

Language attrition encompasses not only the loss of lexicon but also phonology, morphology, syntax, as well as discourse structure.

Phonological Reduction: the loss of phonological features through contact is common (Thomason, 2001:86). In language contact situation, the phonology of the dominant language can affect that of the endangered language. For example, various dialects of Greek in Asia Minor lost the characteristic Greek voiced and voiceless interdental fricative phonemes through merger with other phonemes, (usually /t/ and /d/ respectively) under the influence of Turkish, which lacks interdental fricatives. According to Campbell and Muntzel (1989: 187), it is more likely that the marked member of a phonological opposition to disappear. This can be exemplified by the case of Pipil (in El Salvador) which has lost contrastive vowel length, a distinction not found in the dominant language, Spanish. Speakers of moribund Teotepeque Pipil have overgeneralized voiceless /l/ so that it occurs everywhere and not just word-finally; that is, the rule has been generalized for /l/, so that all instances of /l/ are voiceless, not just word-final occurrences (Thomason, 2001:229, and Campbell and Muntzel, 1989: 189).

Morphological Reduction: Morphological features are also lost very often as a result of language contact. According to Campbell and Muntzel (1989:191-2), the dual category of Oto-Manguean language *Ocuilteco* has disappeared out of its morphology, reduced to only singular and plural number categories. Consequently, the plural category has extended from describing "more than two" to encompassing "more than one", eliminating the dual category. Some Semitic languages of Ethiopia as well have lost their inherited dual-number category almost entirely under the influence of Cushitic languages whose speakers shifted to Semitic (Thomason, 2001: 86). Another case in point is reduction of rule-governed alternations by analogic generalization of one variant. In some varieties of Nubian, a dying Eastern Sudanic language (spoken in southern Egypt and the Sudan), speakers tend to generalize one of several plural endings, eliminating the rule that governed alternations in plural endings and thus simplifying the plural marking system (Thomason, 2001:228). In her ground-breaking study on the East Sutherland variety of Gaelic, Dorian asserts that semi-speakers were increasingly dropping the masculine

and feminine distinction, showing a tendency to use the masculine gender only. This loss of gender in East Sutherland Gaelic may be the result of pressure from more powerful language, English, which has no morphological gender categories in nouns. That is, young speakers and semi-speakers exhibited a trend to generalize the masculine gender throughout the gender system, thus eliminating the feminine gender category (Dorian 1981:124-5). One again, Dorian (1981: 129-130) discovered a reduction of morphological categories of East Sutherland Gaelic as the genitive was in the process of vanishing from the language's four case system. Even if English, the dominant language which influenced Gaelic in East Sutherland, has a genitive construction, it did not help maintain the Gaelic genitive case. However, the vocative case, which has no English equivalent, was maintained by all age categories (from older to younger speakers). Analyzing the speech of Spanish and English bilinguals in the United States, Lipski (1993) also concludes that their Spanish lost gender and number inflection in articles and adjectives, obligatory in healthy varieties of Spanish. The absence of gender and number inflection is the reflection of the English system where articles and adjectives do not show gender or number (Lipski, 1993: 161-2). So, it seems that morphological categories in East Sutherland Gaelic and Spanish are vanished or are no longer articulated by the inflection. Another considerable attrition was observed by Derhemi (2006: 42-3) (cited in Romaine, 2010:330) in the possessive pronouns of a variety of Albanian spoken in an enclave community in Sicily. The author reported the fact that an 83-year-old speaker produced the full paradigm of 28 forms distinguished by gender and number, while a 16-year-old speaker produced only 7. Besides, none of the forms produced by the two generations look alike. That is, the younger speaker's forms were not available in the older speaker's paradigm, which means the ones produced by the younger speaker were innovations that did not preserve gender and number distinctions. According to Romaine (2010), these speakers exemplify two opposite poles of the proficiency spectrum.

Syntactic Reduction: a reduction in syntactic complexity in dying languages has also been indicated by studies. Dorian (1981) (cited in Romaine, 2010: 331) points out that where different constructions exist, semi-speakers tend to collapse them into one, as in the case of the passive in East Sutherland Gaelic. While semi-speakers showed interference in their syntactic construction from English, younger fluent speakers had a compromise structure, encompassing elements of the two traditional passives formed with different verbs. A reduction in relative clause use was

noted by Hill (1973) for the Uto-Aztecan languages *Cupe˜no, Luise˜no*, and *Mexicano* (Nahuatl). She said that a reduction in frequency of relative clauses was noticeable in speakers of *Cupe˜no* as they had left off speaking the language in their early ages. The speakers, whom Hill reported to have stopped using the language, would not have adequately acquired the complex sentence forms. Even though they learnt *Cupe˜no* as children, their movement and consequent separation from the language at young adults might have resulted in limited exposure to complex sentences in language input. This incident in turn made the speakers develop a 'monostylistic' system, favoring simple sentences. Romaine (2010:331) argues that speakers in language contact situation create a new construction based on a model available in the other language. As noted by Rayfield (cited in Romaine, 2010:331), for example, Yiddish speakers in the US have created a future tense on the model of the English *be going to* future: the new feature, *ge ikh kumen bald* ('I'm going to come soon') seems to be frequented instead of the standard German, which make use of either the simple present (*Ich komme bald*) or the auxiliary *werden* 'to become' (*Ich werde bald kommen*). Similarly, Schmid and de Bot's (2004: 217) observed that attrition is manifested itself in speakers' preference for periphrastic constructions, so that *inflected futures* get replaced by *go-futures* (cited in Romaine, 2010:331). Such innovations, Romaine contends, often pass unnoticed as they do not include imported material. One important point related to this is calquing or loan translation often involving idioms and longer phrases. For instance, US Spanish *tener un buen tiempo* is a word for-word translation of 'to have a good time'. In some situation, the problem is much worse as the case with Dyirbal language since no one under the age of 15 was even able to construct a Dyirbal sentence (Schmidt, 1985 cited in Romaine, 2010:331).

The second type of effect, according to Thomason (2001:87), is addition of linguistic features through contact-induced changes. Instances of this can be found in all grammatical subsystems of languages, including lexicon - loanwords such as English *Shah* (from Persian) and *potlatch* (from Chinook Jargon) are borrowed words for borrowed concepts, not replacement for previously existing English words. In the context of phonology as well one finds added phonemes like glottalized stops. This occurs in both loanwords and native Iranian words in Ossetic because of interference from Caucasian languages like Georgian. Besides, phonological rules are added as a side-effect of lexical borrowing, either directly or indirectly; a case in point is some Asia Minor Greek dialects which have acquired vowel harmony rules from Turkish (Thomason, 2001: 87).

Thomason (2001: 87) further states about typical additions in morphology and syntax. These can be exemplified by the situation of Ossetic which imported several new noun cases under the influence of Caucasian languages, and new cases in Lithuanian as a result of Uralic influence. Several Indic languages such as Marathi and Bengali, which came under Dravidian influence, imported a new inclusive versus exclusive `*we*' distinction. The English pronouns *I* and *you* introduced into Thai but these pronouns did not replace the native Thai pronouns; instead, they were simply added to the sets of pronouns that already existed in Thai (Thomason, 2001: 87).

The third type of effect (Thomason, 2001:87) is replacement of old native linguistic features by new interference features. This also occurs in the lexicon and other grammatical subsystems. The word animal which exists in English language, for example, is a loanword from Latin. It replaced the native English word *deer* in the general meaning. But noticeably, *deer* remains in a more specialized sense, to refer to a particular type of hoofed mammal. (The original general Germanic meaning of deer is still found in the German cognate *Tier* `animal'.) The English pronoun *they* is a Norse loanword, which substituted the original English third person plural pronoun.

Replacement in the phonology, according to Thomason (2001: 87), is not clearly a separate category: lost phonemes typically merge with other phonemes than disappearing entirely, and added phonemes usually replace preexisting phonemes, at least in particular words. However, replacements are different from, and much more common than, either simple losses or simple additions in both morphology and syntax. Thomason (2001:88) further points out that changes in a language's basic word-order patterns belong in this category and they are among the most common structural interference features. Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 55) claim that word order is changeable through language shift. This change of word order usually happens in favor of SVO and SOV, which are the most common in world languages. For instance, as Campbell & Muntzel (1989) (cited in Romaine, 2010: 332) reveal, the second generation of German speakers in English-speaking countries, such as the US and Australia tend to overgeneralize SVO word order, substituting German SOV word order, which is required in subordinate clauses. A related case was noted for Ethiopic Semitic languages whose inherited SVO word order was replaced with SOV order, under the influence of Cushitic languages. Similarly, SVO word order replaced SOV order in Finnish (a Uralic language) under Indo-European influence (Thomason, 2001:88).

Some specialists in language contact, Thomason asserts, have argued for two other types of contact-induced effect on a linguistic system: convergence and relexification. Convergence, at its simplest, would be any process through which two or more languages in contact become more similar to each other. In this context of convergence, the interference is mutual or bi-directional, and the fact that the resulting convergent structures have no single source: either they were already present, but less prominent in both languages, and they resemble both languages in part but do not match either one completely. So, Thomason (2001: 89) posits, it is impossible to use the terms `source language' and `receiving language' in this particular situation.

Relexification, according to Muysken (2005:156), is the replacement of the vocabulary of a language by that of another language, while maintaining its grammatical structure (morphology, syntax and phonology). Muysken believes that it occasionally occurs, for whatever reasons, when a minority group in a language contact situation undergoes a shift in cultural or ethnic identity. Sometimes, it is impossible to maintain the original grammar in the process of relexification, particularly if function words from the new language are also introduced. This is the case with Media Lengua, the language resulting from the relexification of Quechua with Spanish vocabulary. That is, groups of Quechua speaking Indians living at the fringe of the truly Indian world developed a kind of mixed language with a massively Spanish vocabulary, but a Quechua grammar. This mixed language is called Media Lengua (halfway language) or little Quechua (Muysken, 2005:131). An instance of this can be a first-person reflexive; in Quechua reflexive is generally marked with a suffix **-ku** on the verb, as in the following example:

riku - ku- ni
see **refl** 1
'I see myself.'

As Muysken (2005:156) says, since Media Lengua has formed a non-subject first-person pronoun **ami** 'me' (from Spanish *a mi* '(to) me'), it is possible to form first person reflexives in Media Lengua without the suffix **-ku-**, by simply adding **-lla-di** 'self' to the object pronoun:

ami - lla -(da)- di bi - ni
me self acc see 1
'I see myself.'

(Here acc= accusative case, 1 = first-person agreement) (Muysken, 2005: 157).

Thomason (2001: 90) believes that the only linguistic difference between ordinary lexical borrowing and relexification is a matter of degree: if so many words are borrowed, over a very long period of time, from a particular source language to the extent that little or none of the receiving language's native vocabulary remains, ordinary lexical borrowing can be said to have turned into relexification. It is believed that source language lexical forms are imported and integrated into the unchanged structural frame of a receiving language through receiving language agentivity. Thomason, however, says that there are no such situations anywhere in the world. English, for instance, has occasionally been claimed to have changed from a Germanic language into a Romance language because of its vast borrowing from French and Latin; nonetheless, a close examination of the English lexicon shows that about ninety-three per cent of the basic vocabulary items are still of Germanic origin. According to the argument of Thomason (2001:91), the difference between the process of relexification and the process of ordinary borrowing is social, not linguistic. It is probable that relexification is always a deliberate change.

2.3.8.3 Structural Consequences in Zay Language

Studies that address structural consequences in Zay language are very scanty. Most researchers focus on describing the linguistic feature, the cultural or sociolinguistic aspect of the language, rather than stressing on the structural changes that the language underwent as a result of intense contact with other languages of the area or because of other reasons like socioeconomic unviability. However, there are some works of the prominent researcher (Ronny Meyer) on the structural changes of Zay, such as Meyer (2002) "the impact of Afan Oromo on the lexicon of Zay", Meyer (2003) "cultural contact and language change in eastern Gurage with particular regard to Zay" and Meyer (2006) "the Zay language". The intense contact with Oromo resulted in extensive borrowing, which subsequently caused major changes in the lexicon and grammar of Zay. Meyer (2002: 39) tried to show a lexical borrowing into Zay, taking one hundred wordlists which belong to the basic lexicon and are said to be very stable over a long period of time. Comparing the Zay items with Amharic, the author found 50 cognates, expressions which are similar in morphological shape and semantic content, out of 100 words. On the other hand, only 8 cognates were found between Afan Oromo and Zay languages. Of these 8 cognates for Zay-Oromo, 3 cognates also appear in Zay-Amharic; these are the items for 'mouth' af, 'you (2sm)' *a(n)tä and for 'earth' däcci. On the basis of these cognates, Meyer said that Zay is genealogically more affiliated to Amharic than to Oromo as predicted.

But the important thing here is whether the two languages (Zay and Afan Oromo) in the contact situation influenced each other. According to Meyer (2002: 40), the influence of Afan Oromo on Zay in color terms is noticeable. For instance, the term 'red' in Zay can be expressed with three words: the lexeme arrowä, which the author said, is not productive as it can only be found in songs. The more modern words for 'red' are either like in Amharic kayi or like in Afan Oromo diimaa, which are interchangeably used in Zay language. A strong influence of Afan Oromo on Zay can be evidenced in the kinship terminology. The terms for kinship in Zay have a considerable resemblance with Afan Oromo, both in their lexical shape and structure. For example, in the third generation (grandparents, grandmother and grandfather), all Zay terms seem to be the same as that of Afan Oromo. While there are even separate terms for grandmother (Oromo <akkoo>, Zay <akko>) and grandfather (Oromo <akee>, Zay <akee>) in both languages, the genetically closer language to Zay, i.e., Amharic, uses a periphrastic construction, in which an adjective specifies the gender: 'female grandparents or male grandparents'. In the second generation as well, Amharic doesn't differentiate between paternal and maternal *uncle*, while Zay does and uses the same lexemes with Afan Oromo, as shown in the following example: Zay 'ʔēssumɛ', and Afan Oromo 'eessuma' for mother's brother versus Zay 'wosɪ̄lɛ' and Afan Oromo 'wosiila' for father's brother (Meyer, 2002: 41 and Meyer 2006:40). However, both languages do not differentiate between paternal and maternal *aunt* (Zay 'adaadä' and Afan Oromo 'adaada').

In some situation, loanwords contain sounds or sound sequences which do not exist in the target language, as the case with the alveolar implosive [ɗ]. The recipient language may, in some cases, replace uncommon or foreign sounds or sound sequences by similar sounds from its own phonemic inventory. For example, the Oromo loanwords containing the alveolar implosive [ɗ] which did not exist in the Zay, was replaced by either the voiced alveolar stop [d] or the glottal stop [ʔ] in the recipient language Zay:

Source OROMO: (a) *tʃ'iɗa* 'feast' (b) *ɗeena* 'lunch'
Recipient ZAY: *tʃ'idä* 'wedding' *ʔeenä* 'lunch' Leslau (1999)

Besides, as the Zay phonology does not permit the short vowel [a] word-finally, the final vowel of the Oromo loans in the above example is frequently replaced by the short mid-central vowel [ä] in Zay. However, the allophony of sounds in loanwords is nowadays dissolved which might

give way to the establishment of new phonemes in the recipient language, and therefore, the aforementioned Oromo loanwords now occur with the alveolar implosive [ɗ] in Zay.

Source OROMO: (a) *tʃ'iɗa* 'feast'	(b) *ɗeena* 'lunch'		
Recipient ZAY:	*tʃ'iɗä* 'wedding'	*ɗeenä*	Meyer (2005)

Meyer (2006: 40) argues that the phonemic value of length regarding vowels and the importation of the implosive [ɗ] into Zay is most likely owing to the influence of Afan Oromo. He even believes that many words probably entered Zay via Oromo although the words seem to be of Amharic origin, like *sɛrgi* 'wedding' (Amharic sɛrg). This assumption is justified by the phonetic shape of the loanwords, which occur more Oromo-like due to the additional final vowel *i*. According to Meyer, verbs from other Ethiosemitic languages integrate easily into the morpho-syntax of Zay because of the common root and pattern mechanisms, but Oromo verbs are not that easy to fit into Zay due to the fact that they use another kind of inflection, and hence a particular mechanism seems to have been invented. Oromo verbs are copied into Zay mostly as uninflected stems, which form with the auxiliaries *haan* 'be/become' for intransitive and *saan* 'make' for transitive phrasal verbs. Instances of such verb borrowings from Oromo are: *burq haan* 'spring out (water)' (< Oromo *burq-), *mɛrat haan* 'become crazy' (< Oromo *maraat-) or *gɛn san* 'betray' (< Oromo *gan-), *baɗas san* 'decorate, award' (< Oromo *badhaas-). According to Meyer (2003: 817), the auxiliaries, *baan* and *saan*, are not used in other compounds in Zay except for the integration of loanwords into the verbal system. He, therefore, argues that the usage of these auxiliaries is a reliable indicator for loans from Afan Oromo into Zay. There are also bound morphemes with Oromo origin which entered the grammar of Zay. A case in point is the singulative markers *-itti* for females (< Oromo -tti) and *-ččɛ* (< Oromo -ccha).

These studies reviewed on Zay indicate the fact that the language hase been experiencing structural consequences, maybe because of the pressure from external factors, one of which could be its intense contact with Afan Oromo.

In sum, this section has presented the structural phenomena which have still been uncovered in research on endangered languages. The structural changes have not been given due attention in the Zay context, and hence studies on these aspects are quite indispensible to identify the linguistic consequences that the language is undergoing and to determine the level of its

endangerment. In order to get the best possible understanding of the language, the researcher intends to examine both the sociolinguistic and structural aspects. Of course, much more emphasis is given to the sociolinguistic situation of Zay.

2.3.9 Endangered Language Preservation Measures

If a language is highly threatened by extinction, it is reasonable to make informed decisions about how a community can manage to resist the influence and reverse the situation. As there are several factors that can cause language endangerment, there are also many forces that can support the revival of such languages. More useful, perhaps, as a guide to remedial action, are factors presented below.

2.3.9.1 Elevating the Prestige of the Endangered Language Community

Dorian (1998:3) states that languages have the standing that their speakers have. If the people who speak the language have power and prestige, the language they speak will enjoy high prestige as well. However, a language is unlikely to be well thought of if its speakers have little power and low prestige. Thus, language revival is possible only where the social prestige of the speakers within the language community has been elevated in some way.

Crystal (2000:130) argues that minority languages and cultures can be revitalized through the enhancement of a language community's prestige mostly by making themselves increasingly visible through such platforms as the media: newspapers, radio, and television. Such visibility, Crystal (2000) proposes, can be achieved through cultural and religious festivals that attract the attention of the media. According to Moriarty (2011:458), the presence of endangered languages in media, where young people are often involved, supports these languages by changing the ideology that surrounds them, which in turn can affect the ways in which they are used. In the context of Irish-language recovery, for example, the introduction of the Irish-language television station TG4 has served as a catalyst for a new image of the language and for increased use of the language among the younger generation (Morianty, 2011:450). Therefore, although it is most often the case that endangered languages do not receive the bulk of airtime, it can be argued that having even just limited space in this medium works to the advantage of an endangered language community.

Minority language communities could also obtain greater visibility through insistence on the use of their languages in place names, on road signs, and on public signs in general. Crystal (2000:131) cites cases whereby road signs written in the dominant languages were defaced and painted over by the equivalents in the non-dominant languages such as Welsh, Basque or Gaelic. Such activism, according to Crystal, demonstrates dynamism at grassroots level and indicates the acceptability of minority languages' presence in the wider community.

In addition, gaining governmental recognition and increasing the use of indigenous languages in different sectors of public domain are critical to elevate the prestige of the endangered language community within the dominant community. In connection to this, Patten (2001: 696) claims that being offered a service or having some piece of public business conducted in one's language is for many a sign of consideration and respect. Enjoying the consideration and respect of others, in turn, seems crucial to developing a full sense of own worth and undistorted sense of one's agency and identity.

2.3.9.2 Raising the Economic Status of the Endangered Language Speakers

Given that economy is a significant cause of language endangerment and death, it follows that remedies should address it; the goal of stabilizing and revitalizing endangered languages should focus on activities aimed more broadly at improving the local standard of living (Harbert, 2011:414). As Edwards (2007: 245) notes: "one cannot maintain a language by dealing with language alone".

An increase of the wealth of the indigenous minority language speakers can help to raise the community's self- esteem, which can, in turn, raise the status of their language, as is the case in Catalonian, where its strengthened economy has encouraged the use of Catalan there, and enhanced the prestige of the language in other Catalan speaking areas (Crystal, 2000:132). Service industries and light manufacturing industries tend to be the domains in which endangered languages can most benefit from economic growth. Tourism is a good example of service industries that can bring benefits to an endangered language as has been seen in Ayas valley, Italy, where tri-lingual schools are funded by tourism- based economy (Dorian, 1998:13).

Harbert (2011:421) contends that economic measures with language stabilization among their goals are most successful when coordinated with efforts on other fronts. Instance of such

activities was reported by Batibo (2008) in western Botswana, where missionaries exerted themselves to promote the local language Naro. According to Batibo (2008), a multipronged initiative with both economic and linguistics aspects has successfully promoted economic activity based on indigenous knowledge, and left the local language, Naro, in a significantly strengthened situation (cited in Harbert, 2011:421-22).

Generally, according to Crystal (2000), an increase in the wealth of the endangered language speakers relative to the dominant community is very crucial because if people are able to survive without emigrating to elsewhere, their use of the language increases in their communities. That is, once their basic needs are met, people feel motivated to think of long-term maintenance of their indigenous languages.

2.3.9.3 Promoting the Use of Endangered Language in the Educational System

It is also critically important to make endangered languages appear in educational domain in order to meet the overall objective of language survival and maintenance. Grenoble and Whaley (2006:10) argue that education is a critical domain for language use. The languages of education become a key determinant of language use in other domains in the regions where there is a nationally or regionally administered education system. If a mandatory schooling occurs exclusively in a national language, the use of local languages almost inevitably declines. This view is supported by Spolsky (2011:154), who argues that education, particularly under the control of national states, has become one of the main causes of minority languages endangerment. According to Spolsky, the school is usually the first social institution outside the family that has a major influence on the practices and values of a child. More often than not, school children introduce the school language into the home, using it with their siblings, and even with their parents. Parents also introduce the school language at home to ease their children's integration into school.

Nonetheless, when the local languages are part of the formal educational process, they typically maintain a higher degree of vitality. As stated by Crystal (2000:136), the school setting provides an increasingly wide range of opportunities for children to listen and speak as they learn to cope with the demands of the curriculum, and come to use the language in school mediated social occasion (such as religious or cultural gatherings). Alongside the dominant language, Crystal believes, the endangered language should be taught as a subject and be used as medium of

instruction at least at lower grade level; but if students are exposed to writing and speaking only through the medium of the dominant language, it will not be surprising to find that the indigenous language fails to revive.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1997:55) asserts that language rights in education are vital for the preservation of language and prevention of linguistic and cultural genocide. She puts emphasis to educational linguistic rights, including the right to mother tongue medium of education, as absolutely fundamental means for maintenance and development of languages. Correspondingly, Tsui and Tollefson (2004:2) claim that the medium of instruction is the most powerful way of maintaining and revitalizing a language and a culture.

To sum up, educational efforts are undoubtedly critical to but no guarantee for the success of language maintenance and revitalization programs, and therefore May (2001:167) encapsulates that "the fate of a language cannot be borne on the back of education alone." That is, education cannot assume a sole responsibility for reversing language shift despite the fact that it plays a great role in the process.

2.3.9.4 Literacy

The mere existence of literacy can have an impact on the way people view their own languages (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006:116). Consequently, introducing literacy is widely seen as a necessary first step in maintaining and promoting use of a language (Batibo, 2005:121).

Literacy, according to Batibo (2005:121), may provide a useful function even before the skill becomes widespread in the language community since some orthography is an essential preliminary for the creation of grammars, dictionaries, and teaching materials. Köpke (2007:20) also claims that literacy might contribute to the grounding of a language in memory as it adds orthographic representations and new synaptic connotations.

However, some authors challenge the view that language maintenance and revitalization must involve literacy because promoting literacy may result in the loss of oracy and oral traditions (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006:119). It is thought that if literacy is introduced, the especial value assigned to spoken language can deteriorate, being relegated to a secondary place behind the written form. To the extent that this happens in different language domains (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006:119), major cultural shifts occur. It is, on the other hand, argued that oral

traditions such as Stories, rituals, and others can be written down and still be remembered and transmitted orally. More importantly, warnings of the danger of cultural shift triggered by literacy ignore the fact that, for endangered languages, a major cultural shift is already underway. The problem confronting endangered languages is thus not that a new equilibrium between a local language and language of wider communication is being negotiated but that the language of wider communication is threatening to eliminate the local language altogether (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006:120).

2.3.9.5 Language Policy and Planning in Local Context

Language policy and planning (LPP) is interested in "addressing social problems which often involve language, to one degree or another, and in proposing realistic remedies" (Ricento, 2006a:23). While language policies are usually associated with the state and with the political decision-making, language policies and language planning initiatives also happen at the community level. These initiatives are often referred to as grassroots language policies or micro planning (Hatoss, 2008:56). According to Baldauf (2008:25), micro-planning 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.

Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008:9) contend that national level language planning may be unsuitable in contexts in which language issues are localized and for which responses are needed at community level. This is because top-down perspective may ignore the grassroots reality and attitudes of speakers. Thus, these authors assert that since each language exists in its own local language ecologies, it is in relation to these ecologies that at least some language planning activities must be carried out to resolve local problems and address local needs.

As Perta (2008:1222) argues, "where there is a collective willingness to restore vigor to their own language, in the first place a bottom-up approach should be applied, focusing on two levels- the family and community". Micro-language planning ensures that the community plays a significant role and stays in charge of its own long-term language maintenance. Crystal (2000:111) agrees that only the indigenous community itself can save its language. Likewise, Hatoss (2006:287) argues that a community is not a "passive recipient" of the government's

actions, but "active agents and advocates" to sustain their mother tongue and cultural identity. National planning may allocate funding or provide other structural assistance, but much of the work of planning itself is done and needs to be done at the community level. In his study on the Hungarian Diaspora in Australia, Hatoss (2006:287), for example, indicates that Hungarian immigrants are successful in maintaining their language and cultural identity through various community-based activities.

2.3.9.6 Language Attitudes and Ideologies in Language Maintenance Efforts

Sallabank (2011:285) argues that individuals' everyday language choices tend to be based on perceptions and received attitudes rather than on rational input and decision-making. Instances of such perceptions may, according to Sallabank, be that a certain linguistic variety is 'only' a dialect rather than a 'proper' language; that languages need to be written to be considered 'full' languages; that people who speak a particular language are uneducated, illiterate, inferior. Such beliefs observed through upbringing and social stereotypes and held subconsciously, and may therefore influence behavior more profoundly than overtly expressed opinions (Sallabank, 2011:285). Thus, Reyhner (1999: xvii) agrees: "there is a need to convince people, indigenous and non-indigenous, that keeping a language alive is important".

Given that they are usually by definition a minority, Sallabank (2011:286) argues, the attitudes of endangered-language speakers do not necessarily carry weight with decision-makers. For language maintenance and revitalization measures to gain the support of gate-keeping and funding authorities, they need to be accepted by the majority community. Prestige planning efforts to raise awareness and interest in endangered languages, therefore, needs to focus on majority population as well (Sallabank, 2011:286).

The above raised points reveal that Putting emphasis on one variable, say literacy, to assume a sole responsibility in language reversal endeavors cannot bear fruit as the root causes of language endangerment may be manifold, emanating from different sources.

2.3.10 Previous Linguistic Studies on Zay

Leslau (1960, 1979, and 1999) uses the term *Zway* to refer to both the language and the people. Hetzron (1972) also favors the use of *Zway* instead of *Zay*. However, according to Meyer (2001:317), *Zway* is the name of the lake and of the town where this people live. It is rather the

term *Zay* that refers to the people and their language. Hence, Meyer prefers to use the word *Zay* in his all publications so far to address both the language and the people. The surrounding Oromo people often refer to the Zay as *laaqi*, which originates from Arsi Oromo *laaqu-* "to paddle" and means "paddler" (Meyer, 2001:317).

There are some works done on the structure and linguistic classification of Zay. Leslau was the first to collect primary data on the Zay language. Leslau (1960:106) presents data on phonology and morphology of the Zay language. Based on these linguistic features as well as its vocabulary, Leslau concluded Zay is most likely a member of East Gurage dialect cluster. Hetzron (1972:119) also classified Zay as East Gurage group. His classification of East Gurage comprises two separate branches, specifically Silt'e-Wolane and Zay. In contrast to Hetzron (1972), Gutt (1997:509) regarded Silt'e, Wolane and Zay as three varieties of a single language which is termed as the Silt'e group. Analyzing the phonology, morphology and syntax of these three dialects, Gutt concluded that Zay is more divergent while the remaining two are genetically much related to each other. Meyer (2011:122), on his part, identified three languages of East Gurage group, namely Silt'e, Wolane and Zay. Girma (2001:82), on the other hand, considered only Silt'e and Wolane as two language of East Gurage group while Zay represents a separate branch of its own within Eastern Transversal South Ethio-Semitic.

There are also works on etymological dictionary and grammar of Zay. Leslau (1960) made the first analysis of the Zay vocabulary. Leslau (1979) collected words on twelve Gurage dialects, one of which is Zay. He analyzed the collected words and published an etymological dictionary of Zay. Besides, Leslau (1999) provided a detailed analysis of grammar and vocabulary of Zay based on data collected during his trip to the Zway area in 1950s. He produced a concise grammatical description of the Zay language. He also came up with Zay-English, English-Zay bilingual dictionary. Similarly, Meyer (2005) made a thorough description of Zay, which was initially written in Germany and its translated English version was published as Meyer (2006a). In this work, he provided a comprehensive grammatical description of Zay, covering all central linguistic features, among which are the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Zay language. Mekonnen Gemechu (1988) studied the morphophonemics of Zay, describing the changes caused by the inflectional and derivational affixes. A thorough description of the inflectional and derivational morphology of Zay was also done by Getu Shikur (1999). Ambaw Demissie (1990)

looked into the phonology of Zay, including the morphophonological processes of the language. A further linguistic study was conducted by Wondwosen Kumsa (2013) who examined finiteness in Zay and determined that the distinction of finite vs. non-finite is not at the verb phrase level but at the clause level.

Studies related to the sociolinguistic aspects of the Zay language are very limited. In 1994 the summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) conducted a few days survey in which they collected sociolinguistic information. The results of the survey were published in Gardner and Siebert (2002). The survey report reveals that Zay is a multilingual community with three languages in use: Zay, Amharic and Afan Oromo (Gardner and Siebert, 2002:11). The other sociolinguistic survey was conducted by Jordan et al. (2011), who have made an attempt to determine an optimal language or languages for literature and educational materials in different ethnically Zay areas. The concepts involved in addressing this issue are language attitudes, language vitality and bilingualism. The major results of the survey show that Zay is the optimal language for education on the islands while Afan Oromo is considered optimal in Boch'eessa (Jordan et al., 2011:15). Endashaw W/Michael (2008:11) also produced an article describing the current sociolinguistic status of Zay. The finding points out that Zay is no longer transmitted to the young generation; most of the children on the islands spoke Oromifa as their first language. This finding, in fact, mismatches with the most recently conducted survey by Jordan et al. (2011:15) which reveals that children on the islands grew up speaking Zay as mother tongue, for which Zay is still vital. In his critical analysis of Zay's struggle for recognition, Vinson (2012:111) touched upon the linguistic situation of the Zay. Of 163 respondents drawn from both islands and mainland, 82.8 % indicated Zay as mother tongue, while Oromo was the second most indicated with 15.3 % of the respondents. This shows the fact that the use of Zay is still very important for members of the community. In spite of not living on the islands, many Zay who moved to the larger cities also still speak their ethnic language.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research design, research methodology encompassing certain sub-components, such as the research participants, the tools - questionnaires, interview guides, focus group discussion, participant observation, wordlist and sentence translation task- employed in gathering qualitative and quantitative data, procedures of instrument validation, as well as the procedures of codifying, transcribing, categorizing and analyzing the qualitative and quantitative data are treated in this chapter.

3.2 Design

As Kothari (2004: 32) pointed out, for better, economical and attractive construction of a house, a builder requires a blueprint (or what is commonly called the *map of the house*) well thought out and prepared by an expert architect. Similarly an investigator needs a research design or a plan in advance of data collection and analysis for his/her research project. He goes on saying that the research design stands for advance planning of the methods to be employed for collecting the pertinent data and the techniques to be used in their analysis, keeping in view the objective of the research and the availability of staff, time and money.

According to Creswell (2012: 535), when a researcher has both quantitative and qualitative data, the use of a mixed methods design is highly preferable. Creswell and Clark (2011) argue "a mixed methods research design is a procedure for collecting, analyzing, and "mixing" both quantitative and qualitative methods in a single study or a series of studies to understand a research problem" (cited in Creswell, 2012:535). It has become popular as the newest development in research methods and in approaches to "mixing" quantitative and qualitative research. It is a good design to use if one seeks to build on the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative data.

Following Creswell's suggestion, the researcher used mixed methods design to gather and analyze data. The basic assumption is that combining both qualitative and quantitative methods provides a better understanding of the research problem and question than either method by itself. Creswell goes on saying quantitative data, such as scores on instruments, yield specific numbers that could be statistically analyzed and could produce results to assess the frequency

and magnitude of trends. They could also provide useful information if one needs to describe trends about a large number of people. On the other hand, qualitative data, such as open-ended interviews which give actual words of people in the study, offer a number of diverse perspectives on the study topic and provide a complex picture of the situation (Creswell, 2012: 535). Similarly, Dörnyei (2007:36) argues that a researcher gains 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. In support of this view, Creswell (2009: 203) also points out "their combined use provides an expanded understanding of research problems."

In fact, there are six types of mixed methods designs, one of which is convergent parallel design. The purpose of a convergent (or parallel or concurrent) mixed methods design is to collect both quantitative and qualitative data simultaneously, merge the data, and then use the results to understand a research problem (Creswell, 2012: 540). Therefore, researcher used this design for two main reasons. The first reason was to achieve an elaborate and comprehensive understanding of the issue, looking at it from different vantage points, and the second one was to verify one set of findings against the other, or validate the conclusions that could be drawn by converging results obtained through qualitative and quantitative tools. According to Dörnyei (2007: 154), there are nine possible combinations in mixed methods design. However, it is mostly advisable to use the combination where one form of data (either qualitative or quantitative) prevails. In this study, more weight was given to the qualitative data, and hence a combination proposed by Dörnyei (2007: 157) - QUAL + quan - was used. While the capital letters denote the increased weight given to the qualitative data, lowercase letters indicate lower weight given to quantitative data. The plus sign (+) represents a concurrent collection of both the qualitative and quantitative data (Dörnyei, 2007: 154).

In accordance with the convergent parallel mixed methods design, both quantitative and qualitative tools were designed, thereby the required data were gathered simultaneously; both datasets were analyzed separately, and then the results from the analyses of both datasets were compared and finally an interpretation was made as regards whether the results support or contradict each other. To explain the procedure a little more, in-depth interview, key informant interview (KI), focus group discussion (FGD), questionnaire, wordlist and sentence translation

task were prepared and used to gather the required data for the study. In-depth interview was used with a view to discovering thorough and comprehensive data about participants' language attitudes and language use, as well as about their motivation and feelings for the development of the language. KI was employed with the intention of eliciting data on factors contributing to the decline of Zay language and their possible remedies, as well as on pragmatic actions that have been taken so far so as to counteract the problem. Focus group discussion was conducted with the three age cohorts (young, adult and elderly) in order to acquire data that inform public opinion about the decline of the Zay language. Observation was used to record pertinent happenings in Zay community, for example, patterns of language use in various societal domains, while questionnaire was employed to triangulate and crosscheck the results obtained through the qualitative tools. Wordlist and sentence translation task were used to acquire data on structural aspects of the language.

In a very similar way to the data collection processes, analysis of the data used the qualitative and quantitative procedures. The qualitative data which had been collected through in-depth interview, key informant interview, focus group discussion, observation, wordlist and translation task were analyzed thematically, whereas the quantitative data gathered through questionnaire were analyzed using statistical tools.

3.3 Methodology

Research methodology is actually the heart of the research work. Once the aim of the research has been established in the form of research objectives or research questions, the next important step is to determine how the gap indicated in problem statement can be filled. It is the system of actions that are taken to realize the stated objectives or to answer the research questions posed. Below are the important components of research methodology.

3.3.1 Participants of the Study

The target population of the study was the members of the Zay ethnic group living on the islands of Lake Zway, as well as in the rural villages and towns that are found along the shores of the lake. The Oromo people who lived in close knit with the Zay along the lake shores were also considered in this study.

The total people of Zay, both on the islands and lake shores, have not been known accurately thus far. The existing reports present varying figures. According to the sociolinguistic survey report by Gardner and Siebert (2002:11), for example, the figure comes to about 4880. The report identified the villages and the islands where Zay is spoken, along with estimated number of speakers. The villages along the lake shore mentioned in the report include Makedella (1500 Zay people), Zway Town (100), Wochessa or Bochessa (2000), and Herera Mendoyu (30), whereas the three inhabited islands mentioned encompass Tullu Guddo (500), Tsedecha (700) and Fundurro (50). However, according to the report provided by the Kebeles' chairmen during data collection for the present study, a rough estimate of Zay people for visited islands, such as Tsedecha and Tullu Guddo is 1500 and 1300 respectively, while the inhabitants of Bochessa and Makedella villages are around 2000 and 1500 respectively.

Most of the research participants were drawn from the two inhabited islands and the rural Kebeles along the shores of Lake Zway. Actually, informants were also included from Maki and Zway Towns in order to augment the trustworthiness of the study results.

3.3.2 Sampling Techniques

Sampling is a technique of obtaining data from a smaller group or subset of the total population in such a way that the knowledge gained is representative of a defined total population of a specific study. Taking a sample is required since collecting data from the whole population is expensive and time consuming.

This study principally used qualitative method, which is basically interpretative. Researchers who follow this method often choose people who share some important experience relevant to the study or whose experience is typical with regard to the research focus. Therefore, for the qualitative tools such as interviews and focus group discussions, sample respondents who could provide rich and varied insights into the problem under study were purposefully selected from areas where Zay dominantly live. As part of purposive sampling, snowball sampling was employed to identify people who have the required knowledge and experience about language endangerment. This was done by asking the first subject to recommend others that could provide the required information.

For the questionnaire, wordlist and sentence translation task, a quota sampling technique was used. According to Bernard (2006:187), non-probability samples are also appropriate for large surveys when, despite the researcher's best efforts, he cannot get a probability sample. He goes on saying that the result of quota samples is not unbiased, but often does a good job of reflecting the population parameters of interest, i.e., quota sampling is an art that often approximates the results of probability sampling at less cost and less hassle than strict probability sampling (Bernard, 2006:188).

Hence, because of the absence of an official population census of Zay which differentiates them in terms of age, gender, education etc. and the fact that the Zay people living along the lake shores are intermixed with other neighboring ethnic groups, a random selection of informants was neither possible nor available. Therefore, the only possible way for the researcher to draw the sample was to use quota sampling. By following this technique, 300 sample informants, who belonged to different gender, age and residential areas, were selected. Put simply, despite the fact that generalizability of the results was not a central aim of the study, the researcher made every effort to get a representative sample of the Zay speech community. He was able to draw almost an equal number of informants from the two gender groups. Besides, he tried to diversify his sample in the best possible way according to the residential area of the subject: mainland and Island as well as their age, ranging from 15-30 (young), 31-50 (adult) and 51 and above (elderly). The same sampling technique was used to choose participants who completed wordlist and sentence translation task.

3.3.3 Data Collection Instruments and Procedures

In collection of the necessary data for the study, the researcher used such instruments as in-depth interview, key informant interview (KI), focus group discussion (FGD), participant observation, questionnaire, as well as wordlist and sentence translation task.

3.3.3.1. Interview Guides

This study employed interview with the purpose of generating rich data that can be helpful to develop a complex picture of the problem or issue under study. Semi-structured interview was employed. According to Bernard (2006: 212), semi-structured interview has much of the freewheeling quality of unstructured interview, but it is based on an interview guide. So, on the basis of the review of related materials, guides for study participants were constructed. This is a

written list of questions and topics that need to be covered in a particular order. The following interview guides were used for data gathering.

3.3.3.1.1 In-depth Interview Guide

Since the study drew heavily on the qualitative information, in-depth interview guide was considered an effective means of collecting rich data, useful to gain thorough understanding of the phenomenon under focus. Interview offers access to the context of people's views or behavior, thereby providing a way for researchers to understand the meaning of that behavior; allows researchers to put behavior in context, thereby providing access to understanding their action:

> We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe. The issue is not whether observational data are more desirable, valid, or meaningful than self-report data. The fact is that we cannot observe everything. We cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intentions. We cannot observe how people have organized the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about those things (Patton, 2002:340-341).

Therefore, in-depth interview was used as the main tool of data collection because it could help the researcher understand the ins and outs of the research problem. More specifically, the purpose of employing in-depth interview was to ferret out thorough and comprehensive data about participants' language attitudes and language use. Added to this, it was used to obtain information on participants' interest for the development of their language.

To collect the qualitative data through the interview, semi-structured questions were formulated in such a way that they could be easily rephrased, translated and adapted to the level of understanding of the interviewees. The reason for designing such type of interview questions was to give the interviewees more opportunities to express their feelings flexibly over the course of the interview. In this regard, Dornyei (2007: 123) states that unstructured or semi-structured interviews enable the interviewee to "elaborate on the issues raised in an exploratory manner."

The interview questions were first developed in English and then translated into Amharic by the researcher and one doctoral student from Applied Linguistics and Development stream in order to check out the consistency of the concepts of the translated questions. Then, the questions were evaluated against the topic, the research questions, and the objectives by two doctoral candidates

of Applied Linguistics and Development because it is helpful to produce the right kind of data required for the study.

When it comes to the data collection procedures, the researcher first gave brief concepts about the purpose of the interview to each of the interviewee. Then, as the plan was to tape record the responses, the informants were requested for their consent. Accordingly, all of the informants showed their agreement. Having got a full consent of the respondents, the researcher commenced the interview session. The interview questions were prepared in Amharic, but being a fluent Amharic and Afan Oromo speaker, the researcher took advantage of his bilingual skills and conducted the interviews either in Amharic or Afan Oromo depending on the preferences of the participants. In fact, it might be preferable to interview the people, particularly the islanders through their mother tongue by employing interviewers in order to gain more credibility. This alternative was, however, not used for the fear that hired interviewers would be less effective in probing and gathering the required data than the researcher himself would. Such an approach is also an important way to achieve greater validity by means of avoiding misperceptions on the part of the interviewer of what the interviewee is saying, and misunderstandings on the part of the respondent of what is being asked (Cohen & Manion, 1994: 282). The fact is that as the researcher is more familiar with the theme of the interview, he is hardly likely to misconceive it, and more capable of avoiding misunderstandings on the part of the informants by explaining the issues than any employed interviewer can do.

The interview was carried out with the help of field assistants, mother tongue speakers of the Zay language. The field assistants in each research site visited offered their support through organizing the interviewees. The interview was held with the participants individually to reduce any external influence or bias in their responses. In other words, individual interview was used to provide participants with the opportunity to express freely their personal opinion which they may not want to share with others. In the course of the interview, the interviewer attempted to probe on ideas that require clarifications. He continued with the process of interview until saturation point was reached, i.e., no new information was being provided by the respondents. Accordingly, 40 Zay respondents - 20 from the islands and the rest from mainland - were interviewed so as to generate more concrete data that can represent their language attitudes and language use, as well as their interest for the development of the Zay language. Besides, 10 Oromo people were

interviewed to examine their attitudes towards the Zay language. The researcher transcribed all the tape-recorded interview data and used for discussions.

3.3.3.1.2 Key Informant Interview Guide

Interview guide was also constructed for key informants since the study mainly drew on the qualitative data. The key informants were selected for their specialized knowledge about the linguistic situation of the Zay and their ability to elaborate on issues that could be raised in a reasonable way. Hence, the Zay Identity Committee members (struggling for official ethnic recognition and political representation of Zay people) and Zay Development Association (ZDA) members (carrying out different developmental activities for Zay people) were chosen as key informants because language was one of the issues at the top of the agenda for them. They were purposefully selected to elicit comprehensive data, particularly about the external and internal pressures placed on their ethnic minority language, and the pragmatic actions that they have taken thus far so as to counteract the problem. To this end, loosely structured questions were designed, depending on a list of issues to be discussed in detail. That is, semi-structured interviewing was employed as it allows greater flexibility and individualization. The questions were first developed in English and then translated into Amharic since both the interviewer and interviewees have been more familiar with Amharic language. The translation was done by the researcher and one doctoral candidate of Applied Linguistics and Development so as to see the consistency of concepts of translated questions.

In order to reach the key informants, the researcher asked one of his assistants at Bochessa, a village very close to Zway Town, for cooperation. Accordingly, he introduced the researcher to some members of the Zay Identity Committee and Zay Development Association in Zway Town through mobile phone. The investigator then went to Zway Town and got them in person. When asked their willingness for the interview, they responded positively and then arranged date for it. Ultimately, the key informants turned out for the interview in accordance with the schedule set beforehand. Apart from providing the necessary data, the informants the researcher contacted in Zway Town helped him further to get their members living in Meki Town.

Prior to the commencement of the interview, the researcher provided brief information about the purpose of the interview to each of the key informants, and then asked their willingness to get their views and opinions tape-recorded. Accordingly, all of the informants gave their consent to

tape-recording. In the end, qualitative data were gathered in a face-to-face interaction between the researcher and 11 key informants by using audio-recorder. Note that most of the informants were members of both the Zay Identity Committee and the Zay Development Association. In the course of the interview, the researcher tried to probe on concepts which required further clarifications, thereby obtaining more important data that could clearly reveal the current linguistic situation of the Zay. It is vital to notice that no problem was encountered owing to communication medium during the interview as the respondents were well familiar with the Amharic language.

Interviews are not without drawbacks. Loaded interview questions and biased responses may contaminate an interview data. Therefore, additional data collection instruments, such as FGD, observation and questionnaire were employed to mitigate the weaknesses of interviews because different types of data gathered through multiple methods provide "cross-data validity checks" that could reduce "errors linked to that particular method" (Patton, 2002: 248). That is, backing up the results of the interview with data coming from the other sources gives the results more credibility. Hence, the other qualitative tools used in this study presented below.

3.3.3.2 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Focus group involves a group format whereby a moderator records the response of a small group, usually 6-12 members (Dörnyei, 2007:130) or 6-8 members (Creswell, 2009:181). The richness of focus group data, according to Dörnyei (2007:137), emerges from the group dynamic, which stimulates conversations and reactions, that is, participants think together, inspire and challenge each other and react to the emerging issues and points. This within group interaction can provide high quality data as it can create a synergistic environment that results in deep and insightful discussion.

Focus group discussion is effective tool for gathering data in a situation where the shared social and cultural practices are the focus of the investigation. Therefore, the study used FGD as a main instrument for eliciting informants' socially shared views and opinions about the endangered Zay language. Specifically, the FGD was used with a view to discovering the underlying macro-and micro-level factors that have contributed to the current endangered status of the Zay language. In addition, the FGD was aimed at eliciting information on participants' interest in promoting their

native language, as well as the courses of action that the community, government or other stakeholders should take to save the language.

As Dörnyei (2007:131) states further, the dynamics of the focus group works better with homogeneous sample. Hence, the researcher composed the participants in accordance with their age cohorts, that is, participants of the same age were grouped together so that they could react to each other freely and unabashedly. This type of group composition is important to generate all the necessary data for the study. Within group homogeneity enables the researcher to obtain deep information of the phenomenon under focus, whereas the intergroup heterogeneity can help the researcher to get a varied wide range of information.

According to Creswell (2009:181), FGDs involve unstructured, generally open-ended questions which are intended to generate views and opinions from the participants. Thus, broad open ended questions, i.e., questions that require in-depth responses, were designed as they usually engage the participants in hot and intensive discussions, whereby rich data could emerge.

In collecting the data through FGD, first the co-researchers that hired from the target speech community were requested to handpick participants, taking their age category and level of knowledge to generate the intended information into account. In view of that, the co-researchers contacted persons whom they thought met the criteria and appointed them for the discussions. Then the researcher himself briefed all about his study's objectives on the date set for the FGDS. He also gave the discussants an elaboration on turn-taking during discussions. Moreover, he informed them the fact that they had a right to withdraw from the discussions even in the middle, if they might not be comfortable with it. Lastly, the discussions were commenced to generate the required qualitative data.

Twelve FGDs - six on the islands and the rest on the mainland villages - were conducted. Participants were grouped according to their age categories, i.e. the young, adult and elderly were made to discuss separately. Each participated in four FGDs. The number of participants in each FGD was six. This was done based on the lesson obtained from the pilot study. During the pilot study, the researcher formed a group of ten members for focus group discussions. However, the discussions did not work out well due to the size of the group members. As a result, the researcher decided to limit the group members to six persons. The other point worth noting is

that females were not represented well in the FGD for the fact that they were busy doing their house chore. The field assistants set a date for female informants to discuss among themselves, coming to the place they considered convenient for all, but they did not usually turn out to hold the discussions. Two or three females came, at the very most, i.e. less than the least suggested number for focus group discussion. This is the reason why females were not made to discuss among themselves.

The researcher led the discussion during the session by using probes and body language, and monitored that all participants had a chance to express their views. Apart from this role, the researcher tape-recorded the focus group data and took notes as well. For the sake of convenience, the FGDS conducted both on the islands and mainland villages are represented as FGD-1 up to FGD-12.

3.3.3.3 Participant Observation

Observation is the process in which one or more persons observe what is occurring in some real-life situation and record pertinent happenings. Of the various types of observation, the researcher used participant observation to ferret out the Zay's language use behavior in their social context. Participant observation, according to Bernard (2006: 342) "involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives". In other words, participant observation means that the observer tries to experience the life of his/her informants to the extent possible; it doesn't mean that s/he tries to melt into the background and become a fully accepted member of a culture other than his/her own (Bernard, 2006: 390). Accordingly, the researcher let people know from the first day he arrived at the site that he was there to study their ethnic heritage language. He briefed about his identity and events he wanted to observe to the study population.

The observations were conducted in two phases. The first phase, which lasted for one month, was conducted from 05 November 2015 through 07 December 2015. The researcher spent 17 days on Tsedecha and Tullu Guddo Islands. During his stay on the islands, the researcher lived with the residents as a house guest for there were no accommodations. For the remaining 15 days, the researcher spent in the villages, such as Bochessa and Makedella which are found along the shores of Lake Zway. These rural Kebeles are within easy reach of Zway and Meki Towns. As a result, the researcher spent the night in the towns for he got all the accommodations

required. The second phase of observation was carried out over a span of two months or so (15 November 2016 – 25 January 2017). The researcher stayed from 15 November 2016 – 22 December 2016 on mainland rural Kebeles (Bochessa and Makedella) as well as towns (Zway and Meki), whereas he spent over a period extending from 23 December 2016 – 25 January 2017 on the islands (Tullu Guddo and Tsedecha).

As participant observer, the researcher lived with a family for most of the time he was on the island, and participated in some aspects of their everyday life. He spent time with some families, usually while chatting, eating, drinking coffee, harvesting crops or playing with the children. The researcher also participated in other aspects of people's life over the course of his stay on the island. For example, he went to the Orthodox Christian church on Sabbath (Sunday) as well as other special days and participated in events that took place on those days. He attended liturgy, baptisms, mehaber, sembete and annual celebration of Saint Mary's Day, and observed critically the linguistic behavior of the people coming to church from all walks of life.

Participant observation was also made on mainland villages and towns mentioned above. The observations conducted in those villages and towns were used as comparison for the observations on the islands. The researcher spent considerable days in each village in order to complete the sociolinguistic questionnaires and interviews, as well as to observe what aspects of life the people used their ethnic heritage language. He got opportunities to observe the patterns of language use during religious services and communal labor. Besides, the researcher spent some days in the towns to collect interview and questionnaire data. This created an opportunity for him to meet with some ethnically Zay people of all age categories, thereby observing critically their language use behaviors at home, neighbors, restaurant, hotel, café, boat stop (adjacent to Zway and Meki Towns), etc.

Generally speaking, since the researcher stayed with the people a little longer, they trusted him and carried on their normal behavior when he was around. This gave him an opportunity to check what aspects of life they used their ethnic heritage language and what language they spoke to their children. It may not be easy to find out these things on a brief stay because people might not show their true behavior in the presence of out-group members in that short time. Therefore, it is possible to say that, in the end, the participant observations of parents and children turned

out to be a more productive way of gathering information on language use in the Zay speech community.

The researcher and the field assistants (fluent Zay speakers) made field jottings on what they observed and heard in the natural setting. Field jottings are, Bernard (2006: 390) says, what get researchers through the day. Jottings would provide them with the trigger they need to remember a lot of details that they don't have time to write down while they are observing events or listening to an informant. Bernard (2006: 390) believes even a few key words would jog researchers' memory later. On the basis of Bernard's suggestion, therefore, the present researcher and field assistants kept a note pad with them at all times and made field jottings on the spot to the extent possible. The observation data was finally used to crosscheck the information gained through self-report interviews, FGDs and questionnaires.

3.3.3.4 Questionnaire

The researcher developed the questionnaires based on the review of related literature. They were designed to collect the quantitative data from ethnically Zay people. The purposes of the questionnaire were to explore the linguistic and extra-linguistic factors contributing to the decline of the Zay language, as well as to generate information about the people's interest to develop their ethnic language.

The questionnaire was used in addition to the qualitative tools for the reason that some research questions are likely to be answered more effectively by using either of or both of the instruments. The questionnaire consisted of both closed-ended and open-ended questions. All the researcher can say in justification of this is that open-ended answers permit the researcher to examine the reasons for closed-ended responses and to identify any comments people might have, which are beyond the responses to the closed-ended questions.

Two versions of questionnaire were devised: one for youngsters and the other for adults and elderly (See Appendices C & E). Each questionnaire comprises five parts. The first section consists of five questions related to informants' demographic information, such as age, sex, place of residence, level of education and first language learned at home. The second section has eight questions which were designed to generate data about extra-linguistic factors putting the Zay language at risk. The third section comprises five questions prepared to elicit some attitudinal

information. They were designed in the form of statements for which the informants were to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement. The forth section contains four questions, the purpose of which was to examine language use based on factors that are assumed to have an effect on language choice, such as domain and interlocutor. While the last section of the questionnaire prepared for the adult and elderly has seven questions, the one designed for the young consists of six items. Both were intended to elicit information from participants about their interest to promote the Zay language.

The two sets of questionnaire were very similar, except for some items in sections four and five. The questionnaire was first developed in English and then translated into Amharic. It was, however, not translated into Zay language as the research participants knew Amharic very well, and thus could fill the questionnaire at ease. This was proven while visiting the research sites before the commencement of the actual data collection activity, and during the pilot study conducted to validate the instruments. Instead of medium barrier, the problem encountered while the researcher went to the field was that some individuals particularly elders were not able to read and write. In order to overcome this problem, however, the researcher requested two of his friends, (PhD candidates - one was at UNISA and the other at Ethiopian Civil Service University), for assistance in the field. Besides, he hired two educated enumerators from Zay speech community. Therefore, the investigator in cooperation with the field assistants mentioned collected the necessary information through reading out the questions for the informants and writing down the responses they provided in the questionnaire.

The procedure for collecting the quantitative data was as follow. First of all, informants were given an explanation about the goals of the study; they were told that there was no right or wrong answer, and that their experience was of interest. They were also told not to write their name in the hope that respondents would feel freer to answer truthfully. Then, questionnaires were dispatched to 300 people, both from the islands and mainland, in a face-to-face encounter.

The data were collected through personal contacts with the informants over a period extending from 15 November 2016 to 25 January 2017. It was collected with the assistance of two ethnically Zay persons who completed grade ten and two doctoral students. The assistants were thoroughly trained beforehand how to use the questionnaire appropriately. The reason why the

researcher used assistants from the same speech community was to secure more cooperation on the part of the respondents, and this was ultimately found a useful tool in collecting the data.

The researcher's stay over a period of two months in the field helped him to keep his eye on the participants closely so that they would fill out the questionnaires meticulously. It also enabled him to make the non-return rate of the questionnaire zero. In other words, the researcher in collaboration with the employed enumerators contacted the respondents, until the final date of return, so as to make them feel more responsible to complete the questionnaire. Accordingly, all the 300 questionnaires dispatched were duly filled out and returned within two months.

3.3.3.5 Wordlist

In order to obtain data on lexical borrowing and the accompanied changes in the language subsystems, the researcher used about 100 wordlists which belong to the basic lexicon. According to Thomason (2001:72), such basic vocabulary items are less likely to be borrowed since they can be expected to be already present in every language. These basic vocabulary items are said to be very stable and thus robust with regard to changes due to borrowings from other contact languages.

The researcher prepared about 100 wordlists in Afan Oromo. The complete list of the words was then given to two fluent Afan Oromo speakers so that they would comment on the clarity and familiarity of the terms. Based on the comments given by the evaluators, some words were excluded while some others were included in final version of the wordlists. The items were also written in Amharic so that the informants would take advantage of their being trilingual and fill out the column left blank with Zay equivalent words. The final version of the wordlists was given to 60 informants, chosen through quota sampling from the island and the mainland dwellers (i.e. 30 from each). The researcher drew almost an equal number of informants from the two gender groups. In addition, he tried to diversify his sample respondents in the best possible way according to their age, ranging from 15 to 84+. The informants were made not only to complete blank column with Zay counterparts, but they were also requested to say it out orally to determine its pronunciation. Accordingly, all the informants included in this study provided Zay counterparts which they considered an essential part of the lexicon in their ethnic heritage language.

Apart from the list of basic vocabulary items, the researcher prepared some word structures consisting of both derivational and inflectional bound morphemes. They were prepared in Amharic and Afan Oromo so that the respondents would understand the concepts well, and provide the equivalents in Zay language. Its purpose was to determine whether the language's morphology affected or not because of the long standing contact.

3.3.3.5 Sentence Translation Task

Apart from wordlist, the researcher elicited information on linguistic structure through sentence translation task. According to Rickford et al. (1995), it is difficult to obtain sufficient tokens of morphological and syntactic variables in spontaneous speech and hence the desire to collect data on specific structures has led many studies of language death to rely heavily on sentence translation tasks. The departure from naturalistic data is possibly a necessity to produce ample data on the morpho-syntactic structures and provide sufficient amounts of information for analysis of the trends in language obsolescence. Keeping this scholarly justification in view, the researcher decided to use sentence translation task for the present study.

Sample sentences were prepared in Afan Oromo, and then provided to two fluent Afan Oromo speakers for comment. They evaluated the sentences in terms of clarity and order of the basic constituents. The comments that were found cogent were incorporated in the final version of sentence translation task. The translation task basically contained various grammatical points, but the researcher primarily focused on the basic word order, placement of modifying elements, such as adjectives, genitives and demonstratives, in his analysis (See Appendix X).

The sentence translation task was completed by 30 participants, 15 from the islands and the rest from the mainland villages and towns. In selecting the participants, the researcher used quota sampling, a preferable technique in language death studies. As much as possible, the quota was based on obtaining a mixed sample of ages and genders. First copies of sentences written in Afan Oromo were given to the participants who were able to write and read so that they would translate into Zay equivalents. Then, to determine the fluency of the speakers in their ethnic language and to recognize how each word in a sentence is pronounced, the sentences were read to the speakers in Afan Oromo, and they were asked to say the same sentence back in Zay. The researcher and field assistants wrote down the Zay version as uttered by the participants. Finally,

the data gained through sentence translation task were analyzed thoroughly so as to determine whether the Zay language was undergoing structural change or not.

3.3.4 Validity and Reliability of the Instruments

Soon after the development of data collection instruments, attempts were made to test the validity and reliability of the instruments. As indicated below, evidences on the validity of the interview, the FGD and the questionnaire were obtained from educated individuals selected for this purpose as well as through pilot study, while the reliability of the questionnaire was tested using the Cronbach's alpha.

3.3.4.1 Validity of the Instruments

First, the researcher made a thorough review of language endangerment, the fundamental factors prompting language endangeredness, and remedies for endangered languages. Second, interview, FGD and questionnaire were developed in English based on review of related literature. Then, the items of these data collection instruments were translated into Amharic. According to Gray (2004: 219), the issue of validity can be directly addressed by trying to ensure that content of the questions directly concentrate on the research objectives. With this end in view, the translated Amharic version of the interview, FGD and questionnaire were submitted to two doctoral students of Applied Linguistics for evaluation. They evaluated the content validity of the instruments - the inclusion of the contents stated in the objectives and research questions of the study, plus the face validity - the capacity of the instruments to generate the data that the researcher intended to gather, and the appropriateness of their designs. Accordingly, they gave three main comments on the questionnaire items. First, they commented that the items were a bit numerous and thus they should be reduced as the respondents might be tired of filling them all. The second one concerned with redundancy of the items. Some related items were remarked to be crossed out because they did not generate different information. The other was about the clarity of items. They commented that some items in the second section (extra-linguistic factors) of the questionnaires might be unclear for the informants. The doctoral students confirmed that the questionnaires were valid to collect trustworthy data if these comments would duly be incorporated. Hence, following the comments, the 26 questions designed for the adult and elderly respondents at the outset were reduced to 22 while the same number of items prepared for the young age group was minimized to 21 by omitting questions that were regarded similar by

doctoral candidates. (See Appendix A & B for the last version of the questionnaires used in the pilot study). The items that were commented to be vague were rephrased to the level of the respondents. As regards the interview and FGD questions, no comments were given on the contents except on wordings of some items.

The validity of instruments can be checked before and during the process of data collection and analysis. Thus, apart from evaluation of the instruments before data collection, they were also checked while the data collection and analysis were conducted. During the pilot study, questionnaires were distributed to 100 participants, all of which were returned being filled out as they should be. While dispatching the questionnaires, the respondents were requested to give comments concerning the clarity of the items. Nevertheless, they did not give major comments that could bring about a significant modification to the instrument. Moreover, the instruments - the questionnaire, the FGD and the interview- with the transcribed and analyzed data of the pilot study were given to three doctoral students: one from Environment Science and two of them from Applied Linguistics, with the purpose of checking out the validity of the instruments for gathering relevant, adequate and dependable data for the main study. The doctoral students evaluated the entire contents of the questionnaire, the FGD and the interview against the data generated during piloting, as well as against the research questions and objectives of the study. Accordingly, they commented all data collection tools as valid for collection of reliable information for the main study with minor modifications of the concepts and wordings.

3.3.4.2 Reliability of the Questionnaire

It is also important to check the reliability of questionnaire items in order to make them generate the required information for the main study. A questionnaire that consists of five sections was constructed. The first section is about personal information of research participants, while the second section is about a scale that measures the level of agreement or disagreement with statements prepared for generating data on extra-linguistic factors. Besides, the third section of the questionnaire is about a scale that measures the attitudes of the Zay people towards their language. The fourth section consists of questions about language use at different domains and with different interlocutors, and the last section contains questions intended to elicit information from participants concerning their interest to develop Zay. The reliability, that is, the internal consistency of the items designed in Likert Scale format was measured. Cronbach‘s alpha, which

provides an indication of the average correlation among all of the items that make up the scale, was used to compute the internal reliability of the items. Accordingly, the Cronbach's alpha of the scale for Likert type items of the questionnaire was found 0.85. "The figure 0.80 is typically employed as a rule of thumb to denote an acceptable level of internal reliability, though many writers work with a slightly lower figure" (Bryman, 2012: 170). It is, therefore, likely to say that Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for internal consistency of the items is relatively good.

3.3.5 The Pilot Study

Pilot study was conducted with the purpose of determining the viability of the study; testing the validity and reliability of the instrument and trustworthiness of respondents for data collection in the main study; establishing how appropriate and practical the design is, and addressing any problems prior to the main study. To be precise, the pilot study was aimed at verifying the inclusion of all the contents stated in the objectives and checking the clarity of the items, and accordingly making the necessary modifications (if there) before using them in the main study.

As stated in the preceding section, questionnaires were distributed to 100 ethnically Zay people drawn from both the mainland and the island. Besides, interviews were held with 10 individuals, while 4 focus group discussions were conducted to pilot test the instruments. The questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions were piloted with these samples drawn from the study population, i.e. Zay people. From this pilot study, certain essential lessons regarding the content and clarity of data collection tools were learnt and used for the amendments of instruments in the main study. That is, the results obtained from the pilot study helped the researcher to make some modifications in the instruments of data collection for the main study.

On the basis of the insights obtained from the pilot study, some items were included and excluded from the questionnaire. In part two of the questionnaire (See Appendices C & E), which was intended to elicit information about non-linguistic forces that may influence their native tongue, three questions (Qs 6, 7 and 8) were included in the final version of the questionnaire, after gaining some insights from the interviews and focus group discussions held during piloting. It appeared that the inclusion of these items was quite important to generate complete information on extra-linguistic forces prevalent in the Zay communication situations. On the other hand, Q5 in the same part of the questionnaire was crossed out because this item was found to be too general to elicit the intended information from the participants. The other

was rephrasing some items for the main study. For example, in part five of the questionnaire, seven questions (1-7) for adult and elderly and six questions (1-6) for young research participants were designed with the purpose of exploring respondents' enthusiasm to foster their receding language. From these questions, Q2 of the questionnaire designed for the young informants addressed only those who had no children at the time of data collection but would have in the future. This question did not give room to respondents who had children of their own, being within the age range of 15-30 (i.e., participants above 18 ages old may possibly have spouse and so do children). Thus, this question was rephrased in such a way that it considered all young respondents that might or might not have children at the time of data collection (See Appendix E for the final version of this questionnaire used in the main study). As regards interview and focus group discussion, no questions were included or excluded but the concepts and wordings of some questions were modified based on the lesson obtained from the pilot study.

3.3.6 Ethical Research Issues

With regard to ethical considerations, Clough and Nutbrown (2002:84) cogently put as follows: ".....in order to understand, researchers must be more than technically competent. They must enter into chattered intimacies, open themselves to their subjects' feeling worlds, whether these worlds are congenial to them or repulsive. They must confront the duality of represented and experienced selves simultaneously, both conflicted, both real....." In accord with these authors' view, the researcher kept the feelings, interests and rights of the participants and even managed to create rapport with them.

An official letter for the authorization of the researcher was requested and received from the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature. Then the letter was handed in to the Woreda administrations of Adami Tullu Gido Kombolcha (Zway), Dugda (Maki) and Zway Dugda (Abura), where the research sites are located. Having read the letter, the Woreda administrative officials wrote another letters to the Kebeles that the researcher was interested in conducting the study so that they would help him in the data collection processes. After obtaining written permission from Woreda and Kebele administrations, the researcher contacted the research participants and requested each for their consent. At the same time, the principle of voluntary participation was verbally explained to the informants and that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time. Apart from this, the purpose of the research was explained for each of

them and that they were informed about the anonymity of their names and the data they provided. Therefore, while analyzing the data, codes were used instead of participants' real names in order to protect their anonymity.

3.3.7 Methods of Data Analyses

Both qualitative and quantitative data were gathered through interviews, FGDs, observations, questionnaires, wordlist and sentence translation task. The qualitative data was categorized manually according to the most salient themes, and then analyzed and interpreted thematically. On the other hand, the quantitative data was codified and analyzed by using SPSS.

3.3.7.1 Transcription, Categorization and Analysis of the Qualitative Data

The qualitative data were obtained through interviews, FGDs and observations, as well as through questionnaire. The respondents' views to the interview and FGD were audio-recorded. The audio-recordings were converted into Amharic written text data by listening to the recorded views. After that, the transcribed Amharic data were translated into English by the researcher. Besides, the Amharic transcriptions were translated into English by one doctoral student of Applied Linguistics and Development to see the consistency of the translations. Accordingly, the translated data were proven consistent.

The translation was context based. That is, a free translation (not following the original words exactly) was used because it is unlikely to find a word-for-word concordance between the local languages and English. Therefore, the translation was made by finding equivalent meanings that are considered appropriate in the English language. Finally, the translated qualitative text data were analyzed and interpreted thematically. The handwritten field notes of the researcher and co-researchers were used during analysis of the interview and focus group data in order to clarify and add details to what the participants said.

3.3.7.2 Codification and Analysis of the Quantitative Data

The quantitative data were collected from sample respondents of the Zay people living on the islands and along the shore of Lake Zway through questionnaires. The questions in part II & III of the questionnaires were answered in terms of a five-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly disagree), 2 (disagree), 3 (undecided), 4 (agree), and 5 (strongly agree). While the items in part IV required the respondents to indicate what language they most frequently used in particular domains or

situations, those in the last part (part V) of the questionnaires demanded the respondents a ‘Yes’, ‘No’, or ‘Undecided’ response. First, informants’ responses to Likert type and other close-ended questions were categorized according to the themes relevant to answering the research questions. Then, the data were coded and prepared for computer entry. Subsequently, the quantitative data were recorded in the SPSS (Version 20.0 for Windows), processed and presented through tables. The tables were used to illustrate quantitative data in precise, which involves frequencies and percentages. Cross-tabulations were computed for gender and age in order to find out the attitudes the research participants held of their ethnic language. Besides, Chi Square tests were calculated in order to see if there were statistically significant differences between attitudinal responses across each age cohort as well as sex of the respondents.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

As stated in the preceding section, the study used mixed methods design by which both qualitative and quantitative data were gathered. In order to test the instruments, pilot study was conducted. On the basis of the lessons gained from the pilot study, the required modifications were made to the instruments, and then used for collection of data for the main study. This chapter presents the results and discussions of the data obtained through the qualitative and quantitative tools. The results of the qualitative data are presented in the first section of the chapter. This is followed by presentation of the results of quantitative data. Under these sections, issues related to the economic, political, historical, cultural and linguistic realities of the Zay are presented. Besides, the attitudes of the speakers and non-speakers of the Zay language are raised. Further, the chapter deals with the language use behaviors of the respondents and their interest to promote their indigenous language, as well as the nascent efforts that the community has made thus far in order to control the decline of the language. The chapter ends with discussions of the findings of both qualitative and quantitative data.

4.2 Presentation of Results from the Qualitative Data

The qualitative data were gathered through in-depth interview, key informant interview, focus group discussion and observation. The data were first categorized manually into themes. Then they were presented and analyzed under the general themes that were identified and used as headings and subheadings.

4.2.1 Macro-Level Factors in Zay Language Endangerment

In Sasse's Model of Language Death, the extra-linguistic factors (cultural, sociological, ethno-historical, economic, political, social factors) in the external setting create a situation of pressure that forces certain speech community to abandon its language. A language may confront an imminent threat of extinction when such external forces as political domination, economic insecurity, cultural infiltration, or social inequalities occur in particular speech community. These factors can impact on the speakers' attitudes towards their language. The language use behaviors of the speakers can also equally be influenced by the extra-linguistic pressures. Under this section, a clear picture of major causes typical of the Zay situation has been presented.

4.2.1.1 Economic Factors

Economic factors may be the greatest cause of language endangerment in the world where integration of economic life is increasing. Now, the question is whether there was a stable economic base supportive of continuing use of the Zay language or not. In this regard, the Zay people did not have a sustainable economic support that helped them enjoy a healthy life style on their own traditional territory. The main economic activities of the Zay people living on the islands were farming and fishing. However, as the land is mountainous and rocky, only small meadow part is cultivable. That is, there is no enough plain land that lends itself well to farming (FGD-11, 23 Jan. 2017: Tullu Guddo Island).

Because of the insufficiency of flat surface, the people exerted themselves to develop terraces and walls around the islands so that they could grow some selective crops on them. This is particularly true for Tullu Guddo Island, which is much hillier than other islands of Lake Zway.

Figure 4: Terrace on Tullu Guddo Island

Farmers typically grew *tef*, maize and sorghum on the terraced plot of land. Closer to the bank of the lake, they also grew root and stem crops, such as tomatoes, onions, cabbages, peppers and lemons.

The rocky makeup of the islands made the soil infertile. Hence, intensive farming is impossible for it exacerbates further loss of the soil's fertility and consequently the productivity of the land. Grazing land is another problem that the islanders confronted. The shortage of meadow on the islands made the people not rear more cattle. In its place, however, they kept goats and chickens for supplementary income as well as for fulfillment of their meat needs during cultural and religious festivals.

Apart from scarcity of land for cultivation and animal rearing, respondents linked their economic instability to lack of scientific agricultural practices. They spelled out that there was no modern agricultural technology that could help them increase the production and productivity of their farmland. FGD participant explained this issue in the following statements:

> Development is undergoing in other part of the country. It changed the people. Now, we are hearing on radio and television that people are cultivating by using irrigation and etcetera. The government gave water pump for those who couldn't afford to buy it by themselves. They are cultivating being trained by professionals. … Today, however, there is no one who gives us even selected seeds privately. Just like others, had the government given land for those in need of land, water pump for those in need of water pump and fishing equipments for those who needed such equipments, no one would have left their locality. Even, if this plot of land had been cultivated using irrigation, we could have changed ourselves because our people are naturally skillful (FGD-3, 26 Nov. 2015: Tsedecha Island).

The above quote reveals that though there was modern technology being used in Ethiopia for agricultural economy, the people of these islands did not benefit from it. Another possible explanation for this is that even if there was no adequate land for cultivation on the islands, the existing plot could be enough if it was cultivated using scientific agricultural practices. One of the key informants (KI-6, 21 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) also stressed this point. He revealed that the Zay were not made a beneficiary of the best scientific agricultural practices. There was no technical support from the government for sustainable utilization of even the existing natural and agricultural resources on the islands. Therefore, the absence of modern agricultural practices on the islands made the people produce yields that could barely meet their basic sustenance needs.

Related to this was the issue of infrastructures, which was recurrently raised by the research participants. As the respondent (KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) observed, no development activities that could attract the people to stay permanently on the islands have been carried out thus far. The government did not allocate funds to infrastructure developments, such as health care centers, clean water supplies, water transportation systems, etc., which could make the environment conducive for sustainable settlements. Since the people did not administer themselves, they were not able to get a budget directly allocated to them, and so, the situation did not allow them to take full responsibility of developing their surrounding areas. By the same token, the other key informant contended that even if these islands are important historical places, the government and people of Ethiopia have not still done anything to conserve them as a heritage. The residents were not supported economically and technically so that they could develop their vicinity and create a friendly environment for sedentary settlements (KI-3, 17 Dec. 2016: Meki Town). "Unless the economic livelihood and infrastructures are improved, there is no way to contain the movement of the people. Where the migration of the people cannot be stopped, further impoverishment of the language is inevitable" (KI-6, 21 Dec 2016: Meki Town). Thus, because the economy was tightly controlled by other groups, the Zay were not able to develop the islands and made them suitable for permanent life, and the ultimate result of this was dispersal of the people in different directions that eventually left their language in the current sorry state. The informant stressed that even today the common people have been pushed to the margin. The ones wanted in this area were those who had economic power and the so- called 'investors'.

Respondents also emphasized the problem of accessibility to markets. The fact that the island-dwellers are circumscribed by water body created difficulty of accessing the mainland markets where they got all trade goods and some crops for home consumption. The people who fed up with this problem left the islands for the nearby villages and towns in search of better economic opportunities.

It is apparent that as many Zay lived on the islands and shores of Lake Zway, fishing became their main economic livelihood. Having used their papyrus boats, they caught fish and used it for home consumption and sale. However, they confronted a serious difficulty of obtaining good market for their surplus yields of fish.

The FGD participant on Tullu Guddo Island depicted:

> Our main problem is lack of market. Now there is a fish here. There is enough fish. Agriculture extension workers brought and released it here [in this lake]. But there is no market. For example, we sell one kilo of fish with 2 or 1 Ethiopian birr … Private merchants are taking our fish away with cheap price in different ways. Hence, our life is emaciating for want of market (FGD-4, 29 Nov. 2015: Tullu Guddo Island).

In his description of the economic situation of the Zay, the informant (KI-6, 21 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) believed that the people did not benefit from the existing economic growth, unlike other ethnic groups. Equitable distribution of wealth– which has been considered to be happening in Ethiopia– was non-existent in their context. He put his view earnestly in what follows:

> The economic livelihood of this society is fish. One fish costs 100 Ethiopian birr when it reaches Addis Ababa. Here, however, three fish are sold at a price of 10 Ethiopian birr and if it becomes costly, the price rises to 20 birr, at the very most. What does this mean? The person who produces the fish here, who depends on it for his survival, has not been made a beneficiary of the product. … The one who fishes out investing his time and energy has not been given a chance to get a proportionate benefit of his effort. … The financial return has not been commensurate with the effort the fishers made for fishing. They work hard but they are still poor because of the fact that the existing economic system has not benefited them on an equal footing with others. Thus, it is this situation that prohibited the society from developing its language. If you have firm economic base, you can develop your culture, language and other things.

The researcher's personal observation also supported their view. Although the informants above seemed to present the case with a slight exaggeration, the problem of market remained true. One morning (27 Nov. 2015) while travelling from one island to the other (from Tsedecha Island to Tullu Guddo Island,) by motorboat, the researcher observed youths selling the fish they caught to local fishmonger with 6 Ethiopian birr per kilo. When asked why, thinking the present costliness of fish on market, they said that they could not afford to water transport cost to take it to market by themselves. The cost that they were supposed to pay for the motorboat man to take them to the nearby mainland market exceeded the profit they could make out of it. Because of this, they were forced to sell at least price for the boatman who came over there every morning to collect fish. A year later, the price of one kilo of fish rose to 10 birr. It is important to note that a kilo of fish sold at 6 or 10 Ethiopian birr was not a processed fish. But the observation data also

confirmed that a kilo of processed fish - the one ready for cooking - sold at 60 Ethiopian birr in Meki and Zway Towns, and this price could considerably rise when it reached Addis Ababa. Thus, although it is not known the cost incurred for processing the fish, the price gap is noticeable.

Figure 5: Zay man fishing on Lake Zway

Figure 6: Fish ready for sale to a boatman

Figure 7: Zay youth selling their fish to boatman

Figure 8: Boatman taking the fish he bought

The theme of market recurred throughout the data set. The Zay, particularly the youth who led their lives by fishing did not seem to benefit much from this activity because of the absence of market that received their product with reasonable price. Even if they worked diligently, the financial return was not encouraging for them to stay on the islands and sustain their lives with such economic activity. Consequently, they were forced to move to other places where they could get better economic advantage.

In the same way, the informants mentioned economy as a leading cause for Zay language decline on the mainland. It is an established fact that the most supportive of the mother tongue are situations where the indigenous language is the code of choice in a stable economy. When it comes to the Zay situations, the people living on the mainland were entirely dependent on an economic system that required the use of a language other than Zay. According to one of the key informants (KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town), in the past, the economic livelihood of both the island and mainland people was predominantly tied to fishing:

> …Previously, all the Zay who engaged in fishing activity met on the bank of the lake while casting their net for fishing in the morning [the economic activity that used to bring only ethnically Zay people together]. What happened is that as the school of fish in the lake came diminishing, the frequency of contact between the islanders and mainland dwellers reduced to some extent. The mainland Zay was mainly inclined to economic activities, such as farming and trading for the betterment of their lives. When they went to these economic activities, the people they mainly contacted on regular basis were outsiders [non-Zay], with whom they had to use the language other than their own vernacular. For example, in the past our people did not trade fish. Nowadays, however, they fish out as well as buy from other fishermen and then hand over to the owners of hotels and restaurants. The second thing is that fishing became a common activity. In the old days, the Oromo people did not have an inclination for fishing; however, these days they have been accustomed to it. This means, the Zay now meet with other ethnic group while fishing. So, in order to communicate with them, our people have to speak Afan Oromo as an Oromo man couldn't try out the Zay language. Hmm . . . unless you speak Afan Oromo, you cannot sell your fish; you cannot buy something from them. Hence, the Zay language has diminished while its speakers have gradually been attracted to Afan Oromo.

A possible explanation of this excerpt might be that the mainland Zay had to use Afan Oromo to function well in Afan Oromo speaking society. For one thing, the knowledge of Afan Oromo was required to gain regional advantages; for the other, the workplaces on the mainland required

the Zay to speak Afan Oromo in order to get access to the socio-economic opportunities. For example, opportunities for employment and business were open mainly to those who acquired adequate knowledge of Afan Oromo. Therefore, the use of the majority language in everyday life became a necessity for the Zay who worked in Afan Oromo speaking society. This proved the fact that the Zay confronted with the challenge of keeping their language active in the face of Afan Oromo.

The problem of wealth to maintain the Zay language was further raised by lake shore dwellers. One of the informants asserted: "our people are very, very underprivileged. They are very poor….. If you have economic capacity, you will help your language not to vanish with that capacity [economic wealth], perhaps through publishing books in this language; it is possible to keep that language alive in different ways" (FGD-1, 09 Nov 2015: Bochessa). In his account of the events surrounding economy, the key informant also said:

> Because of the fact that farming on the islands is not that much possible, some people have moved to the lake shores and plowed. But are the people benefiting from the product of their farm? No! It is the brokers and merchants that are benefiting. Hmm…if the farmer sells a kilo of tomato at 80 cents, the broker will deduce 20 cents from that. The farmer gets only 60 cents from a kilo of tomato. Who takes the 20 cents? It is the broker! Who is responsible to make the producers a beneficiary of their products by excluding these intermediaries and correcting the market? It is the responsibility of the government! But the government has been keeping silent observing the problem. . . For instance, here around Meki, there are irrigations. People are producing different agricultural products but the beneficiary of the product is the brokers and merchants. Thus, the language and culture of the Zay were able to recede because of the fact that their economy was taken up by other groups even on the mainland (KI-6, 21 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

One can perhaps deduce from the data that the failure to achieve self-sufficiency in economic livelihood was likely to make the migrant Zay unable to control a gradual shortfall of mother tongue speakers of their language. This may in turn be explained by the fact that survival would take priority over identity. That is, sustainable economic wellbeing is required to come first because only when they could survive that they could protect their language and culture.

Generally, economy could be a major factor, if not the only one, causing the Zay language to decline. It is logical to say that the language was receding partly because of the fact that a sizeable number of its speakers were forced to leave their traditional territory for economic

opportunities and that the language of the workplace in the new settings was other than their own vernacular.

4.2.1.2 Political Factors

Politics is another important issue worth spelling out. Respondents believed that there was a lack of political will from part of the government to promote their language and culture. Keeping the Zay language out of school environment was cited as a main culprit for its decline: "the reason why this language has been declining is because of its exclusion from school. If it was given in school, it could develop for children would learn it" (FGD-2, 10 Nov 2015: Bochessa).

There have been Schools on Tullu Guddo and Tsedecha Islands, but as the education policy controlled by the Oromia Regional State, it is the region that assigned teachers to the schools. The teachers were always Oromo who could not speak the Zay language. Ethnically Zay teachers who knew the language were not assigned to schools on the islands, let alone teach in Zay. On the other hand, the children were not able to speak Afan Oromo as they did not get any Afan Oromo input directly from their parents or community at their early childhood. Hence, they went to school with no knowledge of Afan Oromo. This means, there existed a communication gap between the teachers and students which could negatively affect the teaching learning process. As the children learned in the language they were not familiar with and taught by teachers who were not able to speak their language, they could not perform well (FGD-11, 23 Jan. 2017: Tullu Guddo Island). This point was further emphasized by key informants. One of the informants (KI-10, 20 Jan. 2017: Tullu Guddo) noted:

> Many of our people do not know their language [Afan Oromo]; they also do not know our language. As schooling is delivered in Afan Oromo, our children's achievement is very low . . . Since the teachers do not know Amharic and Zay, and students do not understand Afan Oromo, how can they communicate then? This has created a big gap in the teaching-learning process. Now, for example, there is a student who is grade 6 but not able to write his name; being grade 5 student, he is not able to do simple mathematical operation like addition and subtraction. . . So they start from the scratch when they go to Zway Town. Even by going there, they cannot achieve well because they have no background. Completing grade 10, they come back home and become a burden to their parents. Hence, this language gap between students and teachers has created a huge impact on students, parents and the society at large.

Cognizant of this linguistic problem of the children, the people asked the concerned body through their representatives so that Amharic would be the language of instruction since Zay - their mother tongue - was not reduced to writing. Their choice for Amharic arose from the fact that it is a second language spoken on the islands and that it is much more related to their mother tongue than Afan Oromo. One of the representatives of the people narrated the event as follow:

> Hmm… being represented by the people, we petitioned the *Woreda* Administrative Office of Arsi Zone as the three inhabited islands are under this administrative Zone. Receiving our petition, they said to us "go home now; we will tell you the response after seeing through it". In the meantime, they sent teachers (directors) and got the people gathered at schools. The teachers asked the people saying: "have you asked for teaching your children in Amharic?" The people replied "yes". Then the teachers said "ok! If you want your children to learn in Amharic, they are also able to get job opportunity only if they go to Amhara Region; they can't get any job in this region.". . . The school directors passed this to the people as an intimidation. Later, the people thought over it and said "well, if our children are not able to get job opportunity in their vicinity, it is of no use whether they learn in the language they understand or not. Thus, they have to learn in Afan Oromo willy-nilly." The directors wrote a minute on the spot and had the people sign it. Having done this, they called us and said "Look! You are asking for the change of the medium of instruction, saying it is a question of the people, but the people sent us a petition stating that the question was not theirs and that they did not want their children to lean in Amharic." …In this way, they had the voice of the people left being smothered (KI-2, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town).

The blatant rejection of people's formal request for Amharic-medium education resulted in migration of a sizeable number of children to other places where they had relatives to stay with. "Since then, those who had financial capacity sent their children to the nearby and distant towns for education. It is possible to say that more than half of the people sent their children to towns, such as Assela, Meki, Zway, Addis Ababa, Adama, Mareko special woreda, etc where they could get Amharic-medium school" (KI-2, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town). However, those who were not able to afford to teach in towns sent their children to Afan Oromo-medium schools on the islands. Consequently, these children scored the least mark when compared to other students learning by their mother tongue. "Now, you will be surprised if you see their school results at district level. It is the lowest in the district. Because they learn by the language they do not understand well, they are not able to register a good result" (KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town).

The data clearly reveal people's grievances for the fact that they were not benefiting from the constitutional right given to the nations and nationalities of Ethiopia. The Zay saw constitution and policies on the protection of languages but, for them, existed in name only. For instance, the linguistic right to learn in the language the children are familiar with or proficient in did not take practical effect in their context. In other words, they were blatantly denied the right to learn through the language of their choice. Thus, it is possible to deduce that the failure to implement the right of mother tongue education in favor of the Zay triggered double problems. In the first place, children were forced to leave home in their early childhood- before they laid a strong foundation of their mother tongue- in search of education delivered through the language they were familiar with. This in turn caused the Zay language to lose its young speakers. In the second place, the children who remained on the islands and attended their education there became unsuccessful because of the fact that they learnt in the language they were not good at.

The respondents argued further emphatically that their language shrank owing to the absence of meaningful public activities taking place in it, particularly in secondary domains. One of the FGD participants presented his view as follow:

> It was not explicitly said from part of the government that this language should be abandoned. We have no such kind of imposition from government but this language is dying because of the reasons that it is not used as a working language and that it is not taught in schools. In turn, this means politics. Even if they did not directly say 'don't use this language', our language has been made to shrink by excluding it from school, media, administration and business (FGD-1, 09 Nov 2015: Bochessa).

The Zay seemed to lose a secondary domain where it used to function. A pertinent point made by the research participants was that all the five islands used to be *Kebeles* by themselves, i.e. they were administered as independent *Kebeles* in the past regimes. In the current FDRE government, however, they were made to merge with mainland *Kebeles,* where the Oromo predominantly live. While Tsedecha merged with Herera, Fundurro and Tullu Guddo islands were merged with Bashira Chaffa in Arsi Zone; Gelila and Debre Sina were merged with Bochessa in the East Shoa Zone. As regards the administrative division of the coalition *Kebeles*, a Chairman was from the Oromo while the Vice Chairman was from the Zay. This indicates the fact that the highest power even at *Kebele* level belonged to the Oromo ethnic group (FGD-11, 23 Jan. 2017: Tullu Guddo Island).

A key informant from Tullu Guddo Island (Vice Chairman) explained the situation:

> In our case, our mainland *Kebele* is Beshira Chefa. This *Kebele* runs all administrative issues as the supreme power belongs to it. Now, you can see here what happens to the language while running the administration. …We carry out the administrative activities by going there because it is our *Kebele*. What that *Kebele* chairman wants is to lead us by his language. ... He talks to me in Afan Oromo, and me too has to answer him in Afan Oromo. What has brought this is the coalition of *Kebeles (*KI-11, 21 Jan. 2017).

As can be inferred from this excerpt, merging the islands with Oromo dominated *Kebeles* on the mainland gave rise to reduction of domains where the Zay language could be used. Before creation of coalition *Kebeles*, the Zay used their language in the administration of the islands. This opportunity, however, disappeared when the islands coalesced to other *Kebeles* on the mainland. The islanders had to use Afan Oromo in order to secure all administrative services. This means the Zay language lost one domain where it used to function. Domain loss in turn shows the fact that the language is under a serious threat.

Language use in school, administration and other highly significant domains was a political decision which came down from above without considering the interest of the common people. Respondents claimed that the decision makers were responsible for the diminution of their language as they did not assign any role to it in secondary domains. They argued that the absence of a role assigned to their ethnic language in school, administration and other secondary domains weakened its vitality considerably. It is well-known that the number of domains in which a language is used is a decisive factor for the upward or downward spiral of the language. A language which is confined to the home has less chance of survival than the one used in school and administration as well.

All the same, the most recurrent theme running through the entire work was official recognition. In connection to this, one of the participants put:

> The principal reason why this language has been diminishing is the fact that its speakers have not been recognized. If these people were given recognition, they would learn in their own language; they would get different services in their own language, and consequently the language and culture of the people would develop. But now, because they have not got recognition, they are afraid of speaking this language; they live in Oromo community by concealing their real identity (FGD-2, 10 Nov 2015: Bochessa).

Informants of Tsedecha Island also shared this view. They believed that the main reason for the Zay to fall far behind other ethnic groups in their economic, political, cultural and linguistic status was the fact that they had no ethnic recognition. They attributed their failure to get ethnic recognition to their numerical size and poorness. Although they presented the case to the government repeatedly, nobody was willing to hear them merely because of their small size and their being underprivileged (FGD-10, 17 Jan. 2017: Tsedecha Island). Bochessa informants underlined the point further. They contended that the Zay language could not reach its current level of endangerment if its speakers were recognized as a distinct linguistic group, for the recognition itself gave them an impetus to maintain their linguistic identity, thereby staying unique. Now, the reverse happened. The new generation became ashamed of speaking their vernacular and favored the learning of the widely spoken and officially recognized languages (FGD-5, 18 Nov. 2016: Bochessa).

The informant (KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) recounted the fact that Zay was a recognized ethnic group in the past. Because of this, for instance, it used to participate in Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Day during the time of Derg. So, the people used to practice their culture and speak their language publicly. At the present, however, this society has been ignored. As stated in the constitution, any people having their own language and culture, common psychological makeup, and who live in identifiable, predominantly contiguous geographical location can be given official recognition as a distinct ethnic group. Hence, they are entitled to self-administration through creation of Region, Special Zone or *Woreda* based on their numerical size. "Because we have this constitutional basis, we have been asking the FDRE government for recognition since its advent to power. However, nothing has been done in favor of us so far although we meet the requirements." In support of this view, the other Meki informant added:

> . . . Before this, it means during Derg, I knew though I was young that this ethnic group had recognition. Due to this, the language and culture of Zay stayed over a long period of time being protected. But, in the incumbent FDRE government, this language has highly been receding. These people do have their own unique language, their own culture and their own history. So, what makes them ineligible to get recognition as a distinct ethnic group? (KI-5, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

Respondents said more about the matter. Regardless of the government's proclamation for nations, nationalities and peoples' entitlement to official recognition and self-administration, the Zay were denied this right. Although they made a concerted effort to get their voice heard, it

remained a voice in the wilderness. “Isn’t the government saying ‘I have answered the question of nations and nationalities’?” But of how many? Ours, for example, has not got answer thus far even if we asked for more than 25 years” (KI-6, 21 Dec. 2016: Meki Town). It seems that a mere fact of being small made this ethno-linguistic group ineligible for recognition in the eyes of the government.

One of the informants said that a gleam of hope once appeared for the Zay when they were allowed to participate in Nations, Nationalities and Peoples’ Day, though their hope turned dark soon:

> What happened was that the local Tourism and Culture Authorities allowed us to participate in Nations, Nationalities and Peoples’ Day which was held in Dire Dowa Town. Accordingly, a group of people was represented and sent to Dire Dowa to display the cultural songs and costumes of the Zay. However, an investigation was made soon after the celebration, saying, ‘how the Zay could participate in NNPD without being officially recognized as a distinct ethnic group’. As a result, the officials who gave this permission for the Zay at the time were fired from their positions. We have also been denied the right to participate since then. Our ethnic group was made not to participate in NNPD saying that ‘there is no ethnic group named Zay except Oromo in Oromia Regional State’ (KI-5, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

Generally, according to the respondents’ belief, a total disregard of people’s claim for official ethnic recognition engendered a moral problem. The people tended to lose pride in their being Zay little by little, and on account of this they were demotivated to exert themselves to do something for the upkeep of their flagging language. In the participants’ view, official ethnic recognition could provide the people an opportunity of self-administration which would in turn enhance their prestige in the eyes of others. This was thought to become a moral support for them to maintain and promote their language. However, the absence of this opportunity in the context of Zay worked against the protection and development of their language as well as ethnic identity (FGD-7, 10 Dec. 2016: Makedella).

4.2.1.3 Socio-Historical Factors

There were some socio-historical events that respondents considered responsible for the decline of the Zay language. These include Oromo expansion, belated marriage, harməhɒda, gudifətʃtʃa and migration. The Zay had lived not only on the islands but also along the shores of Lake Zway

before the Oromo expanded to the area in the 16th century. They occupied the areas around Lake Zway and cultivated to make a living. However, the expansion of Oromo in the 16th century (See Chapter 2) put Lake Zway region under pressure. One of the informants narrated the history as follows:

> When the Oromo came from the south east and moved up to the extreme north, part of the population settled along Lake Zway region. As they were warriors, they fought against any ethnic group they confronted on their way of expansion, and took over the land and annexed the people on it. Accordingly, while the Oromo occupied the Zay settling along the lake shores through war, they imposed their language and culture on them. … The lake shore dwellers that used to speak Zayña as a mother tongue were engulfed by the Oromo language and culture. At the time, the Oromo believed all the tribes they captured in war should be incorporated and counted as clans of Oromo. Accordingly, they converted small tribes they occupied into Oromo through the Oromo customary law called 'ləlləβə', which means proclamation. However, the Zay refused to accept 'Oromoness' through lələβə, though they were swallowed up by the tradition, culture and language of the Oromo (KI-6, 21 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

In Oromo customary rules, there was what is called *lələβə* whereby the war captives or people defeated in a battle are admitted to Oromo clan or 'gosa', and the admission is ratified by the council of elders. The issue is strengthened further by KI-11 (22 Jan. 2017: Tullu Guddo Island), who recounted that while the Oromo expanded as far as Raya, they "Oromized" the people they defeated by war. Small tribes that had fallen prey to them were annexed and called in the name of the Oromo clan that took control of them. A case in point is Wege tribe, which was once said to have been part of Hadiya but later incorporated into Oromo through lələβə. However, as regards the Zay people, the respondent noted that they managed to maintain their original ethnic identity, despite the strong pressure from Oromo: "They say 'I am Laki Langano, Laki Shalla, Laki Dembel, and Laki Abayata', but they never say 'I am Oromo'." They are still called in their own name, *Laki* - the name given to them by the Oromo based on their fishing activity. Although they resisted accepting "Oromoness" through lələβə, the Zay who lived along the lake shores were not able to keep their language and culture intact.

Equally important was the late marriage that the Zay elders introduced in order to control population growth when the Zay were once again pushed to the islands because of the intensified war on the mainland. Forceful Islamization of the Christians living near Lake Zway during the

war of Ahmed Gragn caused many people to flee to the islands for protection. Besides, after years of recurrent conflict, the Oromo pushed the Zay back to the islands. As the Zay were completely cut off from central Ethiopia by the Oromo and Muslim advance during Ahmed Gragn, they had to depend on their own resources to sustain themselves. As a consequence, limiting the children born was considered necessary in order to overcome the scarcity of resources on the islands. One of the participants (KI-8, 11 Jan. 2017: Tsedecha Island) made the following point:

> Unlike today, people were not fond of each other to go out and live on a broad land. Not to live here, the land is narrow. …Because of this, the then elders devised late marriage as a family planning technique so as to control the proliferation of the people on the islands which lack enough space fitting for human habitation. Therefore, it is something that they did in order to make the people not increase numerically and suffer as well as die for want of food and drink. The marriageable age for males at the time was about 60 so that the people could have only one or two children in their lifetime and then pass away.

The other respondent of the same island also emphasized this theme though the marriageable age contradicts with the above informant's. He pointed out that a man got married when he turned 40 and above in order to limit the number of children born to a family. When asked why, he reasoned out, memorizing what he was told by his father, that the areas around Lake Zway were occupied by the Muslim Oromo which fought the Zay back to the islands. To avoid a conflict with these people, they confined themselves to the islands by using the scarce resources there for their continued existence. So if children got married in their early age, they would be multiplied uncontrollably, and thereby survival could be very difficult as they were not able to get land even for construction of a house, not to mention for cultivation. As a way to overcome this scarcity of land, belated marriage was introduced by the elders (KI-7, 10 Jan. 2017: Tsedecha Island). FGD participants on Tsedecha and Tullu Guddo Islands as well reinforced the issue of late marriage. One of the discussants made the following statement:

> Marriage was delayed for the sake of family planning. Hmm… having said a family planning, different things are now being done in modern ways. Likewise, elders of the time made the male children marry in their advanced ages to control population growth. That was done out of problem. The existing narrow land was even not enough for building a house. … If one gets married at early age and begets many children, where does he take them as he doesn't have enough land even for himself? They did it for the sake of controlling this problem. . . Just as it was intended, this

> incident played a great role in making the number of population decline (FGD-9, 15 Jan. 2017: Tsedecha Island).

As can be inferred from the above quotes, the present small number of the Zay can be attributed to the historical events happened to them. The fact that the Zay restricted to the islands at the time of their isolation from other part of Ethiopia retarded the natural increment of their population. If they procreated without limit, they would fill out the islands and consequently suffer from lack of subsistence. Not to happen this, they limited the number of children to be born. This in turn made the Zay numerically lesser than other neighboring ethnic groups. Being small in number exposed them to be easily subjugated by the dominant groups living alongside them. It is true to say that number is power because ethnic groups with sizeable number of people have their voice heard and their right respected than smaller groups. The Zay themselves believed that their language was subjected to domination by Afan Oromo because of the trivial number of its speakers. If the language had a considerable number of speakers, it could possibly resist any external pressure exerted on it.

The act of limiting the children born to a family did not fully solve the problem of the Zay. History shows that an intermittent conflict over land and access to water for cattle occurred between the Zay and the Oromo until Emperor Menelik II came to the area in 1893 and reconnected Zay to the other part of Ethiopia (See Chapter 2 for detail). In the meantime, however, the Zay were said to have tried to avoid conflict through creating a family relationship with the Oromo so that they were able to spread to lake shores and mainland, thereby getting access to more cultivable land and markets. One way that they attempted to avoid a conflict with the Oromo was through harməhɒda. It is a traditional way of creating a family relationship between persons having no blood tie. Individual members of the community practice harməhɒda as a means of overcoming a problem that they confront. The disadvantaged person asks someone that he thinks important for the betterment of his life, saying, “let you be my father and I will be your son”. In most cases, the man being asked cannot reject the request and hence he becomes a father to the person asking him for paternity. KI-7 (10 Jan. 2017: Tsedecha Island) pointed out that in the past, the Oromo used to kill many Zay people. The Zay also didn’t keep quite while someone was killed among them, and so did they kill from the Oromo in revenge. “We went out for market as well as for farmland. Since we met this way, we practiced harməhɒda with the purpose of avoiding enmity.” Even if they were not related by blood, they considered each other

as a relative after this harməhɒda promise. Participants of FGD on Tullu Guddo also supported this view. Things were different in the old days. It was very hard to move from place to place for the reason that people used to kill one another. It is not like the present time when they tolerate each other and live peacefully. As a result, the Zay deemed harməhɒda necessary to reduce the tense in Lake Zway region, thereby getting access to markets, where they could buy goods and supplementary foodstuffs, and to farmland on the mainland. In the main, harməhɒda was practiced with the purpose of bringing a peaceful social co-existence (FGD-11, 23 Jan. 2017: Tullu Guddo Island). An informant from Tsedecha Island consolidated this point further:

> . . . In order to strengthen social life, people had to establish relationships among themselves if they had no family connections by blood. As we heard while our fathers saying, in the past, they paved a way that enabled them to go out and back home peacefully by creating a relationship with the Oromo found nearby through harməhɒda. They did this in order to bring peaceful social co-existence at the time. First, well-known persons from both groups (Zay and Oromo) created a family relationship through harməhɒda. Then, the common people followed suit (KI-9, 14 Jan. 2017: Tsedecha Island).

Respondents believed that harməhɒda also caused population loss because most of the Zay who made relatives from the Oromo through harməhɒda left the islands by acquiring a farmland on the mainland. These people lived intimately with Oromo as relatives. This situation in turn made them and their subsequent descendants learn the language and culture of Oromo, which ultimately resulted in complete "Oromization".

The other historical event that requires closer inspection was gudifətʃʧa, means that adoption. The Oromo people were said to use adoption as an instrument to create strong bond with other ethnic groups they came into contact. Accordingly, at the time that the Oromo began to settle along the shore of Lake Zway, they adopted many Zay children because of various reasons. The first one was to get access to drinking water. As a mechanism to get water for their cattle, the Oromo tried to strengthen relationship with the Zay through adopting their children (KI-6, 21 Dec. 2016: Meki Town). The other reason was Malaria and Cholera outbreak that exterminated many Oromo people living along the lake shores. As KI-4 (20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) clearly stated, the Oromo started adopting children mostly when Cholera broke out in their settlement areas, like the present day Ebola that severely hit West African Countries. That disease exterminated many Oromo people living along Lake Zway. As a result, they came to Zay elders

and asked "we have been exterminated by cholera and malaria because the land has not accepted us yet; let you teach us your culture and tradition so that the land accepts us." At that time, the religion of Christianity was not developed well in the Lake Zway region. Since Christianity was not properly ingrained by preaching Bible like today, people used to be superstitious, presenting sacrifice to a deity. While something bad happened to them, they did a ritual killing in order to propitiate a deity. Hence the Zay advised the Oromo to abide by this practice. Besides, having said that they were decimated by cholera and malaria epidemic, the Oromo elders asked the island-dwellers to give them children for adoption. As the Zay also had a scarcity of land at the time, they did not reject the request. Thus, a number of children were given to the Oromo by adoption. The other is that the parents that lost children in their marriage used to adopt children of Zay. The Oromo parents, particularly the barren women adopted children of Zay as their own children. As one female informant, 45, recounted:

> In the past, a barren woman raised a child of other parents as her own within Oromo society. It is Oromo who brought up a child of Laqi. A barren mother, indeed, gets [children] from him; he procreates for her. But this man would not be called in the name of his biological parents. . . . And while he lives in his mother and father's land, he says "I am Oromo" (Interview II, 05 Nov 2015: Bochessa).

This view also echoed by Tsedecha Island focus group discussant: "the Oromo who did not get children in their marriage raised many children of Zay. Because these children grew up in the language and culture of Oromo, they began to declare themselves as Oromo, throwing off their Zay identity" (FGD-3, 26 Nov. 2015: Tsedecha Island).

The adoption that happened in Zay settlement areas, particularly the islands was distinctive in that it is not only the adoptees that left their community but also other family members or close relatives: "Hmm…now, for example, my brother or my uncle may go to other place by adoption. I and other family members or relatives will go after him where he lives" (KI-2, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town). The other informant (KI-3, 17 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) added that the number of people who left their territory because of adoption may not be that big, but there were numerous people who went off following the adoptees because of their family relationships. This was observed mainly in the *Dugda* district.

To put it succinctly, as the kids were adopted in their early childhood, mainly before they learnt their ethnic language, they tended to learn only the language of their adoptive parents. Besides,

members of a family or close relatives who went after the adopted children were likely to relinquish speaking their vernacular in order to accommodate themselves to the communication needs of the new milieu. It follows that the subsequent children coming into this world through the bloodline of the aforementioned group of people could undeniably learn only the language of the adopters. This implies that gudifətʃtʃa played its part in minimizing the Zay language speakers because the adoption process of the Oromo made the Zay, i.e. the adoptees, relinquish their indigenous language and culture, and take the language and culture of their adoptive parents. The result of this action was a gradual decline of mother tongue speakers of Zay, which in turn led it to its present endangered status.

The most important of all was migration of the people to a location outside their traditional territory. As repeatedly stated, the largest part of the islands by its very nature is rocky and mountainous, which is not suitable for human habitation. The Zay tried to overcome this problem through different mechanisms, such as late marriage so as to check the proliferation of the people on the islands; harməhɒda *and* gudifətʃtʃa so that they could get access to markets and farmland on the mainland by avoiding conflict with the neighboring Oromo. However, most of the respondents believed that these mechanisms did not fully solve the problem. In spite of the late marriage, there was still increment of population through procreation and movement of safety-seekers to islands. Besides, there was an on and off conflict between the Zay and the Oromo despite the family relationship created through harməhɒda and gudifətʃtʃa. Therefore, the problem of scarcity of land continued until Menelik II came to the areas around Lake Zway in 1893. Menelik II ended their isolation from the central Ethiopia and even granted them a land in Bochessa and Herera. Although there has been a movement of people throughout the history of Zay, this time was a turning point. Since then many Zay people moved from the islands to coastal villages, such as Bochessa, Makedella and Herera Mendoyou, as well as to nearby towns like Meki and Zway, where they came into a regular contact with other speech communities, particularly Oromo. In fact, as to a male participant aged 38, the Zay moved further as far as Arsi Negele, Assela, Lake Langano, Lake Shalla, Alem Tena and Shashemene (Interview I, 05 Nov 2015: Bochessa). This movement entirely depopulated the two south western islands: Gelila and Debre Sina (e.g. KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016; KI-3, 17 Dec. 2016; KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016 and KI-6, 21 Dec. 2016).

Thus, migration from the islands caused a serious population loss. Many who left the islands settled permanently in these villages and towns. The impact of this population movement worked against Zay language by weakening it in its traditional stronghold. Besides, shift in language use seemed to be happening in the villages to which the Zay moved. The case in point was Bochessa and Makedella where Afan Oromo has been replacing the Zay language as a mother tongue. As the migrant intermingled with the Oromo, they had to use the language of the host community at the expense of their own vernacular in order to acclimatize themselves to circumstances in the new settings.

4.2.1.4 Cultural Factors

The culture of the numerically and economically dominant ethnic group can engulf the non-dominant group's culture, and its impact is also reflected on the minority group language. Culture is all the knowledge and values shared by a society, of which the language can be considered the most important element. It is apparent that each language has grown up with its society, and is an expression of the facets of that society's culture. Its speakers use it to describe their world, traditions and customs. They also use their language to pass on their way of life to the posterity. Therefore, the disappearance of culture implies a loss of language.

Respondents revealed the fact that the Zay had a unique culture of their own. The cultural practices, such as wedding, mourning, məsk'əl (the finding of 'True Cross') and others were reported to be distinct. For instance, məsk'əl celebration in most Ethiopian societies is held on 17 September, according to Ethiopian calendar. In Zay's case, however, the celebration of məsk'əl starts from 16 through 29 every September (FGD-8, 12 Dec. 2016: Makedella). The discussants explained that the ceremony which lasted for 14 days was warmed by the traditional Zay songs where young Zay girls came together every afternoon at 4 PM and sang in their language until 10 PM. They continued singing till the closing day. The opening and closing ceremonies were conducted only in Zay language. Even more remarkable and wholly unique for the Zay was the marriage tradition. According to KI-1 (4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town), the Zay practiced a cultural marriage called Zɔjra- a tradition whereby children born in the same year come to the home of a groom with rods and make a promise through tasting tədʒ and dawa.

> For example, if you were born in 1966, those born from half of 1965 up to half of 1966 are considered in the same age with you. This is traditionally called məri. Məri means the same age [people who are in the same age]. During your wedding,

> each person comes with one zəŋ, which means rod. If twenty people were born in that year, twenty zəŋz would be brought to your home during your wedding, and these zəŋz would be tied to the pillar of your house and kept there until the next person of this age cohort will get married. It revolves this way. …The zəŋ symbolizes cohesion and friendliness. . . . The məri would be given pots with tədʒ and dawa. The groom and his friends (məri) make a promise and then drink the tədʒ and dawa together. They first taste the tədʒ one by one. The tədʒ symbolizes love and peace: "let the God make our life sweet just like the honey, and make us peaceful friends until we pass away. Then they drink the dawa, which means "if you have bad thoughts about your friends, let your life be bitter like this dawa." Finally, they break the pot with dawa, saying, "let God destroy our enemy like this pot."

As one can understand from the above excerpt, the Zay marriage tradition seemed to have a crucial role in strengthening social ties. It is likely to develop the culture of togetherness, which may ultimately establish peaceful social co-existence as a norm. In other words, Zay's marriage tradition is of central importance in reinforcing unity among the people so that they would continue living in harmony selflessly. It is an established fact that a society can exist as unity when its members have shared values.

However, even if these unique cultural traditions have still existed on the islands, they tended to be flagging on the mainland due to the influence of the Oromo culture. The lake shore dwellers have been relinquishing their traditional way of celebrating məsk'əl, for which they made use of their ethnic language. Their marriage tradition, which is the only of its kind, has also been eroded owing to the pressure from the dominant culture in the region. In relation to this, FGD participants stated:

> … Since the Zay people living on the island have no contact with other people, they do not have cultural influence. But those who are out of the islands influenced by Oromo culture as they live with Oromo people. For instance, some Zay have been adopting the marriage and funeral traditions of Oromo (FGD-3, 26 Nov 2015: Tsedecha Island).

According to this data, the people of Zay who lived on the islands kept their culture untouched as they had no cultural contact with other ethnic groups. But the mainland Zay lived with Oromo people who were numerically and economically superior to them. This fact resulted in the infiltration of the Oromo culture into the home of Zay. Today, the young people of Zay have begun to accept the Oromo cultural practice, relinquishing what was theirs. A female research

participant, who was 40, presented the case of her village as an evidence for abandoning their ancestor's culture: "Now, as to this locality, while singing on wedding, we usually sing in Afan Oromo. We also use Amharic. During mourning, we mourn the dead only in Afan Oromo; we don't know mourning in Zay because we have already lost it. Our elderly mourn the dead in Zay language; they mourn perfectly counting the dirge" (Interview XI, 15 Nov 2015: Makedella). The statement depicted that the adults and the youth tended to be forsaking their culture in favor of the majority community's culture. Nevertheless, the elderly seemed to still preserve their original culture even if they lived in the hub of the Oromo community.

In all, the people's day-to-day lives and social relationships could cause cultural diffusion, i.e., the spread of customs and practices from one culture to another. The mainland Zay and Oromo interacted in many aspects of life which tied them together. They had, for example, cultural associations that brought them together. Such associations included ɨk'k'uβ (a local money saving method by which total contributions of members are given to each member by draw) and ɨddɨr (local traditional social organizations involved in mutual aid in times of hardship, particularly death). They also participated in religious and cultural ceremonies, such as məhaβər (a religious ceremony performed monthly by group of people in the name of God, Angels, Apostles, Martyrs and St. Mary, though it was reported that the members were mainly Zay); səmbəte (a ceremony held every week in observance of Sabbath), as well as wedding and mourning of one another. Above all, they worked in the same environment where they met on a daily basis. These all brought cultural contact whereby the dominant Oromo culture placed a heavy pressure on the non-dominant Zay. For example, acculturation has clearly been observed in the naming of Zay children. Nowadays, most of the names that have been given to Zay children sound Oromo (KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

The other cultural influence was caused by marriage, that is, some Zay children of marriageable age sought partner outside their own group and that presented the additional problem of cultural diffusion. Those children born to the mixed marriage usually found themselves adopting the dominant Oromo culture rather than the culture of their Zay-parents. It is believed that when two asymmetrical ethnic groups come into greater contact, the culture of the minority group gives way to the majority's culture. This seems to hold true in the context of Zay people, who lived in close proximity with Oromo on the mainland.

4.2.1.5 Linguistic Factors

In connection to this, the Zay language lacked linguistic developments, such as an alphabet and a body of literature; it lacks written tradition. The presence of a written code is, in fact, seen as an essential prerequisite for many activities in favor of its maintenance, such as dictionary writing, grammar description, curriculum development and the design of language teaching materials. As FGD participants pointed out, the fact that the Zay language was not reduced to writing influenced its use among Zay people, especially the Zay who lived along the lake shores. They believed that the Zay language would not come under threat if it was reduced to writing. Provided that it had a written form, a body of literature would be developed in it. Besides, some books would be written in it. Its possibility of being taught at school could also be high (FGD-10, 17 Jan. 2017: Tsedecha Island). Participants of FGD in Makedella village also contended that failure to institute orthography contributed to the nonexistence of dictionaries, grammars and reading materials developed in the Zay language, which in turn made it impossible to teach in school, as well as to use it in other domains such as administration, court, the media, etc. (FGD-8, 12 Dec. 2016: Makedella). This view also supported by participants of FGD in Bochessa. As one of the participants phrased:

> This is clear. It is not confusing. For example, if books were written in this language, you could teach your children by reading from those materials. Now, there is nothing that prepared and preserved in the form of dictionary…… The old people already died, passing on what they knew to us. They are not with us hereafter. However, the present generation has not learned what they passed on to us. They are abandoning it. If it existed in writing, anyone could develop it, supported by the written books. So, not having a written form and reading materials prepared in it contributed its part to the gradual decline of the language (FGD-1, 09 Nov. 2015: Bochessa).

The above excerpt reveals that the absence of writing system and reading materials influenced the language negatively. The respondent put the case clearly and incontestably. If written materials prepared in Zay existed, they would allow the speakers to maintain contact with their heritage language through reading. In so doing, the youngsters could get certain level of competence in the language. However, the reverse happened to Zay. The non-existent of written materials developed in Zay language discouraged some youth who were already desperate to learn it from their family orally.

4.2.2 Micro-Level Factors in Zay Language Endangerment

The second prominent category of Sasse's Model is Speech Behavior which concerns the sociolinguistic factors, such as the use of different languages in a multilingual setting, the use of different styles of one language, domains of languages and styles, and attitude towards variants of language. Language endangerment may primarily be engendered by extra-linguistic factors, such as economic, political and cultural suppressions. These factors can prompt the emergence of the internal factors, such as people's negative attitudes toward their own language. Sasse (1992) cogently contends that internal pressures always drive from external factors. Together, they stop the intergenerational transmission of linguistic and cultural traditions. The major internal factors to be treated under this subheading are language attitudes and language use.

4.2.2.1 Language Attitudes

People's attitudes towards a language can be depicted as positive, negative or indifferent. These attitudes are more common in bilingual or multilingual settings. Individuals tend to develop different attitudes for each language that they speak. Such attitudes are, to a great extent, the outcome of the symbolic or socioeconomic value manifested by each language.

4.2.2.1.1 The Attitudes of Zay people towards their Language

Language endangerment can mainly be determined by the general attitudes of speakers towards their heritage language. Speakers of minority language may associate their weak social and economic position with their heritage language. They might believe that their language is of no use in creating them a job opportunity and consequently not worth preserving. Ultimately, they could relinquish their language in favor of other dominant language with the hope of securing a better economic livelihood and enhancing their upward social mobility.

The situations in Zay are not different from this belief. The Zay people, particularly the young generations considered their language as backward for the reason that it did not open the door to different opportunities (be it economic, social, political or educational) in the country. One of the respondents said "I myself abandoning it. Why I abandoned it is that one comes to me and says 'where does it take you? Does it take you ʃəggər ʾ?" (FGD-1, 09 Nov 2015: Bochessa). The other participant added "there are people who say 'Zay language do not help me if I go to other place. It doesn't help me in anything'" (FGD-4, 29 Nov. 2015: Tullu Guddo Island).

From this, it is logical to say that some members of the community developed negative attitudes towards their language because of the perceived belief that it couldn't help them in their day-to-day activities. To put it another way, since the Zay language had fewer functions in the community as compared to other languages, they thought it less effective in providing them opportunities for the betterment of their lives. Such thinking seemed to lead them to the conclusion that they had to learn other languages of survival at the expense of their vernacular.

Surprisingly enough, there were people who declared themselves Oromo while they were not in reality. This was reported to happen because of the fact that the Zay speech community has not got recognition as a distinct group within the broader Oromo society, which they believed, having recognition would promote its prestige and thus a greater motivation for Zay language use in a number of domains. This shows that the perception some Zay people had of themselves seemed to be negative, which in turn undermined the value associated with their language and eventually their own use of the language (e.g., KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town; KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town). A woman respondent, 45, also elaborated this point:

> A child of Zay in this locality declared himself Oromo while he was born from Zay-parents. When asked why he concealed his origin, he said "Laqi is not recognized as Oromo and other ethnic groups; it is not portrayed on television and in different things like others; thus we now say we are Oromo" (Interview II, 05 Nov 2015: Bochessa).

KI-4 (20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) further observed the presence of people who were ethnically Zay but had a low opinion of themselves and their language. Majority of those people who held Zay language in low regard were government employees. They believed that a good command of the Zay language could not help them for their political, social and economic advancements in the contemporary world. As a result, they strived to get mastery of the dominant language of the region in the hope that they would have a better life. Another informant from Zway Town reinforced this observation. He pointed out that there were civil servants who even opposed the claim for ethnic recognition. ". . . They say to us 'why do you do like this? You can't succeed'" (KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town). On the other hand, the informant noted that the objection did not arise because of the fact that these people had hatred for the struggle; rather it arose from the belief that the question of ethnic recognition could never bear fruit in the region. The cause for concern was that if they supported the struggle openly, they could be dismissed from their job,

and most importantly they could be excommunicated by the Oromo who they lived with for centuries. Hence, they preferred to live peacefully being assimilated into the majority group in the region.

In the same token, focus group discussants on Tullu Guddo Island (FGD-11, 23 Jan. 2017) described the existence of ethnically Zay people who would feel embarrassed while speaking their heritage language. These people were not the island-dwellers but the ones living with the outsiders. They were ashamed of their language to speak in the presence of other language speakers:

> . . . While I myself talk to them in Zay, these people feel small to respond me, for other language speakers can hear them the distinctive language they are speaking. . . . Now, for example, if I find someone at hotel and ask him in Zay, saying: "How are you?" that person would feel shame to answer me in Zay language because he fears that his friends from other linguistic backgrounds may be around and hear him speaking Zayña. His friends do not know his real identity as he doesn't tell them his being Zay. Even while filling out some forms at school or *Kebele*, he does so in the name of Oromo or other recognized ethnic group, hiding his real ethnic identity. This is in fact done for the sake of a livelihood. They feel that if they express their "Zayness" openly, they could be marginalized and that they could not be made beneficiary of the existing economic opportunities on equal basis with the other local people. So … it is not because they hate their identity that they hide themselves and their language, but they do it for the sake of a livelihood.

The data generally indicate that the lack of success in getting recognition as a distinct ethnic group seemed to make the Zay ashamed of expressing their identity publicly. Added to this, the inexistence of meaningful public activities taking place in the Zay language (or the non-dominant position of the Zay language) remained a barrier to its speakers for reporting themselves as Zay.

The other reason that some Zay people threw off their Zay identity was linked to cross-cultural marriage. The people who came into the Oromo community for modern education and economic wellbeing have married spouses from among Oromo language group. Consequently, children from these mixed marriages grew up frequently with linguistic allegiance directed toward the language of their non-Zay parent. That is, children of the mixed parents grew up speaking Afan Oromo, the primary language of their non-Zay parent. This resulted in a diminution of the value and importance of the Zay language to the children and augmented the importance of Afan

Oromo which has been becoming their home language. That is to say the children chose to identify themselves with Afan Oromo because of its dominant position, in relation to the Zay, in the region and its wider presence in public or official domains (FGD-5, 18 Nov 2016: Bochessa).

Connected to the point above was the fact that some parents did not teach Zay to their children with the belief that this language was not able to afford their children a better economic opportunity. One of the FGD participants explained the situation in his family:

> . . . Parents made no effort to teach Zay to their children and keep it alive. They made it halt on themselves. … Take me, for example, my father didn't teach me this language so as to keep it with me and pass on to my children. I learned it from old men and women while having coffee with them. I learned it that way by my own effort, but there is nothing that my parents taught me on purpose (FGD-1, 09 Nov 2015: Bochessa).

The data show that parents did not make effort to teach Zay to their children, may be because they thought it not useful for the children to make progress in this competitive world. Parallel to this notion, a male informant aged 45 stipulated "I don't want my children to learn Zay because it is useless for me. What is its importance here unless on the island? Afan Oromo is useful for the majority speak it. I want my children to learn Afan Oromo" (Interview X, 07 Nov 2015: Bochessa). The other male informant aged 50, echoed the above informant's view: "I think Amharic and Afan Oromo are useful for economic and other developments. Unless it is for keeping our identity, the Zay language has no value here. Amharic and Afan Oromo are spoken widely around this area. Thus, these languages are useful for me" (Interview XXI, 20 Nov 2015: Meki Town).

According to the data, some parents living along the shores of the lake seemed to perceive that their children would access material wealth by learning languages which are more widely spoken demographically and geographically and that are economically and politically dominant. They appeared to be desirous of replacing the use of their vernacular by the majority language maybe with the belief that the maintenance of their own vernacular would hold back their children's socio-economic success in this era of globalization.

The data presented thus far clearly demonstrate the existence of a threatening attitude, but it would be premature to draw firm conclusions at this stage. This is so because there were people

who reported to have a strong allegiance to their language, and consequently taught it to their children devotedly even if they lived in the heart of Oromo community.

Regarding this, one of the informants made the following point:

> . . . There are parents who have taught this language to their children. For example, three or four years old kids who speak Zayña fluently are found in this vicinity. There are parents here with us who have been watching over this language, saying "our language is our identity, our history". If all did the same way, you can imagine where it would reach. To be frank with you, when I see these kids I feel shame. I have children but my children are not even able to understand what is being said in Zay (FGD-1, 09 Nov 2015: Bochessa).

The above excerpt indicates the presence of parents who had strong attachment to their language even if they lived with outsiders speaking the dominant language. Even those who taught their children only the majority language (Afan Oromo) for economic reasons seemed to regret now not having taught Zay to their children so as to preserve their bilingual competence and to link them to their ancestors. A respondent, 42, who was head of a family, explicated his emotional attachment to Zay language. Even if it could not afford him material gains as well as social prestige, he held it in high regard for what it is and what it represents. He revealed that he mostly used Zayña with his spouse at home as well as when he visited his relatives on the islands. Besides, he taught it to his children at home so as to ensure its continued existence (Interview XII, 15 Nov 2015: Makedella). His assertion about teaching Zay to children was proven by researcher's personal observation as well. The kids were speaking Zayña with him while the researcher was there for an interview. Although finger counted, children in Bochessa and Meki Town were also observed while communicating with their parents in Zay language at home. This demonstrates the fact that some Zay parents perceived their language as an important part of their heritage.

The positive attitudinal responses in the interview results were surprising given the decline of the Zay language use among the young generation on the mainland. That is to say the inability of speaking or understanding Zay made no difference on attitudinal responses. When informants who could not speak Zay were asked about the importance of Zay to them, a female respondent, 21, answered "speaking Zay is useful for me because it is an important symbol of my identity. No one says 'she is Oromo', rather they say 'she is Zay'" (Interview XXII, 20 Nov 2015: Meki

Town). Another male respondent aged 29 said "speaking Zay helps me convey secret messages to ethnically Zay person while non-Zay speakers are with us" (Interview XVIII, 17 Nov 2015: Makedella). The same feeling was also revealed in their response to the question "what language(s) they wanted to use with Zay person if they found him/her in other place, assuming that they are all fluent speakers of the three languages: Zay, Amharic and Afan Oromo." In respective of their age and sex, most of them responded that they would use Zay because their heritage language should always come first. This may imply that the Zay would use their vernacular proudly if an environment where their language could take a functional role was created. Some of those who knew the language well but wouldn't speak pointed out that the reason why they didn't speak Zayña was not because they held negative attitude of it but because they felt impolite to speak Zayña as they lived in a close knit with Oromo people who could not understand the language. Still, they did not hide the fact that Afan Oromo was more important for them to gain material wealth. KI-4 (20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) elucidated his allegiance to the Zay language in earnest:

> Even if many people do not place great value on it, I personally count on Zayña than other languages. I am telling you the truth that I can carry out many activities in Zay language. …It is those who have not been educated that belittled Zay. I believed that the Zay language is equal to Afan Oromo. Afan Oromo exceeds it only by its number of speakers. People who do not know this, however, denigrate you while speaking Zay. …We are now reading in some books that the language is extinct. This is, however, a miracle. It is far from truth. The Zay is still vibrant even if it is losing some of its speakers in Oromo dominated areas. I can assure you that a minor effort can certainly take it a mile further; …no more time and money investment are required to get it back to healthy state. Even though no pragmatic action will be taken, the Zay language continues to live forever because it is the mother tongue of the island-dwellers. How hard they may suffer, the islanders will never leave the islands all in all as they value their priceless history over their material problem.

The quote shows that the Zay language has both practical and symbolic values. As the respondent was a musician, he produced songs in Zay language which introduced him to the public and might possibly help him make money. This seems to be the source of his pride and strong attachment to the language.

Just to get to the general point, the respondents considered Afan Oromo and Zay languages as having separate values attached to them. The importance attached to Afan Oromo has arisen from the fact that it carries a potential for economic wellbeing, whereas the value placed on the Zay language has resulted from the acknowledged fact that it carries the people's culture and history. By and large, these findings reveal the presence of positive attitudes towards Zay as a symbol of identity. The best part of the people seems to be still emotionally attached to their language even if they are not able to speak it.

4.2.2.1.2 Attitudes of Afan Oromo Speakers towards Zay Language

Studies on attitudes toward minority languages mainly focus on the attitudes of speakers towards their own language. They do not give attention to the majority community, that is, the people who do not speak the minority language. However, even if the speakers' attitudes towards their language take the lion's share in causing languages endangerment, the attitudes of non-speakers can also contribute to this end. Thus, the attitudes of the non-Zay speakers, in this case the Oromo people, have been examined since their attitudes might have an impact on how the Zay speech community views itself and its language. With this end in view, the researcher collected information from both Zay and Oromo ethnic groups. The study came up with two contradicting types of attitudes which were reflected in the Oromo community.

Some Oromo people seemed to have negative attitude toward Zay and their language. Ethnically Zay respondents said that some Oromo community members viewed Zay as backward and mere poor people, and even made fun of them when they spoke their language in public domains. One of the informants (KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) noted that he was mocked by the young Oromo while speaking Zayña. They made a mock of him, saying: "what does it benefit you? Does it help you cross a road?" The FGD participants also asserted "if we speak our language while we are with them, they insult us; they said to us 'what language are you speaking? Are you speaking bird's language'?" (FGD-2, 10 Nov 2015: Bochessa). By the same token, KI-1 (4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town) explained the presence of an intimidation from some Oromo youngsters who argued that the Zay had to adopt the language and culture of Oromo as long as they lived in Oromia region. If not, they could not be treated on the same footing as the majority Oromo people in the region. Again, KI-7 (10 Jan. 2017: Tsedecha Island) observed the presence of some

ethnically Oromo people that belittled the language. The respondent put his observation as follow:

> I myself do not speak in my language while going out of the island for work, thinking that they might conspire on me. . . If we are fortunately two, we may speak Zayña. So, when we speak Zayña, they say to us "what language are you speaking? Speak in our language." There was even a time that those Arsi Oromo, our neighbors, scolded us saying "why do you even speak your language in this place? You have to speak only our language as long as you live here". . . Now, for example, while we visit them on the mainland, we speak only in Afan Oromo. They don't like us while speaking in our language. Because of such negative attitude held by the Oromo, some Zay households came to believe that unless they adopted "Oromoness", they would not be able to live peacefully with them. As a result, they abandoned their ethnic identity and declared themselves Oromo so as to avoid any disagreement that might occur.

A possible explanation for the above excerpts is that some members of the majority community treated the Zay with contempt by regarding them as economically deprived people, and nominating their language as yəwəf k'^{w}ank'^{w}a ('bird's language'). The data also indicates that the Zay had to perceive themselves as a part of Oromo, not as a distinct ethnic group, if they demanded to be treated the same way as the dominant group in the region. According to KI-1 (4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town), recognizing Zay as an ethnic group considered by the Oromo as a threat because this act might result in relocation of the Oromo living in Zay settlement areas, as well as replacement of their language by Zayña. Such thinking of the Oromo ethnic group created panic and insecurity among Zay people to speak their ethnic language in the presence of other language speakers. In addition, it resulted in fright of reporting themselves as Zay.

The act of mistreatment and denigration was also observed in school. An informant aged 18 recounted his primary school experience as follows:

> …When I was a kid, my father always spoke to me in Zay while he came to school for some purposes. While he talked to me in Zay, I responded him in Amharic because I feared that the children might suspect me as I am a Zay. I did not speak Zayña for they made a mock of me and pissed me off if they knew I would speak Zayña (Interview XVI, 16 Nov 2015: Makedella).

This extract shows that kids of school age were ridiculed and belittled by children of the majority community whenever they spoke their little-known ethnic language in school. This derogatory discourse made the children develop a bad feeling of their ethnic language; they thought that

they became a point of ridicule because of it. Faced with such pressure, they might even decide to throw off this language, or else when they grew up and started a family of their own, they may not be willing to transmit it to their children.

On the other hand, respondents expressed the presence of individuals among Oromo ethnic group who held positive attitude of Zay language. These people were reported to encourage the Zay community members to use their language and practice their culture. Some even manifested sensitivity and concern for the Zay language and culture (FGD-8, 12 Dec. 2016: Makedella). As focus group discussants stated, there existed ethnically Oromo people who practically performed their wedding in Zay culture, leaving their own aside. This is because of the fact that they were attracted to the cultural practices of Zay in general and their marriage tradition in particular (FGD-2, 10 Nov. 2015: Bochessa). The key informants also said that though not the youngsters, the Oromo elders witnessed the fact that the Zay had a distinct language, culture and history of their own. KI-1(4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town) argued for the existence of some Oromo people who sympathetically said to the Zay "'why don't you promote your language? Why don't you produce film in it? We do help you out with it.' Overall, ah…the people above 55 years old, whom you may consider as elders, are on our side." Similarly, a male participant who was 42 reported that the Oromo people did not exert an influence on the Zay language and culture. He said "we live with Oromo society in this vicinity. These people [Oromo] didn't say 'don't speak your language.' When we sang using our drum being with them, no one said 'don't sing! If you do so, I will tear your drum apart.' Instead, they said 'sing! Your song entertains us'" (Interview XII, 15 Nov 2015: Makedella).

As one can see, the data demonstrate the presence of members of the Oromo ethnic group who had a positive attitude towards the Zay language and culture.

Apart from the ethnically Zay people who were asked about the attitudes held by the Oromo people, the majority community members themselves were requested to express their feelings about Zay. The researcher suggested for Oromo respondents to address such questions as 'whether the Zay language in Oromiya regional state is worth saving; whether they considered the language useful; whether they themselves would like to speak it or whether they would want their children to learn it.'

In the answers of the Afan Oromo speakers, generalities could be extractable, which mainly reflected favorable views of the language. The majority respondents expressed their view positively. They attached value to the language as a cultural heritage. Some informants asserted that Zayña could be important for the Zay people as a communicative tool and as identity marker in so far as it is an important component of their culture. They also pointed out that the Zay language was useful for themselves to communicate with non-Oromo speakers. Knowing Zay would allow them to communicate with Zay people who did not speak Afan Oromo, particularly the elderly on the islands. Some even expressed a feeling of sympathy for Zay people, stating that they should be recognized and supported like others since they are distinct linguistic and cultural group. A woman aged 36 said that she would be happy to learn Zay if she got the opportunity, indicating that she has already learnt to some extent from her Zay neighbors (Interview XL, 17 Nov 2015: Makedella).

However, some respondents showed indifference about Zay language. For instance, a 39-year-old man said that he didn't care whether the Zay language would die or not. He explained that there was no reason that he worried about Zay while the native speakers themselves abandoned it at their own will. Nothing would motivate him to learn the Zay language for himself or to make his children learn it as its speakers themselves already relinquished it, thinking that it was not useful for them (Interview XXXVII, 07 Nov. 2015: Bochessa).

In general, these findings reveal the presence of both positive and negative attitudes held by some members of the majority community towards the Zay language. Those who had negative attitude regarded the Zay language as useless to its speakers. However, the Oromo people who held Zay in high regard thought it useful both as communicative tool and symbol of identity for its speakers. Added to this, respondents considered it helpful for themselves to communicate with the Zay people who were not able to speak Afan Oromo. This might partly prove the possibility of success if any Zay development efforts will be made in the future.

4.2.2.2 Language Use

In this section, results for the islands and lake shore dwellers would be presented separately to make the differences between the two places clearer and easier to grasp. The researcher suggested for the respondents to address questions, such as 'what language (s) they most commonly used with their family, neighbors or community members and work colleagues, as

well as what language they mostly used during cultural events'. Besides, questions related to interior monologue were posed. The data obtained in this part of the interview yielded no intergenerational differences on the islands but clear differences on the mainland.

Regardless of their ages, respondents on the islands clearly disclosed the fact that they frequently used the Zay language among themselves. To put it straightforwardly, within the family, the use of Zay has still been very prevalent. Afan Oromo was never mentioned as a spoken language in the family except when guests who were not able to speak Zay might come from mainland to visit them. As compared to Afan Oromo, Amharic was frequented in the family which could be proven by Amharic command of the kids. Children on the islands spoke Amharic as fluently as they did Zay. This can indicate that they acquired Amharic from their parents or community. According to the researcher's observation results, those kids who did not reach school age could not hear Afan Oromo, let alone speak it. Only those who went to school were able to hear but hardly speak it. During the data collection, the researcher had to stay with a family of the Deputy Chairman of Beshira Cheffa Kebele to which Tullu Guddo Island was merged. The first day the researcher went to the house of this Deputy Chairman, he found a kid aged seven or so, coming from school. Greeted her in Afan Oromo, but she didn't respond. Maybe a shy, the researcher thought and stopped insisting on her. The following day, the researcher once again talked to her in Afan Oromo but she still kept quiet. Later, when he shifted the code to Amharic, she responded. When asked her why she didn't respond in Afan Oromo, she replied "I don't know Afan Oromo." Similarly, the researcher asked another kid attending grade 2, some questions like "what is your name? How old are you?", after completion of an interview held with his mother. The kid didn't respond to the questions in Afan Oromo. Then, when asked in Amharic why he didn't respond to the questions, "I don't speak Afan Oromo; I know only Amharic and Zay", he replied. Surprised by his response, the researcher asked further question: "how do you then understand the lesson delivered in Afan Oromo?" He said "I hear Afan Oromo albeit not speak. Besides, my parents help me out with my education." When asked their parents, they explained that their children learned Zay and Amharic at home, but they learned Afan Oromo at school little by little. They also asserted that as Amharic was usually used within the family and community, and that it is much related to Zay, their kids learned it at ease.

Among neighbors and community members, the use of Zay language was still prevalent; it was frequently used in social relationships (friends and neighbors) since all the islanders were its mother tongue speakers. Respondents spelled out the fact that the island-dwellers had fewer links outside the group but more links within the group. That is to mean, there existed a strong social network where everyone almost knew each other and that an individual interacted with other individuals in a more than one capacity, for example, as friends, neighbors, relatives, etc. This dense and multiplex social network gave the language an opportunity to be used more often than not on the islands. Once again, informants reported that Afan Oromo or Amharic was used in the neighbor or community when guests, administrative bodies, tourists and others came from the mainland.

Language use in the workplace was also dominated by Zay although there was a slight use of Afan Oromo by islanders for economic purpose. The people of the three inhabited islands met almost all their material needs through the use of their vernacular and marginal use of the language of their surrounding ethno-linguistic groups. Although they have no adequate fertile land, they have bountiful lake water, and the skill of fishing and weaving to make a living. The Zay language met all the communication needs for carrying out these activities. Of course, the islanders had a practical necessity to use Afan Oromo and Amharic. This is because the people of the islands traded with the mainland people to obtain cash and trade goods. Besides, because of the paucity of cultivable land, some people got a farmland in Herera and Bashira Chafa where they usually went for plowing by keeping their home on the islands. Therefore, to access these trade goods, cash and some subsistence crops, they had to use mostly Afan Oromo and slightly Amharic.

Moreover, language use behavior on cultural and religious events was almost the same as the domains mentioned above. The respondents reported to predominately use Zay on occasions such as wedding, mourning, dəβo (communal labor), and on religious events, for example, səmbəte (a religious ceremony held weekly in the observance of Sabbath: Sunday) and məhaβər (a religious ceremony performed monthly in commemoration of Saints, Angles and God). A 56-year-old man explained:

> On the day of cultural events, I usually use Zay. I use my language. Since we perform these cultural events on the islands, the language we use during these occasions is Zay. However, sometimes, we may participate in events such as

> mourning and wedding outside of the island where we meet other language speakers. Under this circumstance, the language we use may be Amharic and Afan Oromo. Indeed, we still use Zay with ethnically Zay people who are able to speak the language (Interview XXX, 27 Nov 2015: Tullu Guddo Island).

The field observation also confirmed these interview results. The researcher observed people working together on the farmland of one another (communal labor), people gathered to observe especial occasion in the name of Angel Michael (məhaβər) and a yearly religious holiday celebrated in the name of Saint Mary. In the first and second cases, almost only Zay was used, albeit Afan Oromo and Amharic were sometimes heard being spoken with strangers like the researcher. In the third case, as it was a holiday celebrated per year, people came over there from different places as far as Addis Ababa. Thus, the main means of communication on that occasion was Amharic. Not only communication but also preaching and chanting were conducted in Amharic. However, there were still people using Zay among themselves.

When it comes to language use behaviors on the mainland, the use of the Zay language was low. According to participants' responses, Zay was mainly used among elderly, slightly between husbands and wives and between middle-aged children and their parents. The young Zay reported to use mainly Afan Oromo within a family. Zay talked to children also reported to be low even though not fully replaced by Afan Oromo in all families. There were children of some families in Makedella, Herera and Bochessa Villages as well as Meki and Zway Towns that the researcher observed while speaking Zay with their parents. When asked the parents how their children could learn Zayña in this Oromo dominated environment, they explained the fact that they always talked to them in Zayña and that they advised their children not to relinquish their ancestor's language. When viewed from broader perspective, however, Afan Oromo has been replacing Zay in the younger generations within the family.

Among neighbors and community members, the dominantly used language was Afan Oromo, since the Zay people lived in a close-knit with Oromo language speakers. The respondents purported that they used Zayña only when they met a Zay person from the islands or when ethnically Zay people who knew the language gathered for some purposes, or when they wanted to hide something from Afan Oromo speakers. Observation of the researcher corroborates this report. From 1st to 5th of December 2016, the researcher was in Zway Town. One morning (5 December 2016), he went to a restaurant named 'Teseme' for breakfast. The owner of the

restaurant was a Zay man. The restaurant was filled with people having food and drinking beer. As the customers were from different ethnic background, they mainly conversed in Amharic - the language that most people are familiar with. All of a sudden, an unfamiliar sound entered the researcher's ear from a far side of the restaurant. Just out of curiosity, he turned his face towards the direction that peculiar sound was coming from. Consequently, he noticed six individuals, with an average age range of 25 to 60, chatting warmly in Zayña as they enjoyed their food and beer. Luckily, the researcher recognized one of them. He was the man the researcher held an interview with the day before. After a while, the researcher went to their seat and greeted them all, and at the same time explained himself why he was there. They then invited him to join them and enjoy a beer. Accordingly, the researcher sat with them and began to observe critically what was happening there. Throughout their stay in the restaurant, they were all communicating to each other in Zayña, except when their acquaintances came into the restaurant and greeted them in Amharic or Afan Oromo as well as while talking to the researcher. When asked about their current place of residence, they said that two of them came from Meki Town while the rest four were inhabitants of Zway Town. That day, those Meki residents came to Zway on business. To know about the secret of their Zay language command, the researcher once again asked them how they became fluent in Zay as they lived in the towns where other dominant languages were commonly used. The informants said that almost all Zay people aged 30 and above in Zway and Meki Towns were able to speak the Zay language well for the reason that they had a frequent contact with their relatives on the islands. They said that no one lost relatives on the islands, and this created an opportunity to learn the language. For the Zay, Christianity is a source of identity and unity. No Zay man could be absent when there was a religious celebration on the islands. Social events, such as wedding and mourning also tied the island and mainland Zay together. This situation created an additional opportunity for the mainland Zay to learn and use their ethnic language.

As regards language use among work colleagues, respondents spelt out that they mostly used Afan Oromo. This is because the use of Afan Oromo in their context was not a choice, rather a necessity. The Zay had to use Afan Oromo in order to have access to job opportunities since this language was a working language of the region. Children used Afan Oromo in order to conform to the preferences of the teachers and students they spoke with at school. Therefore, language use on the mainland was not a choice that can be made by an individual, but it is something

inescapable. This means that the mainland Zay had no option but to use Afan Oromo in the working environment where the majority of the work colleagues were speakers of Afan Oromo - the dominant language of the region. Of course, once again, most of the people the researcher held an interview with claimed that they used Zayña as a secret language when they wanted to hide information from non-Zay speakers, and when only Zay people who were able to speak Zayña worked together in the field, for instance, during communal labor.

Observation of the researcher depicted that youngsters rendering services at loading area of a boat mainly used Zayña. It was on 23rd of December 2016 that the researcher traveled to the Island of Tsedecha from Meki Town for the second round data collection. As it is known, the boat stop is a water body adjacent to land where loading and unloading is possible. Thus, the researcher went to the bank of Lake Zway by TVS (also called bajaj), to take a boat leaving for Tsedecha Island. When he reached there, he found a number of people waiting for a boat. A significant number of youngsters whose age may range from 15 to 20 were also there. They were likely to work at a loading zone as they were seen loading and unloading a boat. During an hour or so stay at the bank of the lake, the researcher noticed these young people speaking the Zay language among themselves and with the people waiting for the arrival of a boat, with infrequent resort to Amharic. While traveling to the island, the researcher asked one of the travelers in the boat about the residence of the youngsters. The respondent said that their permanent dwelling was Meki Town but they sometimes went to the islands as they worked in a boat. From this, one can make an educated guess that the basis for their fluency in Zayña may be the work they engaged in, which usually connected them with the island-dwellers. The observation data also confirmed that the village and town dwellers of the youth who engaged in fishing activities were fluent in Zay language. As they spent much of their time in the lake searching for fish, their frequency of contact with the islanders, who also engaged in fishing activities, was myriad. This contact opened the road for the Zay youth living on the mainland to learn and make use of their ancestral language in the work place.

Language use on cultural and religious events was also not different. Respondents of the mainland depicted that they mostly used Afan Oromo during cultural and religious occasions. In fact, elderly respondents reported to use Zay more frequently than the other age groups during mourning, wedding, Meskel celebration, Epiphany and so much else. For example, they mourned

the dead and sang on wedding in Zay if the events held in Zay family, but they used Afan Oromo while communicating with non-speakers or passive understanders on such occasions.

Although the researcher didn't get the opportunities to observe wedding and funeral ceremonies, he attended religious events in church. One Sunday morning on (16 Nov. 2015), the researcher visited a church in Makedella. People gathered at church to attend the liturgy. As soon as the liturgy was over, the preacher started to teach the word of God to the congregation in Afan Oromo with occasional shift of code to Amharic. Then, after the completion of the sermon, the congregation entered a hall to have meal prepared for the observance of Sabbath: Sunday. Although people amassed there were both Oromo and Zay, they all used Afan Oromo most of the time. In the middle of their speech, however, the Zay elders shifted to the code the researcher was unfamiliar with, perhaps to communicate information that should be shared only among them. This may be what they repeatedly said in their interview responses "Zay is our secret language."

The researcher also attended the annual celebration of St. Gabriel in Herera on 19 Dec. 2016. Celebrants came from almost all nearby villages, towns as well as the islands. The frequent code of communication on the occasion was Amharic. This may be because Amharic was the language of worship, and that most people (who came from different areas) knew it in common. The sermon was also held in Amharic. In fact, the use of Zay was also considerable; there were groups of people being heard speaking the Zay language among themselves. The use of Afan Oromo was not that much. This may partly be attributed to the fact that most of the nearby Oromo people were Islamic religion followers and hence did not attend the celebration, and that the mainland Zay, though proficient in Afan Oromo, seemed to prefer using Zay when they met their ethnic members living on the islands.

Taken as a whole, although not on the islands, domains in which the local language considered to be strong, such as the family, the neighbor and the community at large, seemed to be encroached upon by Afan Oromo on the mainland. As Sasse's Model predicts, the minority language speakers are likely to avoid transmitting their ethnic heritage language to their children, resulting a sharp break in intergenerational transmission and at best incomplete acquisition of the language by the youngest generation. At this point, the majority's language is the entire community's main language; the domains in which the minority language is used shrink further, until at last nobody

uses it regularly for everyday communication. Young people of Zay did not mostly use their vernacular with their parents, brothers, sisters and friends even if there was some use of Zay among elderly and adult spouses. This is because of the acknowledged fact that they had a regular contact with out-group members, particularly the Oromo in almost all domains. In other words, since the mainland network was dominated by out-group members, there were almost no domains left for the minority Zay language to be used. On the other hand, the islanders had more closed in-group interaction patterns; all people on the islands talked to each other most of the time in their ethnic language as they had no much contact with out-group members.

Related to the point above is the domain of interior monologue. Language use to oneself internally varies across place of residence and partly age. The island respondents indicated a considerably higher use of Zay for expression of their anger and excitement, while mainland informants stated the fact that they mostly used Afan Oromo for such feelings. Of course, there were considerable elderly respondents on the mainland that reported using Zay to express their anger and excitement. Besides, almost all of the young, adults and elderly respondents on the islands and most of the elderly on the mainland reported to think and dream in Zay, while most of the young and adult respondents of lake shore dwellers said to think and dream in Afan Oromo. Such language use for mental processing seemed to be influenced by everyday usage of language in the community. The language one uses in his/her everyday life interaction predicts the language used for thinking and dreaming; that is, one thinks or dreams in the language he/she mostly uses in his/her everyday life. In addition to this, the language one learns first may also determine the language one uses for thinking and dreaming, because once a particular language is learned well from a family, it cannot easily be replaced by other language. That may be why the elderly living on the mainland with Oromo people reported to use mainly Zay for such mental activities.

Mental calculations and counting money or things were generally done in Zay on islands and Afan Oromo on mainland, though still a considerable portion of elderly respondents on mainland reported to use mainly Zay. However, it is important to note that language use for such tasks appeared to be influenced by education. Some respondents reported that their mental calculation and counting money or things have been impacted by language of instruction at school. Informants who learned during the Derg regime said to use mainly Amharic, the language they

were taught by, for mental calculation and counting, whereas those who have learnt /are learning in the present regime (FDRE) claimed to employ mostly Afan Oromo. For example, a male respondent aged 38 stated "while counting things and doing mental calculations I use Amharic, may be because I learned in it" (Interview I, 05 Nov 2015: Bochessa). Another male participant, 30, added "since I learned in Amharic at school, I use Amharic while adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing, but I know calculating in Zay as well" Interview XXXI, 27 Nov 2015: Tullu Guddo Island).

For private prayer, Amharic and Zay were almost equally mentioned to be used by respondents of the islands, whereas majority respondents from the lake shore villages asserted that they mainly used Afan Oromo. In fact, there were also some informants on the mainland that asserted to use mainly Amharic for private prayer. Once again, it is essential to note the presence of a significant portion of old people in Bochessa and Makedella who still used Zay for prayer.

Language use in private prayer appeared to be influenced by the availability of prayer books and the medium of the general public workshop. In connection to this, an 18-year-old boy claimed "I pray in Amharic because Wuddase Mariyam (a prayer book) is written in Amharic" (Interview XVI, 16 Nov 2015: Makedella). The other male participant aged 30 also said "religious books are written in Amharic; I usually read these books. Because of this, Amharic words of worship are imprinted on my mind, and I use these words of Amharic when I pray" (Interview XXXI, 27 Nov 2015: Tullu Guddo Island). The fact that the general public workshop language was Amharic also influenced even those who were not fluent in Amharic to use it in private prayer at home or church.

To recapitulate the points raised in relation to domain analysis, there was generally no sufficient use of Zay language throughout community life on the mainland. Afan Oromo dominated most domains, even home, which is considered the stronghold of the local vernacular. On the other hand, the Zay language was mainly used among all community members on the islands where children grew up speaking it as their first language.

4.2.3 Structural Consequences in Zay

In Sasse's model (see Chapter Two), the factors in the external setting bring about changes in speech behavior, which in turn, cause structural changes in a language under threat from

dominant language. That is, the structural consequences occur primarily as a result of external factors and speech behaviors. The change may occur in the language's lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax. According to Sasse (1992), the first phenomenon of this change is loss of lexicon, or borrowing of both lexicon and structure from the dominant group's language. This means that lexical change and attrition is one of the main signs or symptoms of language endangerment that can eventually lead to structural changes.

The issue of language endangerment has received attention in sociolinguistic studies, but the structural changes associated with it have not been given the same attention. So, the following section examines the linguistic changes of Zay, a language variety of the East Gurage group of Ethio-Semitic languages, spoken on islands of Lake Zway and its shores in central Ethiopia. More specifically, this section scrutinizes a sample of Zay linguistic data with the aim of determining the extent of borrowing, lexical loss, and phonological, morphological as well as syntactic changes.

4.2.3.1 Lexical Borrowing in Zay

In order to get data on lexical borrowing, the researcher used about 100 lists of words which belong to the basic lexicon. According to Thomason (2001:72), such basic vocabulary items are less likely to be borrowed since they can be expected to be present already in every language, and hence no language will need 'new' words for the relevant concepts. These basic vocabulary items are said to be very stable and thus robust with regard to changes due to borrowings from other contact languages.

The researcher prepared about 100 wordlist and distributed to sixty (60) informants, whose age ranges from 15 to 84+, living on the island and mainland. The items were written both in Amharic and Afan Oromo so that the informants would take advantage of their being trilingual and fill out the column left blank with Zay equivalent words. Not only filling out the blank column with Zay counterparts, but they were also requested to say it out orally to determine its pronunciation. Thus, the following tables present all possibility of Zay equivalent terms provided by all age cohorts, thereby determining whether the Zay language borrowed basic vocabulary items because of its contact with dominant languages, especially Afan Oromo.

Table 1: Some basic terms for parts of human body

Amharic	**Afan Oromo**	**Zay**	**Gloss**
አይን	ija	i'n; iʤa	eye
ጆሮ	gurra	ʔəzɪn; gʊrra	ear
ምላስ	arraba	arɛmat/arɛmati; arrɛbɛ	tongue
ጥርስ	ilkaan	sən	teeth
ከንፈር	hidhii	lɛfəlɛf	lip
ጉንጭ	boqoo	bɔqo	cheek
አፍንጫ	funyaan	nifit'i/nifit'	nose
አንገት	morma	anəgɛt; mərma	neck
ራስ	mataa	ʔohɛt ʔohɛti/; mɛta	head
እጅ	harka	ʔinʤ/ʔinʤi	hand
እግር	miila	ʔəngɛr	leg
ጣት	quba	hɪnt'abit; qubə	finger
ጉልበት	jilba	gʊlbɛt	knee
ጡት	harmee	t'ub/t'ubi	breast
ደረት	laphee	wɛzɛna; lɛp'e; lɛʔbe	chest
ወገብ	mudhii	məskɛt; c'in; mʊddɨ	waist
ሆድ	garaa	dɛl; gɛra	belly
ትከሻ	gateettii	qɔru; təkɛʃa	shoulder

Words representing parts of the body are elements of the basic vocabulary items which are said to be resistant to loss, but the Zay language seems to be losing some of its native lexicon in this area at least among the younger generation on the mainland. Most of the mainland youths remembered only those words which are cognates with terms in Amharic or Afan Oromo. On the other hand, except for some items, almost all age categories of the island dwellers remembered Zay native words for body parts with no cognates in Amharic or Afan Oromo. This can be exemplified by the following terms: *ʔəzɪn* 'ear', *arɛmat* 'tongue', *sən* 'teeth', *lɛfəlɛf* 'lip' *ʔohɛt* 'head', *hɪnt'abit* 'finger', *məskɛt* 'waist', *dɛl* 'belly' and *qɔru* 'shoulder'. As clearly indicated in the table above, although these Zay native terms have still been used on the islands, they have

already started being replaced by Afan Oromo loanwords on the mainland, especially among the young age group. The youth, in villages along the lakeshores, have preferred using Afan Oromo loanwords to Zay counterparts; for instance, *gʊrra* instead of *ʔəzɪn*; *arrɛbɛ* instead of *arɛmat*; *mɛta* instead of ʔ*ohɛt*; *muɗɗi* or Amharic term *c'in* instead of *məskɛt*; *qubɛ* instead of *hɪnt'abit*, *gɛra* instead of *dəl*, *lɛp'e/ lɛʔbe* instead of *wɛzɛna*, etc. The word *boqoo* 'cheek', which is Afan Oromo origin, has been used among all age categories both on the island and mainland. All respondents involved in this study were not able to remember Zay native word or cognate for the semantic concept of 'cheek'.

It is also important to note that there are some loanwords in Zay whose semantic concepts are distinct from the source language (Amharic). This can be exemplified by the lexemes: *c'ɪn* and *nifit'i/nifit'*. Amharic *c'ɪn* is used to refer to parts of human leg between the *hip* and the *knee*, which is known in English as 'thigh'; in Zay, however, the meaning is extended to cover the parts which include 'thigh', 'hip' and 'waist'. Therefore, it seems that the Zay native word *məskɛt* 'waist' has already been replaced by Amharic loanword *c'ɪn* with its extended meaning, especially among younger generation on the mainland villages and towns. Similarly, Amharic *nəfət* entails the semantic content which expresses the fluid that emits through the nostrils called 'mucus'. Zay uses the Afan Oromo loanword *furrii*. In Zay, the term *nifit'i/nifit* represents the part projecting above the mouth on the face of a person, containing the nostrils and used for breathing and smelling, that is 'nose'. The cognate *nifɨt'i*, which recurred in the responses of some adults and most youths living on the mainland, seems to take the phonological shape of Afan Oromo because of the addition of the long front vowel [i] which cannot occur word-finally in Semitic languages like Amharic and Zay. Nonetheless, it is unlikely to conclude that the term entered Zay via Afan Oromo for the mere fact of the occurrence of the vowel [i] on the final position of Amharic loanword. This conclusion might, of course, be possible if the term *nifɨt'i* exists in Afan Oromo as well; but the fact is that Afan Oromo does have its own native word *funyaan* to express the concept referred to by *nifɨt'i* in Zay. The Afan Oromo-like pronunciation has not been restricted to Amharic loanwords. The Zay native terms have also taken the phonological shape of Afan Oromo: *arɛmati, t'ubi,* and *ʔohɛti* are a case in point. So, it is almost certain that the Amharic loanwords in Zay and the native Zay terms came under a heavy pressure of Afan Oromo owing to an intense contact for a long time.

Note that some loanwords can be incorporated without any observable linguistic evidence in the recipient language. They may contain sound sequences which exist in the target language as well. A case in point is *c'ɪn*, which was copied to Zay wholesale without leaving any noticeable linguistic trace.

Table 2: Some basic terms for food crops

Amharic	**Afan Oromo**	**Zay**	**Gloss**
ስንዴ	qamadii	sɛrɛy/sɛrey	wheat
ዘንጋዳ	misingaa	gʊrzan	millet
አጃ	ayisaa	adʒa	oat
ገብስ	garbuu	gɛbis/gɛbsi	sorghum
ጤፍ	xaafii	t'afi	teff
ሽንኩርት	qullubbii	ʃənkʊrt/ʃənkʊrti; qʊllʊbbi	onion
ጎመን	raafuu	aməl; gommən; rafu	cabbage
ቀይስር	Hundee diimaa	qɛjsər; dimasər	beet root
ብረቱካን	birtukaanii	bɪrtukan/bɪrtʊkani	orange
ፓፓያ	paappaayee	pappayɛ/*faffayɛ*	papaya
ሙዝ	muuzii	muz; muzi	banana

A significant impact of Afan Oromo as well as Amharic on Zay language can also be observed in food crop terms, as indicated in the table above. There are Afan Oromo and Amharic loanwords related to crops, vegetables and fruits which have been incorporated into Zay language. The borrowed words into Zay include *adʒa* <Amharic *adʒa* 'oat'; gɛbis/gɛbsi <Amharic *gɛbəs* 'sorghum'; *t'afi* <Afan Oromo *xaafii* <Amharic *tef* 'teff'; *ʃənkʊrt* <Amharic *ʃənkʊrt, ʃənkʊrti* <Afan Oromo *shinkurtii*, or *qʊllʊbbi* <Afan Oromo *qullubbii* 'onion'*; gommɛn* <Amharic *gommɛn*, or *rafu* <Afan Oromo *raafuu* 'cabbage'; *qɛjsər* <Amharic *qɛjsər*, *dimasər* <Afan Oromo *diimaaa* and Amharic *sər* 'beet root'; *bɪrtʊkan* <Amharic *bɪrtʊkan*, *bɪrtʊkani* <Afan Oromo *birtukaanii* 'orange'; *pappayɛ/faffayɛ <Afan Oromo paappaayee* <Amharic *Pappaya* 'papaya'; *mʊz* <Amharic *mʊz, muzi* <Afan Oromo *muzii* 'banana'.

As one can see from the table, Zay native vocabulary items in the area of food crops are small although, in fact, the lists are not that much exhaustive. Only three words which are indigenous to Zay identified in this list: sɛrɛy/sɛrey 'wheat', gʊrzan 'millet' and aməl 'cabbage'. Nevertheless, *aməl* 'cabbage' seems to have already been replaced by Afan Oromo term *raafuu* on the mainland and Amharic lexeme *gommɛn* on the island, at least among the younger generation.

Note that the phonological shape of some borrowed items in Zay leads to the belief that they were originally incorporated into Afan Oromo from Amharic. That is, the words seem to have first been borrowed into Afan Oromo from Amharic with some modification of their phonological shape, and then to Zay via Afan Oromo, as the following example illustrate: *gɛbsi, t'afi, ʃənkʊrti, birtʊkani,* and *muzi*. A likely explanation is that it is uncommon for the long front vowel [i] to occur word-finally in Semitic language, such as Amharic and Zay. Its occurrence word-finally is a reflection of the route through which these words have entered Zay. Stating differently, the presence of this feature in Zay may indicate that the Amharic loanwords have been imported to it indirectly via Afan Oromo. However, one cannot fully be certain with this regard. So, another possible explanation for this may be that the words have been copied to Zay directly, but later they might come under heavy influence of Afan Oromo because of the high intensity of contact, thereby taking the current phonological shape.

It is also worth considering the way new lexical item is formed in Zay. Surprisingly, borrowed Afan Oromo words are sometimes conjoined with other Amharic loanwords to construct new vocabulary items in Zay, as the following example shows:

Oromo *diimaa* 'red' ⎫
Amharic *sər* 'root' ⎭ dimasər 'beet root'

Dimasər is, therefore, a compound word formed by combining items from two different source languages. While the first word *diimaa* (adjective) has been taken from Afan oromo, the latter *sər* (noun) from Amharic. The first compound member generally serves to modify and narrow the denotation of the second compound member. In this sense, since the second member is semantically more important, it is referred to as 'the head' of the compound and the modifying element is 'the dependent'. In some Semitic languages like Amharic and Zay, the compound head is always the second member, but the opposite is true in Afan Oromo, i.e., the semantic

head of the compound in Afan Oromo is the first member. The compound word *dimasər*, therefore, follows the pattern of Amharic and Zay where the first member *dima* is 'dependent' and the second *sər* is 'head'.

Table 3: Some basic Terms for food and drink

Amharic	**Afan Oromo**	**Zay**	**Gloss**
እንጀራ	buddeeen	t'abeta; qit'a	pancake
ገንፎ	marqaa	hʊbʊdu	porridge
ስጋ	foon	bɛsɛr; fon	meat
ወጥ	ittoo	wɛt'i	wot
ቆሎ	akaayii	unqʊlu/hʊnqul	Kolo (scorched corn)
ዱቄት	Daakuu/harcee	harc'i	powder
ቅቤ	dhadhaa	iʃɪʃi/ iʃɪc'i	butter
ወተት	aannan	ajəb; ajəbi	milk
እርጎ	itittuu	gɛgʊt; itittu	yogurt
ጠጅ	daadhii	səhar; t'ɛʤi	mead
ጠላ	farsoo	ajdɛr	local beer

In the area of food and drink, most words of Zay have still been used. For example, *ta'beta* 'pancake' (Amharic *inʤɛra*); *hʊbʊdu* 'porridge'; *bɛsɛr* 'meat'; *unqʊlu/hʊnqul* 'schorched corn'; *iʃɪʃi* or *iʃɪc'i* 'butter'; *gɛgʊt* 'yogurt'; *səhar* 'mead'; *ajdɛr* 'local beer', are all Zay native terms. But some of these words seemed to be supplanted by Afan Oromo loanwords, such as *qit'a*, 'muffin', *fon* 'meat' and *itittu* 'yogurt'. The word *harc'i* 'powder' is cognate with Afan Oromo *harc'e*e, which is called *daakuu* in most Oromo dialects. The people, especially those living in villages along the lake shore, have had a tendency for the use of the loanwords instead of Zay native items. When viewed from age perspective, younger Zay speakers have lost some of the culturally distinctive vocabulary items for referring to local food and drink.

As it has previously been stated, some words which have been borrowed into Zay express different semantic concepts in the source and recipient languages; that is, the semantic concepts expressed by some vocabulary items in the source and recipient languages are different. This can be explained by the following Afan Oromo and Amharic loanwords: the term *qixxaa*, which is pronounced in the same way as *qit'a* in Zay, represents the semantic concept of 'muffin' in Afan Oromo, but the term has got the meaning of *ʔənʤɛra* 'pancake' when it entered Zay language. Correspondingly, the Amharic lexeme *ajəb* 'cheese' which is pronounced as *ajəb or ajəbi* in Zay,

has gained the semantic content of ‘milk’, not ‘cheese’. This is not always true, of course. For instance, the semantic concept of the Afan oromo word *harc’e* is not different from its cognate *harc’i* in Zay, which means ‘powder’ in both case.

Table 4: Some basic terms for domestic and wild animals

Amharic	**Afan Oromo**	**Zay**	**Gloss**
ላም	Sa’a	lam; sɛ’a	cow
በሬ	qotiyyoo	burɛ	ox
ጊደር	raada	radɛ	heifer
ወይፈን	Mirgoo/jibicha	ʤɪbɪtʃɛ	bull
ጥጃ	jabbii	ʔəzɛq; ʤɛbbi	calf
እምቦሳ	waatii	ʤɛbbi; alɛtu; ʔəzɛq	A newly born calf
በግ	hoolaa	t’ɛji	sheep
ፍየል	Ra’ee	fik’	goat
አህያ	harree	həmar	donkey
ፈረስ	farda	fɛrɛz; fɛrdɛ	horse
በቅሎ	gaangee	gaŋge	mule
ግመል	gaala	galɛ	camel
ውሻ	saree	giɲi	dog
ድመት	adurree	adʊru; bəʃʊru	cat
ቀበሮ	Jeedala/sardiida	ʤedɛlɛ;	fox
ዝንጅሮ	jaldeessa	ʤɛldessɛ	monkey
ነብር	qeerransa	qerrɛnsɛ	tiger
አንበሳ	leenca	lenc’ɛ	lion
ዝሆን	arba	arbɛ; harɛ	elephant
ጅብ	waraabessa	wərabɛ/ʔurabɛ	hyena
አሳማ	booyyee	bojje	pig
ዘንዶ	jawwee	wɔru/wɛru	python
ጦጣ	qamalee	kəmʃɛri; qɛmɛle	ape

A strong influence of Afan Oromo on Zay language is highly evident in the domestic and wild animal terminologies. As it can be seen from the table, most of the terms seem to have been borrowed into Zay from Afan Oromo: *sɛ’a* <Afan Oromo sa’a ‘cow’; *radɛ* <Afan Oromo *raada* ‘heifer’, *ʤɪbɪtʃɛ* <Afan Oromo *jibicha* ‘bull’; *ʤɛbbi* <Afan Oromo *jabbi* ‘calf’; *fɛrdɛ* <Afan Oromo *farda* ‘horse’; *gaŋge* <Afan Oromo *gaangee* ‘mule’; *galɛ* <Afan Oromo *gaala* ‘camel’; *ʤedɛlɛ* <Afan Oromo *jeedala* ‘fox’; *ʤɛldessɛ* <Afan Oromo *jaldeessa* ‘monkey’; k’*errɛnsɛ* <Afan Oromo *qeerransa* ‘tiger’; *lenc’ɛ* <Afan Oromo *leenca* ‘lion’; *arbɛ* <Afan Oromo *arba* ‘elephant’; *bojje* <Afan Oromo *booyyee* ‘pig’ and *k’ɛmɛle* <Afan Oromo *qamalee* ‘ape’. These

terms are spelt and pronounced in Zay the same way as in Afan Oromo. There are, however, other words which have been incorporated into Zay with some phonological change. This can be illustrated by the following cognates: Zay *adʊru/bɛʃʊru* <Afan Oromo *aduree/bashoo* 'cat' and Zay *wərabɛ/ʔurabɛ* <Afan Oromo *waraabessa* 'hyena'. Terms which have their roots in Zay may include *ʔəzɛq* 'calf', *alɛtu* 'newborn baby calf', *t'ɛji* 'sheep', *fik'* 'goat', *həmar* 'donkey', *giɲi* 'dog', *harɛ* 'elephant' (now considered archaic and hence *arba* is used instead), *wɔru/wɛru* 'python' and *kəmʃɛri* 'ape'(now *qəməlee* is frequently used in its place on the mainland). It seems that animal terms constitute the largest group of borrowed words into Zay compared to other areas. The borrowed terms have been used on the islands and mainland by members of almost all age categories in their day-to-day communication. This in turn reflects the extent of Afan Oromo impact on Zay.

Equally important is the semantic change associated with some loanwords. As part of the process of language change over a long period of time, words may change their meaning. This process may entail extending the meaning of a word to cover more than its original meaning or notion. Zay lexical change may include extension of meaning or generalization. For example, both Afan Oromo and Zay differentiate between a 'newborn baby calf' and an 'older calf', i.e., a young of domestic animal 'cow'. The word *jabbii* in Afan Oromo is used to refer to 'calf', whose age may approximately range from two months to four years, whereas *waatii* is used to represent a 'newborn calf' whose age is below two months. These concepts are expressed in Zay by lexemes *ʔəzɛq* and *alɛtu* respectively. However, nowadays, the Zay have used the Afan Oromo term *jabbii (ʤɛbbi)* with extended meaning to cover the concepts represented by these two Zay native words. To put it differently, the Oromo loanword *jabbii* generalized the distinct semantic concepts of Zay native terms *ʔəzɛq* and *alɛtu* which refer to a 'calf' of different age categories. So, although *jabbii* has still been used to refer to an older 'calf' in Afan Oromo, its meaning has been extended to represent any young of cow, including a 'newborn one' which is identified as *alɛtu* in Zay. Especially, most young speakers have used this Afan Oromo loanword instead of the Zay native terms.

Table 5: Some basic terms for plants

Amharic	**Afan Oromo**	**Zay**	**Gloss**
ሾላ	Odaa/harbuu	sʊbla	Fig tree
ብሳና	bakkanniisaa	mɛkkɛnnisa	Broad-leaved croton
ግራር	laaftoo	want'a/lafto	acacia
ወይራ	ejersa	wɛgɛr; edʒersɛ; wɛjıra	Olive tree
ጥድ	gaattiraa	t'ıd/tıd; gattıra	juniper
ዝግባ	birbirsa	zəgba; bırbırsɛ	Yellow wood
ቅጠል	baala	qıt'ej	leaf

A related scenario is seen in plant terminology as well. Most of the words listed here seem to have been borrowed from both Amharic and Afan Oromo: for example, *mɛkkɛnnisa* <Afan Oromo *bakkanniisaa* 'broad-leaved croton*'; lafto* <Afan Oromo *laaftoo* 'acacia'; *edʒersɛ* <Afan Oromo *ejersa*, *wɛjıra* <Amharic wɛjəra 'olive tree'*; gattıra* <Afan Oromo *gaattiraa*, *t'ıd* <Amharic *tıd* 'juniper'; bırbırsə <Afan Oromo birbirsa, *zəgba* <Amharic zəgba 'yellow wood'. Those words which entered Zay from Afan Oromo have mainly been used on mainland villages, whereas the ones borrowed from Amharic preponderantly used on the islands as well as in towns along the lakeshores. Vocabulary items, which seem to be Zay origin, include *sʊbla*, 'fig tree', *want'a* 'acacia' and *wɛgɛr* 'olive tree'. These terms have, however, been reported to be replaced by the Afan Oromo loanwords *odaa, laafto,* and *ejersa* respectively on the mainland villages particularly among the younger generation. The adult and elderly Zay speakers on the mainland have still remembered these words but they mostly used the loanwords instead in their everyday interaction. It is likely that *qıt'ej* in Zay is cognate with *qət'ɛl* in Amharic.

Note that the alternation between the bilabial stop sound /m/ in *məkkənnisa* and the bilabial plosive /b/ in *bakkanniisaa* does not bring about any meaning change; it simply represents a phonological free variation which is found in Afan Oromo itself. Thus, these terms are interchangeably used in Afan Oromo without any semantic difference.

Once again, the loanwords in the area of plant could be an indication of the extent of Afan Oromo impact on Zay language.

Table 6: Basic terms for weather conditions

Amharic	**Afan Oromo**	**Zay**	**Gloss**
ደጋ	baddaa	bɛda; yɛyəbɛrdal dəchi	highland
ወይናደጋ	Badda-daree	bɛdɛdɛre; yɛyəbɛrdım yɛyəməqım dəchi	temperate
በረሃ	gammoojjii	bɛrɛha; gɛmmoʤi	desert
ሙቀት	Oo'a/hoo'a	mʊqɛt; ʔəho'ɛ	heat
ዝናብ	rooba	zınab; roba	rain
ደመና	duumessa	dabɛna; dumessɛ	cloud
ሓሙጋግ	hurrii	hʊri	mist
ፀሃይ	aduu	arit; s'ɛhay; adu	sun

In the area of weather condition, many words of Afan Oromo have been incorporated into Zay. The influence of Amharic is also quite noticeable. Most people living in villages along the shore of Lake Zway have used the Afan Oromo loanwords to express the weather conditions. For example, they used *bɛda* for cold weather condition 'highland', *bɛdɛdɛre* for moderate weather 'temperate', *gɛmmoʤi* for very hot weather 'desert', dumessɛ for 'cloud' and hʊri for 'mist'. Most islanders, however, used periphrastic construction to express highland and temperate weather conditions, as the following example shows:

yɛyəbɛrdal <Amharic *bɛrad* 'cold' (modifier)
dəchi <Afan Oromo *dachee*/*dachii* 'earth or land' (head)

yɛyəbɛrdım yɛyəməqım <Amharic yɛmayəbɛrd yɛmayəməkʼ 'neither cold nor hot' (modifier)
dəchi <Afan Oromo dachee/dachii 'earth or land' (head),

When joined together, they become *yɛyəbɛrdal dəchi* and *yɛyəbɛrdım yɛyəməqım dachi* respectively. While the former phrase literally means 'cold land', and by implication 'cold weather condition', the latter simply means 'neither cold nor hot land', which implicates 'moderate weather condition'. Concerning this notion, Schmid and de Bot's (2004: 217) observed that attrition is manifested itself in speakers' preference for periphrastic constructions.

Some Amharic loan terms, which have commonly been used by the Zay people living in towns to express weather conditions, include: *bɛrɛha* 'desert', *mʊqɛt* 'heat', *zənab* 'rain' and *s'ɛhay* 'sun'. The lexeme *dabɛna* 'cloud' in Zay is cognate with *dɛmmɛna* in Amharic, and has been used

mostly on the islands and in towns along the lakeshores. The native word *arit* ‘sun’ was mentioned only by island dwellers.

Table 7: Basic terms for colors

Amharic	**Afan Oromo**	**Zay**	**Gloss**
ነጭ	adii	gomɛrɛ	white
ጥቁር	gurraacha	gambɛlɛ	black
ቀይ	diimaa	arrowa, k’ɛy/k’ɛyi, dima	red
አረንጓዴ	magariisa	arɛngɨwade	green
ሰማያዊ	Bifa waaqaa; bulee	bʊle, məraro	blue
ቢጫ	keelloo, boora	borɛ	yellow
ግራጫ	daalacha	Dalɛʧɛ	grey
ቡኒ/ቡናማ	magaala	bunnamma; mɛgalɛ	brown

As the table above indicates, the influence of Afan Oromo on Zay in color terms is also visible. For instance, the terms *dima* ‘red’, *bʊle* ‘blue’, *borɛ* ‘yellow’, *dalɛʧɛ* ‘grey’ and *mɛgalɛ* ‘brown’ have been incorporated into Zay from Afan Oromo. The color words which have been borrowed from Amharic include *k’ɛy* or its cognate *k’ɛyi* ‘red’, *arɛngɨwade* ‘green’ and *bunnamma* ‘brown’. The concepts ‘white’ and ‘black’ are expressed by Zay native words, namely *gomɛrɛ* and *gambɛlɛ* respectively. These Zay terms for ‘black’ and ‘white’ are not found both in Amharic and Afan Oromo. The concept of ‘red’ in Zay can be expressed with three terms, such as the Zay native word *arrowɛ* (which has marginally been used on the islands, but not on the mainland), Amharic *kɛy*/ *kɛyi*, as well as Afan Oromo *diimaa*. While the Afan Oromo loanword *diimaa* has mainly been used on the mainland villages, Amharic *kɛy* and its cognate *kɛyi* commonly used on islands and in towns along the shores of Lake Zway. However, some people in all Zay settlement areas have used both terms interchangeably. So, as one can see, the terms for some colors in Zay have been taken from both Amharic and Afan Oromo languages.

Table 8: Some basic terms for home utensils

Amharic	**Afan Oromo**	**Zay**	**Gloss**
ምጣድ	eelee	mət'ad, mətadi, ele	pan
አክንባሎ	gombisaa	gɔmbısa	lid
መሶቀጫ	mooyyee	mɔjje	mortar
ዘነዘና	muktumaa	yɛmuk'ɛt' ʔəndʒ, yɛmojje ʔəndʒ	pestle
እንስራ	hubboo	qəlt'	pitcher
ማሰሮ	okkotee	c'ofətu, wɛʃɛrbɛt	pot
ቢለሃ	halbee	mɛʃa	knife
ማንኪያ	Fal'aana	qɛrʃi	spoon
መጥረጊያ	haraa	mənʃɛʃa, mənʃeʃa/hɛra	sweeper

A further strong influence of Afan Oromo on Zay can be perceived in the home utensil terms. As indicated in the table, some of the vocabulary items of home utensils, which have widely been used in Zay, were borrowed from Afan Oromo. This can be proven by words, such as *ele* <Afan Oromo *eelee* 'pan'; *gɔmbısa* <Afan Oromo *gombisaa* 'a lid used for covering a pan while baking pancake (ʔənjʤɛra)'; *mojje* <Afan Oromo *moyyee* 'mortar'. What is important to note here is that the lexeme *ele* has been used only on mainland villages such as Bochessa and Makidella, particularly among the young generation. In other Zay settlement areas (the islands and lake shore towns), the term *mət'ad*, which borrowed from Amharic, has commonly been used among all generations. Certain words, however, seem Zay indigenous, and hence are not cognates with any term in Amharic or Afan Oromo. These include: *qəlt*' 'pitcher'; *c'ofətu, wɛʃɛrbɛt* 'pot'; *mɛʃa* 'knife'; *mənʃɛʃa, mənʃeʃa* 'sweeper'. Notice that the word *qɛrʃi*, respondents believe, originated as a monetary term in Afan Oromo with the meaning of 'money'. Nonetheless, when it was borrowed into Zay, it gained a new semantic concept 'spoon' in addition to its source language meaning.

Another point worth making here is that the Zay language has no a single lexeme which stands for the real world object 'pestle', a tool with a round end used for crushing things (e.g. coffee bean) in a special bowel called a 'mortar'. The Zay speakers have, therefore, used periphrastic constructions in which a lexical item is modified by a free word that caries grammatical meaning. The Amharic and Afan Oromo words have conjoined with Zay cognates, thereby producing a hybrid expression, as the following example illustrates:

yɛmuk'ɛt' <Amharic y*ɛmuk'ɛčča* 'of mortar', *ʔəndʒ* 'hand' <Amharic *ʔəʤ*

yɛmoyye 'of mortar' <Afan Oromo *mooyyee* 'mortar', *ʔəndʒ* 'hand'

When conjoined, it becomes *yɛmuk'ɛt' ʔəndʒ* or *yɛmoyye ʔəndʒ*, which literally means 'the hand of a mortar'. But this is not what is meant by the phrase *yɛmuk'ɛt' ʔəndʒ* or *yɛmoyye ʔəndʒ*; it is rather meant 'pestle' as defined above. It is noticeable that the genitive marker *yɛ*- prefixed to the Afan Oromo loanword *mooyyee*, was copied from Amharic.

Table 9: Basic terms for kinship

Amharic	**Afan Oromo**	**Zay**	**Gloss**
ትውልድ	dhaloota	tɛwɛlɛdɛɲa, ɗɛlota	generation
ወላጅ	warra	ababuwɛ, ayayʊ	parent
ወንድ አያት	akaakayyuu	ake	Grandfather
ሴት አያት	akkoo	akko	grandmother
አባት	abbaa	abu	father
እናት	haadha	ayi	mother
አክስት	adaadaa	adada	aunt
የአባት ወንድም	wasiila	wɔsilɛ	uncle
የእናት ወንድም	eessuma	ʔessumɛ	uncle
ልጅ	mucaa (m), mucayyoo (f)	Bɛju, liʤ	child
እህት	obboleettii	i't	sister
ወንድም	obboleessa	i'n	brother
ሽማግሌ	jaarsa	ʤarsɛ, ʔubər	elderly
ጎልማሳ	Ga'eessa	gɔlmassa, gɛ'essɛ	adult
ወጣት	dargaggeessa	kɛ'ima	youth
ህጻን	daa'ima	da'ima, bəju	baby

Another area where strong influence of Afan Oromo on Zay vividly observed is in kinship and age related terms. The terms for kinship in Zay have a considerable resemblance with Afan Oromo, both in their lexical shape and structure. For example, the terms in the third generation (grandmother and grandfather) seem to be the same as that of Afan Oromo. There are separate terms in Zay and Afan Oromo for grandmother (Zay *akko* <Oromo *akkoo*) and grandfather (Zay *akee* <Oromo *akaakayyuu*), but the genetically closer language to Zay, i.e., Amharic, uses a periphrastic construction, in which an adjective specifies the gender, as the following example clearly shows: *set ayat* 'female grandparent' or *wɛnd ayät* 'male grandparent'. By the same token, Amharic doesn't differentiate between paternal and maternal 'uncle' in the second

generation, while Zay make a distinction between the two, using similar lexemes with that of Afan Oromo, as can be exemplified in the following terms: Zay *ʔessumə* <Afan Oromo *eessuma* for 'mother's brother' versus Zay *wosilɛ* <Afan Oromo *wasiila* for 'father's brother'. However, both languages do not differentiate between paternal and maternal 'aunt': Zay *adada* <Afan Oromo *adaadaa*.

Most terms associated with ages have also been imported to Zay from Afan Oromo; for instance, *ʤarsɛ* <Afan Oromo *jaarsa* 'elderly'; gɛ'essɛ <Afan Oromo *ga'eessa* 'adult'; *da'ima* <Afan Oromo *daa'ima* 'baby'. The native word *ʔubər* for 'elderly' is now considered obsolete since it is no longer in use. The other Zay native word bəju for 'baby' has only been used by the elderly on the islands; the Afan Oromo loanword *da'ima* has widely been used instead in all Zay settlement areas. The semantic concept of 'youth' is expressed by different lexemes in Zay and Afan Oromo; while the former expresses it with the lexeme *kɛ'ima*, the latter with *dargaggeessa*. The term *kɛ'ima* seems to be cognate with *kaa'ima*, a variant form of *kaadhima*, in Afan Oromo, which means 'engaged'. Although these two terms are orthographically and phonologically much related to each other, they have got distinct meanings. So, a possible explanation is that the lexeme *kɛ'ima* might have its root in Afan Oromo, and then copied into Zay where it gained new semantic meaning overtime. It is also likely that the resemblance of the terms is just a coincidence; they might not have the same origin.

To put what has been dealt with thus far in a nutshell, because of intense contact for ages with Afan Oromo, the Zay language (spoken in Lake Zway region) has been exposed to extensive lexical borrowing; some of the borrowed items seem to be incorporated into Zay with some structural modifications while others entered Zay wholesale without any alterations. By the same token, the Amharic vocabulary items have been borrowed into Zay on large scale.

4.2.3.2 Lexical Replacement (Relexification)

According to Muysken (2005:156), relexification is the replacement of the vocabulary of a language by that of another language, while maintaining its grammatical structure. Sometimes, however, it is impossible to maintain the original grammar in the process of relexification, particularly if function words from the new language are also introduced. In connection to this notion, an attempt has been made to determine the status of some vocabulary items of Zay. With

this end in view, the researcher held an interview with native Zay speakers, particularly those who lived on the islands for the language was widely spoken as a mother tongue over there. Besides, to get the best possible information, the researcher recruited two field assistants from ethnically Zay people based on their knowledge and experiences as speakers of the two languages (Zay and Afan Oromo). The following is, therefore, an attempt to show the most common Afan Oromo words that have replaced native Zay vocabulary, at least among the younger generation. It is likely that there are many Zay vocabulary items no longer in use; the wordlist here is small but worth looking into.

Table 10: Lexical Replacement in Zay

Oromo Loanword	Zay Original	Gloss
raafuu	ʔəməl	cabbage
qixxaa	t'abeta	Pancake (injera)
itittuu	gɛgʊt	yogurt
odaa	subəla	Fig
laafto	want'a	acacia
ejersa	wagɛr	olive
qamalee	kəmʃɛri	ape
arba	harɛ	elephant
jabbii	ʔəzak'	calf (older one)
jabbii	alɛtu	calf (newborn)
mooyyee	sukayi	mortar
haraa	mənʃɛʃa/mənʃeʃa	sweeper

Daa'ima	bɛwu	child
Daa'ima	bɛyu	baby
jaarsa	ʔubɛr	old man
mudhii	məskɛt	waist
diimaa	arrowa	red

With the increase of the intensity of contact, many Zay basic vocabulary items associated with different concepts were replaced. Stated differently, a number of terms referring to various real word entities have been becoming obsolete since they have been no longer in use, particularly on the mainland villages and towns where the Zay people have lived in close knit with other language speakers.

To begin with, there have been obsolete Zay terms associated with food crops. For instance, the word *ʔəməl* 'cabbage' was already replaced by Afan Oromo term *raafuu* on the mainland. Note that the term has still been remembered by the adult and old people living in villages along the shores of the lake, but it was already supplanted by the Oromo loanword in their everyday communication. The same fate faced Zay basic vocabulary items in the area of flora and fauna; for example, the terms *subəla* (fig), *want'a*: (acacia) and *wagɛr* (olive) have already replaced by the Afan Oromo loanwords *odaa, laafto,* and *ejersa* respectively on the mainland villages particularly among the younger generation. Again, the adult and elderly Zay speakers on the mainland have still remembered these words but they mostly used the loanwords instead in their conversation. The Zay native term kəmʃɛri (ape) has still been used on the islands, but completely replaced by Afan Oromo lexeme *qamalee* among all generations on the mainland. Terms associated with fauna, such as *harɛ* (elephant), *ʔəzak'* (calf), *alɛtu* (newborn calf) have been no longer in use almost in most Zay settlement areas. They have been replaced by the items borrowed from Afan Oromo: *arba* replaced *harɛ,* while *jabbii* took the place of the two lexemes *ʔəzak' and alɛtu*, which stand for distinct semantic concepts in Zay. In the area of home utensils, replaced words include *sukayi* (mortar) which has already become obsolete since it has no longer been in use; the Afan Oromo loan term *mooyyee* replaced it nearly in all Zay speakers both on

the islands and mainland. The other is *mənʃɛʃa/mənʃeʃa* (sweeper) which has been replaced by Afan Oromo term *haraa* almost among all age categories on the mainland. But the term has still been in use on the islands, mainly among the second and third generations. Some Zay lexicons associated with human age categories have also been supplanted by Afan Oromo loanwords. A typical case in point is *bɛwu* (child), *bəyu* (baby) and *ʔubər* (old man). The first two lexicons have been replaced by Afan Oromo loanword *daa'ima*, covering the concepts 'baby' and 'child', while the latter replaced by the term *jaarsa.* Nowadays, although these native Zay terms have still been remembered well, they have been used only by few elderly on the islands. The term *məskɛt*, Zay native word for 'waist', has been supplanted by the Afan Oromo loanword *mudhii* on mainland, particularly among younger generation. On islands and lakeshore towns, this term has been replaced by Amharic loanword *c'ɪn* which, in fact, gained additional semantic concept in Zay. Of the Zay native terms for colors, *arrowa* (red) has already become obsolete, be it on the island or mainland. The Afan Oromo term *diimaa* has been used instead by almost all Zay speakers. But the Amharic term *K'ɛy* has also been used alternatively, especially in towns along the lakeshores.

In sum, as clearly stated in Chapter Two, Sasse's model predicts the inevitability of lexical transference and/or loss in situations where two or more languages exist side by side, and thus it is logical to say that extensive borrowing from Afan Oromo or Amharic and lexical replacement are associated with a gradual decline in Zay native vocabulary. The lexical borrowings from Amharic and Afan Oromo have led to Zay language endangerment because the new vocabulary items which were incorporated into Zay replaced many native words. That is, the new vocabulary items were not added for new concepts; rather they simply displaced the existing lexicons of the language. Thus, the replacement of existing Zay lexicons with loanwords is a good indicator of endangerment of the language.

The other thing worth considering here is that the loss of linguistic material of Zay without being replaced by material from Afan Oromo is noticeable in some younger group living in villages such as Bochessa and Makidella, which located along the shores of Lake Zway. When asked to give Zay counterparts for lists of words in Amharic and Afan Oromo, some youngsters were unable to generate any native Zay terms. Especially, they didn't know words which are not

cognates with items in Amharic or Afan Oromo. They only produced those vocabulary items having either Amharic-like or Afan Oromo-like pronunciation.

4.2.3.3 Phonological Change in Zay

The replacement of the native vocabulary by words borrowed from Amharic and Afan Oromo undeniably put the language at risk since lexical attrition is an initial symptom of endangerment. The loss of native lexicons is just a stepping stone to phonological, morphological and syntactic changes. That is to say, in prolonged contact situations, structural effect is not restricted to the lexicon of the recipient languages; there could also be an influence on the phonology, morphology and syntax of the languages. Hence, the next section presents the phonological change that the Zay language has been undergoing because of the pressure from Afan Oromo.

As pointed out recurrently, Afan Oromo and Zay have had a contact of long standing which resulted in noticeable transference of linguistic materials from the dominant language (Afan Oromo) to the dominated language (Zay) in Lake Zway region. This seems to have resulted in an obvious phonological change in the recipient language. The change is, basically, noticeable in Afan Oromo loanwords. Sounds such as *p', p,* and *ɗ*, which were not deemed phonemes in Zay's phonemic inventory, have already entered Zay with borrowed Afan Oromo terms. Nevertheless, few elderly Zay speakers, particularly those living on the islands, have replaced these uncommon sounds with sounds which existed in their language as phonemes. A classic case in point is the replacement of the alveo-palatal implosive sound [ɗ] with alveo-palatal plosive sound [d], as shown in the table 1:

Zay *muddi* 'chest' (<Afan Oromo *Mudhii)*

The same is true for the geminated ejective sound [p'] because, in some cases, it has been replaced by the glottal stop [ʔ] and the voiced bilabial plosive [b], in sequential order [ʔb]. This is clearly evident in the following Afan Oromo loanword *laphee*:

Zay *lɛʔbe* 'chest' (<Afan Oromo *Laphee*)

The Afan Oromo terms, such as *mudhii* and *laphee* were mentioned by a very few island-dwellers in their responses. The remarkable thing is that these respondents were not able to pronounce the loanwords in their language correctly. The possible explanation for this might be

the nonexistence of the sounds [ɗ] and [p'] in Zay's phonemic inventory. It may also be explained by the fact that the contact between Afan Oromo and Zay on the islands has been very mild and casual. Under such contact situation, the incorporation of alien or uncommon sounds from source language into recipient language is very unlikely. Therefore, even if these Afan Oromo words entered Zay, the alien sounds in them have been replaced with sounds which existed in Zay. In other words, the loanwords have not affected the phonology of Zay as recipient language since no uncommon sounds occurred in it. The issue related to phonological change was observed by Mayer (2006:818) as well. According to the author, at the early stage of contact, unfamiliar sounds from Afan Oromo were replaced with sounds that function as phonemes in Zay. For example, a geminated bilabial ejective /p'/ and a voiceless plosive /p/, which appear in some Afan Oromo loanwords, are not taken as phonemes in Zay. Consequently, the phoneme /p/ is rendered as /f/, and /p'/ as /ʔb/ among Zay language speakers; for example:

faffayɛ 'papaya' (<Afan Oromo *paappaayee*, < Amharic *pappaya*)

qoʔobee 'preparation' (<Afan Oromo *qopphee*)

At the initial stage of contact, Meyer (2006:818) concluded, only contact words are borrowed without any changes in the phonology of the recipient languages.

However, in many cases, the words from the source language entered the recipient language wholesale without any phonological replacement. This is particularly true for speakers of Zay on mainland villages and towns where Oromo and Zay peoples are highly intermingled. The foreign sounds in some Afan Oromo loanwords have been incorporated into Zay's phonemic inventory. For example, as pointed out above, few speakers of Zay on the island have replaced the unfamiliar sounds with those sounds which existed in their language as phonemes. Such scenario was not observable in the case of mainland Zay speakers however. They pronounced the words exactly as the native Afan Oromo speakers did. The following is instance of loanwords with unfamiliar sounds which have not been substituted by the sounds that appeared in Zay:

dɛlota	'generation'	(<Afan Oromo *dhaloota*)
hoɗɗa	*'stitch'*	*(<Afan Oromo hodhaa)*
sup'e	'clay'	(< Afan Oromo *suphee*)

According to Meyer, the implosive alveo-palatal sound [ɗ] became a marginal phoneme in Zay (Meyer, 2006: 818). It is almost certain that the incorporation of this sound by Zay speakers into their phonemic inventory was a result of their long-standing intense contact with Afan Oromo speakers. Actually, the sound is limited to Afan Oromo loanwords; it has not entered Zay native terms yet. Thomason (2001: 87) believes that such phonological change occurs in most intense contact situation; for example, phonemes like glottalized stops added in both loanwords and native Iranian words in Ossetic because of interference from Caucasian languages like Georgian.

A further impact is noticeable in phonetic shape of some Amharic loanwords as well as Zay native terms owing to the occurrence of the long front vowel [i] word-finally, which is an unusual feature for Ethio-Semitic languages, such as Amharic and Zay. The incorporation of this vowel at the final positions of Amharic loan and native terms implies the fact that the Zay language community has had intense contacts with Oromo, the neighboring Cushitic speaking group. Such feature can best be exemplified by words, such as *t'afi, ayəbi, nifit'i, ʔohɛti, arɛmati, t'ubi, wɛt'i, ʔindʒi, giɲi, zənabi, mət'adi*, *gɛbəsi, muzi*, *ʃənkʊrti*, *bɪrtukani*, to mention but a few among others. This is particularly noticeable in younger Zay speakers. Many Zay, especially those below the age of 30, on the islands and mainland villages as well as towns along the shores of Lake Zway have added the long front vowel [i] while pronouncing these words. The Afan Oromo-like pronunciation of such Amharic loan and Zay native terms indicates the fact that the Zay language came under a heavy pressure from Afan Oromo owing to an intense contact in the course of time. So, it is almost certain that this feature, i.e., the addition of the long front vowel [i]to final position of loan and native words is a contact-induced phenomenon.

4.2.3.4 Morphological Change

Not only is the Zay language experiencing lexical loss due to replacement from Afan Oromo loan words and phonological change because of the addition of Afan Oromo phonemic features, but also some words have begun undergoing Afan Oromo morphology. That is, different morphological changes have been noticeable in Zay language. The examples given below are typical of Zay, and hence worth looking into.

The Zay language, which came under Afan Oromo influence, imported new morphological features. For example, the bound morphemes with Afan Oromo origin, such as *-tti* and *-ccha* have been introduced into Zay language. In Afan Oromo, *-tti* is used as definite singular noun

marker for feminine while *-ccha* as definite singular noun marker for masculine. Stated differently, *-tti* and *-ccha* are singular noun markers for feminine and masculine gender respectively. Not only marking number and gender, they also define or restrict the noun to which they are suffixed. That is, the person or thing being referred to by the noun to which these morphemes attached is identifiable for both the speaker and addressee. Below is an example of the masculine and feminine singulative markers attached to free morphemes in Afan Oromo:

nama	'man'	*Nam-iccha*	'the man'
Intala	'daughter'	*intala-tti*	'the daughter'
mucaa	'son'	*muc-iccha*	'the son'
Qotiyyoo	'ox'	*Qotiyy-iccha*	'the ox'
sa'a	'cow'	*sa'a-tti*	'the cow'

These definite masculine and feminine singulative markers in Afan Oromo were borrowed directly into Zay language. With regard to this, Meyer (2006:19) pointed out that the singulative marker /-čča/ ~ [-ččɛ] and *-itti* are used to refer to single man or woman out of members of an ethnic group, as shown in the following example: *zayiččɛ* 'a single male Zay, *zayitti* 'a single female Zay'. This is true in Afan Oromo as well: *Oromt-iccha* 'a single male Oromo', *Oromt-itti* 'a single female Oromo'.

However, unlike in Afan Oromo, the use of bound morpheme *-čča* (but not *-tti*) has been extended to mark plurality in Zay language. This can be best illustrated by the following example:

bɛyu	'child'	bɛy-ččɛ	'children'
fiq	'goat'	fiq-čɛ	'goats'
kɛ'ima	'youth'	kɛ'imɛm-čɛ	'youths'
da'ima	'baby'	da'imɛm-čɛ	'babies'
ʔindʒ	'hand'	ʔindʒ-aččɛ	'hands'
gɛmbɛlɛ	'black'	gɛməbɛlal-čɛ	'blacks'

Of course, as can be seen from the above example, some words are pluralized by attaching the suffix *-čɛ* or its phonologically conditioned allomorph *-ččɛ* and reduplication of the last consonant: *kɛ'ima > kɛ'imɛm-čɛ, da'ima > da'imam-čɛ, etc.*

What is important to note here is that most elderly and adults as well as the young people in all Zay settlement areas (i.e., both on the islands and mainland villages along lakeshores) have interchangeably used the inflectional morpheme *-lu,* having its root in Zay, as plural marker. For example, the native Zay term *gɛmbɛlɛ* 'black' can also be pluralized by attaching *-lu* to the end of the word: *gɛmbɛlɛ-lu* 'blacks'.

It is noticeable that the aforementioned bound morphemes did not replace the native Zay morphemes, but instead were simply added to the sets of bound morphemes that already existed in Zay. The affix *-lu* has, for instance, not been replaced with *–ccha,* which has its root in Afan Oromo. Both of them have rather been used interchangeably as plural marker morphemes in Zay language.

Another point worth considering here is that the Zay has inflectional morphemes that indicate aspects of the grammatical function of a word. For instance, verbs in Zay language are inflected for person, number and gender. Nonetheless, some young speakers on mainland villages have been dropping the masculine and feminine differentiation for second person singular. They have tended to use only the feminine gender marker while addressing either male or female person. For example:

ʔə-ra '(you) look at' (second person masculine)

ʔər-ay (ʔir-o) '(you) look at' (second person feminine)

Apart from its use for marking second person feminine, the inflectional morpheme /*-ay/* has been generalized to masculine gender. To put it another way, some young speakers have shown a tendency to generalize the feminine gender system for second person singular, by eliminating the masculine gender classification. This loss of gender in Zay may be the result of pressure from Afan Oromo, which has no morphological gender distinction for second person singular. For instance, the verb *laali* in Afan Oromo means '(you) look at', which refers to both second person feminine and masculine.

By the same token, the first person singular marker /-*hunu*-/ has appeared to be dropped by some Zay language speakers in younger generation, living in villages along the lakeshores. They have exhibited a trend to generalize the third person singular (masculine) marker /-*nu*/ to first person singular. Example:

ʔiri-hu-nʊ 'I saw'

ʔiri-nʊ 'He saw'

As can be seen from the example, the inflectional morpheme */-hunu/* marks first person, but nowadays youngsters have started to drop it, showing tendency to use the third person singular marker /-nʊ/ instead. Note that in Zay, verbs are not inflected for gender in first person singular or plural category.

Generally, it is likely that the young Zay speakers have been dropping inflection for first person singular in verbs, which is mandatory in healthy varieties of Zay. The loss of this inflection is actually the reflection of the Afan Oromo system where some (not all) verbs do not show first and third person (male) distinction. For example, the verb *arge* in Afan Oromo means 'I saw' or 'he saw'. So, one makes use of contextual clues to determine whether the verb stands for first person singular or third person singular (masculine).

Equally important is the loss of derivational bound morphemes which are useful to make new words or to make words of a different grammatical category from the stem. Derivation is accomplished by means of a number of small "bits" of a language, which are generally described as affixes. Derivational affixes have seemed to be losing ground among members of young generation on mainland. For example, fluent Zay speakers could derivate abstract concepts from nouns or adjectives by suffixation of *-nɛč and -lo*, as shown below:

bɛyu 'child' > bɛynɛč 'childhood'

kɛ'ima 'youth' > kɛ'imnač 'being youth'

gɛmbɛlɛ 'black' >gɛmbɛlnɛč 'blackness'

yɛtfac'ina 'important' > yɛtfac'inalo 'importance'

What is more, adjectives in color terms can be transformed into verbs by attaching both prefix and suffix. A typical example is *gɛmbɛlɛ* 'black' > *agnɛbɛlɛnʊ* 'blacken'. This verb is created by prefixation of *a-* and suffixation of *-nu*. Note that the nasal consonants /m/ and /n/ are a phonological free variation and hence used by native speakers interchangeably without any meaning change.

The point is that although the Zay language is derivationally productive, the speakers have tended to lose the derivational bound morphemes used to create new words of the same grammatical category with or different from its base. This is mainly noticeable among the younger generation. Most of the youth on the mainland failed to produce the derivative word forms shown in the above examples. The informants the investigator consulted knew and even spoke the language but it is noticeable that they have been losing certain grammatical points like derivational and inflectional bound morphemes. This indicates the fact that morphological attrition has been underway.

4.2.3.5 Syntactic Change

It is worth noting here that despite the heavy borrowing from Afan Oromo which seemed to have penetrated deeply into common everyday Zay vocabulary, the most important part of the language still remains Zay. In other words, the basic structure, syntax, and grammar have not been fundamentally changed, which means the backbone of the language has not been affected, in contrast to the sweeping changes in lexicon. For example, basic word order remains the same: SOV (subject-object-verb), as the following example *shows:*

ʔinomu *had giddir* ***ʔurabɛ qoču*****.**
They-S **hyena**-O **kill**-V

'They killed one big hyena.'

ʔit *hullɛmgi yɛbur* ***mɛy təqɛdatu***.
She-S **water**-O **fetch**-V

'She always fetches water from pond.'

The subject *ʔinomu* 'they' comes first, followed by the object *ʔurabɛ* 'hyena' and the verb *qoču* 'kill' respectively. The others *had* 'one' and *giddir* 'big' are modifying constituents. In the second sentence *ʔit* 'she': Subject, *mɛy* 'water': Object and *təqɛdatu* 'fetch': Verb. The basic

word order in Zay is the same as in other Ethio-Semitic languages whose inherited SVO word order was thought to have been replaced with SOV order because of the influence of Cushitic languages.

However, unlike in Afan Oromo (the language with which Zay has come into intense contact), modifiers, such as adjectives, genitives as well as demonstratives are placed before the noun they modify in Zay. Placement of modifying elements before the noun (head) is a common feature in other Ethio-Semitic languages as well. The following examples show the placement of adjectives and demonstratives in Zay:

Yihɪy mɛlkamɛ *giɲ yudinɛhʊ.*
This-Dem **pretty**-Adj

'I like this pretty dog'

The demonstrative pronoun *yihɪy* 'this' and the adjective *mɛlkamɛ* 'pretty' come before the head (noun) *giɲ* 'dog'. The same is true in the following sentence:

ʔənačču hoyt *ʤarsɛsu ʔirazinom biʤʤi hotɛtu.*
These-Dem **two**-Quant

'These two old men put their blanket here.'

The demonstrative pronoun *ʔənačču* 'these' and the quantifier *hoyt* 'two' precede the noun they modify *ʤarsɛsu* 'old men'.

This contrasts sharply with Afan Oromo in which both the demonstratives and adjectives always follow the noun they refer to, as can be shown in the following sentence:

Saree ***bareeda san*** *nanjaaladha.*
Pretty-Adj **that**-Dem

The adjective *bareeda* 'pretty' and the demonstrative *san* 'that' in this exemplary sentence come after the noun *saree* 'dog'. Even unlike in Zay, demonstrative pronouns always come after adjectives in Afan Oromo. Note that *san* comes after *bareeda* in the above example.

The argument is that in spite of its intense contact with Afan Oromo, the order of the basic constituents in Zay language has still not changed in most cases. This in turn indicates that diminution in use does not necessarily lead to syntactic reduction.

Of course, that does not mean that there is not any syntactic anomaly in sentences constructed by all age cohorts. A few of those who participated in sentence translation task produced sentences which deviated from the healthy variety of Zay. For example, the basic constituents in the following sentence are not in harmony with the accepted word order in Zay:

ʔit abɛr yɛsəntey bɛdu **ʔədəl**.
She-S **curse**-V **luck**- O

'She cursed her bad luck.'

As one can see, the subject *ʔit* is followed by the verb *abɛr* and the object *ʔədəl*. The genitive construction *yɛsəntey* 'her'and the adjective *bɛdu* 'bad' come between the verb and the object. Such word order and placement of the modifying elements in the above sentence is not acceptable in healthy variety of Zay language. Aside from this, few respondents constructed fragmented sentence, that is, a sentence without complete verb:

ʔit kormetɛ asətɛmari.
She-S Clever-Adj Teacher- Com

In this example, one of the basic components of a sentence is missed. To put it more specifically, *ʔit* 'she' is a subject, followed by an adjective *kormetɛ* 'clever', and a subject complement *asətɛmari* 'teacher'. So, the sentence lacks a verb that links the subject to the complement. To become a complete sentence, there must be a verb added to it: *ʔit bɛyzan asətɛmari natu*. **ʔit** 'she': subject, *bɛyzan* 'clever': adjective, *asətɛmari* 'teacher': subject complement, and *natu* 'is': linking verb'.

Most important of all problems is that some people on mainland villages and towns were even unable to construct any Zay sentence, let alone maintain the word order of the language. Such scenario was predominantly conspicuous in the younger generation.

As stated at the outset, the syntactic structure of Zay has not been affected that much despite a heavy borrowing of lexical items. The basic word order in Zay clause is subject-object-verb. The same is true in Afan Oromo with this regard. However, other constituent elements, for instances, demonstrative pronouns, adjectives or genitives precede the noun (head) in Zay unlike in Afan Oromo. This, in fact, does not mean that the syntax of Zay is completely healthy. Some syntactic change is underway as it can be noticed from the above sample sentences.

To sum up, many years of contact between Afan Oromo and Zay resulted in extensive lexical borrowing. A number of Afan Oromo loanwords were introduced into Zay wholesale or with some structural modification. Several Zay native terms were replaced with borrowed vocabulary items. The change was not restricted to lexical items; other language subsystems, such as phonology and morphology of Zay were also influenced by Afan Oromo owing to the intense contact between them. However, in spite of its loss of native vocabulary items as well as phonological and morphological change, the Zay language seemed to retain the basic syntactic structure. That is, the impact that the intense contact brought about on the syntactic structure of Zay was insignificant.

4.2.4 The Current Status of the Language

The researcher tried to assess the current status of the Zay language based on the data sourced through focus group discussions and personal observation. UNESCO'S nine core factors were considered to show the current status of the language. As indicated in Chapter Two, nine evaluative factors (indicators or symptoms of endangerment) were proposed by UNESCO in order to determine the varied nature of language endangerment: intergenerational language transmission; absolute numbers of speakers; proportion of speakers within the total population; loss of existing domains; response to new domains and media; materials for language education and literacy; governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies; community members' attitudes towards their own language; and amount and quality of documentation.

The first symptom of language endangerment is lack of intergenerational transmission. The Zay language has currently been declining in the lake shore towns of Zway and Meki as well as the mainland villages, such as Bochesa, Herera, Beshira Cheffa and Mekidella. This is because of the fact that many parents in the aforementioned areas have increasingly been reluctant to teach the language to their children. Children below the age of twenty could now be found speaking mostly Afan Oromo than their ethnic heritage language. Most adults and elderly members of the Zay dwelling in Zway and Meki Towns also mostly used Amaharic; Afan Oromo was frequented on the mainland villages while parents spoke to their children and grandchildren. One can, thus, say that these groups of people were guilty of the downward spiral of their ethnic heritage language. Based on this decisive factor, the Zay language may be definitively endangered.

Factor 2 (absolute numbers of speakers) seems very difficult to be determined in the context of Zay because the people were interspersed with other ethnic groups in the Lake Zway region, where, in some part of the region, assimilation to Oromo ethnic group was underway. However, it is apparent that the more scattered the people, the less safe the language is. Therefore, it is absolutely true that the language was definitely endangered except for islands where it has still been acquired as a first language by children. The observation data clearly shows the presence of a steady decrease of Zay speakers in proportion to a rapid increase of Afan Oromo speakers on the mainland where the Zay people lived in close knit with the Oromo. So, the considerable decline in the number of Zay speakers in proportion to Afan Oromo speakers within the mainland villages can be an indicator of Zay language endangerment. Determining the proportion of speakers of the Zay language within the total population (factor 3) was also equally challenging owing to the absence of exact population figure. Official population counts were not available for ethnic minority groups like Zay, thus providing an estimate to the proportion of speakers within the total population was quite difficult. However, as the field observation results show, the Zay language was being spoken by almost all people of all age categories on the three inhabited islands of Lake Zway region. On the other hand, it was highly declining on the mainland towns and villages since an increasing number of parents were no longer teaching it to their children. Even there was an increasing phenomenon of code switching to Afan Oromo and Amharic in all social situations among the adult and elderly generations who were proficient in it.

The other important factor is domains of language use. The home mostly becomes the last safe haven of a receding language that used to be functioning in other domains, such as the schools, the media, the workplace, etc. But the Zay language seems to be losing even the home as its final sanctuary in some parts of the region. Children from all the islands and mainland villages attended the primary school in Afan Oromo, and it is common that many Zay children on the islands were not able to speak Afan Oromo when they first started school. The parents said that the island children usually had the hardest time comprehending the lesson because they rarely heard Afan Oromo in their villages. But, of course, even if they didn’t speak Afan Oromo, they could usually understand some. The problem is that, since the medium of instructions in schools was Afan Oromo, parents began to stop speaking their mother tongue to their children with the mistaken belief that children could competently learn only one language. Beyond primary

school, they attended high school in the towns where they met children from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. Education at a high school has exclusively been offered in English with Amharic and Afan Oromo being taught as federal and regional working languages respectively. Zay-born students who were away at school only had the opportunity to speak Zay while talking with their family on the phone or when returning to their village during weekends and holidays. When the workplace is considered, the use of the Zay language was discouraged on the mainland where the ethnically Zay people worked mostly with other ethnic members. As regards markets, they were held on the mainland towns, such as Meki and Zway. Island dwellers and lakeshore villagers traveled to their nearest market towns for different reasons; Zay farmers traveled to market taking their fruits, fish, and other agricultural products to sell, or if not selling, to buy goods or equipment and take back to their villages. The only situation when Zay would be spoken in the market towns was when two or more Zay people who knew each other met; otherwise, Afan Oromo or Amharic was spoken. Equally important is the domain of government and administration. There was a time when the Zay language was regarded as the language of the local government and administration. Participants reported that any administrative and governmental services were used to be provided through the medium of Zay language. This, however, changed with the advent of EPRDF to power in Ethiopia. At present, the Zay has not enjoyed official language status even on the islands of Lake Zway, supposedly the stronghold of the language. Government sessions at both local and regional levels were conducted only in Afan Oromo.

Mostly, minority languages which shift as a whole to a majority language may yet be retained in specific domains related to traditions like songs, chants, and ceremonies. In the case of Zay, the language seems to be losing these traditional domains on the mainland villages and towns. Currently, Afan Oromo has penetrated many of the traditional and even exclusive domains of the Zay language. In the villages visited, there were people who reported that songs were mostly sung in Afan Oromo. Some participants from Bochessa and Mekidella villages said that they did not sing in their ethnic heritage language. This indicates the loss of a typical traditional domain where minority languages are often used. Even in the domain of religion, the Zay language has not been widely used. The traditional medium of the Orthodox Christian Church has, to this very day, been Amharic, the federal working language. The Zay language was reported to be used only for private prayer or for hymns and homilies on the islands. That is, hymns and homilies

were sometimes conducted in Zay. The Christian Bible and other holy books were readily available in Amharic and Afan Oromo rather than in the Zay language. Such domain contraction is, therefore, a typical symptom of Zay language endangerment.

As regards response to new domains and media, the Zay language has been losing its domains of use, let alone responding to new ones. Because of the dominance of Afan Oromo in the region, the Zay language has not still managed to cope with mobile communication technology and the internet; it has not been able to make minimal responses to the more conventional electronic media, unlike other languages. So, one can say that the language is inactive since it is not used in any new domains. As far as accessibility of written materials for education and literacy is concerned, nothing has been made available in the Zay language so far. The educational system in Ethiopia is blamed for making the Zay children illiterate in their own ethnic language. To date, there have been no written materials, syllabi and textbooks to teach and develop Zay language literacy in the classrooms, and no practical orthography has been made available to the community.

Given the diverse ethno-linguistic situation in Ethiopia, governmental policy toward minority languages is largely subjective and is applied differently in different areas among diverse minority groups. This leads to factor seven (governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies). There has been no a specific policy that protects or promotes small languages like Zay. That is, currently, there have been no legislations that favor the development, or at least the protection, of the Zay language and culture. The local government within the Oromia Regional State has done nothing more than expansion of the regional working language. To date, the Zay language has not enjoyed an official language status even on the islands of Lake Zway, the supposed bastion of the language. Public street signs and official notices throughout the local towns and villages have been in Afan Oromo. Government sessions, and the deliberation of laws and policies on all Zay settlement areas have also been conducted only in the majority language. Generally speaking, Afan Oromo, the dominant language of the region, has been the sole official language while the Zay language has neither been recognized nor protected. Related to this are community members' attitudes toward their own language (factor 8). Some Zay ethno-linguistic group has evaluated their ethnic language negatively. As the results of items on language attitudes reveal, a certain percentage of the Zay people chose Afan Oromo over their own ethnic

heritage language. Of course, the number of people who chose their language as favorable was much more considerable. Some parents, especially those who worked as government employees, definitely believed Afan Oromo to be socially and economically more viable than the Zay language and that the sooner the children learn it, the easier it would be for them to climb up the economic, political and social ladder. Many members, however, supported language maintenance; others are indifferent and few even support language loss.

As to the last factor (amount and quality of documentation), the Zay language has not been documented well. The works on the Zay language have generally been fragmentary and quite inadequate. To date, some linguists have studied the language and got a few publications on the Zay grammar, Zay dictionary, as well as morphology, phonology and syntax of the Zay language, but these works are very fragmentary.

Generally, on the basis of the explanation given above, the Zay language can be categorized under highly endangered languages of the world. Except for intergenerational language transmission (since the language is still acquired as mother tongue on the islands) and community members attitudes toward their own language (for the majority still evaluate their vernacular positively), the other evaluative factors clearly indicate the imminent extinction the Zay language has been facing.

Finally, it is vital to note that all forces which have been dealt with thus far in this section operated dependent of each other. Operating together, they have accounted for the endangerment of the Zay language. This implies that any Zay language preservation efforts should be directed towards tackling these forces, and thus the next section has emphasized on such theme.

4.2.5 Remedial Courses of Action for the Endangered Zay Language

People usually sigh but do nothing to reverse the situations of their endangered languages. However, this must not be the case given the value and importance of a language in the real life situation. As one can make all possible efforts to save the life of an ill man lying in a deathbed, it is also vital to do something humanly possible in order to safeguard a language in danger of extinction.

Mühlhäusler (1996: 323) argues for the need to obtain an understanding of the forces that caused language decline in the past as well as the factors that have continued to operate in order to look

for local practical solutions. Accordingly, in the preceding section, an attempt has been made to explore the underlying forces that contributed to the diminution of Zay language and their effects on community's attitudes. The data clearly pointed out the reality of the Zay language endangeredness. This section has emphasized on remedies that are likely to address the problem. The possible remedies for it lie in addressing the competing forces surrounding the language.

The research participants were asked some important questions about what they would think they could do to save their language and what sort of support they would expect from government and other stakeholders. Below are important data, elicited from the respondents, on remedial courses of action.

4.2.5.1 Attitudinal Change

It can be argued that awareness-raising is a prerequisite for the acceptance and success of more concrete measures. When people who have held their language in low regard change what they think of the language, and then they change what they do. Before actions are always thoughts. This means while people develop a positive attitude towards their flagging language, they can have the willingness to pay the price of revitalization. The fact is that positive attitude is a magic key which opens all closed doors. Therefore, inculcating such positive thoughts into the minds of the people, instead of contenting oneself with vain regrets, is tremendously useful.

The research findings suggest the need for continued and enhanced attitude changing activities so that the Zay who had negative attitudes toward their language would be aware of the benefits of preserving their native tongue. Although most of the Zay held their local language in high regard, it was found that some had negative attitude toward it. There were even some individuals who completely changed their Zay identity to Oromo partly because of a bad attitude they developed about their heritage language. A part from this, the people of Zay living along the lake shore villages and nearby towns did not speak Zay in front of non-Zay speakers because they felt it was impolite. However, it is true to say that even if it seemed a minor problem, it would become progressively more challenging as fewer and fewer people in the community spoke the language. In view of this, a female informant aged 18 revealed that "there are people who are ethnically Zay but hide their ethnic language. These people should be advised so as to make them not hide the language" (Interview IX, 07 Nov 2015: Bochessa). This notion also supported by FGD participants:

> . . . Motivating the people to learn and teach their language, and making them have a sense of concern about their language is something that should be principally worked on with particular emphasis so as to maintain this language. Awareness-raising education should be given so that all people develop a sense of belongingness. Parents need to be advised so that they teach Zay to their children and learn themselves by asking from others if they do not understand it (FGD1, 09 Nov 2015: Bochessa).

Therefore, if awareness-raising is a prerequisite for any Zay language development project, what are the stakeholders that can carry out this activity? The research participants believed that one of the stakeholders in the Zay situation could be the church. The Orthodox Christian Church, as an institute, can counteract community members' relinquishing attitudes and encourage the feeling of pride in their own language. They contended that the Zay were all adherents of Orthodox religion and that they had a strong attachment to their religion. To put it straightforwardly, religion can play an important role in the maintenance of the Zay language. This is because the Zay have been known for their strong religious proclivity. Even, the spread of other religions, particularly Islam along the lake shores did not make the Zay's Orthodox Religion and Practices eroded. As all religiously strong individuals actually do, the Zay went church more often than not for prayer, liturgy and sermon. Thus, taking full advantage of this, religious fathers, who are actually keen to see the Zay language maintained, could teach the people about the importance of preserving their language as part of the religious education. In so doing, they could increase the people's confidence in and good will towards their language. The possible reason for this proposition is that as the people hold the religious fathers in the highest regard for their religious activities, they can earnestly pay attention to what these religious fathers want them to accomplish (e.g., KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016; KI-5, 20 Dec. 2016, Meki Town).

In addition to this, respondents thought that translation of the Bible and other holy books into Zay and making them available to the people, as well as opening Zay religious school which may teach literacy education in Zayña could have a considerable contribution to the motivation of the people. The Zay would be contented when they saw their language written down in the same way as the dominant languages. In other words, such action could help the speakers gain confidence in their language and develop a sense of equality with others (FGD-8, 12 Dec. 2016: Makedella). Informants, generally, believed that translation of the religious books into Zay and opening Zay religious school could have two advantages. First, they could improve the

perception that the Zay had of their language. Second, they could keep the community members particularly the educated ones connected to their language through reading the holy books. For example, a 56-year-old man revealed that since the Zay people had a tight link with their religion, they would regularly read these materials at least to meet their religious purpose (Interview XXX, 27 Nov 2015: Tullu Guddo Island). In connection to this, it is said in Wales that the language would not have survived into the twentieth century had it not been for its dominant position in Welsh chapels and in Welsh religious life inside the home (the family reading the Bible in Welsh) (Baker, 1996:55).

Other stakeholders are community elders who would like to see the language reinvigorated. Elders who have the knowledge about the importance of language in a community could play a vital role in enlightening the public and mobilizing them towards developing positive opinion of the Zay language. In the first place, this group of the community could be a role model for young people by using the language as much as possible in their everyday activities, and by helping parents in providing opportunities to expose their children to the language. It is true to say that a promising solution lies in sensitizing the parents to speak Zay at home with their children because home is a vital platform for language use and preservation. KI-1 (4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town) retrospectively said "while I was in Harari, I witnessed that no Hararian used any other language except their own at home. I want such culture to develop in our society." In the second place, elders could possibly create awareness among the community members, particularly the young generation about the importance of maintaining and safeguarding their language. The community elders could instill into the minds of the general citizenry that language death results in the disappearance of one's culture, history and identity, which may be parallel to the analogy a "child with unknown father". Inculcation of such thinking among the community members could generate a sense of concern about and sympathy for the language and for what it represents or embodies. Such feeling in turn could serve as a driving force for the people to take affirmative actions against the immense linguistic problem confronting them.

To conduct an awareness-raising campaign, favorable situations may be required. Respondents mentioned some important occasions that mostly bring the Zay together. These include wedding, mourning, communal labor, ɨddɨr, məhaβər and coffee ceremony. As noted by one of the informants, ɨddɨr and məhaβər are ideal occasions to create awareness:

> . . . For example, in this town [Zway] there is Zay's ɨddɨr with no blend from other ethnic groups. Hmm… there is also ɨddɨr of only ethnically Zay people in Meki Town and Addis Ababa. I believe that this situation is very conducive to enlighten the members about the importance of maintaining their ethnic language, as well as to motivate them to communicate and discuss issues concerning their ɨddɨr in Zayña. . . . The other important occasion is məhaβər [religious celebration of a day dedicated to God, Angels, Saints, etc, by a group of people on a monthly basis]. The Zay have a məhaβər which is held on 12th, 19th, 21th, 23th, 24th, 27th of each month, to mention but a few. On these days, many Zay people meet. For example, on Saint Mary Day [21], nearly all adult females meet as mostly women participate in Saint Mary's məhaβər. Hmm… those Days observed in the name of Angel Michael, Gebriel, Saint Goerge and the like are attended mainly by adult males. On these occasions, the Zay have no mix from other ethnic groups; members of the məhaβər are only from the Zay. In Bochessa, for example, ee . . . there is no Oromo that participates in məhaβər with Zay. In fact, no one can oppose them if they join the Zay as far as they are Orthodox Christians (KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town).

The salient point is that these situations could create a healthy environment where awareness-raising activities would smoothly be conducted. The Zay who have the awareness, and who, at the same time are interested to see their language maintained could possibly make a campaign of changing attitudes of the group who developed low impression of the status of their native language. The assumption is that if the people gathered for məhaβər and ɨddɨr got the necessary consciousness about how unique and precious their ethnic language is, they could each do the same when they went back home. As the participants are adults and elderly who are commonly regarded as head or breadwinner of a family, they could easily conscientize their family members, particularly the children. Therefore, on these events, the participants may possibly be advised and sensitized to develop their language through everyday use at home and other domains.

What is more, there is the so-called 'coffee ceremony' in rural areas. Neighbors usually had a coffee in group in rural areas, i.e., they invited one anther while making a coffee. Thus, this time and place might be a crucial platform where those who did not understand the language could learn and use it, as well as the ones who held the language in low regard could be enlightened about the importance of preserving their lesser-used language. More importantly, this occasion could create an opportunity for the young to hear the language from the adult and elderly who were fluent in it, and in long run, learn and use it themselves (KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town).

Stated another way, the old fluent speakers could speak to the younger members in their ethnic language in order to steer them into a better command of the language. The usefulness of coffee ceremony for learning a language was evidenced in the response of a 38-year-old man who stated the fact that he learnt the Zay language by paying attention to the talk of the elderly when they gathered to have a coffee in his neighbor (Interview I, 05 Nov 2015: Bochessa).

However, the practicality of learning Zay on coffee ceremony could be questioned where the immediate neighbors of a Zay family are Oromo or other ethnic groups. Under this circumstance, learning the language on coffee ceremony can be difficult for the fact that the invitees may possibly include other linguistic groups, where the ethnically Zay individuals may feel ill-mannered to speak their vernacular in the presence of non-speakers. Therefore, since it is only the neighbors who have a coffee together on a daily basis, this approach can mainly work where in-group members live in a close proximity to each other.

Educators can also play a pivotal role in counteracting people's negative attitudes towards their language. Respondents argued that the educated groups, especially those who are ethnically Zay would have an obligation to develop the Zay language (FGD-5, 18 Nov. 2016: Bochessa). To be specific, linguists and language teachers could make the people build a positive image of their language. As stated in the preceding section, children of school age felt shame to use their little-known language in front of other children from the majority community for the fact that the latter made fun of the former while they used their language. Unless such feeling is reversed at infancy, it may be difficult to avoid it once ingrained. Hence, the language teachers who would be interested to reinvigorate Zayña could get ethnically Zay children together at school and sensitize them to the danger hovering over their ancestral language, thereby making them feel responsible to save it through learning (at home) and use in their everyday life. It also appeared that the absence of alphabet and description accounted for the low impression the people have developed of the status of Zay. Thus, linguists who would continue its study on Zay language may devise a practical alphabet for it and describe in terms of its grammar and vocabulary, as well as develop teaching and reading materials with the help of fluent Zay speakers (who are keen to develop the language). This could possibly boost the motivation of the speech community to restore the vitality of its ethnic language.

This awareness raising campaign would also consider the majority community members as well because unless they accepted the development of this language, Zay maintenance project may not be fruitful. This salient point was stressed by the research participants. They believed that the majority community had to manifest sensitivity for the Zay language as this could motivate the people to engage themselves wholeheartedly in any language development projects. The Oromo community members who held negative attitude towards Zay language may possibly be made to develop empathy for the Zay's situations through raising the awareness about the dangers of losing human linguistic diversity. That is to say those with a threatening attitude could be awakened to the perils of losing the resource of human linguistic diversity as it holds the key to almost all problems in this ever changing world. Their attitudinal change could inspire the Zay well to exert extra effort into their work of language maintenance and promotion; this means the majority community's positive attitude could contribute a lot to the development of the language.

4.2.5.2 Economic Intervention

The survival of the Zay language into the present-day is ascribed to the existence of its speakers on the islands. If all the people had left the islands, the mainland Zay would not have retained their ethnic language over time. As they lived in a close proximity with the dominant Oromo people, the in-group members could have a very narrow chance of using their vernacular among themselves even at home. Accordingly, only members of the old generation might have been left with imperfect knowledge of the Zay language. However, the reverse is true, thanks to the islanders! There are still people even the young age groups who are fluent speakers of Zayña on the mainland because of their strong social tie with the island-dwellers. This implies that the continued settlement of people on the islands is very crucial for the maintenance of the Zay language. Now, the question is how can sustainable settlement be kept on the islands? One way of determining sustainability of human habitation on the islands may be through building the socio-economic well-being of the people. As stated in section 4.2.1.1, economy was one of the principal reasons that forced the Zay people to disperse to different places. They left their traditional territory because of their economic disadvantage. One of the FGD participants depicted the importance of healthy economy to contain people's movement:

> . . . Let alone human being, wild animal does not leave its habitat if the forest is conserved. . . . Tourists come and visit that animal because of the existence of the forest in which that animal inhabits. If the forest is cleared away and burned down

> and hence becomes bare land, that wild animal will disappear from its habitat. When tourists come, they do not find it. If that safeguard, that livelihood, that comfortable place do not exist, how can it stay then? . . . The solution is, therefore, the government should give a farmland or livelihood to these people (FGD-4, 29 Nov 2015: Tullu Guddo Island).

KI-3 (17 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) also emphasized the decisiveness of economy for maintenance of a language. While the interest and motivation of the Zay to promote their language was exceptionally strong, economy became a bottleneck to them:

> . . . Yes! Economy gives you a chance to express yourself; . . . Economy gives you a chance to develop your language and culture. Those who have no stable economic base will disperse; they move to different places in search of healthy economy. In the meantime, their language and culture are likely to disappear. Therefore, improving the economic well-being of the people, particularly the islanders, is exceptionally crucial for survival of the Zay language.

The arguments sound strong because even if a language is used in education, administration, the media, etc., its continued existence cannot be ensured unless sufficient economic prospects are available in the settlement areas so that the speakers do not have to leave their territory because of economic livelihood. This means there should be local job opportunities and healthy working condition for the people in order to stay in their homeland where they could promote their language by using it in their everyday social interaction as well as raising their children in it. Therefore, it is plausible to say that language maintenance endeavors could bear fruit where due attention would be given to the material needs of the people rather than solely dealing with the linguistic aspects.

Respondents stressed the fact about a scarcity of cultivable land on the islands. Given that there is a shortage of flat land for sowing grain crops (which actually require hectares of land), water intensive fruits and vegetables seem to be vital for sustainable income generation on the islands. The climatic condition of the islands also seems suitable for cultivation of such crops as it is relatively hot. Some people were doing this even if it was in a very small scale. FGD participants on Tullu Guddo Island (FGD-11, 23 Jan. 2017) noted that they bought a water pump with their own personal effort and that they have been producing fruits and vegetables, such as lemon, cabbage, onion, pepper and others through irrigation. They stated that any fruit and vegetable

crops were likely to grow on the islands if sown and protected properly. The figures below can justify this statement.

Figure 9: Onion on Tullu Guddo Island

Figure 10: Lemon on Tsedecha Island

Figure 11: pepper on Tsedecha Island

Informants argued that the farmers could benefit more if they engaged in such agricultural activity intensively, for one thing the productiveness of these root and fruit crops were basically high; farmers could produce surplus yields on a plot of land; for another these agricultural products were exceedingly marketable. That means as they had a huge demand on market, the producers could make much money out of the sale of these products.

Despite the fact that the issue about scarcity of farmland is true, farmers have not cultivated even the existing plot properly owing to lack of support from the government (FGD-11, 23 Jan. 2017: Tullu Guddo Island). This may show the presence of a pressing need for support so that the people could sustain their lives on the islands. For instance, given that the land is mountainous, it can be easily exposed to erosion; in consequence the soil may lose its fertility. Hence, the farmers may require a regular follow-up and support from agriculture practitioners in order to protect the land from flood. Besides, the farmers may demand support with water pump machine. Although some farmers have already had water pump for cultivation of some fruits and vegetables, they have been using it for irrigating only the land along the bank of the lake because of its small capacity to pump the water over a distant farmland. Thus, where such machines and selected seeds of fruits and vegetables are made available to the islanders, they may possibly change their lives being on the land of their birth (FGD-10, 17 Jan 2017: Tsedecha Island; FGD-11, 23 Jan 2017: Tullu Guddo Island).

Apart from this, improving the fishing activity is very crucial since fishing is the main source of income for Zay people. Most, if not all, of the youth have been engaged in this activity. One of the FGD participants on Tullu Guddo Island (FGD-11, 23 Jan. 2017) pointed out that "our people mainly live on fishing, but because of the proliferation of illegal fishers who caught immature fish, the product is emaciating." Presently, illegal fishermen, particularly from Arsi and Eastern Shoa have been fishing, thereby reducing a school of fish in the lake. On top of that, the beneficiaries of the product were not the producers but the merchants. Because the producers had a problem of water transport and market link, they sold the surplus yields of fish to the owners of motorboat with cheap price. This point was underlined by focus group discussants:

> Fishing is the main economic livelihood of the youth on this island. But the youth lack market link where they can sell their product with standard price. They simply sell their yields of fish with cheap price to boatmen who come here every morning to buy fish, and this situation is forcing them to leave their homeland. … However, if market link where the youth sell their yields of fish at fair price is created, they can get the benefits they need without moving to anywhere else. . . . When the youth get the necessary benefits, they stay here with their language and culture (FGD-9, 15 Jan. 2017: Tsedecha Island).

As the above data reveal, market link, where the fishermen sell their yields of fish with a reasonable price, would be required. This is because the Zay living on the islands were more

likely to pay much water transport cost in order to take the fish they caught to mainland markets. For they were unable to afford to the water transport cost, the islanders were forced to sell their products with cheap price to retailers coming over there regularly. The researcher' observation also confirmed this point of argument. Therefore, creating market link where they could sell their surplus yields of fish with a reasonable price may be a good way of controlling youth's migration.

The other basic problem was a lack of firm legal foundation of fishing activity. There was in fact Fish Producers' Cooperative on the islands, but its presence was in name only since the fishermen did not abide by the rule and regulation of the association. Everybody has been illegally engaged in fishing activity though, as a rule, only those who are members of the association are entitled to fish. Fishers went fishing without a hiatus, and this nonstop fishing has caused diminution of the school of fish as they have been caught immature. What one can understand from this is that incessant fishing is nonproductive. Hence, the activity of catching fish for a living appears to be more fruitful if conducted intermittently. That means there should be a temporary cessation of fishing during which the fish can reproduce themselves and end their stage of development. To this effect, it is vital to establish a firm legal ground by which illegal fishers can be brought to justice. In that way, the fishing activity could possibly be made promising (FGD-12, 24 Jan. 2016: Tullu Guddo Island).

While dealing with fishing, the situation of its source is inevitable to be raised. It is apparent that Lake Zway has been an important source of the Zay's livelihood. However, it seems that the lake is in a precarious situation as its volume is noticeably dwindling. It is believed that unless a pressing action is taken against it, the lake will inevitably remain a history in a foreseeable future. One of the informants cogently expressed his concern as follow:

> The lake itself is inevitable to dry as it loses owner who can protect it. It is declining because of the fact that the Zay have been denied ownership of the lake. . . . If it continues this way, the lake will dry out like Haromeya Lake. It might be left with only about 15 or so years to extinct altogether. . . . It seems that the government wants to see the Zay stretching their hands for aid by getting their income generative lake dried out. This is evident in that it turned a blind eye to the lake while it is shrinking (KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

It is an acknowledged fact that without proper protection of the lake, effective production of fish is unthinkable. Not only fishing but also other agricultural activities of both island and mainland dwellers are strongly tied to this lake. Hence, the people and government may join their strength and make a concerted effort to control further shrinkage of the volume of the lake. One of the possible ways to protect Lake Zway could be avoiding illegal deforestation as it was reported to be happening on the islands, and planting tree seedlings around in order to control the climatic change.

Furthermore, as known, the people of the islands had no much land to cultivate. Their life has firmly been tied to Lake Zway for its fish product. In order to maintain their lives, the Zay relied on it as a source of food for centuries. Thus, their historical right to use this lake for fishing was thought to be respected. Other fishermen, who may have ample alternatives to make a living, ought to be interdicted if the Zay youth were wanted to stay in their homeland and promote their language and culture (KI-3, 17 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

The other important economic development opportunity could be tourism. Any development which would provide employment opportunity was supposed to be welcomed on the islands. As the islands of Lake Zway are historical places with different cultural and religious heritages, they can be a center of tourist attraction. Key informants emphatically observed this theme. KI-4 (20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) questioned "Why are Lake Zway and its islands not beautiful like the islands of Lake Tana? Why can't they be like Australian islands if the government is determined to work in close cooperation with the Zay? If the government of Oromia and the Zay work hand in glove, they can make these islands conducive for tourism." The other informant added that unless for lack of conservation, this area could not be less than other tourist attraction centers. "If it gets the attention needed, if facilities that should be available in tourism areas are fulfilled, it will become an outstanding tourist attraction center" (KI-2, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town). The subject of tourism was recurrently mentioned by almost all research participants. KI-6 (21 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) described cogently about the potential of these islands for tourism resource:

> You know that these islands were important historical places where very essential holy books that cannot be found anywhere else are located and where the well-known arch bishop and martyr of Ethiopia, Abune Petros, learnt. For reminiscence, his tau cross (mək'^{w}amɨya) [a stick used to lean on while attending a church service] is now found at monastery of Debre Tsion. Above all, they were a safe haven of the

> "Ark of Covenant", [which was supposedly given to Moses by God], currently found in Aksum; the ark of Kulubi Gabriel in Harar, [which is known for its miracle and spiritual healing], and more other religious treasures for about 73 years. They were protected from being destroyed at the hands of Yodit/Gudit in the 9th century (842 AD) and Ahmed Gragn in the 16th century. . . . It is generally a place where pure Orthodox Christianity was preserved and then expanded to other places after the time of Yodit and Ahmed Gragn came to an end. Forgetting this remarkable history, the government and people of Ethiopia today have turned a blind eye to these islands.

This point was reinforced further by KI-1 (4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town) who explained about the presence of historical books, such as Mətshäfɜ Hënök (book of Henok) and Mətshäfɜ Küfæle (book of Kufale). These ancient religious books were found on the islands of Lake Zway, and might possibly be on Lake Tana islands. They were not found even in Aksum, which is considered the holy place of Ethiopia. Respondents, thus, argued that it was impossible to talk about the history and heritage of Ethiopian Orthodox Church without mention of these islands. They afforded the Christian people and church treasures shelter from damage by Yodit/Gudit- the Jewish Religion follower and Ahmed Gragn- Islamic Religion expansionist. These all churches observed today in different places are the outcome of the then protection by the islands. Had that not been the case, Orthodox Christianity might have been a history this time. Honestly, therefore, Ethiopian Orthodox Church itself had a big responsibility of doing something important in this area so as to keep its history intact.

KI-3 (17 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) also held the same stand on the potential of the islands for tourism. He asserted that the islands had cultural resources, such as historical remains, customs and traditions which could be promoted effectively in cultural tourism, and this would in turn offer useful economic development opportunities for the islanders. Added to this, the respondent explained about the availability of hot springs which would undoubtedly be the most preferable holiday destination for many people provided that they were developed well in modern ways.

Today, a museum was established on Debre Tsion Island by the conscious effort of the Zay, and it has now opened to the public. The basic problems were, however, facilities such as transportation systems and lodges, which are normally decisive factors for attracting people to the destination. This means good tourist facilities were non-existent. It is well known that where tourist facilities are not available, tourism cannot be an alternative economic development

opportunity. Therefore, the islands need adequate tourist services, particularly boats and accommodations as well as promotion of the historical and cultural heritages as a perfect tourist attraction.

According to the research participants, the government could be responsible to supply with the required facilities, thereby enhancing a steady flow of tourists to the islands. KI-2 (4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town) believed that with the development of tourist facilities, alternative means of income may possibly be created on the islands, which could contribute a lot to the reduction of out-migration.

Equally crucial issue of discussion is development infrastructures. Infrastructure is a means to an end; for example, unless the health of individuals was kept well, realizing the socio-economic development could be difficult (KI-2, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town; KI-3, 17 Dec. 2016: Meki Town). First and foremost, development of water transportation systems would absolutely necessary for the people of the islands so that they could have an easy access to the mainland. Respondents believed since the islanders had social, cultural and economic tie with the mainland people, improvement of transportation systems would work to their advantage. The second one was development of water supply as this could ease the problem of clean drinking water on the islands because the island-dwellers drank lake water which was reported to have disease causing pathogens. Besides, provision of medical services was highly necessary. The unavailability of medical facilities made life on the islands more challenging. The islanders had to go to the mainland when they sought prompt medical attention for their ailment, be it mild or serious. Therefore, establishment of health centers could be of utmost importance in encouraging sustainability of life on the islands. Installation of electric light on the islands also seemed to be vital, particularly for preservation of surplus yields of fish:

> It is known that fish is perishable. Unless it is refrigerated, it spoils soon. Therefore, it requires refrigerator to preserve until it is taken to the market. This at least helps the fishermen to get time to negotiate for fair price. Nevertheless, where such facility is not made available to the fishermen, they sell their yields with lesser price than the standard price because something is better than nothing (KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

In addition to those presented above, creation of alternative job opportunities in their settlement areas such as modern bee-keeping, animal rearing, and establishment of public institutions where

the educated young people work as employees and thereby maintain their usual lives with their family were essential to stop out-migration (e.g, KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town; KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town). One of the informants concluded that if the people were able to get the necessary infrastructures and economic livelihood, they would have the determination to stay in their traditional settlement areas. In so doing, they could protect their own language, culture and history (KI-2, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town).

4.2.5.3 Ethnic and Linguistic Recognition

The study participant argued that official recognition would create them a more favorable environment for the maintenance of their language. In their view, a language could not develop in the absence of official recognition. KI-1 (4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town) noted that if diversity was really respected as said, the Zay's question of ethnic recognition would officially be answered as no one should be ashamed of himself/herself. What the informants iterated was that unless the Zay officially recognized as a distinct linguistic and cultural group, they would develop a sense of powerlessness and subordination, which might gradually lead them to throw off their identity.

It seems logical to say that a sense of powerlessness and subordination may possibly leave the people emotionally drained to do something in favor of their ethnic language. Therefore, the benefit of official recognition is that it would make the people develop confidence in themselves and their language, which could in turn clear away the cloud that remained a barrier to them to promote the language. Even a mere recognition of the speakers by the state government could motivate them to maintain and promote the language (KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town). Stressing the importance of official recognition, KI-2 (4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town) also explained his observation as follows:

> The FDRE government has said to realize its vision of ensuring equality among nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia after toppling the Dergue regime. However, it has been 25 years since we presented our question for ethnic recognition in peaceful way, and it is still under way. Umm . . . this situation has seriously hurt the people psychologically. It made them raise questions like: "What am I? Am I a part of Ethiopian nations, nationalities and peoples?" . . . I, therefore, believe that if this thing gets solution, the problem of our language will be solved soon.

The other respondents strengthened this point further. KI-5 (20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) noted that the new generation has always been questioning: "why have we been denied the right of being a distinct ethnic group? Why have only we been discriminated? Why have only we been lost the constitutional right of mother tongue education? Why has the constitution not been interpreted in favor of us?" These questions have been raised because the people were well informed about Ethiopian constitution as they read it as well as listened to the media.

Informants strongly believed that the Zay could fulfill the requirements for creation of *liyyu Woreda* within Oromia regional state; however, they have deliberately been deprived of this right and consequently being a beneficiary of the opportunities available to all nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. One of the respondents phrased the reasons for claiming official ethnic recognition:

> The geographical location of these people is identifiable; they have a distinct language and culture of their own. So, I don't see what makes them not officially recognized as an ethnic group. …My belief is that if the Zay get official recognition, they will have budget allocated to them; they will administer themselves; they will have representatives level by level. The representatives raise the problem of the people at different levels (federal, regional, zonal and *Woreda*). At that time, the overall social, political, economic and linguistic problems of the people can be mitigated. Today, it is impossible to raise issues concerning Zay community even at *Kebele* level, let alone in the House of Peoples' Representatives (KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

It is generally thought that official ethnic recognition would be an all-important way out to maintain and promote the language. According to the participants of FGD-1 (09 Nov. 2015: Bochessa), at least 50% of the people on the mainland would have spoken Zayña as their mother tongue at present, had the Zay been recognized as a distinct ethnic group since the advent of EPRDF to power. They kept on saying that unless the Zay were officially recognized, preservation of the language would be a difficult, not to say impossible, task. This is so because of the emergence of ethnically Zay people who have been throwing off their Zay identity. There was a widespread concern that they would be sacked from their job and position if they reported themselves as Zay. The respondents, therefore, believed that only official recognition could drive out this concern. Participants of FGD-10 on Tsedecha Island also argued that recognition would pave a way for all things; for instance, it could adjust preconditions for development of the

language while its absence could sterilize the hope of the people as clearly observed in the following excerpt:

> While we say 'let us learn in our language', we were prohibited, saying 'this ethnic group has no recognition'; while we say 'let us establish Zay's cultural band', we were banned, saying 'Zay has no recognition'; while we say 'let us participate in Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Day', we were forbidden, saying 'you have no recognition'. So, where there is no recognition, we are by no means able to move one step forward. Now, to your surprise, when Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Day is celebrated on 29th November each year, we feel down in the dumps. 'Why aren't we recognized? Why are we ignored while more than 80 ethnic groups' voice is heard; while they all recognized; while their right is respected being represented at all levels, and while they learn and are judged in their own language; while they are all expressing their cultures in their own languages?' We are on the verge of giving up because when shall we be free to exercise our linguistic and cultural rights unless we get the opportunity today? Today's chance, today's democracy may not be obtained tomorrow (FGD-10, 17 Jan. 2017: Tsedecha Island).

The crux of the matter is that the Zay language would be survived into the next generation only if its speakers were officially be recognized as a distinct linguistic and cultural group. But the question is whether there is a constitutional basis for Zay to be recognized as a distinct ethnic group and consequently their language. Article 39 (5) of FDRE Constitution reads "A Nation, Nationality or People . . . is a group of people who have or share large measure of a common culture or similar customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in a common or related identities, a common psychological make-up, and who inhabit an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory." This constitution intends to benefit those ethnic groups which inhabit territorially identifiable and contiguous areas. This means the constitution excludes territorially dispersed ethnic groups from being beneficiaries of the rights available to nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. A direct adoption of the FDRE Constitution by the regional governments gets some regions to be considered as belong to one nation/nationality. A case in point is Oromia Region which is considered as if it belongs to only Oromo people. Article 8 of Oromia Constitution reads: "sovereign power in the region resides in peoples of the Oromo nation." It seems that the constitution has been created only for Oromo people since it stipulates the fact that power resides in peoples of the Oromo nation rather than in peoples of the region. In line with this, the right to preserve their separate identity, to develop their culture and to promote their language is guaranteed only for Oromo people, as envisaged under Article 39 (1) of the

Oromia Constitution. In other words, the constitution does not recognize the distinct identity, culture and language of non-Oromo ethnic groups which reside in this region.

In short, a reading of Oromia Constitution indicates the inexistence of an ethnic group which is territorially defined or identifiable in the region, apart from Oromo itself. Only territorially dispersed ethnic minority groups, who are members of either the dominant or minority groups in other regions, live in Oromia region. Hence, in light of the definition adopted from the FDRE Constitution, the makers of Oromia Constitution believe that none of the other ethnic groups in Oromia region satisfies the definition of nation, nationality or people.

However, the reality on the ground proves the presence of some minority groups who are territorially defined as well as indigenous to the region. For example, the Zay are not members of the majority or minority in other regions, i.e., there are no people who call themselves Zay in other regions; they reside only in Oromia region, occupying an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory. According to historical account, the settlement of part of the present Zay people in this region dates back to the 9th century, much earlier than the arrival of the Oromo which was believed to have happened in the 16th century. This indicates the fact that the Zay have a firm historical ground to claim ownership of their settlement areas. More fundamentally, the Zay qualify the definition of the nations, nationalities and peoples which stated in Article 39 (5) of the FDRE Constitution since they are a group of people known by the name Zay; they have common cultures and customs, a common language (Zayña), and even religion as almost all Zay people are Orthodox Christians. The criterion of territorial contiguity is also met as the Zay occupy an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory, such as the islands and lake shores. Therefore, based on the definition, the Zay are eligible to exercise the rights available to nations, nationalities or peoples. As stated under Article 39 (3) of FDRE Constitution, "Every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia have the right to a full measure of self-government which includes the right to establish institutions of government in the territory that it inhabits and to equitable representation in State and Federal governments." A close reading of this Article leads one to realize that all ethnic groups are granted the right to exercise self-government. Therefore, based on this constitutional stipulation, the Zay have a right to enjoy a sub-regional autonomy by establishing their separate *Woreda*.

While this is the case, the Zay have been denied the right of being recognized as a distinct ethnic group and consequently beneficiary of the opportunities available to the recognized ethnic groups in Ethiopia. According to some respondents, the reluctance of the regional government to respond to Zay's application for official ethnic recognition arose from the perceived belief that acknowledging Zay as a distinct linguistic and cultural group may result in a control of the lake and its surrounding areas by the Zay. In other words, the Zay could claim ownership of the land within their territorial jurisdiction. This in turn may cause evacuation of the Oromo who previously settled in the areas around Lake Zway. Besides, the Zay language could take over all the communicative domains formerly dominated by Afan Oromo. The other point of argument was that some Oromo people regarded the Zay as northerners, and hence recognizing them as an ethnic group means restoring the old day political order of the north on the Oromo land (KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town; KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

This in fact seems a mere concern without justification, i.e., there is not a shred of evidence to support their worry. For instance, no legal ground exists to evacuate people that already settled in the region. In addition, history shows the fact that the Zay are not only the descents of the northern people, such as Amharas and Tigray but also the south eastern people like Gurage and Silt'e. The linguistic similarity between Zay and Gurage varieties could be an evidence for this. They also intermingled with tribes, namely Wege and Areñ who were thought to have already been in the areas around Lake Zway.

In general, viewed from the FDRE Constitution perspective, the Zay seem to have a right to claim for ethnic recognition unless there is unspecified escape clause by which they can be stopped from being recognized. It has been 25 or so years since they raised the question of official recognition but no "Yes" or "No" response so far. It is logical to presume that the government's silence is an indication of lack of one good reason to say no to Zay's claim for recognition. But in fact, as explained above, the Oromia Constitution did not extend protection of group specific rights for non-Oromo people. It provided protection of rights only for Oromo people as if the region is homogeneously populated by the Oromo, and accordingly for other Ethiopian ethnic groups living in the region, the right to establish their own separate local government appears impossible. Therefore, acknowledging the presence of other indigenous people that qualify the definition of nation, nationality or people contradicts this constitutional

frame, and that may be why the regional government turned a deaf ear to Zay's claim for official ethnic recognition.

On top of this, respondents demanded for Culture and Tourism to record the unique cultural and religious festivals and transmit them in media, particularly on television. In fact, they did not overlook the contribution made by the Federal Culture and Tourism Bureau thus far. They were grateful to this bureau for allocating a budget and having their cultural and religious activities produced in the form of documentary film and transmitted on television, providing wide air time coverage. They believed that this action should continue unabated as its contribution to the maintenance of their language and culture could be myriad. In the first place, since these cultural and religious festivals would be visible to all ethnic groups, they could attract tourism which might be a source of income for the development of the Zay language and culture. In the second place, they could be a motivational factor for the speakers so that they would use their language in all public domains unabashedly, and that those who did not learn the language before would make a conscious effort to learn it (e.g. KI-2, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town; KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town). For example, the impact of the documentary film and music (produced in Zay language) on the people, particularly the youth was considerable. The Zay got motivated when they watched the documentary film and music transmitted on television:

> Previously, a documentary film was produced and transmitted live on television. The society has shown a great motivation by that film itself…. Music has also been produced twice in Zay language. This instigated the youth very much. Even those children who do not know the language well always sing the music everywhere. The documentary film and the music have given motivation to the Zay people very much. I believe that these things can reverse the current situation of the language if practiced continually (Interview I, 05 Nov 2015: Bochessa).

To recapitulate briefly, respondents believed that the most important means to maintain and promote the language would be provision of official recognition and creation of favorable environment for the Zay language and culture to have access to media. In the current situation, the Zay language has no official status in Oromia Region. That is to say official recognition and support does not exist for Zay; the Oromia regional government has authorized only the use of Afan Oromo in all formal domains, such as education, administration, the media, etc.

4.2.5.4 Mother Tongue Education

The Education Policy in Ethiopia seems to favor the teaching of dominant languages. For instance, the schools were blamed for teaching only Afan Oromo and Amharic in Oromia Regional State and for discouraging the minority Zay language. At this point, it is important to raise the question: what rights do ethnic minority groups have concerning their languages? The FDRE Constitution (1995) provides to each nation, nationality and people, without any discrimination, to use and develop their own language. As enshrined under Article 5 (1) "all Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state recognition." Article 39 (2) further stipulates "every nation, nationality and people in Ethiopia has the right to speak, to write and to develop its own language . . ." Cognizant of this constitutional declaration, the Education and Training Policy of Ethiopia advocates the use of regional and local languages for two basic reasons. First, learning in the mother tongue has clear pedagogical advantages for the children, who feel comfortable and reassured by their ability to understand and analyze information in their own language. Second, the use of local languages in education accords with the right of nationalities to self-expression as stated in the constitution.

However, the Zay ethnic group has not been the beneficiary of this right so far. Although the right to use its language or the language of its choice is clearly worded in the constitution, the enforcement of this right in favor of the Zay ethnic group has been nonexistent. It has still been using the language of its adjoining nationality. The reason seems obvious. It is believed that a great deal of money is needed in order to ensure all ethnic groups' right to use and learn in their own mother tongues. That is, sponsoring every ethnic minority group to exercise the right to attend primary education through mother tongue is economically considered expensive. Nonetheless, the cost for adoption of text books, institution of orthography and training teachers is small as compared to the usefulness of the spread of mother tongue education. Ensuring all ethnic groups' right to learn in their own languages is central to the preservation of their culture, values, identity and history, which can in turn be a vehicle for their economic, social and political development.

When it specifically comes to Oromia Region, informants strongly believed that mother tongue education could economically be affordable to finance as there are no many indigenous linguistic groups who are territorially defined. They argued that it would be possible in Oromia Regional

State to finance the Zay community to learn in its mother tongue at least in the first cycle of elementary school (e.g. KI-2, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town; KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

As it has precisely been explained in the preceding section (Section 4.2.3.3), the regional constitution guaranteed the right to promote their language only for Oromo people. This may imply that there would be no room for other languages in the region to be used for school instruction. Nevertheless, there are Amharic language schools in towns and cities of Oromia Region. This shows the presence of flexibility in the implementation of the constitution where necessary. Therefore, if group specific rights, such as language rights as provided under FDRE Constitution, are to be respected, there should be a mother tongue education for ethnic minority groups as well up to certain levels. Without learning through mother tongue, the constitutional right provided under Articles 5 and 39 could not be fully exercised. Perhaps, the best possible way to exercise the right to write in and develop one's own language is through the use of a language for school instruction or at least learning it as a subject in school. Therefore, it is of the essence to encourage the opening of Zay-medium school in order to safeguard the language as well as alleviate linguistic subordination. Or else, it is impossible to talk about the so-called 'accommodation of diversity' where language right is violated.

As a whole, enforcement of mother tongue education in favor of this long neglected ethnic group could be vital for the upkeep of its language. In other words, mother tongue education could be useful for controlling further shrinkage of the endangered minority Zay language. If children learnt their ethnic language as part of the education process, they would develop a positive image of the language and consequently revive it as a means of communication. Informants' responses to mother tongue education questions reveal the presence of a high interest to make their children learn in their ethnic language, i.e., almost all respondents expressed their strong determination to send their children to Zay-medium school at primary school level. A 30-year-old man said:

> Even if schools are opened in the three languages (such as Zay, Amharic and Afan Oromo) on this island, I send my children to Zay-medium school. Since their first language is Zay, they do not have trouble understanding while they go to school. I believe that they have the capacity to understand the lesson quickly if they are taught in Zay. The other is that since Zay is the language of their parents and grandparents, it is an expression of their identity. Hence, I believe, they should learn this language before any other languages (Interview XXXI, 27 Nov 2015: Tullu Guddo Island).

Parents reported that even if they taught Zay to their children at home during their childhood, they tended to forget it as soon as they started schooling because in school they came in contact with Afan Oromo speaking teachers and students. They learned the school language and brought it to home soon. When they were talked to in Zay, they responded in Afan Oromo. Therefore, opening Zay-medium primary school could counteract such early language shift. That is to say so long as the children got the same language both at home and school, the possibility to abandon their language in favor of other language could significantly be reduced, albeit not fully avoided (Bochessa and Makedella parents' response to informal interview).

The present government funded schools on the islands and lakeshore villages have not taught Zayña even as a subject, let alone use it as a medium of instruction. The respondents believed that this situation should be changed right away, i.e., there should be Zay-medium primary school in all Zay settlement areas as it would be central to the development of the language. They went further and suggested establishment of high school on the islands (though not in Zayña) for it might be useful to make the children stay with their parents longer. This would in turn help the children to lay a strong foundation of their ethnic language, and consequently retain it even if they could leave the island in their later ages. For instance, the high school established by Protestant Church in Herera, a mainland village which is very close to the south eastern islands particularly Tsedecha Island, has provided an opportunity for some children to stay with their parents longer. The school bought a motorboat by which the children traveled across the lake to attend their education and went back home safely (KI-7, 10 Jan. 2017: Tsedecha Island).

Figure 12: Students traveling to Herera by boat for high school education

Those who had relatives in Herera sometimes spent the weekdays and visited their families on weekend. The rest attended their education being with their parents on the islands. That is, they made a frequent journey to the high school in Herera and back home on the islands by boat. Hence, the establishment of the high school nearby extended the time that the children could stay with their family. Before its establishment, all children had to leave the islands as soon as they completed their primary school education. This implies that the school minimized the separation of some children from their family in their early childhood. The reality is that when children stay longer with their family, they can have a mastery of their distinct identity, language and culture. Once imprinted in their minds profoundly, they are less likely to forget it even if they separate from their family afterward. On the other hand, children tend to forget everything they acquired from their parents if they leave home in their early childhood. For immature children, the world is their immediate environment; i.e. something which is out of their sight and hearing is out of their mind. When they stop seeing and hearing people speaking their parent language, they forget the language and even its existence right away and adopt the one to which they are exposed in the new setting. On top of this, the establishment of a high school on the islands could open

doors for the children to learn the Zay language at least as a subject since the island-dwellers are homogenous.

One of the issues in language development is that of the writing system. In order for the language to be taught in the school, it must have a written form. Only then can grammars, dictionaries, and teaching materials be developed. A female informant (preparatory school student) aged 17 showed a great motivation to develop orthographic representation for Zay in cooperation with language professionals: "as far as I am a student, I have to develop an alphabet for Zay in cooperation with other language professionals. Just like Amharic, I develop an alphabet by which we write Zay" (Interview XXVII, 26 Nov 2015: Tsedecha Island). Such motivation seems to come from a strong attachment to Zay language as identity marker.

Language scholars and teachers have the responsibility to develop and popularize the language. According to the study participants, there were educated Zay people who could speak this language fluently. For they knew the language well, they could play a pivotal role in developing alphabet for it, collecting words of Zay and preparing dictionaries, as well as publishing different books in Zay language for reading (FGD-1, 09 Nov 2015: Bochessa). In fact, Amharic characters were proposed by the respondents for writing since Zay is genetically related to it. Some literate respondents proved the fact that Zay could be written using Amharic alphabet (e.g., KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town).

Over and above, the teaching and learning materials could be developed by trained and well informed native speakers of the language. The Regional Education Bureau would be required to train the material developers at whatsoever cost in order to enable them to make effective use of local expertise and utilize locally relevant teaching materials. Additionally, it would be expected to provide its support by producing qualified teachers who could teach the language, as well as teach other subjects through it (KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

4.2.5.5 Community-Based Mother Tongue Literacy Education

It was believed that as the delay of government intervention left the language further disintegrated, community-based approaches were a viable alternative to offer a pressing solution. So, community-based mother tongue literacy education was considered necessary to prevent

further shrinkage of the Zay language. The language development program could be created soon after obtaining full consent of the community to be at the center.

The literacy program could mainly focus on adults. However, it might also involve the children (particularly of the mainland children) so as to expose them to an all Zay language environment before they have strongly been impacted by other neighboring dominant languages, such as Afan Oromo. Most of the respondents to in-depth interview showed a great motivation to attend literacy education if it could be made available to them for the reason that they had a considerable interest in reading and writing in their own language.

It is hoped that this mother tongue literacy program could provide the Zay adults and youngsters with easy access to speaking and writing in their own ethnic language. In the course of the program, they could obtain the chance for their oral and literate development; that is, their learning contexts would allow them to draw on oral and literate reception of their language.

However, this community-based mother tongue literacy program required to get the support of the government. With most Zay community members being cash-stricken, community support could be a problem in the absence of government support. In other words, this mother tongue literacy program could not bear fruit if it didn't get the support of the government.

4.2.6 Zay Community Efforts

A language can be safe only if it is protected. A crucial thing to the survival of a language is a daily, informal oral interaction between parents and children. Unless children are raised in an endangered language, it may fully fade away within few generations. Hence, a determined community effort is required for continued existence of an endangered language.

As it has been thoroughly dealt with in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, the Zay language has been in a precarious situation owing to certain detrimental factors working against it. Cognizant of this, the people have been attempting to check further shrinkage of their native language and culture by making efforts that could be possible at community level. At the very outset, they started their campaign by a political means. They formed Yəmaniɲət Committee (Zay Identity Committee) that could run the issue of official ethnic recognition and political representation in the House of People's Representatives. The most important reason for raising the question of official ethnic

recognition was that the Zay had unique language, culture and history that would deserve protection:

> We have a separate language of our own. Just like a language of wider community, the Zay language varies from island to island (i.e. it has dialectal variation). . . . For example . . . ee . . . it has a feature of stress on the two south west islands (Galila and Debre Sina). It is a little closer to Silt'e. While singing a song, it becomes faster on the last island (Gelila). . . . We have also a unique culture. For example, the funeral services are different from other ethnic groups. . . . There is an interesting dirge in Zay culture. Even a distinct dirge is performed for male and female (married and unmarried), young, adult, elder, and hero/heroine during funeral services. . . . Females and males also have their own distinct dirge in Zay culture. So a funeral song itself has divisions. . . . During wedding, for example, zɔjra can never be missed. It is a practice in which children born in the same year come to the home of a groom and make a promise for lasting friendliness and solidarity. . . . Because we have many things, we felt as if we were swallowing many nations: Amhara, Oromo, Tigre, Gurage and Silt'e. All our culture expresses these nations. Losing these things harms not only us, but also the country at large. So our concern is not only about the extinction of the history of our simple community, but also about the disappearance of the history of many nations, and the history of Christianity. Hmm . . . So, it is these things that mainly motivate us to raise the question of recognition. … If we become successful, it is for a country; it is not for simple authority or position. If it is not successful, it is the body on a position that is accountable. We are working in this spirit (KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town).

The major objective of the Identity Committee was to help the Zay extricate from their economic and social problems, thereby preserving their distinctive language and culture. It is thought that this objective could be realized only when the people were ethnically recognized and politically represented. With recognition and political representation, the people would have funds and projects that could help them in solving their economic and social problems which in turn could contribute to the maintenance of their unique language and culture. With this end in view, they applied to the Oromia Regional Government and the Federal Government, as well as the House of Federation for ethnic recognition and political representation although no response has been forwarded. The struggle has actually continued unabated hitherto (KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town).

Hand in hand with running the issue of recognition and political representation, members of the Identity Committee were engaged in other important activity- awareness raising campaign. There

were representatives from Zay Identity Committee who assigned to do this activity in places where Zay people lived. The residence of Grand Identity Committee was Zway. But in each place, there was sub-committee consisting of at least nine members. The members tried to enlighten the people in each *Kebele* about the necessity of maintaining their precious language and encourage them to develop a strong ethnic identity feeling. KI-3 (17 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) explained the fact that the language was vibrant on the islands where children learnt it as a mother tongue. The problem mainly existed on the mainland villages and towns. The people of Bochessa, Herera, Makedella, Zway and Meki had at least a grandfather/mother, an uncle/aunt, and perhaps mother/father on the islands, for which they contacted the inhabitants on a regular basis. Hence, the committee provided the mainland residents with incessant advisory services so that they would take advantage of their relationship with the islanders to learn and develop their ethnic language. What is more, the committee made an effort to get the Zay culture and traditions documented and displayed in media for public. The Culture and Tourism Bureau of the Federal Government helped them with this activity:

> A documentary film was produced by Culture and Tourism Bureau at federal level. Umm . . . It has helped us a lot for our question because it disclosed the fact about the language and culture that we claim to be officially recognized. That documentary film was repeatedly televised based on our preference for days of transmission. . . . It was repeatedly transmitted on Saturday and Tuesday when many people came from rural areas to town for market. . . . We did this so as to rekindle the interest of the people, particularly those who have already forgotten the language and culture of the Zay. Accordingly, many people came to Zway Town and watched the documentary film; . . . So the plan was culminated in success (KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town).

Participants of FGD-9 (15 Jan. 2017: Tsedecha Island) also discussed on the nascent efforts made by the committee members. As far as they lived in the society, they were making an effort to encourage the people to use their own native language in all their settlement areas for interaction. Most of all, they created a platform for the people, especially those who required linguistic awareness, to converse with each other about the importance of maintaining their ethnic language and culture. KI-3 (17 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) added that members of the Identity Committee encouraged talented individuals from their ethnic group to produce cultural songs in Zay language. They also motivated the parents to make a personal effort by teaching the

language to their children at home in the same way that they taught the surrounding majority language.

The effort seemed to be bearing fruit because a positive outcome was observed as a consequence of the awareness raising campaign made thus far. For example, the questions which were not raised before have been raised after that in Bochessa- where change in language was considered to be mostly happening because of the frequent contact with the Oromo, the education system and expansion of inter-ethnic marriage. "Why don't we learn in our language? Why is our language not used in administration and media? Why is our language not reduced to writing?" have been the most frequently raised questions. The people also seemed to be motivated to teach Zay to their children and protect their culture (KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town). One of the informants described his own practice: "I am speaking to my children in Zay language at home. They are learning Zayña as mother tongue in their early childhood. I also name my children in Zay. . . . I am doing this in order that they know their ethnic language, culture as well as history, and ultimately develop a sense of pride in their being Zay" (KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town). FGD-11 (23 Jan. 2017: Tullu Guddo Island) further noted the fact that they made every effort to keep their language and culture from being adulterated. The culture of wedding, mourning, meskel celebration, etc. seemed to merge with Oromo culture:

> For example, some mainland Zay come with a marriage tradition of outsiders. While they come with the outside culture, we prohibit them; we even quarrel with them, saying: "Why do you do this? Don't we have our own culture? How could it be this way?" . . . This is because if we pass it with silence today, it goes on spoiling and in long run fades away. . . . So, be it at family or community level, we often confer about the necessity of protecting and transmitting the culture and language to our children just like our fathers handed over to us.

The other practical actions were dictionary preparation, documentation of cultural traditions and production of cultural songs in the Zay language. As regards dictionary writing, KI-1 (4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town) described the fact that individuals were assigned to collect words from each Zay settlement area. Just like a language of wider community, the respondent asserted that the Zay language varies from island to island (i.e. it has dialectal variation). Thus, individuals who took charge of this activity collected the words from all inhabited islands and handed over to a man called Tariku- resident of Addis Ababa. This man was said to have taken full charge of writing a dictionary in Zay language being supported by educated youngsters who had a good

command of the language. Additionally, some Zay-born teachers were engaged in this activity individually. They collected words of Zay on their own so as to compile them to a dictionary. KI-1 (4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town) once again reported that they made an attempt to glean some expressions like jokes, proverbs, wise sayings, sarcastic speech, etc. They were gathering these linguistic expressions from senior citizens so that they would prepare them in a text form for readers. Likewise, the cultural traditions of Zay were being written down. "Now, for example, I am personally writing the cultural traditions of Zay (i.e. wedding, mourning, meskel celebration, etc.) in its language using the Sabian script [alphabet] because something kept in text is acquired while the one in memory is forgotten" (KI-1, 4 Dec. 2016: Zway Town). Furthermore, all important materials which have connection to their culture and history were collected and kept where they could easily be accessible to tourists. For instance, they collected costumes- different knitted cultural clothes of Zay and kept them properly as they could be useful for tourism. (KI-3, 17 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

What was even more interesting is that the Zay language was used in artistic work in an attempt to enhance its prestige in the community. One of the informants explained his personal efforts as follow:

> . . . Now for example, I am a descendant of this ethnic group. I produced a song in the Zay language. In fact, I released a single song. However, I want to extend it to a complete album. To this end, I am working right now with particular focus to incorporate 1000 words of Zay in the production of the Album. Later, those 1000 words will be developed to a Zay-Oromo dictionary. . . . By getting these words changed into dictionary, I will put it where children can easily find, for example, public library if established, hmm . . . or school if Zay-medium school will be opened. The reason why I do this is that to make the youngsters, particularly the ones who are not able to speak the language attracted to the language and to help them at least learn the meanings of the words used in the song at ease. . . . Now I have collected a number of Zay words. The production of the song has also reached half an album. . . . I am certain that I can show if there is anybody who wants to see it (KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

The respondent stated that he did not want a penny in return for producing music in Zay. He has been doing this with the hope that one day the government may intervene and help the people develop the language and culture, being instigated by the community efforts. Besides, the youth could be turned on more when they saw their language being used in the music industry; this

means, the teenagers could be attracted to the language because they would much more likely to think it is useful. This seems to be quite convincing for the reason that whatever effort can be made to promote the language, it may not work out if the teenagers, the parents of the next generation, are not attracted to the language. Apart from this, the informant reported that he wanted to express his emotion through singing in the language. At this juncture, it is essential to cite the message this musician conveyed to all Zay people in the last lines of his previous song (both in Zay and Oromo languages):

> **ለዛይ ተወለዴኛ፤ ለሃለ·ሚ ለሀ·ለ·ሙ·፤ አባቦአይ አያዩአይ፤ የተማሩሜዪ የቻለ·ሜዪ·፤ ሃለንኖም ላንቅኖ የዛይ አፍ ላክትርኖ፡፡** Dhalattoota Zaayii taataniif hundaafuu, abbootiifii haadhotiif, Afaan Zaayii haaguddifnu haa'eegnu. [Its equivalent English version is] To all of you who are Zay descendants, to fathers and mothers, let us develop and protect the Zay language.

The singer made a call for all Zay living in different corners of Ethiopia to promote their language. The message is likely to reach the people who are interested in listening to the music. Indeed, no one hates to listen to one's own ethnic song. The content of the song itself is touchy in that a pitiful lamentation about the history, culture and language of the islanders is heard throughout it. Hence, this can stimulate people's interest in doing everything in their power to rescue their flagging language.

The other vital theme to take a closer look is that as there was no response to Zay's application for official ethnic recognition, thereby benefiting from opportunities available to the recognized Ethiopian ethnic groups, the people tried to help themselves by creating a self-help association: Zay Development Association (ZDA). According to KI-5 (20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town), they established this development association with the belief that a better change would come for Zay ethnic group if its own descendants worked for it:

> Hmm…we have fallen far behind in development while waiting for the government. Since OPDO started administering our region in the current regime, this ethnic group has not got any support as Ethiopian. This is sure. You can go and see. As a community, what does it have? Does it have health center? Does it have clean drinking water? Does it have schooling in its own language? Who is administering it? If you see these things, they are missing in Zay context. There is nothing at all. . . What it means, in general, because these people had not got anything from government, this development association was established in order to pave a way for the people to help themselves.

The ZDA was established with the aim of helping the people solve their basic problems, such as economic, social, cultural and linguistic troubles in their traditional territory. The members of the ZDA range from old to young men who live in cities (Addis Ababa, Adama, Zway, Meki, etc.), lake shore villages (Bochessa, Makedella and Herera) and on islands (Tullu Guddo, Tsedecha and Fundurro). They first asked the local administration for authorization of the association, and accordingly they got full consent of the government. Based on the work permission, they sought for donors. Members of the development association as well raised funds according to their means on monthly basis. They met monthly to collect dues as well as to talk about other issues relevant to the Zay community (KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town). The Catholic Church and the affluent descendants of the Zay ethnic group were the principal donors of the association (KI-5, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

With the monthly dues and money obtained from the aforesaid donors, ZDA accomplished various activities thus far. First of all, it gave advisory services for the people so that they would maintain their language, culture and history. To put it another way, the members of the association tried to instill a sense of pride into the people in their being Zay, thereby motivating them to learn and use their language in everyday social interaction just like other dominant languages. "While coming, they say to us 'let us join hands; we remained being dispersed because of a livelihood. Now, let us protect our language, culture and history by working hard'" (FGD-11, 23 Jan 2017: Tullu Guddo Island). Second, it built a tap water in different settlement areas so that the people could get clean drinking water. In this instance, KI-4 (20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town) confirmed "Today our people do not drink lake water; the Zay were mostly harmed by Bilharzias disease because Lake Zway has Bilharzias-causing pathogen. We have made our people free from that. This is one relief for me." Third, it established a clinic on Tullu Guddo Island so as to help the people get access to medical services nearby at least for mild ailment. Fourth, it bought a motorboat and gave to the islanders in order to ease their water transportation problem. Apart from this, ZDA planted tree seedlings on the islands and lakeshore village, such as Herera Mendoyu, though the seedlings withered for want of water. It also helped the churches on the islands with money for their maintenance.

However, in spite of its exceptional role in helping the Zay community, ZDA has currently been coming to an end due to government's reluctance to renew its license. That is to say although it

started working with full consent of the local administration at the outset, renewal of its work license has presently been blocked. One of the members and the chairperson of the association explained the situation in what follows:

> ZDA could do more but now it is about to stop because of the fact that the *Woreda* administrative office has not been willing to renew the work license of the association. . . . When asked why we are prohibited from serving our people and that development does not discriminate ethnic group, the persons in authority said "you are not allowed to form a development association of your own as far as you are not recognized as a distinct ethnic group with identifiable administrative boundary" (KI-3, 17 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

The question is why is it? How could one interdict community service? It is important to note that although the projects of the ZDA mainly benefited the Zay, particularly those on the islands, members of other ethnic group were also the beneficiaries of the outcome. For instance, clean drinking water was made available to lakeshore dwellers where the Zay lived with the Oromo. The users were not only the Zay people but also the Oromo. Therefore, discontinuation of the association would harm both ethnic groups (KI-4, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

The repercussion of banning the association has currently been noticeable. ZDA planted tree seedlings on the islands and lake shore village- Herera to make the environment green. The tree seedlings were, however, not able to grow owing to lack of water. Since there was a shortage of rain, the seedlings had to be watered. Nonetheless, there was no water pump purchased and handed over to the people. This happened due to financial limitation as the work license of the ZDA was suspended:

> For example, yesterday (19 Dec. 2016), I spent the day in Herera on business. It is the place where the Zay live with Oromo people. All the seedlings planted there have withered. If the license is renewed, we can get funds for purchasing motor pump because there are people for whom God provided a wealth without limit; there are wealthy people who say "where shall we invest our money". But how shall we ask such individuals and aid organizations for funds in the absence of formal authorization of the Development Association? Even if we ask, the donors could be afraid of helping the association as long as its license has not been renewed by the government (KI-5, 20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town).

A possible explanation for this result might be that the absence of official ethnic recognition became a bottleneck to ZDA to sustain its developmental activities. Although the ZDA tried to

help the people solve their economic and social problems as well as protect their identity through preservation of the language and culture, it has currently been stopped by the local authorities. It seems that any organization set up in the name of Zay community could not be entertained. This is further evidenced in the statement put by KI-4 (20 Dec. 2016: Meki Town):

> Let me put you a big issue. One day my friend and me went to the *Woreda* Culture and Tourism Bureau and asked for permission to form a Zay music band. They then asked us saying "does this ethnic group have recognition?" We replied 'No'. Then they said to us "go to your home." . . . The primary impact of lack of recognition is this one. Go to administrative office! It is said "what is available from above?" It is empty; there is nothing from above. . . . This is the existing reality. . . . I like the way the constitution was put on the paper, but in practice, I dislike its partiality to one ethnic group over the other. . . .Our ethnic group is not inferior to Oromo, Amharas, and Tigre in anything but number. If you take the language and culture, ours is equal to all theirs.

The above excerpt also indicates the fact that official recognition is an issue to be dealt with seriously before anything else. Put differently, the community effort to protect its language and culture has been becoming impotent because of the absence of official recognition. It is apparent that community actions, such as establishment of self-help association, formation of cultural center, etc. require authorization by the government. Such authorization can in turn be effective when the people are officially recognized as a distinct ethnic group. Hence, it appears that getting ethnic recognition would ease the problems that the Zay may possibly confront on their way to reverse language shift.

4.3 Presentation of Results from Quantitative Data

The data gathered through questionnaire were analyzed and discussed by employing statistical tools. The quantitative data gathered from 300 ethnically Zay informants were analyzed by using frequencies and percentages. Besides, cross-tabulation was employed to explore the respondents' attitudes towards their language. It was also used to determine if there were statistically significant differences between the responses of the three age groups, such as the young, adult and elderly.

4.3.1 Demographic Information

Demographic data of the respondents were collected. The distribution of the sample across each age category, such as young (15-30), adult (31-50) and elderly (51-85+) was even. 100 young, 100 adult and 100 elderly respondents were included in the sample. The researcher also tried to draw an equal number of informants from the two sexual categories: male and female (50% each). Besides, he made an attempt to diversify his sample in the best possible way according to the residential area of the subject, that is, proportional number of respondents was selected from people living on mainland (52%) and islands (48%) so as to represent the Zay ethnic group reasonably. The other information collected was about their level of education and the language they first learned at home. Most of the respondents (44%) attended primary education. While 26% of the respondent had no formal education, 21% of them learned up to secondary education. Only 9% of the respondents reached tertiary education level. As regards first language learned at home, the majority (65%) of the respondents indicated Zay as their mother tongue, while 32% of them reported learning Afan Oromo, and a further 3% said that they learnt Amharic as their first language, though they are ethnically Zay (See Appendix V).

4.3.2 Extra-Linguistic Factors

This subheading has meant to rate the research participants' level of agreement or disagreement with statements designed on non-linguistic factors that have been considered to play a role in language endangerment. Frequencies and percentages were used to find out the level of agreement or disagreement of the respondents with the statements.

Table 11: Distribution of responses to item 1

There is implicit encouragement of shift from Zay to regional state language	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	134	44.7
Agree	120	40.0
Undecided	21	7.0
Disagree	11	3.7
Strongly disagree	14	4.6
Total	300	100.0

As can be seen from table 11 above, 44.7% of the respondents strongly agreed that there was an implicit encouragement to make the Zay people shift to the regional state language, with a further 40% agreed with this statement. However, only 3.7% and 4.6% responded 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' respectively, while 7% of the respondents took a neutral position. Overall, while the majority (84.7%) showed their agreement, the minority (8.3%) disagreed. But only 7% of the total respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with this statement. As the respondents clearly put in the qualitative section of the questionnaire, their language was not given any role to function in any public domains. This seemed to be done with the belief that the Zay people would gradually relinquish their mother tongue with desperation when they lost it functioning in any formal domains. That means there were no meaningful public activities taking place in the Zay language. For instance, education was not given in it, or no public services presented through it. These situations could make the people shift to regional language. Informants argued that the fact that the Zay language was not officially recognized and consequently made not to appear in public domains was an indication of encouraging these language speakers to make shift to other language. Their responses seem to be parallel to the saying: "don't say to him go, but make him go".

Table 12: Distribution of responses to item 2

The absence of Zay language in administrative services provision has diminished its chances of long term survival	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	139	46.3
Agree	114	38.0
Undecided	18	6.0
Disagree	20	6.7
Strongly disagree	9	3.0
Total	300	100.0

Table 12 reveals the fact that the majority showed their agreement with the statement: while 46.3% of the respondents agreed strongly, 38% agreed with this statement, though not strongly. Only 6.7% and 3% of the respondents said 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' respectively in reaction to the statement. The remaining 6% of the informants indicated that they were not able to decide whether the absence of role assigned to Zay language in administration influenced the vitality of the language negatively or not. In general, when the percentages of respondents reacting to the statement positively and negatively are considered, the former is much greater than the latter. The vast majority agreed that the absence of Zay in administrative services provision has weakened its vitality. For more clarification, respondents asked to explain their responses. Accordingly, they revealed that a person could not get acceptance unless he/she spoke the regional administrative language. For this reason, they were forced to adopt the language of other ethnic group by abandoning what was theirs, and in consequence the Zay language has come diminishing. On the other hand, they noted that if Zay was used as one of the working languages of administration, its speakers would develop positive image of it, thereby using it in other public domains with a great sense of equality with majority language speakers. In other words, they believed that if Zay was used in administration, there would be a possibility to be employed in other domains as well.

Table 13: Distribution of responses to item 3

The nonuse of Zay in education has considerably contributed to its present endangered status	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	148	49.3
Agree	119	39.7
Undecided	12	4.0
Disagree	15	5.0
Strongly disagree	6	2.0
Total	300	100.0

As one can see in table 13 above, the impact of education on Zay language was obvious and undisputable: 49.3% and 39.7% of the informants answered 'strongly agree' and 'agree' with the statement respectively. While 5% disagreed, only 2% disagreed strongly with the statement. The percentage of respondents who preferred to take a neutral position amounted to 4%. Generally, the overwhelming majority of the respondents (89%) reported that their language came to the present precarious situation owing to its non-existent in school environment. This means that the absence of schooling in Zay or teaching Zay to children in school has left the language in jeopardy. The fact that the children did not learn Zay in school exerted a heavy pressure on the language because they favored the school language with the perceived belief that it was much more powerful for upward economic and social mobility than their ethnic heritage language whose functional role was restricted to home.

Table 14: Distribution of responses to item 4

The expansion of the Zay to other places for economic wellness made them fail to maintain the vitality of their language over time	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	144	48.0
Agree	129	43.0
Disagree	18	6.0
Strongly disagree	9	3.0
Total	300	100.0

As it is indicated in table 14, the majority informants (48%) strongly agreed that the relocation of the people for economic motive engendered the Zay language to lose many of its potential speakers. Equally important portion (43%) of the respondents showed their agreement with the statement, though not strongly. Taken together, 91% reported to agree that the economic status of the Zay has contributed to the endangerment of their language. Respondents who said 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' were not statistically significant (i.e. while 6% simply disagreed, the remaining 3% strongly disagreed with the statement). Respondents presented their justifications for what they said. They believed that the regular contact of the Zay with Oromo people weakened their language for the reason that they were supposed to use Afan Oromo in the new milieu more often than not. Since they intermingled with Oromo people after they left the islands, majority of the new generation was attracted to the new language- Afan Oromo- owing to its vital role in different domains, and this posed additional threat to the Zay language.

Table 15: Distribution of responses to item 5

The fact that our language has not been reduced to written form affected its vitality profoundly	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	141	47.0
Agree	123	41.0
Undecided	18	6.0
Disagree	15	5.0
Strongly disagree	3	1.0
Total	300	100.0

According to the information shown in the above table, 47% of the respondents reported to agree strongly, while 41% agreed with the statement. Aggregately, 88% of the research participants showed their agreement. On the other hand, while 5% of the respondents disagreed with the view that the vitality of the Zay language has been profoundly affected because of lack of written form, only 1% disagreed strongly with this statement. When asked for clarification, they responded that orthographic representation was very crucial to weaken or promote a language. If Zay had an alphabet, different written materials would be developed in it. Accordingly, it could be preserved in different recordings or in the form of books and dictionaries. If this was so, the generation would have ample opportunity to find and read the materials developed in Zay, but

now the reverse happened. The absence of written form, consequently written materials developed in it, gave rise to the downward spiral of the Zay language.

Table 16: Distribution of responses to item 6

The absence of official recognition caused the Zay language to recede profoundly	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	150	50.0
Agree	138	46.0
Undecided	12	4.0
Total	300	100.0

When asked their degree of agreement or disagreement with the above statement (table 16), 50% of the respondents answered 'strongly agree' while 46% responded 'agree only'. Although 4% of the informants remained neutral, none reacted against the statement. Over all, the overwhelming majority (96%) agreed the fact that the Zay language went downhill on account of the absence of linguistic recognition. Respondents believed that lack of recognition caused the language not to function in various social, political and economic domains. As one of the participants put, the Zay language was excluded from social services provision domains, such as school, clinic, market, hotel, restaurant, etc. for the reason that it had no recognition. This in turn made its speakers hold it in low regard. In all, not recognizing the Zay language and its speakers prompted a negative impact on the way the people viewed their language.

Table 17: Distribution of responses to item 7

The inter-marriage between the Zay and Oromo gave rise to a reduction of Zay speakers as mother tongue	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	121	40.3
Agree	133	44.3
Undecided	12	4.0
Disagree	20	6.7
Strongly disagree	14	4.7
Total	300	100.0

As table 17 shows, 40.3% of the informants strongly agreed that the inter-marriage between the Zay and Oromo people led to a fragmentation of the Zay language speakers. A significant

number (44.3%) of the respondents also showed their agreement with the statement, though not strongly. In general, 84.3% of the total reported to agree that the marriage between Zay and Oromo people contributed to the endangerment of the Zay language. The percentages of respondents who claimed to 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' with the statement were 6.7% and 4.7% respectively, while only 4% answered 'undecided'. The informants argued that integration of the Zay with Oromo people through marriage had adverse effect on their language. They stated the fact that Children born to the mixed marriage grew up speaking Afan Oromo, the primary language of their non-Zay parent, because of its wider presence in all public domains. Therefore, though the Zay-parents maintained their allegiance to their ethnic language, the newborn attached an increased importance to Afan Oromo as a language of identity marker and survival. This in turn resulted in shrinkage of mother tongue speakers of Zay.

Table 18: Distribution of responses to item 8

The adoption of Zay children by Oromo parents contributed to the decline of Zay speakers as mother tongue	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	90	30.0
Agree	104	34.7
Undecided	28	9.3
Disagree	57	19.0
Strongly disagree	21	7.0
Total	300	100.0

As the responses to this item reveal, 30% and 34.7% of the informants answered 'strongly agree' and 'agree' with this statement respectively. On the other hand, while 19% disagreed, 7% strongly disagreed with the statement. The percentage of respondents that neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement was 9.3%. In the main, the majority of the respondents (64.7%) reported that the adoption of Zay-born children by Oromo parents contributed its part to the current shaky state of the Zay language. The justification of the respondents was that as children were adopted at their early age, they would completely be immersed in the language of their adoptive parents. The adopted children and their successive generations learnt the language of their non-Zay parents at the expense of their ethnic language. The ultimate consequence of this was a decline of mother tongue speakers of Zay. Therefore, based on the data sourced from the

participants, it is logical to conclude that the adoption process of the Oromo was one of the key factors responsible for the endangerment of Zay language.

4.3.3 Language Attitudes

This subsection has presented the attitudes of the Zay people towards their language. Cross-tabulation was employed to identify the attitudes that the informants held of their ancestral language. The Chi-Square test was computed to determine if there were statistically significant differences between the attitudinal responses of the young, adult and elderly age cohorts, as well as the two sexual categories: male and female. In addition, the effect size - a measure of the strength of the independent variables' effect (age and sex) on the dependent variables (language attitudes) - was calculated.

Table 19a: Distribution of responses to attitudinal item 1 by age category

		Age of the Respondent			Total
		Young (15-30)	Adult (31-50)	Elderly(51-85+)	
Zay is incapable of handling modern science and technology	Strongly disagree	27	25	28	80
	Disagree	26	35	45	106
	Undecided	5	14	10	29
	Agree	23	14	10	47
	Strongly agree	19	12	7	38
Total		100	100	100	300

Chi-Square=20.892, *df*=8, *Sig.* =.007, *Phi*=.264

As it can be seen from the above table, the distribution of responses to the statement was not even. While 27 young, 25 adult and 28 elderly respondents disagreed strongly, 26 young, 35 adult and 45 elderly disagreed with the statement. On the other hand, 23 of the young, 14 of the adult and 10 of the elderly respondents reported to agree, and further 29 young, 12 adult and 7 elderly informants said to agree with the above statement strongly. The number of respondents who reacted to the item without taking sides was 19 (5 young, 4 adult and 10 elderly). In general, of the total 300 respondents, 53 young, 60 adult and 73 elderly disagreed while 42 young, 26 adult and 17 elderly informants agreed with the statement. With a glimpse of the figures, one can see the difference. But the question is whether the difference among the responses of the three age groups is statistically significant or not. The default probability value that is usually used to say that a difference is statistically significant is less than 0.05. Thus, the p-value for table 19a is

.007, which shows the fact that the difference was statistically significant. In other words, a significant difference was found in the responses of the young, adult and elderly to the item mentioned in the table above (chi-square=20.892, *df*=8, *Sig.* =.007).

However, this information doesn't show how strong the relationship between the variables is. Thus, a measure of effect size, statistically called 'Phi' was calculated. Consequently, the Phi analysis score was 0.264, which indicates the fact that the relationship between the variables is modest. From these statistical figures, one can logically say that age had statistically significant effect on the informants' responses to the above-mentioned statement though its effect size was not that big. It seems that the elderly respondents were more likely to count on their language than other age groups for handling modern science and technology if it would be promoted. The fact that the young showed less confident about their ethnic language' capability of handling modern science and technology may bode badly for the future of the Zay language.

Table 19b: Distribution of responses to attitudinal item 1 by Sex category

		Sex of the Respondents		Total
		Male	Female	
Zay is incapable of handling modern science and technology	Strongly disagree	35	45	80
	Disagree	56	50	106
	Undecided	15	14	29
	Agree	23	24	47
	Strongly agree	21	17	38
Total		150	150	300

Chi-Square=2.066, *df*=4, *Sig.* =.724, *Phi*=.083

As table 19b shows, 35 males and 45 females strongly disagreed, which would suggest that females were more likely and males were less likely to disagree strongly with the statement. On the other hand, 56 of the male and 50 of the female respondents disagreed, so that would imply that males were a little more likely to disagree with the statement than female respondents. On the aggregate, the overwhelming majority of both male (91) and female (95) informants reported to disagree with this statement. However, while 23 of the male and 24 of the female respondents agreed, 21 males 17 females agreed strongly with the statement. The data reveal that both male and female informants were more likely to respond positively to the item though there was a slight difference in their responses which was not statistically significant (Sig. = 0.724, which is much greater than 0.05, the commonly accepted cut-off point). The effect size of the relationship

is also weak at phi=0.083. From this it can be concluded that sex, unlike age, was not statistically significant factor in the responses to item 1.

Table 20a: Distribution of responses to attitudinal item 2 by age category

		Age of the Respondent			Total
		Young (15-30)	Adult (31-50)	Elderly(51-85+)	
Knowledge of Zay hampers my ability to speak the federal and regional languages	Strongly disagree	32	38	51	121
	Disagree	28	36	32	96
	Undecided	1	3	4	8
	Agree	21	14	9	44
	Strongly agree	18	9	4	31
Total		100	100	100	300

Chi-Square=22.124, df=8, *Sig.* =.005, *Phi*=.272

As shown in table 20a, respondents under 30-year-old were the most likely to agree with the statement and those above 51 was the most unlikely to agree with it. However, though there is a difference in their responses, majority of all age categories showed their disagreement with the statement. For instance, 32 of the young, 38 of the middle-aged and 51 of the elderly respondents reported to disagree strongly while 28 young, 36 adult and 32 elderly indicated to disagree with the statement. On the whole, 60 young, 74 adult and 83 elderly respondents reacted to the item positively. On the other hand, 39 young, 23 adult and 13 elderly responded to the statement negatively. The difference in responses to item 2 across the age categories was once again statistically significant, with significance level analysis score of 0.005. The strength of the relationship between the variables was modest (Phi analysis score= 0.272).

Table 20b: Distribution of responses to attitudinal item 2 by sex category

		Sex of the Respondent		Total
		Male	Female	
Knowledge of Zay hampers my ability to speak the federal and regional languages	Strongly disagree	58	63	121
	Disagree	55	41	96
	Undecided	3	5	8
	Agree	17	27	44
	Strongly agree	17	14	31
Total		150	150	300

Chi-Square=5.311, *df*=4, *Sig.* =.257, *Phi*=.133

As it can be seen from table 20b above, the majority of the respondents of both sexual categories (58 males and 63 females) disagreed strongly, and further 55 males and 41 females disagreed with the statement. On the other hand, while 17 of the male and 27 of the female respondents said to agree, 17 males and 14 females reported to agree strongly with this statement. Aggregately, the vast majority (113 male respondents and 104 female respondents) showed their disagreement whereas some respondents (34 males and 41 females of the total 300 participants) indicated their agreement with the statement. These data indicate that there was no noticeable difference between the responses of male and female informants. In other words, Sex had no statistically significant effect on informants' answers to this item since a Sig. analysis score was 0.257 with an effect size of 0.133, which is statistically deemed weak. When asked for more clarifications, respondents stated that their language could not be a hindrance for them to learn other languages. They reported that they could learn a number of languages at a time with good fluency for the reason that knowledge of their ethnic language would rather make the learning of other languages easier.

Table 21a: Distribution of responses to attitudinal item 3 by age category

		Age of the Respondent			Total
		Young (15-30)	Adult (31-50)	Elderly (51-85+)	
Speaking Zay is an important part of Zay identity	Strongly disagree	6	2	3	11
	Disagree	12	13	9	34
	Agree	31	37	31	99
	Strongly agree	51	48	57	156
Total		100	100	100	300

Chi-Square=4.663, df=6, *Sig.* =.588, *Phi*=.125

Table 21a above shows that the majority of all age groups (51 young, 48 adult and 57 elderly informants) replied 'strongly agree', and further 31 young, 37 adult and 31 elderly answered 'agree only'. On the contrary, 6 young, 2 adult and 3 elderly respondents showed strong disagreement while the other 12 young, 13 adult and 9 elderly informants disagreed with the above statement. On the whole, 82 of the young, 85 of the adult and 88 of the elderly respondents agreed with the statement. On the other hand, 18 young, 15 adult and 12 elderly informants disagreed with the view that speaking Zay was an important part of Zay identity. The data would suggest that all the young, adult and elderly age participants were more likely to

agree with the statement. Thus, no significant difference was observable in the responses of all age cohorts to the item stated in table 21a above; that means the difference was statistically insignificant at Sig=0.588 and Phi=0.125 (i.e. the effect size measure denotes weak association between the independent and dependent variables).

Table 21b: Distribution of responses to attitudinal item 3 by sex category

		Sex of the Respondent		Total
		Male	Female	
Speaking Zay is an important part of Zay identity	Strongly disagree	5	6	11
	Disagree	17	17	34
	Agree	46	53	99
	Strongly agree	82	74	156
Total		150	150	300

Chi-Square=.996, df=3, *Sig.* =.802, *Phi*=.058

According to the information revealed in table 21b above, the great majority of both male (82) and female (74) respondents strongly agreed that speaking Zay was an important part of Zay identity. Equally important was the number of respondents who answered 'agree only' (46 males and 53 females). Only 5 males and 6 females reported to disagree strongly while the same number (17 from each category) said to disagree with the statement. The numerical figures clearly tells that the difference between males and females' responses to the item was not statistically significant as the significant level analysis score is .802, which is much greater than the default value: 0.05. The effect size of the relationship was also very weak since Phi analysis score is .058. This statistical analysis reveals that both males and females have still been emotionally attached to their language.

Table 22a: Distribution of responses to attitudinal item 4 by age category

		Age of the Respondent			Total
		Young (15-30)	Adult (31-50)	Elderly(51-85+)	
I feel strongly embarrassed if I find myself unable to speak Zay	Strongly disagree	21	5	3	29
	Disagree	18	9	8	35
	Undecided	1	1	1	3
	Agree	28	34	28	90
	Strongly agree	32	51	60	143
Total		100	100	100	300

Chi-Square=34.711, df=8, *Sig.* =.000, *Phi*=.340

As it can be seen from the above table, the young respondents (32) were less likely to agree strongly with the statement than the adult (51) and the elderly (60) respondents. However, the number of young respondents who said 'agree' was the same as to that of elderly respondents (28 each) while the adult was slightly higher (32). When it comes to respondents disagreeing with the statement, the young (21) were more likely to disagree strongly than the adult (5) and elderly (3); this means that while the young were more likely to disagree strongly, the adult and the elderly were much less likely to disagree strongly with this statement. Similarly, the number of young respondents who opted 'disagree' was greater than the rest age cohorts: while 18 young reported to disagree, only 9 adult and 8 elderly asserted to disagree with the statement. The difference in responses to item 4 across the age categories was statistically significant (Sig= 0.00), and the strength of the relationship between the variables was moderate (Phi= 0.340). Based on this statistical information, one can say that the adult and the elderly had strong allegiance to their mother tongue than the young group. As the youngsters put the explanation for their responses, not speaking one's own language was not embarrassing because this behavior is normal to happen to anybody when they may be away from their family or community for different reasons. They believed that the sense of who they are still remained the same even if they were not able to speak the language.

Table 22b: Distribution of responses to attitudinal item 4 by sex category

		Sex of the Respondent		Total
		Male	Female	
I feel strongly embarrassed if I find myself unable to speak Zay	Strongly disagree	12	17	29
	Disagree	19	16	35
	Undecided	1	2	3
	Agree	41	49	90
	Strongly agree	77	66	143
Total		150	150	300

Chi-Square=2.893, df=3, *Sig.* =.408, *Phi*=.170

According to the data shown in the table above, 77 males and 66 females strongly agreed that they felt strongly embarrassed if they found themselves unable to speak Zay, and 41 males and 49 females said agreed with this statement. On the other hand, 12 males and 17 females disagreed strongly whereas 19 males and 16 females disagreed, though not strongly, with the

statement. On the whole, 118 males and 115 females reported to agree with the statement while 31 male and 33 female respondents saw this behavior as not embarrassing at all. This implies that there is no significant difference between the responses of males and females to item 4. That is, sex did not have statistically significant effect on informants' responses to this item since the statistical analysis score of significance level is 0.556 and effect size: Phi= 0.100, which is statistically deemed weak. Once again, these findings show strong positive attitudes towards Zay as a symbol of identity.

Table 23a: Distribution of responses to attitudinal item 5 by age category

		Age of the Respondent			Total
		Young (15-30)	Adult (31-50)	Elderly(51-85+)	
Knowledge of Zay does not lead to a better job	Strongly disagree	25	28	38	91
	Disagree	26	31	35	92
	Undecided	3	10	8	21
	Agree	30	23	13	66
	Strongly agree	16	8	6	30
Total		100	100	100	300

Chi-Square=20.332, df=8, *Sig*. =.009, *Phi*=.260

Table 23a denotes that the young were less likely to disagree with this statement than the adult and elderly respondents. While 25 young, 28 adult and 38 elderly disagreed strongly, 26 young, 31 adult and 35 elderly respondents disagreed that knowledge of Zay did not lead to a better job. On the other hand, 30 young, 23 adult and 13 elderly respondents agreed whereas 16 young, 8 adult and 6 elderly respondents agreed strongly with the statement. It is noticeable that responses to this attitudinal item are distinguished significantly by age, although the responses of the young and the adult are slightly less likely to be distinguished significantly. Generally, age had statistically significant effect on informants' responses to the above statement, with Sig. =.009 and Phi=.260 (i.e, the strength of the relationship is modest). Those who were in favor of the statement argued that in a country of many dominant languages, the Zay language could not help its speakers for better economic gains. This is because Zay is a little-known language spoken by a pocket of people living on the islands. So it does not create a better job opportunity for its speakers. On the other hand, those who were against the statement contended that knowledge of Zay language could lead to a better job opportunity provided that it would be recognized and promoted. For example, if Zay gained official status, it would be used for running local

businesses in which a number of local people could be engaged. A 21-year-old woman (Interview XXII, 20 Nov 2015: Meki Town) noted that she could produce music in Zay, which would enable her to get money as well as reputation as a singer among the people of Zay in particular and Ethiopia in general. Of course, this would happen if the Zay language could be reduced to writing and gain official status at least at local level.

Table 23b: Distribution of responses to attitudinal item 5 by sex category

		Sex of the Respondent		Total
		Male	Female	
Knowledge of Zay does not lead to better job	Strongly disagree	40	51	91
	Disagree	51	41	92
	Undecided	10	11	21
	Agree	31	35	66
	Strongly agree	18	12	30
Total		150	150	300

Chi-Square=3.907, df=4, *Sig*. =.419, *Phi*=.114

As can be seen from the table above, 40 males and 51 females disagreed strongly. In the same way, 51 males and 41 females claimed to disagree with the statement. In all, equal proportion of the male (92) and female (91) respondents showed their disagreement with this statement. This would suggest that both males and females were more likely to disagree with the view that knowledge of Zay language could not lead to a better job. On the other hand, 18 males and 12 females agreed strongly while 31 males and 35 females just agreed with the statement. Taken together, 49 of the male and 47 of the female informants were against the statement. Again, almost the same proportion of male and female respondents was likely to agree with the statement. In other words, the responses of male and female informants had no statistically significant difference (Sig. =.419, Phi= .114, which is statistically considered weak).

In conclusion, the statistical analysis reveals that, in most cases, demographic variables, such as age had statistically significant effect on attitudinal responses while sex did not. Age was a statistically significant factor where the under-30s showed a tendency not to respond as positively as the adult and elderly respondents. While the elderly respondents were the most likely to respond positively, the adult were more likely to react positively to the attitudinal items than the young age group. However, even if the young informants were less likely to respond as

positively as other age groups, the number of cases who responded positively to the attitudinal items was greater than those who responded negatively. So the data cannot lead to the conclusion that the young people have fully held their lesser-used language in low regard.

4.3.4 Language Use

This subsection has presented the pattern of language use of the respondents. It has covered language use behaviors at different domains, such as in the family, neighbor or village and other societal domains. Language use in the domain of interior monologue has also been scrutinized. The quantitative data gathered were analyzed by using frequencies and percentages.

Table 24a: Language(s) the young age group most often speaks to members of the family

With grandparents	Frequency	Percent
Zay	53	53.0
Oromo	31	31.0
Amharic	6	6.0
Zay and Oromo	8	8.0
Zay and Amharic	2	2.0
Total	100	100.0
With parents		
Zay	46	46.0
Oromo	38	38.0
Amharic	6	6.0
Zay and Oromo	8	8.0
Zay, Amharic and Oromo	2	2.0
Total	100	100.0
With your brothers and sisters		
Zay	43	43.0
Oromo	39	39.0
Amharic	6	6.0
Zay and Oromo	5	5.0
Zay and Amharic	1	1.0
Amharic and Oromo	4	4.0
Zay, Amharic and Oromo	2	2.0
Total	100	100.0

Table 24a indicates that the under-30 age group was more likely to use the Zay language when addressing grandparents: 53% used mostly Zay, and Afan Oromo was used in 31% of the cases. Only 6% of the respondents reported to use Amharic while talking to grandparents. When one adds the categories Zay and Afan Oromo; Zay and Amharic; Amharic and Afan Oromo, and the combination of the three languages, insignificant number of the young respondents claimed to

use these languages on a relatively equal basis. For example, Zay and Afan Oromo were often used in 8% of the cases, while only 2% of the respondents reported to use Zay and Amharic more often than not.

With parents, the use of Zay moderately declined as compared to its use with grandparents: 46% of the youngsters spoke mainly Zay to their parents. On the other hand, the use of Afan Oromo fairly increased: 38% of the young respondents used mainly Afan Oromo to communicate with their parents, as compared to 31% of Afan Oromo use with their grandparents. The percentage for mainly Amharic use amounted to 6%. When considering the category that encompassed a mixture of the languages, still small proportion of the young mostly used different languages on a relatively equal basis while talking to their parents: 8% used mainly Zay and Afan Oromo, whereas Zay, Afan Oromo and Amharic were used only in 2% of the cases.

Again, when communicating with brothers and sisters, the young were likely to use Zay in slightly higher percentage than Afan Oromo use; i.e. while 43% of the respondents reported using Zay, 39% of them commonly used Afan Oromo when speaking to their brothers and sisters. Only 6% of the respondents reported using Amharic to communicate with their siblings. At the same time, while 5% claimed to mainly use a mixture of Zay and Afan Oromo, only 1% reported using Zay and Amharic. The use of Amharic and Afan Oromo amounted to 4% of the cases, and insignificant percent (2%) reported using Zay, Amharic and Afan Oromo when talking to their brothers and sisters.

In general, at familial level, Zay is still the youngsters' preferred language with their grandparents (53%), parents (46%) and even with siblings (43%). Indeed, the data reveals the fact that its use declined with age; i.e. as the age of the addressee decreased, Zay use also decreased. On the other hand, as one goes from the old to the young age group, s/he can notice an increment in the use of Afan Oromo. This means, a generational use of Afan Oromo was observable from the answers of the young, although the difference was not that big. While their use of Afan Oromo was the highest with their brothers and sisters (39%), it was slightly lower with their parents (38%) and was the lowest with their grandparents (31%). In all cases, however, the percentage for Zay use was greater than the percentage for Afan Oromo use. This is not unexpected given that almost all island-dwellers and some mainland residents mainly used Zay as a home language. Thus, the sum of the percentage for island respondents and that of mainland

dwellers who claimed to use mostly Zay is greater than the percentage for mainland respondents who reported using mainly Afan Oromo while talking to grandparents, parents and siblings.

Table 24b: Language(s) the adult and elderly age groups most often use with members of the family

With spouse	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Zay	103	51.5	51.5
Oromo	64	32.0	32.0
Amharic	8	4.0	4.0
Zay and Oromo	13	6.5	6.5
Zay and Amharic	3	1.5	1.5
Amharic and Oromo	9	4.5	4.5
Total	200	100.0	100.0
With children			
Zay	100	50.0	50.0
Oromo	69	34.5	34.5
Amharic	10	5.0	5.0
Zay and Oromo	15	7.5	7.5
Amharic and Oromo	6	3.0	3.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0
With parents (if there)			
Zay	135	67.5	71.8
Oromo	28	14.0	14.9
Amharic	8	4.0	4.3
Zay and Oromo	12	6.0	6.4
Zay, Amharic and Oromo	5	2.5	2.6
Total	188	94.0	100.0
Missing System	12	6.0	
Total	200	100.0	

As shown in table 24b, Zay seems the favored language for spouses to use between themselves. The adult and elderly use of Zay with children was also high when viewed in light of Afan Oromo use in the family. The data indicate that 51.5% of the adults and elderly respondents were likely to use Zay while speaking to their spouses, whereas 50% used mainly Zay with their children. The use of Zay even became higher with parents of the adults and elderly. Those who had parents alive reported mainly using Zay with their parents in 71.8% of the cases. On the other hand, 32% said that they mostly used Afan Oromo while speaking to their spouses,

whereas 14.9% responded to be mainly using Afan Oromo with their parents. Besides, they reported to use Afan Oromo with their children in 34.5% of the cases, which is relatively less than the percentage of children using Afan Oromo with their parents (38%). To put it in a different way, the adult and elderly respondents used Afan Oromo more often with their children (34.5%) than they did with their spouses (32%), which was much greater than their Afan Oromo use with their parents (14.9%). In fact, as it can be seen from the data, only when speaking to the old generation did the use of Afan Oromo considerably decline. Equally important is that the young reported slightly lower percentage of Zay use when speaking to their parents (46%) than parents talking Zay to them (50%). Alike the young, the use of Amharic by adult and elderly respondents were insignificant. It was mainly used with spouse and children in only 4% and 5% of the cases respectively, and the percentage for mainly Amharic use with old generation (parents of the adult and elderly respondents) was 4.5%.

Once again, the use of a mixture of languages on a relatively equal basis among adult and elderly respondents was not common. With spouse, respondents reported to use a mixture of Zay and Afan Oromo in 6.5% of the cases, whereas 1.5% asserted to use Zay and Amharic, and 4.5% Amharic and Afan Oromo with their spouses. The percentage for mainly Zay and Afan Oromo use with children amounted to 7.5%, while the reported use of Amharic and Afan Oromo with children was only 3%. With parents of the adult and elderly respondents, Zay and Afan Oromo were mainly used in 6.4% of the cases, while a mixture of all Zay, Afan Oromo and Amharic was indicated by 2.6% of the respondents.

Generally, it is obvious that the family domain is always the stronghold of minority languages. Multilingualism often begins and is fostered within the family, and in situations of language endangerment, multilingualism often retreated to the family domain, after it has been displaced from other societal domains. In Zay context, it seems to be logical to say that the family has still been playing a crucial role in protecting the language. The Zay language appears to be used noticeably in the family, as clearly indicated in the results.

Table 25: Language(s) the respondents mostly use in the neighbor or in the village

With elderly	Frequency	Percent
Zay	146	48.7
Oromo	89	29.7
Amharic	21	7.0
Zay and Oromo	28	9.3
Zay and Amharic	4	1.3
Amharic and Oromo	7	2.3
Zay, Amharic and Oromo	5	1.7
Total	300	100.0
With adults		
Zay	121	40.3
Oromo	102	34.0
Amharic	22	7.3
Zay and Oromo	29	9.7
Amharic and Oromo	21	7.0
Zay, Amharic and Oromo	5	1.7
Total	300	100.0
With children		
Zay	119	39.6
Oromo	114	38.0
Amharic	21	7.0
Zay and Oromo	24	8.0
Amharic and Oromo	14	4.7
Zay, Amharic and Oromo	8	2.7
Total	300	100.0
With friends		
Zay	115	38.3
Oromo	98	32.7
Amharic	29	9.7
Zay and Oromo	27	9.0
Zay and Amharic	12	4.0
Amharic and Oromo	15	5.0
Zay, Amharic and Oromo	4	1.3
Total	300	100.0
With administrators of the village		
Zay	53	17.7
Oromo	130	43.3

Amharic	33	11.0
Zay and Oromo	37	12.3
Zay and Amharic	3	1.0
Amharic and Oromo	39	13.0
Zay, Amharic and Oromo	5	1.7
Total	300	100.0
With local police (militia)		
Zay	57	19.0
Oromo	126	42.0
Amharic	40	13.3
Zay and Oromo	35	11.7
Zay and Amharic	4	1.3
Amharic and Oromo	34	11.3
Zay, Amharic and Oromo	4	1.3
Total	300	100.0

Table 25 shows the results for all age cohorts. In the neighbors or villages, informants reported that they mostly addressed an elderly person in Zay in 48.7% of the cases, while 29.7% responded to mainly use Afan Oromo with elderly. 7% of the respondents indicated that they mostly used Amharic while addressing an elderly person. The use of a mixture of languages, such as Zay and Afan Oromo; Zay and Amharic; Afan Oromo and Amharic; Zay, Afan Oromo and Amharic were still considerably low: 9.3% and 1.3% of the respondents reported to use Zay and Afan Oromo; Zay and Amharic respectively when communicating with elderly. Likewise, the use of Amharic and Afan Oromo was indicated by 2.3%, while only 1.7% reported using a mixture of all Zay, Afan Oromo and Amharic in a relatively equal basis.

With adults, the use of Zay declined slightly as compared to its use with elderly: 40.3% of the informants spoke mainly Zay to adult persons in the neighbor or village. On the other hand, the use of Afan Oromo increased to some extent: 34% of the respondents used mainly Afan Oromo while talking to adults, as compared to 29.7% of its use with elderly. Only 7.3% of the respondents reported using Amharic when addressing adults in the neighborhood or village. When it comes to a mixture of languages, 9.7% said to use mostly Zay and Afan Oromo, whereas 7% indicated Amharic and Afan Oromo. A mere 1.7% of the respondents claimed to use Zay, Amharic and Afan Oromo in a commensurate manner while speaking to an adult person.

With children of the neighbor or the village, Zay use almost remained the same while the use of Afan Oromo relatively augmented. The data show that 39.6% of the respondents were likely to use Zay while speaking to children, whereas 38% used mainly Afan Oromo with children in the neighbor or village. Amharic was mostly employed in 7% of the cases, while a mixture of Zay and Afan Oromo; Amharic and Afan Oromo; Zay, Amharic and Afan Oromo were used in 8%, 4.7% and 2.7% of the cases respectively when speaking to children. Generally, among those informants who answered the question, the pattern of language use with children had a slight variation from that with older generations. This is evidenced in the responses of the informants who reported speaking mainly Zay to children in 39.7% of the cases as compared to Zay use with elderly (48.7%) and with adults (40.3%) of the cases. It seems that the older the hearer, the more likely he or she was to be addressed in Zay than in Afan Oromo or Amharic.

As regards friends, the pattern of language use with friends appears to be identical with that of the children. When speaking to friends in the neighbor or village, the use of Zay amounted to 38.3% as compared to Afan Oromo use in 32.7% of the cases. Amharic was indicated with 9.7% of the respondents. The informants' use of a mixture of languages was still low when addressing their friends in the neighbor or village. While 9% indicated a mixture of Zay and Afan Oromo use; Zay and Amharic was reported to be used by 4% of the respondents, with further 5% and 1.3% indicating a frequent use of Afan Oromo and Amharic; Zay, Afan Oromo and Amharic respectively. Taken as a whole, communication once more took place mainly in Zay while talking to friends.

With administrators of the village, the use of Afan Oromo further increased while Zay use noticeably dropped. Respondents asserted to use mostly Afan Oromo in 43.3% of the cases, whereas 17.7% indicated Zay use with administrators of the village. The drop in the use of Zay is not surprising in view of the fact that most of the administrators were from Oromo people. Although there were administrators from Zay people, most of them were mainland dwellers, who have highly been impacted by Afan Oromo. Besides, the people who represented governmental authority were more closely associated with the official domain of Afan Oromo. The reported use of Amharic with administrators has comparatively increased while considering its use with elderly, adults, children and friends. Respondents claimed to use mainly Amharic in 11% of the cases. Equally important is the use of a mixture of Amharic and Afan Oromo languages, which

showed an increment when used with administrative bodies in the village. 13% of the respondents declared that they mainly used Amharic and Afan Oromo while addressing the administrators. The augmentation of Amharic use is also understandable because the Zay people, particularly the islanders who did not speak Afan Oromo well tended to use Amharic with administrators. This is not a mere speculation; it was rather found through an informal talk with the islanders who stated that the people who were not good at Afan Oromo could use Amharic with the belief that administrative officials would feel comfortable when they were addressed in the official language of the country than by the local language like Zay. Other language use patterns that the respondents reported to choose while addressing the administrators of the village were Zay and Afan Oromo (12.3%), Zay and Amharic (1%), and Zay, Afan Oromo and Amharic (1.7%).

When one considers language use with local police (militia), Afan Oromo was still more likely to be used, even if it was slightly lower than its use with administrators. Respondents reported to use Afan Oromo in 42% of the cases, while the reported use of Zay was 19%, which was greater than its use with administrators. The use of Amharic with local police was once again relatively high (13.3%), which may imply that respondents most likely preferred to use official language with government authority. Concerning a mixture of languages, 11.7% said to use mostly Zay and Afan Oromo, whereas 1.3% of the informants stated that they frequently used Zay and Amharic while addressing the local police. Similarly, while the reported use of Afan Oromo and Amharic was 11.3%, a combination of all Zay, Amharic and Afan Oromo was used in only 1.3% of the cases when communicating with the local militia.

Generally, it seems that there is no big difference in the use of Zay and Afan Oromo when addressing adults, children and friends. However, a noticeable difference is observed while talking to elderly, administrators and local militia. The reported use of Zay with elderly was high as compared to Afan Oromo or Amharic use. Conversely, the percentage for Afan Oromo use with administrators and local militia was greater than the rest. It is also important to note that only when communicating with administrators and local militia was the use of Zay appreciably declined.

Table 26: Language(s) the respondents mostly use in other societal domains

At local market	Frequency	Percent
Zay	11	3.7
Oromo	124	41.3
Amharic	69	23.0
Zay and Oromo	7	2.3
Zay and Amharic	9	3.0
Amharic and Oromo	75	25.0
Zay, Amharic and Oromo	5	1.7
Total	300	100.0
At the workplace		
Zay	86	28.7
Oromo	117	39.0
Amharic	30	10.0
Zay and Oromo	36	12.0
Amharic and Oromo	23	7.7
Zay, Amharic and Oromo	8	2.6
Total	300	100.0
At the clinic		
Zay	20	6.7
Oromo	104	34.7
Amharic	97	32.3
Zay and Oromo	4	1.3
Amharic and Oromo	75	25.0
Total	300	100.0
At church		
Zay	104	34.6
Oromo	78	26.0
Amharic	87	29.0
Zay and Oromo	5	1.7
Zay and Amharic	21	7.0
Amharic and Oromo	5	1.7
Total	300	100.0
During cultural and religious events		
Zay	126	42.0
Oromo	71	23.7
Amharic	77	25.7
Zay and Oromo	5	1.6

Zay and Amharic	13	4.3
Amharic and Oromo	8	2.7
Total	300	100.0

As can be observed from the above table, Zay was less likely to be used in the local markets: it was used in only 3.7% of the cases, whereas the majority (41.3%) of respondents reported to use mainly Afan Oromo. This finding is understandable in view of the fact that markets were held on mainland where Afan Oromo was predominantly used. The reported use of Amharic in the local marketplace was 23%, which is much greater than Zay use. Added to this, Amharic was mostly used in 25% of the cases in conjunction with Afan Oromo. Considering its being a second language in the community, Amharic use in the local markets was noticeably high. This implies that as the transactors of different linguistic background might come to the market, they tended to use Amharic: the language most of the people knew in common because of historical reasons. The other language use patterns at local market were a mixture of Zay and Afan Oromo (2.3%), Zay and Amharic (3%), and Zay, Afan Oromo and Amharic (1.7%). What one can deduce from the data is that Zay use, be it by itself or in conjunction with Amharic or Afan Oromo, is almost trivial. This is most likely owing to the confinement of marketplaces to only the mainland towns where languages of wider communication are commonly used. This in turn means that the possibility for the respondents to use their little-known language in such environment may be small.

As to language use in the workplace, Zay use substantially increased unlike its use at the local market: 28.7% of the respondents stated that they mostly used Zay in the workplace, while the majority (39%) claimed to use mainly Afan Oromo. This result is parallel with the qualitative report. Almost all the informants drawn from the islands for an interview said that they mostly used Zay in the workplace, except for those working with Oromo people on farmland along the lake shores. On the other hand, Zay people living on the mainland commonly used Afan Oromo since the workplace was dominated by Afan Oromo speakers. However, the use of Amharic in the workplace was not prevalent: it was mainly used in only 10% of the cases. Moreover, the use of a combination of languages commensurately was almost trivial except for a mixture of Zay and Afan Oromo which amounted to 12%. While 7.7% indicated that they frequently used Afan Oromo and Amharic, only in 2.6% of the cases was a mixture of all Zay, Afan Oromo and Amharic reported to be used in the workplace.

The use of Zay at the clinic was almost the same as to its use at local market. Only 6.7% of the respondents reported to use Zay in this domain. Majority (34.7%) demonstrated that they used Afan Oromo and equally a sizeable number (32.3%) of respondents claimed to use Amharic for the most part of their communication at the clinic. Similarly, the number of respondents who claimed to use a mixture of the two dominant languages: Amharic and Afan Oromo was fairly high (25%). The reason seems to be obvious because clinic was found in the nearby towns, where Afan Oromo and Amharic were widely spoken. Therefore, the respondents might try to accommodate to the language use behavior of the town dwellers. In other words, they could be expected to adjust themselves to the abilities and preferences of the people they were communicating with in the town. For instance, the health professionals working at the clinic might come from different linguistic communities. Hence, as they might not know the local minority language, informants should address them in the language of wider communication. When the use of a mixture of languages is further considered, Zay and Afan Oromo were indicated to be used by 1.3% of the respondents. The percentage for a mixture of Zay and Amharic, as well as Zay, Afan Oromo and Amharic use at the clinic was nil.

As regards language use at church, the three languages, such as Zay, Amharic and Afan Oromo were independently used by a reasonably important number of respondents albeit there was some variation in their frequency of use. Informants reported using Zay at church in 34.6% of the cases, while Afan Oromo was used by 26% of the total. Similarly, 29% of the respondents claimed that, for the most part, they used Amharic at church. The percentage increase of Amharic use at church is not unexpected given the church domain was strongly associated with this language. Amharic has long been a language of worship; every religious activity has been conducted through it. Consequently, it is not surprising if a large percentage of respondents reported to communicate in Amharic at church. A mixture of Zay and Afan Oromo; Zay and Amharic; Afan Oromo and Amharic; Zay, Afan Oromo and Amharic were barely used at church. For example, Zay and Afan Oromo; Afan Oromo and Amharic were used in only 1.7% of the cases, while a slightly higher percentage (7%) reported to use mainly a mixture of Zay and Amharic in proportionate manner. None reported to use a combination of all Zay, Afan Oromo and Amharic at church.

When it comes to language use during cultural and religious events, the majority (42%) asserted that they used mainly Zay during these occasions, while 23.7% of the respondents reported to use mostly Afan Oromo. The data show that Zay was most likely to be used during cultural and religious events than Afan Oromo. It seems that the Zay strongly associated their language with their cultural traditions, and consequently they would conduct most of the cultural and religious performances in Zay and that they would communicate mainly in it on such events. The use of Amharic during cultural and religious events was again relatively high: respondents reported using Amharic in 25.7% of the cases, which is greater than Afan Oromo use. This may also be ascribed to the fact that Amharic was a language of worship, and as a result it could mostly be used during religious events. As stated in the results of the qualitative data (See Section 4.2.2.2), Amharic was mainly used during the religious holiday celebrated in the name of St. Mary on Tullu Guddo Island (21 *Hidar* 2008). Of course, on that occasion, people came over there from different corner of Ethiopia. This may be one reason why Amharic was used as a main medium of communication. As to the use of a mixture of languages, Zay and Afan Oromo were indicated by 1.6% of the respondents, while 4.3% reported to use Zay and Amharic. The remaining 2.7% stated that they often used Amharic and Afan Oromo during cultural and religious events.

Table 27: Language(s) the respondents mostly use in the domain of interior monologue

When you are angry	Frequency	Percent
Zay	135	45.0
Oromo	105	35.0
Amharic	34	11.3
Zay and Oromo	15	5.0
Zay and Amharic	11	3.7
Total	300	100.0
When you are excited		
Zay	138	46.0
Oromo	101	33.7
Amharic	26	8.7
Zay and Oromo	27	9.0
Amharic and Oromo	8	2.6
Total	300	100.0
When you are dreaming		
Zay	131	43.7

Oromo	118	39.3
Amharic	16	5.3
Zay and Oromo	18	6.0
Zay and Amharic	11	3.7
Amharic and Oromo	6	2.0
Total	300	100.0
When you are thinking		
Zay	144	48.0
Oromo	109	36.3
Amharic	21	7.0
Zay and Oromo	14	4.7
Amhari and Oromo	12	4.0
Total	300	100.0
When you are counting (money or things)		
Zay	108	36.0
Oromo	91	30.3
Amharic	70	23.3
Zay and Oromo	17	5.7
Zay and Amharic	6	2.0
Amharic and Oromo	8	2.7
Total	300	100.0
When you are making mental calculations		
Zay	102	34.0
Oromo	94	31.3
Amharic	74	24.7
Zay and Oromo	13	4.3
Amharic and Oromo	17	5.7
Total	300	100.0
When you are praying (private prayer)		
Zay	120	40.0
Oromo	68	21.6
Amharic	93	31.0
Zay and Amharic	14	4.7
Amharic and Oromo	5	1.7
Total	300	100.0

As regards the domain of interior monologue (table 27), respondents reported to use Zay in 45% of the cases in order to express their anger. Its use even slightly got higher during excitement: 46% used Zay when they were excited. Afan Oromo also seemed to be used considerably to

express anger and excitement, though it was less than Zay. Informants reported using it in 35% of the cases while expressing their anger and in 33.7% the cases during excitement. Amharic was used by 11.3% of the respondents for expression of anger, and this percentage of Amharic use lowered to 8.7% at the time of excitement. Respondents' use of a mixture of languages to express their anger and excitement was not that big. While a mixture of Zay and Afan Oromo was reported to be used by 5% and 9% of the respondents for expression of anger and excitement respectively, Zay and Amharic was used only during resentment in 3.7% of the cases. On the other hand, 2.6% of the respondents indicated that they mostly used a mixture of Amharic and Afan Oromo at the moment of excitement.

In the same way, Zay and Afan Oromo were most likely used while dreaming and thinking, even if Zay was once again employed slightly higher than Afan Oromo. Statistically, while 43.7% of the respondents asserted to mainly dream in Zay, 39% reported to do such mental activity in Afan Oromo. Besides, Zay was reported to be used by 48% of the respondents, whereas 36% used mostly Afan Oromo for thinking. However, Amharic was used in only 5.3% of the cases for dreaming and 7% of the cases for thinking. As regards the use of a mixture of languages, 6% and 4.7% of the informants reported using a combination of Zay and Afan Oromo for dreaming and thinking respectively. Likewise, 2% of the respondents claimed to use mostly a mixture of Amharic and Afan Oromo for dreaming, and 4% of them depicted to use it most often than not for thinking. Only when dreaming was a mixture of Zay and Amharic indicated to be used by 3.7% of the respondents. However, as can be seen from the above table, the use of a mixture of all Zay, Amharic and Afan Oromo proportionately for such mental processing was nonexistent.

These findings support the interview results. Almost all the interviewees on the islands reported to use mainly Zay when they were angry and excited as well as when they dreamt and thought. Many of elderly informants on the mainland also claimed to use mostly Zay while doing such mental activities; on the other hand, most of the young and the adult informants reported to use Afan Oromo while they were angry and excited or while dreaming and thinking for the fact that they learned Afan Oromo as their first language at home. One can deduce from this data that the first language learnt at home may determine what language one uses for mental processing, despite his/her exposure to other languages in the latter ages.

As regards language use for counting money or things and mental calculations, the use of Zay relatively declined: 36% reported using Zay for counting money or things, and 34% said to use it for mental calculations. Informants reported to use Afan Oromo for counting in 30.3% and for mental calculations in 31.3% of the cases. The use of Amharic for such activities significantly increased when viewed in light of its use for expression of anger and excitement, or for dreaming and thinking. While 23.3% of the respondents declared to use mainly Amharic for counting, 24.7% stated that they used it for mental calculations. This finding is not unexpected given respondents who learnt in Amharic may possibly do such mental tasks in Amharic while those who learnt in Afan Oromo may also do mostly in Afan Oromo. When one considers the use of a mixture of languages, Zay and Afan Oromo were indicated to be used by 5.7% of the respondents during counting money or things, whereas 4.3% reported using it for mental calculations. A mixture of Amharic and Oromo was used for counting in 2.7% and for calculations in 5.7% of the cases. Only when counting money or things was a mixture of Zay and Amharic used by 2% of the respondents. On the other hand, no respondent mentioned the use of a mixture of the three languages for either counting things or doing mental calculations.

For private prayer, Zay was once more used by the majority of the respondents: 40% of the informants used it for prayer at home or church, while 21.6% reported to use mostly Afan Oromo. During the interview session, many elderly informants from the mainland, who learnt Zay as their first language in their traditional territory, explained that they mostly used Zay for prayer. That may be why the percentage of Zay use for prayer is higher than Afan Oromo. Amharic was used in 31% of the cases. The use of Amharic for prayer was even higher than its use for counting and mental calculations. This may be because it was strongly associated with worship. As clearly captured in the findings of the qualitative data, the fact that Amharic was a medium of the public worship at church and the presence of different holy books written in it have impacted the Zay people to use it mostly for their private prayer. While 4.7% of the respondents indicated that they mainly used a mixture of Zay and Amharic, 1.7% reported that they mostly used Amharic and Afan Oromo during private prayer. But no one reported using a mixture of Zay and Amharic or Zay, Amharic and Afan Oromo for personal prayer.

In general, it is possible to say that the Zay language is still important in the life of its speakers. As the results of the qualitative and quantitative data reveal, Zay has considerably been used in

the domain of interior monologue, which in turn shows the fact that its speakers had strong allegiance to it.

4.3.5 Zay Language Development

This section has presented the respondents' interest to reverse the precarious situation of their language. It is meant to identify how interested or motivated they are to promote and see their language used in various communication situations. To analyze the data, percentages and frequency tables were used.

Table 28: Informants' view about the need for all Zay children to learn their ethnic language

Should all ethnically Zay children learn Zay language?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	276	92.0
No	24	8.0
Total	300	100.0

Table 28 demonstrates that the overwhelming majority (92%) of the informants answered 'Yes', while only 8% reacted to the question negatively. As respondents succinctly explained in the qualitative section of the questionnaire, teaching Zay to children is very essential to preserve their history and culture. They pointed out that if children learnt Zay apart from the regional language, they would contribute a lot to the reinvigoration of their ethnic language. When children learnt the language, its continued use could be ensured for the reason that they are the determinant group that holds the key to the continuation or cessation of the language. Thus, according to the data, respondents seem to believe that all children should learn the language in order to extricate it from its present precarious situation.

Table 29: Respondents' interest to send their children to Zay-medium primary school

If schools offer primary education in Zay, would you send your children to them?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	185	92.5
No	15	7.5
Total	200	100.0

NB: Question asked only of the adults and elderly

As the data in the table above show, the vast majority (92.5) of the informants said 'Yes', while only 7.5% responded 'No' to the question. When asked why, the informants stated that sending their children to Zay-medium primary school would be very important for children to learn about the culture and history of their pedigree. They argued that when their children were taught by other language, they could not be taught about the history of their ancestors; rather they learned the history of the people whose language they were using at school for education. Moreover, informants revealed that they would happy to send their children to Zay-medium school because they wanted their children to read and write in their mother tongue, and above all, it is an identification of who they are. The respondents from islands added that sending kids to primary school where the Zay language used as a medium of instruction could be helpful for them to understand the subject matter better and to motivate them to learn and stay in the school.

From these data, it is logical to assume that the Zay people had a considerable interest and motivation to send their children to the Zay-medium school if it would be made available to them. This in turn may imply the fact that they are very enthusiastic to foster their language.

Table 30: Respondents' willingness to teach Zay to their children

When you have (or if you have presently) children of your own, would you teach them Zay?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	92	92.0
No	8	8.0
Total	100	100.0

NB: Question asked only of the young

Table 30 indicates that the vast majority (92%) seemed to be interested in teaching Zay to their children when they would have children of their own or if they have had children currently. Only 8% of the young respondents showed lack of interest to teach Zay to their children. The finding is surprising, given the shortfall of mother tongue speakers of Zay in the young generation on the mainland. Even if the greater part of the youngsters living along the lake shores were not able to speak Zay, they responded to the question as positively as the adult and elderly did. Respondents explained that they would teach Zay to their children because they wanted them to grow up developing a positive picture of their ethnic language. Even those respondents who could not speak Zay language noted that they would learn Zay themselves, let alone teach it to their

children. The findings show respondents' strong emotional attachment to their language even if they may not use it. They seem to value it for what it represents.

Table 31: Respondents' interest to attend adult literacy education in Zay

If adult literacy education is given in Zay, will you attend it?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	177	88.5
No	18	9.0
Undecided	5	2.5
Total	200	100.0

NB: Question asked only of the adults and elderly

As indicated in table 31, 88.5% of the respondents wanted to attend literacy education if they would get the opportunity, while 9% of them against it. Only 2.5% remained indifferent. Still, the vast majority of the informants were in favor of adult literacy education. When asked why they wanted to attend adult literacy education in Zay, some respondents explained that since they knew the language partly, they wanted to learn it well and to remember what they forgot. The majority expressed that the literacy education would help them to read and write in their language, as a result of which they could protect it from extinction.

Table 32: Respondents' need for books, magazines and newspaper published in Zay

Do you want to have books, magazines, and newspaper published in Zay?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	281	93.7
No	11	3.7
Undecided	8	2.6
Total	300	100.0

As it can be observed from table 32, while the overwhelming majority (93.7%) of the respondents wanted to have books, magazines and newspaper published in Zay, only 3.7% was against this idea. But the remaining 2.6% preferred taking neutral position. Respondents explained that having books, magazines and newspapers published in Zay could protect the language from further shrinkage by increasing its speakers because when people saw their language being used for preparation of such written materials, they would develop feeling of

pride in it and consequently use it without fear and embarrassment. Moreover, the books, magazines and newspapers developed in Zay would help the people to know more about their culture and history through reading.

Table 33: Respondents' belief about the necessity of radio and television programs in Zay

Do you believe that there should be radio and television programs transmitted in Zay?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	285	95.0
No	6	2.0
Undecided	9	3.0
Total	300	100.0

The above table reveals that the overwhelming majority (95%) of the informants replied 'Yes' to the question, while 2% and 3% answered 'No' and 'Undecided' respectively. The data clearly show respondents' strong position for the necessity of radio and TV programs transmitted in their own ethnic language. The justification was that if the Zay language used in media, it would be easily recognized among other language speakers, and this in turn would help the Zay people to change the low esteem that they held about themselves and their language; those individuals who hid themselves would publicize their being Zay. Surprisingly, one of the respondents stressed that even a onetime transmission of programs in Zay would become a real boost to their pride. This means media play a key role in influencing people's opinions. When the language used in media, its speakers would highly be motivated to use it publicly or learn it keenly if they did not learn before.

Table 34: Respondents' interest to get religious services in Zay

Do you want religious activities (such as Bible and prayer books preparation, sermon and prayer) to be carried out in Zay?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	241	80.3
No	48	16.0
Undecided	11	3.7
Total	300	100.0

Table 34 shows that 80.3% of the respondents wanted religious activities to be performed in Zay, while 16% were against it. The rest 3.7% replied 'Undecided' to the question. Once again, the majority of the informants reacted to the question positively , though the number of respondents

who said 'No' showed a little increment unlike the responses to the previous questions. This may be because people usually strongly associate Amharic and Geez with religion. Some respondents pointed out that since the endangeredness of the Zay language was not caused by the fact that religious services were given in Amharic and Geez, there would be no need of making religious services in Zay. Whatsoever it may be, majority of the informants wanted the religious services to be in Zay. They stated that since the Zay people usually went to church for liturgy and sermon, they could learn the language on the way to attain their religious purposes. Besides, if prayer books made available in Zay language, the educated young people could read these materials since they had strong attachment to their religion, and thereby they may possibly learn and even acquire adequate proficiency of their ethnic language.

Table 35: Respondents' frequency of reading, writing and listening if such services are made available to them in Zay

Reading	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Always	79	26.3	31.5
Often	107	35.7	42.6
Sometimes	52	17.3	20.7
Rarely	7	2.3	2.8
Never	6	2.0	2.4
Total	251	83.6	100.0
Missing System	49	16.3	
Total	300	100.0	
Writing			
Always	72	24.0	28.7
Often	104	34.7	41.4
Sometimes	58	19.3	23.1
Rarely	10	3.3	4.0
Never	7	2.3	2.8
Total	251	83.5	100.0
Missing System	49	16.3	
Total	300	100.0	
Listening to Radio/TV			
Always	146	48.7	48.7
Often	114	38.0	38.0
Sometimes	33	11.0	11.0
Rarely	4	1.3	1.3
Never	3	1.0	1.0
Total	300	100.0	100.0

NB: Missing System- not applicable to uneducated respondents

As it can be seen from table 35, 31.5% of the respondents reported to always read if reading materials are prepared in Zay, while 42.6% of them claimed to read 'often' and a further 20.7% said that they would read 'sometimes'. Only 2.8% and 2.4% asserted 'rarely' and 'never' respectively. Taken as a whole, the vast majority (74.1%) showed a considerable interest in reading, if reading materials would be developed in Zay language and made available to them. That is, the Zay would preferably read materials developed in Zay provided that they could have access to them.

In the same way, 28.7% of the respondents reported that they would always write in Zay if the Zay language could be reduced to writing, while 41.4% would like to write 'often' in Zay. 23.1% of the respondents answered 'sometimes' whereas the other 4% reported to write 'rarely' in Zay. Only insignificant number (2.8%) of the informants said that they would 'never' write in Zay even if the opportunity created. Overall, the majority (70.1%) of the respondents were highly in favor of doing writing in Zay if it could be reduced to writing.

As regards listening, a greater part (48.7%) of the respondents stated that they would always listen to radio and TV program if transmitted in Zay. Besides, while 38% of the informants reported to listen 'often', 11% said to listen 'sometimes' if radio and TV program transmission could be launched in Zay language. But insignificant number of respondents (1.3% and 1%) replied 'rarely' and 'never' respectively. The percentages of the respondents who answered 'always' and 'often' were significantly high as compared to those who said 'sometimes', 'rarely' and 'never'. Therefore, the majority of the respondents seemed to be in favor of the launching of radio and TV program transmission in Zay language.

In conclusion, the strength of support for Zay maintenance in the questionnaire results was surprising given the decline of the Zay language use among the younger generation on the mainland. Overall, respondents seemed to have a great interest and determination to play a crucial role in encouraging and promoting their ethnic language if a favorable environment in which they carry out this responsibility created. For example, they showed a great interest in sending their children to Zay-medium primary school if it opened in their locality, and even they wanted themselves to attend adult literacy education in order to read and write in their own ancestral language. What is more, their interest to practice reading and writing in Zay as well as listening to radio and television program (if made available in Zay) was incredibly high.

4.4 Discussions

The results gained through FGDs, interviews and Questionnaires have comprehensively been discussed so as to demonstrate a clear picture of the underlying causes for progressive reduction of mother tongue speakers of Zayña, particularly in the young generation and their possible remedies. Data on structural aspects of the language were obtained through wordlist and sentence translation task. An attempt also made to relate the results of the study to the review of related theoretical literature.

As Sasse's Model predicts, non-linguistic factors, in the external setting, were found responsible for the decline of the Zay language in the course of time. One of these was lack of a healthy economy. The study results reveal that the island-dwellers did not have stable economic base by which they could maintain themselves (See Section 4.2.1.1). Regarding this, four important themes emerged from the data presented under this section. The first one is scarcity of cultivable land because of the mountainous and rocky nature of the islands. The rocky makeup of the land reduced soil fertility, and this in turn made intensive farming difficult. The other is absence of scientific agricultural practices. Scientific agricultural practices could have helped the people get surplus yields from their plot of land, but the non-existent of these practices made the people unable to produce yields that could even meet their nutritional needs, not to mention surplus for market. Lack of infrastructural developments is another important point. The lack of basic infrastructures, such as medical facilities, clean water supplies and water transportation systems made life on the islands difficult. For example, the lack of modern water transportation systems created a problem of easy access to the mainland market where the island-dwellers got all trade goods and some subsistence crops for home consumption. Equally important was the absence of market link and unaffordability of water transport cost for taking surplus yields of fish to nearby market. It is well-known that fishing has been the main means of income for the Zay people. They invested much energy and time on fishing activity. However, the high cost of water transport coupled with lack of standard price for their surplus yields of fish discouraged the people, particularly the youth. Consequently, they were forced to separate from their local language community in search of alternative economic opportunities. This finding seems to match with Harbert's observation (2011:406) that movement of people to other places is usually triggered by economic factors within the community, for example, when there is some disruption in the people's traditional ways of earning a living. If the local means of livelihood no longer

allow the community to continue in its original territory, relocation can be an alternative survival strategy.

The Zay who left their locality tended to abandon their language for they came to live with alien people having a different language. In order to live peacefully with the people they came into contact and climb up the economic ladder in the new setting, the Zay had to adopt Afan Oromo. This means that peaceful co-existence could be ensured only if the newcomers acclimatized themselves to the new circumstances, one of which was the language use pattern of the host population. Besides, the socio-economic system in the new milieu required the use of a language other than Zayña. Hence, the Zay were supposed to acquire adequate command of Afan Oromo- the working language of the community- so that they could meet their material needs.

Generally speaking, the use of the majority language, particularly Afan Oromo, in everyday life became a necessity for the Zay people who worked on the mainland along with Oromo society. This situation placed an immense pressure on the vitality of the Zay language in the sense that it caused the language to lose a number of its mother tongue speakers. In connection to this, Mufwene (2006:8) argues that languages have died the most in places where the language of the work place is the vernacular of the people who are economically dominant. Issues related to economy were not only prominent in the qualitative data. The quantitative data also supported this finding. 91% of the respondents reported to agree that the economic status of the Zay people contributed to the decline of the Zay language speakers.

A lack of political willingness from part of the government was the other underling factor (See Section 4.2.1.2). From language perspective, politics is any decision that influences the linguistic behaviors of the people. According to Sallabank (2010:57), political factors may take the forms of education policies which disregard or exclude local languages, lack of recognitions or representation, bans on the use of minority languages in public life. Actually, the suppressive language policy has not been noted for decline of the Zay language. There were rather implicit ways of marginalizing the Zay language.

The results show that the exclusion of the Zay language from such public domains as education, the media, administration, business, etc. was the underlying political reasons for shortfall of its speakers. That is, the absence of a role assigned to the language in such domains considerably

weakened its vitality. For instance, although there have been schools on Tullu Guddo and Tsedecha Islands, the Zay language has neither been taught as a subject nor used as a medium of instruction thus far. What is more, the teachers assigned to the schools have always been Oromo who could not understand the Zay language. In other words, ethnically Zay teachers who knew the language were not assigned to schools on the islands, let alone teach in Zayña. The children, on the other hand, were not able to understand Afan Oromo as they did not get any Afan Oromo input directly from their parents or community at their early ages. The ultimate result of this situation was migration of a sizeable number of children to other places where they could get education in the language they were familiar with, in this case Amharic - the language spoken as a second language on the islands. The relocation of the children because of educational consideration in turn caused a shortfall of the Zay language speakers in younger age groups on the islands.

When it comes to the children born on the mainland, they might acquire Zayña as a first language at home in their early childhood but they tended to abandon the language as soon as they started schooling. The children were likely to shift from Zay to Afan Oromo so that they would smoothly comprehend the science offered through it, and more importantly accommodate to the communication needs of the school community maybe because of the desires to identify themselves more closely with the Oromo or to win social approval. They used Afan Oromo not only in school compound but they also gradually introduced it into the home where Zay was predominantly used before. This finding is consistent with that of Spolsky (2011: 153) who argues that the school is usually the first social institution outside the family that has a major influence on the practices and values of a child. Education becomes a main force in language shift, as school children switch from their home language to the language of their teachers and peers. They often go on introducing the school language into the home, using it with their siblings and even with their parents. Not only the children but also the Parents themselves are likely to introduce the school language at home so as to ease their children's integration into school (Spolsky, 2011: 153).

Above all else, the Zay language was thought to come under immense pressure for the reason that its speakers were denied official ethnic recognition. The theme of official ethnic recognition recurred almost throughout the data set. According to the results of the study, the Zay had

formerly been a beneficiary of every opportunity available to all ethnic groups, and thus they managed to maintain their language over time. However, in the current regime, this ethnic group has been ignored. This agrees with Vinson's finding: "the Zay have a long history of self-governance and administration, and it was only with the advent of the new administration that they have been made subject to the Oromo" (Vinson, 2012: 114).

Although the people were asking the government for official ethnic recognition, thereby promoting their language and culture, they were denied this right. Guta Balcha (2016) confirmed that the Zay people were demanding recognition and proportional representation as distinctive ethnic group but deprived of their right to non-territorial representation in the regional state. The government's disregard of the request for official ethnic recognition in turn affected the way the people viewed themselves and their language. For instance, the new generations became ashamed of speaking their little-known vernacular and favored the learning of the widely spoken and officially recognized languages. They found themselves obliged not only to learn the dominant regional language but also to use it in an ever-increasing number of contexts. The quantitative result as well supported this point: the majority (96%) of the respondents agreed that not getting official recognition as a viable ethnic group incapacitated them to control further shrinkage of their traditional language. Connected to this was the absence of official status accorded to Zay language which caused the people to hold it in low regard, and consequently decrease the rate of transmitting it to their children.

A further point of argument was linked to historical events (See Section 4.2.1.3). According to Sallabank (2010:57), the socio-historical dimension of language endangerment may be linked to colonization, conquest, boundary disputes and migration. The last two factors seem to be typical of the Zay context though there are still others. Before the expansion of Oromo people to Lake Zway region, the Zay had occupied both the islands and the fertile land along the lake shores. Later, however, there was an increased movement of the Oromo to areas around Lake Zway (See Chapter 2), which resulted in a fragmentation of Zay speech community. According to the results of the study, the Oromo who occupied the land along the lake shores imposed their language and culture on the Zay; in other words, the lake shore-dwellers that used to speak Zayña as a mother tongue were engulfed by the Oromo language and culture.

The fact is that the strong usually dominate the weak. Hence, the Oromo occupation along the shores of Lake Zway put a heavy pressure on the Zay. With the passage of time, the Zay relinquished speaking their ethnic language in favor of Afan Oromo as a strategy to live peacefully with the overriding Oromo people who settled alongside them. This incident caused the Zay language to lose many of its mother tongue speakers. It is apparent that a language spoken by small pockets of people is much more vulnerable to extinction than the one spoken by a considerable number of people.

The islanders were once practiced belated marriage as means to check population explosion. Because of a recurrent conflict with Oromo people as well as Muslim advance in the areas around Lake Zway during the war of Ahmed Gragn, many Zay, who used to live along the lake shores, moved back to the islands for protection. This situation forced them to depend entirely on the scarce resources of the islands to maintain themselves. As a consequence, limiting the number of children born was considered necessary. That means family planning was taken as a viable survival strategy on the islands. To this end, elders of the time made the people marry when they advanced in years in order to control population growth, as the existing land was not enough even for building a house, let alone for farming. This implies that the present small number of Zay people could partly be ascribed to such historical event. The fact that they were confined to the isolated islands made them control their natural course of reproduction, which ultimately resulted in decrease of their population size. This in turn caused their language to be easily dominated by Afan Oromo, a language with considerably high number of speakers.

As late marriage did not come up with sustainable solution, the Zay tried alternative mechanisms to alleviate their problem of getting access to cultivable land and markets on the mainland. One of these mechanisms was harməhɒda- a traditional way of creating a family relationship between persons having no blood tie in order to overcome certain inconveniences, for example, economic troubles. Since the conflict over land continued, the Zay used harməhɒda as a means to avoid it, thereby spreading to the mainland where they could get more farmland and market goods. To put it differently, the cultivable land on the islands was small, and hence the production was not enough for the people. Besides, people had no access to markets where they could buy goods and supplementary foodstuffs. In order to have access to these things, the Zay had to first solve their conflict with the Oromo. Hence, harməhɒda was practiced with the purpose of restoring peace so

that the people could go to market and come back home peacefully and if possible acquire subsistence farming on the mainland. Once the two families connected through harməhɒda, they would not see each other as outsiders but as relatives.

The main question is how did harməhɒda become a reason for the Zay language endangerment? The results of the study show that the practice of harməhɒda contributed its part to the decline of the language because most of the Zay who made relatives from the Oromo through harməhɒda left the islands by acquiring a farmland on the mainland. As they lived in close proximity with their Oromo relatives, they were completely exposed to Afan Oromo, which gradually replaced their ethnic language. In other words, those who left the islands on account of harməhɒda and their subsequent generations were assimilated peacefully into Oromo ethnic group by relinquishing their Zay identity. This in turn minimized the number of Zay language speakers as a mother tongue, which eventually left it in a current sorry state.

Another significant issue in relation to historical factors is gudifətʃtʃa (adoption). The results reveal that while the Oromo settled along the shore of Lake Zway, they used to adopt many Zay children because of various reasons, one of which was to get access to drinking water. As the Oromo denied the Zay getting access to the mainland markets and farmland, the latter deprived the former of getting access to drinking water for cattle. As a means to alleviate their problem, and consequently to get water for their cattle, the Oromo tried to establish a relationship with the Zay through adopting Zay's children. Added to this, the outbreak of Malaria and Cholera decimated many Oromo people living along the lake shores. So, the Oromo elders asked the island-dwellers to give them children for adoption. The Zay also accepted the request because of the fact that they had a scarcity of land and that they wanted to have access to more cultivable land on the mainland by avoiding conflict with the Oromo. Accordingly, a number of children were given to Oromo ethnic group by adoption. What is more, couple that lost children in their marriage used to adopt children of Zay. Since the children were brought up in the language and culture of Oromo, they declared themselves as Oromo, throwing off their Zay identity.

As it is clearly indicated in the results of this study, the adoption process in Zay community was considered to have placed a big pressure on Zay language in that it was not only the adoptees that left the islands but also their relatives. Once the adopted children left, members of their families or close relatives went out to the mainland following the adoptees. The results show that the

number of people who left the islands because of their blood relation with the adoptees was high when it is viewed in light of those children who left being adopted. Since the people who left their original location in this way lived with the Oromo as a family, they had a zero opportunity to use their ethnic language among themselves; they, instead, used Afan Oromo to talk to each other on regular basis. That is, the adoptees and their close relatives who went out to the lake shore villages were immersed in Afan Oromo, which was culminated in complete "Oromization". From this, one can possibly deduce that the adoption of Zay's children by the Oromo partly contributed to the current small number of Zay language speakers.

Most of all, migration of the people to a location outside their original territory was a major culprit for the gradual recession of the Zay language. As stated above, the Zay tried to overcome the problem of scarce resources on the islands through such mechanisms as late marriage, harməhɒda and gudifətʃʧa. However, these mechanisms did not fully enable them to solve their problem. As a result, the problem of scarcity of land continued until Menelik II reconnected the island-dwellers to the central Ethiopia and gave them a fertile land in the lake shore villages, such as Bochessa and Herera. Even though the Zay had a long history of movement from islands to different places, the time after Menelik's expedition to the Lake Zway region was very important. From then on, a sizeable number of Zay people left the islands for coastal villages, such as Bochessa, Makedella and Herera Mendoyu, and nearby towns like Meki and Zway, where other language speakers, particularly Oromo dominantly lived.

The results reveal that the Zay left the islands because of lack of cultivable land, access to education and markets, and generally absence of support from the government. The dispersion of people to different places weakened Zay language by reducing the number of people speaking it as a mother tongue in its traditional territory. As the migrants mixed with other ethno-linguistic group, they were forced to use the language of the community they came in contact with at the expense of their own vernacular. That is to say, since the migrant learned the language of the people they intermingled with in the new settings, they ultimately relinquished their traditional language. This appears to corroborate with Sankoff's (2001:642) view that the kind of population movements usually described as immigration, where newcomers fit themselves into an existing polity rather than establishing a new one, has often led to rapid linguistic assimilation. The newcomers are usually linguistically assimilated into the existing speech community.

To this constellation of external forces is added the cultural and linguistic variables (See Section 4.2.1.4 and 4.2.1.5). The results of the study unveil that the people of Zay who lived on the islands kept their culture untouched since they had no cultural contact with other ethnic groups. Nevertheless, the mainland Zay lived with the Oromo who were numerically and economically superior to them. The two peoples were together in life and death; for example, they both took part in the wedding, mourning and other social events. Most important of all, they worked in the same environment where they met on a daily basis. Besides, cross-cultural marriage was commonly practiced among the two ethnic groups. These brought cultural contact, where the dominant Oromo culture placed a great pressure on the non-dominant Zay culture. For instance, acculturation could clearly be observed in the naming of Zay children. The Zay children on the mainland have mainly been given Oromo name. Thus, nowadays the young people of Zay have begun to accept the Oromo cultural practice at the expense of their own, and the impact of this was being reflected on their language. This finding is in agreement with Grenoble's (2011:34) view that cultural contact between two asymmetrical linguistic groups results in the culture of the minority giving way to that of the majority. Grenoble argues that the loss of cultural distinctions supports a loss of linguistic distinctions since the culture is seen as embedded in the language.

The absence of written tradition exacerbated the situation further. The Zay language was not reduced to writing. It is logical to say that a language cannot be maintained by mere oral communication. Writing is a decisive factor for its continued existence because when a language is reduced to writing, it is possibly used in literature, which is considered to be vital for the development of the language. The non-existence of this written tradition, however, could make a language lose ground. Therefore, the absence of a written form, and dictionaries, grammars and reading materials developed in Zayña weakened its vitality. In relation to this, Crystal (2000:138) believes that languages that have dictionaries, grammars and other materials developed in them have better chance of survival and maintenance than those that do not. The development of such materials in the language could encourage the speakers to learn it, and accordingly preserve it and pass on to the posterity. Harrison (2007:23) also argues that people pass on an invaluable knowledge all the time with the help of writing as it can make language sticky. Sticky knowledge persists, and it can be passed on both across a longer time frame and to a wider audience. Turning to the quantitative evidence, 88% of the respondents who filled the questionnaire agreed that the vitality of the Zay language was profoundly affected on account of

the fact that it was not reduced to writing. In brief, both the qualitative and quantitative results lead to the same conclusion: the absence of written form, consequently written materials developed in it, gave rise to the downward spiral of the Zay language.

As Sasse's Model indicates, the external setting is a catalyst since it causes the second phenomenon – speech behavior. The historical events in the external setting, Sasse says, lead to uneven distribution of languages in multilingual setting, which in turn puts pressure on the minority population. Consequently, a negative attitude toward the minority group's language develops, which ultimately culminates in a decision to abandon that language. That is, speakers of a minority language under pressure often evaluate their language negatively, which may lead it to its demise. Just like the Model dictates, those extra-linguistic forces discussed above ultimately provoked the emergence of speech behaviors, for instance, change in language attitudes and language use (See Section 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.2.2). The results of the qualitative data reveal that some Zay people, particularly the young living along the lake shores developed negative attitudes towards their language because of the belief that their language was not helpful for creating job opportunities and communicating with other ethnic groups. There even existed individuals whose attitude was very threatening in that it resulted in shift of identity, i.e. some Zay people identified themselves with Oromo by throwing off their real identity. They seemed to lose their ethnic identity feelings completely. This implies that the perception these people had about themselves was negative, which in turn could weaken the value associated with their ethnic heritage language.

According to the study results, the majority of those who had low opinion of Zay language were government employees. They believed that the language was useless for their political, social and economic advancements. Not only belittling their ethnic language, but they were also against the majority's question for official ethnic recognition. They thought that the struggle for something that could never bear fruit would rather result in clash with the people they lived in harmony for centuries. Actually, the most important reasons for this group of people to hide themselves and abandon their ethnic language were likely to be an eagerness to assume a significant social position and gain social approval of ethnic majority group in the region. In addition, the inexistence of official domains where the Zay language could be used in the region remained a barrier to them for reporting themselves as Zay.

The other was connected to inter-ethnic marriage. Some Zay were brought into increased contact with the more dominant and numerous Oromo people through modern education and economic opportunities. Although not all, they sought spouses from Oromo speech community. Children born to the mixed-parents usually grew up speaking Afan Oromo, the language of their non-Zay parent. As they associated Afan Oromo with wealth, power and opportunity, they thought it more necessary to learn. Conversely, the children attached low value and importance to the Zay language because of its non-dominant position, or its absence in the official domains.

An additional point worthy of mention is the fact that some Zay parents did not want to teach Zayña to the children with the belief that this language was not able to afford their children a better economic opportunity. In its place, they wanted their children to learn the dominant language which they thought would enable the children to keep in pace with global competitiveness. In other words, they believed that the knowledge of the dominant languages would allow their children to meet the global economic and technological demands, which could eventually lead them to economic prosperity and upward social mobility. Of central importance is palmer's (1997:5) observations that shift in language allegiance is a consequence which hinges on the parents' perception that adequate work environments using their mother tongue do not exist for their children. This means that sometimes parents decide not to speak their mother tongue to children because they perceive an economic and educational advantage for their children in talking a majority language. In support of this, Dorian (1986: 561) contends that many parents cease to transmit their traditional language to their children owing to the negative value attached to it. Mertz (1989:111) presents an interesting consequence of the negative type of language attitude, which she calls "bilingual deficit folk theory". According to the report of her study, there was a belief prevalent among the Scottish Gaelic speakers of Cape Breton, Nava Scotia, Canada that Gaelic speaking is an obstacle to learning correct English and to the opportunity for advancement through education in general (cited in Tsunoda 2006:60). Ellis (1994: 223 in Tsunoda 2006: 60) also reports that the "deficit theory" views bilingualism as a burden and as likely to result in cognitive disadvantage". However, the bilingual deficit folk theory is not seconded by researches on the area of bilingualism; the results of the researches conducted thus far on bilingualism rather indicate that bilinguals have certain cognitive advantages over monolinguals.

However, this view was not held by the generality of the Zay ethnic group as there were still a number of parents who had strong attachment to their language albeit they lived in a close knit with other language speakers. The results indicate that even those who taught their children only the majority language (Afan Oromo) seemed to regret now for not teaching them the Zay language so that they maintained the bilingual competence of their children and linked them to their pedigree. They showed a terrible sense of loss. The observation result, for example, proved the fact that some Zay parents taught their ethnic language to their children. Children in Bochessa, Mekidella, Herera villages, as well as Meki and Zway Towns were observed while speaking Zayña with their parents. This shows the presence of Zay parents who perceived their native language as an important part of their heritage. The attitudinal responses to the items of the questionnaire were also positively skewed, though the young group was less likely to answer as positively as the adult and elderly respondents did. In other words, despite the fact that the responses of the three age cohorts for most of the attitudinal items were significantly different from each other, more than 50% of the respondents in each age group still positively answered the items. When seen in terms of sex, both groups were likely to answer the attitudinal items positively. There were no statistically significant differences between their responses (See Section 4.3.3).

The attitudes of Oromo people were also examined since their attitudes might have an impact on the Zay. Consequently, two contradicting views were found. There were some Oromo people, particularly the younger age groups who held negative attitudes towards Zay people and their language. They belittled the Zay people and even made fun of them when they spoke their language in the public domains. This deprecatory discourse resulted in embarrassment and loss of self-confidence among Zay people to speak their indigenous language in the presence of other language speakers. The finding supports Crystal's observation. Crystal (2000: 84) argues that the feelings of shame and lack of self-confidence to use one's own language may be introduced by a more dominant linguistic community whose members stigmatize the minority linguistic groups and the non-dominant languages they speak. A similar point is made by Ferguson (2006:73), who points out that elements of self-denigration is developed when the minority language is belittled by members of the dominant group and marginalized by political arrangements denying it a role in the public domains, for instance, in state-funded education.

On the contrary, there were also people of Oromo ethnic background who had positive attitudes towards Zay and their language. These people reported to encourage the Zay community members to use their language and practice their culture. According to the results of the study, some Oromo considered Zay language as an important component of the Zay heritages, and thus supported its maintenance and continuance. They even thought it useful for themselves to communicate with those Zay who could not speak Afan Oromo. There were also certain Oromo people who believed that the Zay should be officially recognized as a distinct ethnic group since they had a unique culture and language of their own, and made beneficiary of all opportunities available to the recognized nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia.

In general, the attitudinal responses reveal the presence of both negative and positive attitudes held by Zay people as well as by majority community members (Oromo). However, most of the respondents expressed positive feelings about the language. The migrant groups who lived along the lake shores and nearby towns still considered the language spoken by their ancestors as part of their ethnic heritage even though they knew it little or not at all. Therefore, the Zay language has still been valued as the language of identity marker although it has been in decline. Afan Oromo was regarded as the language of survival, and thus needed simply for functioning in the workplace to earn a living. This implies that while Afan Oromo has been valued for what it accomplishes, Zay has been held in high regard for what it represents. However, what maintains a language is not a high regard, but a practical use in real life situation. Thus, the Zay language has been in decline even if it has still been valued for the acknowledged fact that there was no role assigned to it to function in public domains.

When it comes to language use, the use of Zay was very prevalent within the family on the islands, while Afan Oromo was frequented by lake shore dwellers. In fact, there were still people who used Zayña at home although they lived with other language speakers on the mainland villages and towns. Many Zay who moved to the larger cities also still speak Zayña, despite not living on the islands (Vinson, 2012: 113). Among neighbors and community members of the islands, the Zay language was predominantly used since all the islanders were mother tongue speakers of it. On the other hand, Afan Oromo was mostly spoken on the mainland as the people of Zay were integrated with the Oromo, the majority linguistic community. The use of Zayña in the workplace was also prevalent although there was some use of Afan Oromo by islanders for

economic purpose: 28.7% of the respondents stated that they mostly used Zay language in the workplace, while the majority (39%) claimed to use mainly Afan Oromo. The percentage stands for both island and mainland respondents. What one has to understand is that the percentage increase of Afan Oromo use was resulted from the inclusion of respondents working on the mainland, keeping their families on the islands. Although they lived on the island, their workplace was along the lakeshore where they came into a regular contact with out-group members, particularly Oromo. The results of qualitative data also support this quantitative report. Almost all the informants drawn from the islands for an interview said that they mostly used Zay language in the workplace, except for those working with Oromo people on farmland along the lake shores. On the other hand, Zay people living on the mainland usually used Afan Oromo since the workplace was dominated by Afan Oromo speakers. Therefore, the use of Zayña in the workplace was uncommon except for communicating secret information in the presence of other language speakers and/or when only ethnically Zay people with adequate command of their indigenous language worked together in the field. The domains where Zayña was less commonly used were local markets (3.7%) and clinic (6.7%), unlike Afan Oromo and Amharic use (i.e. the use of Afan Oromo and Amharic in local markets was 41.3% and 23%, while at clinic amounted to 34.7% and 32.3% respectively). These findings are understandable in that markets and clinics were mostly found in mainland towns where Afan Oromo and Amharic were used more often than not. Nonetheless, the Zay language was mostly used at church (34.6%), as compared to Afan Oromo (26%) and Amharic (29%) use, for the reason that its speakers were adherent of Orthodox Christian religion with which their language was closely associated. The percentage increase of Amharic use at church is also understandable given the church domain was strongly associated with it. Language use during cultural and religious events was also not different. The results of the qualitative data indicate that the Zay language was mostly used on cultural and religious events on the islands while mainland residents used mainly Afan Oromo on such occasions. Actually, elderly respondents of the mainland dwellers reported to use Zay more frequently than the other age groups during cultural and religious occasions. According to the results of quantitative data, while Zay was used in 42% of the cases, Afan Oromo was indicated to be used in 23.7% of the cases. These percentages reveal that Zay was most likely to be used during cultural and religious events than Afan Oromo. This in turn points to the presence of a relatively large number of Zay language users on the mainland during such events. On top of

this, there were different religious and cultural festivals that brought Zay families back to the islands where almost all could speak in Zayña. Of course, some young children had difficulties communicating in the Zay language since they grew up speaking only the dominant language. Vinson's personal observation also confirms this. He observed that during various festivals and celebrations that brought the Zay dwelling on mainland to the islands, most could still speak in Zayña with their family members who lived on the islands (Vinson, 2012: 113). It generally seems that Zayña was closely associated with the people's cultural traditions and consequently used to conduct most of the cultural and religious performances as well as to communicate with each other during such occasions.

As regards the domain of interior monologue, Zay was frequently used for expression of anger and excitement on the islands while Afan Oromo was usually used for such feelings on the mainland. Of course, there were considerable elderly respondents on the mainland that used Zay to express their anger and excitement. When the results procured through questionnaire are considered, Zay was used in 45% and 46% of the cases during anger and excitement respectively. The use of Afan Oromo was also considerable though it was slightly less than Zay: it was indicated to be used by 35% and 33.7% of the respondents to express their anger and excitement respectively. Besides, the analysis of qualitative data shows that almost all of the young, adults and elderly respondents on the islands and most of the elderly on the mainland think and dream in Zay, while most of the young and adult respondents of lake shore dwellers think and dream in Afan Oromo. The quantitative data also strengthen these findings: while 43.7% of the respondents mainly dreamed in Zay, 39% did it in Afan Oromo. In the same way, Zay and Afan Oromo were used by 48% and 36% of the respondents for thinking respectively. Mental calculations and counting money or things were generally done in Zay on islands and Afan Oromo on mainland, though still a considerable portion of elderly respondents on mainland mainly used Zay. As to the statistical reports, Zay use for counting money or things and mental calculations amounted to 36% and 34% respectively while Afan Oromo was used in 30.3% of the cases for counting money or things and in 31.3% of the cases for mental calculations. The use of Amharic for such activities also increased when viewed in light of its use for expression of anger and excitement, or for dreaming and thinking: it was indicated to be used in 23.3% of the cases for counting and in 24.7% for mental calculations. It is important to note that the act of calculating and counting is affected by language of instruction. The interview results depict that

those who learnt in Amharic mostly used Amharic while the ones learnt in Afan Oromo mainly used Afan Oromo for such mental activities as counting money or things and calculations. For private prayer, Amharic and Zay were mostly used as compared to Afan Oromo. While Zay was mostly used in 40% of the cases for prayer, Afan Oromo was indicated by 21.6% of the respondents. The results of the interview reveal the presence of a significant portion of old people in Bochessa and Makedella as well as Meki and Zway Towns that mainly used Zay for private prayer. That could be the reason why the percentage of Zay use for prayer is higher than Afan Oromo. When one considers Amharic, it was used in 31% of the cases for prayer. This may be attributed to the fact that it was strongly associated with worship.

To recapitulate domain analysis, the use of Zay language was decreasing progressively on the mainland because its speakers had more contacts with individuals outside their social group. Afan Oromo, the language of the people they came in contact with, seemed to be replacing their traditional language in nearly all communicative domains, even home, where local vernaculars are mostly maintained. On the contrary, island dwellers mostly used only the Zay language on a daily basis because of the fact that they had fewer contacts outside their group members and more links within the group. This seems to become a basis for the language to persist on the islands.

According to Sasse (1992), the linguistic behavior, such as language attitude and language use could bring about change in the structure of the language. In investigating the linguistic consequences of the Zay language, the ethnically Zay people of all age categories, living on the islands and the mainland, were made to complete wordlist and sentence translation task. Accordingly, it was found that younger Zay speakers on the mainland lost many of the important terms for referring to local flora and fauna. While older speakers remembered a number of terms associated with plants, animals, home utensils, colors, kinship, etc., the younger people, especially on the mainland villages and towns were able to remember a few basic and culturally distinctive vocabulary items. Some youngsters even did not know any of Zay native words at all. The Zay speakers, who lived in villages and towns along the shore of Lake Zway were able to recall fewer words than those who lived on the three inhabited islands, such as Tullu Guddo, Tseddacha and Funduro. Younger people also tended to lose more specific words and replace them with loanwords by extending their meaning. For instance, there is Zay native word *məskɛt*

equivalent to the English word ‘waist’. However, most of the young generation have used the Amharic term *c’ɪn* for parts of the body including ‘waist’, ‘thigh’ and ‘hip’, as opposed to its original meaning in Amharic which stands only for ‘thigh’. Besides, while some middle-aged and old people have used the Afan Oromo loanwords *waatii* for ‘newborn calf’ and jabbi for ‘older calf’, many of the young people used only one Afan lexicon *jabbii*, by extending the meaning of the word to cover more than its original meaning. The lexical item *jabbii*, therefore, entails the meaning of *waatii* as well in Zay. It replaced two Zay native words: *ʔəzak*’ ‘older calf’ and *alɛtu* ‘newborn calf’. It is now possible to say that these loanwords have become essential part of Zay lexical items.

Besides, an obvious phonological change occurred in the recipient language. The change is, basically, noticeable in loanwords. Sounds such as *p’, p*, and *ɗ,* which were not deemed phonemes in Zay’s phonemic inventory, have already entered Zay with borrowed Afan Oromo terms. It is, of course, true that few elderly Zay speakers, particularly those living on the islands, replaced the uncommon sounds with sounds which existed in their language as phonemes. This may be because of the fact that the said elderly had very mild and casual contact with Afan Oromo speakers.

The morphological change is also quite visible. For example, it is likely that the young Zay speakers have been dropping inflection for first person singular in verbs, which is mandatory in healthy varieties of Zay. The loss of this inflection is actually the reflection of the Afan Oromo system where some (not all) verbs do not show first and third person (male) distinction. The other point is that although the Zay language is derivationally productive, the speakers have tended to lose the derivational bound morphemes used to create new words of the same grammatical category with or different from its base. This problem was mostly visible in the younger generation who showed a high tendency to use the dominant languages considered helpful for upward social mobility. Even though the young people knew and even spoke the language well, it was observed that they have been losing certain grammatical points like derivational and inflectional bound morphemes. This indicates the fact that morphological attrition has been underway.

When it comes to syntax, despite a heavy borrowing of lexical items, and visible phonological and morphological change, the syntactic structure of Zay has not been affected that much. The

basic word order in Zay clause is actually the same with that of Afan Oromo: subject-object-verb (SOV). Other Ethio-Semitic languages as well share this word order. However, other constituents, for instances, demonstrative pronouns, adjectives or genitives precede the noun (head) in Zay unlike in Afan Oromo. In most cases, the position of these modifying elements in a Zay sentence has been retained. Only in the responses of very few participants that syntactic alteration was observed. For example, few young respondents altered the basic word order from SOV to SVO, positioned adjectives after a noun and even in a very few case, dropped one of the basic components of a sentence, for instance, a verb. One thing which needs to be underscored here is that some people on mainland villages and towns were even unable to construct any Zay sentence, let alone maintain the word order of the language. This was predominantly noticeable among the younger generation.

The foregoing discussions clearly show the fact that Zay has been under threat, but it seems vital to shed light on the current status of the language based on UNESCO's nine evaluative factors in order to understand the level of the threat. The first and most important one of these factors is intergenerational language transmission. The Zay speakers are surrounded by dominant language, Afan Oromo, which made them multi-linguals as they already became proficient in Amharic, the federal working language. The children mostly used Afan Oromo, which indicates that the parents have not been passing the language to their children. As the results of observation and FGD data show, speakers have now preferred Afan Oromo to the native Zay. This signifies the fact that the language has been unsafe. When the second factor (absolute numbers of speakers) is considered, there was no statistical evidence since the people were interspersed with other ethnic groups in the Lake Zway region. Basically, the language seemed to be highly susceptible for the reason that its surrounding ethnic groups are demographically larger than Zay people. Especially, the frequent intermarriages with their big neighboring ethnic group (Oromo) on the mainland often led to the sole use of Afan Oromo language in the region, which in turn engendered a drastic reduction in number of speakers among youngest generation. Determining the proportion of speakers of the Zay language within the total population (factor 3) was also challenging owing to the absence of exact population figure. Besides, since migration of the people to nearby villages and towns was high, the actual number of speakers could not be ascertained.

Regarding factor 4 (the loss of existing language domains), the observation result indicates that a large number of parents on the mainland no longer spoke the Zay language to their children. The implication is that the language has been gradually losing its main domain, which is the home. Outside the home, the dominant languages have been Amharic and Afan Oromo, both of which have been taught in schools and used in public places owing to their high status at national and regional levels respectively. The absence of meaningful public activities taking place in Zay or its exclusion from secondary domains could be an indication that the language is endangered. As for new domains and media, the Zay language has not had chance of responding to new domains. The fact is that the existing domains of the Zay language have been diminishing, giving way to the dominant language of the region, let alone responding to new domains. Thus, the fact that the Zay language has not been used in any new domain signifies its endangerment. As regards factor six which has to do with materials for language education and literacy, the Zay has not had any written form; no orthography has been designed for it, which implies that the future of the language would look very bleak. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies towards minority languages (factor 7), have been largely subjective and have been applied differently among the diverse ethno-linguistic groups in Ethiopia. The government's language policy and attitude to the small indigenous languages of Ethiopia in general, and to the Zay language in particular appeared to be ambiguous. The constitution approves of the small indigenous languages and their use as a medium of instruction, but there have been no visible governmental efforts to translate this constitutional right into practice so far. Currently, the Zay language has not been taught as a subject, let alone used as a medium of instruction; no public services have been provided in the Zay language. So, one can say that there has been no clear, explicit policy for minority languages in Ethiopia. Besides, Zay has not had the official status of a language as far as government policy is concerned; the only language recognized in Oromiya region has been Afan Oromo. Here one can say that the Zay language is threatened by extinction since it is neither recognized nor protected. As for factor eight, which shows the community members' attitudes towards their own language, it was discovered that the Zay speakers have been passionate about their language and willing to protect or support it. It was noticed that a high number of respondents have showed a considerable interest to speak the Zay language in order to express their identity. This signifies that Zay speakers have been keen to see their language reinvigorated. Concerning the last factor, which focuses on amount and quality of

documentation, Zay has not yet been systematically alphabetized. The language has not adequately been documented yet. That is to say, there has been really no basic literature that contains a substantial documentation of the Zay language. One can find only few works of undergraduates and postgraduates in some Ethiopian universities, but there has been no basic text that could be referred to as a reference for the language.

Taken as a whole, the Zay has not been in a promising state, considering UNESCO's nine evaluative factors proposed to determine the level of language endangerment. It has insignificant number of speakers, who are dispersed throughout weak social networks that cover a sizeable area along Lake Zway. The intergenerational use of the language on the mainland has come declining over time. Above all, the cumulative effect of social and political threats to the language created a powerful force which favored the learning of Afan Oromo at the expense of the local vernacular. Therefore, the number of speakers and the current situation of the language could place Zay under highly endangered languages on language endangerment continuum, which bodes badly for the future of Zay. Except for intergenerational language transmission (since the language is still acquired as mother tongue on the islands) and community members attitudes toward their own language (for the majority still evaluate their vernacular positively), the other evaluative factors clearly indicate the fact that the language has been under a serious threat of extinction. This may pose the very relevant question: what should be done to reverse the situation?

As discussed above, the Zay language was in decline due to certain competing factors: both external and internal. The current endangered status of Zay language was the outcome of years of economic sufferings of its speakers coupled with the political, cultural and linguistic domination by the adjoining majority ethnic group. These factors placed a heavy pressure on the attitudes of the people and their language use behavior. So, efforts ought to be directed towards fighting the forces at work. That means the restorative actions should necessarily give a central place to addressing the underlying factors that caused the Zay language to lose out its speakers in the course of time.

First of all, the results of the study call for continued and enhanced attitude changing activities so that the Zay who have developed negative attitudes toward their language would be aware of the

benefits of preserving their native tongue. As clearly stated under section 4.2.2.1, the Zay parents living along the lake shores expressed various language attitudes. While some parents wanted their children to shift to Afan Oromo in order to be assimilated into majority society, the other parents would like to see their ethnic language being maintained in the next generations. These diverse language attitudes seemed to impact the children's learning of their vernacular. Hence, changing the attitude of the people was found a prerequisite before any concrete measures would be taken. When all the community members start to take pride in their ethnic language, when its fate matters deeply to them, they can then make strong efforts for the survival and transmission of the language to the next generation. In connection to counteracting people's relinquishing attitudes, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998:96) assert:

> The reversal effort requires wide spread, intense conviction that this is the right thing to do. This ideological clarification must be assumed prior to any successful community effort. The effort requires a community level of commitment and awareness that this is a "do it yourself" effort. Language reversal cannot be done to one or for one by others.

Sallabank (2011:286) also agrees that the task of fostering positive community attitudes within the endangered speech community should be carried out because language can be saved only by the speech community itself. Moreover, Fishman (1991) argues that reversing language shift requires reversing the resistant attitudes towards the threatened languages among both dominant language speakers and minority language speakers. The first task of language development campaigners would be to change the attitudes of members of the speech community who are not interested in the maintenance and reinvigoration of their language to more positive attitudes (Wurm, 2013: 20). One has to know that there is no shortcut to language reinvigoration; it requires long, painstaking effort. So, the campaigners just have to keep working determinedly and patiently.

According to Wurm (2013:19), it is rarely the case that the entire speech community speaking an endangered language is interested to maintain their language in the face of the pressure exerted upon them by the attitudes, and often policies, of the monolingual speakers of the dominant language. Hence, it is of the essence to find persons in the speech community who are keen to see their language maintained or reinvigorated. In this regard, several persons of the Zay speech community showed a strong interest to reinvigorate their ethnic language if they would have the

support of other key stakeholders in their efforts. Accordingly, the results of the investigation identified the stakeholders in the process of clearing the threatening attitudes held by speakers and non-speakers of Zayña. To begin with, the Orthodox Christian Church was regarded as a leading stakeholder in encouraging the Zay people to take pride in themselves and in what is theirs. It was found that the Zay often went to church for prayer, liturgy and sermon because of the fact that they had a strong attachment to their religion. The religious fathers, in cooperation with those community members who would be keen to see the language reinvigorated, could take this opportunity and instill a sense of concern into the people about their flagging language. Since religious fathers are respected as role models of social behavior, their guidance and moral support could encourage the general citizenry to nurture their ethnic language. In addition to this, the church could translate the holy books into Zay language, and may also open Zay religious school which would offer primary literacy education in Zayña. This was suggested on the assumption that the low impression the Zay held of the status of their language may possibly be improved when they would see their language written down, and used as instructional medium in the religious school in the same way as the languages of wider communication. Spolsky (2011: 152) agrees that religion can play an important role to maintain endangered or classical languages. This is evident in the Roman Catholic Church which established an educational system that long maintained Latin, and Jewish religious schools that kept Hebrew alive (read and written if not spoken) for nearly 2000 years.

Community elders were also thought to be key stakeholders. They could be a role model for young people by using it in their everyday interactions. It is well known that home is a vital platform for language use and preservation. Hence, sensitizing the parents to speak Zayña at home with their children could highly be important. The well-informed community elders who are interested to maintain their ancestral language may possibly make the people, particularly the young generation aware of the need for maintaining and transmitting their language to the next generation. Instance of this may be enlightening the ethnic members about the role of their language in maintaining their original ethnic and cultural identity and archiving the history of their ancestry. Its death, therefore, results in irrecoverable loss of their unique identity and history, for which they can inevitably be detached from their pedigree. Once the people got such understanding, they might make a concerted effort to change the resistant attitudes towards their native tongue.

The study results demonstrate that the public occasions and ceremonies, such as wedding, mourning, communal labor, ɨddɨr, məhaβər and coffee ceremony could be a crucial platform for awareness-raising activities since they mostly bring the in-group members (Zay people) together. For example, the members of ɨddɨr and məhaβər are, in most cases, ethnically Zay, and this situation may create a healthy environment for the awareness-raising activities to be conducted effortlessly. It was believed that if the people gathered for məhaβər and ɨddɨr got the awareness about the advantages of maintaining their ethnic language, they could develop a strong sense of responsibility for the upkeep of the language. Once participants of the məhaβər and ɨddɨr gained the consciousness, they themselves might also enlighten their family members, particularly the children, about the benefits of preserving their flagging language in the face of the dominant languages.

Other ideal occasion for awareness-raising activities and language learning is the so-called 'coffee ceremony'. In rural areas, neighbors usually had a coffee together. This seems a crucial platform where those who do not understand the language can learn and use it, and the ones who have already developed a low impression of the status of their native language can be made aware of the necessity of preserving their lesser-used language and passing it on to the future generation. According to the study results, where the Zay live in close proximity with each other, coffee ceremony can create an ample opportunity for the young to hear the language from the adult and elderly who are good at it, and in due time learn and use it themselves. To produce promising results, children having a passive knowledge of the language would be talked to using words from their ethnic language on such occasion, i.e. the old fluent speakers are required to use only their indigenous language while talking to the children. Explanation can be given either in Amharic or Afan Oromo, the language intelligible to both the elderly and the children, when necessary. The children are also supposed to be strongly encouraged to use words from their little-known language in their communication with old generation as well as with each other, and when they do so, they need to be praised for their effort. The other crucial point may be storytelling on such event. The old members of the Zay community who can remember some stories of Zay are required to tell the story to the young generation using their own vernacular, with explanation in Amharic or Afan Oromo when necessary. This can help the children learn some essential things about their traditional culture, while at the same time obtain understanding of their indigenous language. In general, these activities are likely to bring about a praiseworthy

achievement in children's knowledge of their flagging ethnic language if practiced on a regular basis. An important testament to the possibility of learning Zayña on coffee ceremony was noted in Bochessa village, where the language was thought to decline more.

It is, however, indisputable that this approach works well where in-group members live closely as neighborhood for the reason that the neighbors normally invite each other for a coffee on a daily basis. It does not work if the immediate neighbors of Zay households are Oromo or other ethnic groups as the Zay feel impolite to use their little-known language in the presence of other language speakers.

Further, educators were regarded as leading stakeholders in counteraction of people's negative attitudes. Especially, language teachers and linguists could encourage the people to build a positive image of their ancestral language. According to the results, children of school age were ashamed of using their indigenous language at school for other children who spoke the majority language made a mock of them. Hence, the teachers who are keen on seeing the language maintained may get ethnically Zay students together at school and encourage them to take pride in their ethnic language and use it in all public domains by paying no attention to the mockery of majority language speakers. They may also advise the non-Zay schoolchildren to discontinue making fun of Zay-born children while speaking their lesser-used language. In stimulating interest in the Zay children to use their language in public domains, the teachers may make every effort to get them aware of the fact that in knowing two or several languages, they have something in their minds which the speakers of a dominant language do not own. It is also of vital importance in making the children understand that they have not to relinquish their own ethnic language in order to gain competence in the dominant languages because they can acquire adequate proficiency in all languages at a time. In relation to this, Wurm (2013:17) argues that where minority language is getting threatened with its speakers under a pressure from the attitudes of monolingual speakers of a dominant language, the first thing to do is to make the speakers, or at least a few prominent members of the endangered language community, aware of the advantage of bilingualism and multilingualism. This is likely to boost their fading self-respect, ethnic identity feeling and self-consciousness, which can in turn help the speakers of threatened language to learn the dominant language while at the same time maintain their community language. He goes on stating that attempts at making the threatened language

speakers aware of the fact that their language can be a useful secret language to conceal their thoughts from hostile authorities are the first steps to reawaken the flagging interest of the speakers in their own language (Wurm, 2013:18). Actually, the observation and interview results show that the Zay used their threatened language to exchange information that should be kept secret from other language speakers.

As explained in section 4.2.2.1.1, some parents did not teach Zay to their children with the belief that their ethnic language was not able to produce economic benefits for the children. This seems to match with the point made by Wurm (2013: 19). He noted that some parents, who are unaware of that their children could easily be natural bilinguals in their own and the 'economically useful' language, are likely to avoid teaching them their own language for fear that an imperfect knowledge of the dominant language would interfere with their economic opportunities in the feature. This may lead to the suggestion that the educated persons in the community, who are eager for the maintenance of their threatened language, would counteract such thinking by making the parents aware of the possibility of full bilingualism of their children, and of the potential benefits of being bilingual. It should also be pointed out to the members of the younger generation that they are not the same as the monolingual speakers of the dominant language, and that they can gain a lot from being bilingual, where in some situation they can even get economic benefits. As to Wurm (2013: 19), for example, they could work as interpreters or in an administrative capacity employed by representatives of the dominant language as experts in matters relating to their own people.

A further point of discussion is the fact that the absence of alphabet and description contributed to the low impression that some Zay people developed of their lesser-used language. It is well known that institution of orthography and description of a language are mainly carried out by linguists. So, the linguists who have started studying the Zay language could undertake the task of describing the language and devising orthographic representation for it, as well as designing teaching and reading materials to be used in the actual language maintenance efforts, with the help of the community members who are keen to reinvigorate the language. This action may possibly turn on the general citizenry's interest in their little-used language. In this instance, Wurm (2013: 20-21) argues that the outside linguists, who took up the study of an endangered language for research purposes, are to advise and help the speakers, and especially prepare

materials such as text books and story books for the speakers to use, under the guidance of key persons in the community. In addition, if the language had no writing before, the linguist would have to develop a practical alphabet for the language with the help of those keen to reinvigorate it because the language reduced to writing will contribute a lot to its being maintained.

According to Wurm (2013:15), one of the most important factors for the maintenance of a threatened language is the attitudes of the speakers towards their own language and the importance that they attach to it as a symbol of their identity. No less important is the attitudes of the dominant language speakers with whom the speakers of minority language have close contacts. Speakers of the dominant language, too, often have a negative view of the minority language. According to Tsunoda (2006: 60), minority languages are beset with phenomena such as low status in the community/society, lack of prestige or low prestige, prejudice, and stigmatization. As a result, speakers themselves are often troubled by absence of self-respect, inferiority complex, self-depreciation, and shame. This implies that the awareness raising activities could also consider the majority community members. Unless they accept the need for protection and promotion of this language, any Zay maintenance project may not bear fruit. Wurm (2013:15) argues that negative attitudes by the dominant language speakers bode badly for the maintenance of a language in jeopardy. This means a change of negative attitude to positive is required for the reason that it mostly leads to the maintenance of a vulnerable language owing to the disappearance of threatening attitudes. Therefore, getting the support of the majority community to develop the Zay language is very crucial. The people who held the Zay language in low regard could be made to realize deeply that the maintenance of human linguistic diversity is absolutely necessary for the welfare of the world. That is to say they may well be made aware of the fact that the disappearance of a language hurts not only the community to which the language belongs but also the world as a whole. An effort may also be made to bring the two peoples together and try to resolve their differences and unite in common action. If changing the threatening attitudes fails, for whatsoever reason, the Zay may hardly have an ethnic language in the foreseeable future to bequeath to all those who come after them.

To this may be added efforts that focus on the economic wellbeing of the community. As the results of the study (Section 4.2.1.1) show, the Zay people, particularly the islanders seemed to be economically disadvantaged. Harbert (2011:414) argues that if economy is a significant

cause of language endangerment, any language reversal effort should focus on it. This means that a goal of stabilizing and restoring the endangered Zay language to its robust state could focus more broadly on improving the local people's standard of living. Grenoble and Whaley (2006: IX) also argue "the relationship between the use of a particular language and speakers' economic wellbeing is central." Harbert (2011: 417) adds that the potent ways of stabilizing particular linguistic community can be through addressing the material needs of its inhabitants more generally, without specific reference to language.

According to the results of the study, water intensive fruits and vegetables seem to be vital for sustainable income generation on the islands, for there is a scarcity of plain land to sow grain crops. First, the productiveness of root and fruit crops is high; one may produce surplus yields of fruit and vegetable on a plot of land. This is noticeable in some farmers' production of such fruits and vegetables as lemon, cabbage, onion, pepper and others through irrigation. Second, agricultural products of such kind have a huge demand on market; they could be sold with reasonable price. The money earned from the sale of these products could be used for purchasing subsistence crops.

In the process of building the economic wellbeing of the people, technical and material support is absolutely necessary. As the land is mountainous, it can be easily exposed to erosion, and hence, the farmers may require the expertise of agriculture practitioners in order to protect the land from flood. They may also need support with water pump machine. The water pump bought by a personal effort of some farmers was used for irrigating only the land along the bank of the lake because of its small capacity. Given the economic trouble of the islanders, addressing such problem seems very crucial. It is basically the responsibility of the local government to support its people in every possible means. For instance, it could organize the people, particularly the youth, in associations and supply them with modern water pumps that are capable of watering the farmlands which located at the furthermost distance from the bank of the lake.

It is well known that fishing has occupied a very important place in the economic livelihood of the Zay. However, the fishermen had concern as to its sustainability and productivity. The major challenges facing fish farm in Zay area was the proliferation of illegal fishers and catching immature fish (which resulted in decline in the potential of fish production), the gradual decline of the lake, and the absence of modern technologies for yield optimization, harvest and post-

harvest operations. These things seem to discourage fishermen and compel them to look for alternative opportunities. The question is: who is responsible to alleviate the problem? According to the results of the study, the primary responsibility for the development of fishing activity rests on the shoulder of the government. It was held responsible to establish fishing cooperatives having a firm legal base that could outlaw illegal fishers as well as catching immature fish. The government may also provide members of the cooperatives with training in fishing practices as well as with improved fishing equipments. This could possibly be useful not only to increase the yield of their fish farm but also to improve the quality of the products which in turn help the fishermen increase their income. Above all, creation of a market link for surplus yields of fish appeared to be imperative to improve the benefits of the fishermen and their socioeconomic status. This holds true for agricultural products as well. Although farmers produced root and fruit crops on the islands through irrigation, they had trouble getting a standard price for their products. In the first place, there was a problem of water transport; in the second, there was a lack of market link. Because of these reasons, farmers simply served the merchants coming over the islands to buy such products with a least price. The merchants aggrandized themselves at the expense of the farmers. Hence, creation of market link for their yields of fish and other agricultural products seemed indispensable. If the people get the support they need, they may not leave their territory. In other words, if they are able to meet their basic needs without moving to anywhere else, the speakers of Zay language may considerably increase, and thus the long-term maintenance of the language may well be ensured.

Another theme of focus is tourism development. According to the study results, the islands of Lake Zway are historical places with different cultural and religious heritages, and hence they can be a centre of tourist attraction. For example, they have cultural resources, such as historical remains, customs and traditions. It is possible to promote these cultural resources effectively in cultural tourism, which can provide useful economic development opportunities. As one step forward, the Zay established a museum on Tullu Guddo Island and have now opened to the public. In addition to this, there are hot-springs on the islands, particularly Tullu Guddo. These hot springs in fact needed development; if they were developed well in modern ways, they could be an interesting recreation center for many people, particularly holidaymakers.

The critical problem in connection to tourism was the shortage or absence of tourist facilities. For example, boat accommodations were very inadequate, so there was no easy access to the islands. Above all, lodging, food, and other related services did not exist at all. It is, however, apparent that services, particularly boats and lodges are highly important for the islands to attract tourists. To make tourism an alternative economic development opportunity on the islands, therefore, the Culture and Tourism Bureau of the regional government may responsively develop such facilities, which are the basis for a steady stream of tourists to the destination.

Generally speaking, even though tourism has not been a source of income on the islands so far, it is desirable to make every possible effort to promote it as a center of attraction for the fact that the islanders undoubtedly need more local works to encourage young people to stay. The economic advantage of tourism is very considerable in that it could create various local businesses which include hotels, shops, restaurants and boat trips. With the improvement of the economy, the settlement of the people on the islands is bound to be more stable.

A very important part of building the economic capacity of the Zay community is to develop infrastructures (public services) such as health institutions, transports, water supplies, power supplies, etc. because these things are highly needed for the operation of a society as a whole; they determine the quality of life that most of people could have. The results reveal serious problems of health care centers, water transport systems, clean drinking water supplies and power supplies on the islands. First, the islanders had social, cultural and economic interconnection with the mainland people. Hence, they required an improved transport system so that they could get easy access to the mainland. Second, the people of the islands had lack of clean drinking water. They simply relied on lake water which was likely to expose them to water borne diseases, and so development of water supply on the islands was considered quite important to alleviate such problem. The third one is provision of medical services which is central to human development. As to the results of the study, the lack of medical facilities on the islands made the life of the inhabitants difficult. It follows that establishment of health centers on the islands could highly encourage sustainability of human habitation. Installation of electricity on the islands is the other essential part of infrastructural developments. Power supply would be required mainly for preservation of the perishable products like fish through the process of refrigeration. This process can at least help the producers keep their surplus yields of fish

unspoiled for a relatively longer time than ever, which in turn enable them to get time to negotiate for fair price. These findings corroborate the idea of Harbert (2011: 417), who argues that improvement of health care and sanitation, development of water supplies and transportation systems, and provision of technical support for sustainable utilization of natural and agricultural resources are an important part of language maintenance. Such activities are likely to encourage a particular speech community to live permanently in their original settlement, and consequently preserve their primordial cultural practices.

However, the strong point of argument for reinvigoration of the Zay language was connected to official ethnic recognition (See Section 4.2.3.3). The results show that official ethnic recognition could create a more receptive and favorable climate for the maintenance of the Zay language. But the most important question may be whether the Zay have a constitutional backing to claim for recognition since such issue is normally addressed by "first deserve, then desire" basis. That is, before individuals begin to hope about possessing something, they make sure that they are qualified for it. Article 39 (5) of FDRE Constitution provides the right to be officially recognized as a Nation, Nationality or People for those who have or share a common culture or similar customs, mutual intelligibility of language, belief in a common or related identities, a common psychological make-up, and who inhabit an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory. The constitution excluded territorially dispersed ethnic groups from being beneficiaries of the rights available to nations, nationalities and peoples. The Constitution of Oromia Regional State also seems to be relevant to this FDRE Constitution although it may differ in the implementation of some fundamental provisions. The constitution states the presence of non-Oromo ethnic groups in the region, but it provides the sovereign power only for the Oromo people. With this regard, Getachew (2018: 63) found that the Oromo State Constitution fails to comply with the provisions of FDRE Constitution as it ignores the recognition and accommodation of ethnic minority groups living in the regional state. This implies that the non-Oromo groups are denied the right to promote their distinct culture and language. That is, the constitution does not recognize the distinct identity, culture and language of non-Oromo ethnic groups which live in the region. A case in point is the Zay which have been pushed to the margin.

Viewed from FDRE Constitutional perspective, these people appear to qualify for recognition as a distinct linguistic and cultural group. First of all, the Zay have common cultures or customs, a

language (Zayña), and even religion as almost all Zay people are Orthodox Christians; they live in an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory, such as the islands and lake shores. Second, the Zay are indigenous to the region. History shows that the settlement of part of the people on the islands and areas around Lake Zway dates back to the 9th century, much earlier than the arrival of the Oromo, which was thought to have happened in the 16th century. The implication of this is that the Zay have even a stronger ground to claim ownership of the region they occupy over the Oromo. From this, therefore, one can say that it is a double standard to deny Zay ethnic recognition. The constitution seems to be unfairly applied in different way to different ethnic groups; that is, it favors one group over another.

It is logical to say that denying Zay ethnic recognition while they, in the actual fact on the ground, deserve it may contribute to instability and to the sense that the regional administrative system serves the majority at the expense of the minority ethnic groups. Hence, it seems that provision of official recognition is a recipe for all important things. On the one hand, recognizing the Zay as a distinct ethnic group may help the government in promoting unity in the region by exorcising the feeling of powerlessness and subordination that the Zay might develop because of the predominance of the Oromo. On the other, official recognition by the government can be very useful for the Zay as it would enable them to get the right to create their own administrative unit. This would in turn provide them an opportunity to teach their children in the Zay language as well as to use it as a working language at local level. In addition, with official recognition, they can have a budget allocated to them which may enable them to set up a cultural center where their language and culture can be nurtured and promoted. In connection to this, Spolsky (2011:415-16) points out that the status of speakers of minority languages can be raised by legislation prohibiting linguistic discrimination, and establishing rights of speakers to use their languages for public purposes. What is more, the Zay may get services and information in their local language and that may help them maintain and bequeath more stable language to all those who come after them. This argument is well supported by Harbert (2011:418) who states that presenting services and information through local languages may offer support to protect the languages in ways more specific than simply helping to stop out-migration. Burnaby (1996: 32) in Harbert (2011:418) confirms the fact that the highest levels of fluency in Australian Aboriginal languages exists in those communities with the most Aboriginal language services, including newspapers, radio, television, government publications and community meetings.

Taken as a whole, official ethnic recognition could contribute to get rid of the sense that the constitutional system serves the few at the expense of the many, as well as to an increase in honor and prestige of the Zay in the wider society. This would in turn become a stimulus for people to make a concerted effort in favor of their receding ethnic language. For example, the members of the ethno-linguistic group are more likely to make decisions that contribute to the maintenance of their language - the decision to raise and educate their children in the language of the community.

In line with official recognition, emphasis may also be put on the Culture and Tourism Bureau to promote the Zay language and culture. Culture and Tourism could record the unique cultural and religious festivals and transmit them in media, particularly on television. Transmission of the cultural and religious festivals in media could make the Zay take pride in themselves and their language, which is in turn likely to have a significant contribution to maintaining the language, i.e. the people of Zay tend to use their language to express their thoughts and feelings publicly just like speakers of a dominant language. Of central importance is Morianty's (2011:458) observation that the presence of endangered languages in media, where young people are often involved, supports these languages by changing the ideology that surrounds them, which in turn can affect the ways in which they are used. The visibility of endangered language in media helps to improve the self-image of the minority that is held by members of the majority groups.

Another point worth making here is education. Schools were blamed for teaching only Afan Oromo in Oromiya Regional State and for discouraging the minority Zay language. As it has clearly been indicated in the foregoing section, the Ethiopian constitution provides for equality of all languages. This means minority and majority languages in Ethiopia enjoy equal state recognition. In accordance with the constitutional provision, the Education and Training Policy of Ethiopia advocates the use of mother tongues for schooling. However, in practice, all languages are not on an equal footing; the majority language is always favored over the minority in every aspect. In his classic critique of Ethiopian language policy, Zelealem (2012: 49) states "equal status and hence a kind of symmetrical LPO [language policy] by *de jure* but non-equal in the actual fact on the ground (*de facto*) and hence a kind of asymmetrical LPO is what is going on in our country." In spite of what is happening in the country, Zay language speakers could still potentially claim for mother tongue education on the basis of FDRE constitutional provision.

The result indicates that the present government funded schools on the islands and lakeshore villages taught only Afan Oromo as a subject and used as a language of school instruction. Nevertheless, this language of school instruction was not the choice of the Zay; rather, it was imposed on them from above (higher authorities). This is evident in the responses of the majority informants who expressed their strong desire to learn Zay themselves, and to make their children learn in Zay at school. Putting it differently, an interest and motivation to develop Zay was highly reflected in the research participants' responses to items focused on mother tongue primary education. The results show that the Zay would be likely to send their children to Zay-medium school if they could get the opportunity. This supports Vinson's (2012:113) finding: "there is a desire among many Zay that their children have the opportunity to learn in Zay along with Oromo and Amharic, as the latter two languages are used when communicating with the Oromo or in the larger towns such as Zway and Meki." Opening Zay-medium primary school may, therefore, be central to the community's language reinvigoration endeavors. In connection to this, Grenoble and Whaley (2006:10) argue that education is a critical domain for language use. When the local languages are part of the formal educational process, they typically maintain a higher degree of vitality. Fishman (1989:30-31), however, asserts that for the success of language revival effort, the school must be an integral part of the family-neighborhood axis of child socialization and identity-commitment formation. Schools cannot succeed, whether their primary concern is reversing language shift or merely instruction of history or mathematics if the relationship between teachers, parents and students is such that they are estranged from each other and from the curriculum.

Brock-Utne (2005: 175) in Spolsky (2011:153) contends that the 'myth of many languages in Africa' is commonly presented as an excuse for using ex-colonial languages like French, Portuguese or English as media of instruction. However, closer analysis shows the fact that much of the diversity is the outcome of inaccurate identification and that a three-language model (the local language in elementary school, a regional language in high school and an international language for higher education) would be more effective in multilingual settings. Brock-Utne's statement suggests the possible way of making mother tongue education take effect in the context of Zay.

It is also thought important to establish high schools, though not in Zayña, on the islands in order to make the children not leave the islands at early ages. Opening high schools on the islands is useful for two discrete reasons. First, it would enable the children to stay longer with their parents and the community at large, thereby gaining mastery of their distinct language and the culture it represents. Second, the children could have a chance to learn their ethnic language in high school as a subject since the islanders are ethnically homogeneous. These could in turn help them retain their ethnic language and culture even if they left the islands for college and university educations, or other purposes at their later ages.

A further argument for reinvigoration of the Zay language is creation of mother tongue literacy program. Pertaining to this, Fishman (1980:169) asserts "unless they are entirely withdrawn from the modern world, minority linguistic groups need to be literate in their mother tongue (as well as in some language of wider communication). Grenoble and Whaley (2006:116) also believe that the mere existence of literacy can have an impact on the way people view their own languages. Thus, introducing literacy can be perceived as an essential first step in maintaining and promoting the use of a language. The results once again show the presence of a great motivation among the Zay to attend literacy education if they could get the opportunity.

In general, the strength of support for Zay maintenance in the interview and questionnaire results was encouraging. The Zay seemed to have a great interest to support and promote their language if concrete measures of Zay development project would be initiated. Instances of such interest can be noticeable in the discussions to come right below.

The Zay have still seemed to be proud of their distinct identity, the most noticeable outward emblem of which is their language. Rather than being assimilated into majority language-speaking society, they would like to see themselves as part of a distinct people with their own language, culture, history and values, and this could be evidenced by the nascent efforts they have made so far. There were community efforts to control further contraction of the Zay people and their distinct identity. The Zay started their campaign with an establishment of what they called "Yəmaninət Committee" (literally 'Identity Committee'), which run the issue of official ethnic recognition and political representation in the House of People's Representatives. The ultimate goal of the Identity Committee was to help the Zay solve their economic and social problems, thereby protecting their distinctive language and culture. This seems to comply with

Vinson's (2012: 114) finding which states that the main political goals of the Zay are cultural promotion and economic advancement. The idea is that when the people are officially recognized as a viable ethnic group and politically represented, they could have funds and projects that benefit them in solving their economic and social problems that accounted for the decline of the language. With this in mind, the Identity Committee applied to the Oromia Regional Government and the Federal Government, as well as the House of Federation for official ethnic recognition and political representation. Even though there was no response provided, the Committee has still pushed the matter through.

Apart from running the issue of official ethnic recognition and political representation, the members of the Identity Committee were engaged in awareness-raising campaign. According to the study results, the residence of Grand Identity Committee was Zway Town. Nevertheless, there were sub-committees in each place where the Zay predominantly exist. The awareness-raising activities were conducted in each Zay-inhabited area, but deeply in places where the Zay language and culture have been receding more in order to make the people concerned about their identity (Zayness), thereby bringing them back to their language and culture. Each member of the committee tried their best to encourage the people, who grew up speaking only Afan Oromo or other dominant languages, to learn their vernacular and use it in their everyday social interactions as well as to ensure that their children learn it too. Above all, the committee created a stage for the people to converse with each other about the need for preserving their ethnic language and culture, as well as about the challenges confronting them. Requesting persistently, they were also able to win over the Culture and Tourism Bureau of the Federal Government to record Zay's cultural and religious traditions and display in media for public. This disclosed the fact about the language and culture that they claimed to be officially recognized.

Other activities were dictionary writing, cultural documentation and production of songs in the Zay language. The results of the study reveal that individuals were assigned to collect words from each Zay settlement area in order to prepare a dictionary. So, the task of dictionary preparation was undertaking. Vinson's observation corroborates the present finding: "Zayña is still important for the community, and this is supported by the wish to develop the language. Currently there are individual efforts to create a standardized form of Zayña, which would be written in fidel, the Amharic script." (Vinson, 2012: 113). Besides, the Zay made an effort to

document the cultural traditions. For example, the traditions of marriage, mourning, meskel celebration, etc. were being written down in the Zay language using *fɨdəl*. What is more, all cultural materials were collected and kept properly. For this, a museum was already set up on Tullu Guddo Island and now opened for tourists.

More importantly, the Zay language has currently been introduced to music industry through its mother tongue speakers. Ethnically Zay people have been producing songs in their vernacular and made them available to the Zay speech community. The results reveal that the production of song in Zay was primarily intended to attract the members of the community, particularly the younger group to the language. It was hoped that the youth tended to value the language when they saw it being used in such domain in the same way as the dominant languages of Ethiopia. Practically, this activity seemed to bring about positive outcome. According to the study result, the songs that were produced in the Zay language stimulated the youth very much. Even those who did not understand the language listened to the music joyfully and sang themselves obsessively. The long term impact of this may be impressive in that it would make the children attach a value to their ancestral language, and consequently try their best to learn and use it in their day-to-day activities.

The other which worth spelling out is the effort that the Zay people made to help themselves by creating self-help association named Zay Development Association (ZDA). They thought that a better change would come for Zay ethnic group if its own descendants worked for it, and for that reason they established this development association. The main objective of ZDA was to help the people solve their economic, social and linguistic problems. With this regard, Vinson (2012:115) asserts that the Zay seek to promote their language, culture and economic welfare through formation of Zay Development Association. This self-reliance is a way of reinforcing Zay identity as well.

The ZDA commenced its activity after being authorized by the local authorities. At the outset, it worked actively by seeking donors for its projects. Apart from the money obtained through donation, members of the development association raised funds according to their means on monthly basis. The results of the investigation disclose that the principal donors were the Catholic Church and the affluent descendants of the Zay ethnic group living in different places, be it inside or outside the country.

Accordingly, ZDA carried out various activities. In the first place, it tried to increase awareness of the Zay to bear the responsibility in maintaining their language, culture and history. That is to say the members of the association attempted to infuse into the people a feeling of pride in their being Zay and in what is theirs. They encouraged them to join hands and work for the upkeep of their language, culture and history. In the second place, ZDA tried hard to address some social problems. For example, the island-dwellers had a problem of clean drinking water supply. They used to drink lake water, which exposed them to certain water borne diseases like Bilharzias. To minimize this problem, ZDA made a tap water supply available in different settlement areas of Zay people. In addition, it established a clinic on Tullu Guddo Island so as to lessen the problem of health care services. Previously, the islanders had to leave for mainland health care center to get treatment for every ailment (i.e. serious or mild). Today, however, the establishment of the clinic on the island has minimized the magnitude of the problem. Moreover, the association bought a motorboat and handed over to the islanders in order to ease their water transportation problem. Previously, the islanders faced two problems: the first one was unreasonable cost of water transport as the owners of boat set the transportation fees to their liking. The second one was unavailability of enough motorboats to travel to mainland any time they wanted. Thus, the motorboat donated to the islanders by ZDA alleviated their transportation problem to certain extent. ZDA also planted tree seedlings on the islands and lakeshore village - Herera - to make the environment green and appealing for life. Nonetheless, the seedlings withered for want of water.

Although ZDA made every effort to help the Zay community, especially the islanders, it has been made impotent by banning its work license from being renewed. As the study result shows, the government body in charge of authorizing development associations turned down to renew the license of ZDA saying that the Zay could not be allowed to create a development association of their own as far as they have not officially been recognized as a distinct ethnic group within Oromia territorial jurisdiction. But the question is why the local administration authorized the association at the start and barred it later?

The repercussion of this erratic action was immense. For example, the tree seedlings planted by ZDA on the islands and Herera to create green environment were not able to grow owing to lack of water. After the suspension of its work license, ZDA faced financial limitation to purchase

water pump and hand over to the people so that they would water the seedlings, and in a consequence all the seedlings planted there withered. The other projects, formerly intended to be sustained with further reinforcement, also came to an end. The problem was that the members of ZDA were afraid of asking aid organizations for funds as they had no renewed work license in their hand. It is apparent that even if they sought funds, they could not get as the fund providers would not be willing to finance unlicensed development association.

Therefore, as one can understand, the ZDA tried hard to help the people in what it could so that they would address their economic and social problems, thereby protecting and promoting their language. However, it has been stopped by interdicting its work license. This may lead to the conclusion that official ethnic recognition is a requirement for the establishment of any institution, organization or association in the name of Zay community. The study result reveals that the community efforts to help itself by setting up a development association of its own have been made impotent because of the absence of official ethnic recognition. Therefore, provision of official ethnic recognition to Zay seems to be an exceptional, not to say the only, way out to alleviate the overall problems of the people in general and linguistic problem in particular. When the current fact on the ground is considered, the government has been doing nothing to support the community efforts. It is an established fact that the continuance and assurance of the language should be the work of the community itself, but government intervention is also very critical to build a firm foundation. Hence, to apply itself to the work ZDA has started, in whatsoever way it can, is a worthy task for the government.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1 Introduction

The present study was designed to determine the causes and remedies of the endangered Zay language. In order to achieve this, a mixed methods design was used. Accordingly, data was procured through in-depth interview, KI, FGD, observation, questionnaire, as well as wordlist and sentence translation task. The data collected through these tools were presented, interpreted and discussed exhaustively in Chapter Four. This chapter concludes the major findings that emerged from the analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data. It lastly makes recommendations based on the findings.

5.2 Conclusions

Based on the findings of the current study, the following conclusions were drawn:

One of the most important findings was that the Zay confronted a problem of economic livelihood in their settlement areas, particularly the islands. There was no extensive farmland due to the rocky and mountainous nature of the islands. The scarcity of cultivable land made the Zay, mainly the youth, heavily depend on fishing activity. However, the activity of fishing *per se* was not encouraging for two main reasons: first, there was no market link where the fishermen could sell their surplus yields of fish with a standard price; second, the production of fish was in decline owing to the rise of illegal fishers as well as catching immature fish. The problem seems complicated when issues about basic infrastructures, such as water transportation systems, medical facilities and clean water supplies were added. There was lack of water transportation systems, because of which the islanders were exposed to high cost of transport to take their surplus yields of fish to nearby mainland markets. The absence of clean drinking water supplies and medical services on the islands also exacerbated the situations. The overall impact of these factors was separation of some individuals from their local language community for the betterment of their life, which in turn resulted in loss of mother tongue speakers of Zayña, particularly in the younger generation.

The second major factors were political, which contributed to reduction of the Zay language speakers. The language was excluded from secondary domains, such as education, the media, administration, business, etc. For example, there were Elementary Schools on Tullu Guddo and

Tsedecha Islands, but none of them taught the Zay language as a subject, not to mention using it as a medium of instruction. It was emphatically noted that kids of school age did not understand Afan Oromo- the language of school instruction. Consequently, a number of children left the islands at early ages in search of education offered in Amharic, the language they were proficient in, next to Zayña. The movement of the children to other places for educational opportunities led to a loss of Zay language speakers on the islands. When those children who were born on the mainland are considered, the first language they learnt at home in their early childhood might be Zayña but they took no notice of it as soon as they joined Afan Oromo-medium School. They shifted more often than not from Zayña to Afan Oromo in order to accommodate themselves to the linguistic behavior of the school community.

Another point worth making with regard to political reasons is the absence of official ethnic recognition, the most frequently mentioned theme of the data. The Zay claimed for official ethnic recognition, but the government seemed to have a reservation to recognize them as a distinct ethnic group. A close reading of the Oromia constitution even reveals the fact that it was created only for the benefit of the Oromo people, overlooking the minority groups living in the region. The fact that the government turned a deaf ear to Zay's claim for official ethnic recognition affected them negatively. They appeared to lose pride in themselves as Zay. Consequently, it was not uncommon to see people declaring themselves Oromo by relinquishing their Zay identity. The impact of this act on their language was also immense.

Equally important were historical factors whose impact has still been felt. The expansion of Oromo people to Lake Zway region affected the Zay settling along the lake shores. It was found that the lake shore-dwellers that used to speak only Zayña as a mother tongue were largely overwhelmed by the Oromo language and culture. It was noted that there had been a recurrent conflict between Zay and Oromo peoples over land and water. This conflict was thought to have continued intermittently until Menelik II conquered Lake Zway region in 1893. Owing to the recurrent conflict with the Oromo, part of the Zay people who already settled along the lake shore was pushed back to the islands. This situation created a population pressure. As a consequence, late marriage was introduced in order to control further increment of population size for the resources on the islands were limited. As the approach of late marriage did not bring a lasting solution, the Zay tried other mechanisms, such as harməhɒda and adoption in order to

avoid conflict with the Oromo, thereby getting access to mainland markets and if possible farmland. Accordingly, some people left the islands through harməhɒda and adoption, and assimilated to the Oromo people. Thus, the present small size of the population of Zay can partly be associated with these historical incidents. A major historical event, however, came after Menelik II conquered Lake Zway Region: a considerable number of Zay people left the islands for the nearby lakeshore villages and towns. This situation weakened Zay language considerably by reducing the number of people speaking it as a mother tongue in its original location.

No less important were cultural and linguistic factors. As the mainland Zay lived in close knit with the Oromo people, they confronted cultural pressure. The cultural traditions and customs of the Oromo infiltrated into the home of Zay people, which ultimately resulted in dislocation of the Zay culture in some families. Some people of Zay have begun to adopt the Oromo cultural practice at the expense of their own, and the impact of this was being reflected on the language. It is known that when a culture fades away, the language that expresses it is also likely to recede along with it. The second point concerns linguistic factors. The Zay language has not been reduced to writing. The absence of a written form, and dictionaries, grammars and reading materials developed in it weakened its vitality.

The aforesaid external forces appeared to put an increasing pressure on the attitudes of the Zay and their language use behavior. Two opposing views pertaining to language attitudes were identified. It was found that some Zay people developed low opinion of their indigenous language. What deserves a special mention here is the emergence of some ethnic members who even felt shame to report themselves as Zay. Similarly, the finding emerged from the respondents of Oromo people reveals the presence of negative attitudes towards Zay language. However, the prevailing attitude held by the respondents about the language was positive. For example, most of the Zay who lived along the lake shores and nearby towns still considered the language spoken by their ancestors as a core cultural value even though they knew it little or not at all. That is, the Zay language has still been seen as a key aspect of the people's identity. Afan Oromo was regarded as the language of survival, and thus needed simply for its economic function.

The findings of statistical analysis demonstrate the fact that there were differences in the responses of informants to the attitudinal items when they were grouped according to their age: the under-30s were less likely to respond as positively as the adult and elderly respondents.

Nevertheless, the finding of effect size measure denotes the fact that the relationship between the variables was not strong; for most of the attitudinal items, the effect size measure was found modest. When they were grouped according to their sex, the differences of their responses were statistically insignificant.

When it comes to language use, almost all people on the islands of Lake Zway have still used Zay language, whereas in the rest of the areas where Zay people lived, the shift to Afan Oromo has been progressing. On the three inhabited islands, younger speakers have still formed social bonds through the Zay language, but elsewhere on the mainland this has mainly taken place through Afan Oromo. Of course, the little use of Zay on the mainland did not wholly emanate from negative attitudes held by the people, but because of their feelings of impolite to use it in front of non-Zay speakers. Although the Zay language has been used informally in various domains of the society, such as in the family, community activities, etc. on the islands, it has not been introduced even to some domains on a formal level, e.g. education, administration and the media. Actually, the Oromia Regional State has no official policy regarding minority languages. The 2001 revised constitution of the Oromia Region has not made provisions for the protection and support of Zay language.

As Sasse's (1992) model indicates, the external and internal factors mostly cause change in the structure of the dying language. Just as the model predicts, borrowing of both lexicon and structure from the dominant language (Afan Oromo) was noticeable in Zay. Several Afan Oromo loanwords entered Zay. A number of Zay native terms were replaced with borrowed vocabulary items. The change covered other language subsystems, such as phonology, morphology and syntax of Zay, owing to the intense contact it has had with Afan Oromo. However, the impact that the intense contact brought about on the syntactic structure of Zay was inconsequential.

It is important to rank the major contributors to the decline of Zay language in terms of their importance. To begin with, economic instability is ranked number one because it played a significant role by placing a heavy pressure on Zay language speakers. Because of economic prospects, the Zay were forced to leave the islands for the surrounding mainland meadow where they came into greater contact with Afan Oromo speakers, and the perceived economic advantages provided by the majority language were a large contributor to reduction of Zay language speakers on the mainland. To ensure their economic viability, the Zay, who moved to

the mainland villages, gradually relinquished their ethnic heritage language in favor of the economically and demographically dominant language of the region. So, it is certain that the very forceful factor which separated the people from their ancestral language was lack of local job opportunities and healthy working conditions that would enable them to achieve self-sufficiency in food. Political factors come second on the rank order continuum since they contributed to the reduction of the Zay language speakers considerably. The language was excluded from secondary domains such as school, the media, government, administration, court, business, etc. The absence of meaningful public activities taking place in Zay made its speakers develop a negative perception of it, and in some cases, throw off the identity of Zay. Government's silence to respond to the quest for ethnic recognition exacerbated the problem further. As the government turned a deaf ear to the claim for official ethnic recognition, the people began to lose pride in their language as well as in themselves as ethnic group. In all, the political situations placed a heavy pressure on Zay but the researcher argues that economic instability took the lion's share as it got the people dispersed and assimilated to other language speakers. Historical factors are ranked third in terms of their contribution to the diminution of the Zay language speakers. The Zay language came under a heavy pressure from dominant language of the region because of the demographic inferiority of its speakers. This numerical inferiority was caused by a recurrent conflict that thought to have occurred between Zay and Oromo peoples over land and water. That massive Oromo people expanded to Lake Zway region influenced the Zay settling along the lake shores. Because of the recurrent conflict, part of the Zay people, who already settled along the lake shore, was swallowed by Oromo culture and language, while the rest pushed back to the islands, the situation which created a population pressure. As the resources on the islands were limited, late marriage was introduced to control the increment of population size, the event which thought to have contributed a lot to diminution of the Zay people. Not only this but also the traditional practices, such as harməhɒda and adoption, caused some Zay to be assimilated to Oromo, thereby playing their part in increasing the susceptibility of the language and its speakers. So, the researcher believes that the contribution of historical factors to the decline of the Zay language speakers was also significant. Attitude comes fourth in terms of its contribution to Zay language endangerment. The fact is that attitude was not that much threatening in Zay context when viewed in the light of the aforesaid factors. Even if some ethnically Zay people evaluated their vernacular negatively, the majority

has still held it in high regard. In other words, the majority still considered the language spoken by their ancestors as a core cultural value; viewed it as a key aspect of their identity, despite the emergence of some ethnic members who even felt shame to report themselves as Zay. They regarded Afan Oromo and Amharic as languages of survival, and thus needed them for economic benefits. But it doesn't mean that the contribution of attitude is trivial and hence needs no attention because there were individuals who believed that they would be better off speaking the dominant language of the region, and hence stopped speaking their native tongue; some parents even motivated their children to focus on acquiring adequate skill of Afan Oromo in order to do well in school and enhance their chances of getting a good job. Although such attitude has currently been held by the minority, it could spread throughout the community right away unless a real effort would be made to reverse it.

This rank order is based on the researcher's own observation and evaluation of the gathered data. To determine the level of endangerment caused by the abovementioned major contributory factors, the researcher followed UNESCO's proposal.

Viewed from the perspective of UNESCO's nine evaluative factors, which were proposed to determine the level of language endangerment, the Zay language could be placed under highly endangered languages on continuum of language loss. This estimate was made on the basis of the sharp decline of intergenerational language transmission on the mainland, small number of speakers, who are dispersed over a sizeable area along Lake Zway, interethnic marriage with other dominant language speakers in the surroundings, loss of domains and other significant factors. The cumulative effect of social and political perils to the language created a powerful force which made the Zay community members learn Afan Oromo at the expense of their native tongue. However, the continuous intergenerational use of the language on the island, and the remarkable interest of both island and mainland dwellers for reinvigoration of the language bode well for its future. So, to ensure its sustainability to the future, a real effort, as noted in the subsequent section, will highly be required.

There is no doubt that identifying the forces that put the language at risk leads to better strategies of language revival. Accordingly, the study came up with the possible way out to counteract the problem. It was found that changing the attitudes of the Zay and the Oromo who had low impression of the language would be a precondition for the success of any concrete measure that

could be taken against the problem. The assumption is that positive attitude fuels the people with strong and winning spirits by which they could accomplish wonders. When they deeply felt concerned about the fate of their language, they could make all possible endeavors to maintain the intergenerational transmission of the language. It is believed that religious fathers, community elders, teachers and linguists could counteract the people's relinquishing attitudes.

Hand in hand with clearing away the threatening attitudes, efforts could be directed against the external forces that were found responsible for diminution of the language. In this instance, improving living standards of the people was considered vital to encourage them to stay in their traditional territory. It was found that cultivation of fruits and vegetables could help the islanders get sufficient yields from their plot of land. The production and productivity of the land could, needless to say, be increased by using modern agricultural practices. This means sustainable generation of income on the islands requires modern agricultural practices. Related to this is the improvement of the fishing activity. It was discovered that there existed a pressing need for protection of the lake, improved fishing equipment to optimize production and productivity as well as to augment the quality of the products, interdiction of illegal fishers and catching immature fish, and more fundamentally creation of market link for surplus yields of fish, thereby improving the benefits of fishermen and their socioeconomic status. Other alternative economic development opportunities may be tourism as the islands are historical places with different cultural and religious heritages.

What is important to note here is that an improvement in development infrastructures was considered a vital part of creating economic opportunities. That is, a project of small dimensions like establishment of health care center, development of clean water supply, modernization of water transportation systems, etc. would be necessary for the islanders because making these facilities available to the island-dwellers could motivate them to stay in their territory. This may in turn create an opportunity to develop the language as its speakers had an exceptionally strong interest in protecting and promoting it, thereby preserving their culture and history.

The other salient point of the findings was establishment of Zay-medium primary school. While the Federal Constitution has provided for equality of all languages, the Constitution of the Oromia Region has not made provisions for the protection and support of minority languages. This means minority languages in Oromia Regional State do not have constitutional provisions

to claim for mother tongue education. In spite of this, however, the Zay can potentially claim for mother tongue primary education using the provision under the FDRE Constitution. The implementation of mother tongue primary education in Zay settlement areas could be useful for survival of the language. First, it could encourage the children to stay on the islands as they were mostly leaving in search of education delivered in a language they were good at. Second, the mainland children of Zay would have a chance to see their vernacular used in secondary domain, which would, needless to say, motivate them to put more effort into learning the language as well as using it proudly in other public domains. Connected to this is creation of mother tongue based literacy education. It was identified that literacy education could be central to promotion of the use of the Zay language. A remarkable thing was the presence of a strong interest among the people to send their children to Zay-medium school and to attend literacy education by themselves if the opportunities could be made available to them.

Most importantly, official recognition of Zay as distinct linguistic and cultural group was found a viable way out to preserve and promote the language. The assumption is that official ethnic recognition could create a more open and favorable environment for the people to make every possible effort. With official recognition, the people of Zay could have the opportunity to administer themselves. This may give the language a room to be taught in school and used as a working language at local level. Especially, official ethnic recognition could make the people take pride in themselves and their language, and consequently use it with confidence in all public domains.

The researcher tried to rank the abovementioned remedies in terms of their importance. They are ranked on the basis of the researcher's critical observation of the linguistic situation of the Zay and the data collected during field work. He believes that changing the threatening attitude of the community members must come first because the people will have the willingness to pay the price of revitalization only if they develop a positive attitude towards their receding language. Although its speaker gets economic prosperity, and even linguistic and ethnic recognition, they could not change the negative perception that they developed of their ethnic language. For language maintenance program to be fruitful, the community members must start to take pride in their ethnic language first. Only when its fate matters deeply to them, they could make a real effort for the revival and intergenerational transmission of the language. The fact is that positive

attitude is a magic key which unlocks all closed doors. So, the success of any concrete language development program will undoubtedly depend on the attitude of the endangered language community. Improving the economic livelihood of the people comes next. The researcher's argument is that even though a language is used in education, administration, government, the media, etc., its continued existence cannot be ensured unless sufficient economic prospects are available in the settlement areas. That means, the speakers will incontestably leave their original territory if they do not get sustainable economic livelihood, thereby pushing the language to extinction. Therefore, there should be local job opportunities and healthy working condition for the people in order to stay in their homeland where they could promote their language by using it in their everyday social interaction. Recognition as a distinct ethnic group ranks third because it creates an encouraging environment for the people to maintain their language. If the people are officially recognized, they will have their own local administrations, and consequently a budget allocated to them. This in turn opens an opportunity for the language to be used in education, administration, media and other significant public domains. When the people see their ethnic heritage language being used in such domains just like dominant languages, they will develop a positive impression, and hence speak it unashamedly in their day-to-day life. Education is ranked number four on the rank order continuum, considering the sociolinguistic situation of Zay. It is apparent that education is very important with respect to language maintenance. If children's proficiency in their ethnic language is fostered at school, if they learn to read and write in it, this will certainly contribute a lot to maintenance. However, unless there are other meaningful public activities taking place in the language, the use of education as a sole means of language revival cannot bear fruit. Since the people are cash-stricken, they definitely prefer to use a language that provides them an opportunity to climb up the economic ladder. So much for rank order of the remedies for endangered Zay language, and thus better to turn attention to the next salient point, that is, the efforts that have been made by Zay community so far.

A further crucial finding was the fact that the Zay were waking up to the threat and gradually being more adamant in their demands for greater official recognition and support of their language. They formed an Identity Committee that could run the issue of official ethnic recognition and political representation, apart from its pivotal role in encouraging the people to maintain and develop their ethnic language by using it in their everyday life and raising their children in it. They also made an attempt to prepare a dictionary, document the cultural traditions

and produce cultural songs in the Zay language. In addition, the Zay community established a self-help association (ZDA) with the aim of solving its economic problem, and protecting its language and culture. In accordance with its goals, ZDA carried out various activities by raising funds and seeking donors for its projects. Instances of its activities were developing clean water supply, establishing health care center, donating motorboat and planting tree seedlings on the islands and Herera - mainland village. Although ZDA had financial limitation, it made a considerable effort in order to help the people solve their basic problems without leaving their settlement areas. Nonetheless, the future of ZDA seems to be unhopeful as it has currently been made inactive by banning renewal of its work license.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following list of salient points has been recommended for action if the downward trend of the Zay language is to be reversed:

1. It is apparent that the Zay ethnic group must retain its linguistic identity if it wants to stay unique. The finding reveals that some Zay community members have been relinquishing their ethnic language in favor of the adjoining majority language. Because of this threatening attitude, the Zay Identity Committee (organized by the people to run the issue of official ethnic recognition) and the Zay Development Association (though not active now) tried to heighten the awareness of the people about the importance of preserving their ethnic language. However, it has not reached the level required to control fully the decline of the language. Therefore, this activity has to continue with a further reinforcement because it is the most important part of language maintenance endeavors on which the success of every concrete action depends. The joint effort of the community elders, religious fathers, teachers, linguists and researchers could most probably realize this end. The communal awareness-raising activities have to be carried out in all Zay settlement areas, but especial focus should be given to places where the language declined more seriously. Parents should be advised painstakingly so that they make unreserved effort to teach the language to their children. This can be done through a series of dialogue among the language promotion campaigners (those community members who are keen to see their language survived into the next generation) and the parents. Equally important is that the government and the majority community should manifest sensitivity and concern for the Zay language as this could make the Zay people well motivated in their language preservation endeavors. Seeing the language with a sense of fairness and humility, and recognizing the linguistic right would give the Zay community an impetus to work determinedly and patiently. To put it another way, the government and the majority community's (Oromo) manifestation of compassion and concern for the language could increasingly give confidence to the Zay community members so that they put extra effort into their work.

2. One of the principal ways to ensure sedentary settlement is through building the capacity of the people to achieve self-sufficiency in food. With this end in view, it is vital to facilitate the basic circumstances of undertaking agricultural activities. The problems raised mainly by informants of the island-dwellers were lack of modern agricultural practices like the use of

selected seeds, irrigation, improved fishing equipment, etc.; absence of market link where they could sell their yields of fish and other agricultural products with standard price, as well as rise of illegal fishers. To trim down these problems, therefore, the local administrations should take such measures as training farmers for effective utilization of their small plot of land, providing agricultural tools and selected seeds of root and fruit crops, and modernizing the fish farm as the life of the Zay is tightly linked to fishing activity. Related to fishing, two important themes are worth spelling out. First, for sustainability of the fishing activity, the source of fish should be protected properly. It was found that Lake Zway has been declining sharply. This denotes the collapse of fishing activity in the foreseeable future. Hence, in order to prevent this problem, the government and the community should join forces and protect the lake from circumstances that could expose it to further shrinkage, and ultimately to complete disappearance. Second, a serious problem of fishermen on the islands was market where they would sell their surplus yields of fish with fair price. Therefore, the other responsibility of the government is to create market link for their products. A further economic development opportunity on the islands is tourism. Although the Zay islands have a potential for tourism development, they have not been promoted. In fact, there have been tourists visiting the islands but this has not happened in large scale so far due to lack of means of transportation and non-existence of accommodations. If these tourist facilities made available and the islands are promoted as a perfect tourist attraction center, its economic advantage could be immense for the reason that tourism may produce various local businesses. This means that there would be far more economic opportunities for the young people on the islands than there used to be. These local job opportunities can encourage the youth to stay in their original setting. Hence, the regional administrations should work indefatigably on the islands to create an environment contributing to tourism.

3. Infrastructures are obviously important factors in the improvement of the life of people. Given the ingrained problems of health care, water transport and clean drinking water that the island-dwellers have been suffering from, making these facilities readily available to them is highly encouraging. Hence, the regional administrations should make all possible endeavors to provide development infrastructures, such as health care institutions, clean water supply facilities and water transportation systems. The availability of these facilities is most likely to inspire the people to stay on the islands.

4. So far, only Afan Oromo has been taught and used in the schools established on the islands and lakeshore villages. This has negatively impacted the Zay language. Hence, mother tongue primary education should be made available to the Zay children as well if the language is to survive into the next generation. The three-language model approach could be used for proper implementation of mother-tongue education in the context of Zay. The suggested three-language model may take the following form: the Zay language could be used as a medium of instruction in the first cycle of elementary school, where Afan Oromo and Amharic need to be taught from the beginning as a subject for they are useful in creation of economic opportunities. Then Afan Oromo could be used as an instructional medium in the second cycle of elementary school for it carries economic and social advantages in the region while Amharic continues to be taught as a subject for its national advantage. Although the Zay language hands over its role of instructional medium to Afan Oromo at this level, it has to be taught as a subject to enhance its social prestige further. Lastly, English language is used as usual in high school while Afan Oromo and Amharic continue to be taught as a subject. At this point, the teaching of Zayña may not be possible as high schools are currently located in the towns where linguistic heterogeneity is considerably high. In fact, if there would be a possibility to establish high school on the islands, Zay must be taught as a subject since this could increase its honor and prestige in the community.

5. It was found that the absence of official ethnic recognition has become a bottleneck to the community's effort to solve its economic, social and linguistic problems. In this instance, the local authorities refused to allow the Zay to maintain their development association. They have also disregarded the people's strong desire to have their own music band, which could be helpful to foster the language. Above all, the Zay have been denied of exercising their linguistic right: the right to use their language for public purposes, such as for education, administration, media, business, etc. Therefore, the Zay should be officially recognized as a distinct ethnic group and their linguistic rights should be protected. This measure would definitely create a favorable environment for the people to maintain their language because with official recognition, the Zay could have their own local administrations, and consequently a budget allocated to them. This situation in turn would open the way for the language to be used for public purposes, thereby ensuring its long term maintenance.

6. It is also vital to set up Zay Cultural Center. The protection and promotion of the ethnic culture and language should be of the special concern for it. That is to say, the Cultural Center has to concentrate its efforts on preservation and nurturance of the little-known Zay culture and language. It has to do much to popularize the ethnic culture through promotion of the most valuable local cultural traditions and customs. The Center should organize cultural events promoting the ethnic culture, for example, cultural and religious festivals where the fascinating local history of the islands can be narrated and the unique culture of the people exhibited through performing arts like music, dance, play, etc. It seems that there is a lack of understanding among some Zay community members how much their ethnic culture that has been created and nurtured through hundreds of years is valuable. Hence, cultural sensitivity and awareness workshops should be provided by Cultural Center to encourage the people to believe in the value or importance of their unique culture. What is more, the Cultural Center has to collect the historical and cultural materials and the associated information, and make them accessible to the widest possible audience. These actions could motivate the people to do their utmost to retain and promote their culture and language.

On the whole, the researcher strongly believes that there is only one choice for revitalization of the language, which is the hard work of the people and government. The regional government and the people should be committed to unite their strength so that they ensure sustainable settlement and stability, promote social progress and better standards of life on the islands.

5.4 Suggestions for Further Study

The results of this study suggest some points for further investigation. The present study thoroughly dealt with the sociolinguistic aspects of language endangerment in the context of Zay. Besides, as language endangerment is usually accompanied by linguistic changes, it looked into the impact of Afan Oromo on the lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax of Zay in order to get the best possible understanding of the status of the language. In dealing with lexical change, the researcher focused on the basic vocabulary items which are considered less likely to be borrowed even in intense contact situation since they are expected to be already present in every language. But this vocabulary items did not cover various word classes. So the present study suggests for further investigation on functional words such as conjunction, article, preposition, etc., which are thought to be more resilient and resistant to borrowing.

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Appendices

Appendix A: A Questionnaire for Adults and Elderly (pilot Study)

Dear respondents,

I came from Addis Ababa University, Department of Foreign Language and Literature, Applied Linguistics and Development Stream (PhD Program). The purpose is to gather information for a research entitled "An Investigation into the Causes and Remedial Courses of Action for Endangered Ethnic Minority Languages: The Case of Zay". I am cordially requesting you to help me by answering the following questions. You don't have to write your name on it; I am simply interested in your personal opinion. Please give your answers sincerely as only this will guarantee the success of the investigation.

Thank you for your cooperation in advance!

Section I: Demographic Information of the Respondent

1. Age (in years)----------
2. Sex----------
3. Place of Residence ----------
4. Level of Education----------
5. First Language Learnt----------

Section II: General Questions about Extra-Linguistic Factors

Here are some statements about the Zay language. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. Answer by circling one of the following options that best describes your opinion (SA= strongly agree, A = agree, U = undecided, D= disagree, SD = strongly disagree) and by writing your reasons in the blank space provided

1. I believe that there is implicit encouragement of shift from Zay to regional state language.

SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice----------
---

2. The absence of the Zay language in administrative services provision has diminished its chances of long-term survival. SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice----------

---

3. I believe that the nonuse of Zay in education has considerably contributed to its present endangered status. SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice----------

---

4. The expansion of the Zay people to other places for economic wellness resulted in their integration with other language speakers, which in turn made them fail to maintain the vitality of their language overtime. SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice----------

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5. The nonuse of Zay for social services delivery has made me hold low opinion of it. SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice----------

---

6. The fact that our language has not been reduced to writing affected its vitality profoundly.

SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice ----------

Section III: Questions about Language Attitudes

1. Zay is incapable of handling the modern science and technology.

SA A U D SD

2. Knowledge of Zay hampers my ability to speak the federal and regional languages.

SA A U D SD

3. Speaking Zay is an important part of Zay identity.

SA A U D SD

4. I feel strongly embarrassed if I find myself unable to speak Zay.
   SA A U D SD

5. Knowledge of Zay doesn't lead to better job. SA A U D SD

Section IV: Questions about Language Use

I would like to know which language you speak to the following people and in the following situations. Please put an 'X' mark in the box which best expresses your situations.

1. Which language(s) do you most often speak to the following members of the family?

	Zay	Oromo	Amharic	Zay+ Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+Amharic about equally	Zay+Oromo+ Amharic about equally
With your spouse							
With your children							
With your Parents(if there)							

2. Which language(s) do you most often use in the neighborhood or in your village with the following members of the community?

	Zay	Afan Oromo	Amharic	Zay+ Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+ Amharic about equally	Zay+ Oromo+ Amharic about equally
With elderly							
With adults							
With children							
With friends							
With administrators of the village							
With local police (militia)							

3. Which language(s) do you most commonly use in the following domains?

	Zay	Oromo	Amharic	Zay+Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+ Amharic about equally	Zay+Oromo +Amharic about equally
At local market							
At workplace							
At clinic							
At church							
During cultural and religious events							

4. Which language (s) do you most commonly use in the following situations?

	Zay	Oromo	Amharic	Zay+ Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+ Amharic about equally	Zay+Oromo+ Amharic about equally
When you are angry							
When you are excited							
When you are dreaming							
When you are praying							
When you are counting (money or things)							
When you are thinking							
When you are making metal calculations							

Section V: Questions about Development of Zay

1. Do you believe that all ethnically Zay children should learn Zay language? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please write your reason(s) ----------

---

2. If schools offer primary education in Zay, will you send your children to them? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Give reason(s) for your choice ----------

---

3. If adult literacy education is given in Zay, will you attend it? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please give reason(s) for your choice----------
---

4. Do you want to have books, magazines and newspaper published in Zay? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please write your reason(s) ----------
---

5. Do you believe that there should be radio and television programs transmitted in Zay? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please give explanation for your choice----------
- ----------

6. Do you want religious activities (such as Bible and prayer books' preparation, sermon and prayer) to be carried out in Zay? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please give reason(s) for your response----------
---

7. If the following services are made available to you in Zay, how often will you practice them?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Reading					
Writing					
Listening to Radio/TV					

Appendix B: Questionnaire Prepared for the Young (Pilot Study)

Dear respondents,

I came from Addis Ababa University, Department of Foreign Language and Literature, Applied Linguistics and Development Stream (PhD Program). The purpose is to gather information for a research entitled "An Investigation into the Causes and Remedial Courses of Action for Endangered Ethnic Minority Languages: The Case of Zay". I am cordially requesting you to help me by answering the following questions. You don't have to write your name on it; I am simply interested in your personal opinion. Please give your answers sincerely as only this will guarantee the success of the investigation.

Thank you for your cooperation in advance!

Section I: Demographic Information of the Respondent

1. Age (in years)----------
2. Sex----------
3. Place of Residence----------
4. Level of Education----------
5. First Language Learnt----------

Section II: General Questions about Extra-Linguistic Factors

Here are some statements about the Zay language. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. Answer by circling one of the following options that best describes your opinion (SA= strongly agree, A = agree, U = undecided, D= disagree, SD = strongly disagree) and by writing your reasons in the blank space provided.

1. I believe that there is implicit encouragement of shift to regional state language.

SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice ----------

---

2. The absence of the Zay language in administrative services provision has diminished its chances of long-term survival.

SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice ----------

---

3. I believe that the nonuse of Zay in education has considerably contributed to its present endangered status.

SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice----------

---

4. The expansion of the Zay people to other places for economic wellness resulted in their integration with other language speakers, which in turn made them fail to maintain the vitality of their language overtime. SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice----------

---

5. The nonuse of Zay for social services delivery has made me hold low opinion of it. SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice----------

---

6. The fact that our language has not been reduced to written form profoundly affected its vitality. SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice----------

Section III: Questions about Language Attitudes

1. Zay is incapable of handling the modern science and technology.

SA A U D SD

2. Knowledge of Zay hampers my ability to speak the federal and regional languages.

SA A U D SD

3. Speaking Zay is an important part of Zay identity.

   SA A U D SD

4. I feel strongly embarrassed if I find myself unable to speak Zay.

   SA A U D SD

5. Knowledge of Zay doesn't lead to better job. SA A U D SD

Section IV: Questions about Language Use

I would like to know which language you speak to the following people and in the following situations. Please put an 'X' mark in the box which best expresses your situations.

1. Which language(s) do you most often speak to the following members of the family?

	Zay	Oromo	Amharic	Zay+Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+Amharic about equally	Zay+ Oromo+Amharic about equally
With your grand parents							
With your parents							
With your brothers and sisters							

2. Which language(s) do you most often use in the neighborhood or in your village with the following members of the community?

	Zay	Afan Oromo	Amharic	Zay+ Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+ Amharic about equally	Zay+Oromo+ Amharic about equally
With elderly							
With adults							
With children							
With friends							
With administrators of the village							
With local police (militia)							

3. Which language(s) do you most commonly use in the following domains?

	Zay	Oromo	Amharic	Zay+Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+ Amharic about equally	Zay+Oromo +Amharic about equally
At local market							
At workplace							
At clinic							
At church							
During cultural and religious events							

4. Which language (s) do you most commonly use in the following situations?

	Zay	Oromo	Amharic	Zay+ Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+ Amharic about equally	Zay+Oromo+ Amharic about equally
When you are angry							
When you are excited							
When you are dreaming							
When you are praying							
When you are counting (money or things)							
When you are thinking							
When you are making metal calculations							

Section V: Questions about the Development of Zay

1. Do you believe that all ethnically Zay children should learn Zay language? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please write the reason(s) for your choice----------

---

2. When you have children of your own, would you teach them the Zay language? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please give reason(s) for your choice----------

---

3. Do you want to have books, magazines and newspaper published in Zay? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please write your reason(s)----------

---

4. Do you believe that there should be radio and television programs transmitted in Zay? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please give reason(s) for your response----------

---

5. Do you want religious activities (such as Bible and prayer books preparation, sermon and prayer) to be carried out in Zay? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please explain the reason(s) for your response----------

---

6. If the following services are made available to you in Zay language, how often will you practice them?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Reading					
Writing					
Listening to Radio/TV					

Appendix C: A Questionnaire to Be Filled by Adults and Elderly (Main Study)

Dear respondents,

I came from Addis Ababa University, Department of Foreign Language and Literature, Applied Linguistics and Development Stream (PhD Program). The purpose is to gather information for a research entitled "An Investigation into the Causes and Remedial Courses of Action for Endangered Ethnic Minority Languages: The Case of Zay". I am cordially requesting you to help me by answering the following questions. You don't have to write your name on it; I am simply interested in your personal opinion. Please give your answers sincerely as only this will guarantee the success of the investigation.

Thank you for your cooperation in advance!

Section I: Demographic Information of the Respondent

6. Age (in years)----------
7. Sex----------
8. Current Place of Residence----------
9. Level of Education----------
10. First Language Learnt----------

Section II: General Questions about Extra-Linguistic Factors

Here are some statements about the Zay language. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. Answer by circling one of the following options that best describes your opinion (SA= strongly agree, A = agree, U = undecided, D= disagree, SD = strongly disagree) and by writing your reasons in the blank space provided

1. I believe that there is implicit encouragement of shift from Zay to regional state language.

SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice----------

---

2. The absence of the Zay language in administrative services provision has diminished its chances of long-term survival. SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice----------
---

3. I believe that the nonuse of Zay in education has considerably contributed to its present endangered status. SA A U D SD

   Please write the reason(s) for your choice----------
   ---

4. The expansion of the Zay people to other places for economic wellness resulted in their integration with other language speakers, which in turn made them fail to maintain the vitality of their language overtime. SA A U D SD

Please write the reason(s) for your choice----------
---

5. The fact that our language has not been reduced to writing affected its vitality profoundly.

   SA A U D SD

   Please, write the reason(s) for your choice----------
   ---

6. The absence of linguistic recognition has contributed a lot to the diminution of Zay.

   SA A U D SD

   Please, write the reason(s) for your choice----------
   ---

7. I believe that the number of Zay language speakers has come dwindling owing to the intermarriage between Zay and Oromo people.

   SA A U D SD

   Please, write the reason(s) for your choice----------
   ---

8. The Oromo took the Zay children through *Gudifecha* and brought them up in their own language, and this in turn contributed to the reduction of mother tongue speakers of the Zay language.

SA A U D SD

Please, write the reason(s) for your choice----------

Section III: Questions about Language Attitudes

6. Zay is incapable of handling the modern science and technology.

SA A U D SD

7. Knowledge of Zay hampers my ability to speak the federal and regional languages.

SA A U D SD

8. Speaking Zay is an important part of Zay identity.

SA A U D SD

9. I feel strongly embarrassed if I find myself unable to speak Zay.

SA A U D SD

10. Knowledge of Zay doesn't lead to better job. SA A U D SD

Section IV: Questions about Language Use

I would like to know which language you speak to the following people and in the following situations. Please put an 'X' mark in the box which best expresses your situations.

1. Which language(s) do you most often speak to the following members of the family?

	Zay	Oromo	Amharic	Zay+ Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+Amharic about equally	Zay+Oromo+ Amharic about equally
With your spouse							
With your children							
With your Parents(if there)							

2. Which language(s) do you most often use in the neighborhood or in your village with the following members of the community?

	Zay	Oromo	Amharic	Zay+ Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+ Amharic about equally	Zay+ Oromo+ Amharic about equally
With elderly							
With adults							
With children							
With friends							
With administrators of the village							
With local police (militia)							

3. Which language(s) do you most commonly use in the following domains?

	Zay	Oromo	Amharic	Zay+Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+ Amharic about equally	Zay+Oromo +Amharic about equally
At local market							
At workplace							
At clinic							
At church							
During cultural and religious events							

4. Which language (s) do you most commonly use in the following situations?

	Zay	Oromo	Amharic	Zay+ Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+ Amharic about equally	Zay+Oromo+ Amharic about equally
When you are angry							
When you are excited							
When you are dreaming							
When you are praying							
When you are counting (money or things)							
When you are thinking							
When you are making metal calculations							

Section V: Questions on Development of Zay

2. Do you believe that all ethnically Zay children should learn Zay language? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please write your reason(s)----------

---

3. If schools offer primary education in Zay, will you send your children to them? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Give reason(s) for your choice----------

---

4. If adult literacy education is given in Zay, will you attend it? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please give reason(s) for your choice----------

---

4. Do you want to have books, magazines and newspaper published in Zay? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please write your reason(s)----------

---

5. Do you believe that there should be radio and television programs transmitted in Zay? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please give explanation for your choice----------

---

6. Do you want religious activities (such as Bible and prayer books' preparation, sermon and prayer) to be carried out in Zay language? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please give reason(s) for your response----------

---

7. If the following services are made available to you in Zay language, how often will you practice them?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Reading					
Writing					
Listening to Radio/TV					

Appendix D: በጎልማሶችና አዛውንቶች የሚሞላ መጠይቅ

ክቡር/ብርት የዚህ ጥናት ተሳታፊ

የመጣሁት ከአዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርስቲ ተግባራዊ ስነ-ልሳንና ልማት ንኡስ ትምህርት ክፍል የፒኤችዲ (PhD) ፕሮግራም ነው። የመጣሁበት አላማ በዛይ ቋንቋ ላይ ስላንጎበበው የመጥፋት አደጋ መንስኤዎችና መፍትሄዎች ምርምር ለማካሄድ መረጃ መሰብሰብ ነው። በመሆኑም ምላሽህ/ሽ ለጥናቱ ስኬት ከፍተኛ አስተዋጽኦ ስላለው መጠይቁን በደንብ አንብበህ/ሽ/ እንድትሞላኝ/ዪልኝ በትህትና እጠይቃለሁ። ለምትሰጠኝ/ጪኝ ምላሽ ከወዲሁ አመሰግናለሁ።

ክፍል አንድ፡- የምርምሩ ተሳታፊዎች ጥቅል መረጃ

1. **እድሜ ----------**
2. **ጾታ ----------**
3. **የመኖሪያ ቦታ ----------**
4. **የትምህርት ደረጃ----------**
5. **አፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ----------**

ክፍል ሁለት፡-ቋንቋን ለሞት አደጋ ሊያጋልጡ የሚችሉ ውጫዊ መንስኤዎችን የተመለከቱ ጥያቄዎች

ከዚህ በታች በቀረቡት ሀሳቦች ላይ መስማማት አለመስማማትህን/ሽን ግለጽ/ጪ።መልስ ስትሰጥ/ጪ ከተሰጡት አማራጮች አንዱን በማክበብና ለምርጫህ/ሽ ምክንያት(ቶች) ክፍት ቦታዎቹ ላይ በመጻፍ ይሁን።

1. **የዛይ ህዝብ ዛይኛን ትተው ወደ ክልላዊ መንግስት ቋንቋ ለውጥ እንዲደርጉ ውስጣዊ ማበረታታት (ግፊት) አለ ብዬ አምናለሁ። ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም**
   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ----------
   ----

2. አስተዳደራዊ አገልግሎቶች በዛይ ቋንቋ እንዲሰጡ አለመደረጉ ቋንቋው ለረጅም ጊዜ የመኖር እድሉ እንዲመነምን አድርጎታል፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ----------

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3. የዛይ ቋንቋ በትምህርት ቤት አለመሰጠቱ አሁን ላለበት የመጥፋት አደጋ ደረጃ ላይ እንዲደርስ ከፍተኛ አስተዋጽኦ አድርጓል፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ----------

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4. የዛይ ህዝብ ኑሮውን ለማሻሻል ባደረገው መስፋፋት ከሌላ ቋንቋ ተናጋሪ ህዝብ ጋር በመዋሀዱ የዛይኛን ደህንነት ጠብቆ እንዳያቆይ አድርጎታል ብዬ አምናለሁ፡፡
   ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

   ለመልስህ/ሽ ምክንያት/ቶች ጻፍ/ፊ ----------

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5. ቋንቋችን ወደ ጽሁፍ አለመቀየሩ በደህንነቱ ላይ ከፍተኛ አሉታዊ ተጽኖ አሳድሮበታል፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------

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6. የዛይ ቋንቋ እውቅና አለማግኘቱ ከፍተኛ አሉታዊ ተጽዕኖ አሳድሮበታል፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------
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7. በዛይና ኦሮሞ ህዝቦች መሃከል የሚደረገው ጋብቻ የዛይኛ ተናጋሪዎች ቁጥር እየመነመነ እንዲመጣ አድርጎታል ብዬ አምናለሁ፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም
   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------
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8. ኦሮሞ በጉዲፈቻ ባህሉ የዛይን ህጻናት ወስዶ በራሱ ባህልና ቋንቋ አሳድጓል፤ ይህ ደሞ ዛይኛን እንደ መጀመሪያ ቋንቋ የሚናገሩ ሰዎች ቁጥር እንዲቀንስ አስተዋፅዖ አድርጓል፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም
   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------

ክፍል ሶስት፡- የቋንቋ አመለካከት ለይ ያተኩሩ ጥያቄዎች

1. የዛይ ቋንቋ ዘመናዊ ሳይንስና ቴክኖሎጂን ማስተናገድ አይችልም፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም
   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------
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2. የዛይኛ እውቀት የፌደራልና የክልል የስራ ቋንቋዎችን የመናገር ችሎታዬን ያደናቅፍብኛል፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም
   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------
   ---

3. ዛይኛ መናገር የዛይነት ዋና አካል ነው፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------
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4. ዛይ ሆኜ ዛይኛን መናገር አለመቻል በጣም ያሳፍረኛል። ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------
---

5. የዛይኛ እውቀት ለተሻለ ስራ አያበቃም። ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም
ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------

ክፍል አራት፡- የቋንቋ አጠቃቀምን የተመለከቱ ጥያቄዎች

ከሚከተሉት ሰዎች ጋር እና በሚከተሉት ቦታዎች አብዛኛውን ጊዜ የምትጠቀመውን/ሚውን ቋንቋ/ዎች ማወቅ እፈልጋለሁ። በመሆኑም ያንተን/ቺን ሁኔታ በደንብ ይገልጻል ብለህ/ሽ የምታስበውን/ቢውን በተሰጠው ሳጥን ውስጥ የ "X" ምልክት በማስቀመጥ መልስ/ሽ።

1. ከሚከተሉት የቤተሰብ አባላት ጋር ስታወራ/ሪ አብዛኛውን ጊዜ የምትጠቀመው/ሚው ቋንቋ/ዎች በሳጥኑ ከተዘረዘሩ ውስጥ የትኛው ነው/የትኞቹ ናቸው?

	ዛይ	ኦሮምኛ	አማርኛ	ዛይናኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይናአማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	አማርኛናኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይ፤ኦሮምኛና አማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ
ከባለቤትህ/ሽ ጋር							
ከልጆችህ/ሽ ጋር							
ከእናትናአባትህ/ሽ ጋር (ካሉ)							

2. ከሚከተሉት የጎረቤትህ/ሽ ወይም የመንደርህ/ሽ ሰዎች ጋር ስታወራ/ሪ አብዛኛውን ጊዜ የምትጠቀመው/ሚው ቋንቋ/ዎች የትኛው ነው/የትኞቹ ናቸው?

	ዛይ	ኦሮምኛ	አማርኛ	ዛይናኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይና አማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	አማርኛና ኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይ፤ኦሮምኛናአማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ
ከአዛውንቶች ጋር							
ከጎልማሶች ጋር							
ከልጆች ጋር							
ከጓደኞችህ/ሽ ጋር							
ከአስተዳደሮች ጋር							
ከሚሊሻ (የመንደርህ/ሽ ፖሊስ) ጋር							

3. በሚከተሉት ቦዎችና ወቅቶች አብዛኛውን ጊዜ የምትጠቀመው/ሚው ቋንቋ/ዎች የትኛው ነው/የትኞቹ ናቸው?

	ዛይ	ኦሮምኛ	አማርኛ	ዛይናኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይናአማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	አማርኛናኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይ፤ኦሮምኛና አማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ
በአካባቢ ገበያ							
በስራ ቦታ							
በክሊኒክ							
በቤተክርስቲያን							
በባህላዊና ሐይማኖታዊ ክዋኔዎች ወቅት							

4. ብዙውን ጊዜ በሚከተሉት ሁኔታዎች የምትጠቀመው/ሚው ቋንቋ/ዎች የትኛው ነው/የትኞቹ ናቸው?

	ዛይ	ኦሮምኛ	አማርኛ	ዛይናኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይናአማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	አማርኛናኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይ፤ኦሮምኛና አማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ
ስትናደድ/ጂ							
ስትደሰት/ቺ							
ህልም ስታልም/ሚ							
ስትጸልይ/ዱ (በግልህ/ሽ)							
ስትቆጥር/ሪ (ገንዘብ ወይም ነገሮች)							
ስታስብ/ቢ							
በአዕምሮህ/ሽ ቁጥር ስታሰላ/ዱ							

ክፍል አምስት፡- የዛይን ቋንቋ ከማሳደግ ጋር የተያያዙ ጥያቄዎች

1. የዛይ ብሔረሰብ ህጻናት ሁሉ ዛይኛን መማር አለባቸው ብለህ/ሽ ታምናለህ/ኛለሽ?
   ሀ/ አዎ ለ/ አላምንም ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም
   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት ስጥ/ጪ ----------
   ---

2. ትምህርት ቤቶች የመጀመሪያ ደረጃ ትምህርት በዛይኛ ቢያስተምሩ ልጆችህን/ሽን ትልካለህ/ኪያለሽ? ሀ/ አዎ ለ/ አልክም ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም
   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት ስጥ/ጪ ----------
   ---

3. የጎልማሶዎች ትምህርት በዛይኛ ቢሰጥ ትማራለህ/ሪያለሽ? ሀ/ አዎ ለ/ አልማርም ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም

ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት ስጥ/ጪ ----------

---

4. መጻህፍት፣ መጽሄቶችና ጋዜጣዎች በዛይ ቋንቋ እንዲዘጋጁ ትፈልጋለህ/ጊያለሽ?
   ሀ/ አዎ ለ/ አልፈልግም ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም

   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት ስጥ/ጪ ----------

   ---

5. የሬድዮና ቴሌቭዥን ፕሮግራም ስርጭት በዛይኛ ሊኖር ይገባል ብለህ/ሽ ታምናለህ/ኛለሽ? ሀ/ አዎ ለ/ አላምንም ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም
   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት ስጥ/ጪ ----------

   ---

6. ሐይማኖታዊ ተግባራት (ለምሳሌ የጸሎት መጻህፍትና መጽሀፍ ቅዱስ ዝግጅት፣ ቅዳሴ፣ ጸሎትና ስብከት) በዛይ ቋንቋ እንዲከወን ትፈልጋለህ/ጊያለሽ?
   ሀ/ አዎ ለ/ አልፈልግም ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም

   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያትስጥ/ጪ ----------

   ---

7. የሚከተሉትን አገልግሎቶች በዛይኛ ብታገኝ/ኚ ምን ያህል ትከውናቸዋለህ/ኛቸዋለሽ?

	ሁልጊዜ	አብዛኛውን ጊዜ	አልፎ አልፎ	በጣም ጥቂት ጊዜ	በፍጹም
ንባብ					
ጽህፈት					
ሬድዮ ወይም ቴለቪዥን ማዳመጥ					

Appendix E: A Questionnaire to Be Filled by the Young (Main Study)

Dear respondents,

I came from Addis Ababa University, Department of Foreign Language and Literature, Applied Linguistics and Development Stream (PhD Program). The purpose is to gather information for a research entitled "An Investigation into the Causes and Remedial Courses of Action for Endangered Ethnic Minority Languages: The Case of Zay". I am cordially requesting you to help me by answering the following questions. You don't have to write your name on it; I am simply interested in your personal opinion. Please give your answers sincerely as only this will guarantee the success of the investigation.

Thank you for your cooperation in advance!

Section I: Demographic Information of the Respondent

1. Age (in years)----------
2. Sex----------
3. Current Place of Residence----------
4. Level of education----------
5. First language learnt----------

Section II: General Questions about Extra-Linguistic Factors

Here are some statements about the Zay language. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. Answer by circling one of the following options that best describes your opinion (SA= strongly agree, A = agree, U = undecided, D= disagree, SD = strongly disagree) and by writing your reasons in the blank space provided.

1. I believe that there is implicit encouragement of shift from Zay to regional state language.

SA A U D SD

Please, write the reason(s) for your choice----------

---

2. The absence of the Zay language in administrative services provision has diminished its chances of long-term survival.

SA A U D SD

Please, write the reason(s) for your choice----------
---

3. I believe that the nonuse of Zay in education has considerably contributed to its present endangered status.

SA A U D SD

Please, write the reason(s) for your choice----------
---

4. The expansion of the Zay people to other places for economic wellness resulted in their integration with other language speakers, which in turn made them fail to maintain the vitality of their language overtime. SA A U D SD

Please, write the reason(s) for your choice----------
---

5. The fact that our language has not been reduced to writing affected its vitality profoundly.

SA A U D SD

Please, write the reason(s) for your choice----------
---

6. The absence of linguistic recognition has contributed a lot to the diminution of Zay.

SA A U D SD

Please, write the reason(s) for your choice----------
---

7. I believe that the number of Zay language speakers has come dwindling owing to the intermarriage between Zay and Oromo people.

SA A U D SD

Please, write the reason(s) for your choice----------
---

8. The Oromo took the Zay children through *Gudifecha* and brought them up in their own language, and this in turn contributed to the reduction of mother tongue speakers of the Zay language. SA A U D SD

Please, write the reason(s) for your choice----------

Section III: Questions about Language Attitudes

6. Zay is incapable of handling the modern science and technology.

SA A U D SD

7. Knowledge of Zay hampers my ability to speak the federal and regional languages.

SA A U D SD

8. Speaking Zay is an important part of Zay identity.

SA A U D SD

9. I feel strongly embarrassed if I find myself unable to speak Zay.

SA A U D SD

10. Knowledge of Zay doesn't lead to better job. SA A U D SD

Section IV: Questions about Language Use

I would like to know which language you speak to the following people and in the following situations. Please put an 'X' mark in the box which best expresses your situations.

1. Which language(s) do you most often speak to the following members of the family?

	Zay	Oromo	Amharic	Zay+Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+Amharic about equally	Zay+ Oromo+Amharic about equally
With your grand parents							
With your parents							
With your brothers and sisters							

2. Which language(s) do you most often use in the neighborhood or in your village with the following members of the community?

	Zay	Afan Oromo	Amharic	Zay+ Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+ Amharic about equally	Zay+Oromo+ Amharic about equally
With elderly							
With adults							
With children							
With friends							
With administrators of the village							
With local police (militia)							

3. Which language(s) do you most commonly use in the following domains?

	Zay	Oromo	Amharic	Zay+Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+ Amharic about equally	Zay+Oromo +Amharic about equally
At local market							
At workplace							
At clinic							
At church							
During cultural and religious events							

4. Which language (s) do you most commonly use in the following situations?

	Zay	Oromo	Amharic	Zay+ Oromo about equally	Zay+Amharic about equally	Oromo+ Amharic about equally	Zay+Oromo+ Amharic about equally
When you are angry							
When you are excited							
When you are dreaming							
When you are praying							
When you are counting (money or things)							
When you are thinking							
When you are making metal calculations							

Section V: Questions about the Development of Zay

2. Do you believe that all ethnically Zay children should learn Zay language? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please write the reason(s) for your choice----------

---

3. If you have or when you have children of your own, will you teach them Zay? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please give reason(s) for your choice----------

---

4. Do you want to have books, magazines and newspaper published in Zay? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

Please write your reason(s) ----------

---

5. Do you believe that there should be radio and television programs transmitted in Zay? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

   Please give reason(s) for your choice----------

   ---

6. Do you want religious activities (such as Bible and prayer books preparation, sermon and prayer) to be carried out in Zay? A. Yes B. No C. Undecided

   Please give explanation for your choice----------

   ---

7. If the following services are made available to you in Zay language, how often will you practice them?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Reading					
Writing					
Listening to Radio/TV					

Appendix F: በወጣቶች የሚሞላ መጠይቅ

ክቡር/ብርት የዚህ ጥናት ተሳታፊ

የመጣሁት ከአዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርስቲ ተግባራዊ ስነ-ልሳንና ልማት ንኡስ ትምህርት ክፍል የፒኤችዲ (PhD) ፕሮግራም ነው። የመጣሁበት አላማ በዛይ ቋንቋ ላይ ስላንጎበበው የመጥፋት አደጋ መንስኤዎችና መፍትሄዎች ምርምር ለማካሄድ መረጃ መሰብሰብ ነው። በመሆኑም ምላሽህ/ሽ ለጥናቱ ስኬት ከፍተኛ አስተዋጽኦ ስላለው መጠይቁን በደንብ አንብበህ/ሽ/ እንድትሞላኝ/ዪልኝ በትህትና እጠይቃለሁ። ለምትሰጠኝ/ጪኝ ምላሽ ከወዲሁ አመሰግናለሁ።

ክፍል አንድ፡- የምርምሩ ተሳታፊዎች ጥቅል መረጃ

1. እድሜ ----------
2. ጸታ ----------
3. የመኖሪያ ቦታ ----------
4. የትምህርት ደረጃ----------
5. አፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ----------

ክፍል ሁለት፡-ቋንቋን ለሞት አደጋ ሊያጋልጡ የሚችሉ ውጫዊ መንስኤዎችን የተመለከቱ ጥያቄዎች

ከዚህ በታች በቀረቡት ሀሳቦች ላይ መስማማት አለመስማማትህን/ሽን ግለጽ/ጪ።መልስ ስትሰጥ/ጪ ከተሰጡት አማራጮች አንዱን በማክበብና ለምርጫህ/ሽ ምክንያት(ቶች) ክፍት ቦታዎቹ ላይ በመጻፍ ይሁን።

1. **የዛይ ህዝብ ዛይኛን ትተው ወደ ክልላዊ መንግስት ቋንቋ ለውጥ እንዲደርጉ ውስጣዊ ማበረታታት አለ ብዬ አምናለሁ። ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም**
   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ----------
   ----

2. አስተዳደራዊ አገልግሎቶች በዛይ ቋንቋ እንዲሰጡ አለመደረጉ ቋንቋው ለረጅም ጊዜ የመኖር እድሉ እንዲመነምን አድርጎታል፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ----------

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3. የዛይ ቋንቋ በትምህርት ቤት አለመሰጠቱ አሁን ላለበት የመጥፋት አደጋ ደረጃ ላይ እንዲደርስ ከፍተኛ አስተዋጽኦ አድርጓል፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ----------

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4. የዛይ ህዝብ ኑሮውን ለማሻሻል ባደረገው መስፋፋት ከሌላ ቋንቋ ተናጋሪ ህዝብ ጋር በመዋሀዱ የዛይኛን ደህንነት ጠብቆ እንዳያቆይ አድርጎታል ብዬ አምናለሁ፡፡
   ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

   ለመልስህ/ሽ ምክንያት/ቶች ጻፍ/ፊ ----------

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5. ቋንቋችን ወደ ጽሁፍ አለመቀየሩ በደህንነቱ ላይ ከፍተኛ አሉታዊ ተጽኖ አሳድሮበታል፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------

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6. የዛይ ቋንቋ እውቅና አለማግኘቱ ከፍተኛ አሉታዊ ተጽዕኖ አሳድሮበታል፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------

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7. በዛይና ኦሮሞ ህዝቦች መሃከል የሚደረገው ጋብቻ የዛይኛ ተናጋሪዎች ቁጥር እየመነመነ እንዲመጣ አድርጎታል ብዬ አምናለሁ፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------

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8. ኦሮሞ በጉዲፈቻ ባህሉ የዛይን ህጻናት ወስዶ በራሱ ባህልና ቋንቋ አሳድጓል፤ ይህ ደሞ ዛይኛን እንደ መጀመሪያ ቋንቋ የሚናገሩ ሰዎች ቁጥር እንዲቀንስ አስተዋፅዖ አድርጓል፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------

ክፍል ሶስት፡- የቋንቋ አመለካከት ለይ ያተኩሩ ጥያቄዎች

1. የዛይ ቋንቋ ዘመናዊ ሳይንስና ቴክኖሎጂን ማስተናገድ አይችልም፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------

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2. የዛይኛ እውቀት የፌደራልና የክልል የስራ ቋንቋዎችን የመናገር ችሎታዬን ያደናቅፍብኛል፡፡ ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------

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3. ዛይኛ መናገር የዛይነት ዋና አካል ነው። ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም
   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------
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4. ዛይ ሆኜ ዛይኛን መናገር አለመቻል በጣም ያሳፍረኛል። ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም
   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------
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5. የዛይኛ እውቀት ለተሻለ ስራ አያበቃም። ሀ/ በጣም እስማማለሁ ለ/ እስማማለሁ
   ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም መ/ አልስማማም ሠ/ በፍጹም አልስማማም

   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት/ቶች ስጥ/ጪ ----------

ክፍል አራት፡- የቋንቋ አጠቃቀምን የተመለከቱ ጥያቄዎች

ከሚከተሉት ሰዎች ጋር እና በሚከተሉት ቦታዎች አብዛኛውን ጊዜ የምትጠቀመውን/ሚውን ቋንቋ/ዎች ማወቅ እፈልጋለሁ። በመሆኑም ያንተን/ቺን ሁኔታ በደንብ ይገልጻል ብለህ/ሽ የምታሰበውን/ቢውን በተሰጠው ሳጥን ውስጥ የ "X" ምልክት በማስቀመጥ መልስ/ሽ።

1. ከሚከተሉት የቤተሰብ አባላት ጋር ስታወራ/ሪ አብዛኛውን ጊዜ የምትጠቀመው/ሚው ቋንቋ/ዎች በሳጥኑ ከተዘረዘሩ ውስጥ የትኛው ነው/የትኞቹ ናቸው?

	ዛይ	ኦሮምኛ	አማርኛ	ዛይና ኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይናአማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	አማርኛና ኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይ፤ኦሮምኛና አማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ
ከአያቶችህ/ሽ ጋር							
ከእናትና አባትህ/ሽ ጋር							
ከወንድምና እህትህ/ሽ ጋር							

2. ከሚከተሉት የጎረቤትህ/ሽ ወይም የመንደርህ/ሽ ሰዎች ጋር ስታወራ/ሪ አብዛኛውን ጊዜ የምትጠቀመው/ሚው ቋንቋ/ዎች የትኛው ነው/የትኞቹ ናቸው?

	ዛይ	ኦሮምኛ	አማርኛ	ዛይናኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይና አማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	አማርኛና ኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይ፤ኦሮምኛናአማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ
ከአዛውንቶች ጋር							
ከጎልማሶች ጋር							
ከልጆች ጋር							
ከጓደኞችህ/ሽ ጋር							
ከአስተዳደሮች ጋር							
ከሚሊሻ (የመንደርህ/ሽ ፖሊስ) ጋር							

3. በሚከተሉት ቦዎችና ወቅቶች አብዛኛውን ጊዜ የምትጠቀመው/ሚው ቋንቋ/ዎች የትኛው ነው/የትኞቹ ናቸው?

	ዛይ	ኦሮምኛ	አማርኛ	ዛይናኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይናአማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	አማርኛናኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይ፤ኦሮምኛና አማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ
በአካባቢ ገበያ							
በስራ ቦታ							
በክሊኒክ							
በቤተክርስቲያን							
በባህላዊና ሐይማኖታዊ ክዋኔዎች ወቅት							

4. ብዙውን ጊዜ በሚከተሉት ሁኔታዎች የምትጠቀመው/ሚው ቋንቋ/ዎች የትኛው ነው/የትኞቹ ናቸው?

	ዛይ	ኦሮምኛ	አማርኛ	ዛይናኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይናአማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	አማርኛናኦሮምኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ	ዛይ፤ኦሮምኛና አማርኛ በተመጣጣኝ ሁኔታ
ስትናደድ/ጂ							
ስትደሰት/ቺ							
ህልም ስታልም/ሚ							
ስትጸልይ/ዪ (በግልህ/ሽ)							
ስትቆጥር/ሪ (ገንዘብ ወይም ነገሮች)							
ስታስብ/ቢ							
በአዕምሮህ/ሽ ቁጥር ስታሰላ/ዪ							

ክፍል አምስት፡- የዛይን ቋንቋ ከማሳደግ ጋር የተያያዙ ጥያቄዎች

1. **የዛይ ብሔረሰብ ህጻናት ሁሉ ዛይኛን መማር አለባቸው ብለህ/ሽ ታምናለህ/ኛለሽ?**
   ሀ/ አዎ ለ/ አላምንም ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም
   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት ስጥ/ጪ ----------
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2. **ስታድግ/ጊና የራስህ/ሽ ልጆች ሲኖሩህ/ሽ ወይም አሁን ካለህ/ሽ ዛይኛን ታስተምራቸዋለህ/ሪያቸዋለሽ? ሀ/ አዎ ለ/ አላስተምራቸውም ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም**
   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት ስጥ/ጪ ----------
   ---

3. **መጻህፍት፣ መጽሄቶችና ጋዜጣዎች በዛይ ቋንቋ እንዲዘጋጁ ትፈልጋለህ/ጊያለሽ?**
   ሀ/ አዎ ለ/ አልፈልግም ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም

   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት ስጥ/ጪ ----------
   ---

4. **የሬድዮና ቴሌቭዥን ፕሮግራም ስርጭት በዛይኛ ሊኖር ይገባል ብለህ/ሽ ታምናለህ/ኛለሽ? ሀ/ አዎ ለ/ አላምንም ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም**
   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያት ስጥ/ጪ ----------
   ---

5. **ሐይማኖታዊ ተግባራት (ለምሳሌ የጸሎት መጻህፍትና መጽሀፍ ቅዱስ ዝግጅት፣ ጸሎትና ስብከት) በዛይ ቋንቋ እንዲከወን ትፈልጋለህ/ጊያለሽ?**
   ሀ/ አዎ ለ/ አልፈልግም ሐ/ መወሰን አልችልም

   ለመረጥከው/ሽው መልስ ምክንያትስጥ/ጪ ----------

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6. **የሚከተሉትን አገልግሎቶች በዛይኛ ብታገኝ/ኚ ምን ያህል ትከውናቸዋለህ/ሽ?**

	ሁልጊዜ	አብዛኛውን ጊዜ	አልፎ አልፎ	በጣም ጥቂት ጊዜ	በፍጹም
ንባብ					
ጽህፈት					
ሬድዮ ወይም ቴለቪዥን ማዳመጥ					

Appendix G: Interview Guide for Key Informants

Dear respondent,

I came from Addis Ababa University, Department of Foreign Language and Literature, Applied Linguistics and Development Stream (PhD Program). The purpose is to gather information for a research entitled "An Investigation into the Causes and Remedial Courses of Action for Endangered Ethnic Minority Languages: The Case of Zay". Your response is very essential for the success of the study. Therefore, I kindly request you to give a sincere answer for the following questions. I thank you for your cooperation in advance.

1. Do you agree with the view that Zay is an endangered language? If you agree, what do you think are the contributory factors? If not, explain your justifications.
2. If you say that Zay is in danger, do you think it necessary to save this language from extinction? If 'yes', how could it be successfully maintained? If your response is 'no', express the reason why you disagree with its preservation.
3. Do you think that you are responsible for preserving your ethnic language? If so, what pragmatic actions have you ever taken to maintain it? Is it effective? If you think you are not responsible, explain your reasons.
4. Are there other stakeholders that should take responsibility for saving the Zay language from danger of extinction? If so, mention these stakeholders and their respective duties.

Appendix H: መራሄ ቃለ-መጠይቅ ለቁልፍ መረጃ ሰጪዎች

ውድ የዚህ ጥናት ተሳታፊ

የዚህ ቃለ-መጠይቅ አላማ በዛይ ቋንቋ ለይ እያነጣጠበበ ያለው የመጥፋት አደጋ መንሴዎችና መብቴዎችን በተመለከተ ምርምር ለማድረግ መረጃ መሰብሰብ ነው። በመሆኑም ያንተ/ቺ መረጃ ለዚህ ጥናት መሳካት ብቸኛ አማራጭ ስለሆነ ለሚከተሉት ጥያቄቆች በቅንነት መልስ እንድትሰጠኝ/ጪኝ በትህትና እጠይቃለሁ። ለትብብርህ/ሽ ከወዲሁ አመሰግናለሁ።

1. የዛይ ቋንቋ የመጥፋት አደጋ ላይ ነው በሚለው ሀሳብ ትስማማለህ/ሚያለሽ? ከተስማማህ/ሽ የአደጋው መንሴዎች ምንድናቸው? ካልተስማማህ/ሽ ምክንያቶችህን/ሽን አብራራ/ሪ።

2. የዛይ ቋንቋ አደጋ ላይ ነው ካልክ/ሽ ይህን ቋንቋ ከሞት መታደግ ያስፈልጋል ብለህ/ሽ ታስባለህ/ቢያለሽ? መልስህ/ሽ "አዎ" ከሆነ እንዴት ስኬታማ በሆነ መልኩ መታደግ ይቻላል? ከዛይ ነባራዊ ሁኔታ ጋር የሚጣጣሙ እና በሚገባ ሊተገበሩ የሚችሉ የቋንቋ መንከባከቢያ ዘዴዎች ካሉ ግለፅ/ጪ። መልስህ/ሽ "አያስፈልግም" ከሆነ የብሄረሰብህን/ሽን ቋንቋ ከሞት መታደግ አያስፈልግም ያልክበትን/ሽበትን ምክንያት/ቶች አብራራ/ሪ።

3. የብሄረሰብህን/ሽን ቋንቋ የመጠበቅ ሀልፊነት አለብኝ ብለህ/ሽ ታምናለህ/ኛለሽ? መልስህ/ሽ "አዎ" ከሆነ እስካኩን ምን አይነት ተግባራዊ እርምጃ ወሰድክ/ሽ ታውቃለህ/ቂያለሽ? ውጤታማስ ነበር? እንዴት አወቅህ/ሽ? ካልወሰድክ/ሽ ለምን እነዳልወሰድክ/ሽ ምክንያትህን/ሽን ግለፅ/ጪ። ሀልፊነት የለብኝም ካልክም/ሽም ምክንያትህን/ሽን አብራራ/ሪ።

4. የዛይን ቋንቋ ከሞት የመታደግ ሀላፊነት ያለባቸዎ ሌሎች ባለድርሻ አካላት አሉ ብለህ/ብለሽ ታምናለህ/ኛለሽ? ካሉ እነዚህን ባለድርሻ አካላት እስከነ ስራ ድርሻቸው ጥቀስ/ሺ።

Appendix I: In-depth Interview

Dear respondent,

I came from Addis Ababa University, Department of Foreign Language and Literature, Applied Linguistics and Development Stream (PhD Program). The purpose of this interview is to gather information for a research entitled "An Investigation into the Causes and Remedial Courses of Action for Endangered Ethnic Minority Languages: The Case of Zay". Your response is very essential for the success of the study. Therefore, I kindly request you to give a sincere answer for the following questions. I thank you for your cooperation in advance.

1. Do you speak Zay today? If so, how often do you speak it? If not, why?
2. Which language(s) do you most often use at home with your family members? Why?
3. Which language(s) do you most commonly use with your neighbors and other community members? Why?
4. Which language(s) do you mostly use at work place with your workmates? Why?
5. What language(s) do you most commonly use when you are angry and excited, while dreaming, thinking, making mental calculation and counting money or things, as well as while praying?
6. What language(s) do you most commonly use on cultural and religious events? Why?
7. When you meet Zay friends outside Zay speaking communities, what language(s) do you most often use with them? Why?
8. Assume you are fluent in the three languages: Zay, Afan Oromo and Amharic; what language(s) do you mainly use if you find someone who is equally fluent in all your languages? Why?
9. Is it important for you to speak Zay? Why?
10. Which language(s) do you think is most important for your livelihood? Why?
11. Do you think that Zay is in peril in your community? Why?
12. If Zay is dying, what pragmatic actions have you ever taken against it? What should now do you thick be done to reverse the situation successfully?
13. Who should involve in maintaining your native language? What are the responsibilities of the bodies you mentioned?

14. If schools offer primary education in Zay, will you send your children to them? Why? (A question asked of only adult and elderly).
15. When you grow up and have children of your own, would you teach Zay to them? Why? (a question asked of only the young).
16. If adult literacy education is opened in Zay, will you attend it? Why?
17. Would you like to have book, newspaper, magazine, and so forth published in your native language? Why?

Appendix J: ጥልቅ ቃለ-መጠይቅ

ውድ የዚህ ጥናት ተሳታፊ

የዚህ ቃለ-መጠይቅ አላማ በዛይ ቋንቋ ለይ እያነጣጠበበ ያለው የመጥፋት አደጋ መንሴዎችና መብቴዎችን በተመለከተ ምርምር ለማድረግ መረጃ መሰብሰብ ነው። በመሆኑም ያንተ/ቺ መረጃ ለዚህ ጥናት መሳካት ብቸኛ አማራጭ ስለሆነ ለሚከተሉት ጥያቄቆች በቅንነት መልስ እንድትሰጠኝ/ጪኝ በትህትና እጠይቃለሁ። ለትብብርህ/ሽ ከወዲሁ አመሰግናለሁ።

1. **ባሁኑ ጊዜ ዛይኛን ትጠቀማለህ/ሚያለሽ? መልስህ/ሽ "አዎ" ከሆነ ሚን ያህል ጊዜ? ካልሆነ ለምን?**
2. **ከቤተሰብ አባላት ጋር ስታወራ/ሪ አብዛኛውን ጊዜ የምትጠቀምበት/ሚበት ቋንቋ(ዎች) የትኛው ነው/የትኞቹ ናቸው? ለምን?**
3. **ከጎሮቤትህ/ሽና ከሌሎች የመንደርህ/ሽ ሰዎች ጋር ስታወራ/ሪ ብዙውን ጊዜ የምትጠቀመው ቋንቋ(ዎች) የትኛው ነው/የትኞቹ ናቸው? ለምን?**
4. **አብዛኛውን ጊዜ ከስራ ባለደረቦችህ/ሽ ጋር ስታወራ/ሪ የምትጠቀመው/ሚው ቋንቋ(ዎች) የትኛው ነው/የትኞቹ ናቸው? ለምን?**
5. **ስትናደድ/ጂ፤ ስትደሰት/ቺ፤ ህልም ስታልም/ሚ፤ ስታስብ/ቢ፤ በአዕምሮ ስታሰላ/ዪ፤ ስትቆጥር/ሪ እነዲሁም ስትጸልይ/ዩ ብዙውን ጊዜ የምትጠቀመው/ሚው ቋንቋ(ዎች) የትኛው ነው/ የትኞቹ ናቸው? ለምን?**
6. **በባህላዊና ሃይማኖታዊ ክዋኔዎች እለት አብዛኛውን ጊዜ የምትጠቀመው/ሚው ቋንቋ(ዎች) የትኛው ነው/ የትኞቹ ናቸው? ለምን?**
7. **ዛይ ጉዋደኞችህን/ሽን የዛይ ቋንቋ ከሚነገርበት ክልል ውጪ ስታገኛቸው/ኚያቸው ብዙውን ጊዜ የምታዋራቸው/ሪያቸው በየትኛው(ኞቹ) ቋንቋ(ዎች) ነው? ለምን?**
8. **አንተ/ቺ ሶስቱንም ቋንቋዎች ማለትም ዛይኛ፤ ኦሮምኛና አማርኛ በደንብ አቀላጥፈህ/ሽ ትናገራለህ/ሪያለሽ እንበል፤ ልክ እንዳንተው/ቺው ሦስቱንም አቀላጥፎ/ፋ የሚናገር/የምትናገር ሰው ቢያጋጥምህ/ሽ በየትኛው/ኞቹ ቋንቋ/ዎች ነው በብዛት የምታወራው/ወሪው? ለምን?**
9. **ዛይኛ መናገር ላንተ/ቺ ይጠቅማል? ለምን ወይም እንዴት?**
10. **ለመተዳደሪያህ/ሽ በጣም አስፈላጊ/ጠቃሚ የሆነው/ኑት ቋንቋ/ዎች የትኛው ነው/የትኞቹ ናቸው ብለህ/ሽ ታምናለህ/ሽ? ለምን?**

11. በመንደርህ/ሽ ዛይኛ በመጥፋት አደጋ ለይ ነው ብለህ/ሽ ታምናለህ/ሽ? ለምን?
12. ዛይኛ እየሞተ ከሆነ እስካሁን ምን ተግባራዊ እርምጃ ወሰድክ/ሽ? አሁንስ ምን መደረግ አለበት ብለህ/ሽ ታምናለህ/ኛለሽ?
13. ቋንቋህን/ሽን ከሞት የመታደግ ተግባር ለይ መሳተፍ ያለባቸው አካላት እነማናቸው? የነዚህ አካላት ሃላፊነቶች ምንድናቸው?
14. ትምህርት ቤቶች የመጀመሪያ ደረጃ ትምህርት በዛይኛ ቢያስተምሩ ልጆችህን/ሽን ትልካለህ/ኪያለሽ? ለምን? (ጎልማሶችና አዛውንቶች ብቻ የሚመልሱት ጥያቄ)
15. አድገህ/ሽ የራስህ/ሽ ልጆች ሲኖርህ/ሽ ዛይኛን ታስተምራቸዋለህ/ሪያቸዋለሽ? ለምን? (ታዳጊዎች ብቻ የሚመልሱት ጥያቄ)
16. የጎልማሶች ትምህርት በዛይኛ ቢሰጥ ትማራለህ/ሪያለሽ? ለምን?
17. በዛይ ቋንቋ የተዘጋጀ እንደ መጻፍ፣ ጋዜጣ፣ መጽሔት የመሳሰሉት እንዲኖርህ/ሽ ትፈልጋለህ/ጊያለሽ? ለምን?

Appendix K: Interview Guide for Ethnically Oromo Respondents

Dear respondent,

The purpose of this interview is to gather information for a research entitled "Causes and Remedial Courses of Action for Endangered Ethnic Minority Languages: The Case of Zay". Your response is very essential for the success of the study. Therefore, I kindly request you to give a sincere answer for the following questions. I thank you for your cooperation in advance.

1. Do you think that Zay is a useful language? What are your justifications for your response?
2. Is the Zay language worth saving? Would you please explain your reasons for your response?
3. If Zay preservation project is initiated, will you support it in what you could? Why? Explain your reason briefly.
4. Would you like to speak Zay? What are the reasons for your response?
5. Do you want your children to learn Zay? Please give reasons for your response.

Appendix L: Gaafannoo Hirmaattota Saba Oromotiif

Kabajamaa/tuu hirmaataa/uu korannoo kanaa,

Kayyoon Gaafannoo kanaa mataduree “Causes and Remedial Courses of Action for Endangered Minority Languages: The Case of Zay” jedhurrattii odeeffannoo sasaabuudha. Deebiin kee galma qorannoo kanaatiif gahee guddaa qaba. Kanaafuu, gaafilee armaan gadiitti sigaafadhuuf deebii ta’a jettee yaaddu kennuudhaan akka nagargaartu kabajaadhaanin sigaafadha. Gargaarsa keetiif duraandurseen sigalateefadha.

1. Afaan Zaayii tajaajila kennuu danda’a jettee yaaddaa? Sababoonni deebii keetii maali?
2. Afaan Zaayii kunuunfamuu qaba jettee yaaddaa? Sababoota deebii keetii ibsi.
3. Projectiin kunuunsa Afaan Zaayii otoo jalqabamee, wanta dandeesuun deeggarsa gootaa? Maaliif? Sababii kee ibsi.
4. Afaan Zaayii dubbachuu barbaadaa? Sababoonni keehoo maali?
5. Ijoolleen kee Afan Zaayii akka baran barbaaddaa? Deebii keetiif sababoota barreessi.

Appendix M: Focus Group Discussion

Dear respondents,

The purpose of this focus group discussion is to gather information for a research entitled “An Investigation into the Causes and Remedial Courses of Action for Endangered Ethnic Minority Languages: The Case of Zay”. Your response is very essential for the success of the study. Therefore, I kindly request you to give a sincere answer for the following questions. I thank you for your cooperation in advance.

1. Do you think your native language is under threat? If so, what factors do you think are responsible for this threat? A/ Political (if there) B/ Economic (if there) C/ Historical (if there) D/ Cultural (if there) E/ Linguistic (if there) F/ Attitudinal (if there).
2. If your language is under threat, what effort have you made thus far in order to save it from extinction? If you have taken any pragmatic actions, are they successful? How do you know it?
3. What should do you think now be done to maintain the language? (What should you and your community members, as sole speakers of this languaguge, do to save it?)
4. What do you think your government should do to save your native language?
5. What other stakeholders should you think be involved in Zay language maintenance efforts? What do you think are their responsibilities?
6. What should, in your opinion, be emphasized to promote the Zay language in your community?

Appendix N: የቡድን ውይይት

የተከበራችሁ የጥናቱ ተሳታፊዎች

የዚህ የቡድን ውይይት ዋና አላማ በዛይ ቋንቋ ለይ እያነጣጠበ ያለው የመጥፋት አደጋ መንሴዎችና መብቴዎችን በተመለከተ ምርምር ለማድረግ መረጃ መሰብሰብ ነው። በመሆኑም በሚከተሉት ጥያቄዎች ለይ በሚገባ ተወያይታቹ የተብላላ መልስ እንድትሰጡኝ በትህትና እጠይቃለሁ። ለትብብራችሁ ከወዲሁ አመሰግናለሁ።

1. ዛይኛ በመጥፋት አደጋ ለይ ነው ብላችሁ ታምናላችሁ? እየሞተ ወይም በመጥፋት አደጋ ለይ ከሆነ የዚህ አደጋ መንሴዎች ምንድናቸው ብላችሁ ታምናላችሁ? ሀ/ ፖለቲካዊ(ካለ) ለ/ ኢኮኖሚያዊ(ካለ) ሐ/ ባህላዊ(ካለ)
   መ/ ስነ-ቋንቋ ለምሳሌ ጽሁፍ ለይ አለመዋሉ ሠ/ታሪካዊ(ካለ) ረ/ የአመለካከት(ካለ)

2. ቋንቋችሁን ከመጥፋት ለመታደግ እስካሁን ምን ጥረትስ አድርጋችኋል? የወሰዳችሁት ተግባራዊ እርምጃዎች ካሉ ውጤታማ ነበሩ? እንዴት አወቃችሁ?
3. አሁንስ ምን መደረግ አለበት ብላችሁ ታማናላችሁ? (እናንተና የመንደራችሁ አባላት እንደ ብቸኛ ተናጋሪ ቋንቋችሁን ከመጥፋት ለመታደግ ምን ማድረግ አለባችሁ?)
4. ቋንቋችሁን ከመጥፋት ለመታደግ መንግስታችሁስ ምን ማድረግ አለበት ብላችሁ ታስባላችሁ?
5. ዛይኛን ከመጥፋት ለመታደግ በሚደረግ ጥረት ለይ መሳተፍ አለባቸው ብላችሁ የምታምኑት ሌሎች ባለድርሻ አካላት እነማን ናቸው? የነዚህ ባለድረሻ አካላት ሚናዎችና አላፊነቶች ምንድናችው ብላችሁ ታምናላችሁ?
6. በናንተ አስተያየት የዛይኛን አገልግሎት በመንደራችሁ በደንብ ለማሳደግ ምን ትኩረት ተሰጥቶት ሊሰራ ይገባል ትላላችሁ? (ይህ ነገር ቢደረግ ዛይኛ ያድጋል የምትሉት ካለ?)

Appendix O: List of Participants in Key Informant Interview

	Date of interview	Place of interview	Informants' pseudo name	Informants' age	Informants' sex
KI-1	04/12/2016	Zway Town	Fikadu Tessema	45	M
KI-2	"	"	Meskelu Temesgen	48	M
KI-3	17/12/2016	Meki Town	Kelemework Aklilu	50	M
KI-4	20/12/2016	"	H/Michael Alemu	39	M
KI-5	"	"	Alemneh Tufa	32	M
KI-6	21/12/2016	"	Bedaso Hordofa	65	M
KI-7	10/01/2017	Tsedecha Island	Teshome Tilahun	42	M
KI-8	11/01/2017	"	Teshale Mekonin	55	M
KI-9	14/01/2017	"	Temesgen Kebede	51	M
KI-10	20/01/2017	Tullu Guddo Island	Tesfaye Mekuria	46	M
KI-11	22/01/2017	"	Aklilu Tufa	55	M

Appendix P: List of participants in FGD

FGD-1	Date of FGD	Place of FGD	Informants' pseudo name	Informants' age category	Informants' sex category
	09/11/2015	Bochessa	Bekele Tola	adult	M
			Tesema Ukee	”	M
			Teshale Lemmi	”	M
			Shewaye Kumsa	”	F
			Shasho Gutu	”	F
			Meskelu Wariyo	”	M
FGD-2					
	10/11/2015	Bochessa	Zewdu Alemu	elder	M
			Alemitu Bedaso	”	F
			Chaltu Mekonin	”	F
			Toleshi Lemmi	”	F
			Temesgen Habtamu	”	M
			Abdisa Tufa	”	M
FGD-3					
	26/11/2015	Tsedecha Island	Asratu Megersa	elder	M
			Kebede Mekuria	”	M
			Temesgen Fikiru	”	M
			Fikadu Biru	”	M
			Lemmi Mul'ata	”	M
			Aklilu Fantaw	”	M
FGD-4					
	29/11/2015	Tullu Guddo	Alemayehu Alemu	adult	M
			Zerihun Yihune	”	M
			Tesfaye Geremew	”	M
			Efrem Mamo	”	M
			Samuel Fikadu	”	M
			Seyoum Tafese	”	M
FGD-5					
	18/11/2016	Bochessa	Samrawit Bekele	young	F
			Tsehay Tamru	”	F
			Teshale W/Michael	”	M
			Nega Alehegn	”	M
			Gebre Haile	”	M
			Abdisa Jimma	”	M
FGD-6					
	24/11/2016	Bochessa	Temesgen Gudeta	Adult	M
			Alemneh Assefa	,,	M
			Tafesse Haile	,,	M
			Alemitu Ayalew	,,	F

			Genet Nega	,,	F
			Kidist Haile	,,	F
FGD-7					
	10/12/2016	Makedella	Asegid Habtamu	Adult	M
			Kufa Edeto	,,	M
			Hailu Assefa	,,	M
			Teshome Hailu	,,	M
			Gumsa Hordofa	,,	M
			Akile Fero	,,	M
FGD-8					
	12/12/2016	Makedella	Zewditu Fufa	Elder	F
			Chaltu Negewo	,,	F
			Tesfaye Tadese	,,	M
			Kumsa Yadeta	,,	M
			Gizachew Nemomsa	,,	M
			Birhanu Terefe	,,	M
FGD-9					
	15/01/2017	Tsedecha Island	Nigatu Tadese	young	M
			Haile Dadi	,,	M
			Seyoum Alemayehu	,,	M
			Alelign Bamlaku	,,	M
			Zewdinesh Ayele	,,	F
			Almaz Taye	,,	F
FGD10					
	17/01/2017	Tsedecha Island	Tadese Habtamu	Elder	M
			Fitale Edeo	,,	M
			Kelemu Adinew	,,	M
			Aschalew Atinafu	,,	M
			Mekonin Asfaw	,,	M
			Terefe Efa	,,	M
FGD 11					
	23/01/2017	Tullu Guddo	Shewaye Dadi	Elder	F
			Ajebush Kifle	,,	F
			Girma Tesfaye	,,	
			Amare Yihune	,,	
			Tekalign Habte	,,	
			Birhanu Beyene	,,	
FGD 12					
	24/01/2017	Tullu Guddo	Aklilu Haile	Adult	M
			Estifanos Gezahegn	,,	M
			Getaneh Wondu	,,	M
			Shashe Adugna	,,	F
			Nigist H/Michael	,,	F
			Bizualem Getahun	,,	M

Appendix Q: List of Participants in In-depth Interview

	Date of interview	Place of interview	Informants' pseudo name	Informants' age	Informants' sex
Interview I	05/11/2015	Bochessa	Bekele Kumsa	38	M
Interview II	"	"	Robe Guta	45	F
Interview III	"	"	Alemu Kebede	30	M
Interview IV	"	"	Degaga Wariyo	75	M
Interview V	06/11/2015	"	Tesfaye Bekele	54	M
Interview VI	"	"	Habte Lemmi	24	M
Interview VII	"	"	Alemi Gutu	20	F
Interview VIII	07/11/2015	"	Chaltu Tebeso	68	F
Interview IX	"	"	Alemnesh Guta	18	F
Interview X	"	"	Tadele Kufa	45	M
Interview XI	15/11/2015	Makedella	Sebontu Tola	40	F
Interview XII	"	"	Degaga Iro	42	M
Interview XIII	"	"	Tola Negawo	58	M
Interview XIV	16/11/2015	"	Sidisu Turi	54	F
Interview XV	"	"	Robe Firo	70	F
Interview XVI	"	"	Takele Ijaro	18	M
Interview XVII	"	"	Shasho Abdisa	25	F
Interview XVIII	17/11/2015	"	Fitale Ida'o	29	M
Interview XIX	"	"	Adanech Tesema	20	F
Interview XX	"	"	Chaltu Biru	50	F
Interview XXI	20/11/2015	Meki Town	Bedaso Seyoum	50	M
Interview XXII	"	"	Ayelech Kebede	21	F
Interview XXIII	25/11/2015	Tsedech Island	Haile Degu	36	M
Interview XXIV	"	"	Tesfanesh Hailu	58	F
Interview XXV	"	"	Nigussie Berihun	65	M
Interview XXVI	26/11/2015	"	Teshale Buke	63	M
Interview XXVII	"	"	Kidist Haile	17	F
Interview XXVIII	"	"	Temesgen Lema	45	M
Interview XXIX	"	"	Yeshi Temesgen	17	F
Interview XXX	27/112015	Tullu Guddo Island	Aklilu Hordofa	56	M
Interview XXXI	"	"	Eshetu Bekere	30	M
Interview XXXII	"	"	Dembobdu Bitila	70	F
Interview XXXIII	"	"	Fikadu Gurmesa	30	M
Interview XXXIV	28/11/2015	"	Assefa Beyene	42	M
Interview XXXV	"	"	Selam Brehanu	25	F
Interview XXXVI	"	"	Tirunesh Ayana	61	F

Appendix R: List of Interview Participants from Oromo People

	Date of interview	Place of interview	Informants' pseudo name	Informants' age	Informants' sex
Interview XXXVII	07/11/2015	Bochessa	Hussein Ahmed	39	M
Interview XXXVIII	”	”	Shewaye Guta	45	F
Interview XXXIX	”	”	Gadisa Wako	65	M
Interview XL	17/11/2015	Makedella	Chaltu Guta	36	F
Interview XLI	”	”	Tola Abdi	52	M
Interview XLII	”	”	Jemal Teha	28	M
Interview XLIII	18/01/2016	Herera	Kumsa Dhaba	65	M
Interview XLIV	”	”	Negawo Wariwo	45	M
Interview XLV	”	”	Eftu Kenenisa	26	F
Interview XLVI	”	”	Sifan Wakuma	22	F

Appendix S: Key Informant Interview Transcripts

Key Informant 1 (KI-1): Member of Zay Identity Committee and Zay Development Association (KI-1, 04/12/2016: Zway Town)

Interviewer: Do you agree with the view that Zay is an endangered language? If you agree, what do you think are the contributory factors? If you do not agree, explain your reasons.

KI-1: Yes, I agree**.** Now . . . the economic livelihood of the Zay influenced the language. There was a way of life that the society leads. Its way of life is connected with fishing. . . . Previously, all the Zay who engaged in fishing activity met on the bank of the lake while casting their net for fishing in the morning. What happened is that as the school of fish in the lake came diminishing, the frequency of contact between the islanders and mainland dwellers reduced to some extent. The mainland Zay was mainly inclined to economic activities, such as farming and trading for the betterment of their life. When they went to these economic activities, the people they mainly contacted on regular basis were outsiders (non-Zay), with whom they had to use the language other than their own vernacular. For example, in the past our people did not trade fish. Nowadays, however, they fish out, as well as buy from other fishermen and then present to the owners of hotels and restaurants. The second thing is that fishing became a common activity. In the past, the Oromo people did not have an experience of fishing; however, these days they have been accustomed to it. This means, the Zay have now met with other ethnic group while fishing - the economic activity that used to bring only ethnically Zay people together. Therefore, in order to communicate with them, our people had to speak Afan Oromo as an Oromo man couldn't try out the Zay language. Umm . . . unless you speak Afan Oromo, you cannot sell your fish; you cannot buy something from them. Hence, the Zay language has been diminished while its speakers have gradually been attracted to Afan Oromo. As I told you earlier, both Oromo and Zay trade on fish. Since fishing becomes a mutual activity, the Zay people have made Afan Oromo the language of their choice in economy for it has a considerable number of speakers.

Interviewer: What about political factors, are there?

KI-1: There are also political reasons for the decline of the Zay language. Umm . . . The cause for the diminution of this language is the fact that the people have not learnt in their language. Now . . . even what makes this language stay longer is the presence of islanders speaking only

this language. On the islands, Children learn in Afan Oromo but they speak in Zay when they come home. . . . The big problem is found in Bochessa, Wolda Makidella, Herera Mondoyou and Beshira Cheffa vicinities. The people living in these villages intermingled with the Oromo. Children are not learning the language now. Now, for example, I grew up in monastery of Tullu Guddo. It is Amharic that I learnt on the island. I do not know writing in Afan Oromo. Up to 1990, the Zay language was spoken widely in Bochessa. At that time, Afan Oromo, as I think, was given as one subject in school. If you see the generation after 1990, they do almost not speak Zay language. Now for example, you will be surprised if you see their school results at district level. It is the lowest in the district. Because they learn by the language they do not understand well, they are not able to register a good result. If you take Bochessa, the school achievement of the children ranked last in the district. Why is it? It is because they do not learn in their language. Secondly, they learn without believing in it, have you understood? Why? There is Oromo here. They are learning by their language. But here, you learn in other's language being forced. Even there are children who are learning in Marekko Special District. Children went there to learn in Amharic for it is much related to their ethnic language than Afan Oromo. So, children leave the islands in their early childhood before they lay a strong foundation of their mother tongue in search of education delivered in Amharic, the language they are competent at next to Zay. If you stay with your parents longer, you will have the opportunity to learn the language from them; otherwise, the reverse happens like what is happening to Zay. Umm… if children learn in their own language at least up to grade four, the language will be developing. Now, for example, the culture itself is receding. In the past, girls sang cultural songs in Zay during Meskel. Nowadays, this is not available on the mainland. Of course, the cultural songs, which are sung during Meskel, still exist on the islands. Thus, these things became a reason for emaciation of the language.

Interviewer: Were you asked about your interest of the language you would like to use for public purposes in your community, or a decision to use the regional language simply came from above down to you without considering your will?

KI-1: No government bodies asked the people for their language choice. The reality is that, at the time, the dominant ethnic group took all the leadership positions for only itself as it likes, and pushed us to the margin, thereby our language and culture began to recede. The dominant Oromo

people worked to develop only their language. However, they know as we have our own language, i.e., the government bodies know this fact very well. Umm . . . but it did not totally think of asking the Zay people for their language preference. Therefore, the language being used in our community is not the language of our choice; instead it is forced on us by the regional government.

Interviewer: Do you think that there were historical factors that affected the Zay language?

KI-1: Yes! Now, for example, Zay is two: they are called Ager and Arign. The so-called Ager consists of about 37 clans. Arign or Woizero contains five clans. Both are big clans. It is these who are Zay, understand? Now, for example, in terms of kinship, I am from Ager. If you take me of the 37 clans of Ager, I belong to Wore. If you look for Wore, you can find them in Langano, Shalla, from Meki up to Alem Tena, and Koka. From this (Zway) up to what is called Ziquala are where Wore found. The people left the islands for the above-mentioned mainland areas because of different reasons. Actually, the majority left owing to shortage of cultivable land. The other left the islands because of *Harmehoda* and *Gudiffacha.* What happened was that as the Zay people settled in those areas, they came to be intermingled with the people around through inter-ethnic marriage. By the way, our people do not seek for partner outside their ethnic group that much. They usually marry from their own ethnic group. My father is among the first Zay people who married from Oromo. If you say why, just to live in peace with them, nothing else. The problem emerged was that as the people moved farther away from their original territory, they came to abandon their ethnic language. Now, for example, the Zay found around Shalla are converted Muslims. If you go to places, such as Shalla, Langano, Shashemene, Koka, Lapiso, O'etu, etc., and ask the Zay who they are, they respond you "I am Laki"; they do not know the name Zay. In fact, 'Laki' means 'Zay' though they do not know the language. The fact that these people dispersed to different places left the language in the current sorry situation. What is being observed right now is that these people themselves are supporting our struggle for ethnic recognition.

Interviewer: Is there a cultural dominance?

KI-1: In connection to culture, there is something you need to know. Now, beginning from the Dergue regime until 1989 E. C., the Zay performed everything in their culture, using the

language that represents it. For example, they have the marriage tradition called “Zoeira” (Zəjra) - a tradition whereby children born in the same year come to the home of a groom with rods and make a promise through tasting tədʒ and dawa. For example, if you were born in 1976, those born from half of 1975 up to half of 1976 are considered in the same age with you. This is traditionally called məri. Məri means the same age [people who are in the same age]. During your wedding, each person comes with one zəŋ, which means rod. If twenty people were born in that year, twenty zəŋz would be brought to your home during your wedding, and these zəŋz would be tied to the pillar of your house and kept there until the next person of this age cohort will get married. It revolves this way. …The zəŋ symbolizes cohesion and friendliness. . . . The məri would be given pots with tədʒ and dawa. The groom and his friends (məri) make a promise and then drink the tədʒ and dawa together. They first taste the tədʒ one by one. The tədʒ symbolizes love and peace: “let the God make our life sweet just like the honey, and make us peaceful friends until we pass away. Then they drink the dawa, which means “if you have bad thoughts about your friends, let your life be sour like this dawa.” Finally, they break the pot with dawa, saying “let God destroy our enemy like this pot.”

The Zay’s tradition of Meskel celebration is also unique. For example, məsk’əl celebration in most Ethiopian societies is held on 17 September, according to Ethiopian calendar. In Zay’s case, however, the celebration of məsk’əl starts from 16 through 29 every September. The ceremony is opened by community elder on the evening of September 16 and closed by the same person on 29 September. The opening and closing ceremonies are conduced only in Zay language. The ceremony which lasts for 14 days is warmed by the traditional Zay songs where young Zay girls come together every afternoon at 4 PM and sing until 10 PM. They continue singing until the closing day. However, these unique cultural traditions were being eroded due to the influence of Oromo culture on the mainland. The lake shore dwellers have been relinquishing their traditional way of celebrating məsk’əl, for which they made use of their ethnic language, in favor of Oromo’s tradition. The customary law of the marriage tradition I told you ‘Zoeira’ is still performed throughout the Zay community in their own language. The problem is that there are some youngsters that have a concern. Currently, in this vicinity, there is an intimidation from some Oromo who say “as long as you live in Oromia region, you have to accept the language and culture of Oromo people; otherwise, you are not able to live here. In all, you can live in this region only if you are Oromo.” Because of the presence of such attitudes among the some

Oromo people, some Zay households say “unless we relinquish our language and culture, and accept theirs, we are not able to live here in peace.” Thus, there are some individuals who have abandoned their culture for fear of encountering such problem.

Interviewer: What about the linguistic factors.

KI-1: Yep, there are linguistic reasons contributing for the diminution of our ethnic language. The Zay language is not reduced to writing, i.e., it has no orthographic representation, and no book written in it for reading. These have made it not to be used in education and other situations. . . . So the absence of written form and reading materials developed in it reduced considerably the vitality of our ethnic language.

Interviewer: What do you think of the attitudes of the Zay and the Oromo people towards the language?

KI-1: What we are currently observing is that there are Oromo people who oppose us. Of course they are members of the young age group, not the elderly. The elderly people are in favor of us. Although not the youngsters, the Oromo elders witnessed the fact that the Zay had a distinct language, culture and history of their own. Some Oromo people sympathetically said to the Zay ‘why don’t you promote your language? Why don’t you produce film in it? Why don’t we help you out with it’? Overall, ahh…the people above 55 years old, whom you may consider as elders, are on our side. Nonetheless, there is an intimidation from some Oromo youngsters; they say that the Zay have to adopt the language and culture of Oromo as long as they live in Oromia region; if not they could not claim possession of their settlement areas. They connect our question for ethnic recognition to evacuation of the Oromo people. They believed that acknowledging Zay as a distinct linguistic and cultural group may result in a control of the lake and its surrounding areas by the Zay. In other words, the Zay can claim ownership of the land within their territorial jurisdiction. This in turn may cause evacuation of the Oromo who previously settled in the areas around Lake Zway. Besides, the Zay language can take over all the communicative domains formerly dominated by Afan Oromo. . . . They feel that when our language grows, it will dominate theirs, just like Afan Oromo is doing to Zay language, and that we dominate them like what they are doing to us now. Besides, the Oromo regarded us as

northerners, and hence recognizing us as an ethnic group means restoring the old day political order of the north on the Oromo land.

Not only are the Oromo but also some members of our ethnic group who even oppose our struggle for ethnic recognition . . . The opponents are mainly civil servants. . . They say to us "why do you do like this? You can't succeed." In fact, the objection does not arise because of the fact that these people have inherent hatred towards the struggle; rather it arises from the belief that the question of ethnic recognition could never bear fruit in the region. Their cause of concern is that if they support the struggle openly, they will be dismissed from their job, and most importantly they can be excommunicated by the Oromo they live with. . . . We converse on the issue with them but because it is a livelihood, we also do not object them. However, there are some individuals from this group who are currently helping us clandestinely.

Interviewer: If you say that Zay is in danger, do you think it necessary to save the language from extinction? If 'yes', how could it be successfully maintained? If your response is 'no', express the reason why your ethnic language does not deserve preservation.

KI-1: Yes, it is necessary because it is an expression of who we are. . . . I personally feel that what the society has to do by itself is to strengthen its social relationships. As I told you earlier, for example, there are social issues, such as marriage, mourning, etc., which bring the islanders and the mainland Zay together. While meeting on these occasions, it is important to use Zay in their conversation. What the society also has to do is to follow up the children strictly so that they learn their ethnic language. For instance, while I was in Harari, I witnessed that no Hararian used any other language except their own at home. I want such culture to develop in our society. Thus, what the people of Zay have to do is that they should speak this language with their children at home. The other is creating alternative economic opportunity, particularly for the islanders. For example, developing tourism, establishing government institutions where the educated islanders can work being employed, introducing modern methods of bee-keeping, fishing and farming, may be useful to encourage the youth to stay on the islands.

Interviewer: People may not think of using the language and also teaching it to their children. So, how can the awareness be given to them so that they maintain and promote their ethnic language?

KI-1: Well! . . . The party who has the awareness is to enlighten the public about the primary importance of preserving their indigenous language. If we say that this language deserves safekeeping, the one who has the awareness should make unreserved effort. The problem is that there are people who have the awareness but do not know the language themselves. For example, if you take my brother, he was born around 1982 but he is not able to speak the language. Right now, he has three children. So, how can he teach the Zay language to his children while he himself does not speak the language? In fact, these people do still have options for gaining the awareness and learning the language. I believe that an awareness-raising campaign requires favorable situations. Therefore, some important occasions which mostly bring the Zay together include wedding, mourning, communal labor, ɨddɨr, məhaβər and coffee ceremony. ɨddɨr and məhaβər are ideal occasions to create awareness . . . For example, in this town [Zway] there is a Zay's ɨddɨr with no blend from other ethnic groups. Ah… there is also ɨddɨr of only ethnically Zay people in Meki Town and Addis Ababa. I believe that this situation is very conducive to educate the members about their ethnic language, and motivate them to communicate as well as confer about their ɨddɨr in Zayña. …The other important occasion is məhaβər [religious celebration of a day dedicated to God, Angels, Saints, etc, by a group of people on a monthly basis]. The Zay have a məhaβər which is held on 12th, 19th, 21th, 23th, 24th, 27th, etc., of each month, to mention but a few. On these occasions, many Zay people meet. For example, on Saint Mary Day (21), all females meet as only women participate in Saint Mary's məhaβər. Umm . . . those days observed in the name of Angel Michael, Gabriel, Saint George and the like are attended only by males. On these occasions, the Zay have no mix from other ethnic groups; members of the məhaβər are only from the Zay. In Bochessa, for example, ee… there is no Oromo that participates in məhaβər with Zay. In fact, no one can oppose them if they join the Zay as far as they are Orthodox Christian.

The other option is 'coffee ceremony' in rural areas. Neighbors usually have a coffee in group in rural areas, i.e., they invite each other while making a coffee. Thus, this time and place may be a crucial stage where those who do not understand the language can learn and use it, as well as the ones who held the language in low regard can be conscientized of the importance of preserving their lesser-used language. More importantly, this occasion can create an opportunity for the young to hear the language from the adult and elderly who are fluent in it, and in long run, learn and use it themselves.

Interviewer: Do you think that you are responsible for preserving your ethnic language? If so, what pragmatic actions have you ever taken to maintain it? Is it effective? If you do not think yourself as a responsible person, explain your reasons.

KI-1: yes**,** I am responsible to preserve and promote it because it is my ancestral language. We are now doing certain activities in order to maintain our language. The first one is a struggle for ethnic recognition. This is because unless you have recognition you can do nothing. What you have to understand is that it is not a void recognition when we say recognition. With recognition, many changes will come. . . . We are now recognized by many ethnic groups, i.e. Zay is known unless it is a matter of being official or not. We formed Zay Identity Committee who runs the issue of ethnic recognition and political representation. The major objectives of the Identity Committee are to help the Zay extricate from their economic and social problems, thereby promoting their distinct language and culture. We feel that these objectives can be realized when the people will ethnically be recognized and politically represented. With recognition and political representation, we can have funds and projects that may benefit us in solving our economic problems and promoting our language and culture. Umm . . . We applied to the Oromia Regional Government and the Federal Government as well as the House of Federation for official ethnic recognition, though no response has been forwarded. The struggle has actually continued unabated hitherto.

The most important reasons for raising the question of official ethnic recognition are that the Zay have unique language, culture and history that will deserve protection. . . .We have a separate language of our own. Just like a language of wider community, the Zay language varies from island to island (i.e. it has dialectal variation). . . . For example . . . ee . . . it has a feature of stress on the two south west islands (Galila and Debre Sina). It is a little closer to Silt'e. While singing a song, it becomes faster on the last island (Gelila). . . . We have also a unique culture. For example, the funeral services are different from other ethnic groups. . . . There is an interesting dirge in Zay culture. Even a distinct dirge is performed for male and female (married and unmarried), young, adult, elder, and hero/heroine during funeral services. . . . Females and males also have their own distinct dirge in Zay culture. A funeral song itself has divisions. . . . During wedding, for example, zɔjra can never be missed. It is a practice in which children born in the same year come to the home of a groom and make a promise for lasting friendliness and

solidarity. . . . Because we have many things, we felt as if we were swallowing many nations: Amharas, Oromo, Tigre, Gurage and Silt'e. All our culture expresses these nations. Losing these things harms not only us, but also the country at large. So our concern is not only about the extinction of the history of our simple community, but also about the disappearance of the history of many nations, and the history of Christianity. Ahh . . . So, it is these things that mainly motivate us to raise the question of recognition. … If we become successful, it is for a country; it is not for simple authority or position. If it is not successful, it is the body on a position that is accountable. We are working in this spirit.

Umm . . . hand in hand with running the issue of recognition and political representation, members of the Identity Committee are engaged in awareness-raising campaign. There are representatives from Identity Committee who are assigned to do this activity in each place where Zay people can be found. The residence of the Grand Identity Committee is Zway. But in each place, there are sub-committees consisting of at least nine members. These individuals are giving awareness in each Kebele so as to make the people have concern about their ethnic identity (Zayness) and to bring them back to their language and culture.

The other practical actions are dictionary preparation, documentation of cultural traditions and production of cultural songs in the Zay language. As regards dictionary writing, individuals were assigned to collect words from each Zay settlement area. Just like a language of wider community, the Zay language varies from island to island (i.e. it has dialectal variation). Thus, individuals who took charge of this activity have collected the words from all inhabited islands and handed over to a man called Tariku- resident of Addis Ababa. This man has taken full charge of writing a dictionary in Zay language being supported by educated youngsters who have a good knowledge of the language. Additionally, there are some Zay-born teachers who have been engaged in this activity individually. They have been collecting words of Zay on their own so as to compile them to a dictionary. We are also making an attempt to glean some expressions like jokes, proverbs, wise sayings, sarcastic speech, etc. While holding a meeting, we gather these linguistic expressions by asking from one another so that we will prepare them in a text form for readers. What is more, the cultural practices of Zay are being written down. Now, for example, I am personally writing the cultural traditions of Zay (i.e. wedding, mourning, meskel celebration, etc.) in its language using the sabian script [alphabet] because something kept in text is possibly

acquired while the one in memory is forgotten. Additionally, we collected all materials which have connection to our culture. For instance, we collected costumes- different knitted cultural clothes of Zay and kept them in proper place. We put the immovable materials where they could easily be accessible to tourists.

. . . The Zay Identity Committee made a great effort to get the Zay culture and traditions documented and displayed in media for public. A documentary film was produced by culture and tourism bureau at federal level. Umm . . . It has helped us a lot for our question because it disclosed the fact about the language and culture that we claim to be officially recognized. That documentary film was repeatedly televised based on our preference for days of transmission. . . . It was repeatedly transmitted on Saturday and Tuesday when many people came from rural areas to town for market. . . . We did this so as to rekindle the feeling of the people, particularly those who have already forgotten the language and culture of the Zay. Accordingly, many people come to Zway Town and watched the documentary film; . . . So the plan was culminated in success.

Interviewer: Do you think that your campaign could bear fruit?

KI-1: Of course, the effort seemed to be bearing fruit because a positive outcome has been appeared as a consequence of the awareness raising campaign made thus far. For example, the questions which were not raised before have been raised after that in Bochessa- where change in language was considered to be mostly happening because of the frequent contact with the Oromo, the education system and expansion of inter-ethnic marriage: "Why don't we learn in our language? Why is our language not used in administration and media? Why is our language not reduced to writing?" have been the most frequently raised questions. The people also seemed to be motivated to teach Zay to their children and protect their culture.

Interviewer: Are there other stakeholders that should take responsibility for saving the Zay language from danger of extinction? If so, mention these stakeholders and their respective duties.

KI-1: Yes, there are other stake holders apart from the Zay community members. For example, the government should take responsibility for developing the Zay language. What we expect from the government is that, firstly it has to give constitutional response to our question. Why? No one should be ashamed of himself or herself, that is, he/she should not be ashamed of his/her identity. Now, for example, we are preparing dictionary; this work requires budget. Thus, we

have to look for fund or raise money from our monthly income. But, if we get constitutional response, we will have our own budget allocated to us from government, thereby we carry out everything by ourselves right away. . . . The language itself takes a proper direction of development; umm . . . for example, schooling can be allowed in Zay, thereby its long term survival can be ensured. In my view, a language could not develop in the absence of official recognition. If diversity is really respected as said, the Zay's question of ethnic recognition should officially be answered, as no one should be ashamed of himself. . . . Unless the Zay officially recognized as a distinct ethnic group, they will feel inferior, which can gradually lead them to hide themselves. Since developing a sense of inferiority may possibly cause hopelessness, they will entirely lose confidence to do something in favor of their ethnic language. Therefore, the benefit of official recognition is that it will make the people develop confidence in themselves and their language, which can in turn clear the cloud that has remained a barrier to them to promote their language. Even a mere recognition of the speakers by the state government can motivate them to maintain and promote the language.

Key Informant 3 (KI-3): Member of Zay Identity Committee and Chairperson of Zay Development Association (KI-3, 17/12/2016: Meki Town)

Interviewer: Do you agree with the view that Zay is an endangered language? If you agree, what do you think are the contributory factors? If you do not agree, explain your reasons.

KI-3: Yes, I agree. Zay is in precarious situation. The reasons which are responsible for pushing the Zay language to the limit are related to economy, politics and attitudes. Those attitudinal problems have created big influence on people around here. Unlike other ethnic groups, who got official recognition and develop their language by using the constitutional rights given to them, our people do not promote their language and culture because of the fact that the government denied them of the linguistic rights enshrined in the constitution. This gradually made the people to develop low impression of themselves and their language. The other factor that made the language decline is economic livelihood, among others. The government policy which says people should use the language of their surrounding areas in order to accomplish properly the work they are engaged in perhaps made this language diminish in this place. This situation is making the Zay people forsake their own language in favor of other language. Umm… for example, people living in this area cannot get job in government office unless they know Afan

Oromo. Therefore, those persons willy-nilly learn the working language being used in the surrounding work places at the expense of their vernacular. I mean that because of the reason that they have to know the dominant language being used in government office to carry out activities, they come abandoning their own ethnic language. The other is lack of protection made for the islands so that they become attractive for permanent settlement. Although these islands are important historical places, the government and people of Ethiopia are not willing to conserve them as a heritage by empowering the residents economically and educationally so that they can develop their vicinity and create a friendly environment for sedentary settlement.

Interviewer: Do you think the fact that it has not appeared in writing contributed to its decline?

KI-3: Yes! Not being reduced to writing influenced the Zay language very much because language cannot be maintained only by being spoken. It needs to be used in writing, whereby different reading and teaching materials can be prepared. Language mainly develops when used in literature . . . It is literature that develops a language. The absence of this and the fact that Zay has not been taught in school as a subject or used as a medium of instruction are highly responsible for its diminution. Thus, writing is the decisive factor for language development or decline.

Interviewer: What about historical reasons? Are there any?

KI-3: Yes, I can raise some points in relation to history. As I heard from my father, the Zay people used to create a family relationship through "gudiffacha" and "harmehoda" in order to avoid enmity with the Oromo ethnic group. The adopted children lived with the outsiders intimately, and consequently relinquished their ethnic language and culture. Ah… the number of people who left the islands because of adoption may be small, but there were numerous people who came out following the adoptees because of their family relationship. This was observed mainly in the *Dugda* district. The other was 'harmehoda'. Umm … 'harmehoda' is nothing but a family relationship you created with other person during the time of hardship in order to solve your problem. So, the Zay were created a family relationship with Oromo through 'harmehoda' so as to avoid conflict, thereby getting access to mainland markets and farmland. This event also caused a loss of the Zay language speakers because those left the islands through 'harmehoda' completely assimilated to Oromo ethnic group by abandoning their language, culture and their ethnic identity in general. Above all, the migration, which actually depopulated the two south

west islands such as Gelila and Debre Sina, contributed a lot to the endangerment of the Zay language. The migration reached as far as Arsi Negele, Siraro, even here in Kembata, the so called Angacha area. Towards Addis Ababa, they went up to Zikuala. The people moved in this direction were numerous. They were absorbed altogether into the host population in the milieu. Ah… those moved in the direction of Kembata were absorbed by Kembata, those moved to where Oromo people lived were assimilated by Afan Oromo speakers.

Interviewer: If you say that Zay is in danger, do you think it necessary to save the language from extinction? If 'yes', how could it be successfully maintained? If your response is 'no', express the reason why your ethnic language does not deserve preservation.

KI-3: This is appropriate question. Yes, it has to be preserved. My strong believe is that The islanders cannot leave their traditional territory if they are able to make a living and that they can get all social services (schooling, medication, clean water, marketing, etc.) there. Creating other economic activities, such as modern bee-keeping, animal rearing, modern fish production, establishing public institutions where the educated section of the society can work as employees, are central to encourage the people, particularly the youth to stay on the islands. If the situation that enables the people to improve their lives is created, I am dead sure that the language will stay undoubtedly for many thousand years. Where these things are, however, not available, or not fulfilled, it is inevitable that the people will leave the islands in search of better life. While leaving, they intermix with different linguistic groups which may in turn result in assimilation. The other is development of tourism. The islands have the potential of being a good tourist center. It is impossible to talk about the history and heritage of Ethiopian Orthodox Church without mention of these islands for they were the ones which protected Orthodox Christianity and its heritages starting from the religious invasion of Yodit/Gudit, the Jewish Religion follower up to Ahmed Gragn, Islamic Religion expansionist. These all observed churches in different places are the outcome of that protection. If the religious treasures were not hidden in these islands, Orthodox Christianity might fade away. To be frank with you, Ethiopian Orthodox Church itself has a big responsibility of doing something important in this area so as to keep its history intact. Umm… to keep to the point, these islands have cultural resources, such as historical remains, customs and traditions. These cultural resources can be promoted in cultural tourism, which provides useful economic development opportunities. There are also hot springs.

If these hot springs are developed well in modern way, they can, with no doubt, be the most preferable holiday destination for many people. The other important thing to be done is that fishing should be left to Zay. As it is known, the people of the islands have no much land to cultivate. Their life is firmly tied to Lake Zway for its fish product. They have relied on it as a source of food for so many years so that they could maintain their lives. Hence, their historical right to use this lake for fishing needs to be respected. Other fishermen, who may have ample alternatives to make a living, can be interdicted if the Zay youth are required to stay in their homeland, and promote their language and culture.

Interviewer: Are you saying that the language will be maintained if attempt is made with particular focus on the economic livelihood of the people?

KI-3: Exactly! Especially, these days, when we see the situation that the world is in, economy is a decisive factor. While the feeling and curiosity of the Zay to promote their language is exceptionally strong, economy has become a bottleneck to them. . . . Yes! Economy gives you a chance to express yourself; . . . Economy gives you a chance to develop your language and culture. Those who have no stable economic base will disperse; they move to different places in search of economy. In the meantime, their language and culture are likely to disappear. Therefore, improving the economic well-being of the people, particularly the islanders, is exceptionally crucial for survival of the Zay language.

Interviewer: Do you think that you are responsible for preserving your ethnic language? If so, what pragmatic actions have you ever taken to maintain it? Is it effective? If you do not think yourself as a responsible person, explain your reasons.

KI-3: This is appropriate question. Yes, I am responsible to maintain my ethnic language. As a group, we are doing what we can. We raised a question of ethnic recognition. We struggled for ethnic recognition for 25 years but we have not got an answer thus far from the government. I mean we have started asking this question as soon as the coming of EPRDF government to power, but there is no "Yes" or "No" response so far. In the mean time, our people's culture, language and moral have been harmed. By the way, the people are very patient. They keep quiet because they want everything to be solved in peaceful way and according to the constitution. The problem is that no one has explained to us the reason why the government has been delayed to

answer our question. There has been no one so far who said to us "your case is delayed because of this and that reason", or nobody said to us "no, your language and culture are incomplete to be recognized." There has been no one who said to us "you lack this to be recognized as a separate ethnic group." Even sometimes when we went to the office to ask how our case is going, we were told that our application was disappeared, and hence requested to bring another application. Although this happened to us, we have never interrupted our struggle for the whole 25 years, even for a moment. We are still on that process. In 2007 the government sent its delegates to the society to assure the plausibility of our question for recognition. The investigation was already finalized but no one has still informed us the outcome of the investigation. In my view, the language is complete; the culture is complete; the people live almost in the same geographical location, i.e. on the islands and along the lake shores. According to our constitution, we qualify for recognition as distinct ethnic group. These things cannot give the government a way to deny our right to get recognition. If we did not qualify for official ethnic recognition, the government would say no to our question as soon as we raised it. Apart from running the issue of ethnic recognition and political representation, I as a member of the Zay Identity Committee conduct awareness-raising activities. The language is vibrant on the islands where children learn it as a mother tongue. The problem mainly exists on the mainland villages and towns. The people of Bochessa, Herera, Makedella, Zway and Meki have at least a grandfather/mother, an uncle/aunt, and perhaps mother/father on the islands, for which they contact the inhabitants on a regular basis. Hence, we as members of the Identity Committee are providing the mainland residents with incessant advisory services so that they will take advantage of their relation with the islanders to learn and develop their ethnic language. We also encourage talented individuals from Zay ethnic group to produce cultural songs in the Zay language. In addition to this, we motivate the parents to make a personal effort by teaching their ethnic language to their children at home in the same way that they teach the surrounding majority language.

Apart from this, we formed Zay Development Association so as to help the society extricate from its economic and social problems, thereby maintaining their ethnic language and culture. Umm… we carried out different activities, such as making clean drinking water and clinic available to the islanders; providing motorboat so as to alleviate their problem of water transport; planting tree seedlings to make the environment green and suitable for sedentary settlement. However, ZDA could do more but now it is about to stop because of the fact that the *Woreda*

administrative office has not been willing to renew the work license of the association. . . . When asked why we are prohibited from serving our people and that development does not discriminate ethnic group, the persons in authority said "you are not allowed to form a development association of your own as far as you are not recognized as a separate ethnic group with identifiable administrative boundary".

Moreover, we have been making the people promote their language and culture through practice. As a result, there are now many people who are teaching the Zay language to their children. I am personally teaching Zay to my children at home. There are also individuals who are discussing their ideas through it and communicating in it at their home. I am dead sure that if the question of this people get political solution it is able to correct many things over night. The big trouble now is the emergence of psychological problem among people because of not getting solution for their question of ethnic recognition.

Interviewer: Are there other stakeholders that should take responsibility for saving the Zay language from danger of extinction? If so, mention these stakeholders and their respective duties.

KI-3: Yes, of course. There are other responsible bodies. Umm… the first and main one is the Zay Development Association (ZDA). It is important if the development association of these people is reinforced further as its presence contributes a lot to the reinvigoration of the language. The other is media. Media do not play a simple role to develop a language. I belief that media, be it governmental or private, are a stakeholder in the efforts made to maintain the Zay language. If any press organizations, newspapers, magazines are sometimes able to present what culture, language and history have the ethnic minority groups, rather than always writing and talking about only the dominant ethnic groups, I believe they preserve the small threatened languages and cultures. This is because when this happens, the people will have a motivation to promote their language. Umm… the people's motivation will become high as the media coverage enables them to say "Aha! We also exist in media; we are one of those appear in media." They will have the courage to express themselves in front of the outsiders.

Key Informant 7 (KI-7): Vice Chairman of Herera Kebele and Member of Zay Identity Committee (KI-7, 10/01/ 2017: Tsedecha Island)

Interviewer: Do you agree with the view that Zay is an endangered language? If you agree, what do you think are the contributory factors? If you do not agree, explain your reasons.

KI-7: Yes, I certainly agree if we take the case of the mainland. Some historical encounters tempted the life of this ethnic group. For example, in the old days, there was what is called "gudiffacha" in this area. It does not exist presently. Let me give you one case from my relatives. There was my uncle, the brother of my father. He was adopted by Arsi Oromo. He was named "Kufa Boru", a name given to him by his adopter. He completely changed his identity. Not only him but also the children he begot became ethnically Oromo. Many children left these islands this way. Why they left the islands? It was because of the scarcity of land that they left. If now one has 3 or 4 male children, only the elder can get land; the rest become the servant of other people. If all sit here, they suffer since there is no enough cultivable land. So, they left through "gudiffacha" because of a problem, not because they disliked to live here. Now, for example, there is a lonely man who has no his own relatives or brother, or a barren woman, they look for a child to bring up by adoption. While they need to adopt a child, they come here as they know the problem of Zay people, and say "please give me a child for adoption because I have no my own children." All those left the islands are inclined to Afan Oromo; no one prefers to speak our ethnic language. The elderly said "for many years, we gave our children to outsiders by adoption because of this problem." And now those left the islands said "we are Oromo". In addition to this, some people left the islands following the adoptees to live dependently. These people are mainly the brothers or other close relatives of the adoptees. The reason why the Zay gave their children for adoption was the scarcity of land, but the Oromo took children of Zay by adoption because of the fact that theirs were decimated by cholera and malaria. The other is what is called "harmehoda" cultural practice. In the past, the Oromo used to kill many Zay persons. The Zay also didn't keep quite while someone was killed among them, and so did they kill from the Oromo in revenge. We went out for market as well as for farmland. Since we met this way, we practiced *harmehodha* with the purpose of avoiding enmity. Even if they were not related by blood, they considered each other as a relative after this *harmehodha* promise. Umm … the other was late marriage introduced by community elders on the islands, as I cited earlier, because of lack of sufficient cultivable land. A man got married when he turned 40 and above in order to

limit the number of children born to a family. When we asked our fathers why they did so, they said that the areas around Lake Zway were occupied by the Muslim Oromo which fought the Zay back to the islands. [….] To avoid a conflict with these people, they confined themselves to the islands by using the scarce resources there for their continued existence. They believed that if children got married in their early age, they would be multiplied uncontrollably, and thereby survival could be very difficult as they were not able to get land even for construction of a house, not to mention for cultivation. So, the then community elders devised belated marriage in order to overcome this scarcity of land.

Interviewer: Is there any political dominance which might contribute to the decline of your language?

KI-7: Good question. Ah … yes, I can say there is a political influence. For example, on this island, our children do not know Afan Oromo, but they are made to learn in it at school. So where is mother tongue education in our community? Why our children learn by the language do not understand while they have their own mother tongue? This thing confuses me. In addition, these islands used to administer themselves as *Kebeles* before this regime. But now they are merged to *Kebeles* on the mainland where Oromo people dominantly live. The language also shifted from Zay to Afan Oromo; previously we used Zay to give administrative services for the islanders. This does not work now; you have to go to mainland *Kebele* to get administrative services. When you go there, you have to use Afan Oromo if you want your case executed. Otherwise, no one listens to you if you speak Zay. Some people even use interpreter because they do not understand Afan Oromo. This thing is impacting on our language.

Interviewer: How do you see the attitudes of the Zay and the Oromo towards the language?

KI-7: Well! There are some people having negative attitudes among both Zay and Oromo. When I see the case of Oromo, some individuals belittle the Zay language. I myself do not speak in my language while going out of the island for work, thinking that they might conspire on me. . . If we are fortunately two, we may speak Zayña. So, when we speak Zayña, they say to us ‘what language are you speaking? Speak in our language’. There was even a time that those Arsi Oromo, our neighbors, scolded us saying ‘why do you even speak your language in this place? You have to speak only our language as long as you live here’. . . Now, for example, while we

visit them on the mainland, we speak only in Afan Oromo. They don't like us while speaking in our language; they suspect us. Because of such negative attitudes held by the Oromo, some Zay households came to believe that unless they adopted 'Oromoness', they would not be able to live peacefully with them. As a result, they abandoned their real identity and declared themselves Oromo so as to avoid any disagreement that might happen between them.

Interviewer: What about the Zay people? Do they have high opinion of their language or not?

KI-7: Ok, some ethnically Zay people, particularly those living on the mainland have developed negative attitudes towards their language. They denigrate it saying "this language has no visible use for any activities; so, its protection is in vain." I also realize the presence of individuals who are ashamed of speaking Zay, even if fluent in it, where other language speakers are present. They even do not report themselves as Zay when asked their ethnicity. Because they are ashamed of their being Zay, they introduce themselves to out-group members saying "we are Oromo". Actually […] the majority of the people are still proud of themselves and their language, and hence they are struggling for official ethnic recognition and working for maintenance of their language.

Interviewer: How do you see the impact of the Oromo culture on Zay culture?
KI-7: Umm … yes, cultural impact is there if not on the islands. The island-dwellers do not have contact with out-group members. Therefore, their traditional culture still exists without being adulterated. The problem of cultural diffusion exists on the mainland where the Zay live intimately with the dominant Oromo ethnic group. Some, if not all, Zay people abandon their ethnic culture and adopted the culture of the majority ethnic group in the region. This is because of the economic and social ties between the two peoples.

Interviewer: Well, the other thing I want to raise is about linguistic issues, for example, not being reduced to writing, absence of reading materials developed in Zay language, etc.
KI-7: Yes, this is another important reason for the diminution of the language. If the language has an alphabet, it can be used in literature, and different reading materials can also be produced in it. Ah… as one can see, because it has no written form, it is not used in school, media, administration, and other public domains. The absence of this language in such domains

contributed a lot to its decline, particularly on the mainland, for the reason that the speakers develop low impression of the status of the language.

Interviewer: If you say that Zay is in danger, do you think it necessary to save the language from extinction? If 'yes', how could it be successfully maintained? If your response is 'no', express the reason why your ethnic language does not deserve preservation.

KI-7: Ok, it is a good question. Yes, it needs to be maintained as far as language is a heritage. In my view, this language can be preserved if its speakers get official recognition. The reason why I put this point is that official ethnic recognition will give an impetus to the campaign against the decline of the language. I mean that official ethnic recognition will get free of the feeling of subordination developed by Zay language speakers. […] Where such feeling disappears, the people cannot be ashamed of speaking their ancestral language in public domains, which gradually leads to the reinvigoration of the language. The other is working on the economic wellbeing of the people, particularly the island-dwellers. Economic livelihood is the main cause for the migration of the islanders to different places. So, creating situations in which the people can meet their material needs being in their traditional territory is a viable way out to maintain the language. Umm … One thing that you have to understand is that this language has stayed to this very day because of the islanders that predominantly speak it, and the Zay cultural practices for which they use only their ethnic language. Fulfilling the people's requirements, such as livelihood, development infrastructures (health care centers, clean drinking water supplies, schools, etc.) on the islands are vital in language development efforts. This is because the availability of these things can encourage the people to stay on the islands. Ah… When I say schools, I do not mean only primary school but also high school. It is important to establish high school on the islands (though not in Zayña) because it can make the children stay with their parents longer. This can in turn help the children to lay a strong foundation of their ethnic language, and consequently retain it even if they may leave the island in their later ages. For instance, the high school established by Protestant Church in Herera has provided an opportunity for some children to stay with their parents longer. The school bought a motorboat by which the children traveled across the lake to attend their education and back home safely.

Interviewer: Do you think that you are responsible for preserving your ethnic language? If so, what pragmatic actions have you ever taken to maintain it? Is it effective? If you do not think yourself as a responsible person, explain your reasons.

KI-7: Yes, I am responsible to maintain it for it is my ethnic language. Although I cannot say I have made a great effort so far, I am contributing to some extent to the struggle for ethnic recognition, thereby maintaining the language and culture. As a member of Zay Identity Committee, I am doing what is expected of me. For example, I take part in awareness taking activities. When I leave for mainland, I enlighten those shifting to Afan Oromo about the importance of keeping their indigenous language safe and sound. I also take part in collection of Zay words from this island for dictionary preparation. Besides, though I am not member of Zay Development Association, I raised funds when collected for certain development projects on the islands, for example, for clinic and water development projects.

Interviewer: Are there other stakeholders that should take responsibility for saving the Zay language from danger of extinction? If so, mention these stakeholders and their respective duties.

KI-7: Yes. The one I consider as responsible stakeholders are the educated and affluent members of this ethnic group. Now, for example, there are economically affluent and educationally well equipped members of this ethnic group living in other places. They are found in higher economic and educational status. Those educated and affluent people are confined to where they live, and even some reported themselves as Oromo for the sake of resembling the surroundings. There are also people regarding themselves as Amharas or Tigre because they live with members of these ethnic groups. Those are the stakeholders who can save the language of this ethnic group. They can contribute a lot to the reinvigoration the language by taking part in development association and supporting it economically, educationally and materially. However, these people whom I mentioned now do not want to express their being Zay. To you surprise, they live hiding themselves. Perhaps, they may come when our ethnic group is officially recognized.

Interviewer: What do you think is the concern of these people?

KI-7: Their concern is the fact that the Zay have not been recognized unlike other ethnic groups. Because of this, these people live hiding themselves for the sake of resembling the surroundings. Now he does not dare to introduce himself, saying “I am Zay”. We have educated persons who

are ashamed of their identity. These people have power, knowledge, and money if they cooperate. They can save this language without the intervention of the government. These are stakeholders. The other is media. Media does not play a simple role in developing language. So, I believe that media, be it governmental or nongovernmental, is responsible for the maintenance of this language.

Key Informant 11 (KI-11): Vice Chairman of Beshira Cheffa Kebele and Member of Zay Development Association (KI-11, 22/01/ 2017: Tullu Guddo Island)

Interviewer: Do you agree with the view that Zay is an endangered language? If you agree, what do you think are the contributory factors? If you do not agree, explain your reasons.

KI-11: Yes, I agree.

Interviewer: If you agree, what do you think are the factors affecting your ethnic language?

KI-11: Good question. There are certain major factors I want raise here. The absence of recognition made the Zay develop a feeling of subordination, and hence they were ashamed of speaking their language. Although we asked the government several time for recognition, it did not give us a response for our question. As a result the people felt ignored by the government, and this in turn made them lose their ethnic identity feeling. Ah … The absence of schooling in Zay language and its nonuse in administration contributed to the decline of the language. For example, in our case, our upper Kebele is Beshira Chefa. This Kebele runs all administrative issues as the supreme power belongs to it. Now, you can see here what happens to the language while running the administration. …We carry out the administrative activities by going there because it is our Kebele. What that Kebele chairman wants is to lead us by its language. ... He talks to me in Afan Oromo, and me too has to answer him in Afan Oromo. What has brought this is the coalition of Kebeles.

Interviewer: Ok! Are there economic factors? Explain if there.

KI-11: It is obvious; the principal factor for the decline of Zay language is the economic problem of its speakers. There is scarcity of land. To make use of even the existing plot properly, we lacked support. Electric light is needed; water pump is needed. Fridge is needed for preservation of fish. If these things were available, the people would not leave their traditional settlement areas. In here, some of us bought water pump by our conscious effort, though it

consumes much power. By using the water pump, we are producing such crops as lemon, cabbage, onion, pepper, etc. Where shall we sell these products? There is water transportation problem; there is market problem. So, we are becoming the feeder of merchants. Now, if the government gives us power saving water pump; if it creates us a market link for our product; if it solves our transportation problem; if it installs electric light for us, if it in general fulfills development infrastructures for us in our settlement areas, no one wants to move to elsewhere. We are able to change ourselves being on the island.

Interviewer: Well! What about cultural influence? Is there acculturation in your context?
KI-11: Yes, acculturation is observed on the mainland, though not on the island. The reason is that the Zay living along the lake shores had cultural contact with outsiders. This brought about diffusion of the dominant Oromo culture into the Zay. Some Zay people accepted the culture of Oromo, relinquishing their own ethnic culture. They did so for the sake of living peacefully, thereby achieving their material needs.

Interviewer: Ok! Do you think the fact that this language was not reduced to writing affected it negatively?
KI-11: Yes. Since the Zay language was not reduced to writing, it would not be used in education, administration, media and other significant domains. If it had written form, various written materials would be developed in it. This would at least provide an opportunity for its speakers to learn it through reading. Umm … writing is actually very necessary for the preservation of the language.

Interviewer: The next question is related to history. Are there historical events contributing to the decline of this language?
KI-11: Yes, there were historical factors affecting the Zay people. Particularly, the settlement of Oromo along the shores of Lake Zway engendered a great problem. While the Oromo expanded as far as Raya, they "Oromized" the people they defeated by war. Small tribes that had fallen prey to them were annexed and called in the name of the Oromo clan that took control of them. A case in point is Wege tribe, which is once said to have been part of Hadiya but later incorporated into Oromo through *lallaba*. However, the Zay declined to be part of Oromo clans, and hence remained with their original ethnic identity: "They say 'I am Laki Langano, Laki Shalla, Laki Dembel, and Laki Abayata', but they never say 'I am Oromo'." They are still called

in their own name, *Laki* - the name given to them by the Oromo based on their fishing activity - in all places they found. Although they resisted accepting "Oromoness" through *lallaba*, the Zay who lived along the lake shores were not able to keep their language and culture intact. The other historical reason for the diminution of the speakers of this language was the late marriage introduced by Zay elders living on the islands. They made the people use traditional family planning method to control population explosion. We also reached it to some extent. The land was narrow; the people filled the island through reproduction. While the people filled it, they even lost a place for construction of a house. Because of the narrowness of the land, they shared it among themselves by measuring it in inch. Their father had a plot of land. It was not enough to share that between three or four children. Thus, taking this problem into account, marriage was made to delay. A man was made to marry after 40 years, passing the normal marriageable age. Even in our age, I saw men marrying after 40 years old. The people in the very old time delayed their marriage even further. They married after they got too old. They passed away after having one or two children. Why is it? Because there was no more economic livelihood, no enough shelter, no enough closing. Owing to the absence of modern family planning method, the people used to control their number through natural way.

Interviewer: Well, let us see now from attitudinal viewpoint. Are there individuals both from the Zay and the majority people (Oromo) who have negative attitudes towards Zay language?

KI-11: Yes, but not on these islands. Although it is an instrument of communication, some individuals on the mainland developed hatred for this language. It is known that our forefathers passed accomplishing many of their famous activities through this language. It is the current generation that belittles the language, thinking that it is of no use in this competitive world. Most of those who have developed low impression of this language are government employees because of the fact that if they speak Zay, they can be understood negatively by other language speakers, particularly Oromo. They feel that they must not speak Zay in order to stay on their job and earn salary. This is due to the topical political imposition. Ah … among the majority community members also there are some people denigrating this language, as if it is valueless to maintain it. Umm … I actually understand them because there are no meaningful public activities taking place in this language.

Interviewer: If you say that Zay is in danger, do you think it necessary to save the language from extinction? If 'yes', how could it be successfully maintained? If your response is 'no', express the reason why your ethnic language does not deserve preservation.

KI-11: Yes, it has to be reinvigorated. It is quite important to reverse its current situation in order to maintain our history and culture. Umm … there are different things to be done in order to maintain the language. The main one is official recognition. In the absence of recognition the speakers may not take pride in their language. Although we make an effort, understating the language may not be avoided. Official recognition is vital in reversing the resistant attitudes. Livelihood is the other important issue. The islanders do not have sufficient economic livelihood. They lack cultivable land; they lack market goods; they lack development infrastructures. Therefore, a concerted effort is required to build the economy of Zay people and to fulfill the infrastructures so that the people get encouraged to stay on their territory happily.

Interviewer: Do you think that you are responsible for preserving your ethnic language? If so, what pragmatic actions have you ever taken to maintain it? Is it effective? If you do not think yourself as a responsible person, explain your reasons.

KI-11: Yes, I think I am responsible. I, as member of this ethnic group, am doing all possible efforts to make the people live here tolerating each other. This is for the sake of maintaining language, culture and history. If people leave the islands, the language, culture and history of the islanders will disappear. It is not an easy thing to sustain history. Therefore, we are doing what we can in order to sustain the language, culture and history, and pass on to the next generation. I personally advice those who do not speak their language and feel shame to say "I am Zay". As member of Zay development association, I raised money for different developmental activities. What we think to become somewhat a bottleneck for the success of these activities is only the absence of official ethnic recognition.

Interviewer: Are there other stakeholders that should take responsibility for saving the Zay language from danger of extinction? If so, mention these stakeholders and their respective duties.

KI-11: Umm …Yes. The leading stakeholder is the government. First of all, it has to provide official ethnic recognition for our people as this encourages those who hid themselves in Oromo society to disclose their real ethnic identity. I also believe that the government needs to allocate

budget for these people so that they develop their surrounding areas for permanent settlement where they can preserve their language, culture and history. Otherwise, the movement of people to different places is inevitable; if they dispersed, the reduction, and ultimately the extinction of their language and culture can be inescapable. Educated people are the other stakeholders that need to develop reading materials and textbooks in the Zay language. I believe that the written materials prepared in Zay can be useful for those interested Zay people to learn something through reading. Ah … the text books will be used for teaching students at school if Zay-medium school can be opened.

Appendix T: FGD Transcripts

FGD Transcripts

FGD-1 (09 Nov 2015: Bochessa)

Moderator: Do you think the Zay language is under threat? If so, what are the responsible reasons? Discuss in relation to economic, political, historical, cultural and linguistic factors (if there). Let us start with economic factors.

R1 (Respondent 1): Now, we said that this language is dying. Our people are extremely underprivileged. They are very poor….. If you have economic capacity, you will help your language not to vanish with that capacity [economic wealth], perhaps through publishing books in this language; it is possible to keep that language alive in different ways. Although now they are showing some improvement in wealth, they had nothing in the past. Thus, the economic problem of the people has caused their language to diminish.

R2: … The Zay people did not have good economic base that helped them stay on their own traditional territory. All Zay people used to live on the islands that are enclosed by water body. However, because of the mountainous and rocky nature of the islands, they began to consider other economic options in other places. … The people particularly the young left the islands in search of better job opportunity and education. The people who left the islands for economy and education gradually stopped speaking Zay in favor of the language of other ethnic groups they began a new life with.

Moderator: Ok! Any other points you want to add? (All kept silent)

Moderator: What about political factors, are there?

R3: As regards political aspect, there is no, in fact, direct imposition from government. It was not said from part of the government that this language should die. We have no such kind of imposition from government but this language is dying because of the reasons that it has not been a working language and that it has not been given in school. In turn, this means politics. Even if they did not directly say "don't use this language", our language has been made to shrink by excluding it from school and administration. Your interest may be to learn in your language, to be judged and administered by your language but if you are made not to learn in, and not to be

judged and administered by your language, it is rightly a political imposition. Thus, so long as I am learning in, being judged and administered by the language of not my choice, it is possible to say that there are political reasons for emaciation of the language. The other is that the fact that the people were not given recognition made the language decline.

Moderator: Do you think the culture of the people you are living with exerted influence on your own?

R4: Yes, as I think. The people came out to this place owing to shortage of cultivable land. When they came to here, they contacted people with different culture. For the sake of living with them, the Zay people followed the way of the Oromo people. Thus, the culture of the Oromo people exerted a big influence on the culture of Zay. Since they live in Oromo society and that they both are together in life and death, there is a cultural diffusion. To have a good relation with the Oromo, the Zay people are adopting the Oromo culture by abandoning their own. This is particularly true for the young Zay people. The old people still maintain their culture. It is apparent that the culture you are in exerts influence on your own unless you carefully follow it up. In that way, the culture of Oromo caused impact on the culture of Zay living here. Why? We get married to each other, for example, I get married to Oromo girl and others marry a girl from Zay ethnic group. Such thing caused one culture to influence the other. Hence, there is a cultural influence of the people we are living with.

R5: There is cultural influence. Now, our culture is vanishing in this generation. Now, mostly when we even betroth a girl, we make the betrothal according to the Oromo marriage traditions. We perform everything in their culture, relinquishing our own.

Moderator: Well! Do you think the fact that your language has not been reduced to writing influenced its vitality?

R6: This is clear. It is not confusing. For example, if books were written in this language and preserved, you could teach your children by reading from those materials. Now, there is nothing that prepared and preserved in the form of dictionary. …The old people have died, passing on what they knew to us. They are not present hereafter. However, the presently existing generation has not learned what they passed on to us. They are abandoning it. If it existed in writing, any one could develop it, supported by the written

books. So, not having a written form and reading materials prepared in it contributed its part to the gradual decline of the language.

R1: Yes, I agree with what has just been said. Even it became 25 years since we have started saying "a new government came for us; it would help us in restoring the language we have been losing". About one hundred ethnic groups are found in our country. They are transmitting their culture. Although we have been known since the regime of Haile Selassie, our culture and language were not promoted and transmitted in media. We have such kind of influence. While some people ask for linguistic right, the others hide themselves because of fear. …While the culture of other ethnic groups fosters, ours has not been recognized and documented so far. This exerted influence on the language as well.

Moderator: What about historical reasons? Let you discuss (if there).

R2: The historical reason that I believe have been responsible for the diminution of this language is the fact that these people, in the past, moved to other places, leaving their traditional territory. [the islands they used to live in] because of shortage of land. While they faced lack of cultivable land, they left the islands in search of ample land. While they left in search of land, they came in contact with other language speakers. Later, they began to learn the language and culture of the people they met with by abandoning their own little by little. That is, they came relinquishing their language and culture from time to time and from generation to generation. This is history. If you say why, the reason is that the people would not have left their homeland if there had been enough cultivable land there. This language would have not also declined. The main history is the fact that the people of Zay left their traditional territory from want of land.

Moderator: The other is attitude. Are there attitudinal factors? Let you discuss on this point.

R3: I believe that there is also attitudinal problem. The present generation has a low attitude towards Zay language…. Yes, hundred percent, any one can say this. It is the generation of the Zay people who hold negative attitudes of their own ethic group's language, rather than other language speakers. There are, for example, some people in the Oromo society who want us to sing in Zay language for their wedding ceremonies; they even perform their wedding according to Zay marriage tradition. On the contrary, there are people within this society that have bad attitudes towards this language. … Even the Oromo people are different: there are people who

hold favorable and unfavorable attitudes of Zay language. Above all, however, it is the generation of Zay that has a big problem. The generation of Zay starting from me has not given room for Zay language. … Surprisingly, being descendants of Zay, there are people who incite the Oromo people whenever issues about Zay ethnic group are raised. These ethnically Zay people, being deceived by material benefit, or afraid of losing their job and position, say "we are Oromo" by selling their real identity. While we say "let our language and culture develop and get recognition, they, being with the Oromo people, said "what would they do with this dying language unless they wanted land?".

R4: Me, too agree with what my friend has just said. It is the generation of Zay that is making this language decline by developing negative attitudes towards it. The main reason is this one. In fact, there is also an influence of other ethnic group. A part from the young generation, the perception of the parent itself has exerted a big influence on this language…. Parents made no effort to teach Zay to their children and keep it alive. They made it halt on themselves. … Take me, for example, my father didn't teach me this language so as to keep it with me and pass on to my children. I learned it from old men and women while having coffee with them. I learned it that way by my own effort, but there is nothing that my parents taught me on purpose. At the same time, there are parents who struggled for this language and preserved it in their families. Hmm……there are parents who have taught this language to their children. For example, three or four years old kids who speak Zay fluently are found in this vicinity. There are parents here with us who have been watching over this language, saying "our language is our identity, our history". If all did the same way, you can imagine where it would reach. To be frank with you, when I see these kids I feel shame. I have children but my children are not even able to hear.

Moderator: While you think of the future fate of your language, what do you feel?

R5: If this language is not be given any support, it can extinct in the future. When I think of this, I feel extremely sorry. I am very worried about it. Why? First I came from that [Zay lineage]. I am also being called by that [in Zay]. A man is called by father, not by mother, isn't it? … Zay has its own language; Zay has its own culture. The disappearance of this thing means for me an entire life grief. For me it is awful, though not know others' feelings.

R6: Herein, as it has been said, this language goes to death unless something is done for it. If it dies out, I will feel very, very sorry. Because the death of my language means that I become a child with unknown father. If it is asked "whose is this child?" it is said "she belongs to someone". What if her father is not known? She is bastard. It is said that it is not known where her mother has brought her. Therefore, if my language disappears, my identity also vanishes. If it is asked "where is the lineage of this woman from?" the response will be "unknown" because of the fact that the culture and language of her ethnic group has already disappeared. Therefore, as my language is my identity and the historical source of my origin, I will be very sorry if it disappears. Of course, I am abandoning it. Why I have abandoned it is that one comes to me and says "where does it takes you? Does it take you sheger?"

Moderator: you discussed the causes for the decline of this language. Now, let us come o its solution. What should you and your community members do to reverse the precarious condition of your language?

R1: What I think to be our responsibility is that we have to learn our language from others who knew it very well and teach to our children as well. A part from this we expect from government.

R2: He said it so. I feel that I should take a time to teach Zay to my children. What is expected of me is this one. If you say why, I have to keep a heritage for my children. As the culture and language of my fathers and forefathers must not die, I assert that I should teach Zay to my children what I know and by learning from others what I do not.

Moderator: Ok! You, what would you like to add to what they said?

R3: As far as I am concerned, the decisive one to lift up this language from the ground is me, because if I teach my children at home, they can easily learn when school is opened in Zay. Does school teach science or Zay language if children do not learn their language at home? Thus, each of us should first teach Zay to our children at home. If we do not know Zay ourselves, we should also learn from those who know the language. We have to make the newly born babies learn Zay at home as their first language. Thereafter, it is the responsibility of the government to expand Zay by opening school in it, teaching it as a subject and using it as a medium of instruction for science subjects at primary education level.

Moderator: What should your government principally do to save your language?

R4: In short, the responsibility of the government is to give recognition for these people. After that it has to motivate the people to learn this language as well as to teach to others. Helping these people in different things, for example, by opening school and having different books published in Zay are all the responsibility of the government. Above all, however, giving recognition is the best solution. I don't personally believe that a language can develop in the absence of recognition.

Moderator: do you mean that this language is declining principally because of the absence of recognition?

R4: Yes, it is because of the absence of recognition. If recognition was given like other nations and nationalities since the advent of EPRDF, at least 50% of the Zay people living on the mainland would speak Zay to this very day as they would make a campaign to develop their language right away. … Unless recognition is given, promoting the language is very difficult. There are people who live hiding themselves. They live with concern, saying "if we say we are Zay, we will be sacked from our job and position". I say that only recognition can dispel this concern.

Moderator: You raised people and government as responsible bodies to save the Zay language. Are there other stakeholders apart from these? Let you discuss on this.

R5: Yes, for example, the educated people. The educated people can promote this language. There are educated Zay people who could speak this language. For they knew the language well, they could play especial role by developing an alphabet, collecting words of Zay and preparing dictionaries, as well as by producing different books in Zay. There are a number of educated people who are capable of doing this in our ethnic group.

R1: They have talked about most of the points. What I want to add concerns religious institution. The church should also promote this language. If Bible and other holy books are translated into Zay and made available to the people, as well as if sermon is held in Zay, the language will possibly be extricated from its current endangered status. As the Zay people would mostly like to go to church, they can learn it on their way to achieve their religious goals.

R2: What has not been raised so far is about economy… The people living on the islands have economic problem to some extent, and thus they can keep on leaving the islands in search of better economic opportunities. The people have only this lake; they don't have other thing. …Thus, in order not the people leave that place [the islands], the government should organize them in association and help them in different ways on their own land. It can help the people by providing them water pump for irrigation and modern fishing tools…. Besides, the government has to establish school for kids and teach them in their mother tongue so that they do not leave their mothers and fathers' residential area. I say that the economic capacity of these people needs to be built in different ways. Unless they have economic capacities, they leave their land in search of options to build their economic capacity.

Moderator: In your opinion, what should be emphasized to restore the vitality of this language?

R3: As far as I am concerned, currently we have not that much economic problem. …. Motivating the people to learn and teach their language, and making them have a sense of concern about their language is something that should be principally worked on with particular emphasis so as to develop this language. Awareness-raising education should be given so that all people feel a sense of belongingness. Parents need to be advised so that they teach Zay to their children and learn themselves by asking from others if they do not know it. Apart from this, asking the government tirelessly so that the ethnic group gets recognition. As raised earlier, it is very difficult to develop the language unless recognition is given, because there are ethnically Zay people who live hiding themselves.

R4: Because the questions are related to one another, we have touched upon it earlier. What should be emphasized is recognition. The government should give recognition for these people. After giving recognition, it has to work on the people themselves. Unless the people have the willing to promote their language, improving their material wealth or opening Zay-medium school does not make sense. First and foremost, it should be worked on the community members. Starting from the family, each person should be made aware of the importance of preserving their language.

Moderator: Do you want the Zay language to be a working language of your community?

R5: On my part, if possible we need it because being judged in your langue is very exciting; what makes you happier than learning and working in your language? Getting different services

in your language is very interesting. I will be very happy if it is able to reach this level, because being official working language means, the language has already passed on to the next generation and thus saved from extinction.

R6: What else do we need then? Isn't that what we need? If this is so, we are very, very happy…. We are asking for that now. Our questions are that, let us get recognition, let us learn in our language and get different services in it. If this so, our language flourishes.

Moderator: The next question is about the language you are currently using as a working language; are you using Afan Oromo because of your willingness or simply because of a decision that came from above down to you? Please, continue.

R6: No one consulted us on this issue. No one came to us and ask which language we wanted to be a working language in our community. They simply made us use the language of the regional government, Afan Oromo. We live in Oromiya regional state. The working language in Oromiya region is Afan Oromo. As a result of this we do everything in Afan Oromo.

R1: No, no one asked us our linguistic preference. The region we are living in is Oromiya. We live with Oromo in this region as one ethnic group. We were not consulted about our language choice for education, administration and court because we had no recognition in the first place; we have been known as if we were the same with Oromo, but we were not recognized as a separate ethnic group with distinct culture and language. Therefore, that is why we use the regional language.

Moderator: Anything to add on what has been said?

R2: I agree with what they have said. They finished everything.

FGD-11 (23 Jan. 2017: Tullu Guddo)

Moderator: Do you think that your ethnic language is under threat? If so, what factors are responsible for this threat? Explain in relation to economic, political, historical, cultural, linguistic as well as attitudinal actors.

R1: Yes, this is a reality. Ah… different factors have contributed to the diminution of the language. For instance, the people of the island are economically disadvantaged. The topography

of the islands is unsuitable for farming owing to their mountainous and rocky nature. I mean that there is no enough plain land that lends itself well to plowing.

R2: … As he has said, the island is not suitable for cultivation. Therefore, our people mainly live on fishing, but because of the proliferation of illegal fishers who catch immature fish, the product is emaciating. As a result, the islanders, mainly the youth are forced to leave their homeland for better economic opportunities. The movement of the youth to other places for economic reason brought about the loss of speakers in young generation.

Moderator: What about political factors. Are there any political reasons for the decline of Zay language?

R3: Yes, there are political factors affecting the Zay negatively. A typical example of this is the education policy that disregards the Zay language. There are Schools on Tullu Guddo and Tsedecha Islands, but as the education policy is controlled by the Oromia regional state, it is the region that assigns teachers to the schools. The teachers are always Oromo who cannot speak the Zay language. Ethnically Zay teachers who know the language are not assigned to schools on the islands, let alone teach in Zay. On the other hand, the children are not able to speak Afan Oromo as they do not get any Afan Oromo input directly from their parents or community at their early childhood. … They go to school with no knowledge of Afan Oromo. This means, there exist a communication gap between the teachers and students which can negatively affect the teaching learning process. As the children learned in the language they are not familiar with and taught by teachers who are not able to speak their language, they cannot perform well.

R4: Well, I want to add one thing on what has just been said. Ah… all the five islands used to be *Kebeles* by themselves, i.e. they were administered as independent *Kebeles* in the past regimes. In the current FDRE government, however, they are made to merge with mainland *Kebeles,* where the Oromo predominantly live. While Tsedecha merged with Herera, Fundurro and Tullu Guddo islands were merged with Bashira Chaffa in Arsi Zone; Gelila and Debre Sina merged with Bochessa in the East Shoa Zone. As regards the present administrative division of the coalition *Kebeles*, a Chairman is from the Oromo while the Vice Chairman is from the Zay. The highest power even at *Kebele* level belongs to the

Oromo ethnic group. As a result, the language used to function in administration lost this domain because of the coalition of the islands to the mainland *Kebeles* where the Oromo people dominantly live.

R5: These people have their own language, culture and history. Because of this, we asked the government for official ethnic recognition but no response has been given to us thus far. The government seems to ignore us because of our numerical size or because of our weak economic status. But this is not fair; since we qualify the definition of nation, nationality or people, we deserve recognition as a distinct ethnic group. Therefore, this is political influence.

R6: I share his view. If there was no political influence, we would be given official recognition. But because of politics, we have been deprived of our right to involve in the list of recognized ethnic groups of Ethiopia. We are also denied the right to learn in our language; the right to be judged and administered by our language.

Moderator: the other is historical. Are there historical reasons that you think contributed to the shortfall of Zay language speakers?

R1: of course, there are known historical events which I believe to be responsible for the decline of the Zay language. One important historical factor was "harmehoda". Since the cultivable land was small, the production was not enough for the people. Besides, people had no access to markets, where they could buy goods and supplementary foodstuffs because things were different in the old days. It was very hard to move from place to place for the reason that people used to kill each other. It is not like the present time when they tolerate each other and live serenely. Hence, harməhoda was needed so as to go to market and come back home peacefully and if possible, to acquire farmland on the mainland. In the main, harməhoda was practiced with the purpose of bringing a peaceful co-existence. Most of those who created a family relationship with Oromo people through "harmehoda" left the islands by acquiring cultivable land on the mainland. Those moved to the mainland lived with Oromo as a family. As a result, they adopted the language and culture of the Oromo, by relinquishing what was theirs. This in turn contributed to the small size of the current Zay population.

R2: Yes, I agree on this point because I heard that "harmehoda" was widely practiced between the Zay and the Oromo people in order to avoid enmity. What I want to add is that in the past people got married in their old ages because of the scarcity of land on the islands. Umm …The then community elders introduced late marriage to control population growth because the resource on the island was limited. Look how wise they were! If one gets married at early age, he will have many children, and then faces a problem because he doesn't have enough land even for himself. So what they did was to control this problem. … Its effect was actually immense because it caused decline in the number of population. That is why the language of these people is easily subjugated by dominant group today.

Moderator: Do you have other new ideas to add? (All kept silent). Well, if you do not have another point to add on this, let us proceed to the next question. Are there cultural factors; for instance, dominance of Oromo culture over your ethnic culture?

R3: Yes, I believe it exists. Ah… Here on the island our culture is intact because we have no contact with others. Acculturation exists on the mainland since the mainland Zay live with the dominant Oromo ethnic group intimately. Some Zay on the mainland completely changed their ethnic identity in favor of Oromo. Acculturation is accelerated by inter-ethnic marriage.

R4: I share this view because these days the Zay on the mainland are accepting the Oromo marriage tradition; A Zay man is getting married through Oromo culture by throwing off his ethnic cultural marriage. Not only this but also naming and mourning are becoming in Afan Oromo.

Moderator: Good! Let us now come to linguistic factors, if actually there.

R5: This language has no writing system. No written materials developed in it. So, this becomes a problem for the development of the language. If the language was reduced to writing, educated people may prepare reading materials. Readers can read these materials and learn many things from them.

R6: Umm… this is clear. The fact that this language has no orthography affected it very much. Writing is very important for maintenance of a language. Even for media use, the language should have a writing system. In the absence of alphabet developed for it, the language cannot be used in secondary domains which may be of the essence to increase the prestige of the language.

The people like their language when it is reduced to writing and used for preparation of various written materials.

Moderator: Ok, the other point concerns attitude. Are there people who have negative attitudes towards Zay language?

R1: Yes. There are people holding their language in low regard. Some ethnically Zay people feel embarrassed while speaking their heritage language. These people are not the island-dwellers but the ones living with the outsiders. They are ashamed of their language to speak in the presence of other language speakers . . . While I myself talk to them in Zay, these people feel small to respond me, for other language speakers can hear them what language they are speaking. …Now, for example, if I find someone at hotel and ask him in Zay, saying: "How are you? Where did you come from today?" that person will feel shame to answer me in Zay language because he fears that his friends from other linguistic background may be around and hear him speaking Zayña. His friends do not know his real identity as he doesn't tell them his "Zayness." Even while filling out some forms at school or Kebele, he fills the form with Oromo or other recognized ethnic group, abandoning his "Zayness". This is in fact done for the sake of a livelihood. They feel that if they express their Zayness, they could be marginalized and that they would not be made beneficiary of the existing economic opportunities on equal basis with the local people. So ah … it is not because they hate their identity that they hide themselves and their language, but they do it for the sake of a livelihood.

R2: As my friend said there are people developing negative attitudes towards this language. Some people consider speaking the Zay language as shameful. Since it has no a sizeable number of speakers and that it is not used as a working language in government institutions, some members of the speech community are ashamed of speaking it in public domains. Umm… there are also ethnically Oromo people who belittle the Zay and their language. This act of the members of dominant ethnic group eroded the confidence of the speakers to use the language publicly.

Moderator: All right! You all agreed on the fact that your ethnic language is under threat and that you talked about the underlying causes. If your ethnic language is declining as you said, what pragmatic actions have you taken thus far?

R3: Well, it is a good question. We are doing different things to protect our language. We started our effort to maintain our language, culture and history through political means; we have asked the government to recognize us as a separate ethnic group. Ah… with recognition, we can have access to the rights and opportunities available to the recognized ethnic groups. Even if our question of ethnic recognition has not been answered, we do not give up, so we are still going forward.

R4: As said**,** we applied for recognition. Without recognition I do not think that the language can be maintained. […] We are also making every effort to keep our language and culture from being adulterated. The culture of wedding, mourning, meskel celebration, etc. seems to be merging with Oromo culture. For example, some mainland Zay come with a marriage tradition of outsiders. While they come with the outside culture, we prohibit them; we even quarrel with them, saying: "Why do you do this? Don't we have our own culture? How could it be this way?" . . . This is because, if we pass it with ignorance today, it goes on spoiling and in long run fades away. … So, be it at family or community level, we often confer about the desideration of protecting and transmitting the culture and language to our children just like our fathers handed over to us.

R5: What I want to add here is about Zay Development Association (ZDA), established by the Zay descendants living in different areas. The association helped the people in different ways. For example, it has made the following things available for the people so far: clean drinking water supply, clinic, motorboat and tree seedlings. The members of the association also tried to instill a sense of pride into us in our being Zay, so that we get motivated to learn and use our language in everyday social interaction just like other dominant languages. While coming, they say to us 'let us join hands; we remained being dispersed because of a livelihood. Now, let us protect our language, culture and history by working hard'.

Moderator: Good! Let us now come to the next question. What do you think should be done in the future to maintain the language? What should you and your community members do to save your language from extinction?

R6: Ok! Umm… our responsibility as member of the community is to learn and use the language by ourselves, plus to teach it diligently to our children because the important way to keep a language safe and sound is through using it in every day communication and raising children in

it. Otherwise it is impossible to keep the language in healthy state. The other thing is to continue providing advisory services with further reinforcement to those people who are ashamed of speaking Zay in the presence of other language speakers.

R1: As he said emphasis should be given to tackle the threatening attitudes held by some community members. Apart from this, we need to make a conscious effort to strengthen our development association. The development association, as we talked about it earlier, has accomplished very helpful activities. These activities should continue unabated because they are vital in controlling migration of the people to other areas. When the people are encouraged to stay in their original settlement areas, they can use only their ethnic language and practice their own culture. In so doing, their language and culture remain vibrant. Ah… now the association is actually facing problem from the regional government. Its work license is now suspended because of the fact that this ethnic group has no official recognition. But I think whatever cost it may take, we have to try our level best to make it restart its developmental activities.

Moderator: Well! You explained the responsibility of the community. What do you think are the responsibility of the government?

R2: Ah... Well. In my opinion the first thing the government has to do is to answer the question of the people, i.e. provision of ethnic recognition. Everybody wants recognition as it gives a great boost to the pride of the people in their being Zay and in their language and culture. In the current situation, we are always facing problems while we are making an effort to help our people. This is so because we do not have official recognition; there is nothing else. So, gaining recognition eases the problem that we may face in our effort to reinvigorate our ethnic language.

R3: I want to add one important point. The government needs to help the people alleviate their economic problem. . . . Since there is a shortage of flat land for sowing grain crops (which actually require a hectare of land), water intensive fruits and vegetables are vital for sustainable income generation on the islands. The climatic condition of the islands is also suitable for cultivation of such crops as it is relatively hot. Some people on this island are now producing fruits and vegetables though not in a large scale. They bought a water pump with their own personal effort and have been producing fruits and vegetables, such as lemon, cabbage, onion, pepper and others through irrigation. Any fruits and vegetables are

likely to grow on this island if they are sown and protected properly. However, we are not able to engage in this activity intensively because of lack of support from the government.

R4: […] this is true; we have lack of support. Despite the fact that the issue about scarcity of farmland is true, we have not cultivated even the existing plot properly owing to lack of support from the government. Umm … as the land is mountainous, it is easily exposed to erosion and the soil loses its fertility. So, we need regular follow-up and support from agriculture practitioners in order to protect the land from flood. We also need support with water pump machine. Although some farmers already bought water pump for cultivation of fruits and vegetables, they are using it for irrigating only the land along the bank of the lake because of its small capacity to pump the water over a distant farmland. Therefore, we need the government to buy modern water pump and give us in group. Ah … I want to say that if the language and culture are required to be maintained, we need to give emphasis to the youth in order to encourage them to stay on the island. The government can organize the youth in association and help them with modern water pumps that are capable of watering as far lands from the Lake Bank as possible, as well as motorboat that they use for transporting their yields of fish and other agricultural products. I believe that if such machines and selected seeds of fruits and vegetables are made available to us, we can change our life being on the land of our birth.

R4: Ok, some important points have been raised. Now what I want to raise is that the government is supposed to help us improve the fishing activity since fishing is our main source of income. Our people mainly live on fishing, but because of the proliferation of illegal fishers who catch immature fish, the product is emaciating. Presently, illegal fishermen, particularly from Arsi and Eastern Shewa have been fishing, thereby reducing a school of fish in the lake. On top of that, the beneficiaries of the product are not we, the producers, but the merchants. Because we have a problem of water transport and market link, we sell the surplus yields of fish to the owners of motorboat with cheap price. So, the government is required to create market link where we can sell our fish with fair price. Besides, it needs to buy motorboat for us so as to ease our water transport coast.

Appendix U: In-depth interview Transcripts

Interview I

Date of interview 05-11-2015

Pseudo Name: Bekele Kumsa

Age: 38

Sex: Male

Level of education 12+2

Place of residence: Bochessa

Interviewer: Do you presently use Zay?

Interviewee: Yes, of course.

Interviewer: How often do you use it?

Interviewee: I use it especially with old man and woman. Whenever I am with them, I usually use Zay.

Interviewer: What language(s) do you usually use with your family numbers?

Interviewee: I usually use Afan Oromo with my children, as well as my wife because they don't know Zay. I use Zay only with old persons to be a model for children so that they get motivated to learn the language.

Interviewer: What about with your neighbors?

Interviewee: Afan Oromo and Amharic but mainly Afan Oromo since majority of my neighbors is Oromo. In fact, I usually use Zay with old persons whenever I meet them.

Interviewer: What language(s) do you mostly use with your work colleagues?

Interviewee: I usually use Afan Oromo because most of my work colleagues are Afan Oromo speakers. Sometimes, I use Amharic because the working environment requires me to do so. I sometimes work with people who predominantly speak Amharic.

Interviewer: people may be angry, excited, may dream, think and so forth. For example, what language(s) do you usually use when you are angry?

Interviewee: when I am angry, I mainly express my anger through Afan Oromo language. This is nothing but because of the fact that I learned Afan Oromo as my first language. It is a language that I was primarily exposed to during my early childhood.

Interviewer: while excited?

Interviewee: to your surprise, I usually try to speak *Laqi* when I am excited, that is, I want to speak Zay. It is even during that time that I told you to use *Laqi* with old man and woman. Whenever there are exciting things, I mainly use Zay saying "why don't I speak Zay? Why don't I know Zay well?"

Interviewer: well, what about dreaming? What language(s) do you use?

Interviewee: I mainly dream in Afan Oromo because the language I commonly use in my everyday life is Afan Oromo

Interviewer: when you are sitting or doing something alone you may think of something internally. What language(s) do you mostly use in this situation?

Interviewee: Amharic and Afan Oromo. I use both almost equally during thinking, may be because I know both languages well.

Interviewer: what about while counting money or things?

Interviewee: That is in Amharic, may be because of the fact that I learned in Amharic.

Interviewer: Ok, what language(s) do you usually use while making mental calculations?

Interviewee: the same. I use Amharic because I learned in it.

Interviewer: while praying?

Interviewee: Amharic because every religious activity is done in it. Religious books are written in it; mass is conducted in it; sermon is preached in it. So, I too use Amharic in prayer.

Interviewer: Which language(s) do you mainly use during cultural and religious events?

Interviewee: I usually use Afan Oromo. I am telling you the truth, except some individuals, majority of the Zay people do not speak Zay. So, I usually use Afan Oromo with these people. But with the old people, I also use Zay on these occasions.

Interviewer: If you find a Zay friend of yours outside the Zay speech community, in what language(s) do you mostly speak to him?

Interviewee: I talked to him in Amharic because it is the language I prefer to use in my current linguistic situation. I am sorry for not knowing Zay well. I am very happy if I know Zay well and use it; but because I do not know Zay well, I choose to use Amharic.

Interviewer: What if you know it very well?

Interviewee: If I know, I will use Zay; it is my first preference.

Interviewer: Assume you speak Zay well just like you do Afan Oromo and Amharic. If you come across individuals who know the three languages well, which language(s) do you mainly use with them?

Interviewee: If I know it well, I really use Zay with them. I am not to lie you; I am telling you the truth that it is my strong interest to use Zay. I already told you that I regret for not knowing it well.

Interviewer: Is speaking Zay useful for you? Why?

Interviewee: Yes, it is very useful for me.

Interviewer: why for?

Interviewee: Because, first language is a representation of who you are, understand? …If you say "I am Zay" without knowing the language, does it makes sense? It doesn't. When seen from this angle, my language is a decisive thing for me.

Interviewer: What language(s) do you think are very useful for your livelihood?

Interviewee: It is Amharic but we don't know what will be in the future. Zay may grow and become the most preferred language of all in Ethiopia. This is of future, but currently Amharic is the most useful language for me to do everything.

Interviewer: Which language (s) do you think children should learn in your community?

Interviewee: Zay. I want it more than any other languages. Second come Amharic and Afan Oromo because we are using them in our everyday activities. Our children should learn them as well.

Interviewer: Why? What does knowing Zay benefit them?

Interviewee: I want children to learn Zay because learning Zay means knowing their identity. For example, I hear Zay, but children born after me do not understand it. Therefore, don't they lose their being Zay? They are ethnically Zay; they are called in it but they are losing it. After some generations, they may completely lose their identity. If you are member of a particular ethnic group, you have to know the language of that ethnic group; if you don't know the language, you cannot be a member of that ethnic group, or not called in the name of that group. I said so for this but not for something else.

Interviewee: Which language (s) should be chosen for education, administration and mass-media in the Zay speech community?

Interviewee: I am happy if the Zay language is chosen for these activities. I am telling you the truth. … Our culture is vanishing for the reason that we were not taught this language, understand? If administrative services were given in this language, it would have a chance to be safe. The fact that Zay is used for provision of such services makes the society feel proud of its identity. Thus I am very happy if such kinds of things are given to the society in Zay.

Interviewer: Is Zay dying in your locality?

Interviewee: Yes, it is dying. As I told you earlier, children are not able to speak the language. Even those who are my age do not know the language very well but hear it. …The main reason is that the people who came into the Oromo community have married spouses from among

Oromo language group. Consequently, children from these alliances grew up frequently with linguistic allegiance directed toward the language of their non-Zay parent. They preferred to be identified with Afan Oromo because of its dominant position in relation to the Zay in the region and its wider presence in public or official domains.

Interviewee: If the language is dying, what should be done to restore its vitality?

Interviewee: First the words should be collected and prepared in the form of dictionary, and finally they should reach the people. Second the people themselves should bring up their children in Zay by talking to them from early childhood. This is because the basis for continuation or cessation of the language is a family. Hence if the family brings up the newly born baby in Zay, it will have a considerable contribution to the revival of Zay. But these days, since the main responsibility falls on the educated persons, I believe that they can save the language from extinction if they prepare dictionary and books in Zay and make them available to the people.

Interviewer: You have just said that a family is a base for promoting or killing the language. What should be done in order to make the family to bring up their children in Zay language?

Interviewee: As to me, to say media, we may not have the capacity. … The Zay language should be made to be taught in school in order to motivate the people to bring up their children in it…. Again, as I told you earlier, books and different things should be prepared and made available to the society. As these things happen, I believe that the society would get some kind of awareness. If that consciousness is there, people do everything that can restore the vitality of their language. For example, if there is something to be read in Zay, they read and understand it. Thus, it should be worked on the people so that they bring up their children in Zay; I believe that awareness raising education should be given to the society. If they get this, I think that some change will come.

Interviewer: Are there other stakeholders that should work on this language?

Interviewee: Yes, there are especially educated people of Zay who are capable of doing something to save this language. These people know the language very well though they live in other places because of work. These educated people can play a great role by producing alphabet for and by preparing dictionary other reading materials in Zay.

Interviewer: other stakeholders, if there?

Interviewee: Government. We are now asking the government for recognition, though we do not know what the response will be. What is expected of the government is giving recognition to this ethnic group. If it gives recognition to the people as one independent ethic group, everything is over. If there is recognition, if there is visibility, the society itself is motivated for that thing. For example, previously a documentary film was produced and transmitted live on television. The society has shown a great motivation by that film itself…. Music has also been produced twice in Zay language. This instigated the youth very much. Even if the children do not know this language, they always sing the music everywhere. The documentary film and the music have given motivation to the Zay people very much. I believe that these things can reverse the language before it reaches anywhere.

Interviewer: If school gives primary education in Zay, will you send your children?

Interviewee: Definitely! Even, I am regretting for not having this opportunity. To tell you the truth, I do have 10-years old boy and I am really very happy if he gets this opportunity and becomes a guardian of his ancestors' language and culture.

Interviewer: You are educated man but you don't know Zay very well. Do you learn if adult literacy education is given in Zay?

Interviewee: Extremely! I want to learn things that I do not know in Zay. That is what I always dream.

Interviewer: Do you want to have things like books, magazines and newspapers published in Zay?

Interviewee: Extremely! These reading materials help to bring this dying language back because people learn things they do not know or forget from these materials. Above all, they would be motivated very much to do whatever they can when they see their language used for preparation of these materials. Even, if there is a capacity to launch a media program in Zay, I am very much happy because this media transmission certainly counteracts people's feeling of shame to use their language in public domains, which may in turn bring the endangered Zay language back to its vibrant situation.

Interview XXXI

Date of interview 27-11-2015

Pseudo name: Eshetu Bekere

Age: 30

Sex: male

Level of education: Grade 8

Current place of residence: Tullu Guddo Island

Interviewer: Do you presently use Zay?

Interviewee: Yes, I use it. I use Zay properly because, as I live on this island and that as the inhabitants are only Zay people, I always use it.

Interviewer: What language(s) do you mainly use with your family?

Interviewee: Zay, because my family members speak Zay well than other languages, and that Zay is my own heritage language.

Interviewer: what about with neighbors or people of your village?

Interviewee: Zay, because all the neighbors and the people of the islands are ethnically Zay. The language they speak is Zay. Whenever I come across someone, I greet him in Zay because the other languages don't come to my memory; even though I know Amharic it doesn't come to my memory soon. So I use Zay.

Interviewer: What about with your work colleagues?

Interviewee: It is in Zay, because the economic activity I am engaged in is finishing. This work usually connects me with Zay children. Sometimes, when we go far we may meet with children of our neighboring villages. Because these children do not know our language, we communicate with them in their language. That means, as we mainly meet with Oromo children, we use Afan Oromo with them.

Interviewer: As you are a human being, you may sometimes be angry and sometimes be excited. What language(s) do you commonly use while you are angry and excited?

Interviewee: I express, be it my anger or joy, in Zay, because Zay is my first language: I carry out every day activity in Zay. So, the language comes to my memory soon is Zay. You express your anger and joy in the language you know very well.

Interviewer: What about while thinking?

Interviewee: I think in Zay. As I told you earlier, since my first language is Zay, it comes to my memory soon. The other languages never come to my mind while I am thinking.

Interviewer: In which language(s) do you commonly dream?

Interviewee: Dream comes to me in Zay. This is because, as Zay is the language I use in my everyday life and that dream is connected with what I do in the daytime, I always dream in Zay.

Interviewer: Ok! What about while you count money or things?

Interviewee: There is counting in Zay. However, I incline to Amharic because I learnt in it. I mostly use Amharic while counting money or other things.

Interviewer: What language(s) do you mostly use while making mental calculations?

Interviewee: I learned calculations, such as adding, subtracting and so forth in Amharic. Thus, since I learnt in Amharic at school, I use Amharic while adding, subtracting, and multiplying and dividing, but I know calculating in Zay as well.

Interviewer: What about while doing private prayer?

Interviewee: While praying privately, I almost equally pray in Zay and Amharic. As the Zay language has very expressive words of worship through which I usually forward my prayer to Almighty God. Similarly, religious books are written in Amharic; I usually read these books. Because of this, Amharic words of worship are imprinted on my mind, and I use these words of Amharic while playing.

Interviewer: Which language(s) do you mostly use during cultural and religious events?

Interviewee: It is Zay, because the people who participate in those events are mostly Zay. For example, there is a marriage program; this program is almost entirely carried out in Zay language. There is what is called *meri* in Zay marriage tradition. *Meri* means ‘the same age

group'. These people of the same age come together and perform every activity during the wedding in Zay. We discuss and carry out everything in Zay; singing is also in Zay.

Interviewer: The other question is that, if you find your Zay friend outside Zay community, in which language do, you mostly speak to this person?

Interviewee: I talk to him in Zay language, simply because of the fact that the language I know well and want to speak is Zay. As known, when you meet someone, you first give him greeting, thus I greet him in Zay.

Interviewer: In connection to this, if you speak the three languages, such as Amharic, Afan Oromo and Zay fluently, and if you find someone who speaks these three languages like you, in which language(s) do you mainly speak to the person?

Interviewee: I speak to him in Zay. It makes me happy while I speak it since it is my language. If I know in advance that the person is able to speak Zay, I communicate with him in Zay. Definitely, I do it!

Interviewer: Is speaking Zay useful for you?

Interviewee: Yes, it is useful for me very much. First, it keeps the language alive. Second, I use Zay to communicate about secret things with Zay people. That is, since I use Zay to convey secret things, it is useful for me.

Interviewer: Which language(s) do you think are important for your livelihood in your community?

Interviewee: As a language, if Zay was recognized and had everything, it would be my first choice. However, presently Amharic is important for me. Because I can get everything wherever I go by speaking Amharic, it is very important for me.

Interviewer: Which language(s) do you think should the Zay children learn in your community?

Interviewee: I am happy if they learn Zay. I said so earlier. Zay is a language that is confined to these islands; it has not been recognized at government level. As it is not helpful for communication somewhere else, children should learn Amharic well, retaining Zay as their heritage language. If they know Amharic very well, it creates job opportunity for them when

they grow up. At regional level, it is useful for them if they learn Afan Oromo. This doesn't mean that they should not learn Zay. Even if Zay doesn't help them to communicate with other people, children should learn it so as to know themselves.

Interviewer: Which language(s) do you think should be selected for education, administration and mass media in Zay community?

Interviewee: I am happy if it is in Zay.

Interviewer: why?

Interviewee: It is good to say "why?" Because Zay is a language of Zay people, it becomes easier for the people to understand and grasp everything given to them in Zay. The second one is that the attitudes that the people hold of their language can be changed, and as a result of which the language can be spoken every place and time. This, in turn, makes the language develop to profoundly.

Interviewer: Is Zay under threat in your locality?

Interviewee: Yes, it is under threat. The reason why it is dying is that Zay is not taught in school. It has no other speakers; it is only these people of the islands that speak it. If it was given in school as a subject, others would learn it just like I learnt Amharic. Now, for example, outside Oromiya region, Afan Oromo is given as a subject. That student knows Afan Oromo as he learn in school. But the Zay language is dying because it has not been given in school. The first reason for its decline is this one. In the second place, the number of young people living on the islands presently is very small. Others remained as they went for education. While they marry and have children, they do not teach Zay to their children. Because the children learn the language of the surroundings, they do not speak Zay. Thus, because the language(s) of the surroundings and neighbors exerted influence on it, Zay is in danger of extinction.

Interviewer: If Zay is in danger of disappearance, what should be done?

Interviewee: Well! The Zay people should discuss and advice each other to use their language wherever they are; if there are individuals among the community members who have bad attitudes towards the language, they have to advice these people and get then to develop positive

attitudes of their language. They have to use the language themselves daily wherever they live, and teach to their children as well.

Interviewer: Who are responsible for reversing the Zay language?

Interviewee: The one who has to work very hard as an obligation is the government. Because government is capable of doing everything, it has an obligation to save this language from extinction and make it to be recognized among other languages speakers. Following that, all Zay descendants have to make their own contributions so as to save the language from extinction. For example, teaching the people so that the Zay language does not vanish; getting the people to have good attitude towards their language.

Interviewer: if primary education is given in Zay, will you send your children to school when you have your own children?

Interviewee: Yes, I teach them. Even if schools are opened in the three languages (such as Zay, Amharic and Afan Oromo) on this island, I send my children to Zay-medium school. Since their first language is Zay, they do not have trouble with understanding while they go to school. I believe that they have the capacity to understand the lesson quickly if they are taught in Zay.
Interviewer: If adult literacy education is opened in your locality in Zay language, do you teach, as you are educated man?

Interviewee: yes, I teach because, for one thing it is my language, and for another it is my obligation to make the people know the language very well by teaching them. I really teach happily.

Interviewer: Do you want to have materials, such as books, magazines and newspapers published in Zay language?

Interviewee: Yes, I am very happy if that is done. For example, it makes me very happy if I myself write a poem expressing the history of Zay and present it in media. The other is the prayer of Zay. I am very, very happy if I write that prayer in Zay and make available to all people so that they listen to it. Besides this, I feel very happy if the culture and history of Zay are written in Zay language and published in the form of books.

Appendix V: Wordlist

Amharic	Afan Oromo	Zay	Gloss
አይን	ija	i'n; iʤa	eye
ጆሮ	gurra	ʔəzɪn; gʊrra	ear
ምላስ	arraba	arɛmat/arɛmati; arrɛbɛ	tongue
ጥርስ	ilkaan	sən	teeth
ከንፈር	hidhii	lɛfəlɛf	lip
ጉንጭ	boqoo	bɔqo	cheek
አፍንጫ	funyaan	nifit'i/nifit'	nose
አንገት	morma	anəgɛt; mərma	neck
ራስ	mataa	ʔohɛt ʔohɛti/; mɛta	head
እጅ	harka	ʔinʤ/ʔinʤi	hand
እግር	miila	ʔəngɛr	leg
ጣት	quba	hɪnt'abit; qubə	finger
ጉልበት	jilba	gʊlbɛt	knee
ጡት	harmee	t'ub/t'ubi	breast
ደረት	laphee	wɛzɛna; lɛp'e; lɛʔbe	chest
ወገብ	mudhii	məskɛt; c'in; mʊddi	waist
ሆድ	garaa	dɛl; gɛra	belly
ትከሻ	gateettii	qəru; təkɛʃa	shoulder
ስንዴ	qamadii	sɛrɛy/sɛrey	wheat
ዘንጋዳ	misingaa	gʊrzan	millet
አጃ	ayisaa	aʤa	oat
ገብስ	garbuu	gɛbis/gɛbsi	sorghum
ጤፍ	xaafii	t'afi	teff
ሽንኩርት	qullubbii	ʃənkʊrt/ʃənkʊrti; qʊllʊbbi	onion
ጎመን	raafuu	aməl; gommən; rafu	cabbage

ቀይስር	Hundee diimaa	qɛjsər; dimasər	beet root
ብረቱካን	birtukaanii	bırtukan/bırtʊkani	orange
ፓፓያ	paappaayee	pappayɛ/*faffayɛ*	papaya
ሙዝ	muuzii	muz; muzi	banana
እንጀራ	buddeeen	t'abeta; qit'a	Pancake (ʔədʒɛra)
ገንፎ	marqaa	hʊbʊdu	porridge
ስጋ	foon	bɛsɛr; fon	meat
ወጥ	ittoo	wɛt'i	wot
ቆሎ	akaayii	unqʊlu/hʊnqul	Kolo (scorched corn)
ዱቄት	Daakuu/harcee	harc'i	powder
ቅቤ	dhadhaa	iʃɪʃi/ iʃɪc'i	butter
ወተት	aannan	ajəb; ajəbi	milk
እርጎ	itittuu	gɛgʊt; itittu	yogurt
ጠጅ	daadhii	səhar; t'ɛdʒi	mead
ጠላ	farsoo	ajdɛr	local beer
ላም	Sa'a	lam; sɛ'a	cow
በሬ	qotiyyoo	burɛ	ox
ጊደር	raada	radɛ	heifer
ወይፈን	Mirgoo/jibicha	dʒɪbɪtʃɛ	bull
ጥጃ	jabbii	ʔəzɛq; dʒɛbbi	calf
እምቦሳ	waatii	dʒɛbbi; alɛtu; ʔəzɛq	A newly born calf
በግ	hoolaa	t'ɛji	sheep
ፍየል	Ra'ee	fik'	goat
አህያ	harree	həmar	donkey
ፈረስ	farda	fɛrɛz; fɛrdɛ	horse
በቅሎ	gaangee	gaŋge	mule
ግመል	gaala	galɛ	camel
ውሻ	saree	giɲi	dog
ድመት	adurree	adʊru; bəʃʊru	cat
ቀበሮ	Jeedala/sardiida	dʒedɛlɛ;	fox
ዝንጀሮ	jaldeessa	dʒɛldessɛ	monkey
ነብር	qeerransa	qerrɛnsɛ	tiger
አንበሳ	leenca	lenc'ɛ	lion
ዝሆን	arba	arbɛ; harɛ	elephant
ጅብ	waraabessa	wərabɛ	hyena
አሳማ	booyyee	bojje	pig
ዘንዶ	jawwee	wɔru/wɛru	python
ጦጣ	qamalee	kəmʃɛri; qɛmɛle	ape
ሾላ	Odaa/harbuu	sʊbla	Fig tree

ብሳና	bakkanniisaa	mɛkkɛnnisa	Broad-leaved croton
ግራር	laaftoo	want'a/lafto	acacia
ወይራ	ejersa	wɛgɛr; edʒersɛ; wɛjıra	Olive tree
ጥድ	gaattiraa	t'ıd/tıd; gattıra	juniper
ዝግባ	birbirsa	zəgba; bırbırsɛ	Yellow wood
ቅጠል	baala	qıt'ej	leaf
ደጋ	baddaa	bɛda; yɛyəbɛrdal dəchi	highland
ወይናደጋ	Badda-daree	bɛdɛdɛre; yɛyəbɛrdım yɛyəməqım dəchi	temperate
በረሃ	gammoojjii	bɛrɛha; gɛmmodʒi	desert
ሙቀት	Oo'a/hoo'a	mʊqɛt; ʔəho'ɛ	heat
ዝናብ	rooba	zınab; roba	rain
ደመና	duumessa	dabɛna; dumessɛ	cloud
ጭጋግ	hurrii	hʊri	mist
ፀሃይ	aduu	arit; s'ɛhay; adu	sun
ነጭ	adii	gomɛrɛ	white
ጥቁር	gurraacha	gambɛlɛ	black
ቀይ	diimaa	arrowa, k'ɛy/k'ɛyi, dima	red
አረንጓዴ	magariisa	arɛngɨwade	green
ሰማያዊ	Bifa waaqaa; bulee	bʊle, məraro	blue
ቢጫ	keelloo, boora	borɛ	yellow
ግራጫ	daalacha	Dalɛʧɛ	grey
ቡኒ/ቡናማ	magaala	bunnamma; mɛgalɛ	brown
ምጣድ	eelee	mət'ad, mətadi, ele	pan
አክንባሎ	gombisaa	gɔmbısa	lid
ሙቀጫ	mooyyee	mojje	mortar
ዘንዘና	muktumaa	yɛmuk'ɛt' ʔəndʒ, yɛmojje ʔəndʒ	pestle
እንስራ	hubboo	qəlt'	pitcher
ማሰሮ	okkotee	c'ofətu, wɛʃɛrbɛt	pot
ቢለሃ	halbee	mɛʃa	knife
ማንኪያ	Fal'aana	qɛrʃi	spoon
መጥረጊያ	haraa	mənʃɛʃa, mənʃeʃa/hɛra	sweeper
ትውልድ	dhaloota	tɛwɛlɛdɛɲa, ɗalota	generation
ወላጅ	warra	ababuwɛ, ayayʊ	parent
ወንድ አያት	akaakayyuu	ake	Grandfather
ሴት አያት	akkoo	akko	grandmother
አባት	abbaa	abu	father
እናት	haadha	ayi	mother
አክስት	adaadaa	adada	aunt

የአባት ወንድም	wasiila	wɔsilɛ	uncle
የእናት ወንድም	eessuma	ʔessumɛ	uncle
ልጅ	mucaa (m), mucayyoo (f)	Bɛju, liʤ	child
እህት	obboleettii	i't	sister
ወንድም	obboleessa	i'n	brother
ሽማግሌ	jaarsa	ʤarsɛ, ʔubər	elderly
ጎልማሳ	Ga'eessa	gəlmassa, gɛ'essɛ	adult
ወጣት	dargaggeessa	kɛ'imɛ	youth
ህጻን	daa'ima	da'ima, bəju	baby

Word Structure

Amharic	Afan Oromo	Zay	Gloss
ማየት	laaluu	yorat	To see
አየሁ	laale	ʔirihunʊ	I saw
አየን	laalle	ʔirinɛnu	We saw
እይ	laali	ʔəra	Look! (2nd p. male)
እዪ	laali (3rd p. saala hin.)	ʔəray/ʔiro	Look!(2nd p. female)
እዩ	laalaa	ʔəro	Look! (2nd p. plural)
አየ	laale	ʔirinʊ	He saw
አየች	laalte	ʔəratənu	She saw
አዩ	laalan	ʔurinu	They saw
መስማማት	waliigaluu	wasəmamat	To agree
ስምምነት	waliigaltee	tɛsəmomunu	agreement
ተስማሙ	waliigalan	tɛnoqoluno	They agreed
ተስማማች	waliigalte	tɛsəmunu	She agreed
ተስማማን	waliigalle	tɛnaqɛlnɛnu	We agreed
መፈለግ	barbaaduu	yofac'ət	To search
ፈለኩ	barbaade	fac'əhunu	I searched
ፈለግን	barbaanne	fac'ənɛnu	We searched
ፈልግ	barbaadi	fac'	Search! (2nd p. male)
ፈልጊ	barbaadi	fec'i	Search! (2nd p. female)
ፈልጉ	barbaadaa	foc'u	Search! (2nd p. plural)
ፈለገ	barbaade	fac'ənu	He searched
ፈለገች	barbaadde	Fac'ətənu	She searched
ፈለጉ	barbaadan	foc'inu	They searched
ፈላጊ	barbaadaa	foc'u	searcher

አስፈላጊ	barbaachisaa	yɛtəfac’ina	important
አስፈላጊነት	barbaachisummaa	yɛtfac’inalo	importance
ህጻን	daa’ima	bɛyu	baby
ህጻናት	daa’imman	bɛyčč	babies
ህጻንነት	Daa’imummaa	bɛynɛč	babyhood
ወጣት	dargaggeessa	Kɛ’ima	youth
ወጣቶች	dargaggoota	kɛ’imɛm-čɛ	youths
ወጣትነት	dargaggummaa	Kɛ’imnač	Being youth
ጥቁር	gurraacha	gɛmbɛlɛ	black
ጥቋቁር	gugurraacha	gɛməbɛlalčɛ	blacks
ጥቁረት	gurraachummaa	gɛmbɛlnɛč	blackness
አጠቆረ	gurraachesse	agnɛbɛlɛnʊ	blacken

Appendix W: Sentence Translation Task

Sentences in Afan Oromo	Sentences in Zay	Gloss
Nuhuunduu ulee qabanna	ʔəŋa hʊlʊməŋɪɛ bɛrtən ʔizənama	We all hold a stick
Ababaan fiigaa jira	abɛbɛ tibɛrən alo	Abebe is running
Isheen barsiiftuu kormee dha	ʔit bɛyzan asətɛmari natu	She is a clever teacher
Durbiin kiyya harka of cabse	yeyɛ dubər ʔindʒin sɛbɛro	My nephew broke his hand
Carraa yaraa/gadhee ishee abaarte	ʔit bɛdu ʔədəl abartəsnatu.	She cursed her bad luck
Umriin kee haagabaabatu!	ʔədmehʊm yinət'ɛru	Cut short!
Biddeen bal'aa sihaabahu!	sɛfi qət'a yawt'anəho	God give you ample livelihood!
Waaqayyo umrii dheeraa sihaakennu!	ʔəgzer giddir ʔədu yabɛho	Let God give you long life!
Duuti isaa tasa ture	yɛwt motəni dingɛti naro.	His death was unexpected
Daabboo tolchuufani	Dabon lilɛməčču	I am going to bake bread
Ani poosticaardii isheedha ergeef	ʔeyɛ postikardin leyət lɛhuna.	I sent her a postcard
Isheen soddaa ishii hadha offii caalaa jaalatti	ʔit amɛčina bɛyena gɛddir tudədɛtu	She loves her mother-in-law more than her mother
Ati halbee heddu darbata	atɛ bəzɛn mɛʃ təwɛrwəraho	You will throw many knives
Waasilli ishee garaa-jabaataa dha	yeyt wɛsılɛna dɛlɛ t'ɛbɛqunomu	Her uncle is cruel
Tamasgeen muka magaazaan mure	Tɛmɛsgɛn ʔint'ɛt bɛmɛgazin quc'ənu	Temesgen cut a tree with saw
Haatibiddeenaakoo hamtuu waantaateef ani ishee hinjaaladhu	yɛqit'a ayeya bɛd lɛhantey ʔeya ʔitən aluda	Since my stepmother is cruel, I hate her
Adaadaantoo nama gaariidha	adɛdɛwa bezɛnat sɛb	My aunt is a kind woman
Isaan waraabessa guddaa tokko ajjeesan	ʔinomu had giddir ʔurabɛ qoču	They killed a big hyena
Isaan waraabessa baay'ee guddaa tokko ajjeesan	ʔinomu had bəz giddir ʔurabɛ qoču	They killed a very big hyena
Isaan yeroo hunda waraabessa ajjeesu	ʔinomu hullɛmgi ʔurabɛ yəqočolo.	They always kill a hyena
Isheen yeroo hunda bishaan bol'aa waraabdi	ʔit hullɛmgi yɛbur mɛy təqɛdatu	She always fetches water from pond

Aman abaaboo muraasa achi olkaa'e	Aman t'it abɛbəyo bɛʤʤa atɛto	Aman put some flowers there
Jaarsonni lammaan kun awusaa isaanii as olkawwatan	ʔənačču hoyt ʤarsɛsu ʔirazinom biʤʤi hotɛtu	These two old men put their blanket here
Isheen awusaa ishii mana keessa olkaawwatte	ʔit ʔərəzɛnay bɛgar hatɛtətu	She put here blanket in a house
Saree bareeda kana nanjaaladha	Yihıy mɛlkamɛ giɲ yudinɛhu	I like this cute dog
Saroota babareeda kana nanjaaladha	ʔənačču mɛlkɛmɛlkama giɲčɛ yudinɛhu	I like these cut dogs
Saree bareeda san nanjaaladha	Yay mɛlkama giɲ yudinɛhu	I like that cute dog
Saroota babareeda san nanjaaladha	Yanačču mɛlkɛmɛlkama giɲčɛ yudinɛhu	I like those cute dogs

Appendix X: Demographic Information of Respondents

Age of the respondents

	Frequency	Percent
Young (15-30)	100	33.3
Adult (31-50)	100	33.3
Elderly (51-85+)	100	33.3
Total	300	99.9

Sex of the respondents

	Frequency	Percent
Male	150	50.0
Female	150	50.0
Total	300	100.0

Current residential area of the respondents

	Frequency	Percent
Island	144	48.0
Mainland	156	52.0
Total	300	100.0

Respondents' level of education

	Frequency	Percent
No formal education	78	26.0
Primary education	132	44.0
Secondary education	63	21.0
Tertiary education	27	9.0
Total	300	100.0

Respondents' first language learnt at home

	Frequency	Percent
Amharic	9	3.0
Oromo	96	32.0
Zay	195	65.0
Total	300	100.0