

**Language Use in Ethiopian Higher Education Institutions:
Study on Language Attitude, Identity and Inter-ethnic
Communication**

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Mesfin Wodajo Buli entitled: *Language Use in Ethiopian Higher Education Institutions: Study on Language Attitude, Identity and Inter-ethnic Communication* and submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy (in Linguistics) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.


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ABSTRACT

This study explored language use, national identity, inter-ethnic communication problems and mechanism of resolving them. It focused on Amharic, Afan Oromo, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers in three Ethiopian Higher Education Institutions-Addis Ababa University, Kotebe Metropolitan University and Addis Ababa Science and Technology University. The study employed mixed method. The data were analyzed concurrently, and the findings were presented in a mode of linear expansion.

The study showed that the Afan Oromo native speakers have low proficiency in Amharic while the Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers do have good proficiency in the language. The Amharic language proficiency of all the three ethno-linguistic groups do not change due to place of residence and educational status.

All ethno-linguistic groups in the study were limited to the sociolinguistic circle of their respective native languages at home and in the home community before joining the EHEIs. The Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers, but the Afan Oromo native speakers had good previous practices of using Amharic in the primary and secondary school domains.

Amharic is an important language of inside and outside classrooms on-campus to all the four ethno-linguistic groups. Afan Oromo native speakers mainly used Afan Oromo in the off-campus religious domains while the Tigrinya native speakers mainly used Tigrinya in recreational areas, shops and supermarkets. Amharic and English were equally important to the Dha-Anywaa native speakers in the off-campus domains.

The Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers have positive attitudes towards Amharic while the Afan Oromo native speakers showed a negative attitude to Amharic. The three ethno-linguistic groups do not believe in Amharic-based linguistic nationalism in Ethiopia. Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers do have preferences and positive attitudes towards the Ethiopic writing system while Afan Oromo native speakers do not.

The Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers have displayed a stronger knowledge of the Ethiopian literary history, and they were proud of it. The finding on the Afan Oromo native speakers on this issue showed a stark opposite. The Afan Oromo, Tigrinya and

Dha-Anywaa native speakers have all shown a strong ethno-linguistic identities, self-consciousnesses and affiliations. However, only the latter two groups have displayed strong affiliations towards national identity.

Those students with poor Amharic skills, mainly the Afan Oromo native speakers, have communication challenges related to classroom communications, classroom English-Amharic code-switching, and on-campus administrative services. The major cause for the students' poor Amharic skills was the poor status and the late start of Amharic in regional educational settings.

Mechanisms suggested resolving the challenges of inter-ethnic communication in the EHEIs were the following. It is required to offer courses on functionally important major Ethiopian languages to the students of Ethiopian Higher Education Institutions. Classrooms English-Amharic code-switching should be reduced, and scaffolding trainings should be offered to students with poor English. Public awareness should also be promoted on the importance of early acquisition of a language.

The experiences of India, Nigeria, South Africa and Tanzania showed that linguistic pluralism based pragmatic understanding of sociolinguistic de facto could enhance national integration. The three-plus-or-minus language policy model with multiple national link language could promote inter-ethnic communication. Hence language policy re-thinking with particular focus on functionally important major Ethiopian languages is necessary in Ethiopia. Such language policy could enhance unified multiple national identity in the country.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

1PL	1 st Person Plural	MoI	Medium of Instruction
2SG	2 nd Person Singular	NEG	Negative
3FS	3 rd Person Feminine Singular	PASS	Passive
3MS	3 rd Person Masculine Singular	PRF	Perfective
3PL	3 rd Person Plural	PL	Plural
AAU	Addis Ababa University	PROG	Progressive
ACC	Accusative	SUB	Subjective
AfO.	Afan Oromo	Tig.	Tigrinya
Amh.	Amharic		
Any.	Dha-Anywaa		
ART	Article		
ASTU	Addis Ababa Science and Technology University		
AUX	Auxiliary		
CS	Code-switching		
CSA	Central Statistics Agency		
EHEI	Ethiopian Higher Education Institution		
ELPO	Ethiopian Language Policy		
ELPL	Ethiopian Language Planning		
FGD	Focus Group Discussion		
FOC	Focus		
FWL	Federal Working Language		
HEI	Higher Education Institution		
JUS	Jussive		
KMU	Kotebe Metropolitan University		
L ₁	First Language		
L ₂	Second Language		
L ₃	Third Language		
LD	Linguistic Diversity		
LPO	Language Policy		
LPL	Language Planning		
LPP	Language Policy and Planning		
LRs	Language Rights		
LWC	Language of Wider Communication		

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

In multilingual countries like Ethiopia, ethno-linguistic groups cannot access information, education, employment, power and prestige if they could not communicate at inter-ethnic level (Abraham, 1990:7). True democratic countries have inclusive sociolinguistic platform where citizens could participate in socioeconomic and political affairs of their countries (Chumbow, 2009:35). Such a sociolinguistic platform can only be created by the designation of a sound language policy (LPO, hereafter).

Here, LPO is an ideological statement about how a nation/state deals with its languages (Orman, 2008:39). It involves the themes of identity, national cohesion, economic participation and human rights (Kembo-Sure, 2003:252). The formulations and practices of LPO are influenced by ideologies of assimilation, pluralism, revitalization and internationalization (Hoffmann, 1991:215 and Ricento, 2006:9). LPO decisions in linguistically diverse countries need to be based on the principles of linguistic pluralism (Batibo, 2005:4), and they should involve speakers' socio-cultural realities of language uses, attitudes and identities.

The study of language use comprises speakers' relative language proficiencies, language attitudes (Cooper, 1976:183-186) and linguistic identities (Vandermeeren, 2005:1325). It is approached through domain-based analysis of who uses what language, with whom, in which setting, and on what topic (Wolff, 2000:289). Also, language use in different domains reflects power relations as it involves decisions on who learns whose language and why (Oslen & Oslen, 2010: 33). Language attitude shows speakers' feelings of likes and dislikes towards languages, and language styles, uses and choices; it also defines the language use behavior of speakers in multilingual settings (Vandermeeren, 2005:1323).

Identity is the social positioning of the self and the other through continuous constructions, negotiations and re-negotiations (Joseph, 2010:18). It is both multilayered and multiple in nature (Llamas & Watt, 2010:1; Heller, 2005:1584; Joseph, 2004:9), and authentic identity is mostly considered to be self-made (Joseph, 2004:8). National

identity comprises a sense of shared history, descent, belief system, practices, language and religion, and it involves the intricacy of language, territory, ideology, belief and national discourse (Block, 2006:39). The major challenge of constructing language-based national identity in multilingual states emerges from the sentimental nature of a national language.

The study of language policy and planning (LPP¹, hereafter) has gone through modernist and postmodernist phases of paradigm. The modernist approach to LPP came out in the 1960s and 70s in Africa with a mission of unifying and developing African countries after the model of western nations (Tollefson, 2006:42). This approach, however, was unsuccessful in the African context (Ferguson, 2006:2&3). Starting late 1970s critical sociolinguists began to explore the intricacy between language and inequality and to question the central assumption of the modernist paradigm (Ricento, 2006:12). Then, they turned to the postmodern paradigm which focuses on "...local, situated, contextual and contingent ways of understanding languages and language policies" (Pennycook, 2006:64).

The Ethiopian Language Policy (ELPO, henceforth), shaped by various socio-economic and political ideologies throughout the course of the country's modern history, had two major phases: linguistic assimilation (pre-1991) and linguistic pluralism (post-1991). The former was based on the monolingual model while the latter recognized linguistic diversity (LD, henceforth). The constitutional LPO statement of 1955 openly declared Amharic the national language of the Ethiopian Empire (Meyer, 2006:120). This was a defining landmark in the history of the ELPO. Generally, Amharic was taken as a sentimental force of the Ethiopian national unification throughout the imperial regime (McNab, 1989:86).

Indeed, there are arguments about the turning point in the national status of Amharic, the most privileged lingua franca of Ethiopia. Bahiru (1991:34), for instance, argues that Amharic had begun to lose its national status following the fall of the imperial rule in

¹ LPP has components such as ideology and practice, the later including management (Spolsky, 2012:4). In the literature of sociolinguistics, the term language planning is frequently used alternatively with the term LPO (Orman, 2008:40). In the context of this study, LPP is used to refer to both the ideological and practical levels.

1974. Bahiru's argument was based on the premise that fifteen Ethiopian languages were used for literacy campaign during the Derg regime (1974-1991). It was true that the socialist rule in Ethiopia began with a promise of socio-economic and political transformation, including assuring language rights (LRs hereafter) to ethno-linguistic groups.

However, according to McNab (1989:73), the LPO change effort connected to the literacy campaign primarily had a Marxist-Leninist political orientations. That is to say it was not intended to realize a truly pluralist LPO transformation in Ethiopia. Thus, Amharic retained its national socioeconomic and political power and role until the fall of the military junta. And the spread of Amharic has continued during this regime, despite the introduction of the National Literacy Campaign (McNab, 1989:60). Therefore, the real turning point in the status of Amharic in Ethiopia was the end of the military regime, not the beginning.

Modern education² itself is a recent³ phenomenon in Ethiopia. It was introduced to the country in the early 20th century. The first modern school, i.e. Menelik II School, targeted the teaching of languages like French, Italian, Arabic, Amharic and Ge'ez. French was considered to be the most important language of diplomatic relations for the Ethiopian monarchy. Though English was offered as a subject in this school, it was not as important as French was by the time. Amharic proficiency was a prerequisite for Ethiopian students to join the early modern schools (McNab, 1989:78).

According to Pankhurst (1969:6), education in Ethiopia was predominantly based on a long history of rote memorization, and school facilities, organizations and education qualities have not been that impressive. However, the privileged segments of the imperial regime such as government officers, politicians, leaders, nobilities and others linked to them had launched private educational facilities for their children's best quality education, employing best teachers at home (Pankhurst, 1969:9). Even these days, those who sit in

² The idea of education in Ethiopia was perhaps as old as the introduction of Christianity to the Empire during the 4th century (Teshome, 1979:10; Pankhurst, 1969:2). There were four kinds of Education in the history of Ethiopia: 1) Informal Education, 2) Orthodox Church Education, 3) Koranic Education and 4) Modern Education (Hamdesa, 1992:271).

³ For instance, the official launching of the first the Higher Education Institution of Ethiopia, the now Addis Ababa University, was a little more than half a century.

the driver's seat of the state's socioeconomic and political power are the ones that afford to render their children the best possible education while the children of the poor are abandoned in low quality public schools.

The 1991 socio-political change in Ethiopia has brought about a profound sociolinguistic transformation. Ethiopian languages were constitutionally granted equal state recognition (FDRE Constitution 5/1). Consequently, LPO alteration was made from official national monolingualism to official multilingualism. However, there are still challenges in Ethiopia when it comes to the translation of the policy into practice (Simpson, 2008:278; Zelealem, 2012:47). For instance, the current ELPO lacks details as to the number of languages and the status and level to which they should be promoted (Teshome, 1999:75).

The major challenge of the post-1991 ELPO seems to be poor inter-ethnic communication among ethno-linguistic groups in federal and public domains. This is to say that the current ELPO does not seem to empower ethno-linguistic groups to communicate inter-ethnically. In particular, young people of age in the twenties in EHEIs are facing problems of inter-ethnic communication. A sociolinguistic investigation was found to be imperative to describe and understand the nature of this problem. Therefore, this study has attempted to explore this very problem in the context of the Ethiopian Higher Education Institutions (EHEIs, henceforth).

1.2 The Languages

Ethiopia is a multiethnic and multilingual country with a population⁴ of 73.9 million (CSA, 2008). It comprises about 80 ethno-linguistic groups with distinct languages and dialects (Heugh, 2010:381). The major ethnic groups include: Oromo (34.5%), Amhara (27%), Tigre (6%), and Somali (6%) (CSA, 2008). Close to 75% of the population, therefore, has one of the corresponding languages, i.e. Afan Oromo, Amharic, Tigrinya, and Somali as the mother-tongue. The Anywaa people make 0.087% of the total population (CSA, 2008).

This study focused on two Semitic languages, i.e. Amharic and Tigrinya, one Cushitic language, i.e. Afan Oromo and one Nilo-Saharan language, i.e. Dha-Anywaa. All these

⁴ The population is presently estimated to be more than a hundred million.

languages have different roles and statuses in Ethiopia. Based on Ferguson's (1976:291) classification of the Ethiopian languages, Afan Oromo, Amharic and Tigrinya are major languages while Dha-Anywaa is a minor language.

1.2.1 Amharic

Amharic belongs to the Central Transversal South Ethio-Semitic language of the Afro-Asiatic Family (Girma, 2009:36). It has five identified dialects: Gojjam, Gondar, Wollo, Shoa and Addis Ababa (The Ethiopian Languages, 2005:29). The Addis Ababa dialect is mostly taken as a standard variety (Zealealem, 2007:449). Amharic is mainly spoken in the Amhara region and in major Ethiopian towns, and it is the most important lingua franca of Ethiopia. It uses the Ethiopic script which was first used by Ge'ez and which makes Ethiopia the only country in Africa when it comes to native writing system. Amharic served as the Ethiopian state's official language since 1270 (Teshome, 1999:75).

The beginning of modern Ethiopian history, mid 19th c, was believed to mark the rise of the golden age of Amharic in Ethiopia. This is because Amharic began to take upper hand as the language of literature in Ethiopia at the indicated period by replacing Ge'ez (Abraham, 1974:215). It was the national language and the Medium of Instruction (MoI, henceforth) in the primary schools of Ethiopian before 1991. Currently, it is the Federal Working Language (FWL, hereafter) of Ethiopia, and it is the regional working language of the Amhara, SNNPR, Benishangul Gumuz and Gambella Regional States and the Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa city Administrations of Ethiopia.

1.2.2 Afan Oromo

Afan Oromo belongs to the Lowland East Cushitic group of the Afro-Asiatic family (Kebede, 2005:1). Given that it is spoken over a vast geography of Ethiopia, its dialects have not been meticulously identified so far. However, the varieties are commonly divided into 1) Northern, Southern, Eastern, Central and Western. The Western dialect generally seems to be the dominant one in the official use just because of political and historical accidents.

As a cross-border language, Afan Oromo is spoken in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia (Kebede, 2009:1). In Ethiopia, Afan Oromo is spoken by a large number of people.

Presently, it serves as the working language of the Oromia National Regional State, and it is the MoI in the regional state's primary education and in the Oromia Zone of the Amhara National Regional State. It is being offered at a postgraduate, i.e. MA and Ph.D levels, in some of the EHEIs including the Addis Ababa University.

1.2.3 Tigrinya

Tigrinya is the Northern Ethio-Semitic language belonging to the Afro-Asiatic Family (Girma, 2009:35). It has some distantly related dialects (Bende, Hailu & Cowely, 1976:130) though not well studied. The writing of Tigrinya began during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia (Bender, et. al., 1976:108). Tigrinya is a cross-border language spoken both in Ethiopia and Eritrea (The Ethiopian Languages, 2005:29). Presently, the language is used as MoI in Tigray Region's primary educational system, and it is the working language of the regional government.

1.2.4 Dha-Anywaa

Dha-Anywaa belongs to the Eastern Sudanic group of the Nilotic branch of the Nilo-Saharan Family (Bender, 1976:5). It has dialects like Adoyo, Colo, Luo and Openo (The Ethiopian Languages, 2005:10). Dha-Anywaa is a cross-border language which is spoken both in Ethiopia and in Sudan. It is also the MoI in the first cycle primary education of the Gambella National Regional State.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The construction of national unity that transcends ethno-linguistic lines has always been a challenge in modern Ethiopia (McNab, 1989:86). The question of language is central to the national policy agenda in the country (Abraham, 1990:73). The main sociolinguistic problem of the post-1991 ELPO is related to the vertical language structure where a single language exclusively controls the federal domain. Vertical languages "...stress divergence and inequality, particular separation from the masses and thereby serve as a means of upward social mobility." (Batibo, 2005:47).

The alteration of sociolinguistic situations usually triggers changes in people's nature of communications (Hoffmann, 1991:150). Following the 1991 political change in Ethiopia, some major regional Ethiopian languages have strengthened their sociolinguistic strongholds. This inexorably has reduced the national role of Amharic and strengthened

regional monolingualism (Alemu & Tekleselassie, 2011:404). Also, bilingualism among non-native speakers of Amharic might have declined putting inter-ethnic communication at risk and crippling national integration.

Hoben (1994:194) observed, back in 1994, that “...the coordination between regional and national levels was posing new problems. The Tower of Babel situation is beginning to rise.” Nearly two and half decades after that, this observation is becoming very visible. The present sociolinguistic situation of Ethiopia does not seem to be inclusive of the diverse ethno-linguistic groups. It does not empower young people of the post-1991 to communicate beyond their ethno-linguistic lines. The EHEIs are among the federal domains where this problem can easily be observed.

As a lecturer in one of the EHEIs, this researcher has come across some young university students in their twenties speaking no other Ethiopian language than their own respective native languages. These students communicate with their fellow students, instructors, and on-campus and off-campus communities through translation. Some students seem to be academically excluded by instructors’ classroom English-Amharic code-switching (CS, hereafter). In this regard, an Oromo student originally from Borena Zone of the Oromia Region, and who is presently studying in one of the EHEIs said the following during a preliminary interview: “One of the reasons that I achieve poor results is because I miss many important points told in Amharic by instructors.”

As indicated previously, students from diverse ethno-linguistic backgrounds fail to communicate inter-ethnically in EHEIs. Even English which they have learned as a subject since primary schools and used it as MoI since secondary schools could not save them from this problem. English is unofficially used in some domains of the federal government of Ethiopia for official purposes (Biniyam & Moges, 2014:294). However, research shows that the status of English is deteriorating in the Ethiopian educational system (Tekeste, 2006:25). This is because though English is the official MoI, its use on the ground is almost closer to none.

An instructor in an EHEI once shared with the present researcher a story about a female student in an English class. The student, approximately 20 years old, was from Tigray

Region. She got a problem to share with the instructor, but she could hardly communicate with him, for she does not speak Amharic, the FWL of Ethiopia. The instructor does not speak Tigrinya, and he could not even communicate with her in English, for she barely understands English, too. This is a typical example confirming the gravity of the challenge of inter-ethnic communication in EHEIs.

In fact, there is no LPO application in the EHEIs. In countries like South Africa, HEIs are granted the right to formulate their own specific LPOs in line with the fundamental constitutional frameworks. The policies, indeed, have to comply with the principles of LR protection, pluralist national integration, standardization & modernization of indigenous languages. EHEIs to the best knowledge of this researcher do not have such specific LPO documents.

The core problem with the present ELPO seems to be its lack of being instrumental in uniting the country within the context of LD. The federal political epicenter of the country is run by a single FWL, Amharic, while young people born, brought up and educated in those regions where Amharic is not used as an official working language are turning monolingual. In the same vein, monolingual Amharic speakers do not have opportunities of employment in areas where Amharic does not possess official status.

That the quest for LR in Ethiopia is addressed on territorial/non-personal basis seems to be part of the cause for the inter-ethnic communication challenges. A story of a young graduate of accounting this researcher had a chance to talk to is a case in point. He was originally from the Oromia region but recently moved to Addis Ababa to seek an employment. He was not able to speak Amharic. He had lost the majority of the jobs he sat for an interview simply because he was not able to speak Amharic.

In a broader sense, the current ELPO has no clear top-down and bottom-up linguistic functional complementarities. The policy does not enable citizens achieve effective communication and public domains. The policy does not seem to guarantee national cohesion; it rather seems to shrink the geopolitical spaces of many ethno-linguistic groups' interactions particularly in the EHEIs.

Therefore, this study was intended to investigate into the inter-ethnic communication challenges of young EHEIs students. Specifically, it focuses on those students who belong to diverse ethno-linguistic groups, and who find themselves in an LD context of the EHEIs. The researcher has taken up the initiative of conducting this study based on his preliminary observations of these challenges in the EHEIs. To this end, the study has the following objectives.

1.4 Research Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. describing language use pattern among EHEIs students,
2. describing the attitude of EHEIs students towards Amharic,
3. describing national identity of EHEIs students,
4. finding out major challenges of inter-ethnic communications among EHEIs students, and
5. exploring sociolinguistic mechanisms of building up inter-ethnic communication among EHEIS students.

1.5 Research Questions

The present research project attempts to answer the following questions.

1. How could language use pattern among EHEIs students be described?
2. How could the attitude of the students towards Amharic be described?
3. How could the national identity of EHEIs students be described?
4. What are the major challenges of inter-ethnic communications among EHEIs students?
5. How could inter-ethnic communication be fostered among EHEIs students?

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study will have several significances. It contributes to fill in the knowledge gap on the subject of the post-1991 ELPO from the perspective of those experiencing its sociolinguistic repercussions. Depicting the real sociolinguistic image of the post-1991 ELPO, particularly within the context of the EHEIs, the study will have an informative role to the perspective of LPO makers in terms of shaping their point of views about the

Ethiopian sociolinguistic realities. Specifically, it can be instrumental in enlightening policy makers on how ELPO needs to be handled to realize a functionally complementary sociolinguistic order that could enhance the process of building a pluralist multi-ethnic Ethiopia. The study, being different from the previous mainstream research works on ELPO, will also serve as a springboard for the future postmodernist LPO research in Ethiopia.

1.7 Delimitations of the Study

The majority of research works on the ELPO were concerned with issues such as historical and typological overviews, comparative analyses of the ELPO regimes, the education-language-policy of Ethiopia, and challenges and problems of language planning (LPL) in post-1991 Ethiopia. Some of these works were national in scope as they investigated the general account of the ELPO. The present study, however, is specific in scope; it does not explore the historical trajectory of the ELPO, neither does it compare and contrast the different ELPO regimes. It is not also primarily engage in investigating the post-1991 ELPO from the point of view of the planners or policy makers. It rather attempts to explore the sociolinguistic challenges young people as old as twenty-six years or below in the EHEIs experience in trying to communicate beyond their ethno-linguistic faultline.

1.8 Students' Demography

While using snow-ball sampling method (see section 3.5), it is apparently difficult to maintain participants' diversity. However, this researcher has made a painstaking attempt to diversify the demography of the participants in terms of educational level (year of study), sex, place of residence and native language group. The following table indicates the research participants' demographic information.

Table 1: Students' demography

<i>Students' demography</i>		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
a) Level of Education (year of study)	I	70	26.6
	II	73	27.8
	III	68	25.9
	IV	52	19.8
	Total	263	100.0
b) Sex	Female	120	45.6
	Male	143	54.4
	Total	263	100.0
c) Place of Residence	Rural	104	39.5
	Urban	159	60.5
	Total	263	100.0
d) Native Language Group	Afan Oromo native speakers	85	32.3
	Amharic native speakers	70	26.6
	Tigrinya native speakers	80	30.4
	Dha-Anywaa native speakers	28	10.6
TOTAL		263	100

Table 1 shows that the participants' demographic distribution in terms of educational level is nearly even. Hence, year I (26.6 %), year II (27.8%), year III (25.9%) and year IV (19.8%) have taken part in the study. This distribution of the respondents over the years of study was specifically made to see the participants' Amharic proficiency differences across the levels of education. Respondents' distribution in terms of sex, as presented in the table, shows that 45.5% is female while 54.4% is male. This figures also confirmed that there was no significant disparity in the number of participants of both sexes. This was done to make sure that the views of both sexes are somehow equally entertained in the study.

As regards to the respondents' place of residence, 39.5% of them were from rural areas of their respective regions while 60.5% were from urban areas. Information on the place of residence of the respondents was sought to investigate whether or not there was a significant disparity of Amharic proficiency among the urban and rural respondents. The respondents were drawn from four ethno-linguistic groups in Ethiopia: Afan Oromo native speakers (32.3%), Amharic native speakers (26.6%), Tigrinya native speakers (30.4%) and Dha-Anywaa native speakers (10.6%).

There were three remaining variables obtained from the participants, but not presented in the above demographic table. These are respondents' ages, birthplaces and their parents' ethnic background. These variables were deliberately generated by the questionnaire to make sure that the respondents belonging outside the required status of these three demographic features were not considered in the study. Here, only students of age less than or equal to 26, who were born and brought up in their own respective regions, and who have the same ethno-linguistic background with their parents were considered for this study.

The specific focus on the latter set of variables was triggered by the study's central intent of investigating the participants' challenges of communication beyond their respective ethno-linguistic lines. The idea of focusing on the ethnic status of students' parents was to make sure that the participants were the ones brought up and socialized in their respective mother-tongue speech community. This would enable the researcher better understand their language behavior and challenges in the new sociolinguistic settings of the target EHEIs. What is more, the respondents from each of the four ethno-linguistic groups have their own respective native languages as L_1 . Students with their L_1 different from their ethnic language were not considered in the study. This specification also has a great deal to do with the prime objective of this research which is meant to understand how the members of those ethno-linguistic groups interact with their different language speaking fellow citizens in the target EHEIs.

1.9 Students' Language Background

This section presents the respondents' L₂, L₃ and LWC. The respondents were asked on the demographic section of the questionnaire to record their L₂, L₃ and LWC. This was made to assess the language background of the participants of the study. The responses given to the items by the research participants are presented in the following section.

1.9.1 Students' L₂ background

Table 2: Students' L₂ background

Language group	Total	Percentage claiming L ₂		
		Amharic	Afan Oromo	English
a) Amharic native speakers	70	-	-	70 (100%)
b) Afan Oromo native speakers	85	25 (29.5%)	-	60 (70.5%)
c) Tigrinya native speakers	80	65 (81.3%)	-	15 (12.8%)
d) Dha-Anywaa native speakers	28	20 (71.4%)	-	8 (29.6%)

Table 2 shows that the majority of Afan Oromo and Amharic native speakers in the study mainly have English as their L₂ while the majority of Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers in the study have Amharic as their L₂.

1.9.2 Students' L₃ background

Table 3: Students' L₃ background

Language group	Total	Percentage claiming L ₃		
		Amharic	Afan Oromo	English
a) Amharic native speakers	70	-	-	-
b) Afan Oromo native speakers	85	65 (76.4%)	-	20 (23.6%)-
c) Tigrinya native speakers	80	22 (27.5%)	-	58 (72.5%)
d) Dha-Anywaa native speakers	28	10 (35.8%)	-	18 (64.2%)

The figures in table 3 indicate that the majority of Afan Oromo native speakers have Amharic as their L₃ while Amharic native speakers have no L₃. The majority of Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers have English as their L₃.

1.9.3 Students' LWC background

Table 4: Students' LWC background

<i>Language group</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage claiming LWC</i>		
		<i>Amharic</i>	<i>Afan Oromo</i>	<i>English</i>
a) Amharic native speakers	70	65 (92.8%)	-	5 (7.2%)
b) Afan Oromo native speakers	85	30 (34.3%)	30 (34.3%)	25 (31.4%)
c) Tigrinya native speakers	80	52 (65%)	-	28 (35%)
d) Dha-Anywaa native speakers	28	14 (50%)	-	14 (50%)

It is indicated in table 4 that the majority of Amharic and Tigrinya native speakers have Amharic as their LWC. However, Afan Oromo native speakers have Amharic, Afan Oromo and English, relatively equally, as LWCs. The majority of the Dha-Anywaa native speakers have both Amharic and English, equally, as LWC.

In sum, Amharic native speakers have relatively narrower, i.e. Amharic-English bilingual, circle of interaction, compared to the Afan Oromo, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers who have a broader, i.e. L₁-Amharic-English trilingual, circle of interaction.

1.9.4 Respondents' intra-ethnic language preferences⁵

The participants of the three ethno-linguistic groups, i.e. Afan Oromo, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers were asked on the questionnaire about which languages they prefer to use to communicate with their respective fellow ethnic friends who also speak Amharic. The choices given to the students were Amharic, native language and mixed, i.e.

⁵ The researcher deliberately left out Amharic native speakers from the topic of intra-ethnic language preference since Amharic native speakers in this study are basically Amharic monolinguals. Therefore, it seems somehow pointless to address the question of intra-ethnic language preference in relation to Amharic native speakers.

both Amharic and native language. The responses given by the participants are mentioned below.

Table 5: Students' intra-ethnic language preferences

<i>Language group</i>	<i>Which language do you prefer to speak to ethnic friends who also speak Amharic?</i>			
	<i>Amharic</i>	<i>Native language</i>	<i>Mixed</i>	<i>Total</i>
a) Afan Oromo native speakers	13 (15.3%)	65 (76.4%)	7 (8.3)	85
b) Tigrinya native speakers	55 (68.8%)	15 (18.8)	10 (12.5%)	80
c) Dha-Anywaa native speakers	15 (53.6%)	4 (14.3%)	9 (32.1)	28
Total				263

Table 5 shows that a significant number of Afan Oromo native speakers, i.e. 65 (76.4%), prefer Afan Oromo to communicate with their fellow ethnic friends who also speak Amharic. Their reasons, as obtained from the open-end data, have been organized into four major themes (see Appendix 12, Afan Oromo open-end data, No. 7). The first important reason was that they were supposed to love and use their native language. Second, the respondents have indicated that since the two parties belong to the same ethno-linguistic group and since they can simply communicate in Afan Oromo, there was no point for them in using Amharic. Third, since many of them are already poor in Amharic, they prefer to use Afan Oromo with their fellow ethnic friends. Fourth, they have to speak their own language in order to develop it.

On the contrary, the majority of Tigrinya native speakers, i.e. 55 (68.8%), prefer to use Amharic to communicate with their fellow ethnic friends who also speak Amharic. Their most principal reasons indicated in the open-end are the following (see Appendix 13, Tigrinya open-end data, No. 7). First, they are afraid of being misunderstood by others as they use their native language in such settings. Non-Tigrinya speakers might think that they are backbitten as the former speak in Tigrinya in the latter's presence. Second, they believe that Amharic is already an important lingua franca of Ethiopia hence they believe it is always preferable to use a language of such a sociolinguistic standing as Amharic.

Third, they have indicated that they prefer to use Amharic since it is the symbol of the Ethiopian national identity for them.

Likewise, the majority of Dha-Anywaa native speakers, i.e. 15 (53.6%), prefer to use Amharic to communicate with their fellow ethnic friends who also speak Amharic (see table 5). The most important reason they gave in the open-end section was that they think Amharic is the national language and the LWC in Ethiopia, so it is a very important language to be used even in an intra-ethnic settings (see Appendix 14, Dha-Anywaa open-end data, No. 7). For Dha-Anywaa native speakers, the mixed use of Amharic and Dha-Anywaa seems to be relatively bigger. They have also reasoned out that such sociolinguistic behavior facilitates better mutual understanding with their conversants; it would also help them learn Amharic better as well.

In sum, the data on intra-ethnic language preferences of the three ethno-linguistic groups of this study show the following. First, Afan Oromo native speakers resort to the use of their own native language in intra-ethnic settings. That is to say Amharic is not an intra-ethnic language of ethnic Oromo students who also speak Amharic. On the contrary, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers use Amharic when they communicate with their fellow ethnic friends who also speak Amharic. Mixing both Amharic and the native languages seems to be common to some extent only among the Dha-Anywaa native speakers.

1.10 Students' Interests to Learn More Ethiopian Languages

The participants of the target ethno-linguistic groups of this study were given an item on the questionnaire asking if they are interested to add more Ethiopian languages in the future to the language/s they already speak now. The following table presents the responses given by the participants.

Table 6: Students' interests to learn more Ethiopian languages

<i>Language group</i>	<i>Do you want to add more Ethiopian languages in the future to the language(s) you already speak now?</i>				
	<i>Yes</i>		<i>No</i>		<i>Total</i>
a) Amharic native speakers	62	(88.6%)	8	(11.4%)	70
b) Afan Oromo native speakers	78	(91.8%)	7	(8.2%)	85
c) Tigrinya native speakers	71	(88.8%)	9	(11.2%)	80
d) Dha-Anywaa native speakers	20	(74.4%)	8	(25.6%)	28
<i>Total</i>					263

Table 6 shows that the significant majority all the participant ethno-linguistic groups have expressed their interests to learn more Ethiopian languages in the future. The number of those respondents who have reported to have no interests of learning more Ethiopian languages in the future was very insignificant. According to the data obtained from the open-end section of the questionnaire, the respondents have the following reasons for desiring to learn more Ethiopian languages in the future.

Amharic native speakers have reasoned out in the open-end section (see Appendix 11, Amharic open-end data, No. 6) that they believe monolingualism is disadvantageous while multilingualism provides wider opportunities of acquiring cultural knowledge and building good relationships with others. They have also indicated that multilingualism facilitates easy inter-ethnic communications through expanding sociolinguistic circle of interaction with the members of other ethno-linguistic groups. Also, being multilingual, as a person, enhances self-improvement and provides wider employment opportunities in the country.

Afan Oromo native speakers have also expressed, in the open-end section, their own reasons for their needs to learn more Ethiopian languages in the future (see Appendix 12, Afan Oromo open-end data, No. 8). Stressing the inherent equality of languages, they have pointed out that learning a new language expands one's circle of communication with members of other ethno-linguistic groups. They have also indicated that learning

new languages provides them with wider employment opportunities in the country, leading to personal developments and fulfillments.

Tigrinya native speakers have also expressed, in the open-end section, their own reasons for desiring to add more Ethiopian languages in the future (see Appendix 13, Tigrinya open-end data, No. 8). They have indicated that learning a new language is imperative, for it helps add knowledge and widen employment opportunities in the country. They also have strong aspirations of being multilingual in order to be able to communicate broadly with nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. Furthermore, they have pointed out that learning new languages would enable them to maintain and preserve Ethiopian languages.

Dha-Anywaa native speakers on their part have also expressed their own reasons, in the open-end section, as to why they are interested to learn more Ethiopian languages in the future (see Appendix 14, Dha-Anywaa open-end data, No. 8). They have indicated that learning more languages would help them widen their circle of communication, acquire new experiences, share cultures, and broaden their probabilities of employment through enriching their communicative skills. They have also pointed out that it helps them to know more about languages and develop them, and be successful in self-fulfillment.

To sum up, participants of the four ethno-linguistic groups need to add more Ethiopia languages in the future for instrumentally motivate reasons. Among the major reasons they share commonly for such a sociolinguistic interest are 1) inter-ethnic relations and communications, 2) acquiring new experiences, 3) wider employment opportunities, and 4) personal developments and fulfillments. These young people are well aware of the sociolinguistic significances of being multilingual. This makes policy makers very advantageous to build on the students' interests (see Baker, 2006a:262) in order to try to resolve the challenges of inter-ethnic communications in EHEIs.

1.11 Ethical Considerations

This study complies with ethical considerations pertaining to research in the field of humanities. The students' confirmation to participate in the study has been gained through a letter of cooperation written by the Department of Linguistics and Philology.

The researcher has clearly explained the purpose of the study to the students on different occasions of interview, FGDs and administration of questionnaire. The students who participated in the study were also granted a full possibility of withdrawal from in the study at any point in time. All recordings of the of voices were based on the participants' consents, and their rights of being anonymous were secured.

1.12 Organization of the Dissertation

The remainder of the thesis is divided into seven chapters. The second chapter deals with the review of related literature and related works. Chapter three discusses the methodological framework of the study. The fourth chapter deals with language proficiency and language use. This is followed by the fifth chapter which presents language attitude and national identity. The sixth and seventh chapters respectively deal with inter-ethnic communication challenges and mechanisms of resolving them. The eighth chapter ends the thesis with summary conclusion and recommendation.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND RELATED WORKS

2.1 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1.1 Language Contact, Causes and Outcomes

Language contact is a sociolinguistic phenomenon in which two or more languages happen to meet triggered by some extra-linguistic factors (Trask, 2007:136). The most important factors leading to language contact are geography, education and immigration (Ann, 2004:33; Apple & Muysken, 1989: 5-6). Among the geographic causes of language contact are national and international borders. In many postcolonial African states, geopolitical borders, crafted by European colonizers, are the prime causes of language contact.

In Ethiopia, geography is an important factor in language contact since the country is divided along ethno-linguistic lines, and its administrative political structure is crafted along the same. Hence, both national and sub-national border areas of Ethiopia are rich sociolinguistic zones of language contact. Yet, as opposed to other African states, language contact phenomenon in Ethiopia has not primarily been the outcome of colonialism; it was rather triggered by intrastate political dynamics along the course of its modern history.

In the context of education, schools are domains where students with diverse linguistic backgrounds contact. In no other domain is this more evident than in multilingual countries like Ethiopia. Especially in the settings of the EHEIs, it is not uncommon to see an intermingling sociolinguistic reality of students coming from diverse ethno-linguistic backgrounds. Young people from the different regions of Ethiopia find themselves in a vast sociolinguistic setting of LD in EHEIs. Therefore, it seems sound to represent the EHEIs as domains where the LD nature of Ethiopia is revealed in a real and practical sense.

These days, the most common cause of language contact around the globe, among others, is immigration. Case in point, the expansion of Spanish in USA due to immigration over

the past two decades (Haarmann, 2005:1656) has widened a platform of language contact in America. Migration, either internal or external, is also an unfolding phenomenon in the present day Ethiopia. Especially, internal migration in Ethiopia is quite a visible phenomenon. People are in a constant move to urban areas for better life. Here, it is worth noting that Ethiopia is predominately of a rural society whose massive intra-state migration to the urban areas is quite inevitable even in the years to come. These would definitely make the sociolinguistic situation in urban areas far more complex than it is right now.

There are also other factors such as settlement, conquest, colonization, linguistic enclaves and traveling which are important in creating favorable situation for language contact (Apple & Muysken, 1989:5-6; Mackey, 2005:1484). Hierarchy-based vertical contact of people triggered by the process of nation-building also leads to language contact (Wright, 2004:44). In Ethiopia, internal socio-historical and political dynamics related to the historic project of nation-building has been the prime cause for language contact. Political crises might also trigger dislocation of linguistic groups from one sociolinguistic zone to the other leading to language contact.

The spread of languages also leads to language contact with some geographic, socio-demographic, functional and organizational implications (Haarmann, 2005:1654). According to the scholar, the spread of a language can be linear or space-covering seen from geographic point of view. The former takes place from a given epicenter to a certain spot while the later involves the extension of epicenter to a broad circle (Haarmann, 2005:1654). As to this scholar, the spread of Greek into Egypt's urban centers, not in the countryside, during 4th century BC was linear while the wide spread of Russian into Eastern Europe and western Siberia was space-covering one.

The spread of a language might entail specific socio-politically driven functions as in the Hellenistic civilizational function of the spread of Greek in Asia Minor, the Near East and Egypt (Haarmann, 2005:1654). There are organizational roles to the spread of the major world languages as in the present case of the efforts of UN and EU to disseminate maximum possible information to the global community. Scientific reasons may also motivate the spread of languages; for instance, the spread of Latin in Medieval and

Renaissance Europe was driven by the conventional desire of the then scholarly society to use the language as an instrument of science (Haarmann, 2005:1655).

In Ethiopia, the significant expansion of Amharic began in the third quarter of 19th century due to the southward expansion of the Ethiopian Empire. On the basis of Haarmann's perspectives, the expansion of Amharic in Ethiopia was more of linear than the space-covering than linear. The central ideological intent of the spread of Amharic in Ethiopia was connected to the imperial project of nation-building that largely began during the last quarter of the 19th century.

Language contact might result in linguistic power differences with conflicts and resistances among ethno-linguistic groups. This is because languages could be instruments of domination and discrimination. Whatever the triggering factor may be language contact results in some sociolinguistic outcomes (Apple & Muysken, 1989:5-6). These outcomes, however, are not always predictable as they may vary across various contexts. Among the most common outcomes of language contact are bilingualism, code-switching and borrowing (Treffers-Daller, 2005:1473; Tuite, 2006:9). The following section presents these components of language contact.

2.1.1.1 Bilingualism

The term bilingualism broadly refers to the use of two or more languages (Mackey, 2005:1483). It is frequently used as an umbrella term to refer to people speaking two or more languages. The terms bilingualism and multilingualism are viewed differently by different sociolinguists. Some think that they are equivalent and refer to people speaking two or more language (Heller, 2006:156). Others believe that the terms are different as multilingualism strictly refers to a society holding more than two languages while bilingualism refers to an individual speaking two or more languages (Mackay, 2005:283). The distinction, in the latter's case, rests on the matter of individuality and collectivity.

There are two types of bilingualisms, i.e. collective/societal and individual/personal (Hoffmann, 1991:13). The first refers to a set of monolinguals in different languages creating bilingual collective image (Edward, 2005:38). Within the context of societal bilingualism, individual/personal bilinguals could emerge as a result of language contact

since people are on a constant interaction within multilingual settings. This natural interaction in a multilingual setting is the very reason behind the fact that there is no ideal monolingual nation on the planet (Meyerhoff, 2006:103). However, some specific political ideologies might suggest the other way round.

Individually, a bilingual person is a person who is "... conversationally fluent in more than one language" (Edward, 2005:36). Indeed, the definitions given to individual bilingualism ranges from having a native-like control to a reasonable level of understanding in two or more languages (Mackey, 2005:1484). However, some sociolinguists expect competence just in productive skills (Edward, 2005:37) to define a person as a bilingual individual. Therefore, measuring the level of an individuals' bilingualism is a problematic task in sociolinguistics.

Nevertheless, there are methods to attempt to measure individual bilingualism. Some of these are "Rating scales of various sorts and fluency, flexibility and dominance tests" (Edward, 2005:37-38). According to the scholar, given that the respondents are capable enough to self-evaluate, self-assessment method of measuring bilinguals' proficiency in the two languages, as a part of rating scale, is recommended. The scholar has indicated that the measurement of bilingualism can be affected by attitude, age, sex, intelligence, memory, linguistic distance and context.

There are also other linguistic and non-linguistic dimensions used to measure a relative degree of individual bilingualism. Among these dimensions are relative competence, cognitive organization, age of acquisition and the presence of L₂ community (Mackey, 2005:1485-1486). Competence refers to the level of proficiency of the bilingual in both languages; cognitive organization shows the nature of the creation of a mental image in the mind of the bilingual for concepts of both languages. The age level in which the bilingual acquires the second language, and the presence or the absence of the speech community of the second language community are important dimensions.

A bilingual person's competence in two languages might be either balanced or dominant. Balanced bilinguals have relatively equal competence in the two languages, but for dominant bilinguals, the proficiency in one of the two languages is relatively higher

(Edward, 2005:38). Here, it is tough to decide how dominant or balanced a bilingual person is. However, a relative level of competence can be considered. Balanced bilinguals⁶ have the ability to express their ideas more or less at an equivalent level of proficiency in both languages (Hoffmann, 1991:22). In contrast, dominant bilinguals incline more towards one of the two languages in which they have a better proficiency (Mackey, 2005:1486).

In terms of competence, there is receptive bilingualism, i.e. passive bilingualism, which refers to the passive understanding of L₂, and productive/functional bilingualism which refers to understanding and producing both L₁ and L₂ actively (Hoffmann, 1991:24; Edward, 2005:38). According to Edward (2005:38), speakers who possess only the receptive competence are semi-bilinguals⁷. There are also primary and secondary types of bilingualism. The former is acquired naturally while the latter is learned in schools (Edward, 2005:39). Bilingualism does not necessarily imply biculturalism (Hoffmann, 1991:28-29); however, primary bilinguals have a better chance of becoming bicultural as compared to the secondary bilinguals.

Individual bilinguals have different cognitive images for words depending on the socio-cultural context of L₂ acquisition,. An exposure to two different languages in a single cultural matrix results in compound bilingualism. Here, the bilingual's cognitive image for any two equivalent words of the two languages is single, and it is the image obtained from the cultural context of one of the two languages in which the acquisition has been made. On the contrary, the mental images created for any two equivalent words of two languages acquired in different cultural contexts will be different and leads to coordinate bilingualism.

Age is the other important dimension that determines the L₂ proficiency level of bilinguals. The earlier a person acquires L₂, the better his/her proficiency is in that language (Hoffmann, 1991:35). In other words, L₂ proficiency level of speakers keeps

⁶ Hoffmann (1991:22) also uses equilingual or ambilingual for this term. However, it is difficult to determine whether or not compound bilinguals have equal competence in both languages. The term 'roughly equal' seems to be applicable.

⁷ The words 'semi-bilingual' and 'semi-lingual' are different in meaning. The former refers to speakers who possess only the receptive competence, and the later refers to speakers with poor fluency in both languages (Edward, 2005:38).

dwindling as the age in which they acquire the L₂ keeps increasing. Hence, acquiring L₂ at the early stage of life, under normal circumstances, guarantees high level of proficiency. That is to say childhood bilingualism is better than adulthood bilingualism. Therefore, children acquire a second language better than adults due to age factor.

Also, the presence or the absence of the L₂ speech community determines the proficiency level of a speaker in L₂. In exogenous contexts where the speech community of the L₂ is absent, the proficiency of the speaker in the acquired L₂ is relatively minimal. In endogenous context where the L₂ speech community is present, the proficiency is relatively maximal. Language acquisition in an exogenous context is the major reason for students' poor proficiency of second/foreign language.

2.1.1.2 Code-switching

CS is a linguistic behavior of individual bilinguals (Myers-Scotton, 1998:149). It is defined as "... an alternative use of two or more codes within one conversational episode" (Auer, 1998:1). In other words, CS occurs when a bilingual person shifts from the use of one language to another both at word and clause levels in a conversation (Mackay, 2005:289). Code-mixing refers to an alteration of codes at intra-sentential level, i.e. within a sentence; it occurs at a clause boundary between sentences (Mackay, 2005:289).

In CS, the language which sets the syntactic framework is known as matrix/base language whereas the one which is put into the base language's syntactic framework is termed as an embedded language (Myers-Scotton, 1998:151). That means the base language provides grammatical structure while the embedded language is the source of lexemes. In other words, the elements of the embedded language are put into the grammatical structure of the matrix language.

CS is rule-governed, and its process involves linguistically situated morphological and syntactic constraints (Auer, 1998:3; Ball & Müller, 2006:50). There are two general constraints of CS: equivalence constraint and free morpheme constraint. Ball & Müller (2006:52), drawing on the Matrix Language Framework, have stated the following concerning constraints of CS.

Only content morphemes from the embedded language that fulfill three congruence conditions can be embedded into the matrix language. In order to be embeddable, a content morpheme has to have a match in the matrix language that has the same grammatical status, takes or assigns the same thematic roles (or participant roles), and fulfills equivalent discourse and pragmatic functions.

There are three types of CS: tag-switches, intra-sentential switches and inter-sentential switches. Tag-switch involves the inclusion of exclamation, a tag, or a parenthetical; intra-sentential switch occurs in the middle of a sentence, and inter-sentential switch occurs between sentences (Apple & Muysken, 2005:118). The differences among these three types of CS are related to position in a sentence and level of switching. Intra-sentential switching is a word-level mix within a sentence while inter-sentential switch is a clause level mix.

Studies of CS help understand the relationship between language use and individual values, communicative strategies, language attitudes and functions within bilingual contexts. Through CS, speakers communicate more than the mere use of two different languages in a single conversational episode. For instance, speakers “negotiate social meaning” through CS, and doing this they could reflect their collective identities (Treffers-Daller, 2005:1478), attitudes, values and sociolinguistic challenges within multilingual contexts.

CS occurs among bilinguals both in educational and non-educational settings for different reasons. Mainly, it occurs for referential, integrative, expressive, phatic, meta-linguistic, and poetic functional purposes (Apple & Muysken, 2005:119-120). The following table illustrates the brief descriptions of these reasons of CS.

Table 7: Reasons for CS

Code-switching	Reasons
a) Referential	• To fill knowledge gap in the base language
b) Directive	• To include or exclude people in a conversation
c) Expressive	• To express identity
d) Phatic	• Metaphorical change in tone, occurs in mixing dialects
e) Meta-linguistic	• To comment directly/indirectly on languages involved in a conversation

(Source: adopted from Apple & Muysken, 2005:118-120)

In the Ethiopian context, for instance, people code-switch between Amharic and English for reasons such as habit, secret talking, to be viewed as educated, to better express their ideas, to express emotions when intoxicated or annoyed, for pedagogical reasons and to fill lexical gaps in Amharic (Zealelem, 1998:214). In general, bilinguals have many contexts-bound reasons for CS. A research conducted elsewhere in an educational setting has also revealed that L₁-L₂ CS inside classrooms was most frequently caused to 1) facilitate learning process, 2) build good interpersonal relationships, 3) practice L₂ through L₁, 4) translate unknown vocabulary, 5) clarify lessons, 6/ use grammar translation method, 7) make good communication possible, and 8) give classroom instruction (Polio and Duff, 1994 cited in Edstron, 2006:5).

Indeed, the appropriateness of CS in L₂ classrooms is a subject of intense debate in the field of educational linguistics (Then and Ting, 2011:299). The point, however, is that any sort of classroom CS is driven by any one of the above mentioned reasons. These scholars also argue that CS is preferable in science classes than language classes as it might be detrimental to the teaching of language. Nonetheless, this recommendation works in classroom contexts where the students are bilinguals in thier L₁, the language which all of them share, and the MoI (L₂).

CS is indicative of group membership in bilingual societies. Through CS, bilinguals do not only display and negotiate their identities; they also convey a signal of their inclusion and exclusion in a certain group. One of the fundamental questions asked in CS research is "... how language choice reflects power and inequality" (Auer, 1998:4). Here, the

language one chooses in a given sociolinguistic setting is dictated by the real socioeconomic and political difference observed in the society.

2.1.1.3 Linguistic borrowing

The other outcome of language contact is linguistic borrowing which involves the transfer of linguistic components from one language to the other. The language from which the linguistic element is gained is known as source language, and the one to which the incorporation is made is termed as recipient language (Myers-Scotton, 1998:151). The process of linguistic borrowing is significantly determined by the intensity of contact between two languages and the degree of linguistic integration made (Mackey, 2005:1491).

There are two major types of borrowing, importation and substitution (Apple & Muiyeken, 2005:164). Importation refers to the taking in of a linguistic element without any change while substitution involves the replacement of the existing linguistic form with the new incoming one. The following table illustrates the most common types of borrowing and the linguistic process each involves.

Table 8: Types of linguistic borrowings

	<i>Types of borrowing</i>	<i>Linguistic process</i>
1.	Loan words	• Importing words, no substitution
2.	Loan blend	• Importation and substitution of loan words
3.	Loan shift	• Meaning imported, form native/recipient language
4.	Loan translation	• Substitution if the borrowed item is used for already existing concept & addition if the concept is new

(Source: adopted from Apple & Muiyeken, 2005:164)

In importation, a word from a certain source language joins a recipient language with no replacement of linguistic form while in the loan blend the imported word undergoes the substitution of some of its linguistic features. Native form is used for the imported meaning in loan shift while in loan translation substitution is made for the already existing concept and addition is made if the concept is not found in the recipient language. Among the major reasons for linguistic borrowind to occur are cultural influence, lost

rare native words, the presence of similar native words, affective words losing expressive power and realizing new semantic distinctions (Weinreich, 1953, cited in Apple and Muiyeken: 155-156).

There are seemingly confusing differences between CS and borrowing. CS, as stated earlier (see section 2.1.1.2), is a shift from one language to the other at word, phrase or sentence levels in language use. Borrowing, on the other hand, is an incorporation of linguistic items from one language into another with possible linguistic adaptations. Moreover, CS does need bilingualism as a prerequisite while borrowing doesn't (Treffer-Daller, 2005:1472). The differences between borrowing and code-switching are summarized in the following table.

Table 9: The difference between CS and linguistic borrowing

	Linguistic feature	Borrowing	CS
1.	No more than one word/phrase	+	—
2.	Adaptations		
	a. Phonological	±	±
	b. Morphological	+	—
	c. Syntactic	+	—
3.	Frequent use	+	—
4.	Replaces own word	+	—
5.	Recognized as own word	+	—
6.	Semantic change	+	—

(Source: adopted from Muysken, 1995:191, cited in Treffer-Daller, 2005:1472)

Table 9 plainly shows that borrowing is limited to lexical/phrase level while CS includes phrases and sentences. Phonological, morphological and syntactic adaptations are possible for borrowing while CS is limited to only phonological adaptations. In borrowing, the borrowed item can be used frequently, yet this is not the case in CS. Replacement of native words in the recipient language occurs in borrowing, not in CS. In borrowing, semantic changes and the recognition of borrowed linguistic items in the recipient language are common. Yet, this is not true for CS. That is to say borrowing is relatively stable than CS.

2.1.1.4 Language maintenance and shift

Language maintenance refers to the use of one's own language continuously against a pressure from a dominant language (Spolsky, 2012:55). It is an inter-generational retention of a native language by its speakers. A language is maintained when it is used at least sometimes in some domains. The subject of language maintenance gives senses mostly in the context where a certain language experiences a sociolinguistic pressure as a result of a juxtaposed dominant language.

The process of language maintenance presupposes the preservation of language use and proficiency; it needs a reasonable demography of speakers and a positive attitude towards the target language (Fase, Jaspaert, Kroon, 1992:6). Speakers' positive attitudes towards the use of their own language is imperative in language maintenance. Moreover, institutional support, for instance in the form of mass media and religion, coupled with the status of the target language, i.e. its ethno-linguistic vitality, are important for language maintenance. Also, very motivational to the preservation of a language is the speaker's desire to construct positive social identity in the language (Clyne, 1992:27).

Language maintenance, as observed by Batibo (2005:102), is an endeavor of using one's own language with a strong degree of resistance against the influence of a dominant language. To maintain a language, the domains in which it is used have to be preserved, and there should also be active transmission of the language down generations (Baibo, 2005:102). In addition, language maintenance needs 1) a stable number of speakers, 2) active use of the language among children, and 3) a strong allegiance paid to the language by the speakers (Batibo, 2005:102).

A minor language might shift when it loses some or all of the domains in which it is used due to a pressure from a dominant language. However, the shift, as to the same scholar, may undergo some phases of stable and unstable bilingualism. The most important factors causing language shift during interactions of dominant and minor ethno-linguistic groups are access to the dominant language, opportunities to learn the dominant language, and motivation to learn the dominant language for socioeconomic mobility.

The other important factor in language shift is the failure of speakers to pay allegiance to their language any more (Fase, et. al, 1992:4). Such circumstance creates a suitable sociolinguistic ecology for language shift. It is also possible that language shift might occur without the change of the demography of speakers, but just through the dissolution of the minor group due to changes in the norms of their language use behavior (Fase, et al, 1992:6). This happens when a language is no more actively used among the children of the target ethno-linguistic groups.

Indexical of language maintenance or shift is language choice (Fase, et al, 1992:4). That is to say, language choice is the most important factor that determines language maintenance or language shift. In addition, language use and language proficiency of an ethno-linguistic group are also important indicators of language maintenance and language shift (Fase, et al, 1992:4). Together, language maintenance and language shift can be understood as the sociolinguistic ends of the same continuum (Fase, et al, 1992:4).

2.1.2 Language Use, Attitude and Identity

2.1.2.1 Language use

The discussion of the sociolinguistic concept of language use is imperative in this study, for it renders a clearer picture of the central quest of the investigation. Mostly, speakers' attitudes and identities are manifested in the context of language use (Vandermeeren, 2005:1325). Also, speakers' continuous identity shifts through engagements with others in different contexts at different times are displayed in language use (Thornborrow, 1999:136). Particularly, the challenges of inter-ethnic communication in multilingual settings are quite visible in ethno-linguistic groups' language use patterns.

The study of language use is a domain-based exploration of linguistic behaviors ranging from face-to-face verbal interactions to non-verbal and written communications. While studying language use, it is important to investigate the target groups' relative language proficiencies and languages attitudes. There are nine important and recognized domains of language use in sociolinguistics; these are: family, playground and streets, schools, churches, literature, the press, military, court and government administration (Fishman,

1971:284).The family domain is the most critical one, and it is significantly influenced by language use in the school domain (Spolsky, 2012:6).

In addition to domain-based analysis, language use behavior can also be traced in different day-to-day activities like business transactions, planning meals and vacations, teaching, preaching, recreations, conducting trials, negotiating trends, informing, persuading and interrogating (Clark, 1996:11). These instances of language use, Clark states, take place through mechanism such as face-to-face interactions, telephone conversations, readings and writings in diverse sociolinguistic domains of language use.

Language use involves internal, i.e. cognitive, and external social processes. In this respect, Clark (1996:23) offers six fundamental postulations. These are: language 1) is a means of social interaction, i.e. people exchange ideas with languages, 2) requires a joint action, i.e. mutual act of communication 3) involves understanding 4) is basically done through face-to-face interactions, 5) requires multiple domains and 6) has cognitive and social nature. In sum, people use languages to exchange ideas and feelings among themselves, fundamentally at face-to-face level and with a degree of mutual comprehensibility.

What is more, the subject of language use can be framed into five “Wh-” questions that define the speakers'language use behavior: 1) Who speaks? 2) To whom? 3) On what topic? 4) Where and when? 5) And in which particular variety of languages (Wolff, 2000:289)? Dealing with these pertinent questions related to language use adds to the bigger picture of language use behavior displayed among people in a multilingual setting.

According to the *Integrative Functional Specialization Model*⁸, information transfer between interlocutors takes place through different mechanisms to fulfill different language functions (Apple & Muysken, 2005:29-30). The model, as indicated in the following table, illustrates that the language use behavior of ethno-linguistic groups in a bilingual context can be described in relation to formal and informal settings ranging from family to institutional domains.

⁸ This model was created by the merger of language mechanisms for different functions in different domains with different degrees of formalities ranging from informal to formal doamins.

Table 10: Integrative Functional Specialization Model of Language Use in Formal and Informal Situations

<i>Degree of Formality</i>	<i>Domains</i>	<i>Functions</i>	<i>Mechanisms of Use</i>
Formal  Intimate	Institutions	Referential	• Referring to extra-linguistic reality
	Work	Directive/Integrative	• Using standard greetings, conventional modes of address, imperatives, exclamations, and questions
	The street	Expressive	• Making one's feelings known
	Cultural life	Phatic	• Using conventionalized openings, closings, and signaling turn taking and in-group language
	Friends	Meta-linguistic	• Using language to unveil the speaker's attitude toward and awareness of language use
	Family	Poetic	• Using jokes, puns, word play, conscious style and register shifts

(Source: adapted from Apple & Muysken, 2005:30)

As can be observed from table 10, language use generally takes place in two major settings, formal and informal. The degree of formality of domains of language use decreases down from the institutional domain to the family domain. The functions of language also range from referential to poetic in a directly proportional way of the decreasing of the formality of the domains of language use. The mechanisms of language use range from more referential use in the formal domains to jokes, puns and others in the informal domains.

2.1.2.1.1 Language use and power relations

Language use is more than just the manifestations of speakers' linguistic behaviors. It reflects group power differences and embodies values (Wright, 2007:204). The central question of the link between language and power in multilingual settings has to do with who learns whose language and why (Oslen & Oslen, 2010:33). In asymmetrical multilingual societies, minor language speakers are coerced directly or indirectly

(socially, politically or economically) to resort to the use the language of the dominant group (Cartwright, 2006:199).

There are three important factors that make a language dominant: 1) its numerical strength, 2) its lingua franca status, and 3) its use in official government businesses (Ferguson, 1962:218). Thus, a dominant language has a significant number of speakers both as L₁ and as a lingua franca, and it plays a critical official role in government businesses. A language of that status in an LD setting is a source of economic and political power for its speakers.

The link between language and power can result in sociopolitical and economic disparities of opportunities in multilingual settings (Oslen & Oslen, 2010:34).

Indeed, linguistic power is more than a matter of speakers' demographic status. There are some extra-linguistic forces defining language use behavior of individuals in multilingual settings. Numerically⁹ minor ethno-linguistic groups could define language use behavior of the broader society, including the speakers of the major languages. Hence, power in all its various forms, i.e. military, economic, political and technological, defines people's language use behaviour in LD settings. In such relationships, people, especially the marginalized ones, develop attitudes of different sorts of which language attitude is an important one. Then, what is language attitude? The following section turns to this point.

2.1.2.2 Language attitude

Language attitude is "... an idea charged with emotion with respect to language behavior and predisposes a type of (language) behavior to a particular class of language situations" (Vandermeeren, 2005:1319). In other words, language attitude is an expression of internal feelings of likes and dislikes about a certain language. Attitudes could be reflected towards specific languages, language styles, language use, language choice, the speakers and language acquisition. People may also express their attitudes towards geolects, accents, native languages, second/foreign languages, mixed speech styles,

⁹ The concepts 'minor' and 'dominant' cannot just be conceived in a traditional sociological sense of numerical status. An instance in here is the colonial sociolinguistic history of Africa. The highest positions the ex-colonial languages have assumed in African as the expense of indigenous languages, including the most widely spoken ones, is an indicator of power relationships between African languages and ex-colonial European languages.

lingua franca, pidgins/creoles, sociolects and other micro-linguistic features (Vandermeeren, 2005:1323).

Attitudinal implications could be of many folds. Attitude towards a language might imply attitude towards the linguistic group or the group's language use behavior or the individual members of the group (Apple & Muysken, 2005:16). Expressions of likes and dislikes made about a language might be implicational representations of feelings towards the speakers both at individual and collective levels. The attitude towards one's or others' language use behavior is a central concern of LPO (Ferguson, 1996:273). This is because a LPO formulation which is not based on the analysis of speakers' attitudinal status could not be effective.

According to Baker (2006:262), LPO formulation efforts could be successful only through a critical analysis of the targets' language attitude. Therefore, the study of language is necessary in an LPO formulation. A sound LPO formulation needs to "... confirm the attitude of those involved, persuade those who express negative attitude about the rightness of the policy, or seek to remove the cause of the disagreement" (Baker, 2006:262). This shows that attitudinal engineering and negotiations, the later, especially from the side of the policy makers, are matters of necessity in contexts where disparities and conflicts of interests are observed among the target ethno-linguistic groups.

The success of language-in-education policy as well depends on language attitude, not just on linguistic demography (Ferguson, 1966:274). Just the fact that a language is spoken by a large number people does not make it legitimate to be used in education; speakers' attitude on its use also counts. When it comes to language acquisition, language attitude can be motivated by instrumental, integrative or assimilative reasons (Shearin, 1994:3 cited in Vandermeern, 2005:1324). Instrumental language attitude, functionally oriented, targets the learning and speaking of a language, motivated by its role as a tool of communication. Integrative language attitude, interpersonally oriented, has a prime intention of building a sense of togetherness and collective identity within a certain ethno-linguistic group. Assimilative reason involves a subtractive integration of giving up L₁ in the process of acquiring L₂.

There is a direct link between a group's language attitude and its behavior of language use (Vandmeeren, 2005:1319). Through their language use behavior, speakers often manifest their attitudes towards their own language or the language of others. A group's language attitude is also highly intertwined with its linguistic identity (Vandmeeren, 2005:1319; Apple & Muysken, 2005:16). That is to say, expressing their language attitude, speakers can communicate about their own linguistic identities. Attitude can be observed in language use and in the expression of linguistic identity (Rassokha, 2010:24). The following section particularly deals with the notion of identity in relation to language.

2.1.2.3 Language and identity

2.1.2.3.1 Basic concepts of identity

Identity is "... the social positioning of self and other" Joseph (2010:18). It is about how people view themselves and others. Since anything that differentiates a group from another group constitutes the group's identity, identity can also be a mark of being different as a group (Apple & Muysken, 2005:12). Therefore, group identity is a layer depicting disparity among groups. As to Thornborrow (1999:136) identity is what "... we are constantly building and negotiating all our lives through our interactions with others". In other words, identity undergoes a continuous process of creation and recreation of representations across time, space and context. It is both a synchronic and diachronic construction of distinct representations within an interactional context.

2.1.2.3.1.1 The types of identity

Identity has typologies such as real-fictional, individual-group, subjective-objective, claimed-ascribed, negative-positive, and territorial-personal (Joseph, 2004:2; Blommaert, 2006:238; Edward, 2009:15; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:283; Vandermeeren, 2005:1319). These dichotomous perceptions of identity shape the discussions and the debates on the subject of identity in the field of sociolinguistics and in the discipline of social science at large. The following section discusses these different typologies of identity.

Fictitious identity is mostly constructed while real identity is natural. Some scholars assume that identity, either collective or individual, is basically fictitious, not natural (Joseph, 2004:6). However, this assumption is somehow arguably totalizing as some

representations of identity, especially collective identity, really transcend the horizon of socio-cultural constructions. National identity, for instance, cannot entirely be fictitious; there could possibly be some collective and shared uniting features of solidarity, buried in the sands of time, that index a people (Ferguson, 2006:20).

Collective identity, mostly abstract in nature, is expressed through individual members whose identities are constructed based on their relations in their group (Joseph, 2004:5). Even though individual identities are relational, as they are based on social interactions, they mostly emerge out of collective representational characters. The reason is that individuals are the communicators of their group's collective identities. Group and individual identities have complementary relationships (Quirk, 2010:3)

However, there could always be a conflict between individual and group identities. The following example of paradoxical tension in football field is an interesting demonstrator of this truth.

A soccer team plays as a disciplined cooperative unit, each member identifying with his team in opposition to the team competing with it. Each goal is scored through the effectiveness of that cooperation, one player realizing his team identity by perhaps denying his personal ambitions as he passes the ball to another player. And it is the team that is rightly credited with the goal. But - as we all know from our TV screens - when the goal is scored, individual triumph is displayed by the man who actually netted the ball and who then asserts his individual identity with arms outstretched in personal appeal for personal applause from the fans before whom he briefly and ecstatically parades himself: not 'Us! Us! Us!' but 'Me! Me! Me!' (Quirk, 2010:3).

Identity could be either subjective or objective (Vandermeeren, 2005:1319). The latter refers to concrete/physical markers while the former is an abstract representations. For instance, DNA, voice prints, fingerprints, body markings and unique facial characteristics generally mark individual identities in an objective manner (Llamas & Watt, 2010:1). A good example of abstract representations is national identity. This researcher believes that assuming mutual exclusivity of these identity types is hardly possible. They can rather be considered as two opposite ends of a continuum as individuals could freely swing between those ends of identity.

2.1.2.3.1.2 The nature of identity

Identity has interesting features of multiplicity and dynamism. The multiplicity of identity is mostly attributed to the complex relationships people have in a society. Llamas & Watt (2010:1) have indicated that “We can be members of a potentially infinite number of intersecting social groups, be they local (friends, family, colleagues, and so forth) or global (gender, class, ethnicity, nationality), whose membership is reflected in our shared linguistic behavior.” Hence, a single individual can possess and portray a number of identities at a given point in time.

The multiplicity of identity is related to the variations of perceptions people have for one another both at individual and group levels (Joseph, 2004:8). That means everyone constructs and projects his/her own or other’s identity depending on his/her own sociocultural context. Therefore, viewed within various contexts, an individual gains various identities. However, the question is which representations are to be considered appropriate. Joseph (2004:8) suggests that the construction that best represents one is the one made by oneself.

The second nature of identity, dynamism, has to do with the changing character of identity in a spacio-temporally defined manner (Heller, 2005:1584; Joseph, 2004:9). Identity is negotiated and re-negotiated in ever-changing contexts of human interaction (Llamas & Watt, 2010:1). It transform itself diachronically both at individual and collective levels triggered by different sociohistorical and political factors, (Norton, 2010:354). Therefore, identity is not static, for it changes with the changing socio-cultural context of human lives.

2.1.2.3.1.3 The principles of identity

The following table presents some principles of identity

Table 11: Principles of identity

<i>Identity principle</i>	<i>Description, identity ...</i>
a/ Emergence	• is a socio-cultural phenomena, not pre-existing entity
b/ Positionality	• has three categories/levels ▪ macro-level: broader socio-demographic level ▪ micro-level: specific local positioning ▪ interactional-level: temporal and context-bound nature
c/ Indexicality	• ideologically oriented and internationally situated meaning
d/ Relationality	• identity is determined by the relation of similarity and difference
e/ Partiality	• identity is a particularistic construction

(Source: adapted from Bocholt& Hall, 2010: 18-28)

As shown in table 12, the emergence principle of identity is not context transcendent; identity is rather a situated phenomenon. The positionality principle views identity in three scopes ranging from the temporal, i.e. interaction-context dependent, local and global levels. According to the indexicality principle, ideology and internationalism define identity. The relationality principle states that identity is defined by similarity-difference relations. Partiality is the principle that shows identity is a specific construction.

2.1.2.3.2 The nexus between language and identity

A language has instrumental, expressive and constitutive roles in the speakers' lives. The instrumental role of a language is related to its utility as a tool of communication while the expressive role is its symbolic representation of the speakers' linguistic identity; the expressive nature of languages makes it central to identity (Vandermeeren, 2005:119). The constitutive role of a language is related to the possibility of manifestation of a range of expressive features of language (Lagerspetz, 1998:186).

Since tangible and intangible human world of linguistic and socio-cultural identities are expressed by language, it goes without saying that people understand and express their culture through their languages (Mackridge, 2009:3). It seems hardly possible to imagine

life itself without language. In this connection, showing the centrality of language in identity, Llamas & Watt (2010:1) have described that language not “...only reflects who we are but in some sense it is who we are, and its use defines us both directly and indirectly.” Indeed, language says more than ‘who we are’; it is ‘what we are’.

The link between language and identity can be explained at psychological and legal levels. Psychologically, the link refers to the conscious/unconscious adoption of a linguistic behavior; legally, it refers to paying allegiance to some defining collective features through convention (Tabouret-Keller, 1998:216). In other words, people could be willing to take on a certain linguistic identity, or they may go for legally binding collective linguistic identities. Llamas & Watt (2010:2) said in their own words that, “Language users are not passive, but are in fact agents capable of deploying language variation for identity-making and -marking purposes.”

According to Quirk (2010:2), an individual’s identity can be “... recognized and publicly asserted, from voice quality (instantaneously spotted even on a busy telephone line) to choice of words, accent, peculiarities of idiom, the whole amalgam of features we call personal style.” In other words, the way people speak says a lot about their linguistic identities (Thornborrow, 1999:136). Even an accent a person uses expresses his/her linguistic identity (Joseph, 2004:2; Meyerhoff, 2006:103). For instance, speakers of different dialects can be located on a linguistic map simply based on how they pronounce a given phoneme. Generally, phonology (accent), syntactic structure, dialect type, stylistic variation, and language choice provide a great deal of information about the speakers’ identities (Thornborrow, 1999:137, 144). Speakers express their identities through their language use to achieve some deliberate expressive goals, unconsciously as a habit or through speech accommodation.

2.1.2.3.2.1 Speech accommodation

Languages have roles of determining inclusion and exclusion of speakers in a linguistic group. There is interaction of language, identity and attitude as attitudes and identities are conveyed by the way we speak. The way we speak is conditioned mostly by the people we speak to (Joseph, 2010:12). In other words, our interlocutors play part of the role of determining how we ought to communicate in the process of linguistic interaction.

According to the speech accommodation theory, people adjust their speech style to express intentions, attitudes and values towards others (Giles, 1982:105 in Tabouret-Keller, 2006:218). This theory shows that language is used to maintain a desired social distance between interlocutors in an inter-ethnic setting via verbal or non-verbal means. Speech accommodation is about adjusting one's linguistic style for convergence or divergence either overtly or covertly (Edwards, 2009:158).

Social approval or disapproval is communicated by the extent to which speakers shift their speech styles toward or away from their interlocutors. The move toward the interlocutor is convergence, and a shift away from the interlocutor is divergence. Convergence shows integration while divergence shows social dissociation (Giles, 1982:105 in Tabouret-Keller, 2006:218). Convergence occurs through pronunciations (accent), speech rate, message content, utterance length, pausing times, and other paralinguistic features like smiling, gaze directness and duration, posture etc (Edwards, 2009:31). In converging, speakers adjust their communicative behaviors to show collective similarity using language. Here, it must be noted that convergence does not always consistently lead to social approval (Edward, 2009:31).

2.1.2.3.2.2 Language and national identity

The idea of a national language is related to the issues of nationalism¹⁰ and identity, both of which, according to Haarmann (2005:1362) were the phenomena of the post-industrial society. The subject of national language is more than a matter of a language per se; it is a broader socio-political and historical issue (Haarmann, 2005:1362). For this reason, the link between language and nation is very complex (Hoffmann, 1991: 227). The issue is even far more complex in Africa because of LD (Omonyi, 2010:237). In fact, whether national consciousness triggers the need for national language or the other way round is a subject of debate among scholars of social science (Safran, 1999:79).

¹⁰ There are two types of nationalism: ethnic nationalism and civic nationalism; the former is basically a defining feature of 'nationalism' in the European sense while the latter, which is also called state nationalism, involves a democratic union of diverse groups (ethnicities) based on abstract but legal principles of solidarity (Phillipson, 1999:44). In the context of this study, the term nationalism is used to represent supra-ethnic level.

There is a link between language, territory, ideology-*a set of beliefs about language use*, and national discourse of a given geopolitical entity; language is a central component of national identity construction (cangra, 2010:15-16, *emphasis added*). A language has an indexical relationship with its speakers (Haarmann, 2005:1364) as it can be used as a national unifying force. It is also a very important symbol of the expression of being different from other groups (Hoffmann, 1991:238). Hence, a language can be used as a national unifying force. Indeed, in addition to language, things like “Flags, anthems, royal or presidential families, institutions, educational systems, churches, armies, sports teams...” can also be used as a means of national cohesion (Phillipson, 1999:43).

A language has an apparent link with its speaker’s emotional values (Oslen & Oslen, 2014::35); it also plays a great role in shaping group identities both at ethnic and supra-ethnic level. It is undoubtedly the most important feature of national identity since it has a capacity of fostering communication among people (Quirk, 2000:5). According to Schmid (2001:9), a language “... contributes to values, identity, and a sense of people-hood. A language draws linguistic boundaries indicating in-group and out-group members, and it also displays power relationships between subordinate and dominant groups.” In other words, a language defines collective identity, determines inclusion/exclusion in a group and indicates groups’ power fault-line.

A typical instance of collective identity is national identity. National identity refers to “a sense of shared history, descent, belief system, practices, language and religion associated with a nation-state (Block, 2006:39). It “...refers to a sense of belonging to—but not necessarily reinforced by— a common culture, customs, language, heritage, and political institutions ... consists of a sense of distinctiveness from other people who may or may not share certain of these characteristics” (Schmidt, 2001:10).

The other type of collective identity is ethnic identity. Ethnic identity differs from national identity in that the former is specific to a cultural group (Block, 2006:39) while the latter has relatively a wider identity circle. Shared features such as language, religion, geography, history, decent, nationality or citizenship, and culture or customs with co-members define a group’s national identity that makes it defferent from others (Heller,

2005:1528; Mackridge, 2009:9-11). National consciousness is the prerequisite for the construction of national identity (Schmidt, 2001:10).

A language “... is the chief medium through which speakers are acculturated into nationhood and one of the chief means by which they articulate their sense of it” (Mackridge, 2009:9). Language-based national identity is guided by popular conceptions of languages triggered by overt linguistic characters like the presence of native writing system, script choice, favored and historically significant lexical and syntactic styles, literary history and current instrumental merits of the language in question (Jayaseelan, 2007:55). Then, those characters make up the binding cement of collective togetherness of a people under the banner of the nation.

The sociolinguistic relationships of ethno-linguistic groups in multilingual states are not plain. Still, it is tempting to clearly define the locus of the link between language and national identity (Ennaji & Sadiqi, 2008:44). Yet, this can sometimes be discerned when linguistic groups show positive attitudes towards their collective identities. Especially, the role language plays in marking national identity can be explained within the contexts of shared societal beliefs, values, assumptions and cultural heritages (Ennaji & Sadiqi, 2008:44). Yet, the greatest challenge of building national identity has to do with the ideal nature of national language, for what is national is mostly more of sentiment than instrument.

Here, national language is defined as “...a linguistic variety that has been chosen by a nation as a language expressing or representing national identity” (Meyerhoff, 2006:239). National languages can be constructed for matters of politics, identity and nation-building, as in the cases of Swedish, Danish and Norwegian (Suleiman, 2006:51). However, the emergence of mega languages, especially the ones that have horizontally evolved out of a multilingual society plays a foundational role of shaping national identity that transcends ethnic lines (Chumbow, 2009:35). The historic horizontal evolution of Kiswahili in Tanzania sets a good example in here (see section 2.1.3.9.4.).

2.1.3 Language Policy and Planning (LPP) and Nation-building

Recognized after WWII, especially in relation to the postcolonial nation-building efforts in Africa, the field of LPP has been primarily intended to deal with practical language related problems, *for instance issues related to the link between LPP and the process of nation-building* (Ager, 2005:5, *emphasis added*). Later on, on the contrary, LPP ventures in Africa ended up in being instruments of maintaining the colonial legacy of European linguistic hegemony (Ager, 2001:5). In other words, LPP in Africa turned out to be an intellectual venture of re-sustaining the colonial status of the European languages in the continent against its sociolinguistic reality.

However, with the rise of psycho-social political discourses related to ethnicity and nationalism in the 1990s, the research enterprise of LPP began to evolve and shape itself with the emergence of the critical school of thought (Ager, 2005:6). Following this, a plethora of LPP research works revolving around issues of ethnicity and nationalism have begun to appear during this period (Hornberger, 2006:24). That is why ethnicity and nationalism are presently at the hub of global discourses on LPO. Ethiopia cannot be an exception here. It is imperative to discuss the notions LPO, LPL and nation-building before diving into the discussions of the link between LPP and nation-building.

2.1.3.1 Language policy (LPO)

LPO “... refers to the formulation of laws, regulations and official positions regarding language use” (Orman, 2008:39). It involves an implicit/explicit or individual/collective decision on the planning and implementation of language use in a given sociolinguistic domain. LPP decisions might be driven by ideologies of assimilation, pluralism or revitalization (Ricento, 2006:9; Schiffman, 2006:111). These ideologies are implied prerequisites of LPO formulation targeting specific ethno-linguistic groups.

At the core of ideological assumption of LPO is power, in its various forms, which is central to any question related to language (Brock-Utne, 2001:118). Power and ideology are intricately bound that the former mostly defines the latter, while the latter mostly serves the former. Specifically, institutionalized hegemonic discourses and practices serve the interest of dominant groups (Ricento, 2006:47). Minor ethno-linguistic groups in such cases might resort to the subscription under the dominant group.

These days, development in many African countries is hampered partly by the lack of strong language(s) of inter-ethnic communication. This was attributed to the prevailing colonial legacy of linguistic divisions and sociolinguistic conflict of interests observed on the continent. The crafting of artificial colonial boundaries that had coercively united mosaic ethno-linguistic groups while dissecting and trisecting linguistically homogeneous ones was the precursor of the birth of multi-ethnic states with complex sociolinguistic profiles in postcolonial Africa (Heugh, 1977:339). A hundred and thirty ethnic groups were partitioned by this Africa's colonially drawn border (Omoniyi, 2010:239). This led to the birth of ethno-linguistic tensions that crippled Africa for many decades (Prha, 1998:9). Though Ethiopia was not directly subjected to western colonial experiences, it had its own internal and historical sociopolitical dynamics that gave birth to its present sociolinguistic reality.

LPP needs to enhance equality among languages and ethno-linguistic groups. To meet this end, LPO design has to consider linguistic rights, aesthetic expressions, identity, government efficiency, national integration and economic utility (Kembo-Sure, 2003:252). The assurance of LRs to ethno-linguistic groups enable them participate in socioeconomic and political affairs of their country. Therefore, a pluralist LPO model which builds a sociolinguistic platform for inter-ethnic communications is recommended in the process of nation-building and development in Africa (Chumbow, 2009:22). That means the project of socioeconomic and political development in multilingual states requires the formulation of an LPO that facilitates inter-ethnic communications. Arming citizens with the skills of such languages enables them to take part in the overall endeavor of national development.

In LD contexts, sharing language(s) helps people widen their spaces of public interactions; it is a mechanism of expanding their identities from home domains through to local, regional, national and global levels (Quirk, 2000:8). To realize this, the state has to engage in assuring LRs, including the rights to linguistic identity maintenance and preservation of member ethno-linguistic groups. While doing so, it has to forge mechanisms of holding together the different linguistic groups under the banner of nation-state through the designation of a pluralist LPO that facilitates the process of

multi-ethnic nation-building within the context of LD. The following section deals with models of LPO.

2.1.3.2 Types of language policy

There are several LPO typologies in the field of sociolinguistics. Most of these LPO models come in dichotomies¹¹, and each embodies ideological presuppositions rooted in socio-historical and political relations among ethno-linguistically diverse people residing in a give state's boundary. The following section discusses these LPO typologies, and shades lights on the ELPO on the bases of the discussions.

2.1.3.2.1 Overt vs. covert LPO

Overt LPO refers to an explicit or *de jury* statement of an LPO in a constitution or any legal documents of nation/state while covert LPO is an implied LPO framework usually understood as a matter of fact or *de facto*. These two types of LPO are based on whether or not a given state has its LPO written (Schiffmann, 2006:125). ELPO has a history of two regimes seen against this LPO typology. The pre-1945 ELPO was covert LPO. This has involved the period before the crafting of the first ever constitution of Ethiopia far back to the beginning of the modern history of the country and beyond. The post-1945 ELPO was overt LPO, declaring Amharic national language of Ethiopia up until 1991. Hence, ELPO from 1945-1991 was based on overt official monolingual model. The year 1991 can be taken as a sociolinguistic landmark of the country's leap from official monolingualism to official multilingualism. Official multilingualism was explicitly enshrined in the constitution of the FDRE in 1995. This period also falls under the overt LPO regime.

2.1.3.2.2 Pluralistic vs. assimilationistic LPO

Pluralist vs. assimilationistic LPO typology has to do primarily with whether or not a state endorses the promotion of multilingualism (Schmidt, 2006:104). Some countries make efforts to empower their distinct linguistic groups while others encourage their citizens to subscribe to the sole use of a certain dominant language. The former is

¹¹ This dichotomous presentation of LPO typologies was based on the work of Zelealem (2012) on the ELPO. The present researcher found the professor's presentation quite a straight forward presentation and discussion of LPO models which are scattered throughout the literature of sociolinguistics. Hence, this researcher has adopted the presentation style of the scholar.

pluralistic LPO regime while the later assimilationistic one. In light of this LPO typology, the ELPO can be seen against the prism of the 1991 socio-political change in the country. The pre-1991 ELPO was predominantly assimilationist in character while the post-1991 ELPO is pluralistic.

2.1.3.2.3 Multilingual vs. monolingual LPO

This typology seems to look into whether or not a state recognizes all languages spoken within its territory as national/official languages (Canagarajah, 2006:155). Concepts like ‘national language’ are trapped in the gray area of conceptual semantic field. This word can give a sense that any language spoken in a given country is a national language by the very virtue that it is located within that country’s geopolitical boundary. The point, however, is that it is also the case in sociolinguistics that the word ‘national language’ can embody a notion of sentiment, i.e. a language to which citizens pay their allegiance as a marker of their national identity. The national language is a language that identifies a nation’s identity (Meyerhoff, 2006:239).

In Ethiopia, it seems quite difficult to imagine the term ‘national language’ in the latter sense of the concept. This reality is predominantly attributed to the politically sensitive nature of the issue of language choice in the country. The strong link between language and ethnic identity, coupled with ethno-nationally oriented political discourse bound to the history of Ethiopia especially in the present context of Ethnic federalism, makes the issue complex and sensitive. Therefore, it is safe to claim that Ethiopia has always been multilingual, but in terms of state’s recognition of languages as national and official ones, it was generally monolingual up until 1991.

2.1.3.2.4 Symmetric vs. asymmetric LPO

Whether or not a given country has a symmetric or asymmetric LPO depends on whether or not the languages of that country have equal treatments (Craig, 1996:199). It seems quite tempting to conceptualize the notion of symmetry in the strict epistemological sense of the term. A LPO could hardly be symmetrical in multilingual countries. However, what can be looked into is the real and genuine attempt made by policy makers to treat all languages as equally as possible despite financial and capability constraints as well as ideological tides springing out of disparity of political interests of ethno-linguistic groups.

The ELPO, in a broadest sense, had asymmetric character before the 1991 sociolinguistic setting. The post-1991 ELPO is based, predominantly, on official multilingualism. And there is no denying that there were some remarkable achievements as regards to the rise of regional working languages and the huge development of mother-tongue education, yet it does not sound logical to argue that the policy is symmetrical. There are complaints heard both in federal and regional domains as regards to inter-ethnic communication and employment opportunities, for instance.

2.1.3.2.5 Promotive vs. tolerant LPO

This LPO typology is based on the presence or absence of government support and encouragement to develop languages (Schiffman, 1996:28-29). In other words, if a government supports the languages spoken within its borders, then the policy is promotive, but if it does nothing more than tolerating the languages then the policy is just tolerant. In Ethiopia, it seems quite challenging, as far as this researcher is concerned, to trace the stand of the government towards the Ethiopian languages. The government does not seem to support the languages beyond the theoretical declaration of their right to promotion. Therefore, the policy seems to be more of tolerant type.

2.1.3.2.6 Egalitarian vs. restricted LPO

If a state treats all languages within its borders democratically, without any restriction and encourages societal bilingualism, then the LPO model would be egalitarian (Schiffman, 1996:31). If the government provides treatment to just one or a few languages, then the LPO model would be restricted (Schiffman, 1996:31). In Ethiopia, there is no open encouragement of societal bilingualism from the government side. What is observed is simply the celebration of LD. Moreover, the sole role Amharic holds in the federal domain as the only official language of Ethiopia does not seem to reflect democratic treatment of LD in the country. Therefore, the ELPO seems to be more of restricted than egalitarian.

2.1.3.2.7 Endoglossic vs. exoglossic LPO

An endoglossic LPO model is the one in which an indigenous language plays an official role in a country while an exoglossic LPO model is the one in which a foreign language plays the official role in a given country (Lopes, 2004:156). In some countries, mixed

form of the two is observed. Ethiopia is an endoglossic LPO country. There is no foreign language taking a practical official role in Ethiopia. English is an important language of science, technology and international relations. It is also the MoI in high schools and beyond. Yet, English cannot be taken as a true official language of Ethiopia.

2.1.3.2.8 Territorial vs. personality-based LPO

This LPO model is based on whether or not there is a clear territorial demarcation along linguistic lines (Cartwright, 2006:202-203). If the geopolitical map of a country is drawn along ethno-linguistic line for LPO designation, then that yields territorial LPO; however, if territory is not a factor for LPO, then the policy would be non-territorial. Some linguists also call non-territorial LPO as personal LPO. This means citizens are not bound by the linguistic geography they find themselves in to communicate. The current Ethiopian LPO is predominantly of territorially-based.

2.1.3.3 Language-in-education policy

Education is a domain where a state gets unparalleled opportunity of shaping the psycho-social behavior of young generation after a specific socio-political and economic orientation (Ferguson, 2006:33-34). Since this behavioral molding is carried out through language, language comes to center stage as a policy matter. Education could help construct national identity in a given country (Oslen & Oslen, 2014:35), and language is apparently a very important ingredient of such national identity construction (Joseph, 2010:15-16). Therefore, the role of language in education is imperative in the overall study of LPO. The most common issues raised in connection to language-in-education policy are 1) the choice of MoI, 2) mother-tongue education and 3) the status of second language as to when, how, for whom and at what level it is delivered (Ferguson, 2006:34-35).

There exists a complex link between language and education. Language, in all its forms, affects and is affected by education (Hornberger, 1996:449). Subtractive teaching, for instance, leads to subtractive bilingualism which in turn leads to linguistic assimilation, as children are made to acquire a dominant language at the expense of their mother-tongue (Sktnabb-Kngas, 2006:282). Additive teaching leads to additive bilingualism which in turn leads to integration as children acquire dominant languages while

maintaining their mother-tongues (Skutnabb-Kngas, 2006:282). Additive teaching fosters bilingualism while subtractive teaching facilitates language shift through linguistic assimilation.

In relation to subtractive teaching, there are several phases of linguistic assimilation; these are 1) incipient 2) progressive 3) integral 4) residual 5) unilingualism (Mackey, 2005:1304). These are the phases of transitional bilingualism observed in multilingual societies where linguistic assimilation is taking place in an educational settings. Of course, it may take a generation for each of these phases to occur though there are possibly other factors speeding up the process of shifting (Mackey, 2005:1304).

There are pedagogical, psychological and political premises justifying the necessity of mother-tongue education, particularly for the empowerment of minor ethno-linguistic groups (Hoben, 1994:182). Through mother-tongues, children can easily conceptualize the world around them, and this enhances the development of their cognition. The placement of a child in a linguistically alien educational setting leads the child to linguistic isolation, and psychological and functional dislocations (Abraham, 1983:29). Hence, empowering minor ethno-linguistic groups, politically, to participate in the process of building a pluralist nation is achieved through letting them use their languages in educational settings.

Education is one of the most important domains where linguistic assimilation can take place (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:277). As stated earlier, subtractive bilingualism occurs when minorities are coerced to use dominant languages in an educational setting as the expense of their L₁. In the context of Sub-Saharan Africa, where heteroglossia is a norm (Chumbow, 2009:22), and where there is a plethora of minor ethno-linguistic groups, symmetric LRs to mother-tongue education is very difficult if not impossible. This difficulty of assuring symmetric LRs to mother-tongue education creates a suitable environment for subtractive education in many parts of the continent.

2.1.3.4 Language planning (LPL)

LPL¹² is a conscious effort of enhancing language use behavior of a certain ethno-linguistic group; it deals with the functional distributions, structures and acquisitions of languages (Cooper, 1989:45). Languages can be planned by individuals, statesmen, politicians, institutions, literary personality's socio/linguists and other interested parties (Bianco, 2010:152). The changes introduced by LPL in a given sociolinguistic setting ranges from linguistic structure to extra-linguistic levels such as status and function. The central driving force behind LPL is mainly an endeavor of solving language-related problems in a given society. Hence, given the gravity of language-based disputes leading to conflicts, the subject of LPL is more important in multilingual countries like Ethiopia than the monolingual ones. There are several goals of LPL in different societies. The following Table presents 11 most common LPL goals.

Table 12: The 11 most common LPL goals

No.	Language planning goals	Description
1.	Purification	• Remove foreign elements
2.	Revival	• Restore a dying language
3.	Reform	• Improve effectiveness
4.	Standardization	• Make a language acceptable
5.	Spread	• Expand a language
6.	Modernization (lexical)	• Create terminology
7.	Unification (terminology)	• Standardize existing terminology
8.	Simplification (stylistic)	• Make language comprehensible
9.	Inter-lingual communication	• Translation and interpretation
10.	Language maintenance	• Preserve the use of a language
11.	Auxiliary code standardization	• Create language use norms

(Source: Nahir (1984) cited in Tonkin (2006:122-123))

As indicated in table 12, a language can be planned for various purposes. Some planners target removing foreign elements from a certain language. Other planners have the intentions standardizing, i.e. reforming, improving and expanding languages. This is part of the endeavor of modernizing a language for better philosophical, scientific and

¹²The term LPL is frequently used alternatively with the term LPO in the literature of sociolinguistics (Orman, 2008:40).

technological uses. In addition, language preservations and maintenances are also important goals of LPL.

Convincingly, LPL can be taken as a practical realization of LPO (Apple & Muysken, 2005:47). The planning part involves the translation into practice of the theoretical set of conceptual principles enlisted at policy level. Tonkin (2006:121-122) states that LPO and LPL are interactive in that though LPO leads to LPL while the other way round is also possible. Also, language practice might be a source of ideas for LPO design. On top of that, the process of LPL involves identity planning (Orman, 2008:44). That means, identity manipulation and restructuring are the inevitable outcomes of the process of LPL.

There are three basic components of LPL; these are status, corpus and acquisition plannings (Millar, 2005:99). These components of LPL are complementary. And they encompass language-related planning activities involving the choice of language/language variety, followed by its internal corporal expansion and its acquisition-expansion through teaching or decentralization.

The first component, status planning, primarily extra-corporal in character, deals with the relationship between languages or varieties of a language. It is concerned with functional allocation of languages, in different domains in a society, and their legal official choices (Bianco, 2010:144; Ferguson, 2006:20). In status planning, the decisions of the status of languages, though mostly political than sociolinguistic, are made and ethno-linguistic groups' values are compromised (Meyerhoff, 2006:103). This is because status planning involves sociolinguistic changes that affect members of different ethno-linguistic groups in different ways. In an educational domain, the choice of MoI and a foreign language for different purposes, is part of status planning (Tonkin, 2006:127).

As part of status planning, language choice is also a matter of policy in LD countries (Esman, 1992:382). It requires making informed and sound decisions from the part of policy makers. According to Ferguson (1996:272), language choice in an LD setting needs to consider three fundamental requirements, 1) national unity and national identity, 2) access to modern science and technology and 3) international communication. The major challenge here is that the choice of a national language is a very difficult issue in

multilingual settings, especially in postcolonial African countries (Tonkin, 2006:124), for it has always been difficult to get a language of such character at hand.

The second component, corpus planning, deals with the internal structural development of a language variety. It specifically involves the efforts of lexical expansion, elaboration, modernization, standardization and graphization, i.e. the designation of writing systems (Ferguson, 2006:21; Tonkin, 2006:125). Lexical expansion and elaboration involve the creation of new words to enrich a language while modernization and standardizations enhance the capacity of a language to embody sophisticated concepts of science and technology and its harmonized and easy use. In addition, corpus planning is concerned with the development of internal structural aspects of a language such as lexis, phonology, morphology and how these grammatical elements are represented (Millar, 2005:100).

The designation of a writing system is part of corpus planning. It requires both psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic criteria for determining the efficiency of the script. The ease of productive and receptive skills, excluding listening in the latter case, and the adoption and reproduction of texts using the orthography comprise psycholinguistic aspect (Cooper, 1989:126). Politics and religion, as extralinguistic factors, definitely have huge impacts on the acceptance and rejection of a given writing system in relation to its sociolinguistic dimensions (Cooper, 1989:126). These two major factors have influenced script choice and designation of a writing system for many languages in many countries, including in Ethiopia.

Script choice is more than just reducing a language into writing system; it is rather indexical of politico-historical and cultural identity of a people (Schieffelin, 1994:65 cited in Suleiman, 2006:54). According to Suleiman (2006:53), the choice and designation of orthography are one of the ways of manifesting linguistic national identity differences. Using a common script is instrumental in building collective identity and maintaining mutual intelligibility among different language speakers through fusion, not fission (Suleiman, 2006:53). The use of a common writing system in China for its different languages is an instance of fusion here.

In Ethiopia, the issue of script choice and reform is deeply contentious. For instance, reforming the Ethiopic writing system has been debated among Ethiopian Orthodox Church and some conservative Ethiopian intellectuals on one side and progressive Ethiopian sociolinguists on the other side. However, the attempt to reform the Ethiopic writing system remained unsuccessful. Part of the cause of the failure of such reformist endeavor is the link between the writing system and national identity. The conservatives believe script reform obliterates national identity.

In a similar vein, appropriateness of the adoption of the Roman-based writing system for Ethiopian languages is being debated. The opponents of the adoption of the Roman-based writing system for languages like Afan Oromo base their arguments primarily on the premise of national identity. They also strongly believe that using Roman-based script for Ethiopian languages like Afan Oromo is not workable, for it is linguistically distant and confusing, and it could also consolidate inequalities among the ethno-linguistic groups (Teshome, 1999:78). However, pro- Roman-based Ethiopian linguists argue against the use of the Ethiopic writing system on the basis of some linguistic premises. Tilahun (1988:131-137), for example, argued in favor of Roman-based for Afan Oromo, stating that Latin 1) is widely used 2) is non-syllabary 3) alleviates ambiguity and 4) resolves problems of gemination and vowel length in Afan Oromo.

The third component of LPL, acquisition planning¹³, deals with the spread of a language/dialect among speakers or the teaching and the learning of a language (Millar, 2005:100; Tonkin, 2006:127). It is concerned with the expansion of a language or language variety either through written mode or broadcast so that a large number of people use it. Acquisition planning has played a significant role in the modernist project of building a nation with aggressive expansion of a single language at the national level (Orman, 2008:44). Here, the present linguistic map of Africa, due to the legacy of the colonial expansion of Euro-phones through acquisition planning, is a clear indication of how acquisition planning can change the linguistic map of a given geopolitical boundary.

¹³ Language-in-education policy is used synonymously with acquisition planning (Tonkin, 2006: 127).

Both acquisition and status planning are intertwined in that acquisition planning can be taken as the most developed form of status planning (Millar, 2005:100). In other words, the two LPL components are on the same continuum that acquisition planning is the expansion-oriented extension of status planning. Also, the status of a language might be a driving force for language acquisition as people mostly prefer to acquire a language just because of its socioeconomic and political status. What is more, the element of status planning is observed in the corporal aspect of LPL.

According to Mutasa (2006:121), there are two models of LPL: 1) the planning model and 2) the problem-oriented rational model. The planning model has two major components: a) policy formulation and b) policy implementation. The policy formulation part comprises fact-finding, policy decision-making, policy implementation outlines, and cost-benefit analysis while the policy implementation stage involves codification, elaboration, reform, dissemination and evaluation (Mutasa, 2006:121). The other model is the problem-oriented rational model of LPL which also comprises a series of steps. These are: 1) identifying the problem or fact-finding, 2) goal specification or policy formulation, 3) cost-benefit analysis or demonstrating cost alternatives, 4) implementation and evaluation, i.e. comparison of prediction of the actual outcomes (Bianco, 2010:152-153). A sound LPL designation requires these steps to be carefully perused.

2.1.3.5 Language rights (LRs)¹⁴

LRs mainly concern minor ethno-linguistic groups and is viewed in non-universal and culturally situated contexts (Paulston, 1997:73). Hence, explanations pertinent to the issue of LR's need to be context-bound, i.e. practical sociolinguistic factors as well as socio-historical, political and economic relations among ethno-linguistic groups need to be examined in LR's decision. The monolingual ideological orientation of the Eurocentric LR's cannot be made operational in heteroglossic contexts.

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2006:274), there are two notions of LR's: instrumental and expressive rights. Instrumental rights refer to LR's on the basis of functional roles of

¹⁴ The terms 'linguistic human rights', 'linguistic rights' and 'LR's' are frequently used interchangeably in sociolinguistics (Paulston, 1997: 73-75). The scholar has indicated that linguistic rights is more of emic which means it is pragmatically bound to a sociolinguistic context while linguistic human rights is abstract and universal. The former notion is considered in the context of this research.

languages while expressive rights are the rights of ethno-linguistic groups to make sure that their sentimental linguistic symbols are respected and preserved (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:274). Integrated, these rights provide a clear image of the whole picture of LRs. That is to say, the LRs decision in multilingual settings needs to join the two dimensions in contextually workable manner. Individual, collective, and territorial (based on a defined geography) LRs are necessary principal legal fundamentals in LPO (Paulston, 1997:80). Many countries have some or all of these cherished rights enshrined in their constitutions. However, compared to group-based LRs, individual LRs are difficult to realize (Wright, 2007:204). Ethiopia, presently, is practicing collective territoriality-based, not personally-based, LRs.

LRs are mostly granted at a group level since the group's survival is inherently valuable (Lagerspetz, 1998:191). These rights enable minor¹⁵ ethno-linguistic groups maintain and preserve their languages. For proper integration, minor groups' individual (personal) and collective (territorial) rights are equally necessary prerequisites (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:286). Here, territorial right is bound by a given geographic territory while personal right is based on individual's linguistic capacity (McRae, 1975, cited in Paulston, 1997:79). Some LRs scholars, nonetheless, believe that individual rights are fulfilled within the context of group rights.

Positive LRs involve the freedom of using languages for identity preservation and advancement while negative rights are non-discriminatory (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:283). In most cases, positive rights are assured to larger national minorities while minor groups are expected to settle for toleration-oriented negative rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:284). While positive promotion-oriented rights are integrative, negative toleration-oriented rights may lead to assimilation (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:284).

The protection of LRs of ethno-linguistic groups could help maintain LD, design sound minority LPO, promote integration, avoid coercive assimilation and language death and prevent linguistic conflicts (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:286). Hence, the protection of LRs

¹⁵The word 'minor', in the present orientation, has to do broadly with power than demography; the term finds its power-based conceptual root in the emergence of European nationalism of the late 18th and early 19th century (Hamdesa, 1992:271). According to this scholar, minorities are groups marginalized based on social, economic, cultural and skin color factors, not to mention language.

contributes significantly to the enterprise of building a pluralist nation-state in multilingual settings. Wright (2007:204) also stresses that the assurance of collective LRs entails the realization of personal LRs. However, the present researcher is quite skeptical of this as individual rights might be stifled through the taking of collective rights as a pretext.

In relation to education, LRs chiefly comprise double rights: the right to basic education through one's mother-tongue and the right to the acquisition of an official language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:280). That is to say, in educational settings, the matter of LRs holds true not just in relation to the preservation of minor languages but also in the acquisition of an official language¹⁶ or languages of a certain country. The absence of a right to education in one's mother-tongue might result in subtractive education where students use a certain dominant language at the expense of their mother-tongues (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:277). In such settings, the contact between a dominant language and a minor language might result in a transitory situation of diaglossia followed by the gradual replacement of the mother-tongue by the dominant language.

2.1.3.6 Basic notions of nation-building

Notions such as *nation*, *ethnic-nation*, *nationalism*, *state* and *nation-state* are tough to define. Outlining the conceptual map of those notions is an indispensable prerequisite in the context of the present research. Therefore, clarifying these concepts as much as possible would help readers of this dissertation to understand the idea of nation-building in order to map the conceptual synergy between LPP and the process of nation-building.

The word nation in its original sense refers to people with defining characters such as single ethnicity, common descent, shared history, shared culture, single religion, single language, clear territorial border, centralized bureaucracy and determined people's consciousnesses and affections of those things (Simpson, 2007:2; Omoniyi, 2010:242). This definition embodies the central characters of a nation ranging from the physical to psychological scope. The term nation in its Eurocentric sense is rooted in the race-centered Medieval notion; for instance, as "the nation of English" referring to the British

¹⁶An official language is "A linguistic variety that has been chosen as a medium for all official, government businesses" (Meyerhoff, 2006: 293).

race (Quirk, 2000:4). The term is basically a European construct was imposed on Africa (Omoniyi, 2010:242).

There are two types of nations: ethnic nation and official (civic) nation (Phillipson, 2003:44). An ethnic-nation consists of a group of people with common defining characters differentiating them from other groups which also have their own collective and distinctive attributes. An ethnic-nation is the narrower version of a nation as opposed to an official nation which is defined along wider territorial bases (Kellas, 1998 & Guibernau, 1996 cited in Simpson, 2007:3). In a multilingual setting, an ethnic-nation can gain the status of being an official nation¹⁷ upon securing territorial independence (Simpson, 2007:3).

Nations are mobilized by ideological driving force of nationalism which plays a pivotal role of rallying people behind a collective cause through eliciting their affections and connections to their collective past (Seyoum, 1997:179). Here, it should, in fact, be made clear that nationalism could be either ethnic-centered or state-centered (Esman, 1992:393). Ethnic nationalism¹⁸ is often born out of a reaction against multiethnic state. It has been the most powerful global political force for the past two hundred years (Quirk, 2000:4). The most common forms of ethnic nationalism are the ones that emerged out of a reaction against states' dominations, cases in point are Flanders–Belgium, Catalonia–Spain, Québec–Canada.

The word state is the other important notion here. The difference between the terms state and nation is not crystal clear in the literature of sociolinguistics. A state may or may not be a nation. Sometimes it is presented as multinational, comprising several ethnic nations within its borders, and sometimes it is presented as a homogenous political entity. This lack of conceptual clarity most of the time subjects sociolinguistic researchers to the

¹⁷ The word “nation” is used in the context of this research to denote the concept of “official nation”. It refers to nation as in Ethiopia, the multi-ethnic state. It is not used in the sense of ethnic nation.

¹⁸ Nationalism in the context of this research refers to “state-centered nationalism”, not “ethnic nationalism”.

misuse of the concept of Eurocentric linguistic nationalism¹⁹ (i.e. the one language nationalism) in the African contexts of multinational states.

There are three common types of state: 1) homogeneous state, predominantly made up of one ethno-linguistic group, e.g. China and Japan 2) dyadic/triadic state, consisting of two or three ethno-linguistic groups with relatively equal demography and power, e.g. Switzerland, Belgium and Fiji, Canada, and 3) mosaic/poly-ethnic state, large number of ethno-linguistic groups, e.g. Nigeria and India (Spolsky, 2004:58). Ethiopia falls under the third category of states as it is multiethnic geopolitical entity in African. The struggle between ethnic nations and multiethnic states are so enormous in mosaic states than it is in the preceding two. Ethiopia has never been an exception in this particular regard.

Multilingual states frequently compel their ethno-linguistic groups to engage in the process of building nation-states through coercive means of assimilation, material incentives and other cultural means (Hippler, 2005a:10). As a sovereign entity, ‘nation-state’ (Blommaert, 2006:238-239), comprises the elements of both state and nation. The nation-state politics is the most important force that made the spread of the idea of national languages possible over a vast range of global geography (Haarmann, 2005:1655).

These days, globalization keeps blurring boundaries of nations within states through communicative integration, advanced by scientific and technological revolutions. The traditional boundaries of nations, not states, are under the pressure of globalization in the present world order (Blommaert, 2006:240). Moreover, the present process of urbanization and industrialization run by centralized administrations are obscuring regional disparities (Hoffmann, 1991:229). In Africa, after the colonial creation of official multilingual states, there seems to be a tendency among the leaders towards strengthening the construction of multi-ethnic states through holding back ethnically-based nationalist political aspirations.

¹⁹ Linguistic nationalism is a term mostly used synonymously with monoglot nationalism. It is a nationalist project based on just one language which is presumed to be the uniting force of people under the banner of nation.

2.1.3.7 The idea of nation-building

Nation-building is the process of creating socially, politically, culturally and economically integrated society (Hippler, 2001:6). It is intended to craft a unified community of people, cherishing some collective features of solidarity. However, it can also be used as an ideological tool for maintaining coerced unity among diverse ethno-linguistic groups (Hippler, 2005b:6). For instance, in the former Soviet Union, the Stalinist centralized state administration strongly discouraged regional socioeconomic and cultural autonomy destroying regional and national balance built on the Leninist principles (Haarmann, 2005:1663). This Stalinist aggressive Russification ended up in the genesis and consolidation of ethnic nationalist attitudes which later led to the disintegration of the union's political borders (Haarmann, 2005:1663). Consequently, the non-Russian speaking people have built republics like Estonia, Belarus, Armenia, Kirghizistan, etc. with the emergence of their own respective national languages (Haarmann, 2005:1663).

In the context of the immediate post-colonial Africa, there was a general tendency of building a common national identity with a single most widely spoken language as a prerequisite (Bokamba, 2008:233). The then modern language planners have suggested the imposition of such a Eurocentric monoglot ideology of nation-building (Tonkin, 2006:125-126). The project of the construction of 'linguistic nation', to borrow Hoffmann's (1991:227) term, considers multilingualism as a threat to national integration (Heller, 2006:157). Hence, such a nation-building endeavor did not work out in Africa, for it had overlooked the socio-culturally diversified scenery of the continent (Ferguson, 2006:2&3).

LD per se has been taken among many intellectuals as chaotic (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:279). However, it is not diversity per se but the way it is handled that most frequently triggers political chaos. In Africa, one of the factors that prohibit the endeavor of nation-building is this negative attitude that the intellectuals have toward LD. Many scholars believe that LD is the reason for Africa's poverty. The nexus between LD and poverty in Africa is profoundly debated. Yet, no economic data supporting the link have so far been unveiled (Laiti, 1992: 159). Conversely, linguistically homogenous, in a

relative sense, countries in Africa like Rwanda, Burundi and Somalia are the poorest ones in a relative sense (Brenzinger, 2009:41).

The failure of the one-language-one-nation approach to nation-building in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1960s and 70s gave birth to the emergence ethno-nationalist movements leading to political struggles for independence across many countries of the continent (Obeng & Adgbija, 1999:357) with native languages being among central ingredients of such movements (Hoffmann, 1991:239). Ethiopia has never been an exception in this particular regard, for it has also given birth to several ethnic based political movements. The most challenging questions in poly-ethnic states is how “... to forge a shared, unifying national identity between diverse ethno-linguistic groups” (Orman, 2008:56).

There are three essential measurements for the success or failure of a certain project of nation-building within a given political context: 1) unity 2) ideological persuasion and 3) societal integration (Hippler, 2005a:7). Thus the principal intention of the process of nation-building is to create a unified society through persuading the members about the gains they may enjoy from social, political and economic integrations. Meeting these requirements makes the process of nation-building successful. Generally, three different models of nation-building were witnessed in human history, 1) hierarchic 2) assimilation and 3) pluralist (Pfaff-Czamecka, 2005:29).

In hierarchic process, differences were maintained and mixes were not allowed. This process of nation-building was based on strict social categorizations among people (Pfaff-Czamecka, 2005:29). The Jim Crow law in the USA and the Apartheid system in South Africa were among the examples of the hierarchic model of nation-building. Such a process is no more explicitly practiced on the globe these days.

Under assimilationist paradigm, ethno-linguistic groups are subjected to the obliteration of socio-cultural identities in the name of national integration. Hegemonic in character (Orman, 2008:51), assimilation require minor groups to adopt the so called standard, universal and non-ethnic values and identities of the dominant group (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999:45). This process of nation-building has a huge power of homogenization through creating a monolingual society of communication (Wright, 2004:81). The

homogenization process is mostly triggered by state's desire of undermining/repressing natural differences.

Assimilation is a modernist course of nation-building (Pfaff-Czamecka 2005:30-31), and it emerged out of the European monolithic traditional world view. It involves 1) the loss of one's distinguishing material or non-material traits, and 2) the adoption of others' distinctive material or non-material traits (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:282). Languages are easy preys of assimilation (Esman, 1992:384). In linguistic assimilation, minor language speakers, deprived of their LRs, are compelled to speak the languages of the dominant group (Hoffmann, 1991:215). Minor language speakers could be directly/ indirectly compelled to acquire a dominant language at the expense of their own native language.

Assimilation generally targets the promotion of cultural/linguistic homogeneity through the disappearance of linguistic and cultural fault-lines. It endorses conformity and homogenization (Hoffmann, 1991:235). It undermines and discourages diversity, systematically disregarding minor languages and cultures and their contributions to the target nation's history and replacing them with elitist cultural norms (Pfaff-Czamecka 2005:31). Hence, the loss of linguistic identity is indispensable and unavoidable in assimilation-oriented nation-building process.

The pro-assimilation linguists, however, argue that multilingualism hinders minor language speakers from enjoying socioeconomic and political rights (Schmidt, 2006:104). Assimilation, they point out, creates a unified national/political community paying allegiance to a state through a strong and cohesive national language (Esman, 1992:382; Wright, 2004:42). They argue that minorities, failing to assimilate, may risk socioeconomic and political exclusion. Hence, they regard national language as a mark of belongingness, they promote the so called the ideal model, one-nation-one-language policy.

However, assimilation excludes minorities from national public domains leading to the pejorative portrayals of their cultures and weakened roles in the sociocultural and economic realities of their countries (Pfaff-Czamecka, 2005:32). The struggle for independence made by ethno-linguistic groups in multinational states were the most

powerful manifestation of the formers' dissatisfaction. This dissatisfaction later on paved the way for the rise of a new political discussion and order of the pluralist paradigm of multi-ethnic nation-building.

Generally, the 'only-one-language model' of building a nation was politically unfeasible in multi-ethnic states (Orman, 2008:52). According to Quirk (2000:6), the 'one nation-one language' model is far from being the norm. The birth of multilingual and multiethnic ideological movements has been brought about due to the failure of the assimilationist project of nation-building in many parts of the world. The currently cherished paradigm of nation-building, the pluralist integration, has been born out of the dissatisfaction of the excluded minorities stranded within the assimilationist states (Pfaff-Czamecka, 2005:32).

The emergence of ethnicity as a critical component of the nationalist political equation of 1970s has resulted in far-reaching institutional reforms with new concepts challenging the traditional assimilationist notion of nation-building (Pfaff-Czamecka, 2005:28). Ethno-linguistic groups were put in a better position in terms of negotiating an inclusive structure in the national political apparatus. This led to the constitutional reformulation of many countries, *including Ethiopia*, in the 1990s, with states' central power fiercely negotiated (Pfaff-Czamecka, 2005:28-29, *emphasis added*).

National identity can be realized without there being a single language to express and represent that identity. Switzerland with its quadrilingual LPO and Belgium with its bilingual LPO and South Africa with its multilingual LPO (11 official languages) set good examples of 'one-nation with many official languages' (Quirk, 2000:6). In an inclusive process of nation-building in which a "...political community in multi-ethnic polities does not require cultural assimilation or single vehicle of communication, minorities should not be asked or expected to sacrifice their culture, including their LRs" began surfing the intellectual political discourse (Esman, 1992:393). That was the reason why a society embracing the normative nature of LD is on the rise.

To resolve the challenges of ethnic conflicts in multilingual settings, federalist state structure was put in place (Pfaff-Czamecka, 2005:36). Federal states are meant to address the minority rights (Hoffmann, 1991:232). However, according to Esman (1992:387),

federal structure itself cannot be entirely conflict-free. The nature of the system, i.e. whether the structure is asymmetrical or symmetrical, determines the degree to which the challenges emerging out of ethnic relations are addressed (Pfaff-Czamecka 2005:36). Asymmetrical federalism mostly poses ethnic conflict, even growing to the extent of secession, as some members of the federation might develop a sense of being alienated.

Recall that language has been the most powerful force mobilizing most secession movements that have emerged out of nation-states or empires in the past (Quirk, 2000:7). The role language plays are vivid in the modern day political struggle observed among the Basques and Catalonians in Spain. The question here is how the link between LPP and nation-building could be explained. The following section turns to this topic.

2.1.3.8 The nexus between LPP and nation-building

A language is an integral component of the process of nation-building. Of course, nationalism as an ideological tool of nation-building does not necessarily require linguistic homogeneity. Successful nations like Switzerland [with four languages] have proven that a nation-state with different languages is possible (Quirk, 2000:6). The role a language plays in the process of nation-building depends on what the language means to a linguistic groups. For some ethno-linguistic groups, especially in Africa, a language can be a salient marker of group/ethnic identities; in such cases, languages is must-be-considered issue in the process of nation-building.

The link between LPP and the process of nation-building goes back to the history of European nationalism (Ferguson, 2006:17). The conception of strong association between language and nationalism, hatched within the context of European nationalist discourse, has spread its influence into developing LD countries. The modernist nation-building process with centralized national policy formulation has been adopted to the African context following the end of colonialism (Laitin, 1992:150). Consequently, the one-language-one-nation ideology was applied by many of the then novice African leaders out of the belief that multilingualism was detrimental to development.

The opponents of LD believe that it is not cost-effective to promote LD in the African context continent. However, no empirical evidence proving this claim has hitherto been

availed in the African context (Brenzinger, 2009:41). It rather appears that dealing with linguistic conflicts is costlier than promoting LD. Designing an LPO that could help build viable nation-states in Africa has always been a challenge. LD does not merit blame for that. To reject LD is "... like claiming that having two legs and five fingers is more complicated than having one" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:279). The crux of the matter is that colonial sociolinguistic legacy has left behind the present LPO challenges in Africa.

As to Laitin (1992:149), language-related problems in Africa are the reflections of the continent's inability to maintain cultural independence. The obsession with the Western identities is the cause of the continent's present sociolinguistic crises. Particularly, the consideration of Western languages as uniting forces, by African leaders, in the process of nation-building (Obeng & Adegbiya, 1999:356) comprises the core problem. Hence, this notion of nation-building paved the way for the ex-colonial languages to assume highest sociolinguistic domains in Africa in the name of ethnic neutrality.

The idea of the ethnic neutrality of the ex-colonial languages in Africa was brought into play primarily for the purpose of de-politicization of languages and getting rid of them from the public agenda (Esman, 1992:386). However, even though the consideration of the ex-colonial languages as ideal means of nation-building temporarily reduced linguistic tensions, it did not help build a lasting socioeconomic equality among the African people; it rather served the interest of the few elites (Ferguson, 2006:2). It pushed millions of Africans out of socioeconomic and political enterprises of their own countries.

The creation of appropriate communicative infrastructure is imperative in the process of nation-building. However, in most state-induced processes of nation-building, social mobilizations are top-down. Consequently, people fail to participate in national political matters. To deal with such situations, LPO designation needs to target both top-down and bottom-up information flow facilitating national integration (Chumbow, 2009:35) through maintaining communication beyond ethno-linguistic lines. This is very important in the process of nation-building in a multilingual setting.

Linguistic pluralism refers to the use of two or more languages (Mackey, 2005:1304). It refers to ethno-linguistic groups' co-existence with the assurance of each language groups' LRs (Hoffmann, 1991:216). Linguistic pluralism is meant to "... ensure and guarantee a place in the sun for each ethno-linguistic community in the pluralistic national community" (Chumbow, 2009:20). The ideology of pluralism, not just in relation to LPP, but also in connection to other sociopolitical and economic dimensions, is generally considered very fitting to the African context (Chumbow, 2009:22).

The fundamental cause of LPO conflicts is identity politics (Ricento, 2006:6; Schmidt, 2006:98) as the sentimental aspect of language is the most powerful force behind language-driven identity politics. Therefore, an optimal LPO, where the minor ethno-linguistic groups' languages and cultures are developed, emphasizing on languages of wider functional significance, is a priority in national development program intended to ensure the participation of citizens in national political, social and economic lives (Mulugeta, 1984:334). Therefore, to realize minority's participation, a balance must be stricken between focusing on language of wider significance and developing minor languages.

At present, Sub-Saharan African countries are making attempts to build supra-ethnic nations guided by political ambitions transcending ethno-linguistic lines (Safran, 1999:81). Part of this endeavor is the formulation of inclusive and pluralistic LPO. However, the most daunting task of LPO formulation is mediating language use in the public and private domains to realize the principle of functional complementarities (Chumbow, 2009:22). A particular focus on languages of greater functional significance is necessary since it is not palatable to consider all and every languages for use.

In this respect, the three-plus-or-minus LPO model seems to be ideal to the context of African including Ethiopia. So far no single state in Africa has been effective in achieving this LPO model (Laitin, 1992:153). This LPO model is believed to be the most suitable for nation-building in sociolinguistic settings where LD is a norm as in Africa (Chumbow, 2009:22; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:280). However, the greatest challenge of employing the three-plus-or-minus LPO model is the politics surrounding the 'national' language of inter-ethnic link. No denying that the question of national language or

language of inter-ethnic link is a real challenge in Ethiopia. The following section is devoted to LPP vs. nation-building experiences of some selected developing multilingual countries.

2.1.3.9 Experiences of some developing multilingual countries

The study of LPP in a given country requires the description of sociolinguistic demography of speakers and their language use behaviors in domains such as education (as MOI), public spheres, mass media, and literature. Also, language attitude and the link between language and national consciousness are part of this description. Hence, the sociolinguistic profiles, language use practices and the role of languages in the process of nation-building of four developing countries-India, Nigeria, South Africa and Tanzania are discussed here.

2.1.3.9.1 India

India is a linguistically diverse country wherein Indo-Aryan languages and the sub-group of the Indo-European languages make the largest language group spoken (Amritavalli & Jayaseelan, 2007:55). According to the scholars, these language groups were introduced to the present geography of the country due to the southward migration of the Aryans; in fact, there were also Dravidian language speakers who have lived in the area since prior to the arrival of the Aryans. The link between language and the idea of nationhood was very important in India's struggle for independence from British colonialism (Amritavalli & Jayaseelan, 2007:55).

India's anti-colonial struggle, led by the country's west-educated intellectuals (Dave, 2007:21), have finally brought about its independence in 1947 (Dasgupta & Sardesai, 2010:82). Hindi was constitutionally declared India's national language that same year though its replacing of English, the ex-colonial language, was made to delay until 1965 (Dave, 2007:110). This was intended to facilitate the sociolinguistic infrastructure of the transition from the use of English, the ex-colonial language, to Hindi and eventually to construct a Hindi-based national identity in post-colonial India (Haarmann, 2005:1374). However, the plan was halted by regional oppositions (Laiti, 1992:69) and bureaucratic challenges, especially in schools and in mass media (Dave, 2007:107).

This was followed by postcolonial period of the 1960s which was a great moment of India's mainstream intellectual discourses and debates on the identification and promotion of a national language (Amritavalli & Jayaseelan, 2007:55). India has its states organized along ethnic lines (Laitin, 1992:155) and the present constitution of the country renders official status to 15 languages (Ferguson, 1991:86). Hence, it is a de jure multilingual state. However, the linguistic borders became sharp because of the purist orientation of the development of regional languages which resulted in the breakdown of the harmonious linguistic tradition of inter-ethnic communication (Dasgupta & Sardesai, 2010:82).

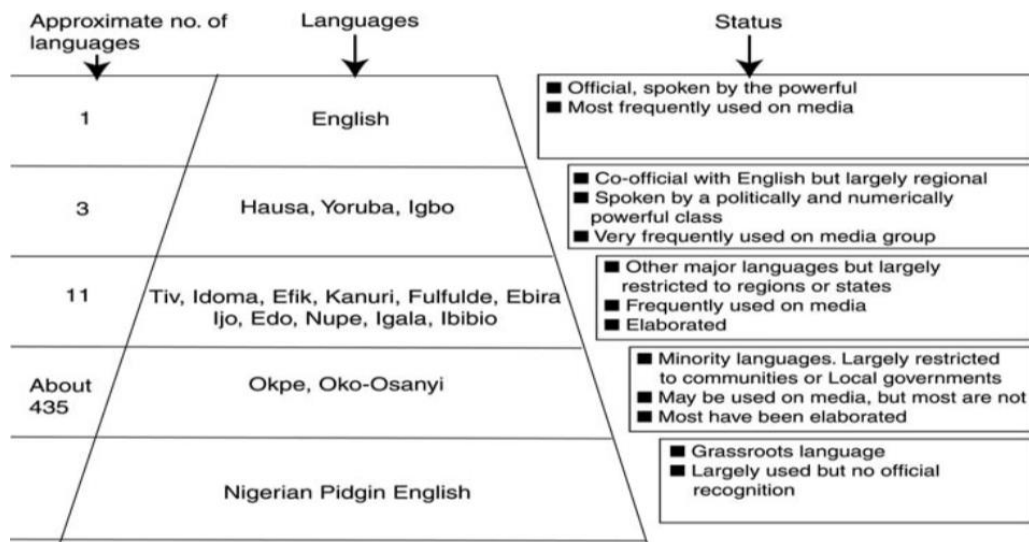
The post-independence Indian LPO, which envisaged Hindi, along with many provincial languages as a nationwide official language, faced opposition by non-Hindi speaking states (Schiffman, 1999:439-440). This led to the formulation of a compromise 'three-language-formula' (Schiffman, 1999:439-440). According to this formula, "...three languages would be taught at the secondary school level, i.e. English, the local languages, and Hindi; in Hindi areas, another Indian or European language would be taught" (Schiffman, 1999:439-440). However, this policy was not put into practice in schools, for regional languages were hindered not to spread beyond respective state boundaries (Sardesai, 2010:84). Hence, English, the ex-colonial language, got an advantage to flourish as a link language in India.

Presently, Hindi and English are the de facto nationwide languages of India (Laitin, 1992:38; Dasgupta & Sardesai, 2010:84). Most bilinguals in regional languages and Hindi/English have acquired such status from schools (Sardesai, 2010:84). Indian English is considered by many people as an Indian language because of long entrenched colonial history; some even go to the extent of identifying themselves with the language (Phillipson, 1999:108). Bilingualism was very common in urban areas, and language shift in favor of the dominant regional languages was also pervasive among minor linguistic groups (Dasgupta & Sardesai, 2010:83). Generally, India was considered more or less successful in implementing three-plus-or-minus LPO (Laitin, 1992:155).

2.1.3.9.2 Nigeria

Nigeria is a multilingual West African state comprising about 500 languages (Omoniyi, 2010:245). The present geopolitical shape of Nigeria came out in 1914 as the British merged the Southern and the Northern protectorates (Omoniyi, 2010:40). Nigerian languages are genetically classified into phyla of Niger-Congo, Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan (Adebija, 2004:183). Demographically, they are classified into majority languages, major state languages and substrate group of languages. Some linguists, for instance Adebija (2004:183), categorize the languages of Nigeria into: endoglossic, exoglossic and contact languages, pidgins and creoles. The endoglossic group comprises native languages; the exoglossic set includes the ex-colonial languages, especially English, while the hybrid languages fit into the contact language category. The following figure illustrates the statuses of Nigerian languages.

Figure 1: Approximate hierarchical representations of Nigeria languages



(Source: adopted from Adebija, 2004:190)

The figure, seen top-down, shows that English, taking over the national media, is the most powerful official language of Nigeria. The following three major languages: Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo, regionally limited in status, are co-official with English and are spoken by the regional powerful class. These languages are also used in media in Nigeria. The next category of languages, approximately numbered 11, do have their roles limited to their respective regions as well. They are relatively major languages, though not as major

as Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa. These languages are elaborated in status and are used in the state media. About 450 languages of Nigeria make the next category in the figure. They are minor community-level languages, many of which are not elaborated, and very few of which are used in the media. Nigerian Pidgin English, officially unrecognized though widely spoken in the country, is limited to the lower function of social strata.

The speakers of the three major languages of Nigeria: Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo, all summed up, account for about 52% of the population of the country; the remaining are not numerically strong each (Adegbija, 2004:181). The demographic strength of these languages gave them the status of “major languages”. The story of Nigerian language choice disputes and national identity dynamics predominantly revolves around these three major languages. The link between language and ethno-linguistic identity is very political in Nigeria, and state-nationalism is a mere political expression (Omoniyi, 2010:237&:246). That is the reason the question of language choice was the most serious problem in this country. In 1979, Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo were constitutionally declared to be the official languages of Nigeria (Haarmann, 2005:1372). Yet, it turned out to be difficult for Nigerians to accept this LPO. Then, the endeavor of building a Nigerian nation with indigenous national languages was halted by rising regional consciousness (Laitin, 1992:127).

There has been a history of linguistic conflicts among the major and the minor language speakers on national language choice. Since the promotion of the three dominant languages has raised fierce debates and conflicts, the country had resorted to the official use of the ex-colonial language, English, in the name of ethnic neutrality. Thus, English, the ex-colonial language, seized the opportunity of re-controlling the different sociolinguistic domains of the public life in Nigeria (Adegbija, 2004:181). Indeed, as opposed to indigenous languages, English was positively viewed in Nigeria, and this paved it a way to assume the highest status of being the language of science, technology and education in Nigeria. This makes Nigeria an exemplary country in Africa when it comes to the challenges of language choice in postcolonial setting.

2.1.3.9.3 South Africa

The history of language contact in South Africa goes back to the time of the arrival of the Dutch settlers in 1652 (Kamuangamalu, 2004:243). This was followed, after sometimes, by the settlement of Scandinavians, Germans and again the Dutch, the French and the British (Orman, 2008:78-80). Consequently, the identity of South Africa as a nation was the product of the engineering of multiple socio-cultural ingredients. There are about 25 languages spoken in South Africa (Baldauf and Kaplan, 2004:10) with Afrikaans and English being the most important languages for a long period of time. Afrikaans evolved from the Dutch, the ex-colonial language (Kamuangamalu, 2004:199&204) while English was introduced to South Africa with the coming of the British colonizers. English, though spoken as L₁ only by 7% of South Africans, is the most important language of socialization in South Africa (Makoe, 2014:656).

In South Africa, overt manifestations of racial segregations began with the beginning of separate schools. This made education in English and Afrikaans serve the interest of the then racist system (Esman, 1992:387). In 1911, personality-based English-Afrikaans official bilingualism was enshrined in the constitution of South Africa, and it was applied all over the country until the officialization of the apartheid system in 1948 (Esman, 1992:387). Then, Afrikaans gained relatively stronger status after 1948. While Afrikaans was used in government's working domains, English served in business domains (Esman, 1992:387). This diaglossic situation kept on until the redesignation of the multilingual LPO in 1994, following the end of Apartheid.

Among the native South Africans, Afrikaans was considered to be the language of racial repression and exploitation because of its strong association with apartheid while English was taken as the language of freedom (Phillipson, 1999:104). This perception made English, for not being identified with apartheid (Meyerhoff, 2006:277), the most important language in the struggle against racism in South Africa. The Soweto uprising of the 1976, where black South African students have rejected using Afrikaans as MoI (Laitin, 1992:135; Meyerhoff, 2006:277), confirmed this attitude.

With the fall of Apartheid, eleven official languages, including English and Afrikaans were chosen (Phillipson, 1999:104). The added nine indigenous languages were Sepedi,

Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, siNdebele, isiXhosa, and isiZulu (Moodley, 2009:22-23). More than 98% of South Africans speak any one of these languages (Kamuangamalu, 2004:199). This official multilingual LPO has broadened sociolinguistic space of national engagement for a large number of South Africans.

South Africa's adoption of eleven official languages gained recognitions and stirred up interests among sociolinguists in other African countries (Busch, 2013:214). Especially, the re-consideration of Afrikaans and English, both of which were the former dominant languages, for official use of the new South African state proved that the post-apartheid LPO formulation was more of pragmatic than political. Hence, the current South African LPO was based on linguistic pluralism with multiple official languages (Meyerhoff, 2006:105). As a liberal model, it guarantees personal LRs. Besides, both the instrumental and sentimental aspects of the official languages are valued in the country's constitution (Meyerhoff, 2006:105).

The upholding of LD through its constitution and the choice of 11 official languages make South Africa exemplary in the continent (Ferguson, 2006:10, *emphasis added*). Another interesting LPO experience of South Africa is the establishment of an independent language board to develop both official and non-official languages of the country (Meyerhoff, 2006:105). However, no denying that there are still sociolinguistic inequalities in South Africa. There are minor languages that are not officially recognized. Also, there are some mismatches between LPO and language practices in South African (Baldauf & Kaplan, 2004:10). This suggests that South Africa has a remaining business of handling its minor groups' LRs issues in the future (Meyerhoff, 2006:105).

The history of language-in-education policy of South Africa is generally viewed in three historic socioeconomic and political moments of the country: the pre-apartheid years, the apartheid years, and the post-apartheid years. In the pre-apartheid years, the concern was primarily with the Afrikaners' struggle against the British policy of Anglicization. The apartheid period was considered the zenith of Afrikaans. During this period, the Afrikaners put in place Bantu Education Policy where the natives were made to acquire education through both English and Afrikaans (Kamwangamalu, 2004:223). This was done in an effort to equalize the status of Afrikaans to that of its rivalry, English. The

Apartheid education was generally described as a ground for inequality, discrimination and prejudices (Makoe, 2014:635). The third period was the post-apartheid one which was marked by the demise of apartheid and the installment of a new outcome-based educational curriculum (Kamuangamalu, 2004:223). The post-Apartheid education system of South Africa has the intension of integration, accommodation and the promotion of cultural diversity in schools (Makoe, 2014:655).

As regards to language-in-education policy, post-apartheid South Africa guarantees the provision of education to citizens in any of the official languages (Moodley, 2009:23). Hence, children have the right to education in the official language they choose. Of course, it cannot be argued that this policy is fully practiced either (Moodley, 2009:23-24). In HEIs domains, South Africa's Higher Education Act of 1997 granted rights to the country's HEIs the right to formulate and even publish their own LPOs (Moodley, 2009:23-24). As a result, there are some South African HEIs that have their own specific LPOs. This experience of HEIs' LPOs formulation is very rare in other African countries, and it is totally in-existent in Ethiopia.

2.1.3.9.4 Tanzania

Tanzania is a multilingual African country with about 130 ethnic groups; the largest L₁ is Wasukuma spoken by 5 million (Mafu, 2003:270). The ethno-linguistic groups are somehow numerically close to each other, none being dominant over the other (Temu, 1999:143). Tanzania had endured the colonial experiences of Germany (1885-1914) and Great Britain (1919-1961) (Higgins, 2010:216; Mafu, 2003:267). It gained independence from the British in 1961 (Tibategeza, 2010:227). Zanzibar, which was under Ottoman Arab Sultanates from 1652 to 1964 (Mafu, 2003:267), joined the mainland Tanzania in 1964 to form the present day Tanzania (Higgins, 2010:216). Then an established geopolitical border with nationwide lingua franca, Kiswahili, was created (Topan, 2008:252).

In Tanzania, about 120 languages are spoken (Higgins, 2010:216). Kiswahili is the national-official language spoken by 90% of the population of Tanzania (Laitin, 1992:104). During the colonial period (1890s-1961), Kiswahili was already established as a language of administration, education, media and scholarship in Tanzania. Over the

same period, English played a vertical role and Kiswahili a horizontal one (Topan, 2008:255). Kiswahili had gone through historic linguistic processes of de-Arabization and Bantuization by the missionaries' effort of translating the Bible (Topan, 2008:255).

Originally spoken on a very small island, Zanzibar, Kiswahili has horizontally advanced due to trade between the Arabs and the mainlanders through Zanzibar. Since Kiswahili was de-ethnicized, there is no specific and significant ethnic group that could claim the ownership of the language. Presently, Kiswahili is a cross-border language spoken in many Eastern and Central Africa countries such as Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, eastern Congo, the Comoros Island, parts of Somalia, Northern Mozambique, parts of Zambia, etc. (Temu, 1998:243; Topan, 2008:252).

Colonialism, with a tremendous footprints in the modern history of Tanzania, has its influence transcending the present sociolinguistic situation of the country. The Germans have used Kiswahili as a vernacular language, the language of the colony and a medium of formal western education for the indigenous people (Mafu, 2003:268). The British, however, while continuing to use Kiswahili, have introduced English, to the Tanzanian education system; this later on paved a way to the spread of English in all levels of the country's education system (Mafu, 2003:268; Temu, 1998:146).

Tanzania is a nation-state in the history of which LPO and national identity were intricately bound (Blommaert, 2006:246). Kiswahili has played a considerable role in Tanzania's attempt to build a strong socialist postcolonial state using a common language (Topan, 2008:259). Because English was only the language of few educated people, and was considered to be the language of the 'enemy', Kiswahili was taken as a language of colonial struggle which began in 1954 (Mafu, 2003:269). Kiswahili, as a lingua franca, made it possible to build a unity of more than 130 ethnic groups in the struggle against colonialism in Tanzania (Mafu, 2003:269).

Tanzania, following its independence, laid its national foundation on a unique African socialism-'Ujama'; unique in a sense that it was framed on the basis of the characters of solidarity and interdependence of the African people (Blommaert, 2006:246). 'Ujama' was an ideological blue print of nationalism in Tanzania (Topan, 2008:258). As a

nationalist state, Tanzania declared Kiswahili a national and co-official language in 1967 (Temu, 1989:144). Then, Kiswahili has consolidated its power and became the hub of Tanzanian national identity due to its link with the ideology of Ujama, i.e. African Socialism.

Blommaert (2006:246-247) states that “National identity in Tanzania was defined in political-ideological and linguistic terms, not in ethnic or other cultural terms”. The broader goal of Ujama in Tanzania was the creation of an ideologically united socialist nation with strong linguistic ties. The solid link between Kiswahili and the idea of Ujama village, universal primary education and literacy campaign gave Kiswahili a greater opportunity to deepen itself in the public lives (Temu, 1998:151-152). Due to this, Kiswahili has managed to become both the national and the official language of Tanzania.

The first generation Tanzanian leaders preconceived three social and political merits of Kiswahili from the outset. These are 1) unification, 2) detribalization and 3) the empowerment of ordinary people (Topan, 2008:257). Particularly, in the 1960s and 70s, Kiswahili was considered to be the carrier of national values, the builder of national unity, the abolisher of tribalism, the assurer of linguistic egalitarianism and the modernizer of the nation of Tanzania; meanwhile, English continued to thrive as an official language parallel to Kiswahili (Topan, 2008:259).

Despite the fact that there was a strong link between Tanzanian national identity and Kiswahili due to historical sociolinguistic reasons, English has been a language very much favored among the people (Higgins, 2010:222). Then, Swahili-English bilingualism became very common, and the people generally showed positive attitude towards English (Higgins, 2010:216). English is used in Tanzania both as a national official language and as a language of international communication while Kiswahili is used as a national language; the other languages are used at sub-national levels (Chumbow, 2009:36).

Tanzania adopted Kiswahili as an official language and English as MoI at post-primary educational level (Tibategez, 2010:227). Kiswahili was made the MoI in the Tanzanian primary education system after the Arusha Declaration (education for self-reliance) in 1967 (Mafu, 2003:270). Fluency and literacy in Kiswahili determine achievement gaps in

Tanzania (Higgins, 2010:216). The promotion of Kiswahili to MoI in post primary level, though planned in 1973, failed because of lack of political will from the governments' side and the influence of western global capitalist powers (Temu, 1998:153).

Tanzania is frequently presented as a success story of LPP in Africa, for it has managed to promote an endo-glossic LPO, uplifting an indigenous African language, Kiswahili, to the status of the national language. Part of the success of Kiswahili in Tanzania seems to be related to its horizontal, not top-down, expansion which led to its effective de-ethnicization in the country (Lodhi, 1993:80). The success of Kiswahili was not just in Tanzania but also throughout many countries in East Africa. No other African language has reached such a level (Swanpoel, 2013:23). Mafu (2003, pp 275&276) describes the present sociolinguistic reality of Tanzania as triglossia on the rise. English is MoI in secondary schools and HEIs; Kiswahili is the official and national language and the MoI in primary schools and there are many local languages used at sub-national levels (Mafu, 2003, 275&276).

2.2 STUDIES ON ETHIOPIAN LANGUAGE POLICY

Many studies have been conducted on historical and typological overviews of the ELPO. The studies were not particularly focused on the post-1991 sociolinguistic challenges experienced by a number of members of the various ethno-linguistic groups in Ethiopia. Here, the review of some of these related works is made to locate the problem of the current study in an appropriate and relevant sociolinguistic milieu.

The latest study related to the present work is a PhD dissertation titled “Multilingual Language Policy and Language Practice in Ethiopia: Opportunities and Challenges for National Unity and Development” conducted by Yonattan Araya (2014). Yonattan's study was intended to unveil the attitudes of educated people towards the post-1991 ELPO. He specifically tried to understand the targets' views on and narratives about the present ELPO (including language-in-education policy), the sole role of Amharic as an FWL of Ethiopia as well as the policy implications to national unity (Yonattan, 2014). Based on samples drawn from postgraduate students at AAU and applying quantitative and qualitative methods, Yonattan has found out that Amharic, Afan Oromo and Tigrinya

speakers have positive attitudes towards the post-1991 ELPO. The participants' attitudes towards Amharic as an FWL differs; Amharic and Tigrinya speakers show positive attitudes towards Amharic as an FWL while Afan Oromo native speakers have neutral attitude.

The study has shown that the post-1991 ELPO uplifted the fundamental principles of LD, assured LRs, brought sustainability, maintained cultural diversity, enabled the use of native wisdom and fostered the national development and unity (Yonattan, 2014:II). It has revealed that the sole use of Amharic as an FWL has brought about socio-economic, political and cultural marginalizations of non-Amharic speakers and lead to language-based conflicts (Yonattan, 2014:II). Based on these findings, then, Yonattan has recommended that the Ethiopian "...government should mitigate the federal linguistic friction by using either all the major indigenous languages or a foreign language, which is neutral to all nations and nationalities" (Yonattan, 2014: II).

The current researcher shares some basic arguments with Yonattan though there are many points of departure. First, Yonattan has focused on the pre-1991 generation of educated people's attitudes and discourses. Though his focus was on the post-1991 ELPO, he did not pay specific attention to the post-1991 younger generation of Ethiopia. The present researcher strongly believes the post-1991 generation is a true reflection of the sociolinguistic consequences of the post-1991 ELPO. Yonattan did not address the real impacts of the current ELPO especially on the post-1991 generation on which the influence of the LPO change is reflected.

Recalling that there are socio-historical and political gaps between pre-1991 and post-1991 generations of Ethiopia, the present researcher contends that focusing on the later period provides a clearer view of the real implications of the post-1991 ELPO. Therefore, the present work attempts to understand the challenges the current ELPO is posing on young people of the post-1991 generation in trying to communicate beyond their ethno-linguistic lines. Studying the topic from the perspective of the stated point of view provides the researcher with a relatively clearer picture of the challenges of the post-1991 ELPO.

The other latest study related to the present work is a PhD dissertation titled “Language Diversity and Government’s Challenges and Problems of Language Policy and Planning in Current Ethiopia” written by Bekale Seyoum (2012). Based on LPL practices of post-1991 Ethiopia, Bekale has dealt with issues related to the strengths and weaknesses, challenges and problems, including possible solutions to the ELPL activities. Using eclectic benchmark called Supper Optimal Language Planning (SOLP); he evaluated the LPOs of different Ethiopia regimes.

Bekale’s findings have revealed that the post-1991 ELPO is better off compared to that of the pre-1991 in terms of societal empowerment and transformation, linguistic plurality, development of indigenous languages, national integration, socioeconomic development and multicultural progress (Bekale, 2012:370). According to Bekale (2012:371), the major challenges observed in the present ELPO were lack of systematic, theoretically sound, coherent, consistent and sustainable LPL, lack of LPP knowledge and skills among the planners, and uninformed decision-making by policy-makers. He formulated and suggested an eclectic LPL theoretical framework known as the Modified Descriptive Framework outlining an LPO approach that assures linguistic integration for a better project of nation-building.

Bekale’s work has also shown that the use of Amharic in Ethiopia covers most of the major national domains in the post-1991 ELPO (Bekale, 2012:371). Moreover, it has underscored that language shift in favor of Amharic is still going on in Ethiopia though the degree of assimilation toward Amharic is minimal in post-1991 compared to pre-1991 (Bekale, 2012: 373). He has also argued that English which, according to him, is in a diaglossic status with other indigenous official languages is threatening Ethiopian languages (Bekale, 2012: 373).

As Bekale has indicated, the post-1991 ELPO might have socially and economically empowered minor ethno-linguistic groups, yet it is quite difficult to swallow the idea that the policy has brought about national integration. As inter-ethnic communication is becoming a serious challenge in Ethiopia particularly among the post-1991 generation, it seems unsociolinguistic from the outset to argue that the post-1991 ELPO has assured national integration. The present researcher believes that the post-1991 ELPO does not

guarantee inter-ethnic communications. Hence, this study focused on the challenges students of the EHEIs face to communicate beyond their own ethno-linguistic fault-lines.

A research article titled: “The Ethiopian Language Policy: a Historical and Typological Overview” written by an Ethiopian sociolinguist, Zelealem Leyew, depicts the historical and typological overview of the ELPO based on qualitative research methodology of documentary analysis. The paper sketches the various LPO applications through a reflective and comparative analysis of LPO ideologies across three major Ethiopian regimes: Imperial, Socialist and EPRDF. Underscoring the political nature of languages in Ethiopia, Zelealem (2012:48) strongly suggests serious LPO considerations, attitudinal engineering, intellectual discourses on ELPO management and public debates addressing language-related challenges. Theories and methodologies, he suggests, must be intermarried to successfully confront the LPO problems in Ethiopia (Zelealem, 2012:48).

Zelealem (2012:47) has criticized the present ELPO stating that it has serious implementation challenges. He specifically doubts the applicability of the policy in educational contexts for lack of cost, logistics and skilled human power. The scholar has also argued that using all Ethiopia languages as MoI is unpalatable. He suggested that the designation of the three-tiered LPO model (local, national and international), Amharic being the national lingua franca, is necessary. Though he passionately compels his readers to embrace the fact that Ethiopia is a nation of linguistically diverse and mosaic people, he doubts the depiction of LD as an exploitable natural resource (Zelealem, 2012:47).

The present researcher agrees with Zelealem that EPRDF’s LPO is asymmetric in that it does not provide a clear national sociolinguistic platform of communication for a number of members of diverse ethno-linguistic groups. In contrary to Zelealem’s work, the present study is not primarily concerned with historical LPO typologies, and neither did it deal with the comparative analysis of LPOs of different ELPO regimes. The current study specifically focused on the present ELPO in relation to the challenges of inter-ethnic communication within the context of EHEIs. Hence, it has made an attempt to show major problems related to inter-ethnic communication in a sociolinguistic domain of EHEIs where different ethno-linguistic groups contact.

Another work on ELPO is an article by the title “Language Policy in Ethiopia: History and Current Trends” written by Getachew & Derib (2006). These authors have tried to describe the historical trajectory of the ELPO beginning with the era of Emperor Tewodros II (1955-1968) all the way to the current regime. Surveying secondary documents on ELPO and conducting an implementation interview on the present situation of the ELPO, the researchers have found out that the ELPO, right from the mid-nineteenth century up until the end of the socialist regime (1991), was based on national monolingual model (Getachew & Derib, 2006:58). As regards to the post-1991 ELPO, crediting the fundamental achievements of the present regime, especially in the realm of language-in-education-policy, the scholars have pointed out that “Despite the achievements in the implementation of the multilingual language policy, the current practice is not totally righteous.” (Getachew & Derib, 2006:58). Here, the present researcher’s main focus was navigating into the sociolinguistic horizon of this unrighteousness which has so far been untreated in the specific context of EHEIs.

An article titled: “Debating Language Policy in Ethiopia”, jointly published by Zabhorik and Wondwosen (2009), explores the situation of the ELPO beginning with the regime of Haile Sellassie I (1939-1974). The paper confirms the discourse that Amharic is still national lingua franca of Ethiopia while English is co-official with Amharic. This argument, however, does not seem to tune with the sociolinguistic realities presently observed in EHEIs. On the basis of the ultimate Ethiopian sociolinguistic realities, the present researcher has tried to approach the subject of inter-ethnic communication in the EHEIs from the perspective of the sociolinguistics of the post-1991 ELPO.

Other linguists and social scientists have also conducted research works on the ELPO, especially in relation to education. A dissertation produced by McNab (1989) on the topic: “Language Policy and Language Practice: Implementation Dilemmas in Ethiopian Education” is a typical one. McNab has undertaken a comparative education-language-policy analysis of the pre-socialist and the socialist regimes based on the principles of policy formulation, implementation and evaluation. In her work, she has underlined that there has been a complex relationship not only between English and indigenous languages, but also between the Ethiopian languages themselves (McNab, 1989:67). She

argued that though there are major LPO changes, especially in education, both in pre-socialist and socialist regimes, challenges (including economic ones) have always been there at the implementation and evaluation stages (McNab, 1989:67). While the setting of the current research project is related to that of McNab's, the perspective differs. The primary intention of the present research is not to study the implementation of education-language-policy, but to explore the problems the ELPO is posing to students of diverse ethno-linguistic origins in EHEIs.

Amongst other set of works that are somehow relevant to the present study is a book written by Hussein Adal Mohammed (2017) entitled: k'^wank'^wa inna biherətəññinnət 'Language and Nationalism'. The author has raised some of the fundamental political issues pertaining to the 1960s revolutionary generation of Ethiopians. He has stated that lack of sense of national pride has raised linguistic disintegration in Ethiopia, causing the problem of inter-ethnic communication, especially in the EHEIs. The author has particularly emphasized on the role of one of the pioneers of the 1960s student movement, Walelign Mekonnen, whom the former referred to as the captain of student movements. Walelign, according to the author, was misunderstood and frequently misquoted especially over the past few decades of Ethiopian politics. Walelign's struggle for self-determination in Ethiopia, the author argues, was meant to build a democratic and pluralist Ethiopia, not a fragmented and disunited one. The author has displayed a firm stance as regards to the necessity of upholding Amharic as the national language of Ethiopia. He argues that Amharic is facing threats in Ethiopia, these days.

The author argues that the current sociolinguistic disputes on the Ethiopic script reform for Amharic in Ethiopia calls for a united stance in protecting the script from the destructive acts of some Ethiopian intellectuals. He believes that LPO formulation is needed to resolve the present and clear challenges Amharic is facing and the ongoing linguistically-oriented division in Ethiopia. The author calls upon every citizen to join hands to build a democratic nation and to move the country to a better future of unity. He advises getting rid of ethnic sorting and suggests enhancing ethnic nesting.

The author, who is himself from Wollo, adores the diverse and harmonious nature of the Wollo people. He argues that Wollo could be an exemplary society that sets a benchmark

as to what the process of nation-building should look like in Ethiopia. Likewise, the author argues that Merkato is a good instance for constructing the future Ethiopian unity. Merkato knows no ethnicity or language and does not care about your ethno-linguistic ID card; it welcomes you as a human being. Hence, the author underlines that Ethiopia needs to be built after the image of Merkato and Wollo.

Indeed, the book is more of political than sociolinguistic; however, it raises very important issues on the challenges of the current ELPO. The book gives the impression that linguistic disintegration is a solid reality in Ethiopia these days. This is perhaps related to the fact that Amharic is subject to critical political and historical question in the current political discourse. The present Ethiopic script reform and choice debates add to the crises. Hence, the author's recommendation of an LPO re-designation is a matter great importance. However, the present researcher strongly believes that LPO recommendations in multilingual countries like Ethiopia need to be based not on nationally motivated wishful assertions, but on critical and research-based understanding of the sociolinguistic facts on the ground.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Paradigm

There are diverse world views that shape human perspectives to a social reality. It is evident that there are ongoing debates between modernists and post-modernist intellectuals on representations of social reality. To modernists, truth is an independent social reality discovered through scientific methods; however, to post-modernists, truth is a socio-culturally situated co-construction and interpretation of social reality (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2009: 181).

The discourse on the nature of human understanding is stretched between subjectivity and objectivity. An alternative paradigm, the combination of methods, i.e. the merger of both quantitative and qualitative approaches, is mostly recommended for a better understanding of social reality (Hashemi, 2012: 206). This intermarriage of the subjective and objective paradigm provides researchers with an inclusive and comprehensive understanding of social reality.

The present researcher, therefore, takes a stance that it is vital to engage in a multi-methodical approach, i.e. inclusive of both subjectivist and objectivist perspectives. This, the present researcher contends, could be a recipe for bridging the inherent methodological gaps of each of the two paradigms. Therefore, mixed methods (triangulation) deriving from the two world-views were used to make sure that a fairly comprehensive understanding of the target social reality is achieved. The specific design applied in this research was concurrent triangulation. This mixed research design involves the parallel collection, analysis and interpretation of both quantitative and qualitative data (Hashemi, 2012:207).

3.2 Approach to the Study

No single methodology can be employed in the study of sociolinguistics given that language and society have multifaceted intricacies (Ricento, 2006:10). Problems and concepts related to sociolinguistics have complex connections with other fields of studies. In this regard, Ricento (2006:9) states that the merger of interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary approaches to LPP is an inevitable perquisite. Therefore, the present study

uses disciplinary merger to deal with real sociolinguistic challenges observed in the target setting.

Since there is no monolithic theory in sociolinguistics so far (Ricento, 2006:12; Spolsky, 2008:137), the study is predominantly of domain-based inquiry, not theory testing venture, targeting the description and understanding of a situated sociolinguistic reality (Ricento, 2006:12). Thus, the study needs to be context-bound as sociolinguistic profiles and the statuses of ethno-linguistic groups, influenced by various sociopolitical and economic factors, vary across different socio-cultural contexts.

The topics of language use, language identity, language status and language attitudes are central to and interrelated in the study of LPP (Ricento, 2006:129). In language use behavior, linguistic identity, language status and language attitude can be represented. Likewise, language use can be manifested in linguistic identities, language statuses and language attitudes. Importantly, these sociolinguistic components comprise central topics of LPP within the context of building multi-ethnic nation states.

When it comes to the methods of studying language use, language identity, language status and language attitudes, relevant data can be obtained from: documents, experts, questionnaires, observations, autobiographies and interviews (Baker, 2006a, p216, Ferguson, 1966:274). The present researcher has undertaken a sociolinguistic study of the challenges of inter-ethnic communications among four major ethno-linguistic groups in EHEIs, based on questionnaire, documents, interviews and FGDs.

Language use can be studied from two perspectives: the product approach and the action approach (Clark, 1996:56). The product approach focuses on the abstract internal grammatical aspects of language use while the action approach mainly deals with the sociolinguistic aspects of language use in a socially contextualized manner (Clark, 1996:56). The latter approach, focusing on how people use languages in different domains, was applied to the present study to describe the language use behavior of the research targets in the sociolinguistic settings of the EHEIs.

On the other hand, mixed method, specifically using a questionnaire and interview, is believed to produce a relatively holistic understanding of identity in the field of Applied

Linguistics (Rezaei, 2012:46). The study of identity is mostly longitudinal as it investigates diachronic transformations; it can also be cross sectional, i.e. synchronic which is the study of identity at a point in time (Rezaei, 2012:46). The present study employs a synchronic approach to identity. Questionnaire and interview were used to generate data on identity that were analyzed using concurrent triangulation.

There are two major paradigms for the study of attitude: the behaviorist and the mentalist; the former is based on observations while the latter is on the explorations of the internal state of cognition (Apple & Muysken, 2005:16). According to the mentalist approach, attitude can be inferred from introspection and linguistic behavior as well (Vandermeeren, 2005:1319). For mentalists, “attitudes have conative, cognitive and affective/evaluative components...” (Vandermeeren, 2005:1321). The present study was based on the widely used mentalist paradigm of the indirect method of attitudinal study using questionnaire.

As regards to the study of language attitude, three approaches have been recognized so far in sociolinguistics. They are societal treatment, direct and indirect approaches (Garret, 2005:1251). The Societal treatment approach uses documentary analysis, ethnography and participant/observation methods, and it deals with the way a language and its speakers are treated in a given society (Garret, 2005:1251). The direct approach to attitude research relies on questionnaire and interviews on language preferences and evaluations whereas indirect approach mostly focuses on asking subtle and covert questions (Garret, 2005:1251). The present study draws on the indirect approach. The combination of questionnaire, interview and FGD is used to understand the existing problems of inter-ethnic communications among the targets in the selected EHEIs.

3.3 Research Settings

The settings of this study are EHEIs for some reasons. EHEIs are interesting sociolinguistic zones where students from diverse ethno-linguistic backgrounds meet. Commonly, informally dubbed ‘little Ethiopias’, EHEIs are among the domains where the country’s LD and the resulting sociolinguistic complexities are easily noticed. These days, EHEIs are places where young people of age in the twenties, who are profoundly shaped by the post-1991 ELPO and who are relatively conscious of the sociolinguistic dynamics of the country, can be found in a mosaic state. These young people are central

targets of the study, for they are also the ones to join the mainstream Ethiopian society, the public world, to seek a place in the country's social, political and economic lives. The three EHEIs considered in this study are: AAU, KMU, and ASTU.

AAU was first established in 1950 as the University College of Addis Ababa, and it was the most senior higher education institution in Ethiopia (<http://www.aau.edu.et>). Presently, the university has 14 campuses and runs 70 undergraduate and 293 graduate programs (<http://www.aau.edu.et>). The university has ten colleges, twelve research and teaching institutes and twelve schools (<http://www.aau.edu.et>). A large number of students from diverse ethno-linguistic backgrounds of Ethiopia are studying in this university both in undergraduate and postgraduate programs.

KMU was established under the Haile Selassie I University in 1959; later on in 1969, it independently evolved to Technical and Vocational College called Teacher Training College (<http://www.kmu.edu.et>). In 1976, it got the name Kotebe College of Teacher Education, and in 1989, it launched degree programs in areas of humanities, natural sciences and social sciences (<http://www.kmu.edu.et>). Then, the College was upgraded to the status of University College; then, on 15th December, 2016, it became a full-fledged Metropolitan University is known as KMU (<http://www.kmu.edu.et>).

ASTU was established in 2012 under the auspice of the Ministry of Science and Technology (www.africaphonebook.com). The university was set up with the central vision of linking science, technology and engineering with industry (<http://www.africaphonebook.com>). Located in Akaki Kaliti Subcity of Addis Ababa, the university comprises about nine different schools ranging from the specialization in the field of science and engineering to business and management and to geological studies at both BSc and MSc levels (<http://www.aastu.edu.et>).

3.4 Research Design

Drawing on the contemporary orientation of combined and multi-methodical approach to sociolinguistic research, this study has employed quantitative-qualitative design. This helped piece together the subjectivist view of the qualitative approach and the objectivist perspective of the quantitative method to have a relatively comprehensive understanding

of the topic under investigation. Triangulating the two major paradigms, and hence, their specific methods, the researcher tried to achieve a better empirical interpretation of the social reality under investigation.

A questionnaire comprising a set of items designed to obtain data on language use, identity, language attitude and the challenges of inter-ethnic communications was prepared. The questionnaire, which was initially prepared in English, was translated²⁰, by translation experts, into the three languages, i.e. Afan Oromo, Amharic and Tigrinya, of the respective target ethno-linguistic groups. It was administered to a sample of 400 students drawn from the four ethno-linguistic groups.

The qualitative data, in a form of interview and open end items, were gathered using multiple and complementary research methods. Unstructured interview was administered to ten students drawn from the target HEIs, based on convenient sampling. The items of the interview revolve around language use, national identity, and the challenges of inter-ethnic communications and mechanisms of resolving the challenges of inter-ethnic communications in the context of the research setting.

An FGD comprising eight students, two from each of the ethnic groups, selected through convenience sampling has also been conducted in two parts. The FGDs have been organized by the researcher and the agents jointly and run by the researcher himself in two different sessions in AAU campus.

In addition, a documentary study of the LPP experiences of four developing countries: Nigeria, India, South Africa and Tanzania have also been conducted. These countries were selected based on some specific sociolinguistic characters making them relevant enough to be considered as springboards to discuss the Ethiopian sociolinguistic realities. This was intended to explore the possible theoretical mechanisms of dealing with the challenges of inter-ethnic communication observed in the research setting, and to suggest policy ideas on ways of resolving the challenges at the national level as well.

²⁰The questionnaire was not translated into Dha-Anywaa, for participants of this ethno-linguistic group have made it clear during the preliminary engagement that they can preferably have the English version of the questionnaire.

As regards to data analysis, the researcher has applied the concurrent combined method of description, inference and explanation. The presentation of the combination of the quantitative and the qualitative data was linear. First, descriptive statistics were carried out; second differential reference statistics were made; third, reflective and thematic analysis of qualitative data followed. Differential statistics were meant to measure statistical differences of Amharic proficiency of the respondents for independent variables of place of residence, i.e. urban and rural, and Educational level, i.e. from year I to year IV. Then, the findings that practically answer the leading questions were arrived at. And based on that, discussions linking the findings and the conceptual framework were made. This was followed by logical conclusions drawn from the findings and the discussions. Then, specific suggestions as to how to meet that challenge, discovered through the study, were made both at the institutions (HEIs) and at national levels. Finally, further directions of possible research areas that would enrich the present study were pointed out.

3.5 Samples and Sampling Techniques

This research purposefully focused on the settings of Addis Ababa University (AAU), Kotebe Metropolitan University (KMU) and Addis Ababa Science and Technology University (ASTU). These HEIs have been selected because, firstly, they are important metropolitan settings relevant to the study. Secondly, they are convenient for the researcher to create good rapport with the research targets. The researcher has many former classmates and colleagues in these universities, and he presently studies in the first university. This social network is very advantageous for the researcher to easily navigate the research setting and conduct well informed study.

Ethnic profile of students studying in EHEIs cannot easily be accessed. This is due to the absence of ethno-statistics²¹ on the ethnic profile of HEIs students in Ethiopia. Even if one could find out the total number of students belonging to different ethnic groups, it is rather difficult to spot them in the HEIs as they are quite scattered across departments and faculties. And EHEIs students do not have on-campus ethnicity-based residential

²¹ Even the Ministry of Education and the National Examination and Assessments Agency, let alone the universities, do not have data on ethnic profile of students presently studying in EHEIs. They only know the students on the basis of the regions they are from. Regions do not necessarily show ethnicity.

organizations. Moreover, given the sensitive nature of the issue of language and ethnicity in Ethiopia, it was not convenient to engage in a conventional sampling mechanism. For these reasons, the present researcher was obliged to resort to a chain-referral sampling system.

Chain-referral sampling technique is a snow-ball method of identifying samples. A student was spotted from each of the four ethno-linguistic groups based on some insider contacts. Each of these students spotted his/her ethnic friend, and that friend spotted another friend and it went on like that for qualitative data gathering until data saturation level was reached. A sample of more than 400 students drawn using snowball sampling for the questionnaire. More than a hundred students who were studying at the three universities, from each of the four ethno-linguistic groups: Amhara, Oromo, Tigre and Aynawaa were represented. 8 students were conveniently selected for FGD.

3.6 Methods of data collection

A questionnaire was used to collect quantitative data. In addition, qualitative methods of documentary reviews, unstructured interviews, FGDs were used in complementary ways. Documentary review involving descriptive and analytical synthesis of primary, i.e. policy documents, census data and sociolinguistic surveys, and secondary sources, including a wide range of academic writings, i.e. journal articles, edited volumes etc. were used. FGDs were also conducted with target HEIs students of diverse sociolinguistic backgrounds to elicit necessary data.

3.6.1 Questionnaire

A questionnaire comprising items on language use, language attitude, collective identity and the challenges of inter-ethnic communications in EHEIs as well as mechanisms of resolving them has been developed. The preparation of the questionnaire was made in line with the conceptual framework, the leading questions, and critical review and adaptation of previous questionnaires designed by other researchers²² around the

²² Most of the items on the questionnaire were adapted from the work of sociolinguists such as Bekker (2009), Tsehay Tefera (1977), and Ronny & Ritcher (2003). Particularly, the items on language attitude and national identity in this study were prepared based on the reliable items designed by Bekker (2004). The adaptation of the items was made on the basis of existing Ethiopian socio/political/linguistic situations on the ground.

similar/related topic. The items on the questionnaire were then designed by the researcher in such a way that they would help answer the central questions of the study. They were also made to be simple, short, unloaded and unambiguous. In addition, the problem of prestige bias was taken care of using filtering questions.

A pilot study was conducted at Wollega University to make sure that the items do really generate the kind of data they were supposed to generate. As a result, double-barreled and overlapping questions have been removed based on the feedback from the pilot study. What is more, experts' opinions have also been gathered to further polish the questionnaire. The feedback obtained from both experts, in the field of socio/linguistics, and non-experts helped the researcher recheck the accuracy and intelligibility of the items. Hence the validity and reliability of the items have been improved. Then, assistant research agents were recruited from each of the four ethnic groups in the target HEIs. The agents, based on the orientations they were offered by the researcher, administered the questionnaire to the targets.

The questionnaire has first been prepared in English. Then it was translated into three languages of the target ethno-linguistic groups, i.e. Amharic, Afan Oromo and Tigrinya. The translation was made by translation experts. Expert and non-expert evaluations of the items have been conducted to check the compatibility of the translation. The administration of the questionnaire has been made by student agents who were carefully drawn and oriented by the researcher himself. The agents were selected based on the criteria of social relation skills and practical level of bilingualism both in their native language and Amharic. The questionnaire was administered to the target students in the target HEIs.

3.6.2 Interview

Interview items were primarily designed to complement the data collected through questionnaire. Sixteen interview items were prepared; a number of questions pertaining to each of the leading questions were included. These items were administered to the ten student interviewees selected through convenience sampling method. Hence, three interviewees from each of the Amharic and Afan Oromo native speakers, and two from each of Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers have been recruited.

3.6.3 Focus group discussions (FGDs)

As regards to the FGD, the researcher has conducted focused discussions among eight students, two from each of the target ethno-linguistic groups. The FGD was organized at AAU by the agents, and the discussion was run by the researcher. Deliberately conducted in Amharic, the FGD had the intention to 1) find out the challenges of inter-ethnic communications and mechanisms of dealing with them, 2) practically observe if the participants could or could not communicate or not in Amharic 3) obtain linguistic data for the purpose of the analysis of students' CS practices. The items on the FGDs have focused on the theme of challenges of inter-ethnic communication experienced by the students of the target HEIs and the mechanisms of dealing with the challenges.

3.6.4 Documentary review

Four multilingual developing countries: India, Nigeria, South Africa and Tanzania, have been selected for the purpose of LPP discussions particularly in relation to nation-building. These countries were purposefully chosen for they bear sociolinguistic similarities with Ethiopia, and they do also embody complex historical sociolinguistic processes with both success and failure stories as regards to their LPP experiences. In a broader sense, LPP has always been an important ingredient of the endeavor of nation-building in those countries as it has been in Ethiopia.

The countries have been selected based on some relevant criteria. First, all these countries are developing multilingual countries with complex sociolinguistic dynamics. Second, the question of language choice, the link between language and national identity as well as the challenges of inter-ethnic communications are important issues in those countries. Third, the fact that English has become the most favored ex-colonial language in those countries adds to the complex sociolinguistic picture of their LPO. Fourth, that the struggle against colonial powers, its link with languages, was crucial in those countries adds to the complex sociolinguistic picture of their LPO.

The sociolinguistic backgrounds and profiles of these countries were briefly explored; their LPP challenges, models, successes and failures were discussed. Then, important lessons to be applied to the Ethiopian sociolinguistic context were drawn from the LPP experiences of these countries. The exploration of some pragmatic LPP models, as

outlined and recommended in the literature of sociolinguistics to be workable in multilingual contexts like Ethiopia, has also been undertaken. Merging these experiences with the conceptual framework and the views of the participants of the study, this researcher has made an attempt to make recommendations on the mechanisms of dealing with the challenges of inter-ethnic communications in EHEIs and in Ethiopia at large.

3.7 Methods of data analysis

Thematic descriptions of qualitative data, and descriptive and inferential statistical analysis of quantitative data were applied. Quantitative data on language use, linguistic identity and the challenges of inter-ethnic communications were analyzed through descriptive and inferential statistics. SPSS version 23 has been used for descriptive and inferential analyses of quantitative data. Qualitative data obtained through documentary reviews, unstructured interviews and FGDs were analyzed through thematic descriptions and interpretations.

In the analysis, quantitative and qualitative data were sequentially combined for methodological triangulation through linear expansion. That means the quantitative data obtained through the questionnaire were analyzed and presented first; then, the qualitative data from the open-end items, interview and FGDs were used to enrich the findings and broaden the discussion to achieve the most possible detailed account of the subject matter under investigation. The qualitative data were thematically categorized based on the emerging themes and guided by central intents of the leading questions. Subsequently, the essential thematic features were identified, and theme-oriented propositional statements were made and then elaborated. The findings were reached based on the principle of analytical-syntheses; then, reflective interpretations were built upon the major findings.

This study did not have the central intent of making generalizations; it attempted primarily to describe and understand the sociolinguistic challenges of inter-ethnic communication in the target EHEIs. However, a general insight was drawn to the subject matter given that the socio-cultural milieu of the universal target population pertains to the sample population of the study. These general insights were foundational in making

recommendations on how to deal with the challenges of inter-ethnic communications in EHEIs and broader national policy directions at large.

CHAPTER FOUR: LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND LANGUAGE USE

This chapter has two sections. The first section deals with language proficiency²³ of the participants based on their educational status and place of residence. The second section is concerned with language use of the participants in different on-campus and off-campus domains. Here, the students' language use practices in different on-campus and off-campus domains have been presented.

4.1 Language Proficiency: Amharic Proficiency

The non-Amharic native speakers' Amharic proficiency was among the most important subject of inquiry of this study in relation to the theme of language use. The importance of investigating into this issue is triggered by the historic status of Amharic both as FWL and the most important lingua franca of Ethiopia.

4.1.1 Amharic proficiency of Afan Oromo native speakers by educational status

In the following section, descriptive statistics and ANOVA test of Afan Oromo native speakers' Amharic proficiency, on the basis of the four language skills, are presented.

²³ Dha-Anywaa native speakers' language proficiency test of ANOVA has not been carried out because the respondents, according to the demographic data, were not evenly distributed over the years of study, I-IV. The significant majority of the respondents are year I and the remaining few of them are year II. The coming of Anywaas to metropolitan universities like AAU in a good number is a recent phenomenon.

Table 13: Descriptive statistics of Amharic proficiency of Afan Oromo native speakers

Descriptives									
Skill	Educational leve	NO.	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Listening	I	20	3.35	1.461	.327	2.67	4.03	1	5
	II	21	3.19	1.209	.264	2.64	3.74	1	5
	III	24	3.04	1.160	.237	2.55	3.53	1	5
	IV	18	3.33	1.188	.280	2.74	3.92	2	5
	Total	83	3.22	1.240	.136	2.95	3.49	1	5
Speaking	I	20	2.55	1.572	.352	1.81	3.29	1	5
	II	21	2.52	1.167	.255	1.99	3.06	1	4
	III	24	2.63	1.013	.207	2.20	3.05	1	5
	IV	18	2.56	1.381	.326	1.87	3.24	1	5
	Total	83	2.57	1.261	.138	2.29	2.84	1	5
Reading	I	20	2.75	1.482	.331	2.06	3.44	1	5
	II	21	2.00	1.000	.218	1.54	2.46	1	4
	III	24	2.75	1.225	.250	2.23	3.27	1	5
	IV	18	2.28	1.227	.289	1.67	2.89	1	5
	Total	83	2.46	1.262	.139	2.18	2.73	1	5
Writing	I	20	2.95	1.572	.352	2.21	3.69	1	5
	II	21	1.71	1.146	.250	1.19	2.24	1	5
	III	24	1.83	1.239	.253	1.31	2.36	1	5
	IV	18	2.17	1.249	.294	1.55	2.79	1	5
	Total	83	2.14	1.372	.151	1.85	2.44	1	5

Table 13 presents the descriptive statistics of Afan Oromo native speakers' Amharic proficiency. It shows the mean, STD. Deviation, STD. Error of the respondents' scores ranging from year I to year IV, i.e educational level. The data in the table, especially under the mean column, shows that the respondent's mean score for listening skills in

Amharic is above the average score of the scale which is 3.00. However, the respondents' mean scores for speaking, reading and writing Amharic are below the average score of the scale. This, in a crudest sense, shows that Amharic listening skills of Afan Oromo native speakers is better than their Amharic speaking, reading and writing skills.

Self-rating data of Afan Oromo native speakers in the interview have also revealed that their listening skills in Amharic is better off compared to their speaking, reading and writing skills in Amharic. All the interviewees have indicated that only their Amharic listening skills got better after they joined their respective universities. The remark made by one of the interviewees from KMU best captures their point. He said: "... the first time I came here as a freshman ... I did not know a single word in Amharic. Now, I think I could listen to Amharic to some extent" (see AfO. 1, Interview, KMU, Appendix 18, No. 6).

The above data gives a sense that the Amharic listening skills of Afan Oromo native speakers has improved after they joined their respective universities. However, statistically speaking, one-way ANOVA test is necessary to check whether or not there is a significant difference among Afan Oromo native speakers' Amharic proficiency for educational status. This is done mostly taking the assumption of the null hypothesis that there is no statistically significant difference among the mean scores of Afan Oromo native speakers' listening, speaking, reading and writing skills in Amharic across the students' educational level. The following table presents the one-way ANOVA test results.

Table 14: One-way ANOVA for Amharic proficiency of Afan Oromo native speakers

ANOVA						
Skills		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Listening	Between Groups	1.350	3	.450	.285	.836
	Within Groups	124.746	79	1.579		
	Total	126.096	82			
Speaking	Between Groups	.128	3	.043	.026	.994
	Within Groups	130.258	79	1.649		
	Total	130.386	82			
Reading	Between Groups	8.741	3	2.914	1.889	.138
	Within Groups	121.861	79	1.543		
	Total	130.602	82			
Writing	Between Groups	19.196	3	6.399	3.742	.014
	Within Groups	135.069	79	1.710		
	Total	154.265	82			

In the above ANOVA table, i.e. table 13, it can be observed that the p-value is greater than α -level (i.e. $p\text{-value} > \alpha\text{-level}$) for all the four Amharic skills of Afan Oromo native speakers. This means that there is no statistically significant difference between the mean scores²⁴ of Amharic listening, speaking, reading and writing skills of the Afan Oromo native speakers' across the educational levels. In other words, Amharic proficiency of the respondents is not significantly different no matter what educational level they are in. Of course, it can be concluded that Afan Oromo native participants of this study have a better Amharic listening skills compared to Amharic speaking, reading and writing skills.

Seen in light of the account of Edward (2005:38) and Hoffmann (1991:24) Afan Oromo native speakers have only receptive skills in Amharic. Yet, there is no significant disparity in their Amharic listening skills in terms of educational status. Seen from

²⁴ Hence, there is no need of conducting *post hoc* test to find out which group has shown a significant disparity.

Edward's (2005:39) perspective, this language group is just a set of secondary bilinguals in Amharic and their native language as they acquire the former just from schools. Afan Oromo native speakers do not learn Amharic early. This, according to Hoffmann (1991:35) makes their Amharic skills poor. Recall that adulthood acquisition of L₂ leads to adulthood bilingualism in which the proficiency of the speaker is poor in the L₂ (see Hoffmann, 1991:35).

4.1.2 Amharic proficiency of Afan Oromo native speakers by place of residence

An independent sample t-test has been conducted to find out if there was a statistically significant difference in Amharic proficiency between urban and rural Afan Oromo native speakers in the study. Hence, the following table displays the group statistics of the respondents based on their place of residence.

Table 15: Group statistics for Afan Oromo native speakers' Amharic proficiency by place of residence

Group Statistics					
<i>Skills</i>	<i>Respondents' place of residence</i>	<i>NO.</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>Std. Error Mean</i>
Listening	Rural	35	2.94	1.136	.192
	Urban	48	3.42	1.285	.186
Speaking	Rural	35	2.29	1.152	.195
	Urban	48	2.77	1.309	.189
Reading	Rural	35	2.29	1.250	.211
	Urban	48	2.58	1.269	.183
Writing	Rural	35	1.86	1.216	.206
	Urban	48	2.35	1.451	.209

In table 15, except for the Amharic listening proficiency of the urban Afan Oromo native speakers, the mean score of the proficiency of both urban and rural respondents, in all skills, is less than the average of the scale, 3.00. The urban respondents' level of Amharic listening proficiency is 3.42, and it is above the average score of the scale. As has been stated previously, the proficiency level of both urban and rural respondents in Amharic

speaking, reading and writing skills are below the average. This generally shows that only listening skills of the urban Afan Oromo native speakers are better off compared to their remaining skills. The rural Afan Oromo native speakers are less than average in all the four skills of Amharic. However, it is imperative to check using an independent sample t-test if there is really a statistically significant difference between urban and rural Afan Oromo native speakers' proficiencies in Amharic. The following table presents the statistics of the independent sample t-test.

Table 16: Independent sample t-test for Afan Oromo native speakers' Amharic proficiency as a factor of place of residence

Independent Samples Test										
Skills		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Listening	Equal variances assumed	4.543	.036	-1.740	81	.086	-.474	.272	-1.016	.068
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.774	77.961	.080	-.474	.267	-1.005	.058
Speaking	Equal variances assumed	1.978	.163	-1.753	81	.083	-.485	.277	-1.036	.066
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.788	78.070	.078	-.485	.271	-1.025	.055
Reading	Equal variances assumed	.146	.703	-1.062	81	.291	-.298	.280	-.855	.260
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.064	74.038	.291	-.298	.280	-.855	.260
Writing	Equal variances assumed	4.170	.044	-1.647	81	.103	-.497	.302	-1.097	.103
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.694	79.364	.094	-.497	.293	-1.081	.087

Assuming no Equality of Variance, as is mostly demanded by the statistical procedure, let us consider the significance of Leven's Test for Equality of Variance. All the significances, except for listening proficiency which is 0.036, are greater than α -level (0.05). This shows that Equality of Variance is assumed for listening, yet it is not for speaking, reading and writing. Then, checking out for Equality of Mean, under the significance column, we observe that all the p-values are greater than the α -level (0.05). This rejects the null hypothesis, i.e. the hypothesis that there is no Equality of Mean of Amharic proficiency between urban and rural respondents.

Therefore, this means that the mean difference between urban and rural Afan Oromo native speakers' Amharic proficiency, for all the four language skills, is not statistically significant. Put simply, both the urban and the rural Afan Oromo native speakers in this study have more or less the same proficiency, which is less than the average, in the four skills of Amharic. This finding goes in contradiction to the mainstream Ethiopian sociolinguistic discourse that Amharic is well spoken in the regional towns of the country (see Bekale, 2012; Cohen, 2006:117; Cooper, 1976:274). This assumption does not work among the young Oromo of the post-1991 Ethiopia.

4.1.3 Amharic proficiency of Tigrinya native speakers by educational status

The study has also tried to look into the Amharic proficiency, on the basis of the four language skills, of the Tigrinya native speakers. To this end, the following table presents the descriptive statistics of the data on Amharic proficiency of Tigrinya native speakers.

Table 17: Descriptive statistics for Amharic proficiency of Tigrinya native speakers

Descriptives									
Skills	Educational Level	NO	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Listening	I	21	4.19	1.078	.235	3.70	4.68	2	5
	II	20	3.85	1.182	.264	3.30	4.40	1	5
	III	19	4.32	.820	.188	3.92	4.71	2	5
	IV	20	3.90	1.334	.298	3.28	4.52	1	5
	Total	80	4.06	1.118	.125	3.81	4.31	1	5
Speaking	I	21	3.86	.793	.173	3.50	4.22	3	5
	II	20	3.30	1.174	.263	2.75	3.85	1	5
	III	19	3.79	.976	.224	3.32	4.26	2	5
	IV	20	3.70	1.380	.309	3.05	4.35	1	5
	Total	80	3.66	1.102	.123	3.42	3.91	1	5
Reading	I	21	4.43	.598	.130	4.16	4.70	3	5
	II	20	3.65	1.424	.319	2.98	4.32	1	5
	III	19	4.42	.902	.207	3.99	4.86	2	5
	IV	20	3.80	1.361	.304	3.16	4.44	1	5
	Total	80	4.08	1.156	.129	3.82	4.33	1	5
Writing	I	21	4.29	1.189	.260	3.74	4.83	1	5
	II	20	3.50	1.539	.344	2.78	4.22	1	5
	III	19	4.32	.885	.203	3.89	4.74	2	5
	IV	20	3.80	1.508	.337	3.09	4.51	1	5
	Total	80	3.98	1.331	.149	3.68	4.27	1	5

Table 17 presents the descriptive statistics of the responses given on Amharic proficiency by the Tigrinya native participants of the study. The table comprises the calculated values of the Mean, STD. Deviation and STD. Error of the data. The mean column of the table shows that the respondent's mean score for each of the four skills in Amharic proficiency across all years of

study is greater than the average score of the scale which is 3.00. This means that Tigrinya native speakers have more than average performance in the listening, speaking, reading and writing skills of Amharic. However, these numbers alone do not provide information on whether or not there is a statistically significant differences in Amharic proficiency among the respondents across the educational level (year I-IV). Therefore, one-way ANOVA has been run to determine the magnitude of the differences. To this end, the following ANOVA table shows the statistics of the mean differences among year I, II, III and IV Tigrinya native speakers' Amharic listening, speaking, reading and writing skills.

Table 18: One-way ANOVA for Amharic proficiency of Tigrinya native speakers

ANOVA						
<i>Skills</i>		<i>Sum of Squares</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Listening	Between Groups	2.994	3	.998	.793	.502
	Within Groups	95.693	76	1.259		
	Total	98.688	79			
Speaking	Between Groups	3.758	3	1.253	1.033	.383
	Within Groups	92.129	76	1.212		
	Total	95.888	79			
Reading	Between Groups	10.026	3	3.342	2.659	.054
	Within Groups	95.524	76	1.257		
	Total	105.550	79			
Writing	Between Groups	9.359	3	3.120	1.816	.151
	Within Groups	130.591	76	1.718		
	Total	139.950	79			

Assuming null hypothesis, let us consider the figures in table 18. The p-values for all the four Amharic skills are greater than the α -level ($\text{sig.} > \alpha$). This shows that there is no statistically significant difference among the mean of the four Amharic skills of the Tigrinya native speakers across I-IV years of study. Put differently, the Amharic proficiency of the Tigrinya native speakers in this study, in all the four language skills, does not show a statistically significant disparities for the differences in educational status. However, it is clear to understand from the

data that the respondents' performance in each of the four language skills is generally better than the average. Hence, seen in light of the accounts of Hoffmann (1991:24) and Edward (2005:38), Tigrinya native speakers are functional bilinguals. That is to say they have both productive and receptive skills in Amharic.

In sum, as regards to the Amharic language proficiency of Afan Oromo, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers (see section 4.1.5) the data showed the following. Afan Oromo native speakers have better listening skills in Amharic while Tigrinya native speakers and Dha-Anywaa native speakers have good proficiencies in all skills of Amharic. The language proficiency of the three ethno-linguistic groups does not change for the differences observed in the educational status.

4.1.4 Amharic proficiency of Tigrinya native speakers by place of residence

The following table presents the group statistics of Tigrinya native speakers' Amharic proficiency on the basis of place of residence.

Table 19: Tigrinya native speakers' Amharic proficiency by place of residence

Group Statistics					
<i>Skills</i>	<i>Respondents' place of residence</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>Std. Error Mean</i>
Listening	Rural	34	3.88	1.320	.226
	Urban	46	4.20	.934	.138
Speaking	Rural	34	3.65	1.178	.202
	Urban	46	3.67	1.055	.156
Reading	Rural	34	4.00	1.128	.193
	Urban	46	4.13	1.185	.175
Writing	Rural	34	3.88	1.409	.242
	Urban	46	4.04	1.282	.189

Table 19 shows that the respondents' mean scores in all the four Amharic skills for both urban and rural communities of students are above the average score of the scale which is 3.00. This generally means that the respondents, regardless of their place of residence, have better

proficiency in Amharic. Nonetheless, this does not prove whether or not there is a statistically significant difference between the urban and rural participants' Amharic proficiency for the four skills. Thus, an independent sample t-test has been run, and the result is presented in the following table.

Table 20: Independent sample t-test for Tigrinya native speakers' Amharic proficiency by place of residence

Independent Samples Test										
Skills		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Listening	<i>Equal variances assumed</i>	5.308	.024	-1.244	78	.217	-.313	.252	-.815	.188
	<i>Equal variances not assumed</i>			-1.182	56.271	.242	-.313	.265	-.844	.218
Speaking	<i>Equal variances assumed</i>	.624	.432	-.107	78	.915	-.027	.251	-.526	.472
	<i>Equal variances not assumed</i>			-.105	66.592	.916	-.027	.255	-.536	.482
Reading	<i>Equal variances assumed</i>	.550	.461	-.497	78	.621	-.130	.263	-.653	.393
	<i>Equal variances not assumed</i>			-.500	73.120	.618	-.130	.261	-.650	.389
Writing	<i>Equal variances assumed</i>	.687	.410	-.533	78	.596	-.161	.302	-.763	.441
	<i>Equal variances not assumed</i>			-.525	67.251	.601	-.161	.307	-.773	.451

In accordance with the statistics shown in table 20, the significance level for Tigrinya native speakers' listening skills is 0.024, which is less than the α -level (i.e. $0.024 < 0.05$). This confirms the hypothetical assumption that Equality of Variance is assumed. Hence, the significance for the Equality of Mean is 0.217 which is greater than the α -level (i.e. $0.217 > 0.05$). This implies that there is no statistically significant difference between the mean scores of urban and rural students' Amharic listening skills. That is to say the respondents' place of residence does not result in difference of their Amharic listening skills.

The significance level of Leven's Test for Equality of Variances for speaking, reading and writing are 0.432, 0.461 and 0.410, respectively. Each of these significances is greater than the α -level (0.05) showing that Equality of Mean is not assumed for these skills. When we see the significance for Equality of Mean, we get 0.916, 0.618 and 0.601 respectively for the three indicated skills. Each of these p-values are greater than the α -level (0.05). This shows that there is no statistically significant difference between the mean scores of urban and rural Tigrinya native speakers' Amharic speaking, reading and writing skills. In other words, whether the respondents are from urban or rural areas does not have much to do with their Amharic proficiency.

4.1.5 Amharic proficiency of Dha-Anywaa native speakers by place of residence

Dha-Anywaa native speakers who have participated in this study have also reported on their Amharic proficiency in the four language skills. The data collected from the respondents have been organized taking the place of residence as an independent variable. Hence, the following table presents the data obtained for the participants of the study.

Table 21: Group statistics for Dha-Anywaa native speakers' Amharic proficiency by place of residence

Group Statistics					
<i>Skills</i>	<i>Respondents' place of residence</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>Std. Error Mean</i>
Listening	Rural	10	3.70	1.059	.335
	Urban	18	3.72	1.406	.331
Speaking	Rural	10	3.40	.843	.267
	Urban	18	3.56	1.381	.326
Reading	Rural	10	3.80	1.135	.359
	Urban	18	3.39	1.461	.344
Writing	Rural	10	3.50	1.269	.401
	Urban	18	3.17	1.757	.414

As shown in table 21, the mean scores for listening, speaking, reading and writing skills of Dha-Anywaa native speakers in Amharic are greater than the average score of the scale (3.00). This shows that the respondents have better proficiencies in all the four Amharic skills. However, an independent sample t-test has been imperative to see if there is a statistically significant difference between the mean scores of the urban and rural Dha-Anywaa native speakers' Amharic proficiency. Hence, the following table presents an independent sample t-test of the mean scores of the two categories.

Table 22: Independent sample t-test for Dha-Anywaa native speakers' language proficiency by place of residence

Independent Samples Test										
Skills		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Listening	Equal variances assumed	.624	.437	-.043	26	.966	-.022	.511	-1.073	1.029
	Equal variances not assumed			-.047	23.381	.963	-.022	.471	-.996	.952
Speaking	Equal variances assumed	2.010	.168	-.323	26	.750	-.156	.482	-1.146	.835
	Equal variances not assumed			-.370	25.654	.715	-.156	.421	-1.021	.710
Reading	Equal variances assumed	2.461	.129	.768	26	.449	.411	.535	-.689	1.511
	Equal variances not assumed			.826	22.910	.417	.411	.497	-.618	1.440
Writing	Equal variances assumed	4.387	.046	.526	26	.603	.333	.633	-.968	1.635
	Equal variances not assumed			.578	23.979	.569	.333	.577	-.857	1.524

As indicated in table 22, the significance level for Leven's Test for Equality of Variance for Amharic listening, speaking and reading skills are 0.437, 0.168, and 0.129, respectively. This shows that Equality of Variance is Not Assumed, which in other words means the null hypothesis is rejected. As regards to the Test for Equality of Means, we have p-value of 0.963, 0.715 and 0.417, respectively for Amharic listening, speaking and reading skills. This also rejects the assumed null hypothesis that there is no statistically significant difference between the mean scores of urban and rural Dha-Anywaa native speakers' Amharic listening, speaking and reading skills. As to the Dha-Anywaa native speakers' level of Amharic writing skills, the significance of Leven's Test for Equality of Variance is less than the α -level (i.e. $0.046 < 0.05$). This means that Equality of Variance is assumed. And the significance for Equality of Means for Amharic writing skills is 0.605 which is greater than the α -level (i.e. $0.603 > 0.05$). This implies that there is no statistically significant difference between the mean scores of Amharic writing skills of urban and rural Dha-Anywaa native speakers.

However, two contradictory views were reflected by the data obtained from Dha-Anywaa native interviewees on Amharic proficiency self-rating. The first interviewee said: "... my Amharic, I could say, is excellent" (see Any. 1, Interview, AAU, Appendix 23, No. 6) while the second interviewee said "I am not very good in Amharic" (see Any. 2, Interview, AAU, Appendix, 24, No. 6). The first interviewee has reported that he had a good exposure to Amharic from childhood. His father was a politician in the present regime of the country, so the interviewee was moving to different places in Ethiopia with his father since 1991. The second interviewee was very much confined to his own locality until the time he joined the university. The difference observed between the two interviewees was perhaps primarily a matter of exposure. The first interviewee had a rich exposure to the Amharic speaking Ethiopian society while the latter had not.

Generally, the data on Amharic proficiency of the three ethno-linguistic groups, i.e. Afan Oromo, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers, does not show significant disparities for place of residence. In other words, whether the respondents are from urban or rural areas does not have much to do with their Amharic proficiency. Yet the Amharic proficiency of Tigrinya native speakers and Dha-Anywaa native speakers are better while the Amharic proficiency of Afan Oromo native speakers is generally poor.

4.2 Language Use

4.2.1 Pre-college language use

This section particularly deals with the participants' language use behavior in different domains before joining their respective universities.

4.2.1.1 Language use in the home domain

Language use pattern at home was an important point related to the respondents' language use behavior. The study of the respondents' language use behavior before joining their respective universities is vital to discuss their present language use related challenges in light of their language use background before joining their respective universities. To this end, an item on the questionnaire has inquired into the language use behavior of the respondents of the four ethno-linguistic groups with their grandparents, parents and siblings. The data gathered from the respondents are presented and discussed in the following section.

4.2.1.1.1 Afan Oromo native speakers' language use in the home domain

The following table presents data on Afan Oromo native speakers' language use in the home domain with grandparents, parents and siblings.

Table 23: Afan Oromo native speakers' language use at home

<i>Interlocutor</i>	<i>Percentage</i>			
	<i>Amharic</i>	<i>Afan Oromo</i>	<i>Amharic and Afan Oromo</i>	<i>Total</i>
a) Grandparents	-	72 (84.5%)	13 (15.5%)	85
b) Parents	-	77 (90 .6%)	8 (9.4%)	85
c) Siblings	-	80 (94.1%)	5 (5.9%)	85

Table 23 indicates that the significant majority of Afan Oromo native speakers use Afan Oromo to communicate with their grandparents, parents and siblings at home. On the interview, Afan Oromo native respondents were asked about the languages their parents used back home. The participants have confirmed that their parents used only Afan Oromo at home. An Afan Oromo native speaker among the interviewee, originally from Hararghe, pointed out that people in his

home town, including his parents have only used Afan Oromo, not any other language (see AfO. 2, Interview, ASTU, Appendix 19, No. 5).

Amharic native speakers were also found to use Amharic to communicate with their grandparents, parents and their siblings. Those on interview have also confirmed an exclusive use of Amharic to communicate with grandparents, parents and siblings (see Appendix, 15, 16, 17, Interview, No. 5).

4.2.1.1.2 Tigrinya native speakers' language use in the home domain

The following table presents data on Tigrinya native speakers' language use in the home domain with grand parents, parents and siblings.

Table 24: Tigrinya native speakers' language use in the home domain

<i>Interlocutor</i>	<i>Percentage</i>			
	<i>Amharic</i>	<i>Tigrinya</i>	<i>Amharic and Tigrinya</i>	<i>Total</i>
a) Grandparents	-	68 (85%)	12 (15%)	80
b) Parents	-	63 (78.6%)	17(21.4 %)	80
c) Siblings	-	65(81.3%)	15 (18.7 %)	80

As in table 24, the majority of Tigrinya native speakers have reported to use Tigrinya at home with their grandparents, parents and siblings. The Tigrinya native speakers on the interview, in the same vein, have expressed that their parents used only Tigrinya with their grandparents, parents and siblings at home (see Appendix, 21 & 22, Interview, No. 5).

4.2.1.1.3 Dha-Anywaa native speaker's language use in the home domain

The following table presents data on Dha-Anywaa native speakers' language use at home with grandparents, parents and siblings.

Table 25: Dha-Anywaa native speakers' language use in the home domain

<i>Interlocutor</i>	<i>Percentage</i>			
	<i>Amharic</i>	<i>Dha-Anywaa</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Total</i>
a) Grandparents	3 (11.1%)	16 (57%)	9 (32%)	28
b) Parents	5 (17.8%)	18 (64.3%)	5 (17.8%)	28
c) Siblings	4 (14.2%)	20 (71.5%)	4 (14.2%)	28

Table 25 shows that the majority of the Dha-Anywaa native speakers have used Dha-Anywaa, their native language, for communicating with their grandparents, parents and siblings. In the same vein, the Dha-Anywaa native speakers who participated in the interview have pointed out that their parents mainly use Dha-Anywaa back home (see Appendix 23 & 24, Interview, No.5).

In sum, the data on language use in the home domain showed that each of the participant ethno-linguistic groups have a higher tendency of using their respective native languages to communicate with their grandparents, parents and siblings in the home domain before joining their respective universities. Hence, the participants were predominantly limited to the sociolinguistic circles of their respective native languages.

4.2.1.2 Language use in the home community domain

The respondents' language use in the home community domain has also been asked on the questionnaire.

The data obtained from the respondents were organized in the following table.

Table 26: Language use in the home community domain

Language group	Percentage					Total
	Amharic	Afan Oromo	Tigrinya	Dha-Anywaa	English	
Amharic native speakers with						
a) Peers	70 (100%)	-	-	-	-	70
b) Adults	70 (100%)	-	-	-	-	70
c) Elderly people	70 (100%)	-	-	-		70
Afan Oromo native speakers with						
a) Peers	1 (1.5%)	84 (98.5%)	-	-	-	85
b) Adults	12 (14.2%)	73 (85.8%)	-	-	-	85
c) Elderly people	9 (10.6%)	76 (89.4%)	-	-	-	85
Tigrinya native speakers with						
a) Peers	11 (13.8%)	-	69 (86.2%)	-	-	80
b) Adults	13 (15.2%)	-	67 (83.8%)	-	-	80
c) Elderly people	6 (7.5%)	-	74 (92.5%)	-	-	80
Dha-Anywaa native speakers with						
a) Peers	-	-	-	25 (89.5%)	3 (10%)	28
b) Adults	5 (17.9%)	-	-	18 (64.3%)	5 (17.9%)	28
c) Elderly people	2 (6.1%)	-	-	20 (71.4%)	6 (21.5%)	28

As table 26 shows, a significant majority of Amharic, Afan Oromo, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers who participated in this study used their respective native languages for communication with their peers, adults and elderly people in their respective communities.

4.2.1.3 The previous use of Amharic in primary and secondary school domains

Assessing the non-Amharic speakers' background of using Amharic in primary and secondary school domains before joining their respective HEIs is also imperative to discuss the magnitude of inter-ethnic communication problems. To this end, the researcher has designed an item on the questionnaire to draw data on the participants' previous use of Amharic in primary and secondary school domains. The data are presented in the following bar chart.

4.2.1.3.1 Afan Oromo native speakers' use of Amharic in primary and secondary schools

Afan Oromo native speakers' responses to the items concerned with language use practice in primary and secondary school domains are presented in the following table.

Table 27: Descriptive statistics for Afan Oromo native speakers' use of Amharic in primary and secondary school domains

<i>Descriptive Statistics</i>					
	<i>NO.</i>	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>
a) Primary School	32	1	3	1.78	.906
b) Secondary School	32	1	3	1.78	.870
Valid N (list wise)	32				

As indicated in table 27, of the total of 85 (100%) Afan Oromo native participants of the study, only 32 (37.6%) have reported on their previous use of Amharic in the domains of primary and secondary schools. Here, the mean scores of the respondents' previous use of Amharic in those domains are less than the average score of the scale which is 2.00 (i.e. $1.78 < 2.00$). This shows that the respondents do not have a good use of Amharic at primary and secondary school domains. In other words, even among the few respondents of this specific item, the degree to which Afan Oromo is used at primary and secondary school domains was insignificant.

4.2.1.3.2 Tigrinya native speakers' use of Amharic in primary and secondary school domains
Out of 80 (100%) Tigrinya native respondents, 75 (93.6%) have reported on their previous use of Amharic both in primary and secondary school domains. The following table presents the data obtained from the respondents.

Table 28: Descriptive statistics for Tigrinya native speakers' use of Amharic in primary and secondary school domains

Descriptive Statistics					
	<i>NO.</i>	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>
a) Primary School	75	1	3	2.04	.706
b) Secondary School	75	1	3	2.24	.612
Valid N (list wise)	75				

As shown in table 28, the mean scores of the respondents' previous use of Amharic in primary and secondary school domains are 2.04 and 2.24, respectively. These figures are slightly above the average score of the scale which is 2.00. Hence, the data seem to show that Tigrinya native speakers have a fairly good practice of using Amharic both in primary and secondary school domains.

4.2.1.3.3 Dha-Anywaa native speakers' use of Amharic in primary and secondary schools
The Dha-Anywaa native speakers who participated in this study have also reported to the item on the questionnaire requesting their previous use of Amharic both in primary and secondary school domains. The following table presents the data obtained.

Table 29: Descriptive statistics for Dha-Anywaa native speakers' previous use of Amharic in primary and secondary school domains

Descriptive Statistics					
	<i>NO.</i>	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>
a) Primary School	28	1	3	2.43	.690
b) Secondary School	28	2	3	2.54	.508
Valid N (list wise)	28				

According to table 29, Dha-Anywaa native speakers' mean scores for the previous use of Amharic at primary and secondary school domains are 2.43 and 2.54, respectively. These mean scores are greater than the average score of the scale (2.00). This shows that the Dha-Anywaa native speakers have a better experience of using Amharic both at primary and secondary school domains.

In sum, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers have better previous use of Amharic in primary and secondary school domains. Afan Oromo native speakers, however, do not have a good background of previous use of Amharic including in primary and secondary school domains. Hence, seen in line with Millar (2005:100) & Tonkin (2006:127), the acquisition of Amharic in primary and secondary schools of the Oromia region seems to be very poor.

4.2.2 Language use on-campus

4.2.2.1 Language use inside classrooms

The participants' language use pattern in classroom domains needs to be dealt with in this study. Specifically, classroom language use during pair works, group works and student-teacher interactions is important to trace classroom inter-ethnic communication challenges. Thus, the data obtained from the respondents of the four participant ethno-linguistic groups are presented in the following section.

The majority of Amharic native speakers used Amharic during classroom pair works, group works and student-teacher interactions. The majority of Afan Oromo native speakers used Afan Oromo during classroom pair works, and Amharic and English during classroom group works and student-teacher interactions. The majority of Tigrinya native speakers used both Amharic and Tigrinya during classroom pair work and English during classroom group works and student-teacher interactions. Dha-Anywaa native speakers used English during classroom pair works, group works and during student-teacher interactions.

4.2.2.1.1 Instructors' CS inside classrooms

The following table presents data on instructors' CS by respondents' language group.

Table 30: *Instructors' CS by respondents' language group*

Ethno-linguistic group	Do your instructors code-switch between English and Amharic inside classrooms?				
	Yes		No		Total
a) Amharic native speakers	68	(97.1%)	2	(2.9%)	70
b) Afan Oromo native speakers	83	(97.6%)	2	(2.4%)	85
c) Tigrinya native speakers	77	(96.2%)	3	(3.8%)	80
d) Dha-Anywaa native speakers	25	(89.2%)	3	(10.8%)	28
Total					263

Table 30 shows that a huge majority of each of the participant ethno-linguistic groups have reported that instructors practice English-Amharic code-switching inside classrooms. Therefore, classroom English-Amharic CS among instructors was the most prevalent phenomenon. The matrix language for classroom CS was found to be English while the embedded language was Amharic.

According to the data obtained from the questionnaire, instructor's code-switch for the following reasons: 1) to manage classrooms effectively, 2) to feel empathy towards students and build solidarity with them, 3) to make students practice speaking English, 4) to translate unknown vocabulary from English to Amharic, 5) to clarify lessons for students' comprehensions 6) to teach the grammar of English effectively, and 7) to build effective communications with students. Hence, this findings confirm that the major classroom CS reasons established in the literature of sociolinguistics (see Polio & Duff, 1994 cited in Edstron, 2006:5) were attested in this particular research setting.

4.2.2.2 Students' CS practices

The following table presents data on whether students themselves code-switch or not. Their responses were organized for each of the language groups.

Table 31: Students' CS by language group

Language group	Do you code-switch yourself?				
	Yes		No		Total
a) Amharic native speakers	68	(97.1%)	2	(2.9%)	70
b) Afan Oromo native speakers	79	(92.9%)	6	(7.1%)	85
c) Tigrinya native speakers	77	(96.2%)	3	(3.8%)	80
d) Dha-Anywaa native speakers	25	(89.2%)	3	(10.8)	28
Total					263

Table 31 clearly shows that a huge majority of each of the participant ethno-linguistic groups of this study have indicated that they most frequently code-switch. As in that of instructors', students' CS was also found to be predominant among the four ethno-linguistic participants of this study. Interview participants of the four ethno-linguistic groups have reported that they code-switch (see, Appendices 15-24, Interview, No. 3). Generally, their primary purpose of CS was to ease communication with their interlocutors and facilitate language learning.

Afan Oromo native speakers have indicated that they mostly code-switch between Afan Oromo and English. Their base language is Afan Oromo while their matrix language is English. They said that they do so to present themselves clearly, and they also believe that it is normal to code-switch anyway. In addition, they have pointed out they code-switch in trying to communicate with students who do not speak Afan Oromo. Similarly, Amharic native speakers on the interview have reported that they code-switch between Amharic and English. Their base language is Amharic while their matrix language is English. Also Tigrinya native speakers have stated that they too code-switch between Amharic (matrix) and English (embedded) languages. This was in addition to the fact that they also mostly code-switch between Tigrinya (matrix) and English (embedded). Dha-Anywaa native speakers have reported to code-switch between Dha-Anywaa (matrix) and English (embedded). They do this to achieve clarity of communication. Generally, it has been confirmed that the students code-switch 1) to fill knowledge gap in the base language, 2) to express identity, 3) to comment directly/indirectly on languages involved in a conversation, 4)

to include or exclude people in a conversation, 5) for secret talking, 6) to better express ideas and purposes and 7) as a habit (see Apple & Muysken, 2005; Zelealem, 1998:241).

4.2.2.2.1 Linguistic data on students CS practices

The following section presents CS data drawn from the FGDs. The matrix language for the CS was Amharic while the embedded language was English. The presentation was intended to see the nature and magnitude of CS among the participants of the four ethno-linguistic groups.

4.2.2.2.1.1 Amharic native speakers' CS

- (1) *ində OFFICIAL k^wank^wa silə-imm-inni t'ək'k'əm* (see Amh.a1, FGD I, Appendix 25)
as official language because-FOC-2PL-use
'Because we use it as an official language.'
- (2) *jə-COMMUNICATION t/iggir si-ji-nor* (see Amh.1a, FGD I, Appendix 25)
of-communication problem when-JUSS-exist
'When there is a problem of communication'
- (3) *ingilizəŋna ACTUALLY bizu-mm al-dəll-ət/itf-imm* (see Amh.1b, FGD I, Appendix 25)
English actually many-FOC is-not-3FS-NEG
'Actually, she is not that good in English.'
- (4) *jə-kilas-at/itf-in lidz nəbbər-ət/itf inna FIRST YEAR ijj-all-ən* (see Amh.1b, FGD I, Appendix 25)
of-class-1PL-SUB girl exist-PRF-3FS so first year PROG-exis-1PL
'When we were on first year, there was a girl in our class.'
- (5) *amarijna-n ində OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ijjə-tə-t'ək'k'əm-in* (see Amh.1a, FGD II, Appendix 26)
amharic-ACC as official language PROG-PASS-use-1PL
'While using Amharic as an official language...'
- (6) *ACTUALLY ingilizəŋna-u-n ink^wan ji-wəsd-u-t-all* (see Amh.1a, FGD II, Appendix 26)
actually english-ART even 3PL-take-3PL-3MS-AUX
'Actually, they take English.'
- (7) *bə-izzih ENVIRONMENT ind-inn-adig ji-adərrəg-ə-n* (see Amh.1b, FGD II, Appendix 26)
by-this environment as-1PL-grow 3MS-do-3MS-1PL
'It made us to grow in such environment.'
- (8) *jih-in DIFFERENCE ind-ə s'əgga bi-inn-aj-əw* (see Amh.1b, FGD I, Appendix 26)
this-3MS difference as-3MS blessing if-1PL-see-3MS
'We have to see this difference as a blessing.'

- (9) *ində OFFICIAL LANGUAGE intin isk-al-n-əw* (see Amh.1a, FGD II, Appendix 26)
as official language like as-say-1PL-3MS
‘As long as we..., as an official language’
- (10) *OFFICIAL LANGUAGE...ind-al-tfīl jə-adərrəg-ə-n* (see Amh.1b, FGD II, Appendix 26)
official language as-NEG-able that-made-3MS-1PL
‘It made us not to be able to speak the official language.’
- (11) *TOLERATE mə-adrəg bi-inn-tfīl t’iru nəw* (see Amh.1b, FGD I, Appendix 26)
tolerate to-make if-1PL-able good is
‘It is good if he could tolerate.’
- (12) *is^ws^a ind-al-əftf hon-o LIKE jə-polisi ləwut’ bi-ji-nor* (see Amh.2b, FGD I, Appendix 26)
she as-say-3FS become-3MS-PRF like of-policy change if-3MS-exist
‘As she said, if there is policy change...’
- (13) *MOST OF THE TIME jetimm bota hed-ən bi-inn-t’əjjik’* (see Amh.2b, FGD II, Appendix 26)
most of the time wherever place go-1PL if-1PL-ask
‘Most of the time, wherever we go and ask...’
- (14) *bə-junvərsiti dərədza ində FREE nəgər bi-ji-sət’t’* (see Amh.2b, FGD II, Appendix 26)
by-university level as free thing if-give
‘If it is given freely at university level’
- (15) *bi-ji-tfīfal MULTI k^wank^wa tənagar-i məhon* (see Amh.2b, FGD II, Appendix 26)
if-able-3MS multi language speak-3MS becoming
‘If possible, it is good to be multilingual.’
- (16) *jə-tələjjə CONSIDERATION bi-ti-adərg* (see Amh.2b, FGD I, Appendix 26)
of-different consideration if-2SG-do
‘If you make different consideration...’
- (17) *MOSTLY jə-imm-al-ji-agbabba-n* (see Amh.2a, FGD I, Appendix 26)
mostly that-NEG-3MS-agree-1
‘What mostly makes us agree...?’
- (18) *BASE silə-lell-atfīf-əw BASE bi-nor-atfīf-əw...* (see Amh.2a, FGD I, Appendix 26)
base because-NEG-exist-3PL-3MS base if-exist-3PL-3MS
‘They have no base, if they have base...’
- (19) *kə-CONCEPT-u malətim k^wank^wa kə-alə-mawək’* (see Amh.2a, FGD I, Appendix 25)

from-concept-ART means language from-not-knowing
'From the concept, that means not knowing the language'

The above linguistic data on CS were taken from Amharic native speakers during the FGDs. The data shows that both code-mixing of lexical items like nouns (see 2, 7, 8, 19) adjectives (see 1, 14, 15) and adverbs (see 3, 6, and 18) were observed. Also phrase level switching of noun phrases (4, 5, 9, 10, and 16) and adverb phrases are also common among Amharic native speakers. In general, the practice of CS among Amharic native speakers who have participated in the FGDs was limited to intra-sentential level.

4.2.2.2.1.2 Afan Oromo native speakers' CS

(20) *t/iggir all-e COMMUNICATE si-inn-aderg ...FIRST YEAR* (see AfO.1a, FGD I, Appendix 25)
problem there-is-3MS communicate when-1PL-do first year
'There is a problem of communication especially on first year.'

(21) *be-amariyya COMMUNICATE mǝ-adreg be-amariyya PERIOD* (see AfO.1, FGD, PART I)
by-amharic communicate to-make by-Amharic period
'Communicating in Amharic at the Amharic period'

(22) *k'onk'a ka-tfal-e COMMUNICATE ma-dreg ji-t/tfal-all* (see AfO.1a, FGD II, Appendix 26)
language if-able-3MS communicate to-do 3MS-able-3MS
'If you know a language, you can communicate.'

(23) *amara sila-hon-e YOOKAAN wajimm ɖoromo sila-hon-e* (see AfO.1a, FGD II, Appendix 26)
amhara because-become-3MS or Oromo because-become-3MS
'Because he is an Amhara or Oromo'

The above linguistic data were drawn from the Afan Oromo native speaker who participated in the FGDs. The participant was already very reluctant to engage in the FGD because of lacking confidence in his Amharic skills. The CS was limited to lexical level (see 20-23), particularly of verbs, and phrase level. Afan Oromo grammatical elements of congestion YOOKAAN was also observed in the data. Hence, though, the data of CS for Afan Oromo participant was not rich, it was possible to see the elements of the three languages i.e. Amharic, English and Afan Oromo.

The linguistic transcription of the speech of this participant of the FGDs has revealed that there are some sound segments from Amharic replaced by nearest sound in Afan Oromo during Amharic pronunciation. This happened because some of the Amharic sounds like the labio-velars

/kʷ/ were replaced by /kʼ/ followed by the short vowel /o/. The Amharic vowels /ə, i/ are changed to /e, i/ respectively. The former vowels are not found in the language.

4.2.2.2.1.3 Tigrinya native speakers' CS

(24) *jih indet nəw SOLVE jə-imm-ji-hon-əw* (see Tig.2a, FGD II, Appendix 26)
 this how is solve 3MS-become-3MS
 'How could this be solved?'

(25) *amarijña-n kə-GRADE ONE bi-inn-dʒəmmir* (see Tig.2a, FGD II, Appendix 26)
 Amharic-ACC from-grade one if-1PL-start
 'If we start Amharic from grade one...'

(26) *jə-ʔaləm ʔakʼkʼəf HISTORY kə-m-awəkʼ* (see Tig.2a, FGD II, Appendix 26)
 of-world cover history from-to-knowing
 'Instead of knowing global history...'

(27) *FOR EXAMPLE ... tigrijña DEPARTMENT* (see Tig.1a, FGD I, Appendix 25)
 for example tigrinya department
 'For example, the department of Tigrinya'

(28) *COMMUNICATIVE hʷala bizu al-ji-tʃil-i-mm* (see Tig.2a, FGD I, Appendix 25)
 communicative later many NEG-able-3MS-NEG
 'I was not able to communicate effectively.'

(29) *ine...ahun INFORMATION təməsasaj nəw* (see Tig.2a, FGD I, Appendix 25)
 I... now information similar is
 'Now, I..., the information is similar'

(30) *wədə ... EUROPEAN LANGUAGE kə-mə-hed* (see Tig.2a, FGD I, Appendix 25)
 to European language from-to-go
 'Instead of knowing European languages...'

Tigrinya native speakers have also exhibited Amharic-English CS at word (see 24, 26, 27, 28, 29) and phrase levels (see 25, 27, 30) The CS was intra-sentential, and the grammatical elements code-switched involved verbs (see 24), nouns (see 25-30).

4.2.2.2.1.4 Dha-Anywaa native speakers' CS

(31) *bizu-u gize PERSONALLY jə-gətʼtʼəm-ənn tʃiggir jə-allə-m* (see Any.1a, FGD I, Appendix 25)
 many-ART time personally of-face-PRF-1S problem NEG-exist-NEG

‘Most of the time, there was no problem I personally faced.’

- (32) *andand MISUNDERSTANDING-otfif ji-nor-all-u* (see Any.1a, FGD I, Appendix 25)
some misunderstanding-PL 3MS-exist-IMPF-3PL
‘There are some misunderstandings.’

- (33) *SO MISUNDERSTANDING-otfif nəw PROBLEM-otfif* (see Any.1a, FGD I, Appendix 25)
so misunderstandings-PL is problem-PL
‘The problems are the misunderstandings.’

- (34) *ləmissale...jə-amarijna bizu WORD jəll-ə-ŋŋ-im* (see Any.2a, FGD I, Appendix 25)
for example of-Amharic many word NEG-exist-1S-NEG
‘For example, I have no many Amharic words.’

- (35) *I AM lə-ne bitfifa si-al-hon lel-otfif hulət təmari all-u* (see Any.2a, FGD I, Appendix 25)
I am for-me only without-being other-PL two student exist-2P
‘Not only me, there are two other students.’

- (36) *ahun-imm ... THEY DO NOT KNOW AMHARIC* (see Any.2a, FGD I, Appendix 25)
now-even they do not know Amharic
‘Even now, they could not speak Amharic’

- (37) *... BUT lə-nnəssu al-ji-gəba-mm* (see Any.2a, FGD I, Appendix 25)
... but for-them NEG-enter-NEG
‘The teacher translates into Amharic when he teaches but it is not clear for them.’

- (38) *ji-kəbd-al NOT ONLY THAT ... THE MoI IS ENGLISH* (see Any.2a, FGD I, Appendix 25)
3MS-difficult-3MS not only that the medium of instruction is English
‘It is difficult; not only that, the MoI is English’

- (39) *bə-amarijna ji-t’t’ək’ə-m-all-u TO TEACH THE STUDENTS* (see Any.2a, FGD I, Appendix 25)
by-Amharic 3PL-use-AUX-3PL to teach the students
‘They use Amharic to teach the students.’

- (40) *inna MOST OF THE TIME gambell-otfif ...* (see Any.1b, FGD I, Appendix 25)
so most of the time Gambella-PL
‘So, most of the time when the Gambella...’

- (41) *ʔaŋŋuwak bə-ine IN MY PERSPECTIVE DO NOT FEEL ALRIGHT*
(see Any.1b, FGD I, Appendix 25)
Anyuak by-me in my perspective do not feel alright
‘In my perspective, the Aynwaa do not feel alright.’

- (42) *SPECIALLY addis ababa laj t'ik'ur səw...* (see Any.1b, FGD I, Appendix 25)
 specially Addis Ababa on black person
 'Especially in Addis Ababa, a black man is ...'
- (43) *ATLEAST indih ajnət POPULATION silə-hon-ə* (see Any.1, FGD, PART I, Appendix 25)
 at least as-this like population because-become-3MS
 'At least the population is like this.'
- (44) ... *balə-mənnagər-u LIKE INFERIORITY ində-tinnif ji-tə-ajj-all* (see Any.1a, FGD II, Appendix 26)
 ... not-speaking-3MS like inferiority as-small 3MS-PASS-see-3MS
 'He is considered inferior for not speaking Amharic'
- (45) *ESPECIALLY ahun bə-ijña killil* (Any.1, FGD I, Appendix 25)
 especially now by-2P region
 'Especially, in our region'
- (46) *BSICALLY... amarijña OFFICIAL LANGUAGE hon-e* (see Any.1a, FGD II, Appendix 26)
 basically... Amharic official language become-3MS-PRF
 'Basically, Amharic became official language.'
- (47) *intin.... WE DO HAVE ATTITUDES, NEGATIVE* (see Any.2a, FGD II, Appendix 26)
 like... we do have attitudes, negative
 'It is like...we do have attitudes, negative'
- (48) *intin AWARENESS ji-as-fəllig-al THEN IT IS WHY....*(see Any.2a, FGD II, Appendix 26)
 like awareness 3MS-CAUS-need-3MS then it is why...
 'Awareness is necessary; that is the reason.'
- (49) *bə-ijña MOST OF GAMBELLA...PRONOUNCIATION tfiggir all-ə* (see Any.2a, Appendix 26)
 by-us most of Gambella pronunciation problem exist-3MS
 'For example for us, most of the Gambella, there is a pronunciation problem.'
- (50) *jə-imm-jī-t'əbbək'-əw mindin-nəw ENCOURAGEMENT* (see Any.1b, FGD II, Appendix 26)
 3MS-FOC-3MS-kept-3MS what—is encouragement
 'What I expect is encouragement.'
- (51) *IN EVERY ASPECT lə-missale UNITY IN DIVERSITY* (see Any.1b, FGD II, Appendix 26)
 in every aspect for-example unity in diversity
 'In every aspect, for example, unity in diversity...'

- (52) *K^wank^wa IS PASSPORT lə-mannɨŋna-u-m nəgər* (see Any.1b, FGD II, Appendix 26)
 language is passport for-everything-3MS thing
 ‘Anyway, language is a passport.’
- (53) ...*WE HAVE TO LIVE UNIFIED ind-əzza mə-hon* (see Any.1, FGD II, Appendix 26)
 ...we have to live unified as-that to-become
 ‘It has to be that we have to live in unity.’
- (54) *I HAVE TO SEARCH...mə-alət ras-e-n mə-əffəffal* (see Any.1b, FGD II, Appendix 26)
 I have to search... to-say head-my-ACC to-improve
 ‘I have to search...that is to say improve myself.’
- (55) *ine ində-təməri...ine k^wank^wa SKILL nəw* (see Any.2b, FGD II, Appendix 26)
 I as-student... I language skill is
 ‘I, as a student, think language is a skill.’
- (56) *YOU SHOULD HAVE TO PRACTICE... ində təməri* (see Any.2b, FGD II, Appendix 26)
 you should practice... you should as-student
 ‘You should practice as a student.’
- (57) *jə-sira k^wank^wa silə-hon-ə PRACTICE nəw jə-imm-adərg-əw* (see Any.2b, Appendix 26)
 of-work language because-become-3MS practice is which-1S-to-do-3MS
 ‘I practice it because it is a working language.’
- (58) *and k^wank^wa COURSE bi-ji-tə-ffət’t’ər t’iru nəw* (see AfO.1, FGD I, Appendix 26)
 one language course if-3SGM-PASS-create good is
 ‘It is good if a language course is created.’

The Dha-Anywaa native speakers have shown Amharic-English CS in which an inter-sentential CS was found to be very prevalent. Compared to the CS practices of the remaining ethno-linguistic groups who participated in this study, the Dha-Anywaa native speakers have displayed a rich practice of CS. Specifically, the CS involved, clauses (see 25, 36, 41, 47, 53, 54), phrases (see 39, 40, 43, 44, 46, 49) and words (see, 31, 32, 37, 42, 43, 45, 46, 50, 55, 57 58) . Even, in some cases the participants have totally shifted to English to the extent that it looked like English-Amharic CS. The data have generally shown that the Dha-Anywaa native speakers have a rich practice of Amharic-English CS.

Generally, it could be learned from the above linguistic data that CS was a common phenomenon among the participants of the study. The Dha-Anywaa native speakers switch codes

predominantly at inter-sentential level while the remaining ethno-linguistic groups were limited to intra-sentential CS. This perhaps shows that Dha-Anywaa native speakers have a better ability in English. The Afan Oromo L₁ speaker was limited to word-level mixing, though trilingual CS of Amharic-English-Afan Oromo was observed in the data.

4.2.2.3 Language use outside classrooms

This study has also investigated into the participants' language use practice outside classroom in different on-campus domains. The findings are shown in the following table.

Table 32: Afan Oromo native speakers' language use outside classrooms

	Domain	Total	Amharic		Afan Oromo		Amharic & Afan Oromo		English & Amharic	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
a)	With dorm mates	85	53	62.4	25	29.4	6	7	1	1.1
b)	With librarians	85	78	91.7	0	0	0	0	7	8.3
c)	With security persons	85	77	90.5	0	0	2	2.3	6	6.6
d)	Registrar	85	67	78.8	3	3.5	11	12.9	4	4.7
e)	Cafeteria	85	68	80	13	15.2	4	4.7	0	0
f)	Administrative office	85	60	70.5	7	8.3	12	14.1	6	7
g)	Cultural centre	85	55	64.7	23	27	3	3.5	4	4.7
h)	Recreational centers	85	55	64.7	20	23.5	9	10.5	1	1.1

Table 32 shows data on Afan Oromo native speakers' language use practice outside classroom on-campus. The majority of Afan Oromo native speakers tend to use Amharic in all on-campus domains. According to the table, the use of Afan Oromo seems to be somehow important in the domains of cultural and recreational centers and with dorm mates, 23 (27%), 20 (23.5%) and 25 (29.4%) respectively. This gives a sense, especially compared to the figure seen in other domains. In general, based on the data, it can be concluded that Amharic is the most important language of the on-campus communications for Afan Oromo native respondents. It is also true that compared to other domains, the domains of cultural and recreational centers are important sociolinguistic milieus wherein the respondents considerably use Afan Oromo. The following table deals with Amharic native speakers language use outside classroom.

Table 33: Amharic native speakers' language use outside classrooms

	Domain	Total	Amharic		English		English & Amharic	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
a)	With dorm mates	70	65	92.8	0	0	5	7.2
b)	With librarians	70	62	88.5	0	0	7	11.5
c)	With security persons	70	68	97.1	0	0	2	2.9
d)	Registrar	70	66	94.2	0	0	4	5.8
e)	Cafeteria	70	67	95.7	0	0	3	4.3
f)	Administrative office	70	70	100	0	0	0	0
g)	Cultural centre	70	70	100	0	0	0	0
h)	Recreational centers	70	70	100	0	0	0	0

Table 33 shows the data on languages use by Amharic native speakers outside of classrooms at on-campus level. The respondents most significantly used Amharic in different on-campus domains. Therefore, it seems logical to conclude that a significant majority of Amharic native speakers use Amharic to communicate outside classrooms in different on-campus domains. The following table deals with Tigrinya native speakers' language use outside classrooms.

Table 34: Tigrinya native speakers' language use outside classrooms

	Domain	Total	Amharic		Tigrinya		English & Amharic	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
a)	With dorm mates	80	60	75	18	22.5	2	2.5
b)	With librarians	80	70	87.5	0	0	10	12.5
c)	With security persons	80	68	85	0	0	12	15
d)	Registrar	80	66	82.5	0	0	14	17.5
e)	Cafeteria	80	63	78.7	17	21.5	0	0
f)	Administrative office	80	59	73.7	11	26.3	0	0
g)	Cultural centre	80	56	70	19	24	5	6.2
h)	Recreational centers	80	61	76.2	7	8.7	2	2.5

Table 34 comprises data on Tigrinya native speakers' language use practices in different on-campus domains outside classrooms. The data showed that the respondents significantly use Amharic in the given on-campus domains. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the significant majority of Tigrinya native speakers use Amharic, in different on-campus domains. Indeed, their use of the language is pronounced, especially outside classrooms. They also use Tigrinya considerably in settings such as with their dorm mates, in the cafeteria, in administrative offices and in cultural centers.

Table 35: Dha-Anywaa native speakers' language use outside classrooms

	Domain	Total	Amharic		English		Dha-Anywaa		English & Amharic	
			No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%
a)	With dorm mates	28	3	10.7	0	0	6	21.4	19	67.9
b)	With librarians	28	4	14.2	8	28.5	0	0	16	57.1
c)	With security persons	28	10	35.8	0	0	0	0	18	64.2
d)	Registrar	28	13	46.5	0	0	0	0	15	53.5
e)	Cafeteria	28	7	25	4	14.3	0	0	17	60.7
f)	Administrative office	28	5	17.8	3	10.7	0	0	21	75
g)	Cultural centre	28	2	7.1	6	21.4	0	0	20	71.4
h)	Recreational centers	28	0	0	0	0	5	17.8	23	82.1

Table 35 shows that the majority of Dha-Anywaa native speakers use both English and Amharic in different on-campus domains. It is also possible to see that a considerable number of Dha-Anywaa native respondents use Amharic with the registrar employees, security personels and in cafeteria. Therefore, from the above table, it is somehow possible to conclude that Dha-Anywaa native speakers use the combination of Amharic and English in different on-campus domains. In general, the data on on-campus but outside classroom language use of the respondents have shown that Amharic, Afan Oromo, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers predominantly use Amharic in different domains outside classrooms while Dha-Anywaa native speakers use both Amharic, English and both (see Table 25).

4.2.3 Language use off-campus

The participants of this study were presented with an item on the questionnaire inquiring the languages they use at off-campus level especially in the domains such as religious centers, shops, supermarkets, and recreational areas. The data collected from the respondents of the four ethno-linguistic groups on their off-campus language use behavior is presented as follows.

4.2.3.1 Afan Oromo native speakers' off-campus language use

The following table presents Afan Oromo native speakers off-campus language use in domains like religious centres, shops, supermarkets and recreational areas.

Table 36: Afan Oromo native speakers' off-campus language use

Domains	Amharic		Afan Oromo		Amharic & Afan Oromo		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
a) Religious centers	30	35.2	45	52.9	10	11.7	85
b) Shops	53	62.3	18	21.1	14	16.4	85
c) Supermarket	59	69.4	21	24.7	5	5.8	85
d) Recreational areas	42	49.4	27	31.7	16	18.8	85

Table 36 presents data on Afan Oromo native speakers' off-campus language use practices in different domains. The figures indicate that Afan Oromo dominates the religious domain while Amharic was a very important language in the domains of shops and supermarkets. However, as regards to the respondents' language use practice in the domain of the recreational areas, Afan Oromo and Amharic are more or less equally important. In general, both Amharic and Afan Oromo are important languages of the off-campus communication for Afan Oromo native speakers in domains like religion, shops, supermarkets and recreational areas.

4.2.3.2 Amharic native speakers' off-campus language use

Amharic native participants of this study have also responded to the items, on the questionnaire, concerning the respondents' off-campus language use practices, especially in the domains of religious centers, shops, supermarket and recreational centers. Their response, however, was that the entirety of them have indicated that they use Amharic in those off-campus domains.

4.2.3.3 Tigrinya native speakers' off-campus language use

The following table presents Tigrinya native speakers off-campus language use in domains like religious centres, shops, supermarkets and recreational areas.

Table 37: Tigrinya native speakers' off-campus language use

<i>Domains</i>	<i>Amharic</i>		<i>Tigrinya</i>		<i>Amharic & Tigrinya</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	
a) Religious centers	60	75	17	21.15	3	3.7	80
b) Shops	66	82.5	14	17.5	0	0	80
c) Supermarket	68	85	12	15	0	0	80
d) Recreational areas	50	62.5	20	25	10	12.5	80

The data on off-campus language use of Tigrinya native speakers, in table 37, shows that a huge majority of the respondents use Amharic in all the indicated off-campus domains. However, a slightly considerable use of Tigrinya was visible in all the domains. Generally, Amharic is an important language of off-campus communications for Tigrinya native speakers.

4.2.3.4 Dha-Anywaa native speakers' off-campus language use

The following table presents Dha-Anywaa native speakers off-campus language use in domains like religious centres, shops, supermarkets and recreational areas.

Table 38: Dha-Anywaa native speakers' off-campus language use

<i>Domains</i>	<i>English</i>		<i>Amharic</i>		<i>Dha-Anywaa</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	
a) Religious centers	9	32.1	13	46.4	6	21.4	28
b) Shops	6	21.4	22	78.6	0	0	28
c) Supermarket	7	25	21	75	0	0	28
d) Recreational areas	11	39.3	17	60.7	0	0	28

The data in the above table (38), obtained from Dha-Anywaa native speakers, presents their language use behavior in different off-campus domains. According to the table, Amharic is significantly used in all the given domains except in the domain of religious centers. In the latter

domain, both English, 9 (32.1%) and Dha-Anywaa, 6 (21.4%), seem to be considerably useful, though not as important as Amharic, 13 (46.4%). Generally, the data show that Amharic, of course, followed by English, is an important language of off-campus communication in the given specific domains for the Dha-Anywaa native speakers of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE: LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES

This chapter presents attitude towards language, and the representation of national identity among the three target ethno-linguistic groups of the study. The chapter specifically deals with the non-Amharic native speakers' attitudes towards Amharic which is the FWL of Ethiopia. The chapter also deals with the representation of national identity among the participants, especially in relation to the issues of script choice, Ethiopic writing system, knowledge of literary history as well as language and national identity in Ethiopia. In addition, the chapter discusses the link between language and national identity on two different frames; ethnic and civic national identities.

5.1 Language Attitudes: non-Amharic speakers' attitudes towards Amharic

Among the domains of enquiry of this study was non-Amharic native speakers' attitudes towards Amharic as a unifying language, national lingua franca, FWL and its presumed national scale role, including inside and outside of EHEIs. To this end, the items on attitude towards Amharic have comprised issues related to the need to speak Amharic at national level, the status of Amharic as FWL of Ethiopia, Amharic and national unity in Ethiopia and Amharic as a national language of Ethiopia. Hence, the following table comprises data on Afan Oromo, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers' attitude towards Amharic.

Table 39: Descriptive statistics of non-Amharic native speakers' attitudes towards Amharic

Language group	Items	N	Mean		Std. Deviation
		Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic
Afan Oromo native speakers	1) Amharic is the language of unity in Ethiopia.	85	2.82	.151	1.390
	2) I am glad Amharic is the FWL.	85	2.12	.122	1.128
	3) Every university student needs to speak Amharic.	85	1.74	.106	.978
	4) Everyone in Ethiopia should learn Amharic.	85	1.91	.120	1.109
	5) Amharic should be the national language of Ethiopia	85	1.93	.116	1.067
	6) Only Amharic can better unite Ethiopians.	85	1.27	.086	.793
Tigrinya native speakers	1) Amharic is the language of unity in Ethiopia.	80	4.30	.104	.933
	2) I am glad Amharic is the FWL.	80	4.21	.113	1.015
	3) Every university student needs to speak Amharic.	80	3.66	.133	1.190
	4) Everyone in Ethiopia should learn Amharic.	80	3.72	.129	1.158
	5) Amharic should be the national language of Ethiopia	80	3.36	.163	1.460
	6) Only Amharic can better unite Ethiopians.	80	2.85	.164	1.468
Dha-Anywaa native speakers	1) Amharic is the language of unity in Ethiopia.	28	4.68	.127	.670
	2) I am glad Amharic is the FWL.	28	4.61	.165	.875
	3) Every university student needs to speak Amharic.	28	3.79	.283	1.500
	4) Everyone in Ethiopia should learn Amharic.	28	4.46	.167	.881
	5) Amharic should be the national language of Ethiopia	28	4.25	.260	1.378
	6) Only Amharic can better unite Ethiopians.	28	2.57	.293	1.550

Table 39 shows that Afan Oromo native speakers' mean score for all the six items of attitude towards Amharic is less than the scale's average score (3.00). This means that the respondents do not believe that all EHEIs students and all the people of Ethiopia at large should speak Amharic. Moreover, the respondents do not seem to be happy that Amharic is the FWL of Ethiopia. In addition, they do not comply with the idea that Amharic can best unite the people of Ethiopia and thereby help forge national unity in the country. In sum, this means Afan Oromo native speakers do not have a positive attitude towards Amharic.

In addition, Afan Oromo native speakers on the interview have indicated that the present FWL status of Amharic was rooted in the history of unjust relationships among ethno-linguistic groups in Ethiopia. Particularly, an Afan Oromo native interviewee from AAU has generally attributed the present FWL status of Amharic in Ethiopia to the past "...time of oppression and dictatorship in Ethiopia" (see AfO. 3, Interview, AAU, Appendix 20, No. 7). The same student expressed his resentment that Afan Oromo would have reached the same status Amharic has reached had the past been just to the former.

The data from the Tigrinya native respondents, in table 39, shows that their mean score for each of the items, except for number 6, is greater than the average score of the scale (3.00). This in a specific sense means that the respondents believe that Amharic should be spoken by EHEIs students and the people of Ethiopia at large. They are also glad that Amharic is presently the FWL of Ethiopia, and they comply with the idea that Amharic is the language of unity in Ethiopia. Even though these respondents believe that Amharic should be the national language of Ethiopia, they do not subscribe to the idea that only Amharic can best unite the country. This implies that the respondents seem to hold a positive attitude towards Amharic.

The data acquired from the interview made with two Tigrinya native speakers have confirmed that the respondents have a positive attitude towards Amharic (see Tig, 1 & 2, Interview, AAU, Appendix 21 & 22, No. 7). First, the interviewees have expressed that they are glad that Amharic is presently the FWL of Ethiopia, and they also believe that Amharic is the marker of the Ethiopian national identity. The participants of the interview

have also explicitly stated that Amharic is functionally more important to them than Tigrinya.

The other category of respondents in the table is the Dha-Anywaa native speakers. The mean score for each of the items, except for number 6, is greater than the average score of the scale (3.00). This means, the respondents believe that Amharic should be spoken by every university student and everyone in Ethiopia at large, and they are glad that Amharic is the FWL of Ethiopia as well. Furthermore, they believe that Amharic should be the national language of Ethiopia since they believe it is the language of unity in the country. However, they do not buy the idea that only Amharic can better unite Ethiopia. Generally, the respondents hold a positive attitude towards Amharic.

Interview participants of the Dha-Anywaa native speakers have also confirmed that they have positive attitudes towards Amharic. They believe it is good that Amharic is the FWL of Ethiopia. They attribute this to the very important and widely spoken nature of the language in the country. In this regard, an Anywaa interviewee said:

As an Ethiopian ... I am proud of Amharic because there are many heritages in it... examples, the alphabet of Amharic is unique in Africa; it is one thing that makes me happy and proud. I am proud of being exposed to Amharic; I am proud of speaking Amharic (see Any. 1, Interview, AAU, Appendix 23, No. 2).

Generally, the following can be concluded. Tigrinya native speakers and Dha-Anywaa native speakers have positive attitudes towards Amharic while Afan Oromo native speakers have a negative attitude. The fact that Tigrinya native speakers have positive attitudes confirms previous findings (see Yonattan's 2014). However, in contrary to Yonattan's findings, the Dha-Anywaa native speakers have positive attitude towards Amharic. This study's finding on Afan Oromo native speakers' attitude towards Amharic perfectly rings with Yonattan's findings (2014). The three ethno-linguistic groups, however, believe in the idea that multiple languages are important for national unity in Ethiopia. Hence, the students seem to comply with the idea of the construction of unity with multiple languages.

5.2 Language and National Identity

This section of the study raises some of the fundamental issues related to language and national identity among the research participants of the target HEIs. A set of three items in the questionnaire was dedicated to generate data on this theme. This set of items involved 1) script choice and the Ethiopic writing system 2) knowledge of Amharic literary history and 3) language and national identity. These issues were dealt with in this section.

5.2.1 Script choice and the Ethiopic writing system

The items designed on the theme of script choice and the Ethiopic writing system involved specific sociolinguistic questions revolving around the reduction of some Ethiopian languages into writing using the Latin alphabet. Therefore, the following table provides data gathered on script choice and the Ethiopic writing system from the three ethno-linguistic groups.

Table 40: Descriptive statistics of students' views on script choice and the Ethiopic writing system

Language groups	Items	N	Mean		Std. Deviation
		Statistics	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic
Afan Oromo native speakers	1) I like the Ethiopic script more than I like the Latin script.	85	1.49	.108	.996
	2) I like some Ethiopian languages are written in Latin script.	85	1.87	.158	1.454
	3) I am proud of our native Ethiopic writing system.	85	1.85	.139	1.277
	4) All Ethiopian languages should use the Ethiopic script.	85	1.48	.096	.881
	5) All Ethiopian languages should use the Latin script.	85	2.45	.171	1.577
Tigrinya native speakers	1) I like the Ethiopic script more than I like the Latin script.	80	3.86	.127	1.133
	2) I like some Ethiopian languages are written in Latin script.	80	2.86	.142	1.270
	3) I am proud of our native Ethiopic writing system.	80	3.85	.141	1.264
	4) All Ethiopian languages should use the Ethiopic script.	80	3.51	.152	1.359
	5) All Ethiopian languages should use the Latin script.	80	3.00	.161	1.441
Dha-Anywaa native speakers	1) I like the Ethiopic script more than I like the Latin script.	28	3.79	.254	1.343
	2) I like some Ethiopian languages are written in Latin script.	28	3.86	.210	1.113
	3) I am proud of our native Ethiopic writing system.	28	4.25	.190	1.005
	4) All Ethiopian languages should use the Ethiopic script.	25	3.39	.297	1.571
	5) All Ethiopian languages should use the Latin script.	28	2.93	.281	1.489

As indicated in table 40, Afan Oromo native speakers' mean score for all the items are all less than the average score of the scale which is 3.00. This specifically shows that the respondents do not prefer the Ethiopic script to the Latin script, do not like that some Ethiopian languages were written in Roman are not proud of the native Ethiopic Script. What is more, they do not believe that Ethiopic script should be used for all Ethiopian languages. Also, they do not have a belief that all Ethiopian languages should use the Roman either.

This researcher has asked Afan Oromo native speakers on the interview if they take pride in the native Ethiopic writing system. An interview account made by an Afan Oromo native speaker from KMU best captures the stand of the interviewees. He had to say the following: "...it does not make me proud. I do not understand that. I did not see how that could make me proud" (see AfO1. Interview, KMU, Appendix 18, No. 10). The interviewee does not seem to take the native Ethiopic writing system as a marker of the national identity of Ethiopia-the very geopolitical entity in which he is a member. Generally, it can be learned from the given data that Afan Oromo native speakers who have participated in this study do not have a positive attitude towards the Ethiopic writing system neither do they seem happy about the idea of using the script for Afan Oromo.

Tigrinya native speakers have a different pattern of response to the same set of items. These respondents' average scores for all the items, except for number 2, are greater than the average score of the scale (3.00). This shows that the respondents 1) prefer the Ethiopic script to the Latin one, 2) believes the Ethiopic script needs to be used for all Ethiopian languages 3) are proud of native Ethiopic writing system and 4) do not believe all Ethiopian languages should use the Latin script, 5) and they did not like some Ethiopian languages were written in Latin. It was also learned from the interview that the participants have also confirmed that they take pride in the Ethiopic writing system (see Fig. 1 & 2, Interview, AAU, Appendix 21 & 22, No. 9).

The third category of respondents in the table is the Dha-Anywaa native speakers. The data from this ethno-linguistic group's respondents show that they have mean scores above the scale's average score (3.00), for all the items, except for number 5. This shows that the Dha-Anywaa native speakers 1) like Ethiopic writing system, 2) like that some

Ethiopian languages were written in Roman 3) are proud of native Ethiopic Writing System, 4) believe that all Ethiopian languages should use Ethiopic script, and 5) yet, they do not believe that all Ethiopian languages should use Latin.

In general, the data on the respondents' views about the script choice and the Ethiopic writing system could be summarized as follows. Afan Oromo native speakers have not displayed a stronger association to the Ethiopic writing system, and they preferred Latin to the former. However, the Tigrinya and the Dha-Anywaa native speakers have shown stronger association to the Ethiopic writing system, and they preferred the Ethiopic script to the Latin alphabet. A common native writing system marks national identity (see Jayaseelan, 2007:55); it also creates a wider circle of national identity (see Block, 2006:39).

5.2.2 Knowledge of literary history

The participants of this study were asked for their knowledge of Amharic literary history since this topic is also part of the mainstream Ethiopian national identity. The specific issues the items comprised were the respondents' experiences of reading Amharic texts, poems and stories; their knowledge of Amharic literary personalities; whether or not they are proud of Ethiopia's Amharic literary history, or if they rather tend to prefer texts in their own respective native languages. The following table presents the data from the three ethno-linguistic groups on those subjects.

Table 41: Descriptive statistics of students' views on knowledge of literary history

Language group	Items	N	Mean		Std. Deviation
		Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic
Afan Oromo native speakers	1) I know more about Amharic literary personalities.	85	2.48	.123	1.130
	2) I read texts in Amharic.	85	3.25	.148	1.362
	3) I read texts in my native language.	85	4.75	.085	.785
	4) I read poems and stories in Amharic.	85	2.66	.160	1.476
	5) I am proud of Ethiopia's literary history.	85	2.00	.140	1.291
Tigrinya native speakers	1) I know more about Amharic literary personalities.	80	3.65	.146	1.303
	2) I read texts in Amharic.	80	3.86	.122	1.088
	3) I read texts in my native language.	80	4.16	.112	.999
	4) I read poems and stories in Amharic.	80	3.85	.134	1.202
	5) I am proud of Ethiopia's literary history.	80	4.19	.140	1.254
Dha-Anywaa native speakers	1) I know more about Amharic literary personalities.	28	3.54	.238	1.261
	2) I read texts in Amharic.	28	4.43	.130	.690
	3) I read texts in my native language.	28	4.93	.050	.262
	4) I read poems and stories in Amharic.	28	4.25	.142	.752
	5) I am proud of Ethiopia's literary history.	28	3.54	.221	1.170

As indicated in table 41, Afan Oromo native speakers' mean scores for reading texts in Amharic and in their native language are respectively 3.25 & 4.75. These are above the average score of the scale (3.00); indeed, the figure for the latter is far greater than the figure for the former. This shows that the respondents do read texts in Amharic and Afan Oromo. Their practices of the former is by far weaker compared to their practices of the later. The respondents have mean scores less than the average score on the scale for their knowledge of Amharic literary personalities (2.48), reading poems and stories in Amharic (2.66) and being proud of Ethiopia's literary history (2.08). That means they do not have good practices of reading Amharic poems and stories. They do not know much about Amharic literary personalities, and they are not proud of Ethiopia's literary history.

The data obtained from the interview of Afan Oromo native speakers show that the interviewees have divergent perspectives towards the literary history of Amharic in Ethiopia. The first interviewee said that he is not proud of the Ethiopian literary history at all (see AfO. 1, Interview, KMU, Appendix 18, No. 10). The second interviewee, stating that such a history was confined to around the northern areas of Ethiopia, said "As you come down to the south and go to the east, this thing is unknown" (AfO. 2, Interview, ASTU, Appendix 19, No. 10). The third interviewee, however, reflected a very different view. He said that the Ethiopian literary history was "... the foundation..." he meant to the Oromo nationalists "... to strengthen their language, culture and literature.... this became a foundation for our self-consciousness ..." (see AfO.3, Interview, AAU, Appendix 20, No. 10). This interviewee did not say whether or not he is proud of the Ethiopian literary history.

The second category of respondents was Tigrinya native speakers. Their mean score for each of the items is greater than the average score of the scale (3.00). This shows that they read Amharic texts, including poems and stories, and they also read texts in Tigrinya as well. They know more about Amharic literary personalities, and they are proud of Ethiopia's literary history. The Tigrinya native speakers who have participated in the interview have confirmed that they are proud of the Ethiopian literary history. So this means that they have a positive attitude towards the Ethiopian literary history.

The third category of respondents involves the Dha-Anywaa native speakers. Similar to that of Tigrinya native speakers, Dha-Anywaa native speakers have mean scores greater than the average score of the scale (3.00), for all the given items in the table. This shows that Dha-Anywaa native speakers read texts, poems and stories in Amharic and also read texts in their native languages. They seem to know more about Ethiopian literary personalities, and of course, they are proud of Ethiopia's literary history.

However, conflicting data have been drawn from Dha-Anywaa native speakers who have participated in the interview. While one of the interviewees expressed that he is very much proud of the Ethiopian literary history (see Any. 1, Interview, AAU, Appendix 23, No. 11), the other said in his own words: "I don't think so, I do not really know that, because so far I do not write, and I do not read Amharic" (see Any. 2, Interview, AAU, Appendix 21, No. 11). The later interviewee seems to have self doubt as to whether or not he was proud of the Ethiopic writing system. He seemed to have associated this feeling of his with his poor Amharic reading and writing skills.

In general, based on the data gathered on the respondents' knowledge of Amharic literary history, the following conclusion can be made. First, though Afan Oromo native speakers read some texts in Amharic, they do not know more about Ethiopian literary personalities; they do not read stories in Amharic, and they are not proud of the Ethiopian literary history. Second, Tigrinya native speakers and the Dha-Anywaa native speakers, although they too read texts in their native languages, they have generally have stronger association to the Ethiopian literary history. Recall that the knowledge of literary history, cultural heritage, assumptions, beliefs and values are imperative in national identity construction (see Enanji and Sadiqi, 2008:44; Jayaseelan, 2007:55).

5.3 Ethnic versus National Identities

This study has also focused on discerning whether the respondents of the three ethno-linguistic groups have tendencies either towards ethno-national identity or civic national identity. In line with this, a questionnaire comprising a set of questions involving both ethnic and national identities was administered to the participants of the study.

5.3.1 Ethnic identity

Ethnic identity encompasses concepts pertaining to the importance of native language and the respondents' ethnic self-perceptions. The following table provides data on respondents' ethnic identity.

Table 42: Descriptive statistics of the students' ethnic self-perception

Language group	Items	N	Mean		Std. Deviation
		Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic
Afan Oromo native speakers	1) I think of myself as my ethnic group's member first.	85	4.58	.115	.062
	2) I am proud of my language group.	85	4.86	.063	.580
	3) My native language is very important to me.	85	4.88	.068	.6251
Tigrinya native speakers	1) I think of myself as my ethnic group's member first.	80	4.28	.126	1.125
	2) I am proud of my language group.	80	4.31	.124	1.109
	3) My native language is very important to me.	80	4.39	.123	1.097
Dha-Anywaa native speakers	1) I think of myself as my ethnic group's member first.	28	4.21	.238	1.258
	2) I am proud of my language group.	28	4.96	.036	.189
	3) My native language is very important to me.	28	4.36	.242	1.283

The first category of respondents in table 42 is Afan Oromo native speakers. Their mean score for each of the three items in the table was greater than the average score of the scale which is 3.00. This shows that the respondents think of themselves primarily as members of their own ethnic groups, are proud of their ethnic groups and consider their native language to be very important to them. In a similar way, the Afan Oromo native speakers have explicitly stated, on the interview, that their national identities quite strongly affiliate to their ethno-linguistic background than to the Ethiopian national identity (see AfO. 1 & 3 Interview, Appendix18 &20, No. 9).

The second set of respondents is the Tigrinya native speakers. These respondents' mean scores for the three items are all significantly greater than the average score of the scale (3.00). This shows that they 1) think of themselves as members of their ethnic group first, 2) are proud of their ethnic identity, and 3) consider their native language to be very important to them. Similarly, the interview data obtained from Tigrinya native interviewees have indicated (see Tig. 1 & 2, Interview, Appendix 21 & 22, No. 9) that their native language was also important to them though also they are proud of the Ethiopian national identity.

Likewise, Dha-Anywaa native speakers mean score for each of the items indicated in the table is significantly greater than the average score of the scale (3.00). That means the participants 1) do also think of themselves as members of their ethnic group first, 2) are proud of their ethnic identity and 3) find their native language very important to them. However, the interview participants have divergent views. The first interviewee significantly associates himself to the Ethiopian national identity while the second does not (see Ayn. 1, Interview, Appendix 23 & 24, No. 9).

In sum, the participants of the three ethno-linguistic groups: Afan Oromo, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers have a strong ethnic identity. Their ethno-national self consciousness seems to be stronger and more solid.

5.3.2 National identity

National identity involves a set of concepts comprising the respondents' civic national self-perceptions and views on mother-tongue education. A set of three items comprising the theme involving students' views on mother-tongue education and their national self-perception was administered to the research participants. The following table presents the data.

Table 43: Descriptive statistics of the students' views on national identity

Language group	Items	N	Mean		Std. Deviation
		Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic
Afan Oromo native speakers	1) I consider myself Ethiopian.	85	2.82	.158	1.457
	2) Mother-tongue education disrupts national unity.	85	1.69	.143	1.319
	3) I am proud of being Ethiopian.	85	2.67	.176	1.621
Tigrinya native speakers	1) I consider myself Ethiopian.	80	3.64	.166	1.486
	2) Mother-tongue education disrupts national unity.	80	2.70	.160	1.427
	3) I am proud of being Ethiopian.	80	4.39	.121	1.085
Dha-Anywaa native speakers	1) I consider myself Ethiopian.	28	4.32	.171	.905
	2) Mother-tongue education disrupts national unity.	28	2.68	.287	1.517
	3) I am proud of being Ethiopian.	28	4.11	.279	1.474

The mean scores for Afan Oromo native speakers for the items indicated in table 43 are less than the average score of the scale which is 3.00. This means that the respondents 1) do not consider themselves Ethiopians, 2) do not believe that mother-tongue education disrupts national unity, and 3) they are not proud of being Ethiopians. The interviewees have indicated that they do not comply with this idea (see AfO. 1 & 3 Interview, Appendix 18 & 20, No. 11). The response given by the third Afan Oromo native interviewee is different from the previous two. Concerning whether or not he considers himself an Ethiopian, he said “Yes, I consider myself as an Ethiopian. I was born, brought up, went to school in this country. I cannot not consider myself an Ethiopian... I am a citizen of this very country (see AfO. 2, Interview, ASTU, Appendix 19, No. 9). This interviewee has also stated that he is proud of being an Ethiopian (see AfO. 2, Interview, ASTU, Appendix 19, No. 11).

The second set of respondents in table 43 is the Tigrinya native speakers. These respondents have mean scores greater than the average score of the scale (3.00), for the items related to whether or not they consider themselves Ethiopians, and whether or not they take pride in being so. The findings show that the respondents consider themselves Ethiopians first, and they are proud of being Ethiopians as well. Also, the data obtained from the Tigrinya native interviewees on the subject of national identity showed that the participants consider themselves Ethiopians first, and they take pride in being so (see Tig. 1 & 2, Interview, Appendix 21 & 22, No. 9 & 10). However, their mean scores for the items concerned with the role of mother-tongue education was less than the average score of the scale, 3.00. That means they do not believe mother-tongue education disrupts national unity in Ethiopia.

The Dha-Anywaa native speakers are the third category of respondents in the table. These respondents' mean scores for the items related to whether or not the respondents consider themselves Ethiopians, and whether or not they take pride in being Ethiopians are greater than the average score of the scale (3.00). This indicates that they consider themselves Ethiopians, and they are proud of being Ethiopians as well. Yet, they do not believe that mother-tongue education disrupts national unity in Ethiopia. The data obtained from the two Dha-Anywaa native speakers who participated in the interview reflected contradictory views on the subject of whether or not the interviewees consider themselves Ethiopians, and take pride in being so. The

first interviewee said: “... more than one hundred percent...” (see Any. 1, Interview, AAU, Appendix 21, No. 9). He has also indicated that he is strongly proud of being an Ethiopian.

The second Dha-Anywaa interviewee held a contradictory view. Asked if he considers himself an Ethiopian, he said “No, no, I do not the way I am treated” (see Any. 2, Interview, AAU, Appendix 24, No. 9). He attributed his reason to the unjust socioeconomic and politico-historical past the Anywaa ethno-linguistic group has experienced under different Ethiopian regimes due to their marginalized and peripheral status of the country. Asked if he takes pride in being an Ethiopian, he replied “I told you that...” (see Any. 2, Interviewee, AAU, Appendix 24, No. 11), referring to his previous response that he does not consider himself an Ethiopian.

In general, the above presentation shows that Tigrinya native speakers and Dha-Anywaa native speakers do consider themselves Ethiopians and take pride in being so while Afan Oromo native speakers do not. Yet, all the three ethno-linguistic groups do not believe that multilingual education disrupts national unity. Hence, for multilingual educations empowers ethno-linguistic groups (see Hoben, 1994:182), the idea that participants do not believe multilingual education disrupts national unity is imperative in the process of the construction of pluralist multi-ethnic nation.

The study of ethnic and national identity is imperative in understanding the sociolinguistic dynamics pertaining to the construction of multi-ethnic nations. This study has revealed that Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers have shown affiliation to both ethnic and national identities. Identity can be multiple (see Joseph, 2004:8), and ethno-linguistic groups can have dual loyalties (see Llas and Watt, 2010:1). In this respect, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers have ethnic and national identities with dual loyalties. In contrast, Afan Oromo native speakers have displayed a stronger affiliation to their ethnic identity, not to the national identity. That according to Block (2006:39) means they have narrower national identity circle compared to the other two ethno-linguistic groups.

CHAPTER SIX: INTER-ETHNIC COMMUNICATON CHALLENGES

This chapter deals with inter-ethnic communication challenges of the four ethno-linguistic groups who participated in the study, i.e. Afan Oromo, Amharic, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers. The chapter is divided into two broad sections. The first section deals with the participants' on-campus inter-ethnic communication challenges, and the second section explores their off-campus inter-ethnic communication challenges.

6.1 On-campus Inter-ethnic Communication Challenges among the Students

This section is concerned with the students' on-campus inter-ethnic communication challenges. Five specific but central sub-themes were focused upon as regards to this particular issue. The sub-themes are 1) the situation of inter-ethnic communications in the EHEIs 2) the inter-ethnic communication challenges, 3) the nature and pattern of language use in group work activities, 4) participations in classroom group work activities, and 5) language barriers inside classrooms.

6.1.1 The situation of inter-ethnic communications in the EHEIs

One of the items on the questionnaire was related to the students' practices of inter-ethnic communication in the target EHEIs. The following table presents the data.

Table 44: Students' inter-ethnic communication practices

		Could you communicate with students who do not belong to your ethnic group?				Total
		No		Yes		
		No.	%	No.	%	
Language group	a) Afan Oromo native speakers	65	67.5	20	23.5	85
	b) Amharic native speakers	1	1.4	69	98.6	70
	c) Tigrinya native speakers	8	10	72	90	80
	d) Dha-Anywaa native speakers	1	3.5	27	96.5	28
Total		30		233		263

Table 44 shows that the majority of Afan Oromo native speakers 65 (67.5%) have reported that they cannot communicate at inter-ethnic level while the remaining 20 (23.5%) of them have reported that they can communicate at inter-ethnic level. According to the data from the open-end item those who responded positively, English and Amharic the former being very dominantly, were used as the students' language of inter-ethnic communication. Those who have reported to use English have the following reasons (see Appendix 12, Afan Oromo open-end data, No. 5) they are poor in Amharic; they believe that English is important since it is the MoI in the universities as well as an important global language. The users of Amharic have stated (see Appendix 12, Afan Oromo open-end data, No. 5) that many students with different linguistic backgrounds use this language on-campus. It is both the FWL and the lingua franca of the country. Moreover, the respondents have pointed out that speaking Amharic was a must for them in the EHEIs.

Afan Oromo native speakers who have participated in the interview have indicated on their part that they try to use Amharic and Afan Oromo during inter-ethnic communications. Their Amharic, however, was mostly a broken one. A typical interviewee, who said he used Amharic, pointed out "... we try to speak Amharic; we try to use some of the words we know; they try to understand our few vocabularies..." (see AfO. 1, Interview, KMU, Appendix 18, No. 2). This interviewee tried to represent the big picture of the situation of Afan Oromo native speakers using a collective pronoun 'we'. Here, it can be concluded that Afan Oromo native speakers use the combination of broken Amharic, Afan Oromo and English for inter-ethnic communication.

Another Afan Oromo native interviewee who has reported to use both English and Afan Oromo at inter-ethnic level said in his own words:

I try to do my best to communicate in Amharic though I could not practically speak the language. I cannot also speak other Ethiopian languages either... I try to communicate with others using English or Amharic as much as possible (see AfO. 2, Interview, ASTU, Appendix 19, No. 2).

Stating the idea that his linguistic capability is somewhat limited to his own native language, the same interviewee has indicated he has serious challenges of inter-ethnic communication (see AfO. 2, Interviewee, ASTU, Appendix 19, No. 2).

The other Afan Oromo native interviewee has reported to use a broken Afan Oromo. Here, 'broken Afan Oromo' represents the Afan Oromo spoken by a few non-Oromo native partners of the interviewee. This is an accommodative inter-group communication strategy. This interviewee said he tries to communicate with those non-Afan Oromo speakers who are trying to speak a broken Afan Oromo. He did this because he was poor in Amharic. He said:

Sometimes there are people who try to speak a broken Afan Oromo as we just try to speak a broken Amharic to them.... They are from different ethno-linguistic group. They could hear some Afan Oromo words just like I could hear some Amharic words (see AfO. 3, Interview, AAU, Appendix 20, No. 2).

The second category of respondents in table 44 comprises Amharic native speakers. The table shows that a great majority of Amharic native speakers, i.e. 69 (98.6%), has responded that they communicate with students belonging to other ethno-linguistic groups. Only 1 (1.4%) of the respondents has reported to have failed to do so. They use Amharic to communicate with students not belonging to their ethno-linguistic group (see Appendix 11, Amharic open-end data, No. 3). This roughly shows that the respondents do not seem to have a problem of inter-ethnic communication. Their major reasons to use Amharic were presented as follows (see Appendix 11, Amharic open-end data, No. 5). First, the respondents do not know other languages except Amharic which they have simply indicated was the lingua franca of Ethiopia. Second, Amharic is already the working language of the government of EPRDF. According to the data from interview, some of the Amharic native speakers said that they rely on Good Samaritan interpreters to communicate with those fellow students who cannot speak Amharic (Amh. 2, Interview, AAU, Appendix 16, and No.2). Third, they use English on some occasions to communicate with non-Amharic speaking fellow students.

A huge majority of Tigrinya native speakers, i.e. 72 (90%), has also indicated that they can communicate at inter-ethnic level. Under the open-end item (see Appendix 13, Tigrinya open-end data, No. 5) of the questionnaire, the respondents have indicated that they use Amharic since it is an LWC and FWL of Ethiopia. They have also claimed that this language, spoken by the majority of Ethiopians, is the country's national symbol. Some of the respondents of the open-end section of the questionnaire have specifically pointed out that the only Ethiopian language they speak, other than Tigrinya, was Amharic. The data obtained from the interview participants of Tigrinya native speakers have also indicated that Tigrinya native speakers of the target EHEIs

use both Amharic and English to communicate with their fellow students who do not speak the former's native language. In this respect, one of the Tigrinya native interviewees said "I try to speak in English to those who do not speak Amharic." (Tig. 2, Interview, AAU, Appendix 23, No. 23).

Likewise, a huge majority of Dha-Anywaa native speakers 27 (96.5%) have reported that they can communicate at inter-ethnic level. In here too, only 1 (3.5%) of the student have responded to have failed to do so. According to the data from the open-end item, these respondents use both English and Amharic to communicate with students belonging to other ethno-linguistic groups (see Appendix 14, Dha-Anywaa open-end data, No. 4). They use these languages which are official and are most widely used on-campus. According to the open-end data, the Dha-Anywaa use these languages for the following reasons (see Appendix 14, Dha-Anywaa open-end data, No. 5). First, these two languages could facilitate their inter-ethnic communications. Second, they have good acquaintances with English since childhood. Third, they prefer to use Amharic, for it is the national²⁵ language of Ethiopia, and English, for it is an important global language.

Similarly, the interview participants of Dha-Anywaa native speakers have also said that they use Amharic and English to communicate with their fellow students who do not speak Dha-Anywaa. However, the use of Amharic and English of Dha-Anywaa native speakers was not an easy business as it appears to be. A remark made by one of the Dha-Anywaa interviewees captures this notion. He said: "... you know, sometimes when I start with Amharic, in the middle of the conversation it might be challenging, and I switch to English" (see Any. 2, Interview, AAU, Appendix 24, No. 2).

Generally, the data on the students' inter-ethnic communication practices showed that participants of all ethno-linguistic groups, except Afan Oromo native speakers, try to communicate at inter-ethnic level. However, they go through lots of challenges during this attempt. For instance, the participants try to communicate at inter-ethnic level in English, the language they are already poor at. Afan Oromo native speakers use broken English, broken Amharic and sometimes broken Afan Oromo to communicate with non-Afan Oromo speakers. Amharic is the language that most of these ethno-linguistic group participants are poor at.

²⁵ They consider Amharic to be the national language of Ethiopia.

Amharic speakers go through translators to communicate with non-Amharic speakers. We have seen in the literature that young people cannot participate in their country's social, economic and political activities if they cannot speak a functionally important FWL of their country (see Batibo, 2005, p 45; Mulugeta, 1984:334). Therefore, such a constraint inevitably affects the overall endeavor of building a multi-ethnic and pluralist state.

Amharic speakers rely on Good Samaritan interpreters to communicate with non-Amharic speakers. Tigrinya native speakers who do not speak any other Ethiopian language as L₂ other than Amharic have their inter-ethnic communication limited mainly to Amharic. Dha-Anywaa native speakers rely on Amharic and English for their inter-ethnic communication. This limits their sociolinguistic identity circle (see Block, 2006, p 39) that would have enabled them to have broader sociolinguistic interaction with members of other ethno-linguistic groups. It is imperative that young people in EHEIs need to be able to communicate inter-ethnically as people of one country. They need to have skills in functionally important languages in order to get their public domains mediated through language (see Chumbow, 2009:22).

6.1.2 The inter-ethnic communication challenges

The participants of this study were also presented with an item on the questionnaire focusing on whether or not they have on-campus inter-ethnic communication. The finding is presented as follows.

Table 45: Students' on-campus inter-ethnic communication challenges by language group

		Do you have on-campus inter-ethnic communication challenges?				Total
		<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>%</i>	
<i>Language group</i>	a) Afan Oromo native speakers	29	34.1	56	65.9	85
	b) Amharic native speakers	64	91.4	6	8.6	70
	c) Tigrinya native speakers	49	61.2	31	38.8	80
	d) Dha-Anywaa native speakers	20	71.4	8	28.6	28
Total		162		101		263

Table 45 shows that the majority of Amharic native speakers, 64 (91.4%), Tigrinya native speakers, 49 (61.2%) and Dha-Anywaa native speakers, 20 (71.4%) have reported that they do

not have on-campus communication challenges. However, the majority of Afan Oromo native speakers, 56 (65.5%), have indicated that they do have on-campus communication challenges. Generally, the data show that on-campus inter-ethnic communication challenges were mainly observed among the Afan Oromo native speakers than the remaining ethno-linguistic groups.

An Afan Oromo native speaker on the interview have indicated that they do experience serious challenges of inter-ethnic communications in the target EHEIs. The experience of an Afan Oromo native speaker seems to capture this essence clearly. The student shared the researcher his experience stating: “...when I was a freshman, I did not understand Amharic at all, and that excluded me inside the classroom, even killing my appetite for education” (see AfO. 1, Interview, KMU, Appendix 19, No. 13). The problem this young Afan Oromo native speaker has experienced goes to the extent that his academic life is negatively impacted.

Afan Oromo interviewees have generally reported to have failed to communicate with their fellow students because of language problem. The problem, as one of them stated, was so serious, especially in year I and year II; it sometimes goes to the extent of “... of communicating using signs, because we have no word to say” (see AfO.1, Interview, KMU, Appendix 19, No. 15). The same interviewee shared with this researcher a story about his friend who “...got his leg wounded while playing volley ball. He needed a medical attention and went to the student clinic but he was not able to communicate with the physicians; all he did was pointing his finger to his injured leg” (see AfO.1, Interview, KMU, Appendix 19, No. 15).

Amharic native interviewees, on the other hand, have indicated that they do not have serious challenges of inter-ethnic communications. However, they pointed out that sometimes there are difficulties to communicate with non-Amharic speaking fellow students belonging to other ethno-linguistic groups. In such occasions, they mostly try to communicate [in English]. In relation to this, an Amharic native speaker has shared his experience saying “With those who can use Amharic, I communicate in Amharic; with those who cannot, I use English” (see Amh.1, Interview, KMU, Appendix 15, No. 11).

Tigrinya native participants of the interview have reported to have some challenges of on-campus communication as well. However, they have also expressed their fear that they are

wrongly taken by others as they speak Tigrinya. The reason was that some students may think they are insulted when they hear the Tegarū speak to each other in Tigrinya.

Almost all the participants of the FGD seem to have understood the currently prevailing problems of inter-ethnic communications in EHEIs. The participants have firmly underlined the seriousness of the problem of inter-ethnic communications in EHEIs. Mostly, the warm spirit they have displayed on the FGD discussions was an indication that they were keen in understanding the magnitude of the problem. The FGD participants of the three ethno-linguistic groups: Afan Oromo, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers have shared with this researcher their provoking sociolinguistic experiences related to their personal challenges of inter-ethnic communications in their respective HEIs.

According to the participants of the FGD, there are misunderstandings observed among the linguistically diverse students. Tigrinya native participants on the FGD have indicated that they were mostly misunderstood for an insult by others as they speak in Tigrinya with their Tigrinya native friends. The suspicion observed among the students was best expressed by quote from one of the Tigrinya native speakers of the FGD: "... I am Tigraway, if there is another student who is either Oromo or Gambella²⁶, they think I am insulting them when I speak Tigrinya." (see Tig. 2a, FGD, Part I, Appendix 25).

Dha-Anywaa native speakers who participated on the interview have indicated, on their part, that they do not have that serious linguistic challenge of on-campus inter-ethnic communication. The following remark was made by an Anywaa interviewee: "I have no problem of communicating with diversity. No problem, I am communicating with all the people; ..." (Any. 1, Interview, AAU, Appendix 23, No. 13). This shows that the interviewee does not seem to have a problem of communicating with students coming from diverse ethno-linguistic backgrounds.

Another Dha-Anywaa native interviewee said, "I try my best to communicate with them²⁷ in Amharic. When it is difficult for me, I shift to English" (see Any. 2, Interview, AAU, Appendix 24, No. 15). The same interviewee said that he avoids friends who do not speak either Amharic or English, clearly putting in his own words: "I do not have those people who do not speak

²⁶ The word Gambella was used as an ethnonym by the student. The term was used by the student to represent every ethno-linguistic group in the Gambella region.

²⁷ Referring to the non-Dha-Anywaa speaking friends

Amharic or English close to me” (see Any. 2, Interview, AAU, Appendix 24, No. 15). He said that he does not have friends who do not speak either Amharic or English from other ethno-linguistic groups.

Discussing the fundamental causes of the challenges of inter-ethnic communications in EHEIs, participants of the FGD have raised the other significant problem during the first session of the FGD. This problem has to do with the fact that Amharic was not well spoken in the regions of Ethiopia where it is not used as a working language. The FGD participants believed that many people in Ethiopia have resorted to using their own respective regional and native languages for different functions in a wide range of domains in their own regions since 1991. This has negatively influenced the previously widely spoken sociolinguistic status of Amharic in Ethiopia.

The respondents attributed their poor Amharic proficiency to their lack of experience of speaking the language back home and to their belief that Amharic was difficult. Tigrinya and Afan Oromo native speakers, for instance, have indicated that Amharic was not well spoken in their respective regions. An Afan Oromo native speaker who participated in the interview and who was originally from western Ethiopia said: “Amharic was not spoken in the place I came from; we almost always use Afan Oromo” (see AfO. 2, Interview, ASTU, Appendix 20, No.5). In addition, some of the participants of the FGD have indicated that they are not confident enough in the Amharic skills they have, and so they are afraid of being mocked at by fellow friends for a broken Amharic.

As to the FGD participants, the other problem of inter-ethnic communication in EHEIs has to do with the issue of LPO in general and language-in-education policy in particular. The participants have squarely stated that the major cause of inter-ethnic communication challenges presently observed in EHEIs is fundamentally attributed to the late commencement of the teaching of Amharic in most of the regions’ primary schools. In other words, the late start of the delivery of Amharic in some regions of Ethiopia, according to the FGD participants, might have resulted in EHEIs students’ poor skills in Amharic.

Added to the problem of late start of Amharic was the fact that the students are growing up in a tough environment. Here, by the word ‘tough environment’ the participants seem to be alluding to the ethnic-based states’ political structure of the post-1991 Ethiopia. The following remark

made by an Amharic native interviewee best represents this idea. He said: “It is the policy that made us grow in such an environment. It is the policy that made us not to be able to speak the FWL” (see Amh.1b, FGD, Part II, Appendix 26).

In sum, Afan Oromo native speakers have serious on-campus inter-ethnic communications challenges compared to the remaining three ethno-linguistic groups. Yet, this does not mean that the later three ethno-linguistic groups did not have problems of inter-ethnic communications. For instance, Tigrinya native speakers have reported inter-ethnic misunderstandings on-campus while the Dha-Aynwaa only make friend out of those who could speak either Amharic or English because of inter-ethnic communication problems. Amharic native speakers have challenges of inter-ethnic communications with those who cannot speak Amharic.

Generally, the challenges of on-campus inter-ethnic communications were mainly attributed to the following major factors: 1) the poor status of Amharic in non-Amharic speaking regions of Ethiopia, 2) the late start of Amharic in primary schools in some non-Amharic speaking regions, and 3) the present tough sociolinguistic environment children are growing up in.

6.1.3 The nature and patterns of group work activities among the students

It was found to be necessary to understand the nature and patterns of classroom and outside classroom group works among the respondents of the four ethno-linguistic groups. This would help the researcher discern the participants’ realities of inter-ethnic relations in academic settings. Therefore, the participants’ patterns of classroom and outside classroom group works were asked. The following table presents the students’ responses on the basis of their ethnic background.

Table 46: Students’ nature of participations in classroom and outside classroom group works by language group

		<i>Do you do classroom and outside classroom group works only with your ethnic friends?</i>				Total
		No	%	Yes	%	
<i>Language group</i>	a) Afan Oromo native speakers	56	65.8	29	34.2	85
	b) Amharic native speakers	70	100	0	0	70
	c) Tigrinya native speakers	66	82.5	14	17.5	80
	d) Dha-Anywaa native speakers	21	75	7	25	28
Total		213		50		263

The data in table 46 show that the majority of Afan Oromo native speakers of the four ethno-linguistic groups in the study have reported not to take part in classroom and outside classroom group works only with their fellow ethnic friends. Under the open-end section of the questionnaire, these respondents have shown their respective reasons for not following such patterning of group work activities. The responses were organized thematically and discussed as follows.

Amharic native respondents of the open-end item have predominantly indicated that such an organization on the basis of ethno-linguistic category is not acceptable to them (see Appendix 11, open-end data, No. 24 & 25). The most widely occurring response given by the significant majority of Afan Oromo native speakers was that it was not appropriate to stick only to the members of their ethnic group during such classroom and outside classroom group work activities (see Appendix 12, open-end data, No. 26 & 27). This set of respondents said the classrooms are incredibly diversified, and ethnic groups are mixed (see Appendix 12, open-end data, No. 26 & 27). Therefore, ethnic-based partnership was not appreciate, for everyone was equal, and for it was not necessary to stick only to one's ethnic group.

Dha-Anywaa native speakers have also given a number of reasons for not sticking to their ethnic friends during both classroom and outside classroom group activities with fellow students (see Appendix 14, open-end data, No. 26 & 27). These are 1) the classrooms are linguistically diversified, 2) group assignments are mostly diversity-based, 3) group works are randomly assigned, and 4) it is good to share ideas with people from different linguistic and cultural

backgrounds. In sum, it can be concluded from the above table that the participants of the four ethno-linguistic groups in this study do not seem to prefer to engage in both classroom and outside classroom group work activities organized along ethno-linguistic lines.

6.1.4 Students' participations in classroom and outside classroom group work activities

As regards to whether or not the students participate in classroom group activities, the data drawn from the four ethno-linguistic groups is presented in the following table.

Table 47: Students' participations in classroom and outside classroom group activities by language group

		Do you participate in classroom and outside classroom group activities?				Total
		No.	%	Yes	%	
<i>Language group</i>	a) Afan Oromo ative speakers	65	67.5	20	23.5	85
	b) Amharic native speakers	13	18.6	57	81.4	70
	c) Tigrinya native speakers	10	13.8	69	86.2	80
	d) Dha-Anywaa native speakers	1	3.6	27	96.4	28
Total		32		230		263

Table 47 comprises data obtained from the respondents who were asked whether or not they participate in classroom group activities. The result shows that the majority of the respondents of the three ethno-linguistic groups, i.e. Amharic native speakers 57 (81.4%), Tigrinya native speakers 69 (86.2%) and Dha-Anywaa native speakers 27 (96.4%) have indicated that they participate in classroom and outside classroom group activities. However, the majority of Afan Oromo native speakers 65 (67.5%) do not participate in classroom and outside classroom group activities. The majority of Amharic native speakers have indicated in the open-end section that they widely use Amharic as a language of classroom and outside classroom participations during group work activities (see Appendix 11, open-end data, No. 22). Even though a few have reported to use English, the importance of the later, inside classrooms, does not seem to be significant for them. Those Afan Oromo native speakers who have reported to participate in classroom group activities used 1st) Afan Oromo, 2nd) English (see Appendix 12, open-end data, No. 14). Tigrinya native speakers have indicated that they use 1st) English 2nd) Amharic, and 3rd)

Tigrinya (see Appendix 13, open-end data, No. 24). The Dha-Anywaa native speakers have stated that their most important languages of classroom group activities are English and Amharic in the same sequence (see Appendix 14, open-end data, No. 24).

6.1.5 Language barriers inside classrooms

As regards to the item on the student's language barrier, the following table presents the data obtained from the respondents of the four ethno-linguistic groups.

Table 48: Students' classroom language barrier by language group

		Do you have classroom language barrier?				Total
		No	%	Yes	%	
Language group	a) Afan Oromo native speakers	39	45.8	46	54.2	85
	b) Amharic native speakers	65	92.8	5	7.2	70
	c) Tigrinya native speakers	59	73.7	21	26.3	80
	d) Dha-Anywaa native speakers	24	85.7	4	14.3	28
Total		187		76		263

Table 48 shows that the relative majority of Afan Oromo native speakers, 46 (54.2%), has reported that they have language barriers inside classrooms. However, the significant majority of the remaining ethno-linguistic groups, i.e. Amharic native speakers 65 (92.8%), Tigrinya native speakers 59 (73.7%), Dha-Anywaa native speakers 24 (85.7%) have stated that they do not have problems of classroom language barrier. Indeed, a considerable number of Afan Oromo native speakers 39 (45.8%) have reported to have no classroom language barrier. Tigrinya native speakers seem to have some relative classroom language barriers, 21 (26.3%), though not as significant as it is for Afan Oromo native speakers.

As indicated in the open-end section, Afan Oromo native speakers' major language barrier inside classrooms comes mainly from Amharic and to some extent from English (see Appendix 12, No. 28). Amharic has been found to be a serious challenge to Afan Oromo native respondents in relation to classroom interactions. Indeed, they have pointed out that though they try some English that would not even help them.

To the Amharic native speakers, as reported in the open-end section, the major language barrier inside classroom is due to some Ethiopian languages like Afan Oromo, Tigrinya, Wolayta, Dawro, Nuer and Dha-Anywaa (see Amharic open-end data, Appendix 11, No. 26). Amharic native speakers have reported to have problems with a few students who cannot speak Amharic (see Appendix 11, Amharic open-end data, No. 26).

The majority of Tigrinya native respondents have reported in the open-end item section of the questionnaire that their major classroom language barrier comes from English, mostly, and Amharic to some extent (see Tigrinya open-end data, Appendix 13, No. 28). The reasons given by the respondents were 1) poor proficiency in those languages because of lack of experience in both languages and 2) the absence of other means of communication (see Tigrinya open-end data, Appendix 13, No. 29).

The Dha-Anywaa native speakers on their part have indicated in the open-end section that their major problem is with those students who do not speak either English or Amharic, but other Ethiopian languages (see Dha-Anywaa open-end data, Appendix 14, No. 28).

FGD participants have also indicated that classroom inter-ethnic communication was a serious challenge. The discussion has revealed that non-Amharic speakers were coming short of the opportunities of effectively engaging in the teaching-learning processes in the classrooms just because of the language barrier. An Afan Oromo native speaker who participated in the FGD shared his real time classroom experience in this respect. He said “... you know... though I usually had questions to ask, I was not able to ask because of language problem” (see Afo 1a, FGD, Part I, Appendix 25). By ‘language problem’ the participant was alluding to the problem due to Amharic language.

This problem of linguistic exclusion inside classrooms seems to be very prevalent in the target HEIs that many instances were pouring during the FGD. One of the Amharic native participants of the FGDs shared a story about what happened to a young classmate of hers saying:

A girl in our class, during first year... she was not able to speak Amharic and English. We sat for an exam; the teacher told her in Amharic to cover up her exam papers. She did not understand the teacher. She did not get him as he told her in English as well (see Amh. 1b, FGD, Part I, Appendix 25).

The language barrier this young female student had experienced made her not to be able to communicate with her teacher. The consequence was that she was expelled out of the examination room (see Amh. 1b, FGD, Part I, Appendix 25). Here, the question, in fact, was how she even managed to attend in such a sociolinguistic setting in the first place. In general, challenges of this sort mostly lead students to linguistic isolation which in turn leads them to linguistic alienation from the very community with whom they are supposed to co-exist. This inevitably results in psychological and functional dislocations (see Abraham, 1983:29).

According to the interview, Afan Oromo native speakers indicated that they have serious classroom inter-ethnic communication problems due to Amharic-English CS by the instructors (see AfO. Interview, Appendix 18, 19 & 20, No. 3). The students have indicated that they fail to grasp the gists of their lessons whenever instructors' code-switch from English to Amharic. An Afan Oromo native interviewee has clearly indicated that he misses points when teachers switch to Amharic while teaching (see AfO. 2, Interview, ASTU, Appendix, 19, No. 4). The above interviewee has indicated that instructors use Amharic to answer very important questions posed by the students. The worst part of the problem according to the interviewee was teachers' CS to Amharic to explain very important and complex points.

Dha-Anywaa native speakers do not seem to have a problem of classroom language barrier though some have stated that English-Amharic CS somehow impacts their learning. One of the Dha-Aynawaa native speakers who participated in the interview said "... when teachers... shift code to Amharic, I always have a problem understanding what he tells the class... in Amharic, I do not totally get that" (see Any. 2, Interview, AAU, Appendix 24, No. 14). The same interviewee told his instructor that he was missing many points during the lessons. The instructor, however, said "... you are too late; you should have told me this before" (see Any. 2, Interview, AAU, Appendix 24, No. 14).

6.1.6 Inter-ethnic communication challenges outside the classroom

An item on the questionnaire, particularly focusing on the practices of on-campus inter-ethnic communications among the participants of the four ethno-linguistic groups, has been responded to. The following table presents the data.

Table 49: Students' inter-ethnic communication challenges outside classrooms by language group

		<i>Could you communicate effectively on-campus?</i>				Total
		No.	%	Yes	%	
<i>Language group</i>	a) Amharic native speakers	2	2.8	68	97.2	70
	b) Afan Oromo native speakers	47	55.3	38	44.7	85
	c) Tigrinya native speakers	13	16.2	67	83.8	80
	d) Dha-Anywaa native speakers	0	0	28	100	28
Total		53		210		263

As shown in table 49, the majority of the respondents of the three ethno-linguistic groups, i.e. Amharic native speakers 68 (97.2%), Tigrinya native speakers 67 (83.8%), and all of the Dha-Ayawaa native speakers 28 (100%) have reported that they could communicate inter-ethnically outside classrooms on-campus. However, the majority of the Afan Oromo native speakers 47 (55.3%), have stated that they do not have effective inter-ethnic communication in this domain for many reasons. The most important reasons were that they Amharic was poor; that they cannot speak other Ethiopian languages either, and that many people cannot speak Afan Oromo on the respective campuses (see Afan Oromo open-end data, Appendix 12, No. 23).

The participants of the FGD have confirmed that there are challenges of failing to communicate beyond ethno-linguistic lines on-campus. These challenges were observed among the students themselves, and in the interactions they make with the administrative organs of their respective universities. The following typical extract was taken from the experience of one of the Tigrinya native speakers who participated in the FGD. The participant said “As I went to the registrar to get registered and get an ID card, I was not able to speak Amharic” (see Fig. 1a, FGD, PART I, Appendix 25). The student recalled his real time experience of failing to communicate using Amharic in the very HEI he was assigned at. Here, the challenges students face while trying to communicate beyond their ethno-linguistic lines seem to deter them from acquiring the services they demand as students. An Afan Oromo native interviewee has also shared his personal story in which he failed to express his problems in Amharic to an administrative staff of AAU.

6.2 Off-campus inter-ethnic communication challenges

The other sociolinguistic domains of investigation of the challenges of inter-ethnic communication among the target respondents were the off-campus domains. In here, the

researcher was interested to find out whether or not the participants of the study communicate inter-ethnically at off-campus level. The data generated was presented in the following table.

Table 50: Students' off-campus communication practices

		<i>Do you communicate with the off-campus community?</i>				<i>Total</i>
		No	%	Yes	%	
<i>Language group</i>	a) Afan Oromo native speakers	11	12.9	74	87.1	85
	b) Amharic native speakers	0	0	70	100	70
	c) Tigrinya native speakers	10	12.5	70	87.5	80
	d) Dha-Anywaa native speakers	1	3.5	27	96.5	28
<i>Total</i>		22		241		263

Table 50 shows that the significant majority of the four ethno-linguistic groups could communicate with the off-campus community. In a crudest sense, the data imply that the respondents of the four ethno-linguistic groups do not seem to have off-campus communication problems.

According to the data from the open-end item, the language of off-campus communication for Afan Oromo native speakers was found to be predominantly Afan Oromo (see Afan Oromo open-end data, Appendix 12, No. 30). Afan Oromo native speakers who participated in the interview have indicated that they use Amharic for off-campus communications though they are poor in it (see AfO1. KMU, Appendix 18, No. 1). Another interviewee said that he just uses Afan Oromo regardless of who ever his interlocutor is because the former cannot speak Amharic (see AfO. 2, Interview, ASTU, Appendix 19, No. 1). The third interviewee said that he used broken Amharic and broken Afan Oromo (see AfO.3, Interview, AAU, Appendix 20, No. 1).

The Amharic native speakers have indicated in the open-end section of the questionnaire that they use Amharic for the off-campus communication purposes (see Amharic open-end data, Appendix 11, No. 28). Likewise, the data obtained from the interviewees of this ethno-linguistic group have confirmed this finding (see Amh. 1, 2, & 3, Interview, Appendix 15, 16 & 17 respectively, No. 1). However, a statement given by an Amharic native interviewee has shown

that Amharic native speakers have some challenges of off-campus communication. The interviewee from KMU²⁸ said that outside the classroom and off-campus “I cannot help but just listen to other language speakers wondering what they would possibly say about me. Sometimes, I feel that they are talking about me” (see Amh.1, Interview, KMU, Appendix 15, No. 12).

Tigrinya native respondents, however, have reported in the open-end section of the questionnaire that Amharic and Tigrinya, in the same sequence, are the important languages of off-campus communications (see Tig. 1 & 2, Interview, Appendix, 21 & 22, No. 1). Tigrinya native speakers who participated in the interview said that they use Amharic and Tigrinya off-campus (see Tigrinya open-end data, Appendix 13, No. 30). They use the former with non-Tigrinya speakers and the later with their ethnic partners.

Dha-Anyway native speakers have reported in the open-end item of the questionnaire that they use mainly Amharic and English for the off-campus communication purposes (see Dha-Anywaa open-end data, Appendix 14, No. 30). One of the Dha-Anywaa native speakers on the interview has also indicated that he use Amharic and Dha-Anywaa for off-campus communications (Any. 1, Interview, AAU, Appendix 23, No. 1). However, the interviewee has indicated that he mainly uses Dha-Anywaa for off-campus communication because he mostly hangouts off campus with his Anywaa friends.

²⁸ There are many people speaking Afan Oromo around KMU.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESOLVING INTER-ETHNIC COMMUNICATION CHALLENGES

This chapter deals with mechanisms of resolving the challenges of inter-ethnic communications in EHEIs. The FGD participants have discussed, during the second part of the FGD, on mechanisms of resolving the challenges of inter-ethnic communications in EHEIs. Also, the interview participants have suggested their views on mechanisms of resolving the challenges. The mechanisms were meant to address some major inter-ethnic communication challenges the participants have identified during the first part of the FGD. The emerging themes, adding the lessons drawn from the experiences of the selected multilingual developing countries, were organized into the following thematic units.

7.1 The Horizontal Evolution of Lingua Franca

Languages mostly evolve into the status of lingua francae either through the top-down imposition or through horizontal expansion, the latter being the most widely preferred one. Kiswahili has expanded horizontally in Tanzania (see Topan, 2008:255). It developed into a cross-border language through linguistic egalitarianism (see Topan, 2008:259). In addition, colonialism has played a great role in establishing it as a language of administration, education and media in the country (see Mafu, 2003:268; Temu, 1998:146). It was also de-Arabized and Bantuized through the effort of the missionaries (see Topan, 2008:255).

However, the evolution of Amharic as a lingua franca in Ethiopia was not horizontal like Kiswahili was in Tanzania. Ethiopia's sociolinguistic past was not that of linguistic egalitarianism. As a result, the Feudal and the Socialist projects of building the Ethiopian nation using one strong national language was not successful. Therefore, Ethiopians did not gain a language appealing to their collective sentiment of their past as a people. Moreover, Amharic was not de-ethnicized, rather it was considered as a language of exploitation and oppression among the significant number of non-Amharic speakers.

The fact that Kiswahili was a language of colonial struggle in Tanzania gave it the historic link to Tanzania's project of socialist multiethnic state construction (see Topan, 2008:259). Hence, Kiswahili was strongly linked to Tanzania's national identity (See Blommaert (2006:246-247)

and Temu (1998:151-152). Generally, Kiswahili has managed to be at the hub of Tanzanian national identity. Amharic, as opposed to Kiswahili, was not used as an effective instrument for creating a strong national unity in Ethiopia; it was not effectively linked to the Ethiopian national identity. Hence, linking languages with the construction of national identity is imperative in Ethiopia.

7.2 The Democratic Reformulation of the ELPO

The FGD participants have also suggested that Ethiopia has to undergo an LPO change paying attention to the situation of languages in the country at grassroots level. They have indicated that it is imperative that the government of Ethiopia pays particular attention to Amharic. They have specifically recommended that the delivery of Amharic as a subject should start early in the primary schools of the country, and the language should also be taught well at this level. A female Amharic native speaker who participated in the FGD suggested “... it [the delivery of Amharic] should start quite at the lower level; it [Amharic] should be taught exactly the way English and Mathematics courses are taught” (see Amhb.2, FGD, Part II, Appendix 26).

The FGD participants have also raised issues related to the idea that languages are learned better at an early age. To this end, an Afan Oromo native speaker who participated in the FGD said the following idea: “It is better to learn language at a young age” (see AfO. 1b, FGD, Part II, Appendix 26). The delivery of Amharic starting from grade five is a reason for his poor Amharic skills. He suggested that the older a person is the lesser his/her interest is in learning a language. This idea goes in line with Hoffmann’s (1991:35) account of the significance of early acquisition of L₂ for a better proficiency. Hence, starting Amharic early, as suggested in the context of this participants’ region, would play a positive role in solving the problem of inter-ethnic communications in the EHEIs in particular and the country in general.

Afan Oromo native participants of the interview have made the following suggestions (see AfO. 1, 2 & 3, Appendix 18, 19 & 20, Interview, No. 16). First, EHEIs should start offering courses on languages of greater functional importance like Afan Oromo and Amharic. Here, EHEIs can have their own roles in LPO formulations, and they can address the challenges of inter-ethnic communications on-campus. The experience of South Africa sets an interesting lesson in this particular regard (see Moodley, 2009:23-24). Second, the promotion of Afan Oromo to the status of the FWL of Ethiopia is necessary. They have pointed out that this decision would

resolve the problem of inter-ethnic communication that the Afan Oromo native speakers are facing in EHEIs. Third, sticking to English as MoI inside classrooms could resolve the classroom linguistic exclusion due to English-Amharic CS.

Three suggestions were made by Amharic native speakers in the interview (see Amh. 1, 2 & 3, Appendix, 15, 16 & 17, No. 14). The first interviewee suggested that universities should offer courses on Amharic to those who cannot speak the language. The context in which the student posed this was related to considering LD as a threat. However, languages do not pose problems themselves, but the ways they are handled might do so. Diversity, in all its forms, especially LD, is an inevitable part of human life, and it is a treasure to be exploited wisely (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:279). Using multiple languages is pluralistic and guarantees personal LRs (see Meyerhoff, 226:105). The second interviewee believed that it is rather imperative to fix the problem of Amharic at the lower level. The third interview pointed out that it is imperative to offer Afan Oromo as a course in Amhara region; specially, young people in Amhara region need to have the opportunity of enriching their linguistic capital by adding Afan Oromo.

The Dha-Anywaa native speakers in the interview have suggested that people should learn Amharic; Amharic should be offered as a national language of inter-ethnic communication in Ethiopia. Stressing that every citizen in Ethiopia should speak Amharic, they underlined Amharic would bring a mutual understanding in the country. A Dha-Aynawaa native interviewee said “...there has to be one language that anybody from the corner of this country should master, so that they can communicate” (see Any. 2, Interview, AAU, Appendix 24, No.16). This extract of the interviewee best captures the perspective of the Anywaa participants of the interview as to how the challenges of inter-ethnic communications can be resolved in the EHEIs.

The other suggestion forwarded by the interviewees has to do with the roles that can be played by the EHEIs. The interviewees have pointed out that universities should be very strict with regard to their curriculum. Instructors should not be allowed to code-switch between Amharic and English while offering courses. In this regard, an Anywaa interviewee said, “... if there are people who do not speak English or understand English, the university should find some ways teaching these people or training them on the mastery of the language” (see Any. 2, Interview, AAU, Appendix 24, No.16).

The learning of Amharic starting late from grade five, according to the Afan Oromo native speakers, was detrimental to their skills in the language. They said that even the way Amharic was delivered at that level was not appropriate. Therefore, the idea of starting the delivery of early and teaching it appropriately would solve the challenges of inter-ethnic communications. There is no doubt that Amharic is the most important lingua franca of Ethiopia. It is a language of wider functional importance in the country. Such a language is a crucial ingredient of the construction of national identity (see Vandermeeren, 2005:119) in a given multilingual country.

Indeed, languages are acquired well early (see Hoffmann, 1991:35). Yet, this, as a policy change, requires a national scale decision within the apparatus of the federal state structure. Here, it also needs to be understood that young people have the right to the acquisition of an official language (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2005:28). However, given the politically sensitive nature of LPP in general and language-in-education policy in particular in Ethiopia, the issue needs to be entertained with a very clear understanding of the facts on the ground (see Mutasa, 2006:121), attitude engineering (see Zelealem, 2012:48) and through democratic principles of LPP (see Chumbow, 2009:35).

A carefully crafted three-plus-or-minus LPO is imperative for national integration in LD countries. A true democratic LPO needs to consider demographic factors in language choice. Yet, this could hardly be outlined if language classification on the basis of demography of speakers is not put in place. Here, Nigeria sets a good example for classifying its languages into 1) major languages, 2) major state languages and 3) sub-state languages (see Adegbiya, 2004:190). Ethiopia needs to put in place the three-plus-or-minus LPO. Obvious, English is an international language and there are many official regional languages presently operating in the country. The problem is with national link language which can be addressed through the adoption of democratic LPO, i.e. language choice on the basis of the demography of speakers.

As in the case of South Africa (see Meyerhoff, 2006:105), LPO should be pragmatic and pluralistic in Ethiopia. That is to say it should be designed in a way that puts the existing facts on the ground into consideration, and it also needs to be inclusive of the LD. This creates a wider circle of sociolinguistic interactions for the broad mass of the society. Here, as it has been indicated before, more than 98% of South Africans could interact with any one of the 11 official languages. Ethiopia needs to reconsider its LPO based on pragmatic and pluralistic principles.

The major Ethiopian languages need to be considered for adoption as national scale link languages, within the federal domains, through being promoted to the FWL status.

South Africa's LPO is so exemplary that it traces both the instrumental and the sentimental values of languages (see Meyerhoff, 2006:105). It was designed on the basis of personality principles in which geographic location does not deter anyone from communicating with other people. Most importantly, South Africa has granted its HEIs a right to design their own LPOs based on the constitutional frame of the country (see Moodley, 2009:23-24). This then can play a critical role in resolving the challenges of inter-ethnic communications among the linguistically diverse students in the HEIs of the country. Here, Ethiopia could pick a lesson from South Africa's experience and add the element of personality principle to its LPO, and it could also grant its HEIs to adopt their own respective LPOs in line with the constitutional provision of the country.

7.3 The Adoption of Multiple Official Languages

South Africa adopted 11 official languages following the end of apartheid while India adopted 15 official languages following the end of British colonialism (see Ferguson, 2006:10). In South Africa, more than 98% of the population speaks any one of these 11 official languages (see Kamuangamalu, 2004:199). South Africa's LPO has contributed immensely to the construction of multiple socio-cultural identities (see Baldauf & Kaplan, 2004:10). However, no matter how well indigenous languages are brought to the status of official language, public interest towards the ex-colonial language, English, is significant since its role as a link language is increasing.

Ethiopia, despite being an LD country with powerful and competing major languages, still has only a single FWL. Its LPO cannot be considered democratic as in the case of South African LPO. Apparently, the adoption of multiple official languages consolidates the construction of multiple socio-cultural identities, strengthens national integration and unity. Even though the Ethiopian public understandably has an interest in English which is the global language, the status of English in Ethiopia cannot make it a good candidate for a link language. The designation of multiple official languages seems to be an inevitable issue of great importance in order to address the present challenges of inter-ethnic communications in Ethiopia.

7.3.1 Students' views on the adoption of more Ethiopian languages as FWL

An item on the questionnaire has been dedicated to whether or not the participants of the study support the idea of having additional FWLs in Ethiopia. Hence, data have been collected on the participants' views on the adoption of more Ethiopian languages as FWL additionally to Amharic. The responses given by the participants of the four ethno-linguistic groups are presented in the following table.

Table 51: Students' views on the adoption of more Ethiopian languages as FWL

		Do you recommend more languages be used as FWL of Ethiopia in addition to Amharic?				Total
		No		Yes		
		No.	%	No.	%	
Language group	a) Afan Oromo native speakers	7	8.2	78	91.8	85
	b) Amharic native speakers	59	84.2	11	15.8	70
	c) Tigrinya native speakers	49	61.3	31	38.7	80
	d) Dha-Anywaa native speakers	16	57.1	12	42.9	28
Total		131		132		263

As indicated in table 51, the significant majority of Afan Oromo native speakers, 78 (91.8%), have indicated that they recommend the adoption of more Ethiopian languages as FWLs. They have given multiple reasons under the open-end section of the questionnaire to support their views (see Afan Oromo open-end data, Appendix 12, No. 11). The major reason was demography; they believe that languages like Afan Oromo, spoken by a significant majority Ethiopians, have wider demographic and functional significances. Hence, the adoption of such languages to the FWL status, according to the respondents, would somehow resolve the challenges of inter-ethnic communication in EHEIs. It would also help people develop through the use of their own languages, enhances ethnic relations and speeds up national development. Most importantly, they believed that it is a matter of necessity in Ethiopia. They have also stressed that people need to use their own languages in different domains if they have to be part of the national development endeavor. Moreover, underlining that FWL should not just be one in a country of such competing major languages as Ethiopia, the respondents have pointed out that

other major Ethiopian languages do also deserve to be FWLs. They believe this would not just help develop the languages but improve the life conditions of the speakers.

On the contrary, a significant majority of Amharic native speakers, 59 (84.2%), do not want to see the adoption of more Ethiopian languages as FWLs. Some of these respondents have provided their own reason as to why they do not support the idea that more Ethiopian languages should be considered for the status of FWL (see Amharic open-end data, Appendix 11, No. 10). They have indicated that Amharic is already playing the role of FWL, and that suffices, and therefore, no other unnecessary expense is required, since according to them, it is costly to adopt more FWLs in Ethiopia.

Likewise, 49 (61.3%) of Tigrinya native speakers do not want to see more Ethiopian languages adopted as FWLs. However, they believe that every linguistic group in Ethiopia could develop its respective language at regional level. These respondents have underlined that Amharic has just been enough for the FWL position. The remaining participants, i.e. 31 (38.7%), have reported to support the adoption of more Ethiopian languages as FWLs. They have presented the reason that speaking many languages enhances inter-ethnic communications, adds new knowledge and widens employment opportunity through making one multilingual FWL (see Appendix 13, No. 11).

Among the Dha-Anywaa native speakers who participated in the study, 16 (57.1%) do not want to see more Ethiopian languages adopted as FWLs. These respondents have reasoned out (see Appendix 14, No. 11) stating that Amharic has already been the FWL of Ethiopia, and it is difficult to learn other languages. They also believe that such an endeavor of adding more Ethiopian languages as FWLs might trigger conflicts among ethno-linguistic groups in Ethiopia. These respondents also believe that it is safer to stick to Amharic since the government uses only Amharic. However, the remaining Dha-Anywaa native speakers, 12 (42.9%), have a positive view on the adoption of more Ethiopian languages as FWLs of the country.

In general, the majority of Amharic, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers do not, in a relative sense, want the adoption of more Ethiopian languages as FWLs. However, Afan Oromo native speakers have a very strong desire to see more FWLs in Ethiopia, in addition to Amharic.

The latter attribute this desire of theirs, especially to the demographic, functional and socioeconomic status of Afan Oromo in Ethiopia.

7.3.2 Students' recommendations of additional FWL for Ethiopia²⁹

An open-end item directly following the question on the respondents' views on the adoption of more Ethiopian languages as FWLs was related to which specific languages the respondents recommend. The researcher has organized the findings on the languages recommended by the students with positive views towards the adoption of more FWL in Ethiopia in the following section.

According to the data from the open-end section, Afan Oromo native speakers have suggested 1st) Afan Oromo, 2nd) Somali and 3rd) English for additional FWLs of Ethiopia (see Appendix12, No. 12). The recommendation of these specific languages by Afan Oromo native speakers has been attributed to some reasons according to the respondents. First, these languages cover a huge sociolinguistic demography of speakers in Ethiopia. Second, promoting these languages to the status of the FWL of Ethiopia would make serving the broader mass of society easier since many people could communicate with those languages in Ethiopia.

Tigrinya³⁰ native speakers on their part have recommend 1st) English, 2nd) Afan Oromo, 3rd) Hebrew, 4th) Ge'ez and 5th) Tigrinya for additional FWLs of Ethiopia (see Appendix 13, No. 13). They believe that this decision would help develop widely spoken Ethiopian languages like Afan Oromo. It could also enhance communication at national level. As to Hebrew, Ge'ez and Tigrinya, the respondents have indicated that these languages have rich literary history. Their adoption might help the country exploit the centuries old wealth of secret wisdom in the hearts of these languages. This last reason seems to presuppose that many historic texts produced in Ge'ez and Tigrinya embody rich philosophical treasure to be exploited by the present generation of Ethiopians.

²⁹Amharic native speakers have not suggested any language to be considered as a FWL, for they did not agree with the idea of the adoption in the first place.

³⁰ This finding represents those Tigrinya native speakers who responded that they want to see more FWLs in Ethiopia, in addition to Amharic.

The Dha-Anywaa³¹ native speakers have recommended 1st) English, 2nd) Afan Oromo, 3rd) Afar, 4th) Tigrinya and 5th) Dha-Anywaa for additional FWLs of Ethiopia (see Appendix 14, No. 13). They have recommended that this specific set of languages for some reasons. First, they believed the inclusion of these languages in the FWL domains would strengthen communication at national. Second, since these languages are among the ones spoken by the vast majority of people in Ethiopia, their adoption as FWLs may enhance national development. Thirdly, the adoption would help resolve the working language conflict in Ethiopia.

Generally, the data on students' recommendations of additional languages for FWL position shows that the languages recommended by all the participants of the three ethno-linguistic groups are Afan Oromo and English. In fact, all the three ethno-linguistic groups have included their own respective native languages as candidates for the position. Here, according to Batibo, (2005, p 45), the fact of the recommendation of Afan Oromo sounds logical given that it is a functionally important language. However, English, given its poor status in Ethiopia (see Tekeste, 2006:25), and the fact that it is a foreign language with no colonial background in the country, does not seem to be a good candidate.

Since Afan Oromo is the major language in Ethiopia, i.e. both in demography and functional significance, it is imperative to consider its adoption to the FWL status in the country. This may ensure Afan Oromo native speakers to have positive LRs in public spheres (see Wright, 2007:204), and help foster functional complementarities (see Chumbow, 2009:22) of languages in the federal domain in Ethiopia. And at large, it would strengthen national integration (see Pfaff-Czamecka, 2005: 23) and unity through the construction of multiple identities at national scale (see Quirk, 2000:8) and national scale communication itself.

7.4 The Construction of National Identity

The construction of national identity out of ethno-linguistic diversity was central to the major historic political project of nation-building in the selected countries. In India and in Nigeria, however, this effort was halted by the rising regional consciousness which later on gave birth to regional oppositions (see Schiffman, 1999:439-440; Laiti, 1992:69 & Laitin, 1992:127). The regional opposition hindered the choice of national languages in Nigeria (see Laitin, 1992:127).

³¹This finding represents those Dha-Anywaa native speakers who responded that they want to see more FWLs in Ethiopia, in addition to Amharic.

In India, it blocked the state's effort of the construction of Hindi-based national identity (see Schiffman, 1999:439-440). In Ethiopia, the regional opposition along ethno-linguistic lines is apparently challenging the construction of the Ethiopian national identity. Here, ethnic opposition triggered by the state's political apparatus of ethnic federalism, is a very important factor.

The failure of the construction of national identity in India and in Nigeria has compelled each of these two countries to resort to the choice and use of English, the so called ethnically neutral ex-colonial language (see Omoniyi, 2010:237&246; Laiti, 1992:69). Ethiopia has no such option given the poor status of English in the country. Hence, engaging in a repeated and constructive dialogue is a matter of urgent necessity to address the central question of national identity construction that is grounded in the sociolinguistic reality of the country and that would become a foundation to resolve the current challenges of inter-ethnic communication in EHEIs.

India has ethnic-based state organization which bears similarity with Ethiopian (see Laiti, 1992:155). This state structure of India has created a sharp linguistic border with purist orientation for language development leading to the breakdown of the history of the harmonious linguistic tradition of inter-ethnic communications in the country (see Dasgupta & Sardesai, 2010:82). Likewise, Ethnic federalism in Ethiopia would sharpen national ethno-linguistic boundaries if appropriate mechanism of forging national unity and inter-ethnic communications is not maintained. This phenomenon might lead to ethno-linguistically limited purist orientation of language development in the country's regions where Amharic is not the working language.

In Nigeria, the link between language and identity was highly politicized making the subject of language choice very contentious, sensitive and prone to conflict (see Omoniyi, 2010:237& 246). Nigeria's ethnically oriented identity, amidst a plethora of complex identities, has resulted in the development of ethnic nationalism while it has diminished state nationalism (see Omoniyi, 2010:237& 246). This has brought about the rise of empty civic nationalism in the country (see Omoniyi, 2010:237& 246). Similarly, ethnic tendencies in Ethiopia, coupled with the rapid increase of the politicization of the link between language and identity, would perhaps create a set of monolingual ethno-linguistic islands in the country there by leading to linguistic conflicts that erode national identity. Authentic civic nationalism, as opposed to Nigeria's empty nationalism, requires a genuine discourse on a national platform.

The link between language and the struggle against colonialism has laid a strong sociolinguistic foundation of national unity in many African countries. In Tanzania, for instance, Kiswahili has played a powerful and historic role of uniting 130 Ethno-linguistic groups in the struggle against colonialism (see Mafu, 2003:269). In Ethiopia, such a strong link between language and the struggle against colonialism was not common as the country has not been colonized. Hence, it is hard to imagine a language representing a collective imagination of the past struggles and pains in the Ethiopia public minds as in the case of Tanzania. In Tanzania, Kiswahili was considered, among the people, as the language of liberation from colonial powers (see Mafu, 2003:269). Amharic does not seem to have such a status in Ethiopia.

What is more, the historic conception of national identity in Tanzania involved the intricacy of politics, ideology and language (see Blommaert, 2006:246-247). The political architecture of linking Kiswahili with Ujama, the Africanized version of socialism, has played a pivotal role in the genesis of Tanzanian national identity (see Temu, 1998:151-152). This extraordinary project of crafting a Tanzanian national identity was the major factor behind the present success story of Tanzanian LPO. In Ethiopia, the historic attempt of linking politics, ideology and language, including during the socialist regime, was not successful. No such attempt is observed from the present regime as well.

The success of Kiswahili in Tanzania has to do with the very fact that the first generation Tanzanian leaders had foreseen the political merits of Kiswahili in the project of building Tanzanian nation (see Topan, 2008:257). They viewed that language was as an instrument of unification, de-ethnicization and empowerment of ordinary people in Tanzania. They have particularly associated Kiswahili with Tanzanian national unity, value and the national aspiration of modernization (see Topan, 2008:259). In Ethiopia there has not been a strong vision of focusing on the political merits of a language. Still, there is no meaningful endeavor of using a language as a means of unification, de-ethnicization and empowerment of ordinary people. In Ethiopia, language is not generally associated to national value, unity and the process of nation-building. Hence, the link between language and the construction of national identity needs to be rethought about in Ethiopia.

7.5 The Reconsideration of Language-in-Education Policy

Education, in South Africa was considered to have a great role of societal integration, accommodation and the promotion of cultural diversity (see Makoe, 2014:655). This has dismantled the racist apartheid system which has long been the cause of the socioeconomic and political disparity between the natives and the whites in South Africa. That South African people have rights to education in any one of the 11 official languages was important in building a united, peaceful and harmonious society (see Moodley, 2009:23). This is an interesting instance of assuring linguistic complementarities in a given country. Hence, the role language plays in education needs a serious consideration. As in South Africa, Ethiopia's education should play an important role in creating integrated and accommodation among the diverse ethno-linguistic groups, and it should also genuinely promote cultural diversity. And students need to have a right to learn a very important official languages, including the FWL.

7.6 The Promotion of Public Awareness

The other mechanism suggested by the FGD participants has to do with fostering public awareness. The participants of the FGD have underlined that students who cannot speak Amharic should make attempts to learn the language from their fellow friends; they should also need to practice speaking Amharic. An Amharic native participant of the FGD particularly said: "...those who cannot speak Amharic have to be courageous enough to try to speak it, and the others need to build good interpersonal relations with them" (see Amh.1b, FGD, Part II, and Appendix 26). Afan Oromo native speakers in the interview have suggested that it is important that some young Afan Oromo native speakers avoid their negative attitudes towards Amharic. Specially, one of the Afan Oromo native interviewees said "Starting from myself, we need to avoid that sort of stubbornness" (see AfO.1, Interview, KMU, Appendix 19, No. 18).

CHAPTER EIGHT: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

8.1 Summary

Ethiopia is a multilingual state with complex sociolinguistic ties among its ethno-linguistic groups. The domain of EHEI is among the most important settings of the manifestation of the country's LD. This study has focused on the sociolinguistic challenges that students of the EHEIs experience. It attempted to: 1) describe students' on-campus and off-campus language use patterns, 2) describe the attitude of the EHEIs students towards Amharic, 3) describe the students' collective identities, 4) investigate their challenges of inter-ethnic communications, and 5) explore sociolinguistic mechanisms of resolving the challenges.

The demography of the participants of this study involved young people of the post-1991 generation of Ethiopia, aged below 26. A fair distribution in sex, place of residence, educational level and language group were considered. The study has focused on Afan Oromo native speakers, Amharic native speakers, Tigrinya native speakers and Dha-Anywaa native speakers who are presently studying in the target EHEIs. The sample students were drawn from varieties of fields of study ranging from social science and humanities to natural science.

This study drew up on a mixed paradigm of subjective and objective approaches in a multi-methodical and interdisciplinary manner. It employed an action approach to language use, synchronic approach to identity, and direct approach to language attitude. The setting of the research was limited to three metropolitan HEIs, i.e. AAU, KMU, and ASTU. The participants of the study were drawn through chain-referral sampling. The data were collected through questionnaire, interview, FGD and documentary analysis.

The data collected were analyzed through concurrent mixed method of description, inference and thematic analysis. Then, the findings were organized on the bases of the leading questions and discussed in line with the conceptual framework. This study did not have a central intent of making generalizations about all the post-1991 young EHEIs students belonging to the four target ethno-linguistic groups. It tried to describe and understand the sociolinguistic reality of the target EHEIs through the methodology of analytic-synthesis. However, based on the insights obtained from the target EHEIs, reflections have been made on how the challenges of inter-

ethnic communications can be resolved at national level. In sum, the following findings were reached by the study.

The findings on Amharic proficiency of Afan Oromo native speakers showed that their listening skill is better off though it does not show a statistically significant difference across educational levels. Afan Oromo native speakers were just receptive bilinguals, and they have poor proficiencies in Amharic. There was no statistically significant difference between urban and rural Oromo students in terms of Amharic language proficiency (see section 4.1.2).

Tigrinya native speakers have more than average score in their Amharic listening, speaking, reading and writing skills (see section 4.1.3). The urban and rural Tigrinya native speakers have better skills in Amharic (see section 4.1.4). However, there was no statistically significant difference of Amharic proficiency between urban and rural Tigrinya native students (see section 4.1.4). They were just productive/functional bilinguals. Dha-Anywaa native speakers have also a good proficiency in Amharic listening, speaking, reading and writing skills (see section 4.1.5). There was no observed statistically significant difference between Amharic proficiency of the urban and the rural Dha-Anywaa native speakers (see section 4.1.5). Dha-Anywaa native speakers are also functional bilinguals.

In relation to language use in the home and home community domains, the four ethno-linguistic groups used their own respective native languages (see section 4.2.1.1). They were predominantly limited to their own respective circle of native languages. As regards to the students' use of Amharic in primary and secondary schools, i.e. prior to coming to the colleges, the study has revealed that Afan Oromo native speakers have no previous background of using Amharic in primary and secondary schools (see section 4.2.1.3.1). However, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers have shown a better use of Amharic in primary and secondary schools (see section 4.2.1.3.2).

Classroom English-Amharic CS was found to be a very common phenomenon among both the instructors and students according to the findings of this study (see section 4.2.2.1). Instructors' CSs were attributed to factors such as managing classroom, building solidarity with students, and practicing English language and vocabulary translation, clarifying lessons, teaching grammar and building effective communication with students. The students do also CS between Amharic and

English. The Dha-Anywaa native speakers CS mainly inter-sententially while the others CS mainly intra-sententially.

As to the students' practices of language use on-campus outside classrooms, the study has revealed that the participants of the four ethno-linguistic groups were found to use primarily Amharic in all the domains (see section 4.2.2.3). Afan Oromo seems to be somehow important in cultural and recreational centers among the language group. Tigrinya native speakers also fairly use Tigrinya with dorm mates, in cafeteria and in cultural centers. Dha-Anywaa native speakers use English outside classrooms.

Afan Oromo native speakers' off-campus language use showed that Afan Oromo dominates the religious domain while Amharic was very important in the domains of shops and supermarkets (see section 4.2.3). However, the respondents' language use practice in the domain of recreational areas showed that Afan Oromo and Amharic were more or less equally important (see section 4.2.3.1).

The study also showed that a huge majority of the Tigrinya native speakers use Amharic in the off-campus domains though a slightly considerable use of Tigrinya was observed in the domains of recreational areas, shops and supermarkets (see section 4.2.3.3). In addition, the use of both Amharic and Tigrinya together was slightly sensed in the recreational domains. Amharic, followed by English, was an important language of the off-campus communication to the Dha-Anywaa native speakers (see section 4.2.3.4).

As regards to the non-Amharic native speakers' attitude towards Amharic (see section 5.1), the study has revealed that Afan Oromo native speakers do not have a positive attitude towards Amharic. They mainly attribute the present status of Amharic as an FWL in Ethiopia to its historic opportunity. However, Tigrinya native speakers and Dha-Anywaa native speakers have positive attitudes towards Amharic. Their positive attitude is motivated by instrumental and integrative reasons. The three ethno-linguistic groups, however, do not buy into the idea of Amharic based linguistic nationalism in Ethiopia.

Concerning script choice and the Ethiopic writing system (see section 5.2.1), the study has shown that Afan Oromo native speakers 1) do not prefer the Ethiopic script to the Roman-based script 2) do not like that some Ethiopian languages were written in Roman 3) are not proud of the

native Ethiopic script, 4) do not believe that Ethiopic script should be used for all Ethiopian languages, and 5) do not have a belief that all Ethiopian languages should use the Roman-based script, either. However, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers 1) prefer Ethiopic script to that of the Roman-based script 2) believe Ethiopic script needs to be used for all Ethiopian languages 3) are proud of native Ethiopic writing system and 4) believe all Ethiopian languages should use Roman-based script 5) yet, they did not like some Ethiopian languages were written in Roman-based script. Conventions on script choice and having common native writing system are central to language-based national identity construction and consolidation.

In connection to the participants' knowledge of literary history (see section 5.2.2), the study has revealed that Afan Oromo native speakers do read texts more in their native language than in Amharic. They do not have good experiences of reading Amharic poems and stories. They do not know much about Amharic literary personalities, and they are not proud of Ethiopia's literary history. Tigrinya and the Dha-Anywaa native speakers read Amharic texts, including poems and stories, and texts in their own native languages as well. They know more about Amharic literary personalities, and they are proud of Ethiopia's Amharic literary history. Having a common knowledge of literary history enhances national integration.

As regards to student's ethnic identity (see section 5.3.1), the study has revealed that Afan Oromo native speakers think of themselves primarily as members of their own ethnic groups, are proud of their ethnic identity and consider their native language to be very important to them. Likewise, Tigrinya native participants of the study also think of themselves as members of their ethnic group and are proud of their ethnic identity and find their native language very important to them. Still, Dha-Anywaa native speakers also think of themselves as members of their ethnic group, are proud of their ethnic identity and consider their native language to be very important. The participants of the three ethno-linguistic groups were ethno-linguistically self conscious.

In relation to national identity (see section 5.3.2), the study has revealed that Afan Oromo native speakers do not consider themselves Ethiopians, and they are not proud of being Ethiopians at all. They do not believe that mother-tongue education disrupts national unity. Tigrinya native speakers consider themselves Ethiopians, and they are proud of being so as well. Yet, they do not believe that mother-tongue education disrupts national unity in Ethiopia. Similarly, the Dha-Anywaa native speakers consider themselves Ethiopians, and they are proud of being Ethiopian

as well. Yet, they do not believe that mother-tongue education disrupts national unity in Ethiopia. A multiple yet unified national identity can dynamically be reconstructed, i.e. created and recreated over space, time and context.

It was also possible to learn from the study that on-campus inter-ethnic communications were challenges to all the four ethno-linguistic groups, though the magnitude varies (see section 6.1). Afan Oromo native speakers have a very serious problem of on-campus inter-ethnic communication challenges. The problems, according to the participants, were mainly attributed to the fact that 1) people are resorting to their respective native languages in this region, 2) the teaching of Amharic starts late in the Oromia regions, and 3) young people are growing in tough sociolinguistic environment of the post-1991 Ethiopia.

Afan Oromo native speakers in this study want the adoption of more Ethiopian languages to the FWL status for reasons such as demography, functional importance, resolving sociolinguistic conflicts, enhancing ethnic relations, speeding up national development and improving people's living conditions (see section 7.3.1). They also believed that it is a matter of necessity in LD countries like Ethiopia. However, Amharic, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers do not want to see more Ethiopian languages promoted to the FWL status (see section 7.3.1). Their major reasons were: 1) Amharic has been already the FWL, 2) it adds unnecessary expenses, 3) it is difficult to promote all languages, 4) Amharic has been already enough, 5) it is difficult to learn other languages, 6) it triggers conflict, and 7) it is preferable to stick to Amharic.

The finding showed that Afan Oromo native speakers have suggested 1st) Afan Oromo, 2nd) Somali, and 3rd) English for the FWL position (see section 7.2.2). They believed that these languages, especially the first two, cover a wider geography and could solve the broad mass's communication problems in Ethiopia. Tigriya native speakers have suggested 1st) English, 2nd) Afan Oromo, 3rd) Hebrew, 4th) Ge'ez, and 5th) Tigrinya (see section 7.3.2). They believe that this would help develop widely spoken languages like Afan Oromo, and it could foster national scale communication. They have also pointed out that the decision could also help the country exploit the literary riches of languages like Hebrew, Ge'ez and Tigrinya. The Dha-Anywaa native speakers have recommended 1st) English, 2nd) Afan Oromo, 3rd) Afar, 4th) Tigrinya and 5th) Dha-Anywaa (see section 7.4.2). They believe that would strengthen inter-ethnic communication, enhance national development and solve the working language problem in Ethiopia. Indeed, each

of the participant ethno-linguistic groups has included in their respective native languages as candidates. However, all the three ethno-linguistic groups have commonly recommended 1st) Afan Oromo and 2nd) English.

All ethno-linguistic groups, except Afan Oromo native speakers, do engage in classroom and outside classroom group work activities. As they do so, they do not organize along ethno-linguistic lines, for they think this is unacceptable, inappropriate, inapplicable and undesirable to them. Afan Oromo native speakers used mainly English, Afan Oromo and Amharic, in the same sequence, as the most important languages of communications in this situation. Amharic native speakers mainly used Amharic as a language of classroom and outside classroom participations during group work activities. Tigrinya native speakers used Amharic, and the Dha-Anywaa native speakers used English and Amharic in the same sequence.

Afan Oromo native speakers do experience classroom language hurdle predominantly due to Amharic (see section 6.1.5). Tigrinya native speakers experience some of these problems, though not as seriously as Afan Oromo native speakers do. The formers' problems came mostly from English. Those Tigrinya native speakers have attributed these challenge of classroom language barrier to 1) lack of experience in speaking English, 2) poor proficiency in the language and 3) the absence of other means of communication. To Amharic native speakers, the major challenge comes mainly from languages like Afan Oromo, Tigrinya, Wolayta, Dawro, Nuer and Dha-Anywaa.

Afan Oromo native speakers' poor practices of on-campus inter-ethnic communications were attributed to 1) poor Amharic skills, 2) being monolingual in L₁, and 3) fellow students not speaking Afan Oromo. Even those few Afan Oromo native speakers who relatively have good inter-ethnic communication used Afan Oromo, broken Amharic and English. The poor Amharic skills of the Afan Oromo native speakers in Amharic are associated to the poor status of Amharic in regional primary schools and weaker exposure to the Amharic L₂ community.

As regards to the off-campus communication practices (see section 6.2), the study showed that Amharic native speakers use Amharic. Dha-Anywaa native speakers use Amharic and Dha-Anywaa, and they mostly hang out off-campus just with fellow ethnic friends. Afan Oromo

native speakers use Afan Oromo, predominantly, and a broken Amharic while Tigrinya native speakers used Amharic, Tigrinya and English in a decreasing order.

The major challenges of inter-ethnic communication in the EHEIs are: 1) failure of getting on-campus administrative services, 2) misunderstandings and suspicions among ethno-linguistic groups, and 3) classroom linguistic exclusions. These major problems were attributed to the poor situation of Amharic in the regional states where it is not used as a working language. The findings have revealed that young people are highly resorting to their ethnic/regional languages in those regions, for they believed Amharic was not important to them. The findings have also revealed that Afan Oromo native speakers who have participated in the study have experienced classroom linguistic exclusion because of English-Amharic classroom CS. The students have missed important points of their lessons as the instructors switch codes between Amharic and English.

The findings on mechanisms of resolving the challenges of inter-ethnic communication have shown the following. First, in relation to LPP changes in Ethiopia, it was suggested that 1) teaching Amharic and other major Ethiopian languages in the EHEIs, 2) teaching Afan Oromo in non-Afan Oromo speaking areas, 3) promoting Afan Oromo to the status of the FWL of Ethiopia, and 4) enhancing mutual understanding among the students of the EHEIs are imperative. Second, fostering public awareness in relation to: changing people's perceptions that there is nothing intrinsically bad about languages, and making people aware that languages are learned better early.

It has been suggested that the challenges related to classroom exclusion due to English-Amharic CS can be addressed through enabling the instructors stick to the curriculum and use English as a MoI inside classrooms, and providing those students who are poor in English with special scaffolding trainings on English language.

The experiences of the selected countries showed that the construction of civic national identity can be halted by ethnic consciousness through regional oppositions. The politicization of the link between language and identity makes the subject of language choice difficult, sensitive and prone to conflict. The creation of sharp linguistic borders with purist orientation of the

development of ethnic languages inevitably leads to the breakdown of the state's harmonious linguistic tradition of inter-ethnic communications.

8.2 Conclusion

This study has attempted to investigate into the challenges of inter-ethnic communications in the EHEIs. It focused on young people of the post-1991 generation belonging to four ethno-linguistic groups: Amhara, Oromo, Tigre and Anywaa. The study focused on three EHEIs: AAU, ASTU and KMU. Raised were questions related to language use, language attitude, and national identity, challenges of inter-ethnic questions and mechanism of resolving them. Quantitative and qualitative methods were used, and concurrent analysis of both sets of data were employed to reach the major findings which were presented in the mode of linear expansion. Then, the following general conclusions were reached based on the study.

The Afan Oromo native speakers in this study have only receptive skills in Amharic. Their Amharic skills do not show a statistically significant difference over the place of residences and years of study. The Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers have good proficiencies in Amharic though there is no statistically significant disparity of their proficiency levels as a factor of place of residence and educational status.

The four ethno-linguistic groups are limited to the use of their own respective native languages in their respective home and home community domains before joining the EHEIs. The Afan Oromo native speakers have no previous background of using Amharic in primary and secondary schools while the Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers have shown a better use of the language. The Afan Oromo native speakers predominantly use Afan Oromo in the off-campus religious domains while Amharic was very important to them in the domains of shops and supermarkets. Afan Oromo and Amharic were more or less equally important to them in the recreational domains. Tigrinya native speakers mainly use Amharic in the off-campus domains while Dha-Anywaa native speakers use both Amharic and English.

The Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa native speakers show positive attitudes towards Amharic, the Ethiopian national identity and the Ethiopian literary history while Afan Oromo native speakers do not. The former two have displayed a stronger national identity while the later prioritizes their ethnic identity to that of the Ethiopian national identity. However, the three ethno-linguistic

groups do not believe in the idea of linguistic nationalization of Ethiopia, and they do not believe that mother-tongue education disrupts national unity in Ethiopia.

The major challenges of on-campus inter-ethnic communication were related to on-campus service provisions, inter-ethnic trusts, and classroom linguistic exclusions due to CS. These problems were very serious to the Afan Oromo native speakers compared to their Amharic, Tigrinya and Dha-Anywaa counterparts. The former experienced classroom language barriers predominantly due to Amharic. Specifically, they have experienced classroom linguistic barriers and missed important points of their lessons due to English-Amharic CS by the instructors.

The situation of Amharic in regional states, mainly of Oromia, was the other challenge. Amharic was reported to be losing its ground in this region as young people are highly resorting to their native language. It has also been unveiled that the timing and the methodology of the delivery of Amharic in schools of Oromia and Tigray regions were found to be among the causes of the present challenges of inter-ethnic communications in EHEIs for the ethno-linguistic groups.

The major suggestions made by the students on the mechanism of resolving the challenges of inter-ethnic communications were fostering public awareness on the importance being multilingual, delivering Amharic early as a subject and teaching it well in schools of the regions like Oromia, offering functionally important languages like Amharic and Afan Oromo in the EHEIs and sticking to the use of English as a MoI.

In Ethiopia, regional opposition along ethno-linguistic lines are evidently strangling the construction of the Ethiopian national identity. There is no horizontally expanded and de-ethncized language representing national identity in the country. Ethiopia, despite being linguistically diverse with some powerful and competing major languages, still has only one FWL. For this reason, the ELPO cannot be considered democratic as in the case of the South African LPO.

8.3 Recommendations

The following major recommendations were made as to how the challenges of inter-ethnic communication in the EHEIs and in Ethiopia at large could be resolved.

Awareness has to be created among the diverse ethno-linguistic groups in Ethiopia that it is our negative attitude towards languages, not languages per se, that is bad. Languages are the most important assets or linguistic capitals in social life since they pave the way to employment opportunities in multilingual settings. The promotion of public awareness is also vital as regards to the idea that languages are best learned early. Childhood bilingualism is better than adulthood bilingualism when it comes to language acquisition.

The EHEIs need to have their own LPOs framed in line with the constitution of the country. For instance, universities can offer short-term courses on major Ethiopian languages like Amharic and Afan Oromo to the EHEI students. Sticking to English as MOI inside classrooms is necessary in the EHEIs to resolve the challenges of classroom Amharic-English CS. Those students who have a serious deficiency of English have to be identified and should be given scaffolding trainings in the language.

National LPO redesignation has to be pondered upon from the side of the Ethiopian government. In line with this, a pragmatic LPO change at grass root level is necessary. Functionally important languages of Ethiopia need to be promoted to the status of the national official language of inter-ethnic communication. They need to be delivered as subjects in all Ethiopian regions. This would strengthen national integration and unity in Ethiopia.

Dialogue transcending ethno-linguistic line is necessity among Ethiopian intellectuals to address the central question of national identity construction. The dialogue should involve the intricacies of politics, ideology and language. LPO makers need to foresee the political merits of languages in the project of nation-building, and take them as instruments of unification, de-ethnicization and empowerment of ordinary people. Democratic adoption of multiple official languages consolidates the construction of multiple socio-cultural identities and strengthens national integration.

Ethiopia has to put in place the three-plus-or-minus LPO formula with attention being given to multiple national link languages. This assures national integration. However, this needs a prerequisite of the classification of the Ethiopian languages based on their demographic and functional significance. The ELPO should be re-thought about on the basis of the pragmatic and pluralistic principles in such a way that the instrumental, sentimental and personality values of

the ethno-linguistic groups are constructively negotiated. Particularly, EHEIs need to be granted a right to design their own LPOs based on the constitutional frame of the country.

8.4. Further Areas of Research

The present study is limited in scope as it only focused on four ethno-linguistic groups, three major and one minor, in three metropolitan EHEIs. Therefore, further investigations including more ethno-linguistic groups in other EHEIs would give a more comprehensive understanding of the the topic under investigation. The current research dropped students from the Somali National Regional State from the study due to some inconveniences. It would be of vital importance if further studies on the challenges of inter-ethnic communications could consider Somali native speakers in the EHEIs. The current topic, the challenges of inter-ethnic communication, can also be approached within the context of other federal domains. In addition, the language-in-education policy in Ethiopia needs to be studied in order to understand the challenges of inter-ethnic communications in the EHEIs. A comparative study of the degree of bilingualism in Amharic and other Ethiopian languages between the pre-1991 and post1991 generations of Ethiopia is also worth studying.

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire, English Version

Addis Ababa University
Department of Linguistics and Philology
Questionnaire

Dear participant,

This questionnaire is intended to collect data for PhD research on language use, linguistic identity and the challenges of inter-ethnic communications in Ethiopian Higher Education Institutions. You are kindly requested to provide your most accurate response to each of the given questions in line with the instructions provided under every section. Your genuine response is decisive for the successful accomplishment of the study. I would like to assure you that all your information will be kept confidential and will only use for the purpose of this study. Please, do not write your name on this paper.

I. General Questions Related to Your Language Profile

✓ **For the following questions, mark “x” for items with options and write your answer in the given blank space for the open-end items.**

- 1) Your first Language (L1) _____
- 2) Your second Language (L2) _____
- 3) Your third Language (L3) _____
- 4) Your Language of Wider Communication (LWC) _____
- 5) The language most widely spoken in this campus is _____
 - a) Why do you think so? _____
- 6) Could you communicate with students who do not belong to your ethnic group (mark “x”)?
☐ Yes ☐ No
 - a) If yes, which language did you use? _____
 - b) Why did you use the language? _____
 - c) If no, why? _____
- 7) Which language do you prefer to speak to ethnic friends who also speak Amharic (mark “x”)?
☐ Amharic ☐ Native language ☐ Mixed (Amharic-Native language)
 - a) Why? _____
- 8) Do you want to add more Ethiopian languages in the future to the language(s) you already speaknow?
☐ Yes ☐ No
 - a) If yes, why? _____
 - b) If yes, which language (s) _____
 - c) If no, why? _____

9) Do you recommend more languages be used as Federal Working Language of Ethiopia in addition to Amharic (mark “x”)? ☐ YES ☐ NO

a) If yes, why? _____

b) If no, why? _____

10) If yes, list down three languages you recommend with your reasons.

a) 1st. _____ 2nd _____ 3rd _____

b) Why? _____

II. Language Proficiency

a) Second Language Proficiency

- ✓ **List all Ethiopian languages you know (excluding your L₁), landmark “x” in the given boxes for skills you have in the languages. You may mark more than one box depending on the number of skills you have. Skip the question if you do not speak other Ethiopian languages.**

	<i>Languages</i>	<i>Listen</i>	<i>Speak</i>	<i>Read</i>	<i>Write</i>
1.	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐

b) Amharic Proficiency

- ✓ **Rate your skills in Amharic by marking “x” inside the boxes under your best possible judgments.**

	<i>Amharic</i>	<i>Poor</i>	<i>Fair</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Very Good</i>	<i>Excellent</i>
1.	Listening	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.	Speaking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.	Reading	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.	Writing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

III. Language Use

- ✓ **Mark “x” for the language you use most frequently both on-campus and off campus in the indicated domains. You may mark for more than one language.**

a) On-campus Language Use

	<i>Domains/situation</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Amharic</i>	<i>Native language</i>	<i>English & Amharic</i>	<i>Amharic & Ethic Language</i>	<i>English & Native language</i>	<i>Other (Specify)</i>
1)	Classroom pair works	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
2)	Classroom group works	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
3)	Student-Teacher	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
4)	With dorm mates	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
5)	With librarians	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
6)	With security persons	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
7)	Registrar	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
8)	Cafeteria	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
9)	Administrative office	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
10)	Cultural center	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
11)	Recreational centers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____

b) Off-Campus Language Use

	<i>Domains/settings</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Amharic</i>	<i>Native language</i>	<i>English & Amharic</i>	<i>Amharic & Ethic Language</i>	<i>English & Native language</i>	<i>Other (Specify)</i>
12)	Religious Centers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
13)	Shops	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
14)	Market/ Supermarket	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
15)	Recreational centers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____

c) Language Use in the Home Domain

	<i>Language use with</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Amharic</i>	<i>Native language</i>	<i>English & Amharic</i>	<i>Amharic & Ethic Language</i>	<i>English & Native language</i>	<i>Other (Specify)</i>
16)	Your father	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____

17)	Your mother	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
18)	Grandfather (if alive)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
19)	Grandmother (if alive)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
20)	Siblings (if you have)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____

d) Language Use in the Home Community Domain

	<i>Language use with</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Amharic</i>	<i>Native language</i>	<i>English & Amharic</i>	<i>Amharic & Ethnic Language</i>	<i>English & Native language</i>	<i>Other (Specify)</i>
21)	peer	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
22)	adults	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
23)	elderly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____

e) The Previous Use of Amharic in Primary and Secondary Schools

24) Did you use Amharic before joining this university? ☐ Yes ☐ No

a) If no, why? _____

			<i>Always</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Seldom</i>
25)	If yes, how often did you use it in the given educational domains? Show by marking “x”.	a) Primary school	☐	☐	☐
		b) Secondary school	☐	☐	☐

IV. Classroom Code-Switching

✓ **The following items are related to classroom code-switching. Please, mark “x” for your best response for each item, and write appropriate answer in the space provided.**

26) Do your instructors code-switch inside classrooms? ☐ YES ☐ NO

27) If yes, the embedded language is _____ & the matrix language is _____

28) If yes, why do they code-switch? Show your response by marking “x” for the following reasons of code-switching.

		Yes	No	Not Sure
Reasons for code-switching	a) classroom management	☐	☐	☐
	b) empathy/solidarity	☐	☐	☐
	c) second language practice	☐	☐	☐
	d) unknown vocabulary translation	☐	☐	☐
	e) lack of comprehension	☐	☐	☐
	f) grammar instruction	☐	☐	☐
	g) interactive effects	☐	☐	☐

29) List down if there are other reasons _____

30) Do you code-switch yourself? ☐ YES ☐ NO

31) If yes, the embedded language is _____ & the matrix language is _____

32) If yes, why? Show your response by marking “x” for the following reasons of code-switching.

		Yes	No	Not Sure
Reasons of code-switching	a) referential	☐	☐	☐
	b) integrative	☐	☐	☐
	c) expressive	☐	☐	☐
	d) phatic	☐	☐	☐
	e) meta-linguistic	☐	☐	☐
	f) secret talking	☐	☐	☐
	g) to appear educated	☐	☐	☐
	h) to better express ideas	☐	☐	☐
	i) habit	☐	☐	☐

33) List down if there are other reasons _____

V. Challenges of inter-ethnic communications

- ✓ **Mark “x” for your best possible response to each of the following questions related to challenges of inter-ethnic communications. And write your answer in the space provided for the open-end items.**

1)	Do you have any language barrier in this campus?	☐ YES	☐ NO
	a) If yes, which language is the barrier? _____		
	b) How is it a barrier? _____		
	c) How serious is it? _____		

2)	Could you communicate with on-campus community?	☐ YES	☐ NO
	a) If yes, in which language? _____		
	b) If no, why? _____		
3)	Do you effectively participate in classroom activities?	☐ YES	☐ NO
	a) If yes, in which language? _____		
	b) If no, why? _____		
4)	Do you do classroom group works only with your ethnic friends?	☐ YES	☐ NO
	a) Why? _____		
5)	Do you do group works outside classrooms only with your ethnic friends?	☐ YES	☐ NO
	a) Why? _____		
6)	Does classroom language use alienate you?	☐ YES	☐ NO
	a) If yes, which language? _____		
	b) If yes, how? _____		
7)	Do you communicate with the off-campus community?	☐ YES	☐ NO
	a) If yes, in which language? _____		
	b) If no, why? _____		

VI. Language Attitude and Collective Identity

✓ **The following statements are related to language attitude and collective identity. Mark "x" in the boxes to show your level of agreement to each. (Key: SA=Strongly Agree, A=Agree, N=Not Decided, DA= Disagree, SDA=Strongly Disagree)**

No.	Items	SA	A	N	DA	SDA
1.	Every university student needs to speak Amharic.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.	Everyone in Ethiopia should learn Amharic.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.	I am glad Amharic is the Federal Working Language.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.	Amharic is the language of unity in Ethiopia.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5.	Amharic should be the national language of Ethiopia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6.	Only Amharic can better unite Ethiopians.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7.	I read texts in Amharic.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8.	I read poems and stories in Amharic.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9.	I know more about Amharic literary personalities.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10.	I am proud of Ethiopia's literary history.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

11.	I read texts in my native language.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12.	I like the Ethiopic script more than I like the Latin script.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13.	I like some Ethiopian languages are written in the Latin script.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14.	All Ethiopian languages should use the Ethiopic script.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15.	All Ethiopian languages should use the Latin script.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16.	I am proud of our native Ethiopic writing system.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17.	I think of myself as my ethnic group's member.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18.	I am proud of my language group.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19.	My native language is very important to me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20.	Mother-tongue education disrupts national unity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21.	I consider myself an Ethiopian.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
22.	I am proud of being an Ethiopian.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

VII. Demographic Information

- 1) Age_____
- 2) Educational level_____
- 3) Birth Place (Region) _____
- 4) Ethnicity_____
- 5) Parents' Language grou:Father:_____, Mother:_____
- 6) Community:☐ Urban ☐ Rural
- 7) Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female

Thank you very much!

Appendix 2: Questionnaire, Afan Oromo Version

Yuniversity Finfinnee Muummee Xiinqooqaa Bargaaffii

Barataa,

Bargaaffiin kun haala fayyadama afaanii, eenyummaa fi gufuuwwan walqunnamtii barattoota Dhaabbilee Barnootaa Itiyoophiyaa adda addaa gidduutti mul'atu ilaalchisee odeeffannoo qorannoo barumsa digrii 3ffaaf ta'u sassaabuuf qophaa'e. Kanaafi, gaaffilee dhiyaataniif deebii sirrii kennun milkaa'insa qo'annoo kanaafi dhugummaa argannoo isaatiif gumaacha. Odeeffannoon ati kennitu martikaayyoo qo'annoo kanaaf qofa kanoolu ta'a. Maqaakee waraqaa kana irratti barreessuun hinbarbaachisu.

I. Gaaffilee Waliigalaa Fayadaa Afaanii Ilaallatan

✓ Gaaffilee armaan gadiif saanduqa kenname keessatti mallattoo “x” kaa’uu fi bakka duwwaa kenname irratti barreessuun deebisi.

- 1) Afaan jalqabaakee _____
- 2) Afaan lammaffaakee _____
- 3) Afaan sadaffaakee (yoo qabaatte) _____
- 4) Afaan waliigalaakee _____
- 5) Afaan mooraa kana keessatti bal'inaan haasa'amu _____
 - a) Maalif sitti fakkaata? _____
- 6) Barattoota sabaafi sablammii adda addaa ta'iin waliin afaaniin waliigaltaa?
☐ Eeyyee ☐ Lakki
 - a) Eeyyee yoo jette, afaan kamiin waliigalta? _____
 - b) Sababiin afaan kana fayyadamteef maali? _____
 - c) Lakki yoo jette, maalif? _____
- 8) Barattoota qomookee ta'anii Amaariffa dubbachuu danda'an waliin afaan kamiin waliigalta?
☐ Afaan Oromoo ☐ Afaan Amaaraa ☐ Makaa (Afaan Amaaraa fi Afaan Oromoo)
 - a) Maalif? _____
- 9) Afaanoota amma dubbatturratti afaanoota Itiyoophiyaa keessatti dubbataman keessaa kanbiroo dabaltee dubbachuu nifeetaa? ☐ Eeyyee ☐ Lakki
 - a) Eeyyee yoo jette, maalif? _____
 - b) Afaanoota kamfaa filatta? _____
 - c) Lakki yoo jette, maalif? _____
- 10) Afaanootni biroo Afaan Amaaraa waliin afaan hojii federaalaa akka ta'an nifeetaa?
☐ Eeyyee ☐ Lakki
 - a) Eeyyee yoo jette, maalif? _____

b) Lakki yoo jette, maalif? _____

11) Afaanota Afaan hojii federaalaa ta'uu qabu jettu sadii tartiibaan sababakee waliin barreessi.

a) 1ffaa. _____ 2ffaa _____ 3ffaa _____

b) Maalif? _____

II. OgummaaAfaanii

a) Ogummaa Afaan 2ffaa

- ✓ Afaanoota Itiyophiyaa fayyadamuu dandeessu (afaan jalqabaakeentiin ala) mara tarreessii saanduqa kenname keessa mallattoo “x” kaa’uun ogummaa qabdu agarsiisi. Afaanuma tokko gofa dubbatta taanaan gaaffii kana irra tari.

	<i>Afaanoota</i>	<i>Dhageeffachuu</i>	<i>Dubachuu</i>	<i>Dubbisuu</i>	<i>Barreessuu</i>
1.	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.	_____	☐	☐	☐	☐

b) Dandeettii Afaan Amaaraa

- ✓ Ogummaawwan afaanii armaan gaditti kennamaniif, saanduqa filannoo sadarkaa dandeettii Afaan Amaaraakee ibsu keessatti mallattoo “x” kaa’uun agarsiisi.

	<i>Amaariffa</i>	<i>Dadhabaa</i>	<i>Gahaa</i>	<i>Garii</i>	<i>Baay’ee Gaarii</i>	<i>Baay’ee Baay’ee Gaarii</i>
1.	Dhageeffachuu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.	Dubachuu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.	Dubbisuu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.	Barreessuu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

III. Fayyadama Afaanii

a) Yuniversitiikee Keessatti

- ✓ Yuniversitii kana keessaafi alatti afaanoota fayyadamtu mallattoo “x” kaa’uun agarsiisi

	<i>Bakkaa/ Haala</i>	<i>Afaan Ingilizii</i>	<i>Afaan Amaaraa</i>	<i>Afaan Oromoo</i>	<i>Afaan Ingiliziifi Afaan Amaaraa (makaa)</i>	<i>Afaan Amaaraafi Afaan Oromoo (makaa)</i>	<i>Afaan Ingiliziifi Afaan Oromoo (makaa)</i>	<i>Kabira (Ibsi)</i>
1.	Hojii cimdii	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	—
2.	Hojii garee	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	—
3.	Barataa waliinii	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	—
4.	Doormiikee keessatti	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	—
5.	Hojjetoota mana kitaabaa waliin	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	—
6.	Waardiyyaa waliin	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	—
7.	Hojjetoota mana galmee waliin	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	—
8.	Hojjetoota mana nyaataa waliin	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	—
9.	Hojjetoota bulchiinsaa waliin	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	—
10.	Giddugala aadaa keessatti	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	—
11.	Bakka bashannanaatti	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	—

b) Moora Yuniiversitiin Alatti

	<i>Bakka/Haala</i>	<i>Afaan Ingilizii</i>	<i>Afaan Amaaraa</i>	<i>Afaan Oromoo</i>	<i>Afaan Ingiliziifi Afaan Amaaraa (makaa)</i>	<i>Afaan Amaaraafi Afaan Oromoo (makaa)</i>	<i>Afaan Ingiliziifi Afaan Oromoo (makaa)</i>	<i>Kabira (Ibsi)</i>
12.	Bakka/mana amantiitti	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
13.	Suuqii ykn mana baankiitti	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
14.	Gabaa keessatti	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
15.	Bakka bashannanaatti	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____

a) **Maatii Waliin**

	<i>Bakka/Haala</i>	<i>Afaan Amaaraa</i>	<i>Afaan Oromoo</i>	<i>Afaan Amaaraafi Afaan Oromoo (makaa)</i>	<i>Kabira (Ibsi)</i>
15.	Abbaakee waliin	☐	☐	☐	_____
16.	Haadhakee waliin	☐	☐	☐	_____
17.	Akaakayyuukee waliin (yoo lubbun jiru ta'e)	☐	☐	☐	_____
18.	Akkookee waliin (yoo lubbun jiru ta'e)	☐	☐	☐	_____
19.	Obbolaakee waliin(yoo lubbun jiru ta'e)	☐	☐	☐	_____

b) **Haawasa Keessaa Dhufte Keessatti**

		<i>Afaan Amaaraa</i>	<i>Afaan Oromoo</i>	<i>Afaan Amaaraafi Afaan Oromoo (makaa)</i>	<i>Kabira (Ibsi)</i>
20.	Hiriyyootakee waliin	☐	☐	☐	_____
21.	Ga'eessota waliin	☐	☐	☐	_____
22.	Manguddoo waliin	☐	☐	☐	_____

c) **Haala Fayyadama Afaan Amaaraa**

23. Osoo yuniversityitii kana hingaliin Afaan Amaara ni dubbata turee?

☐ Eeyyee ☐ Lakki

			<i>Yeroo Mara</i>	<i>Yeroo Baay'ee</i>	<i>Darbee Darbee</i>
24.	Eeyyee yoo jette, sadarkaa 1ffaafi 2ffaa keessatti hagam akk fayyadamte mallattoo "x" kaa'uun ibsi.	a) Barnoota sadarkaa 1ffaa	☐	☐	☐
		b) Barnoota sadarkaa 2ffaa	☐	☐	☐

IV. **Kutaa Keessatti Afaanota Walitti Makanii Fayyadamu**

✓ **Gaaffileen armaan gadii kutaa keessatti afaanota walitti makanii fayyadamuu waliin walqabatu. Saanduqa kenname keessa mallattoo 'X' kaa'uuf bakka duwwaa irratti barreessuun deebisi.**

25. Kuutaa keessatti barsiisonnikkee afaanota walitti makanii nifayyadamuu?

☐ Eeyyee ☐ Lakki

26. Eeyyee yoo jette, yoo afaan kam dubbattu afaan kam itti makta? _____

27. Maalif afaanota walitti makanii dubatu sitti fakkaataa? Sababiiwwan armaan gaditti kennaman keessaa mallattoo “x” kaa’uun agarsiisi.

<i>Sababiiwwan</i>	<i>Eeyyee</i>	<i>Lakki</i>	<i>Hinbeeku</i>
h) Kutaa haala gaariin gaggeessuf	☐	☐	☐
i) Hariiroo barataa waliin qaban cimsuuf	☐	☐	☐
j) Ingiliffa nu shaakalsiisuuf	☐	☐	☐
k) Jechoota haaraa hiikuuf	☐	☐	☐
l) Barnoota nuu salphisuuf	☐	☐	☐
m) Seerluga Ingiliffaa irra caalaatti ibsuuf	☐	☐	☐
n) Waliigaltee barataa waliinii si’eessuuf	☐	☐	☐

28. Sababiiwwan biroo yoo qabaattee tarreessi _____

29. Ati hoo, yeroo dubbattu afaanota walitti nimaktaa? ☐ Eeyyee ☐ Lakki

30. Eeyyee yoo jette, yeroo _____ dubbattu _____ itti makta.

31. Eeyyee yoo jette, sababiiwwankee kan armaan gadii keessaa filachuun mallatto “x” kaa’ii agarsiisi.

<i>Sababiiwwan</i>	<i>Eeyyee</i>	<i>Lakki</i>	<i>Hinbeeku</i>
a) Hir’ina dandeettii afaan jalqabaa keessatti mul’atu guutuuf	☐	☐	☐
b) Hariiroo barataa waliin qabu cimsuuf	☐	☐	☐
c) Eenyumaa ofii ibsuuf	☐	☐	☐
d) Loga ofii beeksisuuf	☐	☐	☐
e) Kallattiin ykn alkallattin waa’ee afaan dubatamaa jiruu yaada kennuuf	☐	☐	☐
f) Yaada ofii dhoksuuf	☐	☐	☐
j) Yaada ofii haala gaariin ibsuuf	☐	☐	☐
k) Amaluma ijaa natti ta’eef	☐	☐	☐

32. Sababiiwwan biroo yoo qabaattee treessi _____

V. Rakkoolee Walquunnamtii Barattoota Gidduutti Mul’atan

- ✓ Gaaffilee armaan gadii mallattoo “x” kaa’uun deebisi. Kanneen deebii barreeffamaa barbaadaniif, bakka duwwaa irratti deebiikee barreessi.

	Mooraa kana keessatti namootaan dubbattee waliigaluun sirakkisaa?	☐ Eeyyee	☐ Lakki
1)	a) Eeyyee yoo jette, afaan kamiin? _____ b) Rakkoo akkamiiti? _____ c) Rakkoon isaa hagam sitti cimata? _____		
2)	Namoota mooraa kana keessa jiran mara waliin afaaniin wal-quunnamuu nidandeessaa?	☐ Eeyyee	☐ Lakki
3)	a) Eeyyee yoo jette, afaan kamiin? _____ b) Lakki yoo jette, maalif? _____		
4)	Kutaa keessatti haala gaariin barnoota irratti ni hirmaattaa?	☐ Eeyyee	☐ Lakki
5)	a) Eeyyee yoo jette, afaan kam fayyadamta? _____		
6)	b) Lakki yoo jette, maalif? _____		
7)	Daree keessatti, hojii garee barattoota Oromoo ta'an qofa waliin dalagdaa?	☐ Eeyyee	☐ Lakki
8)	Maalif? _____		
9)	Dareen alatti, hojii garee barattoota Oromoo ta'an qofa waliin dalagdaa?	☐ Eeyyee	☐ Lakki
10)	Maalif? _____		
11)	Haali itti-fayyadamaa afaanii kutaa keessatti mul'atu sirakkisaa?	☐ Eeyyee	☐ Lakki
12)	a) Eeyyee yoo jette, afaan kami? _____		
13)	b) Eeyyee yoo jette hagam sirakkisa, ibsi? _____		
14)	Hawaasa mooraa ala jiru waliin dubbattee waliigaltaa?	☐ Eeyyee	☐ Lakki
	c) Eeyyee yoo jette, afaan kamiin? _____ d) Lakki yoo jette, maalif? _____		

VI. Ilaalch Afaaniifi Eenyummaa Waliigalaa

- ✓ Himoonni armaan gadii ilaalcha afaanii fi eenyummaa waliigalaa irratti xiyyeeffatu. Mallattoo “x” kaa’uun sadarkaa itti waliigaltu ibsi.

	<i>Himoota</i>	<i>Baay'een Waliigala</i>	<i>Waliigala</i>	<i>Hinbeeku</i>	<i>Walii Hingalu</i>	<i>Konkumaa Walii Hingalu</i>
1.	Barataan yuniversitii marti Amaariffa dubbachuu qaba.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.	Lammiin Itiyophiyaa marti Amaariffa barachuu qabu.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.	Amaariffi afaan hojii federaalaa ta'uunsaa nagammachiisa.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.	Amaariffi afaan tokkummaa Itiyophiyaati.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5.	Amaariffi afaan biyyaalessaa Itiyophiyaa ta'uu qaba.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6.	Amaariffa qofaatu Itiyophiyaa tokko gochuu danda'a.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7.	Barreeffamoota Amaariffaa nandubbisa.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8.	Walaloo fi seenaalee Amaariffaa nan dubbisa.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9.	Seenaan barreeffamoota Itiyophiyaa naboonsa.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10.	Waa'ee haayyoota hog-barruu Amaariffaa hedduun beeka.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11.	Barreeffamoota Afaan Oromoo baay'een dubbisa.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12.	Qubee Afaan Oromoo irra kan Amaariffaan filadha.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13.	Afaanoonni Itiyophiyaa qubee Laatiiniin barreeffamuu qabu.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14.	Qubeen Afaan Amaaraa naboonsa.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15.	Afaanotni Itiyophiyaa qubee Gi'iziin barreeffamuu qabu.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16.	Afaan oromoo qubee Saabaan barreeffamuu qaba ture.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17.	Ani akka lammii Oromootti of ilaala.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18.	Oromoo ta'uukootti nanboona.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19.	Anaaf Afaan Oromoo baay'ee barbaachisaadha.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20.	Afaan offin barachuun tokkummaa Itiyophiyaaf gufuudha.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21.	Ani akka lammii Itiyophiyaattan of ilaala.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
22.	Lammii Itiyophiyaa ta'uunkoo naboonsa.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

VII. Odeeffannoo Dhuunfaa

- 1) Umurii _____
- 2) Waggaa Barnootaa _____
- 3) Bakka Dhalootaa (Naannoo) _____
- 4) Subummaa _____
- 5) Subummaa Warrakee: Abbaa _____ Haadha: _____
- 6) Hawaasa: ☐ magaala ☐ baadiyyaa
- 7) Saala: ☐ dhiira ☐ dhalaa

Baay'ee Galatoomi!

Appendix 3: Questionnaire, Amharic Version

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Appendix 4: Questionnaire, Tigrinya Version

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ግለሰብ ጥያቄ ወረቀት ለመሙላት ይጠቀሙ

ግለሰብ ጥያቄ

በዚህ ጥያቄ ወረቀት ላይ የሚገኙትን ጥያቄዎች በትክክል መሙላት አለብዎት። ጥያቄዎችዎን በትክክል መሙላት ለመቻላችሁ ለጥያቄዎችዎ ላይ ያለውን ቁጥር/ስም በትክክል መሙላት አለብዎት። ጥያቄዎችዎን በትክክል መሙላት ለመቻላችሁ ለጥያቄዎችዎ ላይ ያለውን ቁጥር/ስም በትክክል መሙላት አለብዎት። ጥያቄዎችዎን በትክክል መሙላት ለመቻላችሁ ለጥያቄዎችዎ ላይ ያለውን ቁጥር/ስም በትክክል መሙላት አለብዎት። ጥያቄዎችዎን በትክክል መሙላት ለመቻላችሁ ለጥያቄዎችዎ ላይ ያለውን ቁጥር/ስም በትክክል መሙላት አለብዎት። ጥያቄዎችዎን በትክክል መሙላት ለመቻላችሁ ለጥያቄዎችዎ ላይ ያለውን ቁጥር/ስም በትክክል መሙላት አለብዎት።

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Appendix 5: Interview, English Version

I. Language Use

- 1) Which languages do you most frequently use on-campus? And off-campus?
- 2) Which language do you use to communicate on first contact with students who do not belong to your ethnic group and who, you presume, do not speak your native language? Why?
- 3) Do you code-switch yourself? Why? Between which languages do you code-switch? And how frequently?

- 4) Do your teachers code-switch inside classrooms? If yes, why? Between which languages do they code-switch and how frequently?
- 5) What language(s) do your parents use back home?

II. Amharic Proficiency

6. How do you rate your Amharic skills?

III. Language Attitude and Collective Identity

7. What do you feel about the status of Amharic as a Federal Working Language in Ethiopia?
8. How do you see the historic endoglossic status of Amharic in Ethiopia?
9. Do you consider yourself an Ethiopian? If not, why?
10. Do you take pride in Ethiopian literary history, native writing system?
11. Are you proud of being an Ethiopian?
12. Do you feel Amharic is more important than your ethnic language?

IV. On-campus Challenges of inter-ethnic Communication

13. Are there any linguistic challenges you face in this university? If yes, what are they?
14. Do you have any learning-related problems inside classrooms just because of linguistic barrier? What are they?
15. Do you usually fail to communicate with your fellow student just because of linguistic barrier? What do you do then?

V. Mechanism of Dealing with Challenges of inter-ethnic Communication

16. Do you think that there are mechanisms to deal with those challenges (if any)? What are they?

Appendix 6: FGD English Version

1. What challenges of communication do you face in this university every time you need to communicate with any person who does not belong to your ethnic group, and who does not speak your native language? And how serious are these challenges?
2. How do you think can these challenges be dealt with? What must be done by different stake holders: the university, the government, the department, faculty, teachers and the community at large? What is expected of you as a student of the university?

Appendix 7: Interview, Amharic Version

I. የወጣት የትምህርት ደረጃ

- 1) የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው?
- 2) የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው?
- 3) የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው?
- 4) የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው?
- 5) የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው?

II. የትምህርት ደረጃ

- 6) የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው?

III. የትምህርት ደረጃ

- 7) የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው?
- 8) የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው?
- 9) የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው?
- 10) የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው?
- 11) የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው?

IV. የትምህርት ደረጃ

- 12) የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው?
- 13) የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው?
- 14) የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው? የትምህርት ደረጃዎ ስንት ነው?

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Appendix 8: FGD Amharic Version

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Appendix 9: Interview, Afan Oromo Version

I. FAAYDAA AFAANII

- 1) Mooraa kana keessaaf alatti yeroo baay'ee afaan kam fayyadamta?
- 2) Barattoota lammii kee hintaane waliiniif Afaan Oromoo dubbachuu hindandeenye waliin yeroo jalqabaa yeroo walagartu afaan kamiin waliigaluuf yaalta? Maalif?
- 3) Kutaa keessatti afaan maktee nifayyadamtaa? Maalif? Afaanoota kam waliin makta? Hagam waliin makta? Kutaan alatti hoo?
- 4) Barsiisootni kee kutaa keessatti afaan waliin makanii nifayyadamuu? Maalif? Afaan kam waliin maku? Hagam waliin maku?
- 5) Maatiin kee mana keessatti afaan kam fayyadamu?

II. OGUMMAA AFAAN AMAARAA

- 6) Ogummaa Afaan Amaaraa ke akkamitti madaalta?

III. ILAALCHA AFAANIIF EENYUMMAA WALIIGALAA

- 7) Afaan Amaaraa afaan hojii federaalaa ta'uun isaatiif maaltu sitti dhagahama?
- 8) Seenaa guddina sadarkaa Afaan Amaaraa ilaalchisee maal yaadda?
- 9) Akka lammii Itiyoophiyaatti of niilaaltaa? Maalif?
- 10) Seenaa ogbarruu Itiyoophiyaa, qubee sabaa isheen qabduf qaroomina isheen seenaa kessatti qabdu siboonsaa?
- 11) Lammii itiyooophiyaa ta'uukeetti niboontaa?
- 12) Afaan Amaaraa Afaan Oromoo caalaa faaydaa qaba jettee yaaddaa?

IV. RAKKOOLEE QUUNNAMTII AFAANII SABAAF SABLAMMII GIDDUUTTI

MUL'ATAN

- 13) Mooraa kana keessatti rakkoon quunnamtii afaanii simudataa jiraa? Rakkoolee akkamiiti?
- 14) Sababiin afaan waliin walqabate kanrakkoo barnootaa sitti fidu jiraa? Rakkoolee akkamiiti?
- 15) Barattoota mooraa kanaa waliin sababii afaaniin walquunnamuuf nirakkattaa? Yroo akkanaa maal goota?

V. HAALA ITTIIN RAKKOO WALQUUNNAMTII KANA HIR'ISUUN DANDAA'AMU

- 16) Rakkoolee walquunnamtii afaanii sabaaf sablammii gidduutti mul'atan kana hiikuuf malli waan jiru sitti fakkataa? Maloota akkamiin hiikuun dandaa'ama?

Appendix 10: Interview, Tigrinya Version

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Appendix 11: Amharic Open-end Data

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	switching		
15.	Students' code-switch inside classrooms	• ባላባላ-ባላባላ (33), ባላባላ-ባላባላ	• Amharic-English , English-Amharic
	<u>Challenges of cross-ethnic communications</u>		
16.	Language causing barrier of communication to the students on-campus	• ባላባላ • ባላባ • ባላባላ • ባላባላ	• English • Ge'ez • Afan Oromo • Tigrinya
17.	How the language became the barrier of communication	• ባላባ ባላባላላላላ • ባላባላላ ባላባ ባላባላላ • ባላባላ	• It is very difficult to me. • It is not my first language. • I cannot speak it.
18.	How serious the problem of communication is with this language	• ባላባላ	• To some extent
19.	The language of on-campus communications	• ባላባላ • ባላባላላ ባላባላላላ • ባላባላላ • ባላባላላ ባላባላ	• Amharic • Amharic and English • English • Amharic and Afan Oromo
20.	Reasons for not communicating at on-campus level	• ባላባ ባላባላላላ	• NO ANSWER GIVEN
21.	The language of participation in classroom activities	• ባላባላላ ባላባላ • ባላባላ (51) • ባላባላላ (6)	• English and Amharic • Amharic • English
22.	Reason for not participating in classroom activities	• ባላባ ባላባላላላ	• NO ANSWER GIVEN
23.	Reasons for patterns of classroom group work	• ባላባላላ ባላባላላ	• Not acceptable
24.	Reasons for patterns of group work outside classroom	• ባላባላላ ባላባላላ	• Not acceptable
25.	Classroom language alienation	• ባላባላላ ባላባላላ ባላባላ ባላባላላ ባላባላ	• Wolayta, Dawro, Tigrinya, Dha-Aynawaa, Nuer
26.	The level of classroom language alienation	• ባላባላ ባላባ ባላባላላ ባላባላ ባላባላላ ባላባ ባላባላ	• Students from SNNPR mostly use only their own languages.
27.	Language of off-campus communication	• ባላባላ	• Amharic
28.	Reasons for not communicating at off-campus level	• ባላባ ባላባላላላ	• NO ANSWER GIVEN

Appendix 12: Afan Oromo Open-end Data

No.	Items	Afan Oromo	Gloss
	Language Profile		
1.	L2	• Afaan Ingiliizii (57) • Afaan Amaaraa (9)	• English • Amharic
2.	L3	• Afaan Amaaraa (39) • Afaan Ingiliizii (3)	• Amharic • English
3.	LWC	• Afaan Amaaraa (51) • Afaan Oromoo (51) • Afaan Ingiliizii (12)	• Amharic • Afan Oromo • English
4.	Language of inter-ethnic communications	• Afaan Amaaraa (18) • Afaan Ingilizii (24) • Afaan Amaaraa fi Afaan Oromoo (15) • Afaan Amaaraa fi Afaan Ingilizii (9) • Afaan Oromoo (9)	• Amharic • English • Amharic and Afan Oromo • Amharic and English • Afan Oromo
5.	Reasons for using the language	<u>AFAAN AMAARAA</u> • Namootni baay'een waan ittiin waliigalaniif. • Namootni bakka adda addaa dhufan itti fayyadamu. • Namootni baay'een ni danda'u. (21) • Afaan federaalaa waan ta'eef. (15) • Afaan waliigala Itiyophiyaa waan ta'eef. • Afaan Amaaraa fayyadamuun waan dirqama natti ta'eef. • Barattoota hedduun waliigaluu. • Mooraa kana keessatti baay'inaan waan haasa'amuuf. • Afan hojii waan ta'eef. (10) • Sabaaf sablammiin hedduun waan jiraniif. <u>AFAAN INGILIZII</u> • Afaan barnootaa waan ta'eef. • Afaan addunyaa waan ta'eef. • Afaan Amaaraa waanan hindandeenyeef. <u>AFAAN AMAARAAF AFAAN OROMOO</u> • Afaan waliigalaa waan ta'aniif. • Afaan gurguddoo biyyaa waan ta'aniif.	<u>AMHARIC</u> • Many people communicate in Amharic. • People with different linguistic background use Amharic. • Many people speak Amharic. • Amharic is a FWL. • Amharic is the lingua franca of Ethiopia. • Using Amharic is an obligation to me. • To communicate with many students • Amharic is widely spoken on this campus. • Amharic is the working language. • There are nations and nationalities in here. <u>ENGLISH</u> • It is a MOI. • It is a global language. • Because I can't speak Amharic. <u>AMHARIC AND AFAN OROMO</u> • Both are languages of wider communication. • They are major languages of the country.
6.	Reasons for not being able to communicating at inter-ethnic level	• Koo gatee kan ormaatti maaltu nadhibe. • Afaan isaan dubbatan waan hinbeekneef. • Afaan sabaaf sablammii waanan hindandeenyeef.	• Why should I worry about the language of the others while I have my own language? • I do not understand the language they speak. • I can't speak the languages of nations

		• Afaanicha waanan hinbeekneef. • Sabni biroon sababa Afaan Oromoo hinbeekneef. • Nuti Afaan Oromoo waan baranneef afaan Amaaraaf xiyyeeffannaa hin laannu.	• and nationalities of Ethiopia. • I do not speak the language. • Members of other linguistic groups do not speak Afan Oromo. • We did not pay attention to Amharic, for we have used our own language.
7.	Reasons for language preference with ethnic friends who also speak Amharic	<u>AFAAN OROMOO</u> • Afaan Oromoo afaan dhalootakoo waan ta'eef. • Afaanicha guddisuuf. • Waan dubbachuu danda'uuf • Lammii afaankoo ta'uu danda'u • Afaan haadha keenyaa waan ta'eef • Afaan dhalootaa waan a'eef (45) • Afaan Amaaraa dubbachuuf jechootni na hanqatan nijiru • Waan Afaan Oromoon waliigaluu dandeenyuuf • Qomookoo waan ta'eef • Ani Amaariffa sirriitti waanan hindandeenyeef • Lamaan keenya iyyuu waliigaluu ijaa dandeenyuuf • Afaankootiin dubbachuu waananqabuuf • Afaankoo waanan jaaladhuuf • Afaankoo guddisuuf waanan barbaaduuf (6) • Amaariffi anaaf waan naahingalleef • Afaanicha guddisuuf dagaagsuu nanbarbaada • Qomookoo waan ta'eef • Namni qomookoo ta'e Oromoo waan ta'eef • Afaan tokko dubbanna waan ta'eef (6) <u>MAKAA</u> • Hir'ina jechoota Afaan Amaaraa waanan qabuuf • Dabaree dabareen afaan walbarsiisuuf • Afaan lachuu waanan danda'uuf	<u>AFAN OROMO</u> • Afan Oromo is my mother-tongue. • To develop the language • Because I speak the language. • Because they belong to my ethnic group • It is my mother-tongue. • I come short of words to use Amharic. • For we can communicate in Afan Oromo • He/she is the member of my ethnic group. • I can't speak Amharic fluently • We can communicate • I have to speak in my language. • I love my language. • I want to develop my language. • I can't understand Amharic. • I want to develop the language. • We belong to the same ethnic group. • A person belonging to my ethnic group is an Oromo. • We speak the same language. <u>MIXED</u> • I have a shortage of vocabulary to speak Amharic. • To teach one another each others' language. • I can speak both languages.
8.	Reasons for adding more Ethiopian languages in the future	<u>EEYYEE</u> • Afaan barachun waan guddinaaf barbaachisuuf (24) • Sabaaf sablammii biraan waliigaluuf (9) • Afaan meeshaa walquunnamtii waan ta'eef (22) • Afaan beekuun bu'aa qaba (8)	<u>YES</u> • Learning language is necessary for development • To communicate with members of other ethnic groups • Language is an instrument of communication • Knowing language adds new

		• muuxannoo haaraa dabala • Afaan beekumsa dabalataadha (14) • Amaariffa yoon bare malee hojii argachuu waanan hindandeenyeef (6) • Nama baay'ee waliin waliigaluuf (8) • Saba sana waliin waliigaluuf (9) • Biyyoota kamiinuu waliigaluuf (5) • Waanan baradheef • Afaan kam iyyuu walqixa waan ta'eef (6) • Aadaa walii baruuf waliin jiraachuuf	experiences • Language is a new knowledge • I can't get a job if I do not speak Amharic • To communicate with many people • To communicate with the speakers of the language (the ethnic group) • To link with other countries • Because I am educated • Languages are inherently equal • To learn each others' cultures
9.	The languages the students want to add in the future	• Afaan Amaaraa (45) • Afaan Somaalii (42) • Afaan Ingilizii (32) • Afaan Sidaamaa (25) • Afaan Tigree (20) • Afaa Hadiyyaa (12) • Afaan Guraagee (9) • Afaan Hararii (6) • Afaan hunda (7) • Afaan Affaar (6) • Afaan kambaataa (6) • Afaa Geede'oo • Afaan Walaayitaaa • Afaan Nuweer	• Amharic • Somali • English • Sidama • Tigrinya • Hadiyya • Gurage • Harari • All languages • Afar • Kambata • Gede'o • Wolayta • Nuer
10.	Reasons for not wanting to add more Ethiopian languages in the future.	• Muxannoo afaan sanaa qabu gadaanaa waan ta'eef • Naaf hingalu waan ta'eef	• My skills of the language is very poor • I do not understand the language
11.	Reason for recommending more languages as FWL of Ethiopia in addition to Amharic	<u>EEYYEE</u> • Afaan dubbattoota baay'ee qabu waan ta'eef (8) • Hundumtuu afaan isaattii fayyadamuu qaba • Akka sabni hunduu beekke ittiin waliigaluuf • Hariiroo sabaaf sablammii cimsa • Guddina biyyaa si'achiisa • Dirqama affan tokko qofti afaan federalaa waan ta'uu hinmalleef • Afaanootni afaan hojii ta'uu qaban waan jiraniif • Afaan kam iyyuu walqixa akka guddatu barbaadna • Afaan saba guddaa qabu waan jiruuf • Warra Amaariffa	<u>YES</u> • It has a large number of speakers • People need to use their own languages • To let many people communicate with it • To strengthen ethnic relations • Speeds up national development • FWL should not just be one • There are other languages that deserve to be FWLs • We need all languages to develop equally • There are languages with wider demographic distribution • It resolves the challenges non-Amharic speakers are facing • It is necessary • There are languages spoken by many

		hindubbanneef fala ta'a • Barbaachisaa waan ta'eef • Afaanootni uummata hedduun dubbataman waan jiraniif (36) • Amaariffa wallaalanii rakkachaa kanjiran hedduu waan ta'aniif (9) • Sabaaf sablammoonni afaan biroo baruu qabu waan ta'eef • Sabi kam iyyuu afaan isaa yoo fayyadame jijjiirama guddaatu dhufa • Walquunnamtii afaanii ni si'eessa • Walquunnamtii afaanii nicimsa • Jaalala uummatni mootummaaf qabu dabala • Afaan Amaaraa guutuu biyyaatti hundaaf quubsaa miti	people • Many people are suffering just because they can not speak Amharic • Members of nations and nationalities have to speak other language, too • People can develop if they could use their own languages • It speeds up communication • Strengthens communication • Boosts peoples positive regards towards the government • Amharic does not assure national scale communication
12.	Reason for not recommending more languages as FWL of Ethiopia in addition to Amharic	LAKKI • Afaan Oromoo afaan federaalaa haata'u yoo jedhame Afaan Amaaraa kufuu qaba waan ta'eef	NO • If we make Afan Oromo the FWL of Ethiopia, Amharic would collapse
13.	The languages recommended	• Afaan Oromoo (60) • Afaan Ingilizii (16) • Afaan Somaalee (30) • Afaan Tigree (14) • Afaan Walaayitaa	• Afan Oromo • English • Somali • Tigrinya • Wolayta
14.	Reasons for the recommendation of these languages	• Baay'inaan dubbatamu waan ta'eef (72) • Hedduun waliigaluu waan danda'aniif • Namoota sirriitti tajaajiluuf • Sabni kam illee afaanota kanaan waliigaluu waan danda'uuf	• They are widely spoken • Many people communicate with these languages • To serve the people well • Almost everyone can communicate by these language
	<u>Classroom Code-Switching</u>		
15.	Instructors' code-switch inside classrooms	• Afaan Ingilizii- Afaan Oromoo (9) • Afaan Ingilizii- Afaan Amaaraa (75)	• English-Afan Oromo • English-Amharic
16.	Additional reason for instructors' code switching	• Afaan Ingilizii sirriitti waanan hindandeenyeef • Yaada koo sirriitti ibsuuf • Afaan kam iyyuu ni ergifatama • Yaadakoo ifa gochuuf (6)	• I can't speak good English • To present myself clearly • It is normal that languages are borrowed • To make my ideas clear
17.	Students' code-switch inside classrooms	• Afaan Oromoo-Afaan Ingilizii (38) • Afaan Oromoo- Afaan Amaaraa	• Afan Oromo-English • Afan Oromo-Amharic • English-Amharic

		(21) • Afaan Ingilizii-Anfaan Amaaraa (12) • Anfaan Amaaraa-Afaan Ingilizii (9)	• Amharic-English
18.	Additional reasons for students' code switching	• Barattoota Afaan Oromoo hindandeenye waliin waliigaluuf • Dubbattoonni afaan biroo naannookoo waan jiraniif • Yaaliin afaan biroo barachuuf • Naannookootti afaan waliin makanii haasa'u • Afaan Amaaraa seeraan dubbachuu waanan hindandeenyeef • Waan natti toluuf • Yaadakoo sirriin ibsachuuf • Dandeettii cimsuuf • Hiika dabalataaf • Jechootni Afaan Amaaraa waan natti hir'ataniif • Yaada ifa ta'e dabarsuuf • Hir'ina jechootaa waanan qabuuf	• To communicate with students who do not speak Afan Oromo • There are people speaking different languages in my area • To try to learn another language • It is common to mix languages in my locality • I can not speak Amharic properly • I like it • To present my ideas clearly • To strengthen my knowledge • For additional meaning • I have shortcomings of Amharic vocabulary • To communicate my ideas clearly • I have shortage of vocabulary
	<u>Challenges of cross-ethnic communications</u>		
19.	Language causing barrier of communication to the students on-campus	• Afaan Amaaraa (66) • Afaan Ingilizii (10) • Afaan Tigree (4) • Afaan Somaalii (3)	• Amharic • English • Tigrinya • Somali
20.	How the language became the barrier of communication	• Rakkoo waliigaluu • Afaan wallaaluu • Barreessuu dadhabuu • Dandeettii afaanichaa dhabuu (28) • Rakkoo naannoo irraan dhufee	• Communication problem • Not knowing the language • Poor writing skills • Lack of skills in the language • Problems related to the region I am from
21.	How serious the problem of communication is with this language	• DEEBIIN HINLAATAMNE	• NO RESPONSE GIVEN
22.	The language of on-campus communications	<u>EEYYEE</u> • Afaan Amaaraa (57) • Afaan Ingilizii (21) • Afaan Oromoo (18)	<u>YES</u> • Amharic • English • Afan Oromo
23.	Reasons for not communicating at on-campus level	• Kanneen Afaan Oromoof Afaan Amaaraa hindubbanne waliin waliigaluu hindanda'u • Dandeettii afaanichaa hinqabu • Afaanota hedduutu jira • Afaan Amaaraa hinbeeku (9) • Afaan garaagaraa waan	• I cannot communicate with those students who do not speak Amharic or Afan Oromo • I do not have the language skills • There are many languages • I can not speak Amharic • I can not speak different languages

		hindubbanneef • Afaan mooraa kana keessatti dubbatamu waanan hinbeekneef • Namni hedduun Afaan Oromoo dubbachuu waan hindandeenyeef • Mallattoon walii galla • Afaan hunda waan hinbeekneef • Namootni saba adda addaa waan ta'aniif waliigaluu hindandeenyu • Afaan Oromoo malee hinbeeku • Afaan walii hinbeeknu (6) • Afaanota hedduutu jira	• I can not speak the language spoken on this campus • Many people can not speak Afan Oromo • We communicate with signs • I can not speak othe languages • We can not communicate because we are diverse • I only speak Afan Oromo • We do not know each others' languages • There are many languages
24.	The language of participation in classroom activities	• Afaan Ingilizii (68) • Afaan Oromoo (38) • Afaan Amaaraa (7)	• English • Afan Oromo • Amharic
25.	Reason for not participating in classroom activities	• Rakkoo afaanii	• Language problem
26.	Reasons for patterns of classroom group work	<u>EEYYEE</u> • Sabaaf sablammiin ijaa baay'ataniif • Daree keenya barattoota Oromoo qofaatu jira waan ta'eef (21) • Waan afaan tokko dubbanuuf • Afaan Oromootiin waliigaluu dandeenya ijaa ta'eef (18) <u>LAKKI</u> • Sabaaf sablammiin ijaa walmakanii jiraniif • Sabaaf sablammii waliin yaada waljijjiiruuf • Ijoolleen Oromoo hinta'iin kan Afaan Oromoo beekan nijiru • Barattoonni saba biroos nijiru (54) • Ani qomoodhaan nama hinqoodu (12) • Namni kamuu walqixa	<u>YES</u> • There are many ethnolinguistic groups • It is only Oromo students in my class • Because we speak the same language • Because we can communicate in Afan Oromo <u>NO</u> • Ethnolinguistic groups are intermixed • To communicate with different ethnolinguistic groups • There are non-Oromo students who speak Afan Oromo • There are students from different ethnic group • I do not like ethnic partisanship • Every human being is equal
27.	Reasons for patterns of group work outside classroom	<u>EEYYEE</u> • Quubsaatti waliigalla waan ta'eef (22) • Sababa afaaniin waliigalluuf • Waljajja beessuf • Nanjaaladha • Muummee Afaan Oromooti waanan ta'eef (6) • Ijoolleen Oromoo hedduu waan ta'aniif	<u>YES</u> • Because we communicate effectively • Because we speak the same language • To encourage one another • Because I love that • Because it is Afan Oromo department • Because there are many Oromo students • Because we have different views <u>NO</u>

		• Ilaalcha took hinqabnu <u>LAKKI</u> • Sabni baay'een waan jiraniif (12) • Barattoota biroo waliin illee (21) • Hundinuu walqixa waan taneef (7)	• There are many nationalities • With other students as well • Because we all are equal
28.	Classroom language alienation	• Afaan Amaaraa (14) • Afaan Ingilizii (7)	• Amharic • English
29.	The level of classroom language barrier	• Afaan Amaaraan dubbadhee waliigaluun baay'ee narakkisa • 70% (rakkoo Afaan Amaaraa) • 80% (rakkoo Afaan Amaaraa) • Afaan Ingilizii xiqqoo xiqqoo malee hindanda'u • Afaan Amaaraa baay'ee narakkisa (7)	• It is difficult for me to communicate in Amharic • 70% (the problem of Amharic) • 80% (the problem of Amharic) • I have a very little skill of English • Amharic is very difficult to me
30.	Language of off-campus communication	• Afaan Amaaraa (15) • Afaan Oromoo (60) • Afaan Ingilizii (3)	• Amharic • Afan Oromo • English
31.	Reasons for not communicating at off-campus level	• Afaan waanan hindandeenyeef (21)	• Because I can not speak the language

Appendix 13: Tigrinya Open-end Data

No.	Items	Tigrinya	Gloss
1.	L2	• □□□□□ (66) • □□□□□□ (6)	• Amhaic • English
2.	L3	• □□□□□□ (52) • □□□□ (7) • □□□□□ (10)	• English • Somali • Amharic
3.	LWC	• □□□□□ (63) • □□□□□□ (6)	• Amharic • English
4.	Language of inter-ethnic communications	• □□□□□ • □□□□□	• Amharic • English
5.	Reasons for using the language	• □□□□□□□□ • □□□□ □□□□□□ • □□ □□ □□□□ □□□□ • □□□□□□□□ □□□□ • □□ □□□□ □□□□ □□ • □□□□ • □□□□ □□□□□□ • □□ □□ □□□□ • □□□□□□ □□□□□□ • □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ • □□□□□ • □□□□□□ □□□□ • □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□	• We can communicate in it • Easy to communicate with • It is a common language • It is the language of equality • It is an LWC of Ethiopia • I can not speak other languages • All nations and nationalities speak Amharic • They can speak Amhaic • We mostly communicate with it • The majority of the students use Amharic • It helps us to help each other on-

		□□□□□ • □□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□ • □□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□ • □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□ • □□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□□ • □□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□□ • □□□□□ □□ □□□ □□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□	campus • It is a working language • Many students can speak Amharic • It is our lingua franca • I use Amharic or English depending on the linguistic scaapacity of my conversant • Amharic is our common language as a nation.
6.	Reasons for not being able to communicating at inter-ethnic level	• □□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□	• Some times unknown words might be spoken
7.	Reasons for language preference with ethnic friends who also speak Amharic	□□□□□ • □□□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ • □□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□ • □□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□ • □□□□□□ □□□□□□ (21) • □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□ • □□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□ (10) • □□□□ □□□□□□□□ • □□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ • □□□□□□ □□□□□□□ • □□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ • □□□□ □□□□□□□□ • □□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ • □□ □□□ □□□□□□ • □□□□□ □□□□□□□□ • □□□□□□□□ □□□□□□ <u>Mixed</u> • □□□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□□	<u>Amharic</u> • We are misunderstood as we speak other languages • Amharic is the language of equality • We need to have a common language to discuss • It heps us help each other • We can easily communicate • It is our common language • We can easily communicate in Amharic • Many people speak it • Speaking Amharic is knowing the Ethiopian identity <u>Tigrinay</u> • Tigrinya is confortable to me • I am a speaker of Tigrinya • To develop all languages • Amharic is difficult to me • I want to develop my language <u>Mixed</u> • I want to be a polyglot
8.	Reasons for adding more Ethiopian languages in the future	• □□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□ (10) • □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□□ • □□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□ (15) • □□□□□□□□□□ • □□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□□ • □□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□ • □□□ □□□□ □□□□□□	• It is useful to know a new language • To preserve languages • To communicate with every nationality • Add knowledge • Nationalities require a common language • We can learn many languages • Knowing languages helps one live in different places • It makes me happy to speak different

		• ባሕርይ • ጥንቅቅ • ጥንቅቅ	• Hebrew • Ge'ez • Tigrinya
14.	Reasons for the recommendation of these languages	• በባሕርይ ባሕርይ ባሕርይ (በባሕርይ ባሕርይ ባሕርይ) • በጥንቅቅ ባሕርይ ባሕርይ • በጥንቅቅ ባሕርይ ባሕርይ	• There are many resources written in Hebrew, Ge'ez and Tigrinya • To develop and promote languages (Afan Oromo and Arabic) • The can help us for communication purpose (Afan Oromo, Tigrinya and English)
15.	Instructors' code-switch inside classrooms	• ባሕርይ-ጥንቅቅ	• English-Amharic
16.	Additional reason for instructors' code switching	• በባሕርይ ባሕርይ ባሕርይ (በባሕርይ ባሕርይ)	• To clarify their ideas through examples
17.	Students' code-switch inside classrooms	• ባሕርይ -ጥንቅቅ (15) • ጥንቅቅ- ባሕርይ (6) • ባሕርይ- ጥንቅቅ (15) • ጥንቅቅ-ጥንቅቅ (7)	• Tigrinya-Amharic • Amharic-English • English-Amharic • Amharic-Tigrinya
18.	Additional reasons for students' code switching	• ባሕርይ ባሕርይ	• Amharic is difficult to me
19.	Language causing barrier of communication to the students on-campus	• ባሕርይ • ጥንቅቅ • ጥንቅቅ	• Sidama • Wolayta • Somali
20.	How the language became the barrier of communication	• በባሕርይ ባሕርይ ባሕርይ(በባሕርይ ባሕርይ ባሕርይ) • በጥንቅቅ • በጥንቅቅ ባሕርይ • በጥንቅቅ ባሕርይ • በባሕርይ(በባሕርይ) • በጥንቅቅ (በጥንቅቅ ባሕርይ ባሕርይ) • በጥንቅቅ (በጥንቅቅ ባሕርይ ባሕርይ) • በጥንቅቅ ባሕርይ	• I can not speak it, can not hear it, can not think with it (Sidama, Wolayita, Somali) • I can not speak Sidama, Wolayita, Somali • Can not speak it • I can not speak Afan Oromo • I do not understand Gambella • I do not understand Amharic • I can not hear any language except Amharic and Tigrinya • I have no experience in Amharic
21.	How serious the problem of communication is with this language	• 96-100 ባሕርይ(በባሕርይ) • 60 ባሕርይ • 100 (ባሕርይ) • 80 (ባሕርይ) • በጥንቅቅ ባሕርይ ባሕርይ(ባሕርይ) • በጥንቅቅ ባሕርይ (ባሕርይ) • በጥንቅቅ ባሕርይ (በጥንቅቅ ባሕርይ) • በጥንቅቅ ባሕርይ ባሕርይ ባሕርይ (በጥንቅቅ) • በጥንቅቅ ባሕርይ ባሕርይ	• About 96-100% serious (Sidama, Wolayita, Somali) • English is about 60% a problem to me • Gurage is 100% a problem to me • Amharic is 80% a problem • Speaking Afan Oromo is very difficult to me • Gambella is my problem • All languages except Amharic and Tigrinya are difficult to me • Amhari is not that difficult time will solve it

			• Afan oromo is difficult to speak
22.	The language of on-campus communications	• □□□□ (51) • □□□□ (19) • □□□□ □□ □□□□ • □□□□□□ (18)	• Amharic • Tigrinya • Amharic or Tigrinya • English
23.	Reasons for using the language	• □□ □□□□□ □□ □□□□□ (□□□□□□ □□□□□) • □□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ • □□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ • □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□	• Amharic and Tigrinya are my L1 • Using Amharic helps me • Tigrinya is my L1, and Amharic is my learned language • Amharic is my L1
24.	The language of participation in classroom activities	• □□□□ (18) • □□□□□□□ □□□□□□ (18) • □□□□□□ (21) • □□□□□□ (21) • □□□□□□ □□□□□□ (6)	• Tigrinya • English and Amharic • English • Amharic • Amharic and Tigrinya
25.	Reason for not participating in classroom activities	• □□□ □□□□□□□□	• NO ANSWER GIVEN
26.	Reasons for patterns of classroom group work	No • □□□□□□ (6) • □□□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□□□ • □□□ □□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□□□ • □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□ • □□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□ • □□□ □□□□□□□□□□ • □□□□□ □□□□□□ • □□□□ □□□□□□ • □□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□□ • □□ □□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□ • □□□□ □□□□□□□□ • □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ • □□□□□□ □□□□□□ Yes • □□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ • □□□□ □□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ • □□□ □□□□□	No • Not allowed • I consider other ethnic members as my brothers • Classmates are from diverse backgrounds • Friends from different ethnic groups help each other • To avoid the impression that we gather along ethnic lines • We speak the same languages • Easy to communicate with him • I am not ethnic nationalist • We study together • Some times I am assigned with a student from another ethnic group • We are assigned to work in diversity • Working with them helps me achieve great • We are different Yes • I communicate better with my ethnic friends • There are many students from my ethnic group • To develop my language
27.	Reasons for patterns of group work outside classroom	• □□□□□□ □□□□□□ • □□ □□□ □□□□□ • □□□□□□□ • □□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□	• We work in cooperation • To strengthen the language • It is a matter of education • To communicate easily

		• Because it is most widely used on campus • Because of my familiarity with the language since childhood • Because it is LWC • Because it is national language • Because it is an important language (English)
6.	Reasons for not being able to communicating at inter-ethnic level	• NO WRITTEN RESPONSE
7.	Reasons for language preference with ethnic friends who also speak Amharic	<u>MIXED</u> • Others mix the two languages (11) • Mixing is the way of learning • I can use both languages (11) • We can understand each other • To reach the point we talk about <u>DHA-ANYWAA</u> • We belong to gether • It is more important to me • To promote our language <u>AMHARIC</u> • They do not undestand other languages • Easy to understand each other • Amharic is national language • Amharic is LWC
8.	Reasons for adding more Ethiopian languages in the future	• To facilitate communications and understandings • To be sucessful • good to know more languages • To get better experiences • To share my experiences with others • To share culture • For the sake of love of languages • To be sensitive to multiculturalism • To develop other languages • To widen my probabilities • To communicate with different tribes
9.	The languages the students want to add in the future	• Afan Oromo (7) • Tigryna (3) • Nuer (3) • Wolayta • Arabic • Chinese • French
10.	Reasons for not wanting to add more Ethiopian languages in the future.	• Difficult to learn different languages (2) • No need of additional language other than Amharic • I have no idea about it in the future • I do not have any means to add
11.	Reason for recommending more languages as FWL of Ethiopia in addition to Amharic	• Makes our federal government interesting • Reflects the diversity of Ethiopia • Due to population nature • Including other ethiopian language speakers • For global communication • There are nations and nationalities who are not exposed to

		Amharic Amharic is the national language of Ethiopia
12.	Reason for not recommending more languages as FWL of Ethiopia in addition to Amharic	- Amharic is FWL - Changing other languages is difficult - To avoid potential conflict (3) - The government uses only Amharic - Amharic has already been a working language (2)
13.	The languages recommended	- English (7) - Afan Oromo (3) - Afar (3) - Dha-Anywaa (2) - Tigrinya (2) - Kiswahili
14.	Reasons for the recommendation of these languages	- To increase better national communication - Population increase (Oromo, Tigre, Afar) - To avoid working language conflict - I am perfect in the three languages - To build better national communication
	<u>Classroom Code-Switching</u>	
15.	Instructors' code-switch inside classrooms	English-Amharic (9)
16.	Additional reason for instructors' code switching	- No other reason - For full comprehension - To understand students
17.	Students' code-switch inside classrooms	- Dha-Anywaa-Amharic (4) - Dha-Anywaa-English (7) - English-Amharic (1)
18.	Additional reasons for students' code switching	Mutual understanding
	<u>Challenges of cross-ethnic communications</u>	
19.	Language causing barrier of communication to the students on-campus	- Afan oromo - Tigrinya - All other Ethiopian languages except Amharic
20.	How the language became the barrier of communication	- I do not understand them - I limited my interaction with others
21.	How serious the problem of communication is with this language	- Difficult - The languages are nothing more than noises to me since I do not understand them
22.	The language of on-campus communications	- Amharic and English (11) - Amharic (6) - Amharic or English (1) - Amharic, English Anywaa and Afan Oromo
23.	Reasons for not communicating at on-campus level	NO REASON GIVEN

24.	The language of participation in classroom activities	- English (12) - English and Amharic (6) - English or Amharic (2)
25.	Reason for not participating in classroom activities	NO RESPONSE GIVEN
26.	Reasons for patterns of classroom group work	NO: - The classroom is linguistically diverse - They are from different ethnic areas - Because group is assigned to different ethnic group members - We do classroom group work in Amharic and English - The group work is randomly assigned - Different people have different ideas - I do not think narrowly - All are my classmates (2) - We are all from different ethnic groups YES: - To understand each other - I am learning with others who do not know my language
27.	Reasons for patterns of group work outside classroom	NO: - Group work is always diversified (2) - Better doing it with other group members - To build strong bond with others - I am not studying with my ethnic friends - I can use Amharic - Good to be with others - We can use both Amharic and English - There is LD - I do not like doing academics outside classroom YES: - They do not know my language - For the purpose of knowledge sharing
28.	Classroom language alienation	Other Ethiopian languages
29.	The level of classroom language alienation	- I can not share ideas with other students - No good English - I can not get the idea of the lesson
30.	Language of off-campus communication	- Amharic (11) - Amharic and English (5) - Afan Oromo (1) - Amharic, Aynwaa, Afan Oromo and English
31.	Reasons for not communicating at off-campus level	NO RESPONSE GIVEN

Appendix 15: Interview Data (Amh. 1, KMU)

Item	Amharic version	Gloss
1. Which languages do you most frequently use on-campus? And off-campus?	□□ □□□□? □□ □□□□ □□ □□□□ □□ □□ □□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□□□	What I use? You know, it is only Amharic that I can speak. So, I use it everywhere.

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2. Which language do you use to communicate on first contact with students who do not belong to your ethnic group and who, you presume, do not speak your ethnic language? Why?	□□□□□□□ □□ □□□ □□ □□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□□□ potential □□□□ □□□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□ □	I communicate with them in English. As much as possible I use my potential to try to communicate in English.
3. Do you code-switch yourself? Why? Between which languages do you code-switch? And how frequently?	□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□ □ □□□□□ □□□□□ mix □□□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □	Yes, because I use Amharic when I find it difficult to express my ideas in English. I mix Amharic and English as I come short of expressions in the former.
4. Do your teachers code-switch inside classrooms? If yes, why? Between which languages do they code-switch and how frequently?	□□! □□□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□ communicate □□□□□□ □□ □□□□ official ... working language □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□ □□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□ affect □□□ □□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□ communicate □□□□ □□ more clear □□□□ □□□□	Yes, we do not communicate in English. Since Amharic is the official/working language, the speakers of other languages can understand it even if they cannot speak it. So they mix Amharic. For me it does not have any problem, but it may affect others who do not speak Amharic. They mix because they want to communicate; they want to make their ideas clear.
5. What language(s) did your parents use back home?	□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□	I am from East Gojam, and my parents use Amharic.
6. What do you feel about the status of Amharic as a FWL in Ethiopia?	□□□□ □□□ □□□ □.... □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□ relation □□□□□ □□ □□ □□□□ □□ □□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□□□	For me, not at all, for... Amharic not that much though it is a FWL, I do not feel any special honour because I guess all languages are equal. Others may feel that way. Previously, I used to feel that way, for I consider my own language as if it is more important than other languages. Now, I do not feel anything like that because I already understood that all languages are equal.

	already □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□	
7. How do you see the historic endoglossic status of Amharic in Ethiopia?	□□□□ □□□□ □□ by the way □□ □□□□ □□ □□ □□ □□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□ □□ □□ □□□□ □□□□ □□ accept □□□□ □□□□ □□ □□ □□ □□□□□□□□ □□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□ □□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□	What is in history, by the way, I guess it is right because primarily the history was not that.... Since it was spoken beforehand, I thought it was correct. I could be wrong, but I guess it is right.
8. Do you consider yourself an Ethiopian? If not, why?	□□ □□□□□□ □□ □□ □□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□ □□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□ □□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□□	Yes, because, as a man, I could accept the place of my birth, just a person accepts a place of his birth, with family, and that makes him love it.
9. Do you take pride in Ethiopian literary history, native writing system and civilization?	□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□ □□ □□□ □□□ feeling □□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□ □□ □□□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□ □□ civilization □□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□ □□□ □□□□□□ invite □□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□□□	Yes, very much my feeling for my country is very great. Even as I think about Ethiopia in history, I understand it is a place where everything begins. It is a model for world civilization. Forget the present poverty, we have, Ethiopia was like America, inviting everyone.
10. Are you proud of being an Ethiopian?	□□□	Very much
11. Do you feel Amharic is more important than your ethnic language?	□□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□	There are students in my dorm who cannot communicate with me. They are from Somali and Gambella. They can understand Amharic, but they cannot speak it. They can hear Amharic, but they cannot speak it. However, they are improving their skills That sort of problem, but not too much.

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12. Are there any linguistic challenges you face in this university? If yes, what are they?	□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□□ (□□□□□□□) □□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□	I do not have any problem because we can communicate in English and Amharic. With those who can use Amharic, I communicate in Amharic; with those who cannot, I use English.
13. Do you have any learning-related problems inside classrooms just because of linguistic barrier? What are they?	□□□□ □□? □□□□□ □□ □□□ □□? □□ □□□□□□ □ □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□ □□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□ □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□ □□ □□□□ even □□□□□□□ □□□ □□ □□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□ feeling □□□	Outside classroom? Outside the campus? Yes, because since I can only speak Amharic, I cannot help but just listen to other language speakers wondering about what they would possibly say about me. Sometimes I feel that they might be talking about me.
14. Do you usually fail to communicate with your fellow student just because of linguistic barrier? What do you do then?	□□□□□	No
15. Do you think that there are mechanisms to deal with those challenges (if any)? What are they?	□□ □□ □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□ □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□ □□□ □□□ □□□ high population □□□ □□ □□□□□□ approach □□□ □□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□ □□□□ □□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□? □□□ □□□ solution □□□□□□□□□□ □ □□□□□□ already □□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□. Understand □□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□ interest □□□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□□ campus □□□□ □□□□□	Yes, for me. Like Amharic, the other languages with large populations, a large number of speakers is Afan Oromo. It needs to be given like a course in Amhara region just like Amharic is offered in other regions. I would have taken it. It could help me at least to understand Afan Oromo speakers. Universities could at least help interested students learn the language they need. Look, I need to learn to speak Afan Oromo, to understand it. If they could offer a course in this language on this campus I will take it. That sort of solution is good.

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13. Do you have any learning-related problems inside classrooms just because of linguistic barrier? What are they?	□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□ □□□	I did not come across that until now. None!
14. Do you usually fail to communicate with your fellow student just because of linguistic barrier? What do you do then?	□□□ □□□□□□	NO ANSWER
15. Do you think that there are mechanisms to deal with those challenges (if any)? What are they?	□□ □□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□... □□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□ more □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□ □□ □□□□□□□ □□□□ □□ □□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□	It varies with various society. I see it from the view point of the place they are from. If he does not communicate because he does not speak Amharic... well... I have nothing to say ... it is good if they know Amharic because the majority of the people speak it. I think they should join the majority of the society. They better learn if they could. It is better if there is a better mode of language delivery on its right. If not the students should learn by themselves.

Appendix 18: Interview Data (AfO. 1, KMU)

No	Afan Oromo version	Gloss
1. Which languages do you most frequently use on-campus? And off-campus?	Mooraa kana keessatti yeroo baay'ee... haala afaani baay'etti afaan Amaaraan fayyadama. Maalif kanjedhuuf immoo afaan sun afaan hojii waan ta'eef yeroo baay'etti afaan sanatti fayyadamuudhaaf yaalna. Garuu haata'u malee afaanoota keessatti, bali'inaan rakkinatu jira kanneen Oromiaadhaa dhufaniitti. Maalif kan jedhuuf immoo baadiyyaa keessatti, naannoo wallagga bahaa keessatti kan	Most of the time on this campus... I mostly use Amharic because it is the working language. Most of the time we try to use the language. However, there are many linguistic problems that students from Oromia region face. The reason is the language widely spoken in rural areas, as in Western Wollega, is Afan

	baay'inaan dubbatamu, kanarratti immoo dhufee maal nutti ta'ee, Afaan Amaariffaa kana dubbachuun gufuu nutti ta'e. Afaan keenyaan dubbachuuf yaalii goona haata'u malee as keessatti dirqama nutti ta'a jechuudha.	Oromo... speak Amharic now became obstacle to us. We try to speaking our language but in here it is a must to speak Amharic.
2. Which language do you use to communicate on first contact with students who do not belong to your ethnic group and who, you presume, do not speak your ethnic language? Why?	Dirqama Afaan Amaaraatiin waliigalla isaan faana. Eyyee dirqama haat'u malee jechoota nuun dubbachuudhaaf yaallu itti dhufnee jechaadha, jechootuma nuti irratti waa tokko tokko dubbannu sana irratti Amaariffa waan beekaniif isaani, sanarratti walii galuu dandeenya.	To communicate with them, we must use Amharic. Yes we try to speak Amharic, we try to use some of the words we know, they try to understand our few vocabularies and so we communicate.
3. Do you code-switch yourself? Why? Between which languages do you code-switch? And how frequently?	Eeyyee, inni kuni maal irraa kadhufe kajedhuuf afaan walitti nimakama. Afaan Ingiliffaa fi Afaan Amaariffaatu walitti makama. Maalif kajedhamuuf immoo, kabarsiisaan barsiisaa jiru irratti yoo kaafne, barsiisaan yeroo barsiisu keessatti, haagaluuf kan jedhu irratti irra caalaatti dhaqee Afaan Amaariffaatti dirqama maka, isa kana irratti kan ka'e nuti garu irra caalaatti ijoolleen Oromiyaa Afaan Ingiliffaadhaan irra caalaatti dha, Ingiliffatti xiyyeeffanaa yeroo baay'ee, garuu amma ta'e Amaariffatti makama.	Yes, this is because we mix languages when we communicate. We mix Amharic and English. The reason is that, for example if we see the teachers, they mix Amharic while teaching in English. They do that to make the lesson clear to us. But those who are coming from Oromia region want the teacher use English.
4. Do your teachers code-switch inside classrooms? If yes, why? Between which languages do they code-switch And how frequently?	Eeyyee Amaariffa fakkeenyaaf barattoonni keenya hindanda'ani, Afaan Ingiliffaan yeroo barsiisani hamma ta'ee yeroo irraa deddeebi'anii barsiisani nuudhufa. Sababii kanaaf rakkinni xiqqoo achirratti qabamaa jechuudha.	Yes, for example our students can not speak Amharic. We some what understand when teachers repeat lessons over and again in English. However the teachers code-switch between English and Amharic. For this reason, we have some problems.
5. What language(s) do your parents use back home?	Afaan Oromoo	Afan Oromo
6. How do you rate your Amharic language skills?	Ani mataakootiin yeron duraa fireeshummaa gaafan gibbii kana keessa dhufu fi gaafan finfinnee dhufu, Afaan Amaariffaa kanjedhamu ani hinbeeku waatokkollee, amma xiqqooshee hamma tokko dhagaheeran jedha garuu dandheeti baay'ee dubbachuu otoo hin ta'iin mataakoo ofbusheera jechuudha, Amaariffaa fi Ingiliffaa xiqqooshee mokaadheera jechuudha mataakootti, of danda'eera	I myself, the first time I came here as a fresh student, even to Addis Ababa, I did not know a single word in Amharic. Now, I think I could hear Amharic to some extent. I do not have a speaking skill, yet I could help myself with it. I have improved my Amharic and my English, so I can somewhat take care of

	jechaadha.	myself.
7. What do you feel about the status of Amharic as a FWL in Ethiopia?	Inni kun duraan dursee afaan tokko afaan federaalaa ta'uudhaaf durseetu maalif akka ta'e amma baay'inni daataan yeroo ilaalamu, baay'inaan, yunbarsiitiis yoodhaqne, daataan biyyattii kessa jirtus immoo, baay'inaan uummata Oromootu irra baay'ate jira. Yuumbarsitii kessas immoo eddo barbaade yoo deemne, yuumbarsiitii gurguddoo deemnes immoo, baay'inaan uummata Oromootu irra jiraata, garuu isa kanarratti Afaan federaalaa ta'a kan jedhu kanaafi Afaan Oromoos maalif hinta'u kanjedhu irratti xinnooshee utuu ta'eetii irra caalaatti Afaan kun bal'inaan bal'ateetu argama ture.	First, for a language to be a FWL, demographic data should be considered. If we see country data it is the Oromo that is the largest in number. Even in every university in Ethiopia, the Oromo is still the largest numerically. On this however, it would have been great if this language is taken as a FWL. It would have strengthened the language.
8. How do you see the historic endoglossic status of Amharic in Ethiopia?	Waa'ee guddina sadarkaa Amaariffaa kanarratti, haata'u malee baroota keessatti, yeroota keessatti duraan haayyoonni yeroo kaa'an keessatti haala ittiin guddinni isaa jalqaba irratti maal akka ture fi amma kana maal akka inni irra jiru madaalsifameeti gara fulduraatti maal akka inni ta'e utuu madaalame afaanootni kun walitti dhufheetun jedha. Maalif? Duraan Afaan Amaaraa kun maal irra ture, Afaan Oromiffaa maal irra jira, kun immoo maal irra akka inni gahuu qabu wal madaalsifamuu qabaadha	On the status of Amharic, when the scholars state where the language was, on what status it is right now and what its future is.... what was the status of Amharic before hand, what was the status of Afan Oromo, comparison should be made between the the languages.
9. Do you consider yourself an Ethiopian? If not, why?	Yeroo baay'ee Itiyophiyaa ta'uukootti maalifinii xiqqooshee nangaabba akka mataakootiitti. Maal irraani kanjedhuuf, tokko malaamaltumma kan jedhu jira, ija ilaalamuun jira, hunda mirga jedhamu kana irrattis haala adda addatu jira, afaan keetti akka hinfayyadamneef illee duraan dursa maal akka ta'e hubachuu dhabuun jira. Sababii kanaaf osoo amma dimookraasiin sun jiraate, Itiyophiyaadha jechuu nandanda'a ani. Ija tokkoon yoo ilaalamne, lammiin kam iyyuu, Amaaraa fi Tigraay, Oromoo maal otoo hinjedhiin ija tokkoon utuu tahe nantahan jedha.	Personally, I mostly resent on being an Ethiopian to some extent. The first reason is corruption, unfair treatment, unfairness of the issue of rights. There is no understanding as to how to use your language. If there is democracy, I would have considered myself an Ethiopian. If all nations and nationalities and peoples are treated fairly equally, then I could consider myself an Ethiopian.
10. Do you take pride in Ethiopian literary history, native writing system and civilization?	Akka anaatti anaan nahinboonsu, kun nahinboonsu, maalif sanas hin agarre, akka isaan itti boname sanas hinagarre, afaankoo irratti hacuucamuu sana hinyaadanne,	Personally, it does not make me proud. I do not understand that. I did not see how that could make one proud. My language was

	jaarrraa dhibba tokko kanan hakuucamee ture irratti, amma kanammoo akkamitti naboonsuu akka hindandeenye, anaan naboonsuu hindanda'u.	oppressed for a hundred years, so that does not make me proud.
11. Are you proud of being an Ethiopian?	Lammii Itiyophyaa ta'uukootti hin boonu.	I am not proud of being an Ethiopian.
12. Do you feel Amharic is more important than your ethnic language?	Faaydaa qaba jedheen hinyaadu. Maalif kanjedhuuf immoo, erga namtokko fakkeenyaaf, erga namataate booda nama kana nama gochuu dandeessa ati. Erga afaankee dandeessee hojjette booddee sanarra hojii gochuu dandeessa jechuudha. Kanaaf irra caalaaAfaankooti boona malee Afaan namaatti boonuu hindandeenye.	I do not think it is useful. It is only when you become yourself that you can help others. It is only when you know your language. Therefore, I am proud more of my language not of the language of the others.
13. Are there any linguistic challenges you face in this university? If yes, what are they?	Eeyye injiraata... duraandursee giseen fireeshummaa dhufu keessatti, rakkoon afaan Amaariffaa naquunnama, innis immoo baay'inaan Oromoon bakka tokko jiraata, uummata bal'aadha, boonee jiraata, iddoo tokkorra jiraata waan ta'eef, achii isa dhufu afaan Amaariffaa gaaffii itti ta'a, shaakala akkasii hinqabu, uummata walkeesa jijiraachisu qabu otoo hinta'iin, Oromiyaan Oromiyaadhuma taatee jiraatti jechaadha.	Yes, there is....First, when I was a freshman student I faced the problem of Amharic language. It is because the Oromo people dominantly live in one area, so when they come here Amharic becomes a problem to them. They do not have the practice. It does not have diversity. Oromia is just Oromia.
14. Do you have any learning-related problems inside classrooms just because of linguistic barrier? What are they?	Eyyeen, eeyyeen, eeyyeen, injiraata fakkeenyaaf Afaan isuma duraan walqabsiisee himuudhaaf, bara fireeshummaatti yoodhufe bara waggaa lammaffaa kanarratti yoodhufes, barsiisoonni maaliin barsiisuu, Afaan Amaariffaan barsiisu, ani cirraasha hindhagahu baqqaa...hindhagahu, exclude nagodha. Otuun barnootaaf fedhii qabu, fedhiikoo nairratti cufaa deema jechuudha. Sanairratti ka'etii, haala barnootaa wajjin gufuu natti ta'a jechaadha.	Yes, yes, yes, there is, in relation to the previous language, when I was a freshman, on second year, teachers teach in Amharic. I do not understand Amharic at all, and that excludes me inside the classroom. This kills my appetite for education. So that is how it becomes an obstacle in my learning.
15. Do you usually fail to communicate with your fellow student just because of linguistic barrier? What do you do then?	Rakkoon sun nimudata, haala waggaa 2ffaa fi 1ffaa irratti yoo qabanne, batalay waggaa 1ffaa keessatti, keessumaa waggaa 1ffaa kessatti, yeroo dhufu mallattoon hamma odeessamutti ta'a, amma saayiniidhaan dhaan walagarsiisnu ta'a, eeyyee waanna dubbattu dhabda. Mucaan tokko yeroo darbe keessatti fakkeenya yoon kaase, kuwaasii harkaa keessatti lukti kun	We face that problem, for instance, if we see on year one and year two, especially in year one, we even go to the extent of communicating using signs, because we have no word to say. For example, a student sometimes ago he got his leg wounded while playing volleyball, as he was

	madaa'ee jechaadha gaafa inni rukutamu, dhaqeeti mana yaalaa dhaqee agarsiisuu dhabeeti luka kana mallattoodhaan agarsiise. Inni kuni rakko amma kanaati aniif ati yoo walitti buune, wallolle illee ani afaa koon odeessa inni afaan isaatiin jedhaa, hamma walreebuutti ga'aniiruu ijoolleen doormii keenya jiran. Kun quunnamtii guddaadha jechaadha.	injured, he did not communicate with physicians in the clinic; all he did was pointing his finger to his leg. This is not serious. Even, students quarrel with each other, not knowing each others' languages worsen the conflict. Some have gone to fighting. This is a serious incident.
16. Do you think that there are mechanisms to deal with those challenges (if any)? What are they?	Tokko, rakkoo kana gaaffii gaafatamuuf deebii kennuudha. Gaaffii sana galmeessanii kaa'uu osoo hintaane, gaaffii gaafatame haalaan deebisanii yooka'an, OK, qabatamaadha, maalifi barnoota qofaanii miti quunnamtiin afaanii kun kan nurakkisu, achi rakkoo kana diriirsinaa wal barsiisuu dhabuudha, tokko rakkina gama keenyaan yoo ilaalle, rakkina Oromiyaarra jirus yoo ilaalle, Afaan Amaaraa kanatti haala barnootaatti dhibaahummaa qabna. Tokko mataakoo irratti yoon kaase, dhibaahummaa sana balleessinee gad buunee jabeessinee barsiisuudha. Inni biraan ammo malaamaltummaa haquudha, yoo san hiikamuu danda'a jechuudha.	It is important to answer every question. They should not take the question and keep it. They should answer it appropriately and practically. The problem of language is not only in the domain of education. The problem of communication is bigger. On our side, the problem on Oromia, we have negative outlook toward Amharic. Staring from myself, we need to avoid that sort of stubbornness and we have to strengthen the teaching of Amharic. Not only this, we needed to fight corruption if we want to solve this problem.

Appendix 19: Interview Data (AfO. 2, ASTU)

No.	Afan Oromo version	Gloss
1. Which languages do you most frequently use on-campus? And off-campus?	Baay'ee narakkisa ture afaanni kun matuma kiyyarra dhaabbadhee yeroon ilaalu. Afaan kana yegguun giibbii kana galu namaa wajjin walii galuu hindanda'uu, Amaariffaa dubbachuu hin danda'uu. Afaan kabira illee dubbcahuu hindanda'u. Kanaaf iddoon ani irraa dhufe iddoo amaariffa dubbatamu miti sanaaf baay'ee narakkisaa ture. Kun jechuun waan baay'ee beekamudha, haala gaariin narakkisaa ture. Ani yeroo baay'ee Afaan Oromoon fyyadama.	I myself have been facing many problems due to this language. I was not able to communicate with other students with this language when I first came to this campus. I was not able to speak Amharic. Amharic was not spoken in the place I came from; that is a trouble to me. It is very obvious that the language is a problem to us all. I almost always use Afan Oromo.
2. Which language do you use to communicate on first contact with students who do not	Duras Amaariffaan dubbachuun waan narakkisuuf akkuma ta'e ta'een Amaariffan waliigaluudhaaf yaada malee. Baay'ee narakkisa beeta, Afaan biraas hindanda'uu	I try to do my best to communicate in Amharic though I could speak the language. I can not also speak other languages,

belong to your ethnic group and who, you presume, do not speak your ethnic language? Why?	Amaariffi mataan isaayyuu narakkisa. Kanaaf Amaariffa ykn Ingliffa fayyadamnee walii galaa turre malee baay'ee narakkisaa ture.	Amharic itself is enough headache to me. Yet I try to communicate with others using English or Amharic as much as possible.
3. Do you code-switch yourself? Why? Between which languages do you code-switch? And how frequently?	Nimakaa ture ammaan kana. Fakkeenyaaf yoon Amaariffa dubbachuu barbaade. Namootni ani wajjin dubbadhu sun Amaariffaa danda'an ani garuu Amaariffa hindanda'u isaan waliin Amaariffa dubbachuu barbaadeen Afaan Oromoo itti maka maali waanan hindandeenyeef. Akka saniin makaan ture. Garuu carraa biraa keessa waanan maku hinqabu. Waan narakkisuufin makaa ture. Afaan Oromoo yennaan haasa'u Afaan biraa itti hinmaku, Afaanicha sirriittin danda'a waan ta'eef itti hinmaku. Amaariffa yoon dubbadhu garuu ykn Ingliffaa yoon dubbadhu, Afaan sun waan narakkisuuf Afaan Oromoo ittin maka.	I used to mix languages; for example, when I want to speak Amharic. When I want to communicate with people speaking Amharic, I usually mix Afan Oromo whenever it is difficult to me. I mix that way. I do not have other opportunities to mix. I mix because I find it difficult to present myself in Amharic. Yet, when I speak Afan Oromo, I do not mix another language. But when I speak either English or Afan Oromo, I mix Afan Oromo because these languages are difficult to me.
4. Do your teachers code-switch inside classrooms? If yes, why? Between which languages do they code-switch and how frequently?	Nifayyadamani baay'ee fayyadamani. Amma fakkeenyaaf barsiisoonni, koorsii kan nuti ittiin barannu Ingiliizinyaadha, waan ingiliffa yennaa nubarsiisan, yeroo baay'ee Amaariffaa itti maku. Wanni kun baay'ee illee nati fakkaachuu baatu maal natti fakkaataa, gara tokkoon barsiisootni tokko tokko, yaada sana irriitti namaa dhibsuudhaaf fayyadamuu yaalani. Tokko tokko immoo waanuma amala itti taheef caluma jedhanii natti fakkaata akkan yaadeettii. Inni kun amma fakkeenyaaf ana nama Afaan Amaaraa hindandeenyeef, yoo barsiisaan Afaan Amaaraa itti maku, an amma Afaan Amaaraarra Ingiliffa naawayya hamma tokko, maalif Ingiliffa duraanis barachaan dhufe wanna taheef sirriitti naadhagahama. Yeroo inni Amaariffaa itti makuu calqabu, ani sirumayyuu ana jalaa bada ture, barnooticha hubachuu waa tokko hubachuu hindanda'u yeroo inni Amaariffaa itti maku. Sirriitti midhaa qaba (firii irratti) klaasii galee gaaafan waan barsiisaan sun jedhu haalaan waanan hindhageeffanneef, sirriitti namiidha jedheen yaada ani.	They use it; they use it very much. Now, for example, we take courses in English. Yet they mix English with Amharic when they teach us. Some teachers do this to clarify their ideas of the lesson; some, however, use that just because of habit. This practice, for example, obscures the idea of the lesson from some one like me who does not understand Amharic. Those who do not speak Amharic are affected. I spent all my academic life learning in English. I prefer English to Amharic as MOI. This practice of code-switching between Amharic and English has a huge impact even on students' achievements. Since I do not understand what the teachers says inside the classroom, that affects me so much.

5. What language(s) do your parents use back home?	Iddoon ani dhufe baqqaa akkuma jiranitti Oromiffaa qofa fayyadamu. Amaariffi hinuma hinjiru garuu. Harargeedha. Maatii keessatti hadhaaf abbaa kiyyaa waliin akkaakoota hunda waliin afaanuma Oromoon haasa'a. Maalif afaan biraa namni fayyadamu hinjiru nubira.	The place where I am from, people only use Afan Oromo. Amharic is not spoken there. I am from Hararghe. All my family members, including my grand parents, we only speak Afan Oromo. Nobody uses another language.
6. How do you rate your Amharic language skills?	Ogummaan Amaariffan qabuu jechuun egaa, carraan dhagahuu kootii ergan gibbii seene dabalee ture xiqqoo nindabala. Achii dura siruma hindhagahun ture. Carraan barreessuu kootii illee dadhabaadha. Gaafa duraa nubiratti kan baratamaa ture, klaasiin tokko Amaariffaadha sanuu jira hinjedhamu maalif barsiisootni nubarsiisaa turan, isaan iyyuu Amaariffa sirriitti hindandeenye, warri nubarsiisaa turan jechuudha. Dandeettiinkoo dadhabaadha. Hindanda'u jechuun nidanda'ama baqqaa. Waan sirriitti waliigallu tokko iyyuu hinqabnu.	Regarding the skills I have in Amharic, my listening skill has been improved since I joined this university. I was not able to listen to Amharic at all before. My writing skills is very poor. We only took a course in Amharic before. Even that one, it is not possible to say we really took it. The teacher themselves were not able to speak Amharic. Therefore my skills are very weak. I could almost say that I can not speak Amharic. I can not practically communicate in Amharic.
7. What do you feel about the status of Amharic as a FWL in Ethiopia?	Dhuguma akkuma isin jettan afaanichi kun baay'ee biyya kana keessatti tajaajila kennaa ture. Kun akkasuma ta'ee osoo jiruu. Fakkeenyaaf gaafa isin gara naannoo Oromiyaa gara bahaaf Somaalee kana deemnu uummattoonniif barattoonni tokko iyyuu afaan kana dubbachuu hindanda'ani. Kanaaf maal natti fakkaata, yoo xiqqaate jechuudha afaan saba baay'een dubbataman afaan federaalaa waliin ta'ee hanga tokko saba kanaa akka isaan bu'aa buusan ta'uu qaba waan ta'eef. Yoo kana gara tokkoon uummannii rakkachaa jira. Ijoolleen keenya amma gaafa mooraa yuunivarsiitii galan, baay'ee rakkachaa waan turreef. Haalli kun osoo Afaan Oromoo Afaan federaalaa ta'e xiqqishuu uummanni kaanis hubannoo afaan kana argatanii uummanni baay'inaan Afaan kana dubbachaa miidhamaa jiran kun xiqqishoo bu'aa hinargatani natti fakkaata. Namootni baay'ee ni miidhamu. Amma Afaan Amaaraa Afaan federaalaa tahee utuu jiruu, uummannii baay'ee gara bahaa kana yeroo deemnu, gara biraa illee beekuu	It is true, as you have said it this language has been serving the country for a long time now. This being as it is. If you come to the area I am from, Oromia and east Somali, no one including students speak the language. Therefore, I think, it must be joined with other languages spoken by many people to help citizens. On the one hand the people are suffering. Our children are suffering in universities. If Afan Oromo becomes the federal working language of Ethiopia, other people would understand about the language a little bit. The speakers of the Afan Oromo who are sufferening from language problems would get relief. Many people are affected. You can not really imagine that Amharic is the FWL of Ethiopia, this is very clear to you if you go to the

	baadhu, Afaan kanatu Afaan federaalaadha jechuutu sidhiba baqqaa. Afaan tokko Afaan federalaa tahee utuu jiruu, wanni dubbatamu hinjiru wanni baratamu hinjiru. Nubira yoodemta amma gara harargee gara somaalee yoo deemte, nammni dubbachuu danda'u hinjiru, namni barreessuu danda'u hinjiru. Sirakkisa baqqaa Amaariffaatu, Afaan federaalaa akkamitti hindandeenye kanjedhu. Siajaayiba baqqaa kanaaf hinjiru jechuudha.	eastern part of the country though I do not know about the other regions. Though the language is the FWL, no one is speaking or learning it. If you come to my area, around Hararghe and Somali, people can not speak and write the language. You know, it is difficult, how could that be the case for a FWL. It is amazing the language does not exist.
8. How do you see the historic endoglossic status of Amharic in Ethiopia?	Deebiin hinlaatamne	No answer
9. Do you consider yourself an Ethiopian? If not, why?	Eeyyee egaa akka lammii Itiyoophiyaattin ofilaala. Biyya kana jechuun keessattin dhaladhee, keessattin gudadheee, keessattin barachaa jira waantaheef, akka lammii biraati ofilaaluun hindandaa'amu lammidhuma biyya kanaati.	Yes, I consider myself as an Ethiopian. I was born, brought up, went to school in this country. I can not not consider myself as an Ethiopian. I am a citizen of this very country.
10. Do you take pride in Ethiopian literary history, native writing system and civilization?	Kana amma waayeensaa tokko nadhiba, maalif turee maal sitti fakkaate, gara kaabaa kana gaafa deemtu, seenaan kun baay'ee achitti dagaage natti fakkaata, gaafa gara kibbaatiif gara bahaa deemnu, wanni kun siruma iyyuu hinjiru, kanaaf osoo biyya kana guutuu keessatti dagaage, baratama ture, tajaajila inni kenna ture iyyuu gara tokko malee, guutuu biyya kanaa keessatti kenna hinjiru wanti kun. Kanaaf kun tajaajila kennuu qaban jedha.	This issue is very amazing to me. You know what, I think this history is well known in the northern areas. As you come down to the south and go to the east this thing is unknown. Therefore, it flourished, was educated and served not in the entire country but just in some part of the country. I believe this should be used at national level.
11. Are you proud of being an Ethiopian?	Nanboona eeyyee.	Yes, I am proud of that.
12. Do you feel Amharic is more important than your ethnic language?	Ani kanaa wajjin walii hingalu. Afaan hundumtuu walqixa. Kaayyoon afaani ittiin waliigaluu qofa. Meeshaa walqunnamtiiti akkuma jedhamu afaani. Ittiin waliigaluu qofa waan ta'ee, afaan kanatu afaan kana caala kan jedhuuf gonkumaa walii hingalu.	I do not agree to this. All languages are equal. The sole purpose of language is to communicate with. Language is an instrument of communication. Since it is an instrument of communication, I do not buy the idea that one language is better than the other.
13. Are there any linguistic challenges you face in	Rakkooleen, dura naannookoon ture beeytaa rakkoon naquunnamu tokkoyyuu hinjiru.	I When I was in my own region I did not have any problem. I was

this university? If yes, what are they?	Uummatan keessatti dhaladhe afaan kiyya beekani wajjinin jiraachaa ture. Gara mooraa yuuniversiitii gafan galu, maal nagodhaa ture sitti fakkate, ijoolluma doormii waliin gallu wajjin waliigaluu dadhabne. Baqqaa carraan doormii jijjiiruu namudatee ture. Maalif ijoollaan nabira jiran, Amaariffa ykn Afaan biraa haasa'u ani ammoo Amaariffa dubbachuu hindanda'u Afaan Oromoo qofan haasa'a, kanaaf dirqama kiyya, nama afaankoo dubbachuu danda'un barbaacha ka'a. Bay'een rakkachaa ture. Karaa biraatiin ammas, gaafan klaasii deddeebi'u infoormeeshinii argachuuf, afaaniin ijolle wajjin waliigaluu qabda. Barsiisaa irraa informeesha tokko argachuudhaaf, nama sana waliin Afaaniin walii galuu qabda. Kanaaf nama wajjin waliigaluu wan carraa hinargatiiniin hanga ammaa baay'ee narakkisaa jira. Hawaasa kana wajjin egaa waan baay'ee narakkisuuf nama Oromiffaa danda'u yoon argadhe sirumayyuu Oromiffaan fayyadama yegguu sana anaaf carraadha jechuudha. Amoo hala biraatiin nama Oromiffa hindandeenye yoo ta'e baqqaa yoo nama Amaariffa hindandeenye ta'e walii galuun hinqabukaa dirqama walbiradarbuu ta'a malee. Yoo Amaariffa danda'an immo ergan gibbii kana galee xiqqoo xiqqoo waanan Amaariffa dhadhagahuu jalqabef, xiqqoo jijjiiramni jiraa dhagahuu irratti, dhadhaghuu waanan jalqabeef akkuma ta'e ta'een waliigaluu yaala jechuudha.	living with my people; we speak the same language. The problem began as I joined this university. You know what, I was not able to communicate with my dormmates. I had even tried to change my dorm because my dormmates have only spoken Amharic or other languages; I only speak Afan Oromo. Therefore I was forced to look for somebody speaking my language. I was in a trouble. In addition, I failed to get information from students because of not being able to communicate. Even now, I am suffering from this very problem of not being able to communicate with other students. I find it very difficult to communicate with this community. Therefore when I get Afan Oromo speakers, I entirely use Afan Oromo with them. But if it is some one who does not speak Afan Oromo, I have no other option than passing by. Since the time I joined this university, I have improved my Amharic listening skills a little bit, so there is a change on my listening skills. That makes me try to communicate with Amharic speakers as much as possible.
14. Do you have any learning-related problems inside classrooms just because of linguistic barrier? What are they?	Baruu-barsiisuu irratti kan namudate, kan amma narra gahaa jiru maal sitti fakkaate, kilaasii gaafa gallu, barnootni Ingiliffaadha akkuma waliigalaatti, kun akkuma jirutti ta'ee, Ingiliffaan nandhagaha, gaafa barsiisootni Amaariffaan barattootaaf hiikan, xiqqishuu yaadni achi keessatti anaaf dhokotaa tahaa deema, isaaniif ifaa deema. Garakootiin amma caljedhee Ingiliffaan akkuma walii galaattii yoo ibse, sirriittin dhagaha ture. Fakkeenyaaf wanta ijoo ta'ee barsiisaan amaariffaan kenna, waan ijoo tahe jechuudha, waan nama dhibu, waan namaaf walxaxaa ta'e	I am facing some problems on teaching-learning process. When I go to class, as you know the MOI is English which I understand, but when the teachers translate the lesson to the students in Amharic, that is where I miss the point. It becomes clear to them, not to me. If he had explained in English, I would have understood the lesson. Teacher, for example, translate key points of the lesson for the students into Amharic; it is a very important and complex

	jechuudha. Yoggaa barsiisaan yaada kennuu gaaffii barattoonni gaafatan, Ingiliffaan osoo hindeebisne, Amaariffaan kennaafi jechuu kiyyadha. Yeroo baay'ee kanan argaa ture. Anaaf wanni kun hubatamaa hinjiru. Kanaaf ana miidha.	points. Teachers use Amharic to answer very important questions students pose. So this affects me since I miss out important points of the lesson.
15. Do you usually fail to communicate with your fellow student just because of linguistic barrier? What do you do then?	Barattoonni amma mooraa keessatti, kanuma kilaasiitti wajjin barannu kan mooraakeessa jiran illee, barattootuma akkasiiti. Wanni kilaasii keessatti namudachaa jiru mooraa kana keessatti illee namudachaa jira.	It is just students like our classmates that we meet on campus. It is this kind of students. We face the same problem be it inside or outside classroom.
16. Do you think that there are mechanisms to deal with those challenges (if any)? What are they?	Akkan yaadutti inni kun maal natti fakkaata, nuti kka Amaariffa hindandeenye wanti nugodhe Afaan Oromoo bal'inaan haasa'amu akka naannoo Oromiyaatti, Afaan Oromoo bal'inaan haasa'ama baay'ee, naannoo sanitti dhoksee jira Amaariffa akka hin haasa'amni godhee jira, baay'inaan waan dubbatamuuf jechaadha. Wanni kun afaan saba bal'aadhaan dubbatamu, Afaan federaalaa yoo ta'e, wanti kun xiqishuu nuuf bu'aa qaba jedheen yaada maalifi afaan federaala ta'uu sababa godhatee Afaan Oromoo afaan hojii ta'a, hojiidhaaaf immoo iddoo garaagaraatti yoo hoojjetan yeroo kana bu'aa kana irraa argachuu dandeenya. Rakkoon kun haala kanaa hiikamuu danda'a.	I think, the fact that Afan Oromo is widely spoken in our region made us not to speak Amharic. Afan Oromo is widely spoken in Oromia region. Amharic is almost invisible in that region; it was made not to be spoken. Afan Oromo is dominantly spoken in the Oromia region. I think it would help us a little bit if Afan Oromo is made the FWL of Ethiopia. It gives us a wider space for employment. The problem can be solved this way.

Appendix 20: Interview Data (Af0. 3, AAU)

No	Afan Oromo version	Gloss
1. Which languages do you most frequently use on-campus? And off-campus?	Moora kana keessaaf alatti, ani Afaanan itti fayyadamu, afaan ofiikoo beekuun Afaan Oromoo dha. Ira caalaatti kanan itti fayyadamu jechuudha. Ijoollota Afaan Oromoo dubbachuu danda'an faana, Afaanuma Oromoo dubbanna. Ittiin walii galla. Garuu warra Afaan Oromoo hindubbanne wajjin immooyyuu hamma tokko afaan keenyas wajjiniin dubbanna kana jechuun kanajechuudha jennee hiiknee walitti haasofna. Iddoo nudhibeetti immoo afaan sana hinbeeknu	It is the language that I speak well, my language –afan Oromo that I speak both on and off this campus. I speak Afan Oromo with those students who can speak Afan Oromo. But with those who do not speak Afan Oromo, we some how speak our language with them as well. That means we tell each other meanings of words. In some cases we speak broken Amharic or use signs or using some gists to

	yoo ta'e caccabsineetuma haalaan yookaanis immoo mallattoon walii galu dandeenya tilmaamaan, mooraa keessattis alattis warra hinbeekne wajjin jechuudha. Irra caalaa garuu ani yeroo baay'ee keessakootti kandhufu afaanuma Oromoo dubbachuudha eenyutti iyyuu taanaan. Ergan Afaan Oromoo dubbadhee isaan hinbeekan ta'ee, afaan isaan beekan caccabsuun yaala.	communicate. Mostly, I prefer to speak Afan Oromo to every one I meet. If I understand that my interlocutor does not speak Afan Oromo, I use my broken Amharic.
2. Which language do you use to communicate on first contact with students who do not belong to your ethnic group and who, you presume, do not speak your ethnic language? Why?	Isaan wajjin kan nuti ittiin walii gallu afaanuma Amaaraa jenna, baqqaa nuti Afaan Ingiliffaattis nifayyadamna. Afaan kanaan namootni darbani darbaniis ammoo Afaan Oromoo akkuma nuti Afaan Amaara kana caccabsinu, Afaan Omoo caccabsanii beekan nijiru. Jichuun caccabsanii gaafan jedhu mookkaranii, qomoo addaa ta'ani. Ani akkuman baqqaa Amaariffaa jechoota tokko tokko dhageenyu isaanis baqqaa Afaan Oromoo jechoota tokko tokko dhagahuu yaalu.	We communicate with them in Amharic. We can also use English. Sometimes there are people who try to speak a broken Afan Oromo as we just try to speak a broken Amharic to them. That means they just try. They are from different ethno-linguistic group. Just like I could hear some Amharic words, they could hear some Afan Oromo words.
3. Do you code-switch yourself? Why? Between which languages do you code-switch? And how frequently?	Kutaa keessatti nuti illee egaa Afaan Oromootiin baay'ee waliigalla, yeroo Amaariffa malee Afaan Oromoo barsiisootni hindandeenye nuugalan jiru koorsii tokko tokko irratti fakkeenyaaf kan akka ICT nifudhannaa, inni amma Oromiffa hinbeeku, hamma tokko yoo inni, Amaariffaa isaa wallaallee, Ingiliffatti hiikkanna, yoo Ingiliffaan nuugalu baate ammoo, Amaariffaatiin akka nuugalutti haasa'a jechuudha. Yeroo inni Amaariffaaf Ingiliffa walitti maku tilmaamaan malee nuu hingalu. Inni yeroo baay'ee Amaariffa fayyadama. Waan Amaariffi nuugalu itti fakkaata. Malee nuti irra caalaa Ingiliffatu nuugala. Saaykoolojii, loojikii, kanneen akka Siivikii kana bar eengadda barachaa turre akka tasaa ta'ee tokko illee Siivikiin nama Oromoo ta'e tokkotu nuugale. Hamma tokko inni yeroo tokko tokko Afaan Oromootiin nuu hiikuu yaala. Malee irra guddeessatti Ingiliffaatiin nubarsiisa. Garuu warri Saaykoolojii fi warri aka loojikiifaa nubarsiisan, sirumashee Afaan Oromo kana intinaa	We communicate in Afan Oromo inside the classroom. For some courses, the teachers can not speak Amharic. Our ICT teacher for instance does not speak Afan Oromo. Though we do not understand Amharic we somehow try to translate it into English. He tries to speak a plain Amharic which is easier for us to understand. We use gessing to understand when he code-switches between English and Amharic. He usually uses Amharic because he thinks that we understand Amharic. But we rather understand English. Among the teachers of the subjects like psychology, logic and civics, it is only the teacher of civics that was able to understand Afan Oromo. He sometimes helps us in explaining concepts in Afan Oromo. The rest could not help us that way. The teacher of logic is from the SNNPR, and he encourages us to use Afan Oromo, he also tries a little bit of

	hinjedhani. Barsiisaan loojikii gara Dabuubiidha afaan isinii galuun, afaanuma keessaniinuu dubbadhaa jedha. Haasawaa jedhaa innis immoo dubbachuu niyaala afaan keenya. Altokko tokko baay'ee fedha jechuudha. Yeroo sana isaan immoo egaa kan itti fayyadamani Afaan Ingiliffaaf Afaan Amaariffaa ta'a. Afaan kana walmakanii ittiin nubarsiisuu jechaadha.	Afan Oromo. The other teachers use English or Amharic or a mix of both while teaching.
4. Do your teachers code-switch inside classrooms? If yes, why? Between which languages do they code-switch and how frequently?	Egaani ilaalcha kana nuuhingaluudhuma haata'uu waansaa ani akkaataa isaa hinbeekuu, sababiidhuma nuuhingalleef baqqaa barachuu isaa hamma kanaatti namni fedhii isaa goodhate hinjiru. Ani akkakootti amma sababiidhuma naa hingalleef barachuu isaa baay'eedhuma fedhii hingodhadhu. Maatii waliin	I do not know why, but may be it is because we think that we can not understand it. People are not interested in it. Personally, I am not interested in learning Amharic because I barely understand it.
5. What language(s) do your parents use back home?	Afaan Oromoon fayyadamu. Iddoon ani dhufectii Afaan Amaaraa hin haasa'amu. Afaan Oromoo qofaa fayyadamaa, Afaan Oromoo mana barnootaatti ammoo Afaan Ingiliziin highschool irraa kaasnee waan barannuuf, Afaan Ingiliffaa fyyadamni. Akka gosa tokkoottis immoo iyyu kutaa tokkoo kaasnee barachaa dhufne Ingiliffaa. Malee ani akka naannoon dhufetti Afaan Oromoo malee Afaan Amaaraa hinjiru. Darbee darbee iddoo magaalatti ni haasa'ama garuu. Saabjeektii Amaariffaa ammoo kutaa shanitti jalqabne, guutummaattis immoo badaa namni barates hinjiru.	They use Afan Oromo. Amharic is not spoken in the place I am from. They use Afan Oromo, and in school we use English starting from high school. We have also taken English as a subject from grade one to twelve. Therefore, in my home community it was only Afan Oromo, not Amharic, that was spoken. In fact Amharic is sometimes spoken in urban areas. We start learning Amharic as a subject from grade five, but mostly we do not pay attention to it.
6. How do you rate your Amharic language skills?	Ogummaan Afaan Amaaraa dubbachuuf qabu ani baay'ee gadi bu'aadha. Kuni gaarii jechuus hindanda'u garuu hamma tokko ani waan namni jedhu sana, waan inni dubbatu afaaniin dubbadhee deebisuu hindanda'ii malee nandhagaha. Dubbachuu irratti garuu baay'ee natti ulfaata. Dubadha yoon jedhe baay'ee najalaa bada. Eyyee hamma tokko, hama tokko waanan fooyyesse jira, dhagahuu irratti dubbachuus ammoo hanga tokko. Baqqaa suuqii yoon dhage akkasumas mana nyaataa yoon dhage, akkasuma warra Afaan Oromoo hinbeekne waliinis yoon dubbadhe hamma tokko waliigaluu	My skills in Amharic is very poor. I do not think that it is good, but I could say that I can somewhat understand what people say in Amharic though I can not speak at all. My difficulty is on speaking. I fail whenever I try to speak. In fact, I have improved my Amharic to some extent on listening but not that much on speaking. When I go to shops and restaurants, I just try to communicate with Amharic speakers...

	yaalee...	
7. What do you feel about the status of Amharic as a FWL in Ethiopia?	Ani akka guutummaa Itiyoophiyaa kanaatti Afaan kun Afaan federaalaa ta'uusaatti kanan tilmaamu maalidhaa faan kun Afaan bara cunqursaa yookaanis ammoo iyyuu, bara mootummaan irree sun, yeroo sana lafa qabsiifame irraa kanka'e amma har'aattis immoo iyyuu ittiin dubbatamaa kan jiru ta'uun isaa nihubatama. Ammas immoo iyyuu garuu akka guutummaa Itiyoophiyaa kanaattii saba bal'aa kan qabu saba Oromooti. Akka kanaatti yoo ilaalamu yookaan ammoo dhugaa irratti hundaa'ee yoo dubbatame, eessummatti iyyuu immoo sabni Oromoo baay'ee bal'aadha. Otoo ta'etii afaan kuni, utuu abbaa irree sana irraatii otoo hinkaane ta'e akka amma seera yookaanis immoo iyyuu sirna dimookraasiin ilaalcha seeraan osoo ilaalame, afaan kun iddoo guddaa yookaanis immoo afaan federaalaa ta;ee fudhatamuun yookaanis immoo Afaan Amaaraa kana caalaatti hojii irra ooluu kandanda'u dha jedheenaa yaada. Garuu egaa cunqursaa yookaan yada durii sana irraan kanka'e yoo qabannee ilaalle, sabni afaan adda addaa dubbatu akka Itiyoophiyaatti injira. Afaanuma keenyallee namootni dubbachuuf fedhii qaban illee niijiru. Kana irra dhaabbannee yoo ilaalle afaan kunis akka iddoo guddaa qabu nuhubachiisa jechuudha.	What I think about the fact that Amharic is the FWL of Ethiopia is that this language was rooted during the time of oppression and dictatorship in Ethiopia. It is because of that reason that the language got its present status. Now, it is the Oromo that comprises the largest demography in Ethiopia. Based on this truth, it is the Oromo people that is numerically the largest. Had it not been for the past dictators, or if it had been democratically considered, Afaan Oromo would have been in a better shape to day in Ethiopia even in a way that it is better of than Amharic itself. I guess so. Because of the past oppression, there are many linguistic groups in Ethiopia. There are people who aspire to speak our language. This shows that the language has a better place.
8. How do you see the historic endoglossic status of Amharic in Ethiopia?	Sadarkaa amma Amaarifaan kun irra jiru yeroo jennu, akka Itiyoophiyaatti yeroo ilaallu mitihoo? Amma yeroo ilaallu sadarkaa Afaan Amaaraa yoo ilaalle, akka guutummaatti yoo ilaalle, kan baratamus kan ittiin hojiin hojjetamus yoo ilaalle, Finfinnee kana keessatti haata'u iyyuu malee darbee akkan ilaalutti, naannoolee Amaara kessattii fi nannoolee kanneen akka, egaa Tigraay illee afaan isaaniitiin fayyadamu mitiiree? Innaa yeroo ilaallu iddoo akka kanaatti, guddina isaa yeroo ilaallu otoo madaallees immoo, amma	You mean the present status of Amharic in Ethiopia. If we see the status of Amharic all over Ethiopia, it is used as a working language and as the MOI in Addis Ababa, Amhara Region and, indeed, Tigray uses its own language? Therefore when we see its development in those regions and when we compare, it is just because of its historic legacy that it gained its present status. Yet when we see demography, legally speaking, if we

	sababiidhuma dura dhuunfateef yokanis ammoo iyyuu darbiidhuma kanaan waan dhufee dhuunfateef hojii irra jira jenne malee akka guddinaatti otoo ilaalles ammoo iyyuu, afaan seera kamiinuu, fakkeenyaaf Afaan Oromoo osoo fudhannee seera kamiinuu isaa ol yookanis immoo isaa ol yoo jechuu baanne, caasaa qabu hundaatiin madaalee argameera jechuu nandanda'a. Kanaaf ammoo guddinni isaa sababiidhuma achii asdhuftee sanaan akka jiruutti yoo ilaalla ta'e malee, guddinnisaa hamma, ani afaan kam iyyuu olidha jedheen waanan yaadu miti.	take Afan Oromo, for example, though we can not say that it is greater than Amharic, we can argue, is competent in all measures. Amahric is what it is now just because of its historic legacy, not just because it is better than any other language.
9. Do you consider yourself an Ethiopian? If not, why?	Ok, akka lammii Ityophiyaatti gaafa jennu akkaataa dubbii yookaan afaan dubbiitiin moo... Akka biyyaatti yoo ilaalle namni jechuuni karaa... biyya jechuun egaa Itiyophiyaadhuma mitiiree nuuf? Haata'u iyyuu malee akkaataan jireenya yookin ittiin bulmaataa Itiyophiyaa kana yoo ilaaltee baay'ee ani ilaalchi Oromoof qabamu akka lammummaatti madaalee yoon kaa'e nuyi Itiyophiyaa kanaaf lammummaa qabna jechuun baay'ee guutummaatti yoo ilaallees ammoo iyyu madaalee argamma natti hinfakkaatu, akka Oromootti. Sababni isaas Oromoon gaaffii isaa irratti yookaanis ammoo iyyuu fedhii qabu irratti mirga qabu irratti, yeroo baay'ee gaaffii qabuuf mul'ata qabu illee iyyuu karaa kallacha qabuun argachuu yookaanis ammoo iyyuu deebiin gahaan deebi'eeef waan argamu miti. Sababii kanaaf yeroo itti lubbuun hedduu darbu jira. Yeroo itti hidhaatiin gidiraman ni jira. Namni lafa isaa irraa buqqa'ee isa ammaa illee, yeroo inni itti lafa isaa irraa buqqa'ee, waan akka kanaatiin gidirfamutu jira. Kana kana wal bukkee qabnee yoo ilaallu, ani lammii Itiyophiyaatti jechuun baay'ee confuse nama gochuu yaala. Kanaaf ani akka qomootti qomoonkoo Oromoodha jedheen yoon of fudhe malee, akka biyyaatti yoo ilaallu, eeyyee, injedhama	Ok, what do we mean by Ethiopian citizen; isit based on language, or.... So by country do not you mean Ethiopia? We we see the laws and the life styles of Ethiopia, when I see the way the Oromo are perceived, I can not say that we are real Ethiopians. I do not think we fulfill the criteria. The reason is that the Oromo questions of rights, desires, aspirations and visions are not appropriately answered. For this reason, many lives are taken, and many people are jailed. Even these days, people are displaced from their lands and are in trouble. So when we see this, it is confusing to consider onself an Ethiopian. For this reason, I am an Oromo. I consider myself like that. As a coutry, yes it can be said; howeve, Oromia belongs to the Oromo, and this is enough for us since our questions are not answered.

	garuu Oromiyaan kan lammii Oromoti yoo jenne isa kanatu gahaa nuuf ta'a. Hamma gaaffiin keenya hindeebineetti	
10. Do you take pride in Ethiopian literary history, native writing system and civilization?	Haata'u iyyuu malee kuni waanta gaariidha maalif gaarii ta'ee, sabni keenyi quuqama afaan isaatiif yookaan guddina afaan isaatiif saba isaatiif, guddina biyya Oromoof qaban yookaan dgaagina afaaniif sayinsiidhaaf, cunqursaa kana jalaa akka bahaniif tattaaffii isaan gochaa turan, isaatiif sirriidha hundee ta'eera. Isarra dhaabbatanii quuqama afaan isaaniitiif, quuqama aadaa isaaniif ogbarruu kana irra dhaabbataniitu kan isaan akka inni bakka qabatu akka inni galmaan gahu kan taasisan. Kanaaf immoo kuni akkuma jirutti ta'ee haajiraatu iyyuu malee guddina Afaan keenyaaaf sababii ta'eera. Kun immoo iyyuu jiraachuun isaa maaliif, keessa haajiraatu iyyuu malee akka nuti ofbarru nutaasisseera. Maalif otoo isaan isa kana hinbaranne ta'e yookaanis immoo warri kuni jalqaba iyyuu haajiraatan malee jalqaba osoo hinjiran ta'e, afaa keenya yookaanis immoo ogbarruudhumti kun bakka qabachuu hindanda'u ture. Garuu akka ofbarru, afaan keenya akka dagaagu, guddateetu immoo iyyu akka warra kaanii gita ta'u, gita ta'uu miti kanaa ol akka ta'u bu'uura nuuf ta'eera jechuudha.	This is a very important thing however. Our people used this as a springboard for their desire and aspiration to develop their language to the status of the languages of science, the very people, and their country, to free themselves from oppression. Yes that was the foundation to feel pity for and strengthen their language, culture and literature. The existence of this made us to be self-conscious. If they had not learnt this or if those things had not existed in the first place, our language and literature would not have been where they are right now. Therefore, this became a foundation for our self-consciousness, the development of our language, become as equal as other languages, even greater.
11. Are you proud of being an Ethiopian?	Inni nahinboonsu.	That does not make me proud.
12. Do you feel Amharic is more important than your ethnic language?	Ani hincaalu jedheentaniinan yaada, maal irratti caala? Waanani hincaala jdhu sababiidhuma akka biyyitti kanaati afaan federaalaa jedhamee beekameef tokko, kanaan ala dubbataa afaanii yeroo ilaallu, darbee yoo magaala Finfinnee kana ta'e malee, kanaa ala immoo darbee, magaaluma Finfinnee kana iyyuu yoo ilaalle, baay'inaan amma yeroo ammaa kana Afaan Oromoonis guutee jira. Yoo kanaan ala biyyuma naannoo Amaaraatu, kanneen saba tokko tookootu darbee darbee itti fayyadamuun alatti, guutummaadhuma Oromiyaa yoo ilaalle ammoo iyyuu Afaan kana nicaala dubbii	I do not think it is better. How come? It is just because it is known as a FWL, but other than this, when we see in terms of the number of speakers, except in Addis Ababa, even in Addis Ababa, this days there is a large number of Afan Oromo speakers. Outside this, it is Amhara area and in some few other places that people use the language. If we see the entire Oromia, Afan Oromo is widely spoken.

	haala akkaataa dubbiitiin yookaan haala ittiin dubbatan afaan ittiin dubbataniin nicaala jedheen nan yaada.	
13. Are there any linguistic challenges you face in this university? If yes, what are they?	Akka ajaayibaattikaa! Fakkeenyaaf ani amma rakkoodhuma tokko ibsachuuf iyyuu baay'ee narakkisaa jira jechuun amma ijoolleedhuma dormii faana yoon waldhabe, nandhiisa irrann darbaa sababiidhuma Afaan hinbeekneef baay'inaan irrann darbaa, yoon dhaqe himadhe gaafan ilaalu warri prookterii ta'an akka jiraniin nama Afaan Oromoo beeku tokko ille hinjiru, jechuun kun anaan nadhibaa jira iyyuuti, amma gaafan deemu maalif dhalli Oromoo hojii kana keessa galee hinjiru kanjedhu gaaffii natti ta'a. Dheengadda amma ijoolleen baay'een qulfii lookarii doormii nibanuu, afaan kamiin akkan himadhu wallaalee, haala adda ta'ee sababii ta'een walitti bu'uun, isaan himannaa nacaalu maalinan himadha ani. Isaan Amaariffa danda'u himannaa himatu. Waanuma sobaa dhugaa fakkeeffatu. Yeroo kana maal goota, garuu achi keessa otoo Oromoon tokko jiraatee yaadaakee bilisaan akkuma isaanii ibsatte, dhugaan sun bahuu dandeessi jechuudha. Maalif iddoo kana kanatti baay'ee nurakkisa. Keessumaa yeroo gibbii gallu, jechuun balbala irratti, waardiyyaan yeroo nurakkisu jira, keessumaa xiqqoo bara kana wayya malee bara darbe adagaa nugataa turan. Kanan hamma yoonaa dinqisiifadhee nadhiisuu dide, ID barataa Afaan Oromoo jedhuuf maqaa Afaan Oromoo irratti argani baqqaa baatanii naannoo daqiiqa shanii akkas hamma sidhaabaniitti sihindabarsan. Waan kana kanatu jira. Sababiidhuma maqaan kee maqaa Oromoo ta'eef. Asitti illee yoodhuma inargina intaajjabna waan dubbannu waan goonu dhabna. Kilaasiidhumatti ille, namoota qomoo adda addaatu barsiisa mitiiree? Achumatti illee rakkoo cimaatu jira. Namni maqaan isaa Oromoo ta'e adda baafameetu ilaalama. Keessumaa barataan Oromoo doormii irratti naannoo	Very much! For example, I can find it difficult to express my problems. When quarel with my dormmates, I just keep quite, tolerate, just because I can not speak Amharic. I try to present my case to the proctors; all of hem do not understand Afan Oromo. It surprises me; how come I not find some body speaking Afan Oromo among them all? Even the day before yesterday, some students opened my locker, I failed to tell them not to touch my things. Every time there is a problem; they can present their cases beautifully while I can not. They speak Amharic; they can make lies look like true. What can I do, but if I could get one person who can speak Afan Oromo among the proctors, I could present my case clearly, too. Then truh would be known. It is a problem to us in such situations. On the main gate, the guards sometimes make you stay more than five minutes staring at you ID, if it has an Oromo name on it. Especially last year, this was very common; this year it is a little bit ok. There are these kinds of things,just because you have an Oromo name. Even inside the classroom, the teachers are from different ethnic groups. There are problems; a person with an oromo name is treated differently. The problem is observed in dorm, caffeteria, main gate.

	kaaffee irratti balbala irratti.	
14. Do you have any learning-related problems inside classrooms just because of linguistic barrier? What are they?	Miidhaa afaanii ani amma, akka carraa ta'ee ani Afaan Oromoon baradha miidhaa hinqabu kutaa keessatti, common course irratti garuu rakkoo argeera. Indhagahama barattoonni warri dipaartimentii adda addaa baratan, waan dhageenyu baay'ee namatti hintolu. Ilaalchatu jira, ijuma maqaan Afaan Oromoo ta'eef...yeroo ammaa kana siyaasa waliin walqabsiisu waan ta'eef Oromoon bilisaan yaada isaa ibsachuu hindanda'u.	As a matter of chance I am studying in the department of Afan Oromo; I have no problems inside the classroom. I have faced some problems on common courses. But what I hear about Oromo students in other departments is not good. There are attitudes, just because the name is Oromo; these days they link with politics, so an Oromo can not express his/her ideas freely.
15. Do you usually fail to communicate with your fellow student just because of linguistic barrier? What do you do then?	Ani rakkoo kanan jedhu, amma akkuma jettan dipaartimentii adda addaa irratti gaafa barsiifamu barataan Afaan Oromoo Afaan Amaaraa hinbeeku, kanbaratamu Afaan Ingiliffaani, barsiisaan sun ammoo Afaan Amaariffaaf Ingiliffa beeka yeroo kana beekumsa dabalataa yookaan ammoo afaan dabalataa afaan ittiin barsiisu maalidhaa? Afaan Amaaraa sana. Afaan Amaaraa sun hafee bakka isaani hingalleetti maaliin irra guddeessa hubachiisa warra Afaan Amaaraa dubbatan. Garuu iddoo kanatti maal miidhamu warri isa ammoo hinbeekne baqqa hubannaa karaa adda ta'eetiin hinqabani jechaadha. Yoodhuma Ingiliffaan malee Afaan kanaatiin miidhaa guddaa miidhamaa jiru. Kanaaf immoo furmaata kanta'u afaan kun jiraatee Afaan Oromoos akkaataadhuma seeraan akka afaan federaalaatti yoo idddoo qabate, haala ta'uutiin walqixa kenname, inni kun furmaata ta'uu danda'a. Hamma kun hintaaneetti sababii kana kanaan akkaataa kana kanaan akkaataa yaada amma kaasneen miidhamuu waan jiruuf kuni walqixxummaa yookaanis ammoo furmaalta laata jedhee waanan yaadu tokko illee hinjiru. Garuu iddoo barbaachisutti afaan kun walqixa laatamuun isa barbaachisa jechuudha. Barataan kamuu walqixa haa fayyadamu	I think the problem is that in other departments, as they teach an Oromo student may not understand Amharic. The MOI is English, if the teacher is an Amharic speaker, the additional language he uses to clarify his idea is Amharic. That helps him to make the Amharic speakers better understand the lesson. At this point those who do not speak Amharic fail to get different perspectives of the lesson. They are being affected seriously. The solution for this is that, in addition to this language, making Afan Oromo a FWL, equally offered, this can be a solution. As long as this is not the case, I do not think the problem is solved because this is unjust. Wherever it is needed this language should be equally delivered with Amharic. Or if we aspire to make the system just only English should be used as MOI. That can be a solution. For instance, I joined this university primarily for the department of Theatrical Arts, the interview was administered in Amharic. I was not able to sit for the Amharic interview. Then I was forced to give up the department I liked so much.

	yoo jechuu barbaade ammoo afaanuma Ingiliffaa sanaatiin fayyadamuu furmaata ta'uu danda'a. Fakkeenyaaf ani jalqaba tiyaatiraanan as gale otoo Ingiliffaatiin qormaatni isaa dhiyaateera ta'e, iterviyuu wayiiti, ani achitti ramadamee hafuuf ture. Sababii isaan Amaariffaan interview qopheessaniif gara Afaan Oromoo kanaatti jijjiiradhe.	
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Appendix 21: Interview Data (Tig. 1, AAU)

Item	Amharic version	Gloss
1. Which languages do you most frequently use on-campus? And off-campus?	□□□□□ □□□□□□	Tigrinya & Amharic
2. Which language do you use to communicate on first contact with students who do not belong to your ethnic group and who, you presume, do not speak your ethnic language? Why?	□□□□□	Tigrinya
3. Do you code-switch yourself? Why? Between which languages do you code-switch? And how frequently?	□□! □ □□□□□	Yes! Amharic
4. Do your teachers code-switch inside classrooms? If yes, why? Between which languages do they code-switch and how frequently?	Code switch □□□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□ Code switch □□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□□□	They do not code-switch when we learn Tigrinya, but they do so when we study common courses. They rarely switch from English to Amharic. It does not have any impact on my learning.
5. What language(s) did your parents use back home?	□□□□	Tigrinya
6. What do you feel about the status of Amharic as a FWL in Ethiopia?	□□□□ □□□ □□□	It is very good!
7. How do you see the historic endoglossic status of Amharic in Ethiopia?	□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □	My writing and my listening are good. I have a problem of speaking.

	□□□□□ common course □□□ □□□□□□□□ □□ common course □□□□□ □□□ □□□	has to device mechanisms for short-term solutions common courses just like in English is offered in our department. It is good if Amharic is offered as a course.
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Appendix 22: Interview Data (Tig. 2, AAU)

Item	Amharic version	Gloss
1. Which languages do you most frequently use on-campus? And off-campus?	□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□□□	I use Tigrinya on and off-campus
2. Which language do you use to communicate on first contact with students who do not belong to your ethnic group and who, you presume, do not speak your ethnic language? Why?	□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□ □□□ □□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□	I try to speak in English to those who do not speak Amharic; yet I never came accross this kind of student.
3. Do you code-switch yourself? Why? Between which languages do you code-switch? And how frequently?	□□□□! □□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□□	Tigrinya! I did not have the chance to use Amaharic.
4. Do your teachers code-switch inside classrooms? If yes, why? Between which languages do they code-switch and how frequently?	□□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□□	They mix between Tigrinya and Amharic. This does not have any impact on me.
5. What language(s) did your parents use back home?	□□□□	Tigrinya
6. What do you feel about the status of Amharic as a FWL in Ethiopia?	□□□□ □□□	It is good.
7. How do you see the historic endoglossic status of Amharic in	□□!	Yes!

4. Do your teachers code-switch inside classrooms? If yes, why? Between which languages do they code-switch and how frequently?	Yes!
5. What language(s) do your parents use back home?	Dha-Anywaa
6. How do you rate your Amharic language skills?	You know what I have been exposed to Amharic since my childhood. When I was a child I was with my father and my father were a governor he was with the people who are not his ethnic people. I could say that Amharic was my first language something like that, but it is not actually my first language. I was born in the village Itha Gambella region I was brought up until 1991 there after 1991 up to now I am living in Gambella town. So my Amharic I could say is excellent.
7. What do you feel about the status of Amharic as a FWL in Ethiopia?	I feel ok that Amharic is the FWL of Ethiopia since in order to communicate you have to know what other people knows so most of the people in Ethiopia they speak Amharic many of the in every part of the country where ever you go you can find anybody who can speak Amharic so as a communicating language I can use Amharic most of the time.
8. How do you see the historic endoglossic status of Amharic in Ethiopia?	As an Ethiopian I am proud of Amharic language because there are so many heritages in the Amharic a language, for example the alphabets of Amharic is unique in Africa that is one thing what will make me happy and what makes me proud of being an Ethiopian too. I am proud of being exposed to Amharic, I am proud of speaking Amharic.
9. Do you consider yourself an Ethiopian? If not, why?	Hundred too many hundred times... more than one hundred percent. The first thing naturally I am an Ethiopian, my mother, my father is Ethiopian, I love Ethiopia personally, I am not interested in going abroad, there is a saying that "There is no other place like a home" I am too much of that I love Ethiopia it is my home.
10. Do you take pride in Ethiopian literary history, native writing system and civilization?	Too much, you know what there are people friends of mine who used to go other places who use to be refugees in other places, most of the time when you are outside Ethiopia you can see the uniqueness or you can see what is there when they come back they tell me that the man I will never go back there, I will never go back no more so being in Ethiopia is more than anything to me. I am proud of being an Ethiopian.
11. Are you proud of being an Ethiopian?	In Ethiopia I could say yes. Since nowadays there are more languages. Those languages are unique by themselves I am proud of that too, and Amharic I could say since it has already been a cultural language, it is a cultural language to Ethiopians, I love Amharic, and I like it.
12. Are there any linguistic challenges you face in this university? If yes, what are they?	No, I have no problem of communicating with diversity. No problem, I am communicating with all the people, I am in GC, and to know I have ever faced any problem communicating with anybody, anybody including the fresh people, my seniors, my instructors every body. Most of the time not the problem of speaking, but the problem of understanding, this problem of understanding most of the time I can see between my people I will try to make them understand most of the time when there is misunderstanding, for example, in Amharic you can say one word may be in another it could mean other things, you know, so when I am talking with you now may be you are talking friendly and I

	will say that word to you and maybe you will mistook it with a wrong one, out of the context.
13. Do you have any learning-related problems inside classrooms just because of linguistic barrier? What are they?	Until now no, there is no problem in our class, until now I have never seen any problem.
14. Do you usually fail to communicate with your fellow student just because of linguistic barrier? What do you do then?	No, no failure to communicate with fellow students because of linguistic barriers.
15. Do you think that there are mechanisms to deal with those challenges (if any)? What are they?	I do not know, but this thing I think it is something which could be personal, that means if I am not interested, I would have never learned Amharic or English. So those people if they are interested they should learn and they should try to communicate to make things easy, yeah, if there are other things, for example, now in Somali or other places, Amharic maybe they are taking it as a subject like in my country Gambella, but more than that Amharic should be given as a communicative language which could help everybody, every student not only students every citizen of Ethiopia, so since it is a working language, in order to minimize the problem or the gap, the language gap or the communication gap, that means if most of the people who do not prefer speaking this language, if most of them try to communicate or try to learn this language, I think mutual understanding will come.

Appendix 24: Interview Data (Any. 2, AAU)

No.	Response
1. Which languages do you most frequently use on-campus? And off-campus?	Obviously I use English on campus and out of the campus I speak my mother-tongue, Dha-Anywaa.
2. Which language do you use to communicate on first contact with students who do not belong to your ethnic group and who, you presume, do not speak your ethnic language? Why?	Amharic and English, you know, sometimes when I start with Amharic, in the middle of the conversation it might be challenging and I switch to English. I am not very good at Amharic.
3. Do you code-switch yourself? Why? Between which languages do you code-switch? And how frequently?	When I speak with my ethnic group members, with someone from my ethnic group, I do not remember my code-switching. I used to be very careful when I speak to my people.
4. Do your teachers code-switch inside classrooms? If yes, why? Between which languages do they code-switch and how frequently?	They do (teachers' code-switch?) when they teach with English they may mix Amharic, I do not know, they use that one rarely.
5. What language(s) do your parents use back home?	Anuak, Dha-anywaa, like when you say Afaan Oromoo (language use at home)
6. How do you rate your Amharic language skills?	Vey poor, my Amharic
7. What do you feel about the status of Amharic as a FWL in Ethiopia?	I do not really know what to say, and I do not know, I don't know what to say..., I think for now it is good to use it because so many people around the country speak Amharic and there is no other language compered to Amharic, I mean in the work environment
8. How do you see the historic endoglossic status of Amharic in Ethiopia?	I d ont know, I do not have any answer.
9. Do you consider yourself an Ethiopian? If not, why?	No, no, I don't the way I am treated.
10. Do you take pride in Ethiopian literary history, native writing system and civilization?	I don't think so, I do not really know that, because so far I do not write, I do not read Amharic.
11. Are you proud of being an Ethiopian?	I told you that...
12. Do you feel Amharic is more important than your ethnic lnaguage?	I do not think so, I do not think so, you know what, this comparison, I hate, one is much better than this, I think, my own ethnic language is better, and but I normally believe that all languages are equal, this is my point of view.
13. Are there any linguistic challenges you face in this university? If yes, what are they?	Yeah, of course, it is Amharic, you know when I meet, someone who can not speak in English I may not get what I want, we may not understand each other and things may get complicated, that is a big challenge for me.
14. Do you have any learning-related problems inside classrooms just because of linguistic barrier? What are they?	Yes, yes, I do because when teachers shift I mean shift code to Amharic I always have a problem understanding what he tells the class, what he tells the students in Amharic, I do not totally get that. One day I was complaining. I am now missing many things I said. He said you are too late you should have told me this before, because I

	did that at the end of the class when he was asking us for any comments.
15. Do you usually fail to communicate with your fellow student just because of linguistic barrier? What do you do then?	No, obviously, I try my best to communicate with them in Amharic. When it is difficult I shift to English. I avoid friends who do not just communicate in these two languages. I do not have those people who do not speak Amharic or English close to me. Yes, there are challenges of interethnic communication.
16. Do you think that there are mechanisms to deal with those challenges (if any)? What are they?	I think, I do not actually know, I think there has to be one language that every body from the corner of this country should master, so that they can communicate. Universities should be strict to the rules, to the legislations that they have, the curriculum of the university or department or college you know in many colleges and in many departments the curriculum except Amharic does not allow people to code-switch and English is used as a medium of instruction, so they should be strict to that and if there are people who do not speak English and understand English the university should find some ways teaching these people or training them again on the mastery of the language.

Appendix 25: FGD, PART I

1.What challenges of communication do you face in this university every time you need to communicate with any person who does not belong to your ethnic group, and who does not speak your ethnic language? And how serious are these challenges?

[illegible]

Amh. 1b	□□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□ first year □□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□..... □□□□□□ actually □□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□ □□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□	A girl in our class, during first year, I guess she spoke Sidama as her first language, she was not able to speak Amharic. She did not also speak English. We sat for an exam; the teacher told her to cover the exam papers up-side-down, for we should not start doing the exam. She did not understand the teacher. Even he told her in English, she did not get him again; we gave her a signal; she failed to get that, too. The teacher expelled her from the exam room. It is very sad that she was not able to communicate both in English and in Amharic.
Tig. 1c	□□ □□□ (participants laught just as he began telling his experiances) □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ “□□□□□” □□ □□□ □□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□ □□ □□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□ “□□□□□” □□□□□ “□□□□□” □□□□□ “□□□□□” □□□□□ □□□ □□□ “□□□□□” □□□□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□ □□□□ “□□□□□” □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□ □□ □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□ □□ □□ □□□□ □□□□ “□□□□□ □□” □□□□□ □□ □□□” □□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□	Mine is not that funny in fact. There is a problem I faced. As I came here on September, I wanted to buy something [sandal] which in Tigrnya means ‘soap’ like ‘Harmony’. Somebody told me that I could get it for one birr. It is like ‘Harmony’ it is like something they smoke. Since ‘Harmony’ is ten birr in my home town, I was supriesd that it could be found for one birr in here. Then I went to the shop and asked her if she has [sandal]; she said yes and she gave me soap. This happened to me on September this year.
Tig. 2b	□□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□□ “ □□ □□□” □□□□□ □□ □□ □□□□□□□ □□ □□□□ □□ □□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□ □□□ □□□□□□□ (participants laughed)	As I came here for the first time, I made a friend from SNNPR. He calls me over and over again asking me where I am. He speaks to me on phone hurriedly because he was worried about the coast. I was not able to understand him. Then I switched my cellphone off and went to my dorm.

Appendix 26: FGD, PART II

- How do you think can these challenges be dealt with? What must be done by different stake holders: the university, the government, the department, faculty, teachers and the community at large? What is expected of you as a student of the university?

Code	Amharic version	Gloss
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Amh. 1a	ማን ማንም ማን ማንም ማን ማንም ማንም ማን ማን ማንም ማን ማንም ማን ማን..... ማንም ማን official language ማንም ማን ማንም ማንም ማን ማን ማን ማንም ማን ማንም ማን ማን ማን ማንም ማንም ማንም ማን ማንም ማን ማን ማን ማን ማን ማንምም ማንምም ማን ማንም ማን ማን ማንምም ማን ማን ማን ማን ማን ማንምም ማንም ማን ማንምምም actually ማንምም ማን ማንምም ማን ማንምም ማን ማንምም ማን ማን ማንም ማን ማንምም ማን ማን ማንም ማን ማንም ማንም ማን ማን ማን ማንም ማን ማንም	I think that we have to work very hard on the policy. Now, uhh...we use Amharic as an official language, yet we encourage regions to use their own languages. When are they supposed to learn? What happens after that? We need to pay attention to the policy. It is right that they learn in their language; I accept that, but side by side they need to take Amharic and English, this one actually they are actually taking it. They should take it since it is the official language.
Amh. 2a	ማን ማንምም ማን ማን ማንም ማንምም ማን ማን ማን ማን ማን ማንም ማንምም? ማንም ማን ማንም ማንም ማንምም ማን mostly ማንምም ማንም ማንም ማን ማንም ማን ማንምም base ማንምም ማንም base ማንምም ማን ማን ማን ማንም ማንም ማንም base ማንም base ማንም ማንም ማንም ማንም ማንምም ማን atleast ማንም ማንም population ማንም ማን ማንም ማንምምም	As she stated, now for instance, the working language in Ethiopia is Amharic. Isn't it? Since Amharic is our lingua franca, we have to make sure that they learn and have a good foundation in Amharic. Those who have poor background in Amharic are mostly expelled from this campus. They would not be expelled if they had good base. It helps them to communicate with people.
Any. 1a	Basically, ማን...ማንምም ማንም official language ማን ማንምምም ማንምም ማንምም ማን ማንም ማን ማንምምም ማንምም ማን ማን ማን ማንምምም ማንም ማን ማንም ማንም? Especially ማን ማን ማን ማን ማን ማን ማንምም ማንምም ማን ማን ማንም ማን ማንምም ማን ማንም ማንምም like inferiority ...ማንም ማን ማን ማንምም ማንምም ማን ማንምም ማንም ማን...ማንምም ማንም ማንም ማን ማንምምም...ማንምም... ማንምምምም ማንምምም ማን ማን ማንም ማን ማንምምም ማንምም ማንም ማንም ማን ማንምምም	Basically, uhh...Amharic was selected as an official language because it was preferred to English, This is not because it was better than any other language. So what must be done? Especially, now in our region the working language is Amharic that means in Gambella region. Uhh... Some people are considered inferior because they do not speak Amharic. I think it is not language, but humanity that must be respected first. I guess it is better if we respect one another and learn each others' language.
Tig. 2a	ማን ማን ማን ማን solve ማንምም ማንም ማን ማን ማን ማን... ማን3 ማን ማን ማንምምም ማንም ማን ማን ማን ማንምም ማንም ማንምም ማንምምም...ማን ማን ማን3 ማን ማንም ማን ማን ማን ማን	You know, for the question as to how this problem can be solved... now, we have started Amharic from grade three; however, we did not learn it appropriately. In reality we do not even learn it until grade nine and ten. In grade 11 and 12 it is optional, Tigrinya or Amharic. Instead of

	ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት English ባለቤት grade one ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት grade one ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት history ባለቤት ባለቤት history ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት modern European language ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት grade one ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት	starting English from grade 1, it is better to start Amharic from grade 1. The reason is that I prefer to know my country's history than the world history. You should know first your ethnic group, then your country, then Africa, and then the world. This by itself is a process, instead of going to English or modern European languages, it is better to know Amharic. Attention should be given to starting Amharic from grade 1.
Tig. 1a	ባለቤት ባለቤት! ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት... ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት communicate ባለቤት ባለቤት period ባለቤት ባለቤት	It is like that. I like if it starts from grade 1. On top of that, Amharic teachers, while teaching Amharic speak Tigrinya; they speak Tigrinya while writing in Amharic, in our region, so he/she should speak only Amharic. But the students, whether it is right or wrong, should communicate in Amharic during Amharic periods.
Any. 2a	ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት circle of attitude ... we do have attitudes negative attitudes towards others ባለቤት ባለቤት awareness ባለቤት then it is why for example, ባለቤት ባለቤት pronunciation ባለቤት ባለቤት...ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት pronunciation ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት most of Gambella ባለቤት pronunciation ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት we should have to go back to teach this. We need to create awareness. This is what I mean.	Me, first circle of attitude...we do have attitudes, negative attitudes towards others. Awareness is necessary, for instance, my Amharic pronunciation of Amharic letters....How to pronounce if he/she is an Amharic teacher. For example, in most of Gambella <i>t'ebab's'abab</i>, so there is a pronunciation problem. We should have to go back to teach this. We need to create awareness. This is what I mean.
AfO. 1a	ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት communicate ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት communicate ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት Yokaan ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት ባለቤት	We have to know and learn languages because it is languages that you have in places where you have no one. For instance if some body moves to another place, for instance, if I go to Tigray Region, I could communicate if I speak the language. The problem comes if I cannot speak the language. Language is there for you in such situations. An Oromo should not know only Afan Oromo, the same to Amhara. We have to learn each others languages either in classrooms, with friends, in dormitories, and we have to try it.

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Any. 2b	□□ □□□ □□□ ..□□ □□□ skill □□□□ you should have to practice , exercise ; you should □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ practice □□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□□□ support □□□□□□	I, as a student,...language is a skill. You should have to practice, excercise, you should. As a student, since Amharic is the working language, I practice it. The university should offer Amharic, the department should do so. Those who speak Amharic should support that endeavor.
AfO. 1b	□□ □□□ □□□ □□ □□ □□ □□□□ □□ □□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□ □□ □□ □□□□ □□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□ □□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□ □□ □□ □□□□ □□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□ □□ □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□ □□ □□ □□□□ □□□□□	I, as an idea, on this, them as well, may be this problem, we reached here learning English from lower class. No attention is given to Amharic, and we start learning it from grade 5. It is better if they could start it from the lower level. It is better to learn a language at young age, but people are not interested to learn at this level. Mostly it is good to start at the lower level. Now, I am not good at English, but I try to communicate little bit. There are Afan Oromo, Tigrnya, and Amharic departments here; they need to offer courses. Language courses should start.
Tig. 2c	□□□□□ □□□□ □/□ □□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□□	There are Afaan Oromo and Tigrnya departments here. It is good if students could study there.

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work. This thesis has not been presented for any academic study in any other university, and all sources of material used for this work are clearly acknowledged.

Name

Signature

Date

Place: Addis Ababa University

Date of submission

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as university advisor.

Confirmed by the advisor: Professor Zelealem Leyew

Signature:

Date: