



**Documentation and Description of Code Switching
in Oromiffa and Harari Language**

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Declaration

I the undersigned declare that this thesis hereby submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts in Documentary Linguistics and Culture is my own work and has not been previously submitted to another university for any degree. To the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due references have been made in the text.

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II. Abstract

Documentation and Description of Code Switching in Oromiffa and Harari

Language

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In a multi lingual community like Ethiopia, people often switch from one language to another in their daily conversations and code-switching often reflects the social or cultural identities of the speakers. The switch to a particular language in the bilingual dialogue can also be employed as an effective medium to indication ethnic identity. The aim of this paper is concerned to document and to give description of code-switching in Oromo and Harari speech community.

This study has deployed the sociolinguistic approach, as Gumperz, (1982) states which raise the question why it is practiced and the driving force towards code switching at the very beginning. Focus group discussion and Semi structured interview was also used as the main instruments of the research data collection. Digital tape recorders were also the instruments used for audio data collection.

Since Dire Dawa is one of the cities of Ethiopia, a place where from different nations and nationalities living in it, which makes it a multilingual city, code switching is a widespread phenomenon among speakers of different indigenous languages. As a result, it is very common to hear the alternation of codes, especially from Oromo to Harari language. In this paper, some of the major sociolinguistic issues in Oromo-Harari code-switching are raised and discussed.

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IV. Symbols and Abbreviations

1PS	person singular 'I'	COMP	complementizer
1PL	1st person plural 'we'	DEF	definite
2MS/FS	2nd person masculine/ Feminine singular 'you'	NEG	negative
3MS/FS	3rd person masculine/ Feminine singular 'he/she'	NOM	nominalizer
ACC	accusative	OBJ	object
ADJ	adjectival	PASS	passive
ART	article	PL	plural
AUX	auxiliary	POSS	possessive
ADV	adverb	PROG	progressive
AGR	agreement	FOC	focus
CS	Code-mixing	GEN	Genitive
CM	Code-switching	IMP	imperative
DET	determiner	IMPF	imperfective
		PF	perfective aspect
		SG	singular

Chapter one

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

As it discussed by different scholars Ethiopia is a common home land for different nations and nationalities. The existence of multiple ethno linguistics groups in the state might be cause for language and culture fusion and distribution, the main concern of this paper will be simply discussing the sociolinguistics situation on code switching. How language used in multi ethnic society, how it matters the communication and why code (language) switch, and other related issues will be address in this paper.

In the long and complex history of Ethiopia the Oromo population movement considered as an important historical fact towards the development of language and culture and this massive population movement left its foot print in each noticeable path of language and culture (Assefa Jaleta, 2000). The Harari people also contribute much for state emergency and modernity. On the other hand the dispersed Oromo communities interact with others including Harari's others ethno linguistic group via their culture and language.

1.2 Background of the Study Area

1.2.1. The people and Language

Different articles suggest in different times and reasons for the establishment of Dire Dawa, Dire Dawa is located in the east-central Ethiopia, on the eastern edge of the East African Rift Valley is 30 miles (48 km) northwest of Harar. Most of its inhabitants are Oromo, Somali, or Amhara people. However, the website, administered by the Dire Dawa regional Administration states that there area number of different Ethiopian languages including Oromiffa, Amharic, Somali, Guragigna, Tigrigna, and Harari. that are widely spoken in Dire Dawa by the people from the various nations and nationalities living in it.

The presence of conducive environments like similarity in lifestyles, closeness and friendship among the people of the city have contributed to the creation of a unique blending of custom that transcends any cultural and language barriers. As a result of this, nearly all the people living especially in the central and eastern sections of the city are able to speak two or more languages.

Based on the 2007 Census of the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (CSA), Dire Dawa has a population of 341,834, of whom the ethnic groups in the region include the Oromo (45.9%), Somali (24.3%), Amhara (20.17%), Gurage (4.55%),

Tigray (1.23%), and Harari (1.09%). Languages spoken include Oromiffa (47.95%), Amharic (19.7%), Somali(26.46%), Gurage (2.78%), and Harari (1.04%). The religion in Dire Dawa is mostly Islam 70.8%, 25.71% are Ethiopian Orthodox, 2.81% Protestant, and 0.43% Catholic.

According to the census result, the major ethnic groups of the Dire Dawa administrative council were found to be 48% Oromo, 27.7% Amahra, 13.9% Somali, 4.5% Gurage (2.3% Sebat Bet, 0.8% Sodo and 1.4% Silte) and 5.9% others. Amharic is the official language of the administrative council.

Kefira is a traditional market place where one can see the colorful presentation of all people of the region in their cultural dresses. The city has heterogeneous cultures. It has also a unique form of tolerance that has become like a trade mark for the city. It is very common to adopt others' cultures in the city of Dire Dawa, as the result of this the way of speaking is the same.

The research area also has been the home of not only of a number of Ethiopians from different nations, nationalities and people in the country but also of people from various other countries such as India, Yemen, France, etc.

The Oromiffa speakers of Dire Dawa are adjacent to the Harari which is one of the nine national states of the Federal State of Ethiopia. It encompasses about 400

sq. km with a population of more than 120, 000 (Asnake 2010:211). Harari is the language spoken by the Harari people and in previous times by people who live only inside of the walled city of Harar (Robert 2013). According to Robert (2013:486), the name Harar and Harari are used by native speakers only when writing. In spoken language, they use *ge:y* 'town' for Harar and *ge:y sina:n* 'language of the town'. The Amhara call the language *adarəppa* that is the Oromo name *adarə* with an Amharic ending.

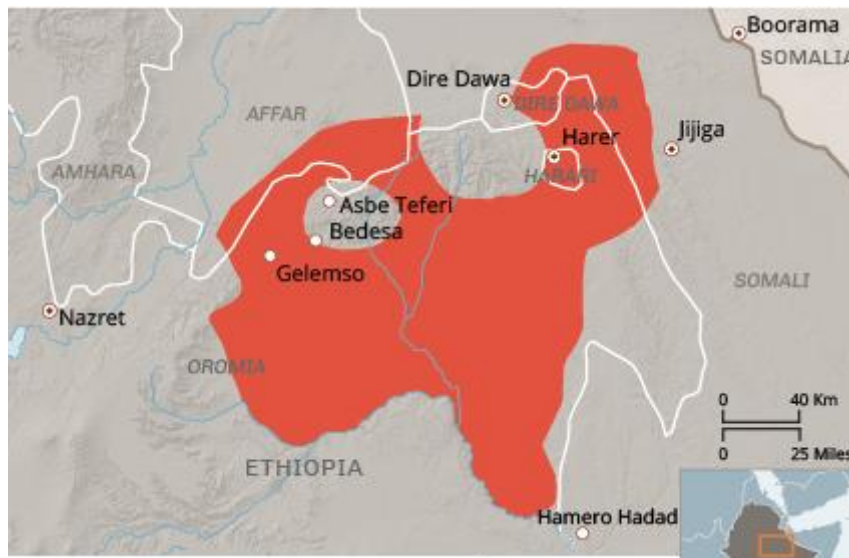


Figure 1: Map of the study area

(Map Source: Bryan Nicholson / cartoMission)

1.2.2. The Harari-Oromo relations

The relations between the Harari and Oromo are one of the ancient in the History of Ethiopia. Sidney (1984), referring to Waldron (1974:293) says the Harari-Oromo relations are dated back to the mid-twentieth century. The setting for the development of Harari-Oromo relations derives directly from the two major events in sixteenth-century Ethiopian history: the jihads of Imam Ahmed ibn Ibrahim (1529-1543) and the subsequent demographic explosion of the Oromo from their homelands in southern Ethiopia (Sidney 1984:2). The rapid expansion of the Oromo northward, into the former territory of 'Ifat, and eastward to the region of Harari, certainly reflects the vacuum of protective power in the regions of the Rift, which for centuries had been the locale of both Muslim and Christian principalities (Braukamper 1979:174).

As Sidney (1984) states the two language communities have long rooted history of market, which is noted by the first negotiated relationship between the Oromo and Harari through the treaty arranged by Amir Nur's successor, 'Uthman al-Habashi. Following that long aged relations both? The Harari and Oromo people inhabit in the cities of Harar and Dire Dawa in eastern Ethiopia.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

This study attempts to discuss the issues related to Code Switching in the daily conversation of Oromiffa speakers in Dire Dawa. According to Poplak, 1980 stated that code switching is a very intriguing linguistic phenomenon; though much of the previous century's research indicated that it occurred chaotically, the modern opinions of linguists and ethnographers argue for the systematic nature of code switching in natural context. The reason way we need to discuss this issue is to identify syntactic categories and factors that influence the speakers to switch and the impact that the switching brought on the grammar of the matrix language.

1.4. Objective of the Study

1.4.1. General Objective

The general objective of the study is to document and describe code switching among Oromo/ Harari speech communities and to discuss socio linguistics issues in relation to the Oromo and Harari people.

1.4.2. Specific Objective

The specific objectives of the study include the following:

- Identify words recurrently used in code switching
- Identify when and how code switching takes place
- Discusses the uses of code switching

1.5. Delimitation of the Study

It is true that the findings of the research would be effective if it were conducted widely by including other similar areas and issues. But due to time, labor, and financial constraints it was too hard and out of reach for the researcher to include all areas of Oromo-Somali, and Oromo-Arabic. Thus, the study is delimited to focus in four Dire Dawa weredas, the scope of the study is also delimited to preparing and discussing among Oromo and Harari speech communities.

Chapter Two

Literature Review and Theoretical

Background

2.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a review of some valuable literatures in related to code switching and language. In a multilingual community, people often switch from one language to another in their daily conversations. Unlike the assumption that code-switching is evident of deficient knowledge of language in multilingual speakers.

The practice of use of more than one language in speech, which is called code-switching, is a common phenomenon worldwide (Gumperz 1982:5). In relation to this Clyne, (2000:8) said that code switching is a universal practice. This universal practice however used to be considered as sub-standard use of language (Weinreich 1953:7). Since the 1980s, however, most scholars have come to regard it as normal, natural product of bilingual and multilingual language use (Goldstein and Kohnert 2005).

As it is discussed by different scholars including Zelealem (1998), Ethiopia is a common home land for different nations and nationalities that lead to the existence of multiple ethno linguistic groups. The existence of multiple ethno linguistics groups in turn leads to code-switching. In such multilingual communities, people often switch from one language to another in their daily conversations. Among speakers of different indigenous languages, the Oromo speech community in Dire Dawa (Dire Dawa Administrative Region, Ethiopia) is one that has a practice of code-switching from Oromiffa to Harari. As a result, it is very common to hear alternations of codes as these speech communities are adjacent.

In studying of code-switching, as Zelealem (1998:179) suggests, some of the major sociolinguistic and related linguistic issues have to be raised and discussed. In the same way, the present study is aimed at identifying situation-related code-switching through examining participants' talk and the particular situations which prompt the use of Oromo and Harari language. The present study is also intended to show how Oromo's who live with the Harari people practice code-switching in a particular conversational situation, like in commands, appealing for information and in offensive communications. The Oromiffa speakers of the area in some cases also switch to Somali as the speakers of this language are also adjacent to that area. Therefore, the main concern of the

present study is to discuss the code switching situation and how the languages are used and why code switching take place.

2.2 Conceptual Background

One of the theoretical approaches that will be employed in this study is the sociolinguistic approach, as Gumperz, (1982) states which raise the question of why it is practiced and the driving force towards code switching at the very beginning. This theoretical approach is used in the present study because the study raises why the Oromiffa speakers of that particular area practice code swathing in Harari and what is the driving force to code-switch to the embedded language. The sociolinguistics approach has two models that are situational and metaphorical (Gumperz, 1982). The situational code switching is particularly dependent on situations and the metaphorical code switching also dependent on issues or topics. Another important conceptual frame work that is deployed in the present study is the Myers-Scotton's (1993:75) model of markedness. In this model speakers are considered as a rational actor to make the unmarked choice.

The Markedness model is a sociolinguistic theory proposed by Myers-Scotton and it is one account of the social indexical motivation for code-switching (Gumperz, 1982). The model holds that speakers use language choices to index

Rights and Obligations (RO) Sets, the abstract social codes in operation between participants in a given interaction.

According to Myers-Scotton, for any communicative situation there exists an unmarked, expected RO Set and a marked, differential one. In choosing a code the speaker evaluates the markedness of their potential choices, determined by the social forces at work in their community, and decides either to follow or reject the normative model. Making the marked choice is thus a conscious bid for a new RO Set. Speakers employ code choices rationally, as a way of establishing their social position according to the Negotiation Principle: "Choose the form of your conversational contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between the speaker and addressee for the current exchange" (Myers-Scotton 1993:27). Marked choices are often accompanied by prosodic features such as pauses, or meta commentary on the switch. When the unmarked choice is not clear, speakers use code-switching in an exploratory way to establish the favored social balance.

Referring to Myers-Scotton, Winford, (2003) has proposed that the markedness model is applicable to all language choices, beyond the limits of code-switching. The markedness model that operates within Myers-Scotton's matrix language-frame theory has provided a production-based explanation for code-switching

that posits constraints on switches at the level of the mental lexicon (as opposed to that of the surface structure) (Scotton, 1993:12). The theory holds that a code-switching speaker alternates between the Matrix Language, in this case Oromiffa of the Dire Dawa area and an Embedded Language- Harari. Oromiffa of the Dire Dawa area is the more active and more frequently-used language, which somehow restricts the use of the EL, which is Harari. It is common, though not necessary, for the ML to correspond with the unmarked choice in a typical interaction.

2.3 Definition of Code-Switching

It is quite difficult to find universally accepted definition for the term code switching (Richard 2003:23). However, the selected definitions of code-switching by different scholars of the field are listed below.

According to the definition of Myers-Scotton's (1997), Code-switching is the selection of bilinguals or multi-lingual's of forms from an embedded variety (varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation. In the case of the present study, Oromiffa is the matrix language and Harari is the embedded language.

In a sociolinguistics context, the term 'code' is used in more than one sense; for example, 'restricted' and 'elaborated' code. However, the term 'code' in 'code-switching' is used as 'variety (or dialect) of a language'. Code-switching then is "the switching from one variety to another, either of the same language or of different languages, in speech or writing" (Ammon 1994:578).

In linguistics, like Raymond and Terry (1998) state, code-switching occurs when a speaker alternates between two or more languages, or language varieties, in the context of a single conversation. Multilingual—speakers of more than one language—sometimes use elements of multiple languages when conversing with each other.

In the above definitions, Code-switching refers to the use of two languages (or dialects) within a sentence or discourse. This is a natural process that often occurs between multilingual speakers that share two or more languages in common. Code-switching involves the substitution of a word (or phrase) from one language within a sentence in another language. The ability to produce and comprehend sentences with code-switching is seamless and its use in multilingual communities is widely accepted and often goes unnoticed (Kroskrity, 1993:23).

The present study acknowledges that code-switching can occur by monolinguals between same languages and bilinguals as well as by multilingual speakers, but here it narrows down the scope of code-switching as switching between the two languages Oromiffa and Harari.

2.4 The Emergence and Notion of Code-Switching

Chad (2006:3) says, the history of code switching research in sociocultural linguistics is dated from Blom and Gumperz's (1972) "Social meaning in linguistic structures" This work , as Chad (2006:3) states is certainly important and influential, not least for introducing the terms situational and metaphorical switching. However, (Kroskrity, 1993:12) argued that it was in 1972 that the term "code switching" was well attested in the literature, and several studies in linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics prefigured later code switching research in sociocultural linguistics. According to Myers-Scotton (1977) it was in 1977, that Carol Myers-Scotton and William Ury identified code-switching as the "use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction" (2006:3).

A number of code-switching researchers (Auer 1998; Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1988; Li & Milroy, 1995; Myers 1993; Shin & Milroy, 2000) believe that code-switching is used as an additional resource to achieve particular interactional

goals with other speakers. The use of code-switching often reflects the social or cultural identities of speakers (Foley, 1997; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Siegel, 1995). The switch to a particular language in a bilingual discourse reflects ethnic identity (Kroskrity, 1993; Nishimura, 1995; Woolard, 1989). This shows the connection between language choice and ethnicity and especially prevalent among language-minority (Pease, et al. 1994). People practice code switching because of so many driving factors. Normally, a certain group of bilinguals tend to switch codes to elevate their own social status in a community (Baker, 2001).

In addition to Gumperz (1982), Myers (1997) states that there are most frequent reasons for practicing code-switch are: communication, emphasis, interlocution and lexicon. When we say communication, as Myers (1997) suggests, people may switch to their language to utilize the shortest and easiest way or to exclude someone from the dialogue. The other one is conceptual which means people use to clarify vague concepts, to emphasize things or to capture attention; people also use code switching to show solidarity or to convey precise meaning. In the study of code-switching, there are also concepts like code mixing and code borrowing which are quite related to the concept of code-switching (Bokamba 1988). The term code mixing as Bokamba (1988) states simply refers to the mixing of affixes, words, phrases and clauses from two different systems. Bokamba, further

advocates the use of these two terms interchangeably. However, in this study, the researcher prefers to use the term 'code-switching'.

In addition to code-mixing and code-borrowing, as Gumperz (1982) mentions, there are also situational code switching that refers to the link between human languages and its practice or situations. When we come to metaphorical code switching, it is mainly caused by issues within similar social setting. Conversational code switching, as Gumperz (1982) states has six sub-classifications, which are: quotations, address specification, interjection, reiteration, message qualifications and personification.

The difference between code-switching and other language contact phenomena is also stated by Thomason and Kaufman (1988). According to them, code-switching is distinct from other language contact phenomena, such as borrowing, pidgins and creoles, loan translation (calques), and language transfer (language interference). As Thomason and Kaufman (1988) further explained, borrowing affects the lexicon, the words that make up a language, while code-switching takes place in individual utterances. On the other hand, speakers practice code-switching when they are each fluent in both languages.

A person who is bilingual may be said to be one who is able to communicate, to varying extents, in a second language. This includes those who make irregular use of a second language, are able to use a second language but have not for some time (dormant bilingualism) or those who have considerable skill in a second language (Crystal, 1987). This type of alteration, or code switching, between languages occurs commonly amongst bilinguals and may take a number of different forms, including alteration of sentences, phrases from both languages succeeding each other and switching in a long narrative.

Berthold et al. (1997:13) supplement the definition of code switching thus far with the notion that it occurs where 'speakers change from one language to another in the midst of their conversations'. Further, Cook (1991) puts the extent of code switching in normal conversations amongst bilinguals into perspective by outlining that code switching consists of 84% single word switches, 10% phrase switches and 6% clause switching.

In previous days, as Gumperz (1982) says, many scholars considered code-switching to be a sub-standard use of language. Since the 1980s, however, he says most scholars have come to regard it as a normal, natural product of bilingual and multilingual language use.

2.4.1 Code switching vs. code mixing

In a multilingual society where each language uniquely fulfill certain roles and represents different identities, code switching and code mixing are common phenomena used to meet the complex communicative demands of the majority of the people (Shin & Milroy, 2000).

In comparison of code-switching to code-mixing, Bokamba (1988:24) says code-switching is the embedding or mixing of words, phrases, and sentences from two codes within the same speech and across sentence boundaries. But, code-mixing is the embedding or mixing of various linguistic unites i.e, words, phrases, and clauses from two distinct grammatical systems or subsystems within the same sentence and the same speech situation (Bokamba 1988:24).

For Carol Myers-Scotton (1989), code mixing is a thematically related term, but the usage of the terms code-switching and code-mixing varies. According to Carol Myers-Scotton (1989), some scholars use either term to denote the same practice, while others apply code-mixing to denote the formal linguistic properties of language-contact phenomena, and code-switching to denote the actual, spoken usages by multilingual persons.

2.4.2 Types of Code Switching

Scholars use different names for various types of code-switching (McClure and Erica (2001). However, Myers-scotton (1989) state four types of code-switching: inter-sentential switching, tag switching and intra word switching. According to Myers-scotton (1989), Inter-sentential switching takes place outside the sentence or the clause intra sentential switching and level. It is sometimes called extra-sentential switching which also take place within a sentence or a clause. Tag-switching is the switching of either a tag phrase or a word, or both, from one language to another or in which tags and certain set of phrases in one language are inserted into an utterance otherwise in another whereas intra-word switching takes place within a word itself, such as at a morpheme boundary (Myers-scotton 1989).

Regarding social functions, there is also an important distinction of code-switching made between *situational switching* and *metaphorical switching* (Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982). These two distinctions were further elaborated by Paolillo, (2011:3) as follows:

Situational switching is code-switching that is conditioned by factors of the situation in which an interaction takes place. For example, native speakers of Spanish in Texas generally use

Spanish in home settings, but switch to English in institutional settings (e.g., schools, government offices), even when others present are bilingual. The change in situation effectively bounds the interaction, so that switching takes place between interactions.

In contrast, as Paolillo, (2011:3) further elaborates metaphorical switching is code-switching that takes place within a single interaction. Such switching is metaphorical because it exploits associations between codes and social roles for communicative effect. For example, Myers-Scotton (1993) describes an interaction in a bank in Kenya where a customer approaches the teller in situationally-appropriate Swahili; when the teller refuses to process a transaction which would be against the bank's rules, the customer switches to Luyia, a minority language that customer and teller happen to share. By using Luyia in asking for a personal favor, the customer covertly appeals to the teller's sense of ethnic loyalty, and obligation toward kin. These special communicative effects of metaphorical code-switching have the status of conversational implicatures (Grice, 1976), since their interpretation is highly situationally dependent (Gumperz, 1982).

In relation to the distinction between the two, Paolillo, (2011:3) advises methodological approach on the studies of code-switching. With respect to the borrowing/code-switching distinction, Paolillo, (2011:5) advised to give

maximum care not to count borrowed words in the category of code-switches, since their communicative effects are distinct. Likewise, situational and metaphorical switching are structurally as well as socially distinct: while situational switching occurs only between sentences, metaphorical switching often occurs intra-sententially and inter-sententially, so that grammatical elements of both languages may be used together in the same sentence.

2.4.3 Matrix and Embedded Language in Code-Switching

In code-switching studies, as it is stated by several scholars including Myers-Scotton, (1993) the dominant language is often called the matrix language, into which elements from the embedded language are inserted. Myers-Scotton also said that that one way in which languages may be combined within a syntactic unit (e.g. a sentence or a clause) is such that language A is dominant and language B is inserted into the grammatical frame defined by language A. For Myers-Scotton, the matrix language is consistently the source of the grammatical frame in code switching and the grammatical rules of the matrix language guide the formation of code switched sentence structure. In strengthening this idea, Myers-Scotton (1993:229) puts it this way:

One of the languages involved in CS [code-switching] plays a dominant role. This language is labeled the Matrix Language (ML), and its grammar sets the morph syntactic frame.

However, scholars like Auer, and Muhamedova (2005:36) argue that the matrix language may not always set the grammatical rule in code-switching. They say, "Simple insertions do not necessarily take on the morphology of the matrix language, but may be treated according to the rules of the embedded language; and, on the other hand, that the language of complex insertions does not necessarily follow the grammar of the embedded language". Auer, and Muhamedova, (2005:37) further argued that, "the 'dominance' of one language over another in intra sentential code-mixing seems rather to be a matter of gradience and can mean different things in different situations of language contact". Nevertheless, all of these are acknowledged by Myers-Scotton as exceptions to the rule.

Determination of the matrix and embedded language is one of the important elements in code switching. According to Myers-Scotton (1993) there are two principles that may guide one in determining the matrix language and embedded language. They are:

1. The matrix language provides the largest proportion of lexical items in the code-switching text while the embedded language provides fewer items.
2. It is the matrix language that sets the morpho-syntactic frame of the sentences in code switched material.

In this study, I have also attempted to test this claim.

2.4.4 Reasons for Code Switching

Different literatures suggest different possible reasons for code-switching. For Crystal (1987), there are a number of possible reasons for switching from one language to another. Nevertheless, for Crystal (1987) the first of these is the notion that a speaker may not be able to express him/herself in one language so switches to the other to compensate for the deficiency. As a result, the speaker may be triggered into speaking in the other language for a while. According to Crystal (1987), this type of code switching tends to occur when the speaker is upset, tired or distracted in some manner. Myers and Carol (1989) also suggest switching to commonly occur when an individual wishes to express solidarity with a particular social group. Rapport is established between the speaker and the listener when the latter responds with a similar switch. This type of switching as Myers and Carol (1989) states may also be used to exclude others from conversations who do not speak the second language.

The other reason for the switching behavior which is also presented by Crystal (1987) is the alteration that occurs when the speaker wishes to convey his/her attitude to the listener. Where monolingual speakers can communicate these attitudes by means of variation in the level of formality in their speech, bilingual speakers can convey the same by code switching. Crystal (1987) suggests that where two bilingual speakers are accustomed to conversing in a particular language, switching to the other is bound to create a special effect. These notions suggest that code switching may be used as a socio-linguistic tool by bilingual speakers.

Different scholars on code-switching, including (Zealelem 1998; Myers-Scotton 1993 and Chad 2006) advised to give emphasis on factors that underlie code-switching. These factors, according to the scholars are linguistic and social. Based on that, the present study also considers both linguistic and social factors that cause code-switching between the speech communities under study.

Zealelem (1998) after investigating the definition of code-switching given by (Hudson 1980; Gingras 1974: 167 and Bokamba 1990: 19) emphasized that “there seems to be no consensus among linguists on the distinction between code-mixing and code-switching”. He further suggests Bokamba’s (1990: 19) views

that used the terms code-switching and code mixing a similar way. Therefore, the present study takes the terms code-switching.

2.4.5 Conscious vs. Unconscious Code-Switching

After mentioning the reason why code-switching occurs, it is also very important to discuss how people code-switch. In relation to this, Becker (1997) evidenced that bilingual speaker both consciously and unconsciously participate in code switching. According to Becker (1997), code-switches are often triggered by unconscious factors and consequently, bilingual speakers are often unaware of their spontaneous alternation between languages. The same is true that in Dire Dawa.

Becker (1997) classifies unconsciously motivated code-switches to three categories. The first category includes code-switches that result from a momentary inclination during the production stage of speech. This generally means that a speaker is not able to access the equivalent lexical item in the other language. According to Becker (1997), the second category refers to switches that are triggered due to the frequent exposure of such items in another language. This is due to habitual use of these terms, so that their usage is no longer a conscious choice. Becker (1997) also stated the third category for unconsciously triggered code-switching. According to him, it is due to the untranslatability of a

given item into another language. This occurs when a speaker would be hard-pressed to find an appropriate synonym in another language. Further, social motivations may also play a part in conscious code switching. Sociolinguists appear more interested in this conscious form of code switching and what the speaker is trying to communicate beyond the linguistic content of the message.

2.5 Nexus between Language and Culture

Language is the most important aspect in the life of all beings. We use language to express inner thoughts and emotions, make sense of complex and abstract thought, to learn to communicate with others, to fulfill our wants and needs, as well as to establish rules and maintain our culture (Bokamba 1988:24).

The ability to communicate our thoughts, emotions, and opinions to others is truly a remarkable ability. Our use of language can influence our self-concept and identity. Cultural influences are also reflected in our language and similarly influence how we conceptualize who we are and where we come from (Crystal 1987). According to Santrock, and Mitterer, (2001), all human languages share basic characteristics, some of which are organizational rules and infinite generativity. Infinite generativity is the ability to produce an infinite number of sentences using a limited set of rules and words.

Language and culture is two face of one coin and we can never detach or understand separately (Santrock, and Mitterer, 2001). When someone talks or writes about anything it is inevitable that the person can be influenced by culture and nature of his/her environment. Thus, language in this case is used as an expression tool for culture (Penelope 2009:12). On the other hand the purpose of language goes beyond its medium of communication and takes new roles of expression. We may estimate or recognize from a certain dialog from which group of society they are. The way people understand and perform things are culturally designed and merely manifested in language. As Joseph (2009) describes, no one denies that language is a cultural phenomenon of some sort, that the fledgling members of new generations of human beings eventually exhibit their speech – the actual power of parole– by some process of natural acquisition, by merely living in an adult community that already shares a language and a history of common experience and work focused and informed by that language.

2.6 Nature of Ethiopian Languages and Peculiar

Characteristics of Semitic Languages of Ethiopia

Among the major language families of Ethiopia one can mention Semitic, Cushitic and Omotic. Regarding the manifestation of peculiarity of Ethiopian languages, Zaborski, (1989) asserted that most of Ethiopian languages are inter-connected and share characteristics. Zaborski, (1989) further explained this as follows:

Ethiopian languages possess a number of common features that are due to contact so that Ethiopia is a classic language area. It is probably impossible to find an Ethiopian language not influenced by other language or languages. These common or shared characteristics of the language can be considered as peculiar features of Ethiopian language. But it doesn't mean that all Ethiopian languages share similar features. First, we have to bear in mind that there are still languages which are practically unknown or very little known. As a matter of fact it is difficult to find features that can be found in all the Ethiopian languages. Some of these features could be somehow reinforced and spread more widely due to the ethio-semitic and cushitic contact and interference. The interference has been first of all, lexical and syntactic, morphological only to a limited extent and only in case of very intensive and deep interference.

The matrix language, Oromiffa belongs to Low land East Cushitic language family and the embedded one or Harari belongs to Ethio-semitic language family (Bender, 1976).

2.7 Studies of Code-Switching in Ethiopian Languages

Different scholars and researchers at different times have attempted to convey a lot of scholarly articles on the subject matter of code-switching. However, it is quite difficult to find significant amount of researches on the area of code-switching in relation to the Ethiopian languages. As per the search of the researcher, it is only three scholars including Zelealem (1998) who have worked on code-switching so far. The following brief summary indicates some of academic endeavors on code-switching on Ethiopian language.

Among the well-known Ethiopian Linguists, Zelealem (1998) has provided a finding on the Amharic-English Code-switching in which he has shown why and how code-switching takes place between the two languages. According to his study, code-switching between Amharic and English is systematic (rule governed). In his study, Zelealem (1998) shows that both intra-sentential and inter-sentential code switching with the speakers mixing smaller and higher constituents within and beyond the sentence.

The second related study was conducted by Dawit (2004) that involved two indigenous Ethiopia languages, Amharic and Kefinoono. The main concern of Dawit's (2004) work was to identify certain characteristics of code-switching between indigenous languages in Ethiopia. His study describes some aspects of Amharic-Kefinoono code-switching in Bonga. The study also discloses characteristics of code-switching regarding the three universal constraints with reference to arguments presented by Poplack (1980) and Beric-Seligson (1986). The study also demonstrates the bilingual ability of the Amharic/Kefinoono bilinguals in accordance with previous scholars' explanations.

The other related study done by Bikila (2008) describing the conversational functions and structural aspects of Afan-Oromo and English code-switching has provided theoretical explanations for conversational functions on Afan-Oromo and English.

Chapter three

Methodology and Design of the Study

3.1 Introduction

Since code-switching involves the use of elements of more than one language, it can be readily observed by examining samples of language use, classifying each linguistic element as belonging to one language or another, and counting the tokens in each category (Paolillo 2011:3). Depending on the advice from Paolillo, the present study is conducted via different stages. The first step was simply gathering data from the target group which is very essential for further analyses and comprehensive documentation. The second step discussed is code-switching among Oromo and Harari speech communities with practical examples.

For code-switching to be represented accurately in the data, a representative sample of data must be collected (Paolillo 2011:3). The complication of borrowed vocabulary must be squarely addressed, however, since counting borrowings as code-switches would inaccurately inflate the rate of code-switching.

3.2 Research Instruments and Data Collection

Among the tools implemented to undertake the present study, focus group discussion was the one that was conducted in two groups. In order to get substantial data from the target informants, two Focus Group Discussions were conducted in Amistegna, Dire Dawa, and the place where the key informants are believed to come for market purpose.

The FGD was conducted on May 4 and 11, 2014 afternoon times. In the FGD, conducted on June 4, 2014 there were 6 discussants and in the next FGD, which was held on May 25, 2014 it was able to manage 8 participants. The language materials which are the data collected from the target group is the major source of data used to scrutinize the code-switching situation among Oromo and Harari speech community. During focus group discussion since it is undertaken by the active involvement of the researcher it was possible to observe code-switching practically. These discourses were taken with the recorder with the will of the informants. The discussion includes the researcher's observation with serious not taking.

Semi structured interview was also used as the main instruments of the research data collection. During the interview, the informants were asked some vital questions that are related to code switching and language use and its association

with the speech community. The interviews were conducted between April and May 2014. In addition to the semi structured interview, the normal conversation between the targets speakers were recorded using audio recorder. In order to record those conversations, the field work was done from May 01 to 30, 2014. A total of 20 individuals were participated in this process. Among these informants 10 were male and the rest females, in the age of 20 and above.

Digital tape recorders were also the instruments used for audio data collection. These audio data also enables phonemic transcription and advanced code-switching research among Oromo and Harari speech community. The audio recording allows the researcher to get the natural setting and the use of language in variety of social and cultural contexts. The recorded audio is annotated to create linguistic primary data which can also be accessed and used by other users.

3.3 Key Informants and Sites

The data gathering had been done by the support of informants from different age group. Two of the key informants were Dire Dawa residents and they are 83 and 35 years old. The other key informants were elders and culture experts from Culture and Tourism Bureau of the Dire Dawa Administrative Region.

Key informants are used primarily as a source of information. They are interviewed individually and in group for the purpose of providing a relatively complete data. Key informants were selected based on the technique (criteria for selection of informants) that is suggested by Tremblay (1957: 690). Based on Tremblay's recommendation, "informant's role in community, knowledge to the subject matter, willingness for participation, Communicability and impartiality" were considered as selection criteria.

Relevant data for the present study were collected from different sites and people that include house hold, public spare areas such as (café, hotels, and bus stations) and schools. Students of high schools and merchants were one of the informants groups from whom data was gathered.

3.4 Data Analysis

In order to identify the code-switching, two types of annotation were made for each entry. The first step helps to identify the language which belongs to Oromiffa or Harari and the grammatical status of the discourses. Throughout the process, three basic types of grammatical status were considered as it is suggested by Myers-Scotton (1993): proper names of places and individuals, content words (referential meaning-bearing nouns, adjectives, and verbs), and

“system” words (grammatical factor words, prepositions, determiners, pronouns, quantifiers etc.).

The data from the interview was analyzed through different tools. Language explorer, and ELAN are among the software that used to analyze the data.

Chapter Four

Findings and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

The Oromiffa speech community in Dire Dawa area is bilingual and in some cases multilingual which usually practices codes-switching of Oromiffa and Harari. The main concern of the present study is Oromiffa-Harari code-switching, where Oromiffa is the matrix language and Harari is the embedded language. In discussing code-switching, Zelealem (1998) says“ an interesting question is whether there are any constraints on why and how the alternation of codes may take place, and what syntactic categories are more and less sensitive to such a phenomena”. Therefore, this section discusses why and how the alternation of code takes place and what syntactic categories are more and less sensitive.

4.2 Categories of Code-Switching in the Oromiffa-Harari

Code-Switching

4.2.1. Intra-Sentential Code-Switching

In this type of switching, speakers switch from one language to another within the same sentence. Thus a sentence will be made up of two languages, in this case Oromiffa and Harari. In this section that deals with intra-sentential switching the analysis also made to distinguish the matrix and embedded languages in the below code switched materials.

The speakers are talking about the current happened matter in the area. According to speaker A, a 45 year old man, one of their neighbors, who live in the nearby village, has lost her child. Speaker B is a 35 years old lady, who is recently came to that place after visiting her relatives in Addis Ababa. Both speakers are Oromiffa/Harari bilinguals but can also speak Amharic as well because Amharic is also a commonly spoken language. However, in their conversation, they only switch from Oromiffa to Harari. Towards the end of the conversation, the topic shifts from attending ones funereal to having *Khat* together. All the Oromiffa data is presented in non-italic while Harari data is in Italic and bold.

(1) *haffa-l-u* hin-dem-n-a **səa-30** dəbir-e jir-a
 stand-3ms-3pl nog-go-pl-impf time-def pass-pf aux-impf
 ‘hurry up let us go, the time has passed’

(2) *wəldi-3-e* irra-du-te jir-ti **amutta** ha-dem-n-u
 child-def-3fs on-die-3fs aux-3fs funeral let-go-pl-3ms
 ‘Her child has died, let us go to funeral’

(3) **gi:f** gənəma-n wəl-ha-ark-i:n-u ija-bən-a **ni-k’ahimana**
 tomorrow morning-nom let-us-see-pl-3msg eye-open-impf us-chew
 ‘Let us meet tomorrow morning we chew khat’

(4) **hambayi:le** duf-te **fi:zbe-n** Si-yade-n jir-a
 great came-2fs very-pf you-miss-pf aux-impf
 ‘It’s great that you came I missed you’

When we see all the sentences, we see speakers using both Oromiffa and Harari in one sentence hence a case of intra-sentential switching. Regarding word order, all the above and below data (1)-(5) seem to follow the S-O-V pattern of Oromiffa as Harari follows S-V-O word order. The typical word order in Oromo sentences is Subject – Object – Verb. Modifiers, articles, pronouns, and case markers follow

the nouns they modify. In the case of example (1), there is no structural influence between the two languages.

Sentences in the Oromiffa language are constructed based on the S-O-V order and the same way Harari sentences are constructed in the rule of their respective orders language i.e., Harari. Consider the following sentence:

- (5) ani *uxat* hin-ηad-e
 I enjəra neg-ate-pf
 'I ate *Enjera*'

In the data above, 'ani' (I) is the subject, '*uxat*' (*Enjera*) is the object and 'hinηade' (ate) is the verb.

4.2.2. Inter-Sentential Code-Switching

One can also learn code-switching from the data below those two neighbors of at *amisbηηa* area who were basically speaking in Oromiffa.

- (6) **A (1):** hi munira eyisa-bəd-e?
 hey munira where-disappear-pf
 'hey Munira where did you disappear?'

- B (1):** wəx! rəmədan eyisa-mulə-t-e? *axa-x-mət'* ni-jir-t-a?
 hey ! remedan where-found-2ms-pf You-2ms-but foc-live-2msg- impf?
 'Hey! remedan, it is long time without seeing you? Are you alive?'

A(2): abo! *haɫχu...asi:* maɫ-go-t-a gənəma kənə-n?

'abo' live-1sg...here what-do-2ms-impf morning this-at?

'abo' I'm around...what are you doing at this morning here?

B (2): *haja təkə-n k'əbb-a-fi-n duf-e gar-ac' aman-ḥy-u?*

reason one-for hold-impf-1sg-pp came-pf...home-pl fine-happen-3pl

'I came for one reason...how is your family?'

A (3): *ɪ aman-ḥy-u... ke-ho fəya k'əb-a-n-i?*

yes fine-happen-3pl...your-2ms fine have-impf-pp-pf?

'Yes they are fine....how about yours?'

B (3) *allə-le hamdi: kulu-zi-um aman-ḥy-u?*

allah-to thanks all-3pm/f-pl fine-happen-3pl.

'Thanks to Allah, they are all fine'

In the above conversation one can see that code-switching occurs at the sentence level with larger sequences of words. The speakers, at this level mix smaller and higher constituents beyond the sentence. In both conversations the switching occurs from Oromiffa into Harari and Harari into Oromiffa languages.

From the above data, one can learn that at inter-sentential level code-switching occurs both ways. For instance, in B(1) the speaker starts with Oromiffa and ends with Harari language. The second conversant in A(2), as the first one ends with Harari, starts with Harari and with Oromiffa. The same way, the next conversant A(3) starts with Harari and ends with Oromiffa.

4.2.3. Tag Switching

Tag switching is the other type of code-switching that is observed in the Oromiffa-Harari code-switching.

(7) ...*χana* wəji: dem-n-a
 ok together go-pl-impf
 ‘Ok, we go together’

(8) ...*mame* dubi-n aka-si-miti
 no matter-nom like-this-neg
 ‘No, the case is not like that’

(9) ...*hiḵg-i!* naf-hin-ḵəɗ-t-u!
 stop-2fs acc-neg-tell-2fs-impf
 ‘You don’t mean it..don’t tell me !’

- (10) ...*axxa!* mal jed-*c*-u-ke-tti?
axxa! what do-mean-impf-2ps-be
 ‘*axxa!* what do you mean?’

As it is indicated in Li Wei (2000) and Poplack (1980), the insertion of phrase or a word, or both from one language into the other has almost no effect on the rest of the sentence. As Poplack (1980) said, it is because they have no syntactic constraints and are able to move from one place to another without violating grammatical rules. Correspondingly, as shown in the above data, (7) to (10), Harari such as *xa na*, *mame*, *hijägi* and *axxa!* Are inserted in to Oromiffa sentences. The tagging is occurred without violating the grammatical rules of Oromiffa.

A high frequency of Oromiffa-Harari code-switching without committing code-switching errors can be associated with high bilingual ability. This type of code-switching is observed among the informants who are above 45 years of age. By contrast, the switching of lower-level constituents such as phrases and clauses (but not sentences) can be associated with the average bilingual ability, mostly in the young age group of the community.

4.3 Smaller Constituents as Single Occurrences

As mentioned in section 1.2, a high frequency of Oromiffa-Harari code-switching in the form inter-sentential occurs without committing code-switching errors. In addition, one of the interesting findings in the study is that these Oromiffa speakers in Dire Dawa also switched smaller constituents (adjectives, adverbs, determiners, nouns, and verbs). More importantly, nouns were the most often switched syntactic category among smaller constituents. Each of them is described below.

4.3.1 Nouns

Oromo nouns, that is also called *maqoota* in Oromiffa are words used to name persons, animals, place, things, or abstract ideas. The examples below use nouns in different points to demonstrate how they behave in a sentence. As it is stated in several literatures, including Poplack (1980), the number of embedded Harari nouns is higher than other smaller units.

- (11) *hay-i:* k'ab-id-a?
 milk-nom have-2ps-impf
 'You have milk?'

(12) *hai-fi* *bun-a-n* k'ab-a
 milk-and coffee-nom-1sg have-impf
 'I have milk and coffee'

(13) *məna* *βəsər-i:* dem-n-a
 house meat-nom go-pl-impf
 'Will go to meat shop'

As one can see from the example above (11) to (13), the structure of the nouns illustrates a tendency to the Oromiffa pattern. The nouns above in the sentence come from Harari, however, they use Oromiffa morpheme for all grammatical information as it is mentioned in the above examples.

4.3.2 Verb

This study has also examines the insertion of Harari verbs in Oromiffa utterances by code-switching. Oromo verbs consist of a stem and suffixes, representing person, gender, number, tense-aspect, mood, and voice. Verb is one of the content words that are observed in the Oromiffa-Harari code-switching. Let us see the following examples.

(14) ... adderi:ŋa fi oromiffa *a-sana-χ*
 harari and oromo I-speak-1ms
 'I speak Harari and Oromo'

(15) ...jimma Halima *yi-zayid-al* mo kən-fat'uma call-a?
 chat halima foc-better-aux or of-fat'uma better-impf
 'Is it Halima's or Fatima's chat better?'

(16) ...kən halima rəχijf-a... *an* Halima *zat'* j imma *uddax*
 of Halima cheap-impf...I halima of khat love
 'The Halima one is cheapest, I love of Halima's Khat'

(17) dī:fəma ga:-fə-c-u *i:χəfa-χ*
 Apology to-ask-2ms-impf i-want-1ms
 'I want to ask apology'

Studies have shown that items from the languages that code switching do not occur at random; rather they are guided by the grammatical rules of the languages involved (Chad 2006). In the same way, verbs in Oromiffa-Harari code-switching do not occur at random. They are constrained by the grammatical rules of both Oromiffa and Harari. The code-switching of verbs also does not occur readily as it also happened with nouns. All the Harari verbs in (14), (15), (16) and (17) occur in combination with the auxiliary verbs of Oromiffa and with the appropriate suffixes.

4.3.3 Adjectives

Adjectives are words which describe or modify nouns in a given sentence. In Oromiffa, adjectives agree with the nouns they modify in gender and all nouns and adjectives are marked for number. In the present study, switching of single Harari adjectives is very commonly observed. However, the adjectives of Harari that are presented in the data below always come next to the noun or pronoun they modify.

- (18) man-a *t'it* ke:ss-a jir-a-ana
house-nom small inside-impf live-impf-we
'We live in a small house'

- (19) man-i-ko hula-n *nəcih-intta*
house-nom-my door-nom white-be
'my house door is white'

- (20) kitab-o:-ni haaraya *k'al-intta*
book-pl-nom new expensive-be
'New books are expensive'

- (21) Iss-a man-i-ɕa *k'eh' kətənbəri* man-a jilma-da:
that-impf house-impf-nom red door house-nom wholesaler-is
'That house with red door is a wholesaler's shop'

As shown above, the adjectival agreement patterns in Oromiffa-Harari code switching follows the Oromiffa word order. However, the placement of the attributive adjective is different in Harari languages. In Harari the unmarked position for adjectives is post-nominal, while in Oromiffa it is pre-nominal. This is illustrated in (18), (19) and (20). In addition, as shown in (21), sometimes Harari adjectives may have the Harari's adjective plus adjective form.

4.4 Constraints

In the study of code-switching, constraints is one of the areas that are usually addressed. According to Berk-Seligson, (1986), in recent years, research has increasingly pointed towards the universality of three linguistic constraints of code-switching: (1) an equivalence of structure constraint, (2) a size-of-constituent constraint, and (3) a free morpheme constraint. However, in the present study a size-of-constituent constraint and free morpheme constraints are covered.

4.5 The Size-Of-Constituent Constraint

The size-of-constituent constraint says that higher-level constituents such as sentences tend to be switched more frequently than lower-level constituents or smaller ones (Gumperz&Hemrnndez-Chaivez1975; Poplack 1980). This

constraint, in turn, derives from the more general constraint which says that code-switches occur primarily at phrase structure boundaries (Hasselmo 1970). As indicated below, in the Oromiffa-Harari code-switching sentence and clause level switching is a common phenomenon.

The interaction which is to be analyzed below takes place in one of the participant's residence during an Oromo wedding ceremony on a weekend. The elderly participants were giving blessings to the bride and bride-groom while the conversation was being taped. However, during most of the conversation stated below, it was only the elderly people who were speaking. The bride and bride-groom were responding only by saying "Amen"

- (22) *məʃɑ-Allah* *ijə-nəm-a-irra* *sin-ha-eg-u...* *ak'oməs-χ-u...*
 praise-allah eye-man-impf-on you-let-protect-impf beautiful-3pl-impf

wulədu-ma *wəji-n* *guddiss-a,*
 give birth-and together-3pl raise-impf

məsəbe *abord-u* *wəji-n* *dulom-a:*
 together raise-impf together-3pl old-impf

'Praise God, and God protect you from wickedness...wish your lifelong marriage with children...wish you prosperity'

(23) mafa-allah, allah *ahad* *yuf̣-χ-u...*
 Praise -allah allah one make-3pl-impf
aʒ-o-w *din̩ati-be* *aʒ-e-w* *walidi-be*
 him-2ms-impf wealth-nom her-2fs-impf child-nom
 wəʒi-n sin-ha-χən-u....
 Together-3pl you-let-give-impf

‘Praise God, let God make you one and the same...let him provide you lots of wealth and children.....let him protect you from evil....wish you more wealth and health’

The below conversation was also taped during an interview held with one of the participants.

(24) *Meme aʒ-o america-be-ɪntta yi-nebr-i-zal..*
 no him-2ms america-nom-be foc-live-pf-aux
ɑci-ti dələg-e malləqa na-erig-a...
 there-in work-pf money for me-send-impf
amət-i-bem ko:t amet-i-bem yi-dij-a-zal weqit-i hal-a.
 year-pf-in two year-pf-in foc-come-impf-aux period-pf have-impf
 amma-mo asumə-ti gəl-e herum-e jir-a-ɕu fed-a...
 now-but here-pf move-pf merry-pf live-impf-2ps want-impf

allah bay-a-gir...

allah say-impf-so

'He lives in the United States...he work there and send me money from there...he visits me once in a year and sometimes every two years...if God allows, he now planes to come home and get married.

Researches consistently have shown that frequent inter-sentential code-switching is associated with high bilingual ability, whereas use of inter-sentential switching is associated with non-fluency or dominance in one language over another (Poplack 1980, 1981). These finding shows inter-sentential switching that occurs at the phrase and sentence level, which is related to the domination of the matrix language. As shown above in (22) and (23) the switching occur high frequency. In (24), the switching occurs at lower-level constituents i.e. at the clause level.

4.6 Free Morpheme Constraints

Zelalem (2012) referring to Poplack (1980) said that linguistic switching can occur as a result of the free morpheme constraint as in the following examples;

- (25) *ay-o:ta*
mother-pl
'Mothers'
- (26) *abby-o:ta*
sister-pl
'Sisters'
- (27) *məriŋ-o:ta*
friend-pl
'Friends'
- (28) *bəsər-irra*
meat-on
'On meat'

As we can see from the data above Oromiffa-Harari code-switching is possible with an Oromiffa bound morpheme is attached to Harari free morpheme but not vice versa, all the Harari forms are free morphemes. As the data indicated, it is not common practices to attach a free morpheme from the matrix language which is Oromiffa as no one would say the following;

- o:ta-abby
pl-sister
- o:ta-meriŋ
pl-friend

As one can see from the above forms, the free morpheme constraint in Oromiffa-Harari code-switching applies quite strictly.

4.7 Code-Switching and Social Meaning

The following data presentation is done based on Gumperz' (1982) seminal work that has described six functions of code-switching: Quotation (a quote is code-switched), Addressee specification (a code-switched message aims at a particular/different addressee), Interjection (an interjection is code-switched), Repetition (a code-switched message repeats what has just been said), Message qualification (i.e. a code-switched message elaborates what has been said), Personification or objectification (a code-switched message implies a "personal" or "objective" tone).

4.7.1 Direct Quotation

Direct quotation refers to a report of exact words of an author or speaker. One of the most recurrent functions of code-switching, as stated by Goffman, (1974) is

quotation. As it is presented below, direct quotation is observed in the Oromiffa-Harari code-switching.

(29) hogu-n iss-i lall-e “*min χan-χi!*” nan-jəɸ-t-e
 when-1ps she-2fs look-pf “what happen-2ms” me-say-2fs-pf
 ‘When I looked at her, she said “what happened”’

(30) ahmed-bər ja:rti-n-sa wəʃin məgalla demm-e
 ahmed-nom wife-nom-his together market went-pf
 ...jarti-n-sa “*gəgəbe at-χu-hun*” jətt-e arəbis-itte
 wife-nom-his “greedy neg-2ps-neg” said-pf insult-2fs

‘Ahmed went to market with his wife and she said “do not be greedy”’

(31) intəll-a adəre təkka jalləɸ-e “*an-um udə-χ-aχ*” nan-ʃə-t-e
 girl-impf harari one love-pf “i-also love-2ms-2msg” me-say-2fs-pf
 ‘...there is Harari girl who I loved and she said “I also love you”’

As shown in the data above, the participants use code-switching to quote the other speaker’s word/phrase. In all the data above, (29), (30) and (31), both the speakers switch back to Oromiffa after quoting a Harari in order to continue the story. Participant’s also observed code-switch to Harari in order to quote the

other person. When quoting, most of the participants change their tone of voice to show emphasis to the quote. The participants use quotation in different situations and circumstances. For instance, in (31) the person uses quotation to show that situation being narrated and the actual response by the speaker of the embedded language.

4.7.2 Interjection

The use of interjection is one of the frequent code-switching observed among the participants. It is also the most frequent type of code-switching observed across the age groups. According to Gumperz (1982), interjection occurs when code switching is used to mark as a sentence filler. He says interjections are expressions of emotion, physical state and agreement that includes words or phrases like; ‘you know’, ‘ok’, well, etc.

Among the various types of interjection, Oromiffa speakers use *haya* and *zigal* as in the following examples.

(32) *haya...* borru kot-t-u
 ok tomorrow come-2ps-impf
 ‘ok come tomorrow’

(33) *zi:gal* hin-god-in
 zigal neg-do-neg
 ‘don not hesitate’

- (34) **Xana** nin-duf-a!
 ok i-come-impf
 ‘ok I will come’

4.8 Words That Have the Same Meanings in the Matrix and Embedded Languages

- (35) **haja** təkɑ-n k’əb-ɑ-fi-n duf-e
 Reason one-for hold-impf-1sg-pp came-pf
 ‘I came for one reason...’

- (36) *haya* yə-χn-i irra-bus-i *haya*
 ok acc-be-pf on-add-impf ok
 ‘Ok! Let it be, but I want you to give me fair quantity’

- (37) *hɪrɑ.r* at-uf-i du:ɑ af-ləfɑχ
 angry neg-do-2fs pray do-3msf
 ‘don’t be angry I will pray for you’

The above words in Italic (*Haja*, *Haya* and *Hi.ra.r*) have the same meaning in both languages. As one can see from the data, interestingly, these words usually occur at the entry point. According to the informants, the source language for these

words are Arabic and according to the English-Arabic dictionary (haja) means *something*, (haya) means *ok* and (*hi.ra.r*) means *angry*.

4.9 Motivation behind Code-Switching

Li Wei (1998) says “the social motivation behind code-switching lies in the way code-switching is structured and managed in conversational interaction” in other words, the question of why code-switching occurs cannot be answered without first addressing the question of how it occurs. And the question of “how it occurs” is answered in this section, where the linguistic and social factors that influence speakers to code-switching are discussed in the data’s presented above.

4.10 Linguistic Factors

Crystal (1987) presented that there are a number of possible reasons for switching from one language to another. The first of these, which Crystal (1987) stated is the notion that a speaker may not be able to express him/herself in one language so he/she switches to the other to compensate for the deficiency. As a result, the speaker may be triggered into speaking in the other language for a while.

In the case of Oromiffa-Harari code-switching, this type of code-switching is a common practice. It mostly occurs when a speaker is upset, tired or distracted in some manner. Observe the following data.

(38) ...*ay-i:-ʒo-w-a!* mali:f tur-e?
 mother-nom-him-2ps-impf why late-pf
 ‘mother...why is he late ’

(39) ...səa bərɕa *huluf* nəra-go-d-e
 time bərɕa pass me-do-2ms-pf
 ‘he make khat time pass on me’

(40) ...*af-ləχa-χ* na-gər-itt-a!
 make-2ms-2ms me-see-1ps-impf
 ‘you will see me! I will make you to pay the price ’

(41) ...*si:nan al-t-lak’i:ɕ!* akkə fett-e god-u dəndes-a
 language neg-2fs-mix like want-pf do-impf can-impf
 ‘don’t exaggerate! You can make it as wish!’

According to Crystal (1987), the second factor for code-switching is that “when an individual wishes to express solidarity with a particular social group”, he/she

code-switches. In the case of Oromiffa-Harari code switching, this factor is also common, particularly in the market place. Observe the following data;

- (42) A (1): *alla!* *nak'fi-liŋ-ka?* *mille* *k'ali* *af-a?*
 o'god! reduce-1ps-impf why expensive make-impf

'O 'God! Please reduce the price to me. Why did you make it expensive?'

- B(1): *t'ut'o-n* *bər* *k'ali-təh-e* *ɟir-a!*
 lemmon-nom but expensive-became-pf axu-impf

abya allay attay let'-u-ma atihebr-u yo-kun si-hin-tan-e
 sister another place go-impf-and ask-impf if-this you-neg-be-pf

'The price for Lemon is high this time! If you don't want to take it, please go and buy it from a different place.'

- (43) A (1): *haya* *yə-χn-i* *irra-bus-i* *haya*
 ok acc-be-impf on-add-impf ok

'Ok! Let it be, but I want you to give me fair quantity'

- B (2): *ya:rəbi* *watt-e* *təss- yələ-χ-u* *nis-u-ma* *let'-u*
 Oh- god here-pf happy-say-3ps-def take-impf-and go-def

'O' my God, here it is... I give you to the satisfactory level'

As one can learn from the above data, the code-switching occurred during the negotiation of the price where a rapport is established between the speaker and the listener when the listener responds with a similar switch.

According to the observation by the researcher and the confirmation of the informants, this type of switching also is used to exclude others from conversations who do not speak the second language. An example of such a situation is observed when two people are in a public transportation in Dire Dawa. Others in the transportation who do not speak the same language were excluded from the conversation and a degree of comfort be felt exist amongst the speakers of the knowledge that not all those present in the bajaj (Taxi) are not included in the conversation.

(44) arra muɕa-n kun *fədiha-mət'* nu-nəqi-n
 today boy-nom this shame-only we-put-3pl
 'This boy..he must not make us fun of others'

(45)*mahaɬəq* *ell-amjətt-e* soda-tt-e
 monay have-neg say-pf fear-2fs-pf
 'Are you scared of that he doesn't have money'

(46) mal-um-a akka nu-gabəz-u k'offa arik-e
 What-kind-impf like we-invite-impf only see-pf

səhak'-be-mət' hin-kuf-in

laugh-is-only foc-fall-nom

'I can't wait to laugh... I'm egger to see what he is going to invite us'

4.11 Syntactic Categories and Frequency Switched Segments

Table 1: Syntactic Categories

Syntactic category of switch	Frequency	
	Occurrence	percentage
Intrasentential:		
(Single) noun	55	15.6%
Noun phrase	33	9.4%
Verb	35	9.9%
Verb phrase	25	7.1%
Pronoun	17	4.8%
Adjective	28	7.9%
Adjectival phrase	22	5.9%
Adverb	20	5.6%
Prepositional phrase	15	4.2%
Interrogative	4	1.1%
Independent clause	12	3.4%
Intersentential:		
Sentence	38	10.8%
Exclamation, idiom, interjection	47	13.3%
Negative and affirmative particles		
Totals	351	100%

Table 1. Syntactic Category and Frequency of Switched Segments out of 351

Among the most prominent findings is the fact that the single most often switched constituent was the noun (comprising 15.6% of all the code-switches; see Table 1 for a summary). This stands to the findings of Gumperz (1976), Poplack (1980), and Wentz (1977), who found the sentence to be the most highly switched constituent, but corroborates the findings of McClure (1977) and Ornstein (1976). The next most frequently switched constituents were the smaller internal sentential ones (namely interjections, idiomatic expressions, and exclamations). Taken together, these comprise 13.3% of all the code-switches. The only other category that accounted for a large portion of the code-switching material was the sentence; this made up 10.8% percent of the code-switches, to be followed in importance by noun phrases, which constituted 9.4 % of the data. Furthermore, large-sized constituents make up 75.7% of all intra sentential code-switches, whereas small-sized constituents comprise 24.2%.

Chapter Five

Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1 Conclusion

Regarding word order, Afan-Oromo is an SOV language. On the other hand Harari follows S-V-O word order. As sentences in the Oromiffa language are constructed based on the S-O-V order and the same way Harari sentences are constructed in the rule of their respective orders language.

In the code-switching of Harari in the Dire Dawa area while speaking Oromiffa, the assumption of Myers-Scotton (1993) is factual. As it is presented in this study, code-switching is a common phenomenon in almost every interaction. Oromiffa speakers in that area, like Myers-Scotton says, share an understanding of the social meanings of each available code.

Zelalem (1998), referring to Gingras (1974: 167) indicated that there is the alternate use of code within a single sentence called intra sentential code-switching and the alternate use of codes between sentences which is called inter sentential code-switching. In the Oromiffa-Harari code-switching, as the data,

the alternate use of code within a single sentence and between sentences should show the unrestricted practice in the case of the two languages.

The data revealed that the Oromiffa-Harari code-switching occurs due to linguistic and social factors that influence speakers to code-switch. Expression of solidarity and the act of excluding others have been observed. In the Oromiffa-Harari code-switching, conversants switch depending on the person being addressed. The implication is that there are patterns which are followed reflecting when it is appropriate to code switch with regard to the addressee and the location. These patterns are the established norms for that particular community and in some cases serve to ensure appropriate language use.

The two main restrictions that are developed by Poplack (1980) and cited in Cook (1991) are not observed in the Oromiffa-Harari code-switching. Poplack's (1980) number one restriction, that is also not observed in the case of Oromiffa-Harari code-switching is switching between a word and its endings unless the word is pronounced as if it were in the language of the ending. Poplack's (1980) other restriction is referred to as the equivalence constraint. This constraint is characterized by the notion that 'the switch can come at a point in the sentence where it does not violate the grammar of either language' (Cook, 1991, pg 65). In

the same way, this restriction is not also observed in the code-switching of Oromiffa-Harari as it doesn't violate the grammar of the two languages.

Examples of code-switching described in the literature were found in the conversations between the participants. These include lexemes, polarity questions, expressions, emotive, phrases at inter-sentential levels. The switches were found to be used as discourse features, i.e. for emphasis, change of topic, and for display of affect. There were observed differences in the code-switching engaged by each of the participants. People, who speak Oromiffa and come from other areas of the country, less bilingual as Harari speakers are not adjacent to the area they come from. In fact, these people report that they are fluent in Oromiffa, they do not switch to Harari when speaking to others. The linguistic data that is gained from these groups reveal that they switch when switching is necessary.

Political interference through deliberate exclusion of other language speakers is also observed among some informants. The data gained from this group reveal that their attitudes towards being bilingual include the belief that mixing other languages shows lack of confidence on one's language. These participants, who restrict code-switching, also show political orientation and keep their languages more distinct in their language use.

5.2 Recommendation

The present study only focuses on the code-switching of Oromiffa-Harari. However, as the data show, in A(1) and B(2), there are numerous individuals among the speech community that speak, Oromiffa, Harari, Somali and in some cases Arabic. And a practice involving the use of more than one language is a common practice in that particular area. Therefore, the speech community is multilingual. In line with that, code-switching of the remaining languages such as Oromiffa-Somali and Oromiffa-Somali-Arabic is recommended to be investigated in the future research to see the pattern of code-switching and the factors behind.

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Annex 1: Check List of Questions for Semi-Structured Interview

1. Demographic Data

Name.....Sex.....Age.....kebele.....

Education Status.....

2. Language status and language use

2.1 What is your mother-tongue?

2.2 How many languages do you speak?

2.3 What is the major or dominant language in this area?

2.4 What is the medium of instruction in this area?

3. Code switching Related Points

3.1 List some of the Harari terms/words that are mostly used in your dialogue?

3.2 Which Harari words are used to express your anger and emotion while you are speaking Oromiffa?

3.3 Which Harari words are used to express praise and gratitude during Oromiffa conversation?

4. Where do you use or practice code switching?

5. Is there difference in the use of the two languages (Oromo and Harari) back and forth among age or sex group? If yes, state for each.

6. What is your perception about code switching? Is it good or bad?

7. Do you think there is any danger of code switching for your language?

8. What do you think is the reason for code switching?

9. Which speech community is more privileged, Oromo or Harari, because of the language?

Annex 2: Focus group questions

1. How do you manage your language use in the market place during bargaining? Is there the use of only one code that is the Oromiffa or Harari or is there a mixture of the two?
2. When do you mostly code-switch and why?
3. Why you think you code-switch from Oromiffa to Harari
4. Is it important to code-switch in the market, home and the neighborhood?
5. What do you think or how do you feel about this?
6. How do you feel about the children having this balance or even imbalance in their language use?
7. What do you think non-Oromiffa speakers might think about your switching codes or languages?

Annex 3: List of Key informants

The following are Key informant of the research who are selected based of Tremblay's (1957: 690) key informants are as follows;

1. Ms. Aisha Selah
2. Ms. Safia Ali
3. Mr. Ramadan Ali
4. Ms. Munira Abdulle
5. Mr. Nebil Adus
6. Ms. Iman Anwer
7. Ms. Ayan Ahmed
8. Mr. Behar Ibrahim
9. Ms. Rewuda Abbas
10. Ms. Hindia Abbas
11. Mr. Abdurezaq Hessen
12. Mr. Abdi Haji
13. Ms Iman Ali
14. Mr. Ibsa kemal
15. Mr. Arif Mubarek
16. Mr. Ediris Yonis
17. Mr. Aziza Ahmed
18. Ms. Faxuma Mume
19. Ms. Kedija Yahiya
20. Mr. Mohammed Abdella

Annex 4: Consent Form, FGD

I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I am informed and understood the information about the objective of the study on Oromiffa/Harari code-switching	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study and my participation.	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the Focus Group Discussion.	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalized for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. use of names, anonymity of data, etc.) to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.	Audio, video and other forms of data collection have been explained to me	<input type="checkbox"/>
7.	The use of the data in research and archiving has been explained to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>
8.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	<input type="checkbox"/>

9.	Select only one of the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I would like my name used and understand what I have said or written as part of this study will be used in this study • I do not want my name used in this project. 	<input type="checkbox"/>
		<input type="checkbox"/>
10.	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	<input type="checkbox"/>

Participant:

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

Researcher:

Name of Researcher

Signature

Date

Annex 5: Pictures taken during data gathering



Figure 2: Market place where the code-switching mostly observed



Figure 3: Market place where the code-switching mostly observed



Figure 4: individual interview during Khat ceremony



Figure 5: individual interview with 85 years old women



Figure 6: *Aras Mewucha*, the ceremony where the newly mother get traditional blessing



Figure 7: One of the focus group discussions conducted for data collection

Annex 6 Elan Project