PROFILES OF MULTILINGUALISM IN KAMPALA: AN ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHIES AND LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

By

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Dissertation presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in General Linguistics
in the faculty of
Arts and Social Sciences
at
Stellenbosch University

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March 2016

DECLARATION

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my three children who persevered staying without mummy for months as I was away for studies. I pray that they have the charisma to persevere even more challenges to achieve great goals in life.

ABSTRACT

This is a sociolinguistic study that investigates the language biographies and repertoires that underpin the kinds of linguistic knowledge students in Kampala, Uganda have acquired by the time they enter university. The study relates such biographies and repertoires to the status of the various languages represented in the study. The concepts of 'multilingualism' and 'linguistic repertoire' are central to this study as they are relevant to multilingual African communities where a wide variety of indigenous languages are recorded. The study highlights the difficulties of applying standard definitions of these concepts to speakers and communities in countries that have a highly mobile multilingual population. Insight into the linguistic resources students bring to the tertiary classroom could assist in explaining much of the communicative practices encountered among multilingual students, and in developing their linguistic resources for adequate use in academic and professional domains.

An overarching objective of this research is to characterise the nature of multilingualism(s) of selected students at a Ugandan university. It also considers how their language biographies gave rise to and shaped their linguistic repertoires, and it shows how these are related to the status of different languages in local communities. The project recorded manifestations of multilingualism among University students in Kampala, investigated how various skills associated with the respective repertoires developed, and analysed how language biographies and linguistic repertoires disclose particular effects of different languages with different kinds of status in Uganda.

Research data of three kinds was collected among a group of students at Makerere University, namely (i) meta-data and biographical information for which a questionnaire was used, (ii) multimodal figures in the form of coloured body shapes which participants annotated, and (iii) narratives of a selected number of participants, speakers of different L1s, collected in interviews. The triangulation of data provided by these instruments gave a holistic image of the individuals as social actors, and of the languages they use in the different social contexts in which they enact their lives.

The findings of the study give an impression of the variety of languages represented amongst a sample of University students in an urban, tertiary educational setting. It also gives an indication of the mobility of the participants, which had an effect on when and how their

linguistic repertoires were acquired. Perceptions of and attitudes towards the official and indigenous languages including their home languages have been recorded. Informally assigned status of the languages in the country has emerged as part of the detailed profile of the multilingualism of the participants. The study indicates that many conventional definitions of 'multilingualism' and how it manifests in individual and community language practices need to be revised to fit linguistic realities as they exist in an African community such as in the urban setting of Kampala.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to greatly honour and praise the almighty God who allowed for this opportunity to materialize. He has seen me through all the challenges both academic and social making it possible for me to persevere and overcome all the stumbling blocks. My God is awesome.

Secondly, I express my gratitude to the Graduate School of Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences for granting me a scholarship that enabled to me pursue this PhD. The Director of the Graduate School, Dr. Cindy Steenkamp, thank you for all that you are and all that you do. Then to my two supervisors: Prof. Christine Anthonissen and Dr. OndeneVan Dulm, thank you for aiding the progress and success of this research and for enhancing my academic growth. Your guidance helped me to learn so much in the field of 'multilingualism' which is very pertinent in understanding my own local environment, and in enhancing my research and teaching career at university. I must acknowledge how much you made me improve my academic style. Thank you my supervisors.

Thirdly, I wish to appreciate my dear little ones. My children Melvin, Ethan and baby Katrina are my stars shining so bright upon my progress. These gave their best support as children by keeping strong at all times and praying for me every day while I was away from them for many months. May God shower their lives with unending blessings.

To all my friends, in and out of Stellenbosch, you motivated and assisted me in different ways. I cannot mention names because you are quite a number. For all of you my friends who were there for me, may you find favour in all your endeavours ahead and may you prosper where you need to.

Lastly, I thank my parents and siblings who kept the communication flowing at all times. You made loneliness a myth for most of the time and kept me going on. Thank you Mr. Matovu Daniel for taking care of the little ones as I pursued this PhD. May God reward you.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACALAN: African Academy of Languages

L1:   First language

L2:   Second Language

L1s: First languages

Lotl: Language of teaching and learning

MT: Mother Tongue

SIL: Summer Institute of Linguistics

SLA: Second Language Acquisition

UBOS: Uganda Bureau of Statistics

UNESCO: United Nations Educational Scientific Organisation

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0   INTRODUCTION

This is a sociolinguistic study which topicalizes the concepts of 'multilingualism' and 'linguistic repertoire' with a view to investigating how these concepts are relevant to multilingual African communities where a wide variety of indigenous languages are recorded. The study highlights the difficulties of applying standard definitions of these concepts to speakers and communities in countries that are highly multilingual. To understand the phenomenon of multilingualism in a Ugandan urban community, besides referring to existing knowledge given in a series of different studies, information was gathered from a sample of students at a university in Kampala. The linguistic repertoires and language biographies of the students are used to draw an authentic picture of what kinds of repertoires occur, how they developed and how they are likely to challenge concepts standardly used in sociolinguistic literature.

Rationale of the study

Individuals often find themselves in domains and communities where they cannot use the languages of their closest social setting, such as their home language or the language of the rural village. In such a case, according to Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005:205) "the local language is not exportable; it is a low mobility resource". To comfortably cope with communicative and interactional needs of a new, wider community, speakers tend to learn new languages. Therefore societal structures have a recognisable influence on linguistic repertoires and the related communicative practices (Cruz-Ferreira, 2010; Pennycook, 2010). Learning a new language is usually a quest to expand one's repertoire to suit new communicative contexts.

It is important to take into account what recent studies have indicated, that societal multilingualism does not necessarily lead to individuals developing full competence in each of the languages in question (Edwards, 1994; Blommaert et al., 2005; Aronin & Huffeisen, 2009). This study will investigate the sociolinguistic context that underlies variation in linguistic competences of different languages which individuals acquire in a multilingual African city, as well as the related communicative practices. In drawing the multilingual

profiles of selected students this study sets out to gain insight into the intrinsic nature of phenomena related to multilingual language use within an urban university community.

The study therefore espouses the sociolinguistic conceptions of 'multilingualism', and the notion of 'linguistic repertoire'. The study relies on the compilation of language biographies of university students to analyse their disclosures about aspects of multilingual contexts that accompany naturalistic additional language learning and use. It will eventually, on the basis of the data, draw some conclusions on the peculiarity of language varieties in the repertoires found in such "superdiverse" communities.

Context of the study

The study was conducted in Kampala the capital city of Uganda, and it was specifically carried out among students of Linguistics at Makerere University. Such a site and selection of participants for a qualitative study, gives an opportunity to investigate a cross-section of speakers of different first languages (L1s), and also the ability to suitably control the range of variables.

The population in Kampala comprises speakers of various local (indigenous) languages. Although Luganda is the most widely spoken (UBOS, 2002), individuals are exposed to a number of languages on a daily basis in different social contexts. Since Kampala is the main centre for education, business and administration, it attracts speakers of all languages from across Uganda, and from several other parts of the world . This societal multilingualism necessarily has an effect on language practices as people negotiate ways to cope with the diversity that surrounds them.

One of the ways to cope is through the use of English which is an official language and a lingua franca (Mukama, 2009). For instance, in Ugandan schools generally, the learners are introduced to English which is taught as a principal subject, and which becomes the main language of instruction[1] as from the fourth year of primary school. This is presumed to provide conditions that are relatively favourable for the development of good proficiency in English. Learners are expected to use English in all their academic engagements and their linguistic performance is always taken note of and even seriously critiqued in class work.

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[1] Altinyelken (2010) reports that the policy of Mother Tongue Education in Uganda was implemented officially in 2006. Before 2006, English was the only medium of instruction as from year 1. This means that students currently studying at university did not go through any period of mother tongue instruction.

Still, students' grounding in English is often rated as insufficient (Mukama, 2009), and their academic English skills development appear to be grossly affected when other languages are in play (cf. Brock-Utne, 2009).

The local languages which youngsters encounter in Uganda are, similar to many African countries (Stroud, 2007a; Brock-Utne, 2009; Ouane, 2009), usually acquired without any formal support. Knowledge of local languages is mostly limited to spoken competence which is developed and used for regular, informal social communicative purposes. This study therefore attends to the effect university students' multilingualism has on their language practices, also with attention to the position of English in education within this context.

1.1   STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The students who register for Linguistics and other language programmes at Makerere University typically know a number of languages, and they express confidence that they can quite easily cross boundaries between different languages as the needs arise. However, it has been observed that such confidence does not always coincide with the skills exhibited in academic and professional work.

The problem to be investigated therefore is the intricate nature of repertoires of participants, gauging the kind of language knowledge that they have. It considers how this knowledge is built and how it is put to use in different communicative contexts. An investigation of the kinds of linguistic repertoires university students possess and the social trajectories also referred to as their language biographies, which bring about these repertoires, is aimed at discovering circumstances that underpin the kinds of linguistic knowledge Ugandan students acquire by the time they get to university. The investigation then relates the biographies and repertoires to the status of the various languages represented in the sample of participants.

All the above is expected to guide the understanding of linguistic resources which students bring into the tertiary classroom and the background to developing such resources. Such understanding should facilitate an evaluation of the definitions of 'multilingualism' in relation to the sociolinguistic situation of the students. Although a need to improve the language practices utilised in teaching multilingual students is assumed as requirement to prepare them better for the academic and professional domains in which they need to function, this study does not venture into the matter of skills assessment.

1.2   RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Main research objective

The main objective of the study is to characterise features of multilingualism that a community of university students in Kampala exhibit, and to match this with the existing scholarly definitions of multilingualism.

Specific objectives of the study

The first objective is to study and describe the social backgrounds that surround acquisition and use of different languages that selected students at Makerere University in Kampala know.

The second objective is to study the nature of the linguistic repertoires which the participants in this study possess with a view to gaining insight into their language competences and practices.

The third objective is to consider the ways in which the apparent status of the different languages in Uganda is related to the linguistic biographies and repertoires of the participants. Language status is assumed to be an important aspect in determining the multilingual profiles of speakers, and as a likely predictor of future linguistic assimilation.

1.3   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study will be guided by the following set of questions:

a) What language biographies are associated with the linguistic profiles of students at Makerere University in Kampala?

b) What features characterise the linguistic repertoires of the students?

c) What do language repertoires and linguistic biographies disclose regarding the effects of the different kinds of status of different languages in Uganda?

d) What do the new insights on linguistic repertoires and status of languages suggest regarding definitions of 'multilingualism'?

The study will provide:

1. An overview of previous studies on social and individual multilingualism**.** This will not be an exhaustive description of all the work done on 'multilingualism', but it covers some of the key publications that set the benchmarks for this field of linguistic research. The study will trace how 'multilingualism' has been defined and what the underlying social perceptions and linguistic/sociolinguistic theories are, that accompany the various definitions and studies in which such definitions have been used.

2. An assessment of the various conceptions of 'multilingualism' relevant to the kinds of multilingualism encountered among young adults at university in Kampala. In relation to this, the language biographies and the linguistic repertoires of students who study Translation in the Department of Linguistics, English Language Studies and Communication Skills, are traced with a view to (i) profiling the language diversity and the characteristic language practices of this community of speakers, and (ii) matching the multilingual profiles of this group to the conceptualizations of 'multilingualism' that scholars currently employ in multilingual studies.

3. Insight into how the status of various Ugandan languages co-determines the position these languages have in the repertoires of students whose biographies show either knowledge of or contact with such languages.

The multilingual profiles compiled in this study reflect pertinent aspects of the dynamics of multilingual language development, language awareness and language use among young adults studying Linguistics at the University. The profiles also give reference to the different social communities which these individuals have participated in, and the social practices they have engaged in, as advocated by Wenger (1998) and Pennycook (2010). According to Busch (2012) these practices form the complex process of developing the linguistic repertoires in which this study is interested.

1.4   THEORETICAL POINTS OF DEPARTURE

There has been a lot of theorising about multilingualism and multilingual practices around the world. Recent criticism however is that the available studies are based on generalizations from monolingual perspectives which fit the original context of the authors (cf. Jessner, 2008; Ortega, 2009). The descriptions of multilingualism in different parts of the world appear

mostly to have a European outlook that is strongly grounded in monolingual ideology that does not recognise how language is embedded in localised social processes.

Researchers like Kemp (2009) and Aronin and Singleton (2010b / 2012) have argued that multilingualism is diverse and dynamic. Moreover multilingualism is not static, but it is a phenomenon that transforms through time. Referring to the dynamics of the 19th century, where industrialization and associated migration were social realities, to explain current multilingualism, particularly in less or non-industrialized countries such as many in Africa, is superficial. The specific details of each sociolinguistic context impact a lot on the language practices of individuals and need to be calculated into current conceptualizations of multilingualism.

Thus there is need for research that takes micro social processes and practices into consideration. This will do better justice to the diversity that actually characterises language development and language use among individuals in different communities. Therefore this study utilizes the frameworks of 'Language as local practice' by Pennycook (2010) and 'Communities of practice' by Wenger (1998) to interpret the social connections and constructions that surround multilingual practices observed and recorded in the data.

1.4.1 Defining multilingualism

Researchers from different fields of language study and different social backgrounds view 'multilingualism' differently. Also, different researchers have different objectives in studying multilingual societies. These differences have consistently brought about different conceptualizations of 'multilingualism' and have been the cause of much debate.

There are two major distinctions widely maintained in investigating multilingualism. On one hand multilingualism is viewed in terms of a society where several languages exist within a single community. On the other hand, it is defined in terms of individuals having competences in a number of languages. Therefore there are two dimensions of multilingualism that are constantly in play, namely societal multilingualism and individual multilingualism. These dimensions are shaped by a number of sociolinguistic features. Individual multilingualism is shaped by social factors such as migration for work, school, marriage, etc. Such migration leads to increased, complexity in the composition of communities, complexity in human contact and language contact. The diversity in different social contexts affects individual and societal communicative practices, which obliges a rethinking of definitions that fit

individuals' linguistic configurations and how these are put to use. The notion of 'linguistic repertoire' has been helpful in studies of multilingualism (cf. Makoni & Mashiri, 2007:87) as it encapsulated the existence and inclusion of varying components in the different configurations that we come across.

For this reason the current study has an interest in definitions that reflect the sociolinguistic complexity and diversity that multilingual practices resonate with. 'Multilingualism' is not determined merely by the number of languages that a speaker knows or that a community exhibits.

1.4.2   A brief overview of studies on multilingualism

Although chapter three will deal more elaborately with the concept of 'multilingualism' as theme in research, here an introduction is given with a view to setting the scene for this particular study.

When one considers linguistic competences and communication in the modern world multilingualism in communities is the norm. This is particularly true in African countries where society is characterised by high linguistic diversity (Edwards, 1994; Ouane & Glanz, 2010).

Multilingualism in African countries presents as a complex linguistic dispensation characterised by complex linguistic configurations and language practices, such as, code-switching/mixing (Myers-Scotton, 1992/ 1993). New knowledge of these language practices has in many ways challenged formerly accepted definitions of concepts, such as, 'language', 'dialect', and the notion of 'knowing a language' (Harmon & Wilson, 2006; Lüdi, 2007; Blommaert, 2010). For instance, Haugen (1997:341) refers to the way 'language' and 'dialect' are often distinguished by imposing a "neat opposition" between the two terms even where a continuum exists. This is reiterated by Banda (2009:3) who observes that this is particularly evident among African languages.

As observed by several researchers, such as, Heller (2007a), Lüdi (2007), Pennycook (2007), Kemp (2009), Aronin & Singleton (2010b), the traditional definitions that have served linguistic studies for so long do not sufficiently cover the intricacies of what has recently become clear about knowledge of multiple languages and practices that are prevalent in multilingual communities. Researchers have therefore advocated for new approaches to the

phenomena typically encountered; such approaches need to accommodate the knowledge and practices of language observed in multilingual communities around the world. In light of this, Aronin & Singleton (2010b:106), for instance, acknowledge the widely registered need to investigate the nature and manifestations of language diversity as a starting point to conceptualising multilingualism.

Globalisation of the past decades has drawn attention to new and changing patterns of multilingualism in the world. This has attracted increased and more dedicated research into, and appreciation of multilingual practices – also in Africa where multilingual communities are no new phenomenon. There is currently greater awareness than there was 20 – 30 years ago of the complexity of speech communities and the ways in which people encounter, learn and use various languages. For instance, phenomena, such as code-switching, which are typically associated with multilingualism, are currently seen not as indicators of language deficiency, but as regular, systematic ways of dealing with multiple languages in communication (cf. Myers-Scotton, 1993/1995; Milroy & Muysken, 1995). Thus the monolingual ideology has been largely challenged.

Nevertheless, much still remains to be done in investigating language use in twenty first century societies. As Cruz-Ferreira (2010) suggests, there is a need to understand and explain multilingual language use in terms of multilingual norms. This particularly concerns multilingualism in African communities where knowledge of a variety of languages and vernaculars is a feature not only of immigrant communities, but of the majority of the indigenous population.

Considering the above mentioned background, Grosjean (2008) and Ortega (2009) report that most language studies on bilingual and multilingual practices have been carried out by linguists from primarily monolingual societies whose view on "knowing a language", has been based on structural knowledge which assumes (or expects) full command of the grammar of a language system and emphasizes correctness as language learning goals, and often also as prerequisites to communicative success.

Many studies on natural language acquisition were only interested in 'mother tongue' acquisition, and individuals were believed to have a singular (cf. Banda, 2009:2; Ortega, 2009:3) mother tongue (MT) or first language (L1), which was directly linked to identity (Meyer & Apfelbaum, 2010; Heller, 2012). Learning another language, that is, a second

language (L2), was treated as only achieved through unnatural means in formal instruction. The focus then was largely on foreign language learning since the studies were carried out among immigrant communities that needed to learn official languages of host communities. This was the basis of an earlier understanding of developing 'bilingualism' (cf. Edwards, 1994). Early studies on bilingualism therefore assumed knowledge of one natural, and one instructed language system (cf. Brock-Utne, 2009), though later they came to cover any knowledge of more than one language system. Consequently multilingualism was at first subsumed under bilingualism.

As authors like Mackey (1968), Grosjean (1982) and Heller (2007) demonstrate, early definitions of 'bilingualism' assumed full knowledge of separate language systems and anything less than full command was considered a language deficiencJessner (2008:15) adds that multilinguals were for long regarded as incapacitated in their various languages. Indeed Meyer & Apfelbaum (2010), Heller (2012) lament that multilingualism was for long regarded as a deficient linguistic configuration due to its deviant nature if related to traditionally accepted conceptualizations of 'competency', and its operation with language practices that flouted the existing norms. These perspectives form the foundations of studies in multilingualism, though recent research has changed much of this.

According to Aronin and Huffeisen (2009:2), multilingualism as distinguished from bilingualism is a realisation of the peculiar and multifaceted nature of multiple language acquisition and the use of multiple languages (cf. Hammarberg, 2010). This study follows suggestions of scholars such as Blommaert et al. (2005), Blackledge & Creese (2010) and Pennycook (2010) and who argue that distinctions between knowledge and use of two languages as opposed to more languages, are mostly based on immaterial differences. These scholars contend that it is important to question how people use language in society, with much less attention to how fluent they are in using the specific language systems that form part of their repertoire.

In concert with Fardon & Funiss (1994), Ouane (2009) and Prah (2009), Blommaert (2010) observes that in Africa and Asia where there is high linguistic diversity, and where the awareness of (if not proficiency in) multiple languages is widespread, individuals operate with various communicative forms that are not exactly full languages. This however does not result in confusion or complete communicative breakdown; but rather it displays a dynamic means of survival through language practices that exploit and manipulate diversity.

Blommaert (2010) observes that multilingual configurations and the novel trends of language practices are not just about languages as systems, but about people and societal processes such as migration and globalization that have caused tight contact among individuals, communities and languages.

In trying to address the above, there are several appeals to include social practices and perspectives into language studies (Fairclough, 1989; Kroskrity, 2000). Accordingly, there is advocacy towards considering multilingualism as a social phenomenon that transcends developing knowledge and use of the grammatical structure of various languages (Cruz-Ferreira, 2010; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Lüdi, Hochle & Yanaprasart, 2010).

Some researchers such as Aronin & Singleton (2010b) and Cenoz & Gorter (2010) have emphasised and discussed the diversity of multilingualism both in general societal terms and in specific operational institutions such as education. For instance, in Canada and Switzerland societal multilingualism is institutional (constitutional) where particular provinces officially use particular languages while a sizeable portion of the population is monolingual. In African countries societal multilingualism is not legislated, and various forms of multilingualism materialise in different ways, depending on the region and local population. In European countries individual multilingualism is typically a product of formal schooling which still more or less emphasizes knowledge of full and standard languages (cf. Jessner, 2008). In African countries, on the other hand, individual multilingualism starts within the microcosms of society – in the families and neighbourhoods (cf. Ngugi, 1972; Ouane, 2009; Prah, 2009). Therefore, it is largely regarded as natural and domestic. Accordingly, the multilingual practices in first world systems as opposed to African contexts, present clear distinctions - different kinds of individual and societal multilingualism cannot be ignored for their role in designing language configurations of individuals and individuals' communication patterns.

The diversity of forms in which multilingualism presents poses a major challenge to defining 'multilingualism' and finding suitable terms for related practices. This explains the variety of terms in which reference is made to the phenomenon, such as "polylingualism", "plurilingualism", "metrolingualism" and others (cf. Kemp, 2009, Martin-Jones, Blackledge & Creese, 2012; Weber & Horner, 2012). The various terms often emphasise different aspects of scholarly interest in an attempt to refine ways of thinking about multilingualism. However, the distinctions are not necessarily helpful and tend to overlap reference and sense.

This study takes into consideration the diversity in manifestations of multilingualism in individuals and in society. It recognises the need, as advocated by Aronin & Singleton (2010b:110) and Cruz-Ferreira (2010:1), for properly contextualised studies of the phenomenon (cf. Kemp, 2009). The concept 'contextual' here does not refer simply to geographical location of multilingual practices, but it also incorporates consideration of the dynamic spaces in which different experiences of multilingualism are enacted (cf. Pennycook, 2010).

This study is placed within the social setting of a university in Kampala, Uganda, where the intricate and dynamic nature of multilingualism at a higher education institution in an African city is evident. Within a research framework that accommodates social practice as an integral part of language study (Heller, 1995) and which particularly emphasizes local practice (Pennycook, 2010), language is considered as produced by individuals through their repeated activities of communication (Agha, 2007; Pennycook, 2007/2010) in specific communities where they are participants. In addition, language is perceived as generated for utilization by human beings to negotiate and construct meaning within different social contexts that offer different conditions for interaction (Pennycook, 2010:6). Concepts related to social action, such as 'agency', 'identity', 'practice', 'negotiation', 'construction', which are vital in discussing language and language use in multilingual communities are introduced where they prove relevant to the study.

1.4.3   Urban multilingualism illustrated at a University in Kampala

Urban multilingualism is a common phenomenon in the world (Edwards, 1994; Paulston, 1994; Heller, 2012) and is the norm in Africa (Ouane, 2009). Kampala City in Uganda is no exception - the city is a site where several languages, both indigenous and foreign, are used in virtually all social domains.

At the university in Kampala students' linguistic knowledge and practices illustrate the complexity of urban multilingualism of many African countries. Besides English, which is the medium of instruction, it is highly likely that all of the more than 40 languages used in Uganda are represented in the university community, as this is the centre to which people come from all over the country with a view to acquiring advanced educational qualifications. The students come from different language backgrounds with peculiar linguistic repertoires that they develop through their divergent and dynamic social trajectories. Within the

university, the convergence of several languages and language practices accounts for a highly diverse linguistic environment. In this environment, students' language practices exhibit a variation in the application of different languages in various contexts and for different purposes.

Within such a situation there is persistent concern that the English language skills required for students' academic and professional work are insufficiently developed. To exacerbate this, there is an impression that in this context students' skills in languages other than English (Language of teaching and learning) do not serve them better than their English proficiency. In spite of such perceived proficiency difficulties of multilingual students, there is limited research on the acquisition, awareness and use of multiple languages among young adults in this particular kind of setting. In Uganda, such a study has not been carried out before.

This dissertation therefore focuses on the nature of multilingualism of a selected group of students enrolled at a university in Kampala, considering their biographies and repertoires so as to enlighten us on salient characterising features of language development, linguistic competence[2] and language use of such a population.

This study refers to the conceptions of 'multilingualism' that are relevant to this linguistic community, and particularly to how patterns of multilingualism in a linguistically diverse population, such as is evident at a university in Kampala, (mis)match the definitions that have been developed and used in other sociolinguistic research.

1.4.4   Language as local practice

Given the above background, this study utilizes the framework of language as local practice which emphasises and embraces the locality of language and the vitality of social action in language development and use. The framework enables us to visualize language in relation to specific aspects namely, "speakers, histories, cultures, places and ideologies"(Pennycook, 2010:6) that are imbedded in, and crucial to the formation of multilingual repertoires (cf. Blommaert, 2010; Busch, 2012).

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[2] 'Competence' is used in this study, to refer to levels of development of particular resources in a person's repertoire other than mere formal knowledge of rules of grammar of a particular language system (Ludi, 2007; Blommaert, 2010). Competences are thus developed with sensitivity to situations of usage and are directed towards achieving particular communicative needs.

In analysing language as local practice, the framework responds to the several suggestions to include social environments and perspectives in language study. Current research reveals that these environments and perspectives have a close relationship to the language practices of individuals in specific communities. This framework makes two claims that are relevant to this research namely; language is local and language is practice.

By language being local, it means that language is an aspect of "deeply social and cultural activities in which people engage" (Pennycook, 2010:1). Therefore, in order to understand realities of language there is need to consider the deeply rooted activities that are particular to communities.

Locality also implies that language matters are always mediated by time (Blommaert et al., 2005). Multilingualism demonstrates social trajectories of individuals formed by histories of belonging to different communities at different times. Time is therefore important because it indicates the evolution of social conditions that individual's experience. These conditions include those that affect individuals' language practices such as environments, ideologies, social activities and people. Therefore in this framework language is considered as a dynamic and not as a fixed object. The time factor brings about specificity and difference in language practices and is therefore an important aspect in characterising multilingualism of communities, but more specifically of individuals.

With this view this framework of language as local practice responds to the call to attend to peculiarities of multilingualism especially because areas with high language diversity offer peculiar conditions for language acquisition and use from those which are not highly diverse.

Whereas Duranti (1997) humans use language to construct meaning of the world around them, Halliday (1997) maintains that language is only useful when it can be used to negotiate and convey meaning in real communication situations. This is so because, as Pennycook (2010:2) recognises, language practices play a pivotal role in the organisation of social environments. Language is thus an active practice that is acted out in specific environments and is conditioned by those environments. Therefore, the way individuals acquire and use language(s) is dependent on the prevailing social environment which underpins these languages.

While language is not fixed to a specific geographical location, it is conditioned by a specific community of people who use it in a way that makes meaning to them. Therefore 'place' in

this context is not merely interpreted as geographical location but the space in which social activity takes place such as school or the work place. Consequently, we see language not as a pre-existing tool but as constructed by communities of speakers through their linguistic activities as a means of communication that is meaningful to a particular community (cf. Blommaert, 2010:101).

The grammar of such language is also not pre-existing, but is constructed through the community's repeated linguistic activity (Pennycook, 2010:9). Therefore standardized systems which emphasize language as an abstract object are also challenged since as suggested by Pennycook (2007/2010), standard forms are drawn from sedimented language practices that have been used repeatedly over time such that they become concrete features of specific practices. And indeed standardization is challenged by the fact that language evolves.

Language as practice implies that language is a social activity (Pennycook, 2010:8), that humans engage in. The languages that different individuals know, and how they know them are constructed during their social participation and as they engage in different activities that involve language. This argument provides support for the compilation and investigation of language biographies of individuals whose 'language' is under investigation in the current study. to gain indepth understanding of their engagements in specific activities and communities.

In understanding language status, language ideologies come into focus and are pertinent in this study. Language ideologies may be defined as cultural sets of ideas (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994) that are socially developed and oriented. In this respect cultural ideas delineate a specific community from other communities. Language as local practice enables us to view language as a carrier of cultural practices of specific communities of which language holds a central position. In this regard, Pennycook (2010:4) asserts that "the local becomes the site of resistance, of tradition, of authenticity, of all that needs to be preserved". This scenario presents language as a means of identity of individuals which identity is perceived in different ways by different individuals both within and outside the culture (Pennycook, 2010:4-5) the culture hence becoming a point of contention on which language practice is bent. Cultural practices provide a solid ground for how individuals value, interpret and use languages, which results in socially conditioned language variation which contradicts standardization norms.

On the other hand, language as local practice makes us view languages as susceptible to different ideologies, and therefore not holding the same positions in all social contexts. Languages are also not necessarily involved in the same social activities in different communities. For example, Kiswahili is a widely spoken language in East Africa, yet it is valued differently in the different countries of the region both constitutionally and socially (cf. Mazrui & Mazrui, 1996). Therefore, ideologies about language are local to specific communities and determine how languages are valued, reacted to and distributed for use in various social domains.

This then justifies the need to study multilingualism of university students in Kampala as a local phenomenon which may or may not match the European perspective on both language and multilingualism. It is the latter perspective and its universality that have governed most of the studies on multilingualism (Blommaert, 2007; Makoni & Mashiri, 2007; Jessner, 2008) and left some unexplained, gaps, which have sparked numerous debates. Language as local practice therefore allows us to study the diverse multilingualisms in their specific realms.

1.4.5   Communities of practice

Language practices are influenced by specific communities of practice that produce the practices and the dynamics of such communities. Wenger (1998:45) alludes to communities of practice as "communities created over time by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise" Accordingly, Wenger (1998:5) asserts that a social theory of learning must include components of social participation as a process of learning and of knowing. The framework of communities of practice has been widely adopted to explain the environments in which social activities and hence learning take place. Communities of practice are not necessarily fixed geographically to a specific location but to specific shared experiences and activities of individuals. Therefore they are fluid and multi-layered.

This framework addresses issues of 'identity', 'learning' and 'community', which are contested in studies about language especially those on multilingualism. In this study these notions are important in explaining patterns of language acquisition and language use.

Following Wenger's (1998:5) definitions of the central concepts,

'Practice' is construed as the "shared historical and social resources, frameworks and perspectives that can sustain mutual engagement in action".

'Community' comprises the "social configurations in which our enterprises are defined as worth pursuing and our participation is recognisable as competence".

'Identity' refers to "how learning changes who we are and creates personal histories of becoming in the context of our communities".

The emphasis in this framework on 'practices' as ways that condition knowledge acquisition and more importantly knowledge production sets learning to be seen as a result of active membership in activities of a community of practice (Wenger, 1998:4). But learning in this approach is also mediated by time and the kinds of activities one engages in. Wenger (1998:48) recognises communities of practice as places where we develop, negotiate and share our understanding of the world. The process of understanding our world is achieved through the use of language. Therefore communities of practice are sites for language development in which individuals, develop, negotiate and share the meaning of the world through their experiences. The process of language development and the product thereof is basically informal. Understanding the realities involved in this process is important in understanding the complexities of multilingualism which involves multiple language learning.

In addition to the above, Wenger presents a community as a space where social activity (practice) takes place. Wenger emphasises that communities of practice are not fixed but rather dynamic. Wenger thus indicates that communities of practice are created by individuals who have a common goal and pursue a common enterprise or in other words engage in a similar activity. He also maintains that individuals participate in various communities of practice in their lifetime. The dynamic nature of communities of practice and their multiplicity in one's lifetime has an effect on the learning process of individuals and their identity formation. Since individuals participate in multiple communities of practices, they also construct multiple identities (Kramsch, 1998; Martin-Jones et al., 2012).

Individuals participate in various communities of practice in their lifetime, which have different processes of engagement that determine the product of the participation. Participation can vary between core and peripheral membership (Moore, 2010) whereby members are either deeply involved in the social activities of a given community or just partially involved in certain aspects respectively. Where there is core participation, learning is also deeper and more concrete than with peripheral participation.

The different social environments we live in at different stages of our lives form our communities of practice. It is therefore pertinent to consider investigating language biographies as one way of studying the communities of practice that shape individuals' 'knowing' in this case knowing of language. Wenger summarises the process of learning as a function of experience (meaning), doing (practice), belonging (community), and becoming (identity). He however does not put an order to these aspects.

All in all, Wenger emphasizes that production of meaning which results into learning is determined by social practice. In other words human beings who are the social actors and the social activities which form their practice are part and parcel of learning.

1.5   CENTRAL CONCEPTS INVESTIGATED IN THIS STUDY

1.5.1   Linguistic biographies

'Language biographies' consist of narratives of individuals' linguistic journeys which disclose what languages they have come in contact with, where and at what stage in life. An analysis of university students' biographies is expected to: (i) provide an explanation of how students respond to the social environments in which they encounter different languages that fulfil different functions (Fischer, 1964; Pavlenko, 2007) (ii) provide insight into students' linguistic repertoires and what motivates related language choices within various social domains (Busch, 2006), and (iii) reveal perspectives of individuals regarding their linguistic resources and the attitudes that co-determine linguistic skills development.

1.5.2   Linguistic repertoire

The notion of 'linguistic repertoire' was introduced by Gumperz in 1964 in his description of the variety of languages and registers that a single speaker is able to use in different contexts and with different functions (cf. Lüdi, 2007; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Lüdi et al., 2010; Busch, 2012). Gumperz (1971:156) later elaborated his definition, noting that a 'repertoire' is not simply composed of idealised linguistic form, but also of varieties with varying structures. This concept of 'linguistic repertoire' guides an understanding of peculiarities of multilingual behaviour that are of interest to this study. For instance, repertoires serve to show how language is distributed in different social contexts for different purposes.

On the account that 'multilingual competences' are viewed not in terms of grammatical correctness but in terms of resources speakers rely on to achieve significant communicative goals (Lüdi, 2007), this study draws on linguistic repertoires to explain the variability of linguistic competences and the scenario of language choice in multilingual communities (Blommaert et al., 2005; Edwards, 1994; Blackledge & Creese, 2010), specifically in this investigation, of university students in Kampala.

1.5.3   Language Status

The 'status' of a language can be viewed in various ways. It can be viewed in terms of the official or non-official designation of the language in the constitution of a country. It can also be viewed in terms of the demographic representation of the language (its prestige). Languages that are most widely distributed are often accorded high status. However, if the speakers of a language have high social or political positions in a community, in that they are highly educated and occupy respected leadership positions, their language may also have high status even if it is less widely distributed. Status can also be measured in terms of standardization; a standardised orthography and grammar, long history of writing, large collection of written works, and uses in media and education (Edwards, 1994; Mtenje, 2009). A consideration of language status in a multilingual setting is important to this study for how the status of languages affects the ways in which speakers integrate these languages into their linguistic repertoires.

1.6   SUMMARY

This study investigates, describes and explains realities of multilingualism specifically among students in an urban tertiary education institution, with an interest in languages they know and their social uses. It refers to social circumstances that affect language knowledge and use. This entails reference to geographical environment, but also to language practices in a specific community within this environment. The identified theoretical concepts and methods attempt to address the details of language and society that illuminate the profiles of multilingualism in the community of university students in Kampala city, and assist in evaluating working definitions of 'multilingualism'.

The study is organised according to the following chapter layout: Chapter One, provides the general description of the study, giving the aims and objectives and introducing the concepts

under investigation. Chapter Two provides a description of the geographical, social and conceptual context of the study. Chapter Three comprises a review of literature relevant to the main concepts and themes of investigation in this study. Chapter Four provides an exposition of the methodology that was followed. Chapter Five describes and interprets the language biographies of the participants. Chapter Six describes and analyses the linguistic repertoires of the participants. Chapter Seven uses the data to describe and explain language status of the languages in the repertoires of the participants. Finally, Chapter Eight provides the discussion of the study findings and conclusions drawn on the basis of the findings.

CHAPTER TWO

MULTILINGUALISM IN UGANDA

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an exposition of the language situation in Uganda. It gives general information about the languages and the ethnic groups that typically speak them as L1s. It also discusses how the different languages are distributed in different domains, both regionally and in terms of social spaces such as family, school or public spaces such as market place. To be able to demonstrate multilingualism in Uganda and how this is realised in sociolinguistic terms, the chapter first gives some general background information on multilingualism in Africa where Uganda is located.

2.1 MULTILINGUALISM IN AFRICA

2.1.1 Preamble

In terms of community languages within national borders, Africa is one of the most multilingual parts of the world (Stewart, 1968; Edwards, 1994; Brock-Utne, 2009). According to Bamgbose (1998) multilingual practices predate the inception of colonial language policies. Such practices were characterised by interaction between speakers of different African languages. Multilingual practices provide a survival strategy within sociolinguistically complex communities (Prah, 2009:260).

There is some controversy surrounding the linguistic diversity of Africa. Different researchers and sources report different numbers of languages spoken on this continent. For example, different figures are given by researchers such as Blommaert (2007:123) and Makoni and Mashiri (2007:64). Blommaert (2007) quotes the Ethnologue (2000) to present 2058 languages in Africa. Makoni and Mashiri (2007), quote different sources namely one that cites 800 languages (Greenberg, 1966), another that cites 2550 languages (Mann & Derby, 1987), and yet another that refers to 2000 languages (Crystal, 1997). What these varying figures imply is that it is not easy to count languages in a multilingual society. Several reasons can be presented to explain this. One such reason is related to the complex linguistic practices of multilingual speakers which make it difficult to distinguish and draw boundaries between a

language and a dialect (Ladefoged et al., 1971:31; Batibo, 2005; Banda, 2009). In fact, definitions of languages, vernaculars, dialects, ethnolects, and the like, tend to overlap in some instances, and conflict in others. Therefore, no "count" of languages can be properly understood without attention to the terminology that refers to language variety. The figures we have, however, indicate the density of language systems used in Africa to be within the range of 800 to 2550 of the approximately 7000 languages spoken in the whole world. Blommaert (2007) refers to these figures when he states that multilingualism is the norm in Africa.

Languages in Africa are classified into four language families on the basis of the grammatical features they present. These are the Niger-Congo family which has the largest number of speakers and covers the biggest geographical area; the Afro-Asiatic family, the Nilo-Saharan family and the Khoisan family in the southern part of Africa (Comrie, 2002; Blommaert, 2007).

The Niger-Congo family, according to Comrie (2002:2/10-12), covers most of West- and Central Africa south of the east-west line from the mouth of river Senegal southwards and eastwards to where the equator cuts across the continent. The Bantu languages form the biggest group in this language family as they occur from Nigeria to Cameroon into East and Southern Africa. The Bantu languages are numerous, but the most widely spoken is Kiswahili which is used both as a first language and as a lingua franca in the East African region (Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi), Democratic Republic of Congo and South Sudan. Kiswahili is an official language in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. The Bantu language group is also the largest in Uganda.

The Afro-Asiatic family comprises languages spoken in much of North Africa. It is also found in parts of West Africa in Nigeria, Niger and in the Eastern part of Africa in Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti and parts of Kenya and Tanzania.

The Nilo-Saharan family is spread across different parts of Northern Africa, in the West around the Chad area, in the North along the Nile and Western Ethiopia, into Eritrea, parts of Congo, Kenya and Uganda. The Nilotic languages spoken in Northern and Eastern Uganda belong to this language family.

The Khoisan languages predominantly occupy the Southwest part of Africa. Most of the languages in this group are spoken in South Africa and some in Namibia and Botswana.

Language maps (such as those on mapsoftheworld.com and world language phyla/family mapping) and the Ethnologue indicate languages as fixed entities clearly separated from each other by geographical boundaries. The reality of language practices however indicates no clear territorial demarcation or restriction on the languages and language varieties but rather a continuum. It is this continuum that makes it difficult to tell a definite number of languages that exist in Africa or in a given country. More still, those sources such as the Ethnologue reveal more on what have been designated as full languages and hardly any information on dialects (varieties of a regional language) that are spoken by many people in vast regions of Africa. No language exists in a single form; variations may differ limitedly or quite extensively in phonological form, morphological and syntactic form, some show signs of language contact (often identified as "mixed" or as pidgin and creole forms) and many differ on more than one of these levels (Makoni & Mashiri 2007; Simpson 2008). Thus in for example Kenya one may find mutually intelligible and systematically similar linguistic forms such as Kikuyu, Kikamba, Kitharaka, Kiembe that are identified by some as different languages, and by others as regional or even ethnic varieties of the same language (cf. Ethnologue 2014 on languages of Kenya). In Uganda, the most controversial are the Lwo and Runyakitara language clusters (explicated later in this chapter). When all this is brought into consideration, then the clear picture of superdiversity in Africa is illuminated.

Is appears that counting languages is rather futile and not particularly informative, exactly due to the difficulties researchers have in deciding on names and boundaries. Makoni and Mashiri (2007:65-70) argue that counting variants inflates the number of speech varieties and gives an impression of a linguistically "messy" community. Others argue for recognition of all codes that different communities use for interaction, thus doing away with an imposed norm that does not accurately reflect the linguistic reality of a particular region (Harmon & Wilson, 2006; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012). A closer look reveals that the same language used in different geographical locations bears different names, such as Kirundi and Kinyarwanda in Burundi and Rwanda respectively (Blommaert, 2007; Bamgbose, 2011). Thus simply due to different terms of reference, the same language could be counted twice. Another example of similar languages that are spoken in more than one country and so are counted separately for each country are languages of southern Africa in Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe and South Africa (Makoni & Mashiri, 2007), such as chiShona and chiChewa. In East Africa such languages include Luo which is used in Uganda and in Kenya, Kinyarwanda used in Uganda and Rwanda. Counting such languages separately in each country as the Ethnologue does

inflates the number of languages supposedly spoken in Africa. However, as scholars like Gumperz (1971:232) and Edwards (1994:13) argue, languages spoken in more than one geographical or social community are usually faced with contact and influence which results into variations in its usage within the different communities. All these factors illustrate how difficult it is to arrive at a definite number of languages first in the specific countries and also across the whole continent of Africa.

Therefore, the multilingual state of Africa or the reality of linguistic diversity is both under studied and inaccurately studied (Blommaert, 2007; Makoni & Mashiri, 2007). It is based on artificially created notions of "pure languages" that are discrete and fixed, attached to ethnic groups, presenting a monolingual picture of close affinity between language and group identity as it was in the colonising European states of the 18th and 19th centuries (Jessner, 2008). The linguistic practices in Africa portray a different picture of the relationship between language and community, and language and nation, also because the concept of "state" in Africa is one imposed by colonial powers (Blommaert, 2007:124; Simpson, 2008:1), and perpetuated into the present.

2.1.2   A historical perspective on African multilingualism

'Multilingualism' in African countries appears to have been emphasised as a dividing rather than unifying feature of African communities. Instead of recognising the continuum of languages across regions and beyond the borders set by colonial intervention, divisions (also in linguistic terms) were projected onto colonised communities (Simpson, 2008; cf. Makoni & Mashiri, 2007). Fardon and Furniss 1994 and Ngugi (2009) indicate that at a time when nation states were being consolidated in Europe, colonisers from European countries conceptualised the "new world" they found in Africa in the terms that were familiar to them, rather than in terms that were properly representative of the reality that they came across in Africa. Following such a perspective, languages in Africa were categorised by early colonisers according to ethnic groups. Linguistic and geographical boundaries were assigned to the language varieties of different communities, presenting them as territorially bound systems of communication – but then of territories determined by newly drawn boundaries, rather than by the pre-colonial ones. Although they did not (and could not) superimpose a "one language - one nation" image onto each of the colonised areas, each separate language system represented a single identity. This abstraction and idealization did not reflect

interrelatedness of different varieties, thus putting forward an image of greater discord than was perhaps the case.

The above controversy illustrates that the monolingual paradigm of constructing language never fitted the African linguistic reality, and Uganda is no exception. Thus Ngugi (1972:5) affirms that "African traditional structures and cultures were neither static nor uniform", presenting Africans as dynamic and mobile in their social practices with a diversity of cultures that were constantly in contact.

Even before the arrival of imperialists, African societies were heteroglossic, a state of affairs that was not only taken advantage of but in fact was also accelerated by imperialism (Simpson, 2008). Many scholars, such as Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia (1995), Jessner (2008), Garcia (2009) Ouane & Glanz (2010), have explained drives towards monolingualism in education by showing how linguistic diversity used to be (and often still is) considered a threat to cognitive ability, unity and social cohesion. Contrastively, linguistic diversity was encouraged and exploited by imperialists in Africa to feed their occupation method of divide-and-rule. The European colonisers had minimal or no interest in social cohesion in Africa so that highly heterogeneous groups of people with no common interests suited their cause of settling and gaining access to natural resources regardless of human histories and the social organisation of communities (Simpson, 2008). The colonisers therefore maintained the cultural and linguistic distinctions among the colonised peoples as one way to prevent coalitions that would aid resistance.

Authors, such as Prah (2009), Ouane (2009) and Hammarberg (2010) observe 'multilingualism' to be possibly the most outstanding and fundamental feature of knowledge and use of language in the African society. The inevitability and resourcefulness of African multilingualism is a way to provide a bridge for translocal and transcultural interaction. For this reason, Fardon and Furniss (1994:4) refer to the multilingualism in Africa as Africa's lingua franca which is multi-layered, offering a variety of options to draw on in varying social contexts.

Prah (2009) thus suggests that the linguistic complexity, and contact among individuals, calls for some means of coping socially. This then makes the learning and using of a number of languages an integral part of the linguistic practices among Africans. However, as outstanding as African multilingualism is, Fardon and Furniss (1994:4) and Visser (2013:1) observe that it

has faced wide censure. It has been labelled a source of disharmony and illiteracy. This, according to Brock-Utne (2009:19) and Prah (2009:253), is due to the indigenous African languages being under-rated; also because a whole range of languages is so often grouped as if they were a single entity comparable to English (Heine & Nurse, 2000:1). Brock-Utne and Prah further note that knowledge of various indigenous languages is not regarded as bilingualism as long as one does not 'know' English, and worse still if not fully competent in it. Brock-Utne (2009:19) thus observes that bilingualism of African children was a function of English and a 'block' of African languages.

Grosjean (2008:20), considering bi-/multilingual education in Canada, finds that becoming bilingual is a function of being competent in a majority language used in school in addition to a minority language, possibly the learner's home language. Scholars like Cook (2002), Lüdi (2007) and Busch (2012), give another perspective. They argue that learning more than one language should not be primarily aimed at attaining native-like competence in different languages, but at expanding linguistic repertoires of resources to cope with sociolinguistic complexity.

In relation to the above, Brock-Utne (2009) and Prah (2009), contend that multilingualism in Africa is basically constituted by African languages. This is illustrated by the fact that many African children learn two or three African languages while growing up in homes where the parents are L1-speakers of different languages and in an otherwise similarly linguistically diverse environment. Brock-Utne (2009:25) points out that most African children speak several African languages – a fact which is often ignored in literature on second language learning (cf. Hammarberg, 2010:92-93), owing to the fact that Second Language Acquisition (SLA) studies are mostly dedicated to individuals learning English in various parts of the world. For Prah (2009:250) the multilingualism we find in Africa today is endemic in that most Africans are "actively and passively multilingual." He refers to the fact that Africans are not taught to become multilingual through school or other special programmes, rather they become multilingual through socialization processes stimulated by their home and surrounding environments.

It appears then that African multilingualism has often been misconstrued as either overly complex (in that each local vernacular is counted as separate and limitedly related to any other), and as already discussed in this chapter, not represented as a feature of individual repertoires if the dominant colonial (and educational) language is not well developed. To a

large extent, this misconstrual has come about because reflections on the linguistic situation in Africa have focussed mostly on languages their names, their structures and how many they are (cf. Heine & Nurse, 2000), and less on the speakers. It is however important to note, as Makoni and Mashiri (2007:62) point out, that it is the way speakers use language in communication that has brought and raised scholarly and strategic awareness of the multilingual complexity in Africa. Africans both demonstrate and draw on their linguistic resources by way of practices such as code-switching and code-mixing (Myers-Scotton, 1992/1993), trans-languaging (Garcia, 2009; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012), and language crossing (Rampton, 1995/2010). This is true also in the incongruent representation of Uganda's sociolinguistic situation that is in focus in this dissertation.

2.1.3   Some issues of language policy in Africa

The most common feature of language policies in African countries is the adoption of a single language as the official language of administration and communication in the public domain. Many African countries adopted the language of their former colonial masters (foreign language) as the official language and the language of education (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Batibo, 2005; Bamgbose, 1998/2011). This choice was usually made because the colonial language was perceived as a symbol of civilization, literacy, being elite, modern, and as such would ensure upward social and economic mobility. For the elite class, choice of a foreign ex-colonial language would play the gate keeping role to ensure the mainstay of their high position in society. The foreign language was also envisaged to play, according to Bakhtin (1994:74), a centripetal role of maintaining unity and harmony in a highly diverse society.

In the twentieth century however there was a paradigm shift whereby some countries changed their language policies from supporting and elevating only one ex-colonial language to widening and elevating the domains of use of African languages (Bamgbose, 2011). This shift was also aimed at protecting African languages and cultures, and increasing participation of Africans in national development. Accordingly, some countries adopted the practice of recognising indigenous African languages as official languages. Although it is important to note that this process is still challenged by a number of issues. South Africa is in the limelight for adopting the new shift in its language policy at the end of the apartheid regime in 1994, when 9 of its indigenous languages namely, Xhosa, Zulu, Tsonga, Sepedi, Sotho, Ndebele, Swazi, Tswana, and Venda became official languages (Blommaert, 2007; Bamgbose, 2011).

The point of contention however, is that as much as these languages were accorded official status similar to English and Afrikaans, they do not wield the same status in all domains (Visser, 2013; Anthonissen, 2015). For instance, Bamgbose (2011) gives a comparison of Venda and Afrikaans, which shows that Venda spoken in one of the poorest regions in South Africa cannot have equal stature as Afrikaans spoken in the metropolitan regions and by the elite class. It suffices to remind ourselves here that the status of a language is often related to the status of its speakers (Coulmas, 2002:427). This, therefore, suggests that the language of the poor can hardly be at the same social level as the language of the wealthy and the elite. None the less, recognising a number of languages in official position gives them an opportunity to be used in certain domains where they would otherwise not have access. Since repertoires, both of society and of people do not appear in a levelled manner, authors such as Bamgbose (1998) and Blommaert (2007) argue that these languages could be distributed discursively in different domains where their deployment is vital and suitable (complementarity of resources).

It is also worth noting that African languages remain marked and used as the 'traditional' with all the connotations of the term such as uncivilized, barbaric, undeveloped; while the foreign languages are the 'modern' (Stroud, 2007a:32; Van Rooy, 2012:88; cf. Ngugi, 2009). Thus the use of African languages as official languages is de facto not a reality, especially where they have to compete with foreign languages of the West in key domains of education and administration. African languages are much more used in the domestic domain while the western languages dominate the public domain most especially in higher and tertiary education (Bamgbose, 2011). Even with the symbolic elevation, African languages remain lower in social ranking compared to foreign metropolitan languages.

2.2 MULTILINGUALISM IN UGANDA

2.2.1 Preamble

Uganda is characterised by complex societal multilingualism although it is a challenge to firmly state the number of languages and language varieties that exist (Mukama, 2009:68; Namyalo & Nakayiza, 2014:2). As is the case described above for the rest of Africa, there is controversy among different sources that attempt to count the languages that exist in Uganda, for example UNESCO (1964), Ladefoged et al. (1971) and the Ethnologue (2013). Ladefoged et al. (1971:31) thus argue that,

> Before one can say how many languages there are in Uganda, one must know which languages are just different dialects and which dialects are really very dissimilar and might be considered to be separate languages. But this cannot be done because there is no agreed way of defining what is meant by a language as opposed to a dialect.

Such a predicament is observed where, for instance, some sources such as the Ethnologue (2013) count the Runyakitara varieties as four distinct languages namely, Runyankore, Rukiga, Rutooro and Runyoro. Others though count these varieties as two sub-clustered languages namely Runyoro-Rutooro and Runyankore-Rukiga. There are other recent sources such as Bernsten (1998) and Makoni and Mashiri (2007) which view these languages as one language. In addition to that, Lunyara and Ruruuli are sometimes regarded as dialects of Luganda and thus not listed as main languages; while sometimes they are taken as separate languages (UNESCO, 1964; Ethnologue, 2013). Lusese is also listed as a separate Bantu language by UNESCO (1964) and not a dialect of Luganda as other sources indicate. UNESCO (1964) lists Lwo as a full-fledged language, whereas Mukama (2009) clarifies that it is a cluster of the western Nilotic languages namely, Acholi, Alur, Lango and Japadhola. Whichever source one gets hold of will therefore give a different impression of the linguistic diversity in Uganda. The Ethnologue (2013) lists 40 languages including English and Kiswahili which are not indigenous languages of Uganda, UNESCO (1964) lists 32 languages, while Ladefoged et al. (1971) list 24 (major) languages, but add English, Kiswahili, Gujarati and Hindustani to make a total of 28 languages spoken in Uganda. Some languages listed in some sources do not appear in other sources.

2.2.2   A historical perspective on Uganda's multilingualism

Language diversity in Uganda has been recognised since precolonial times. Diversity existed within the local socio-political groupings such as the enormous Bunyoro-Kitara Empire. This empire was the biggest in the whole of East Africa; covering parts in all East African countries and in the Democratic Republic of Congo (then referred to as Zaire).

Uganda's languages are generally classified according to linguistic structure and geographical location. They are categorised into three major linguistic groups namely, Bantu which covers the widest area and constitutes majority of languages, the Nilotic group which is divided into Western and Eastern branches, and the Sudanic group (UNESCO, 1964; Ladefoged et al., 1971; Bernsten, 1998; Comrie, 2002). The sociolinguistic markers of these three groups will be dealt with separately in the next paragraphs.

Bantu languages

The Bantu languages form the largest linguistic group of the languages of Uganda. They cover Central Uganda, Western Uganda and parts of Eastern Uganda near Lake Victoria and the Southern part of Uganda. The Bantu languages are divided into Eastern Bantu and the Western Bantu.

Eastern Bantu Languages include: Luganda, Lusoga, Lumasaaba (Gisu), Lugwere, Lunyole and Lusamia. In this group, Luganda has the majority speakers followed by Lusoga. Central Uganda is the home of Luganda, the most widely spoken language in Uganda according to Ladefoged et al. (1971:78) and UNESCO (1964). Luganda has several dialects, some of which are even mutually unintelligible - for example, Lusese and Luvuma spoken on the islands of Lake Victoria, and others like Lunyara and Luruuli. Some, according to Ladefoged et al. (1971:73), are closer to Runyoro, for example Lusese and Ruruuli than they are to Luganda.

The Western Bantu languages are spoken in the Western part and South West of Uganda. They include: Runyoro, Rutooro, Runyankore, Rukiga, Runyarwanda, Rurundi, Rufumbira, Rwamba, Lukonzo, and Lubwisi. Due to structural similarity, Runyoro, Rutooro, Runyankore and Rukiga are clustered together to form 'Runyakitara' with two sub-clusters namely, Runyankore-Rukiga, Runyoro-Rutooro which UNESCO (1964) refers to as 'working languages' designed by government. These together have the largest number of speakers among the Western Bantu and are the most prominent. The controversy that surrounds whether these varieties are all distinct languages or if they form two languages will be further discussed in the next chapters.

The Nilotic Languages

The languages that belong to the Nilotic group occupy the Northern and North Eastern parts of Uganda. The Nilotic group is also geographically divided into two sub-groups namely, the Western Nilotic and the Eastern Nilotic.

The Western Nilotic group constitutes languages spoken in the central part of northern Uganda such as Lango, Acholi and Alur. Other languages in this group include Japadhola (Dhopadhola), Kumam, Jonam and Labwor. According to UNESCO (1964) Labwor is likely to be a dialect of Ng'karamojong which is the Eastern Nilotic group due to close geographical

proximity, although it is still listed and counted as a separate language (only in this source). In this group also structural closeness brought about formation of a cluster of Acholi, Alur, Lango and Japadhola under the name Lwo although the closeness among these varieties is not as strong as that of the Runyakitara varieties (Ladefoged et al., 1971:81; Mukama, 2009:89-90). A point worth noting is that all languages that are clustered together are assumed to be similar and almost form a single language. Accordingly, linguists and policy makers lump them under a single name even though the speakers insist on the difference in the varieties they use. However structural details of languages and language varieties are not in the scope of this study.

The Eastern Nilotic group comprises Ateso, Ng'karamojong, Kakwa and Kupsabiny (Sebei) spoken in the North Eastern part of Uganda. Other languages in this group according to UNESCO (1964) include Pokot, Jie, Tepeth, and Dodo . The Ethnologue (2013) also lists Bari in this group.

The Sudanic languages

The Sudanic group has the least number of languages in Uganda found in the North Western corner of Uganda referred to as the West Nile region. These languages include Lugbara and Madi. They constitute section of the Central Sudanic languages (Ladefoged et al., 1971).

There are some languages in Uganda that are not included in the classification for not being indigenous languages. These languages have been used in Uganda for a long time and have been significant socially, economically and politically. They include Kiswahili, English and Indian languages namely, Gujarati and Hindustani spoken by the Indian business community as listed by Ladefoged et al. (1971:18).

Kiswahili as a regional language

Kiswahili has been significant in the socio-economic and socio-political life of Ugandans since precolonial times. First it was and still is a language of trade and administration within the East African region. It is an official language in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda although as Mazrui and Mazrui (1996) explicate, its operation is contextually dissimilar. Some researchers such as Pawlikova-Vilhanova (1996:163) and Mukama (2009:92), reveal that Kiswahili was the official language of Uganda for over a decade from 1900 to 1912, although it was thereafter dropped for English. According to Mazrui and Mazrui, 1996:294) its official

status was re-installed particularly in the army during the military regime of Idd Amin in 1971. Historically in Uganda, like Mazrui and Mazrui (1996:295) observe, Kiswahili and Luganda have a number of times had on and off competition for dominancy in the public domain. Kiswahili has been part of the propaganda of supporting the development of African languages in Uganda since independence by including it in the education system, although it has suffered lack of government commitment to implementation. The above scenarios demonstrate how pertinent and local Kiswahili has always been in the politics of Uganda. The perpetual refusal to actively include Kiswahili in Uganda's language policy led Uganda to be described in the Weekly Topic of October, 1986 tabloid (Mukama, 2009:84) as "a chaotic Island of English and 'tribal' languages". Uganda remains an island amidst countries that have for long strongly embraced Kiswahili in the public domain. Despite the lack of government commitment to strongly pronounce itself on Kiswahili in a concrete language policy, Kiswahili is still widely used in Uganda within specific domains like trade and security.

English in Uganda

English is another language that has existed in Uganda for a long time and has influenced people's lives immensely. It was first introduced by missionaries in the 18th century - the Church Missionary Society from England, and was later enforced by the British colonialists as the official language of administration (Ladefoged et al., 1971; Mazrui & Mazrui, 1996; Mukama, 2009). According to the Constitution of Uganda (1995) and the Constitutional Amendment of 2005, English is the primary official language of Uganda. Furthermore, English is the principle medium of education from upper primary school through to tertiary institutions, like Makerere University. It also plays a big role in the media, business and regular conversational interactions including those in certain homes. Currently there are even children in Uganda who speak English as their first language.

Although Kiswahili and English have played central roles in Uganda since pre-colonial times (Bernsten, 1998; Mukama, 2009) and are included in the list of Uganda's languages (Ethnologue, 2013), they are not represented on the language map of Uganda. This is because maps restrict languages to specific geographical locations, presenting them as fixed immobile objects (Fardon & Furniss, 1994:10; Blommaert, 2007:125), to which Kiswahili and English in Uganda do not qualify. Locating languages on the map fails to show the socially complex linguistic environment in which the languages are used. Thus, languages that are not

originally attached to a specific location in Uganda cannot appear on the map, despite their utilization in the day– to– day social and political activities all over Uganda.

Additional languages in the Ugandan repertoire

There are the above-mentioned Indian languages (Ladefoged et al., 1971). These have not spread among Ugandans but are only used by the Indian community. Indians own many of the factories in Uganda. They dominated the industrial region in Eastern Uganda during the years when there were various factories, such as the sugar factories, cloth and textile factories (Nytil), breweries and soft drink manufacturing, tea factories, cement manufacturing, to mention but a few. At the moment, Indians lead in owning large merchandise stores (supermarkets) and high class hotels, mostly in Kampala. They are known to settle with their families, hence keeping their languages in practice within their families.

From the exposition above, it is evident that assigning a distinct number to the languages used in Uganda is a challenge, and (as mentioned before) not particularly useful. Likewise, the lists of languages mentioned in different sources demonstrate that there is no clear criterion for distinguishing between a given language and a local variety of such a language. What is more important is recognition of the reality that Uganda is vastly multilingual both in terms of how many languages are used in different social settings and by individual speakers. The impossibility of being exact in putting numbers to language variation is a sign of complexity and fluidity, illustrated also by the language practices of individuals and communities in Uganda.

To give a visual image of the spatial distribution of languages and language varieties in Uganda, I will use the Ethnologue map (2013) because; (i) it reveals a clear impression of the diversity; (ii) it is more recent than the one by Ladefoged et al. (1972) which shows only 24 (major) languages; and (iii) it is produced by a credible organisation, Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), which has invested much in reliably studying the linguistic situation in Africa. I do, however, not agree with their characterisation of English as a national language in Uganda because it has not been identified as such in any overt or covert language policy.

1 Acholi	19 Lendu		
2 Adhola	20 Lugbara		
3 Alur	21 Ma'di	NATIONAL LANGUAGE	
4 Amba	22 Masaaba	English	
5 Aringa	23 Ndo		
6 Bari	24 Nyankore	WIDESPREAD LANGUAGE	
7 Chiga	25 Nyole	Swahili	
8 Ganda	26 Nyoro		
9 Gungu	27 Pökoot		
10 Gwere	28 Ruuli		
11 Ik	29 Rwanda	Note:	
12 Kakwa	30 Saamia	Brackets show the number of times a language's	
13 Karamojong	31 Soga	number appears on map, if more than once.	
14 Kenyi	32 Soo		
15 Konzo	33 Southern Ma'di		
16 Kumam	34 Talinga-Bwisi		
17 Kupsabiny	35 Teso (2)		
18 Lango	36 Tooro		

Language Families

- Bantu
- Central Sudanic
- Kuliak
- Nilotic

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The language map of Uganda from Ethnologue, 2013

2.2.3   The development of policies that determine official language(s) in Uganda

In Uganda, as in a number of other countries, the language policy before and during the colonial period was largely implicit. After independence, English became the sole official language in Uganda clearly stated in the Constitution of Uganda (1995). However in the constitutional amendment of 2005, an indigenous African language, Kiswahili, was included on the official menu with a negotiable position compared to the fully approved position for English (Uganda Constitutional Amendment, 2005, cf. Mukama, 2009:87-88). Article 6 of the constitutional amendment thus states that:

> 6. Official language
>
> (1) The official language of Uganda is English.
>
> (2) Swahili shall be the second official language in Uganda to be used in such circumstances as parliament may by law prescribe

In a close scrutiny of the above Constitutional Provision, English is the fully recognized official language of Uganda. The official position of Kiswahili is one of being non-committal as its functionality in different domains is dependent on the prescription of Uganda's law making body. Thus it is only official in domains where the parliament deems it suitable and necessary. English for instance is the official language in Education, legislature (as primary language of the constitution and parliament proceedings) and all official government proceedings. Kiswahili is only official in the security services. The government White Paper of 1992 had envisaged the elevation of Kiswahili to an official position alongside English. It emphasised teaching Kiswahili in secondary schools for the purpose of "strengthening Kiswahili at national level, which would lead this language to become the only African language in Uganda to be consciously and systematically developed at that level" (Government of Uganda, 1992:17).

Although Kiswahili is not a uniquely Ugandan language, choosing it as an official language intended to symbolize heritage and culture and also enhance solidarity within the East African region. It was perceived as the best African linguistic choice to boost the much emphasised national unity. The Government of Uganda White Paper of 1992 reveals that Kiswahili was further expected to facilitate faster, cheaper and easier production of educational materials at all levels of education and for all categories of people in Uganda. The long term vision was that it would foster socio-economic and cultural growth as well as eliminate social pressures

and strife among the different social groups in Uganda. Thus, while the government embraced the linguistic diversity in the country, such diversity was conceived to hinder national unity and literacy development in Uganda. This led to tendencies of monolingualism by further elevating only one language for use in the public domain of the two so-called neutral languages selected for the official position (cf. Namyalo & Nakayiza, 2014:1). In other words the local languages were supported in some ways and suffocated in others.

For instance, Mukama (2009:79) claims that if Uganda were to elevate 'ten languages'[3] that are already selected as media of instruction to the status of official languages,

> There would be a problem of choice of language for central administrative transactions and international interaction at all levels. The question of using all the ten languages as official languages at the central administration level is not feasible. Nor would it be practicable for diplomats and visitors to learn the ten languages in order to tour Uganda or to transact business with Ugandans.

This argument supports the monolingual ideology in which case it is not imaginable that having linguistic diversity at the central administration would actually induce better business with the international community. If a country has a number of languages as official languages, it does not call for international persons to learn all of them before they can interact within that country. Rather it gives them options from which they can choose what best suits their motives and interests (cf. Bamgbose, 2008). Unlike monolingualism which forces a specific kind of identity on individuals making assumptions that everyone can attain that identity in terms of linguistic practices, multilingualism affords everyone an opportunity to alternatives and choice-making. For instance linguistic diversity at the centre is actively functional in South Africa with 11 official languages not socially valued at the same level and not all operating in exactly the same domains, but offering options and alternatives to South Africans and their visitors (cf. Bamgbose, 2011:2). The languages operate in complementarity not competition.

2.2.4 The general status of languages in Uganda

The status of the various Ugandan languages remains under-researched. Further research would be enlightening, particularly considering the way language status affects language

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[3] The total of ten languages is arrived at when the pairs among the six languages selected for use in education, that is, Runyankore/Rukiga, Runyoro/Rutooro, Ateso/Ng'karamojong, are added to stand-alone choices namely Lugbara, Luo, Luganda and English.

practices in different social domains. Ladefoged et al. (1971:17) note that all languages in Uganda are spoken as L1s by less than 25% of the population and thus Mukama (2009:89) refers to Uganda as a country of minority languages. Not even Luganda, which is spoken as L1 and L2 by a high number of people changes this position on minority/majority languages. This in essence means that there are several small groups of speakers of the various languages and language varieties in Uganda.

Mukama (2009:90) also asserts that the language situation is more "fragmentary than what is promised by theoretical linguistic groupings based on some points of similarity." Ladefoged et al. (1971) illustrate that speakers of each specific variety view themselves as distinct from others and strive to be recognised as such by using different teaching/learning materials and using different orthographies. For instance speakers of the Lwo group of languages comprising Acholi, Lango and Alur, use separate grammars and textbooks in their schools; for the Runyakitara cluster, speakers of Runyankore-Rukiga use a different orthography from Runyoro-Rutooro (UNESCO, 1964; Bernsten, 1998). Likewise, speakers of many other mainstream languages seek to separately develop their languages for use in the public domain.

Due to the fragmentarity, minority membership and the strong affiliations that people have towards their languages and language varieties (which are the vehicles for their cultures); there is competition for recognised status of many small groups. Consequently, Uganda deliberately failed to achieve the constitutional right to select (a) national language(s) for fear of awakening social prejudices that would lead to social disharmony and disrupt socio-economic development (Government of Uganda, 1992). Mukama (2009:91) deems this scenario a political philosophy in which,

> anything as sensitive as language is better postponed than dealt with in a decisive manner. The consequence is that while language may be a socio-cultural priority,
> it is a hot political potato which very few politicians dare want to touch.

It is this kind of political philosophy which has also prolonged the commitment of the government of Uganda to put into practice the recommendations of the Government White Paper of 1992. This then leaves the mandate in the hands of different practitioners to use the languages (especially local languages) in ways that suit their needs with very little support or control from government.

It serves to note though that in Uganda three languages, namely Luganda, Kiswahili and English have been competing for high status on different grounds since the colonial era (Mukuthuria, 2006; Mukama, 2009). English ranks higher in status than Kiswahili and Luganda because of its national and international prestige (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1996:291). Hence the toughest and longest competition has always been and still is one between Luganda and Kiswahili. Each of the two languages has been shown to have features such as (i) large numbers of speakers, (ii) use in different vital social domains such as education and national political administration, and (iii) wide distribution in different parts of Uganda. However, status being mainly an emotive phenomenon, Kiswahili has often been disfavoured in Uganda because it does not represent the culture of any single Ugandan group. Thus it is regarded as 'foreign' and is disfavoured also by its attachment to army operations which the common people resent. Finally, government failure to include Kiswahili in grassroots education, has limited its status development in the country.

2.3   DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES IN DIFFERENT DOMAINS

The languages of Uganda are discursively distributed for use in different domains such as in educational settings, public spaces (like the market place or churches), and the media. Many of the languages are used mainly in domestic domains, namely informally at home and in the neighbourhood - for regular interpersonal interactions. The following sections will elaborate on pertinent language practices in three kinds of public domains.

2.3.1   Multilingualism in education in Uganda

Despite seemingly having reservations on linguistic diversity which was claimed to disrupt or hinder literacy and national unity, the government of Uganda has always provided for learning and teaching of several languages both indigenous and foreign. The language policy since the 1950s has always recommended the use of local Ugandan languages at the grassroots level as languages of instruction although these are not examinable (Mukama, 2009). The World Data on Education, 2010/11 indicates that in Uganda the primary education curriculum in 1967 included English, some local Ugandan languages and later Kiswahili. Kiswahili however did not last long in the primary school curriculum before it was abolished in 1952 (Ladefoged et al., 1971:91). According to Mukuthuria (2006:156), Christian missionaries connived with Baganda to sabotage Kiswahili on two counts, namely; it had links to Islam a rival religion to Christianity, and, it would facilitate integration of East

African countries which would threaten Buganda's supremacy if it attracted white settlers into Uganda. According to Ladefoged et al. (1971) and Mukama (2009), the Ugandan languages that have been selected in the different stages of developing the language policy include Luganda, Runyoro-Rutooro, Runyankore-Rukiga, Lugbara, Ateso/Ng'karamojong and Lwo. This selection is meant to address regional linguistic dispensations. The constitution of Uganda (1995: Article 6, section 2) also provides for use of any local language as a medium of instruction in schools and other education institutions.

From secondary school onwards multilingualism is still encouraged but not with local Ugandan languages as observed in the government's response to provision R7 of the Education Review Commission (Government of Uganda, 1992:20) which stipulates that,

a) English will be the medium of Instruction from S.1 onwards.

b) Kiswahili and English will be compulsory subjects for all secondary school students. Students will be encouraged as much as possible to take another foreign language so as to increase their own and the national capacity to communicate at international level. One of the major Ugandan languages may also be taught optionally.

This would translate into an individual learner having knowledge of an indigenous language(s), Kiswahili, English and possibly another foreign language. The knowledge of some of these languages though would be partial given the limited time given to each in the curriculum and the school timetable, as well as the social and linguistic environment outside of school that gives limited additional support to practicing foreign languages.

From the above, it is clear that multilingualism has always been considered and accommodated in education although, as the Government White Paper of 1992 indicates, with lack of clarity and coherence in the language policy. Likewise there is minimum commitment to implement the policy provisions for languages in education.

Different to primary and secondary education provisions, the Government White Paper of 1992 stipulates the use of only English as a medium of instruction and examination in tertiary education. Mukama (2009:72) thus maintains that,

> English by virtue of its special position as the language of the former rulers, enjoys both the privilege of being the only 'foreign' language which is used officially in educational institutions and administrative transactions as well as

formal domains patronized by government officials, the educated elites, parents of students and the students themselves. In terms of internationality and "in the process of modernisation", English has no matched rival in our context. We need it to put us "in contact with the world's technical and scientific information and knowledge which is so essential for - economic development (Nadkani, 1983:153; Lora-Kayambazinthu, Loc cit., p.21; Einarsson, 2001:7, 45-49).

English therefore serves as the only language that has the complexity and sophistication needed in tertiary education where there is scientific and technical practice for which the local languages are not developed. Based on this conception of the status of English, local Ugandan languages are locked out of teaching and learning practice at the tertiary level, except for language subjects which are also very few. University students though, are free to use any other linguistic resources available to them during their ordinary interactions around the university. It is basically this practice that keeps multilingualism flourishing at university.

However, English, as a language of education, is faced with various challenges at all levels as discussed by Mukama (2009:70-77). These include: limited time for which it is taught as a subject yet students are expected to grasp it and use it for all cognitive activities in school; inadequate teaching/literary materials; and teachers whose professional training and linguistic orientation handicaps them. Hence, while it is emphasised at university, students are still challenged with its practice because of the challenged system through which they learn it.

Students who join university are not subjected to any English proficiency tests. The only qualification requirement is attainment of a distinction or a credit in the National final English examination at Ordinary Level (Senior Four). That is a mark not less than 60%. This criterion though is not so useful because just like the language tests have been criticised, passing an English examination does not guarantee one's proficiency in English or any other language per se. The examination is based on purely classroom English and not ability to use English for communication. In addition, students continue to live a multilingual social life between the Ordinary Level and university entry (two years and beyond) which can alter their grade, yet they are not tested again. Hence, there is no practical way to ensure that students who join university are actually 'proficient' in English.

As can be observed from the foregoing argument, there is more effort to increase the number of foreign languages than local Ugandan languages in higher education. This is believed to boost students' opportunities in the modern global world by enhancing their linguistic skills

for international interaction. Students therefore, have very few options when it comes to academic training in local languages and there is very little hope that the situation will change.

In view of the above, the multilingualism existing in Uganda majorly characterised by Ugandan local languages and language varieties is not represented or catered for in the higher education system. Competence in foreign languages is majorly possessed by just a minute percentage of the elite class. English too is limited to the educated elite class especially in the urban centres (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1996; Bernsten, 1998). This therefore means that the local sociolinguistic environment in Uganda is generally side-lined in tertiary education and replaced by the global sociolinguistic dream. This could be because university education is perceived as a means to sophistication which the local Ugandan languages are not believed to have or provide.

2.3.2 Distribution of languages in the public space

Languages in Uganda serve differently in different public spaces, such as public transport, church, market, and work places, is presented in the following subsections.

2.3.2.1 *Language distribution in public transport*

With public transport, all languages are permissible. This is so because the transport system, apart from the town service that works around Kampala where the linguistic context is complex, is segmented to serve designated areas that use particular languages. Public transport comprises commuter taxis[4] and public buses.

In the commuter taxi business, a variety of languages are used on a small scale, although Luganda is the most used language amongst operators and passengers (even outside the Buganda region). This is because many people who own and operate this business (drivers and conductors) live in Kampala where Luganda is the prominently used language. In addition, because Uganda has one major city, all public transport vehicles converge in Kampala, the capital city, taking and bringing people for various purposes. Thus, Luganda is inevitable. This is also because these vehicles operate in communal taxi parks where a lingua franca is inevitable.

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[4] In Uganda, *taxi* is used to mean a small public service van which carries 8-14 passengers.

Different from the commuter taxis; public buses use a number of Ugandan languages on a large scale. These drive long distances. They operate separate parking stations in Kampala taking and bringing people to and from particular areas. These areas have and use major community languages. For example, Mbarara or Bushenyi use Runyankore; Gulu uses Acholi. The operators therefore usually, but not always, hail from those areas where the buses go or are speakers of the languages of those areas. The people who utilize the buses are also mostly first language speakers of the languages spoken in the bus' destination. This therefore means that almost all Ugandan languages are used mainstream in the public bus transport system, unlike with the commuter taxi transport system. This is evident in Arua Park which houses buses that drive to the West Nile region. This area's main Language is Lugbara and it is the language which the operators mostly use at the bus park, with a bit of Kiswahili.

2.3.2.2   *Language distribution in Church*

Various Ugandan languages are used for hymns and sermons in different parts of Uganda. However, the bible is not translated in all Ugandan languages. Yet, according to the Bible Society of Uganda (Facebook page), the full bible has been translated into 9 languages of Uganda while the New Testament has been translated into 14 languages (cf. Bellecci, 2014). This means that there is a reasonable number of languages without or with partial bible translations and hence practices of code-switching in church services in areas where the bible is not translated into the community language. These areas use bibles which have been translated into other languages that are close to their own.

In Kampala there is more use of Luganda and English, with special services in a few other languages. The services are conducted in a single language of choice with minimum code-switching during sermons or when taking the readings, such that one reading is in one language and another reading is in a different language. This is meant to cater for the diverse congregation in terms of language and education levels.

2.3.2.3   *Language distribution in the market places and other work places*

Markets utilize a variety of languages because they are open to all kinds of individuals from different linguistic backgrounds. Actually the markets provide the widest forum for complex multilingual practices without any restrictions. Therefore everyone feels at ease to use any language of choice because there is a high chance of someone who knows that language.

There is a lot of code-switching on the part of the sellers. Although the use of lingua francas is optimum, other languages have a fair coverage in the market places.

In other work places (offices), use of the official language takes precedence for official client relations. All written materials in work places are also produced in English including forms that seek information from clients. However, during breaks or during collegial verbal exchanges, the local languages are employed. Also, in circumstances of clients that do not understand English (the official language), a local language that is intelligible to both client and staff is usually utilized to make sure clientele is not frustrated. Likewise, the clients communicate amongst themselves in languages that are convenient to them. These could be the official language due to compulsion of the operating space, like in a banking hall, but also on many occasions, other local languages that they may share knowledge of.

All in all, there is an open distribution of Ugandan languages in different public spaces. This is so because there is high language diversity among the people, and the education levels also vary, such that the strict imposition of the official language for use in the public spaces is dysfunctional. Likewise, individuals feel more comfortable when using languages that they have learned naturally especially in domestic environments and those that represent their cultural identity than those they learn formally (Pavlenko, 2012) and which are culturally distant. Hence local language practices within different public spaces employ the multiple linguistic resources to cater for diverse linguistic needs of the diverse population.

2.3.3   Distribution of languages in the media and social media

2.3.3.1   *Ugandan languages in the traditional news media*

The media in Uganda has been greatly used to support the development and use of local languages. Uganda Television[5] (UTV, as it was commonly referred to) broadcast many of the programmes in English. Local languages that were used in the media particularly on radio in the 1950s, according to UNESCO (1964) included: Luganda, Runyoro-Rutooro, Runyankore-Rukiga, Kiswahili, Lugbara, Lwo, Ateso, Madi, Lusoga and Lunyole. UNESCO (1964) reveals that in the 1950s, there were fourteen Ugandan languages used in radio broadcast for news, special features and music. Looking at UNESCO's table of broadcasts per language per week, Lwo had the highest number of broadcasts at 490 while Luganda ranked second with

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[5] Uganda Television (UTV) changed its name to Uganda Broadcasting Cooperation (UBC).

320 broadcasts. Lwo had a higher number of features and music than Luganda, while Luganda led in the number of news broadcasts. These were followed by Ateso, Runyankore-Rukiga and Runyoro-Rutooro. A point to note here is that where as UNESCO lists Runyankore, Rukiga, Runyoro and Rutooro as two sub-clustered languages in the table, the total number of languages mentioned is fourteen while the table lists twelve. Therefore this suggests that the four varieties are considered as locally separate languages but are only clustered during practical operations because of their mutual intelligibility – a valued asset for cost minimization. Television broadcast was and still is dominated by English and Luganda, with Kiswahili used for news bulletins and Kiswahili lessons that last about thirty minutes, once a week on Uganda Broadcasting Cooperation and NTV Uganda.

Currently, the private radio stations utilize a variety of languages. In Kampala, a number of Ugandan languages are heard on radio although many radio stations operate a one-language policy such as English only, Luganda only, and other languages that the station may be designated to. For example, Radio Tooro uses Rutooro. Almost every region has a radio station, which predominantly uses a language from among those locally spoken in that region. Hence, radio broadcasting has a good representation of the multilingualism in Uganda. There are also private television stations that broadcast mainly in English and Luganda, with recognisable code-switching in other languages, while there are few others like Bukedde Television which broadcast entirely in Luganda. Broadcasting entirely in Luganda is a recent invention. This television station is nevertheless popularly watched by non-native Luganda speakers.

The print media is also largely dominated by English and Luganda. UNESCO presents Luganda as leading highly in print media by 1964 with 20 newspapers, while the next in rank, Runyoro-Rutooro had 4. It is interesting to note that although Kiswahili is Uganda's second official language and has existed in Uganda since precolonial times, there is no Kiswahili newspaper in Uganda. In addition there are few media houses at present, like the Vision Group, that accommodate the use of other languages like Runyankore-Rukiga, Acholi and Ateso. This selection suggests that for different regions in Uganda, only one language was selected from each to represent the whole region, that is, Acholi for the North, Ateso for the East and Runyankore-Rukiga for the west. This same scenario is reported by UNESCO (1964), that during the 1960s, the government of Uganda produced newspapers in four languages, that is, Luganda, Lwo, Runyankore and Runyoro-Rutooro. The same idea was

stated for the choice of these four languages, that they were aimed at representing different regions.

Although there are newspapers published in other Ugandan languages, Luganda still had and has the biggest number of tabloids (details for the 1960s in UNESCO, 1964). The use of Luganda in the print media dates as far back as 1906, according to UNESCO (1964), with the printing of *Ebifa* the first vernacular newspaper. This was followed by *Munno* another Luganda newspaper, although both these newspapers no longer exist. During this period no other local language was used in the media.

From the above information speakers of a number of languages and language varieties are on many occasions not considered for media representation. This mainly concerns minority languages. There is always a practice of condensing the linguistic diversity in the Uganda society by the powers that be in almost every sector especially where there is government control. The practice is linguistically compelled but meant for political and economic benefits. The situation is escalated by the calculated linguistic closeness of certain varieties, even if the speakers may reject such closeness. Consequently, the mentality of reducing the diversity of what people speak into fewer and more cost effective units obstruct practice and development of some languages in practical domains.

2.3.3.2   *Ugandan languages in the social media*

The social media (Facebook, WhatsApp, and twitter, to mention but a few) in Uganda is mainly utilized by the young generation in the urban settings. It is accessed by the educated and the semi-educated for casual interaction and a bit of business (advertising). This media space is not linguistically controlled by anybody. All the same, it is noticeable that only a few languages dominate communicative practices, namely English (the dominant), Luganda, 'Runyakitara' and a bit of Kiswahili that is usually code-mixed with another language. Since social media is majorly informal and at the same time international, the language practices are complex such that there is no convention as to what language the interlocutors can use in a single line of exchange. Different languages can therefore be used for introducing a topic and contributing to it with a lot of code-switching and code-mixing.

2.4   MULTILINGUALISM IN KAMPALA

2.4.1   The multilingual character of the capital city

The current linguistic diversity and cultural complexity within Kampala is unsurprising as Kampala is the capital city of Uganda and the epitome of business/trade, education, administration, health facilities and other social amenities. This is similar to other main cities in Africa (McLaughlin, 2009) and the world over (Heller, 2012). Kampala is a centre of convergence for people from all over the country and outside the country; here a wide range of languages and cultures that are all put to use in some way or another during communicative activities of the individuals that operate in the city, are represented.

Kampala has various communities such as the long distance traders in Arua Park located in the city centre, taxi operators who serve both in and outside the city, bus operators going to different parts of the country and the region. There are various schools and tertiary institutions within the city that attract students from all over Uganda and the neighbouring Kenya, Tanzania, South Sudan and Rwanda. Kampala is also a hub of administrative offices; forex bureaus (run mostly by Indians); supermarkets (run by people of Indian and Chinese origin) and general stores that employ people from all over Uganda. Noticeable too along many roads are open markets like St. Balikuddembe (popularly known as Owino) where several people from different areas and linguistic communities own small stalls, and also where people of different ethnic backgrounds go to buy merchandise. Refugees in Kampala also create small closed settlements such as the area occupied by people of Somali origin in Kisenyi, with their shops and school, the Sudanese refugee community from South Sudan and those from the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Sudanese people are visible mostly in church and schools but are not yet in business. The Congolese on the other hand are more into business with items such as jewellery and textiles; hence they mix a lot with the local community, unlike the Sudanese who stay in cocoons, move in groups and seem not to mix easily with the Ugandan population.

All these groups form a complex community with various communicative resources and complex communicative practices which make Kampala 'superdiverse'. Vertovec (as cited in Martin-Jones, Blackledge and Creese 2012:7), describes superdiversity as:

> The meshing and interweaving of diversities in which not only 'ethnicity', but also other variables intersect and influence the highly differential composition, social location and trajectories of various immigrant groups in the twenty first century.

In light of this, Kampala's super-mixed society makes it inevitable to have the intermingling of cultures and languages. Being basically a business centre with entrepreneurs from different origins and running varying enterprises, individuals cannot avoid learning more languages for the survival of their businesses and for smooth interaction. The linguistic practices in such an environment presented by Kampala pose a conceptual challenge as to 'what it means to know a language'. This calls for such a study of repertoires and biographies of users of languages in complex multilingual contexts. This study is about university students and these are part of and are influenced by this superdiversity as they go about their lives in the city.

2.4.2   The lingua franca in the capital city

Lingua francas are a utility in Kampala which neutralises communication among speakers of different languages. English is a widely used lingua franca internationally and in Uganda, particularly in Kampala.

The English spoken by many Ugandans including people operating and living in Kampala is rarely the Standard English, but a variety which resonates with connections to the local multilingual environment. It is currently widely known as Ugandan English (or Uglish) and has faced criticisms such as one presented by Mukama (2009:76), from a visiting American lecturer who in a departmental seminar on 27th May 1992 even insinuated that Ugandans should abstain from English. However, such gatekeeping tendencies on highly standardized languages (Harmon & Wilson, 2006; Higgins, 2009; Blommaert, 2007; Garret, 2010; Jaffe, 2012) have also been largely criticized. House (2003), Canagarajah (2007b) and Andy (2013) emphasize that English in the world today acts more as a lingua franca. For this reason it has more second language speakers whose need for mutual understanding supersedes preservation of purity of grammar and accent (Pennycook, 2007; Higgins, 2009; Canagarajah, 2015). English is nevertheless held as a standard language of formal education with prescriptions that create high expectations for accuracy. Therefore speakers use it with a lot of uncertainty.

In light of this situation, in Kampala on a general social basis, Luganda has found itself in top position as the language that mediates between speakers of mutually unintelligible languages. To this effect majority of people who come to Kampala for whatever purpose need to learn

Luganda in order to communicate smoothly with a greater number of other people. The reason for this is that Luganda conjugates both the literate and semi-literate as far as accessibility and ease of use is concerned. Likewise, the ridicule for speaking 'bad' Luganda is not as awful and common as that for speaking 'bad' English.

Owing to the above, local multilingual practices in Kampala promote utilization of local linguistic resources. Luganda has since increasingly gained status in the local community as a language that can serve the purpose of lingua franca. Such a status is usually designated to non-local languages that are regarded as 'neutral', as Uganda's White Paper of 1992 emphasizes.

2.4.3   The languages encountered at Makerere University in Kampala

At Makerere University few languages are adopted in the curriculum. English is the medium of instruction for all non-language subjects and is taught as a subject on the Bachelor of Arts programme. Only three local 'languages' are taught as subjects on the degree programme namely, Luganda, Runyakitara and Lwo. Five non-Ugandan languages are currently taught namely, Kiswahili, French, German, Arabic and Chinese. Other languages include Spanish and Japanese not taught on a degree program but as private short courses. There are efforts in place though to include these in the degree program.

In essence the local varieties taught at Makerere University total up to eight, clustered in the amalgamations of Lwo (Acholi, Lango, Alur and Japadhola) on one hand, and Runyakitara (Runyankore-Rukiga and Runyoro-Rutooro) on the other. The language courses of each of these two amalgamations combine in one class students that speak any of the language varieties in the amalgamation. This is so because the varieties are regarded to be linguistically close and mutually intelligible (Ladefoged et al., 1971; Bernsten, 1998). The speakers of Runyakitara, for instance, are known to practice receptive multilingualism where each speaks his/her language during a communicative exchange that involves different varieties (Bernsten, 1998:99-100).

The challenge with the above practice is that the students who attend these language courses complain about not being taught the language they speak. Such 'working languages' as Runyakitara and Lwo are, according to Bernsten (1998:105), formulations by intellectuals from Makerere University. These formulations are aimed at promoting the teaching of the languages involved at the least cost possible. It is clear that the idea of the formulations was

conceived without much consideration of the linguistic needs of potential students who are speakers of the different varieties within the amalgamations. Students thus complain that they are not speakers of Lwo or Runyakitara. Students, particularly of Lwo, are challenged by the medium of instruction which is not representative of what they speak and understand. This is because Lwo varieties are quite more linguistically distant from each other.

The writing system used in the classroom is another challenge. During classes, the lecturer chooses a writing system according to his/her own native variety of those in the merger. For instance a course unit on Orthography of Runyakitara is oriented to the native variety of the lecturer. Bamgbose (1998) argues that learners therefore learn what they get rather than what they need.

Luganda (about 17 million speakers estimated altogether according to Luganda Wikipedia Project of 2014) is the only language among the Ugandan local languages that operates in the mainstream curriculum as a stand-alone language subject. The other Ugandan languages are not taught in a comparable manner at university due to lack of commitment and resources for introducing more of the local languages. This most probably arises from the unfavourable cost-benefit analysis related to (i) the supremacy of English, (ii) the minority nature of the local languages and (iii) the admission requirements at the University which limit how many students register for particular degree programmes. Thus the linguistic practices of the students outside the classroom are the only contributors to students' enrichment of their linguistic repertoires. Much of the contact which students have with local languages is oral and conversational and is influenced by the surrounding multilingual environment and their linguistic competences are not supported by the formal educational programme.

All Ugandan languages are optional to students of linguistics who are expected to use them for professional training. The languages are optional because there is a misleading assumption that students already have good knowledge of their local languages particularly first (mother) languages (even for academic purposes).

2.5   CONCLUDING REMARKS

Uganda, and generally Africa, are visibly multilingual both on the societal and individual levels. Local African languages highly constitute the linguistic repertoires of both communities and individuals of all categories. In Uganda particularly Kampala, local

languages are optimally used in contexts and spaces that are less or not controlled by political ideologies. Such contexts form the majority of forums for language use and therefore fundamentally influence language practices of individuals. Scholarly work on these practices though is scanty.

CHAPTER THREE

REVIEW OF LITERATURE RELATED TO THE STUDY

3.0   INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the findings and perspectives of various scholars who have over the years attempted to study multilingualism and/or multilingual communities. A number of definitions of the term "multilingualism" which have been forwarded by such scholars are presented together with the social and linguistic frameworks that explain these definitions. This chapter also covers a number of topics which are essential to the understanding of multilingualism as a phenomenon, including linguistic repertoires, linguistic resources, code-switching, language choice and also language status.

3.1   DELINEATING 'MULTILINGUALISM'

In this section, I review some of the definitions of "multilingualism" that have been provided by different scholars. I also discuss the definitions of some of the terms that have been associated to multilingualism, although with specific inclinations.

3.1.1   "Multilingualism" as distinct from monolingualism

According to Edwards (1994) and Heller (2012), multilingualism is a fundamental phenomenon that involves linguistic competences and communicative practices of most societies in the world. Aronin and Singleton (2010a), Aronin and Singleton (2010b), Hammarberg (2010) and Heller (2012) establish that, multilingualism is a salient linguistic dispensation in relation to peoples' communication patterns. They maintain that, multilingualism which is reflected at the individual or societal levels is the global norm, particularly in Africa and Asia.

Although in Europe linguistic homogeneity was traditionally embraced, there is a changing trend toward adopting linguistic diversity (Franceschini, 2009/2011). This is evidenced in the increasing number of languages used in the European Integration, the European Union (Temmerman, 2011; Wodak, Krzyzanowski & Forchtner, 2012; Martyniuk, 2011).

The notion of 'multilingualism' generally entails the knowledge and use of all kinds of languages and language varieties with different statuses on one side such as official, national, majority, minority, non-standard varieties, mixed languages, and domains of use such as home, school and work stations on the other (Jessner, 2008; Franceschini, 2009/2011). It also entails all levels of language knowledge and skills.

Research on multilingualism has greatly influenced studies in the fields of Linguistics, Applied Linguistics, Psycholinguistics and Sociolinguistics. Jessner (2008:18) indicates that a part of the difficulties in finding generally accepted definitions of 'multilingualism', lies in the use principles of monolingualism, which do not fit the particular configurations one finds when individuals or communities know and use many languages. This is true also of conflicting definitions for various terms and concepts relevant to studies of multilingualism, including the definition of 'language'- the central object of study in the different fields.

Authors like Jessner (2008), Kemp (2009), Hammarberg (2010), Pennycook (2010) and Weber and Horner (2012), acknowledge that the diversity of definitions used by different researchers encumbers theory development and the application of methodology in studies of multilingualism. Hence Kemp (2009:11) cites the need to refine and harmonise such definitions to suit circumstances that unfold with multilingualism. However, it should be noted according to Cruz-Ferreira (2010:6), that multilingualism in its multifaceted nature cannot be handled as a unitary phenomenon, but has to be defined according to the specificity of contexts if one is to have a valid study (cf. Aronin & Singleton, 2010b). Thus the ideal of harmonisation of terms and definitions should be handled with caution since language practices vary both on local and translocal levels. Although the terms, concepts and definitions employed by different researchers vary, Kemp (2009:12) maintains the central feature of research on multilingualism to be communities and individuals that use various languages.

Since 'multilingualism' emerged as a theme in linguistic research different attempts have been made towards defining it. According to Kemp (2009:12) the different definitions stem from the complexity of language practices in different communities on the one hand, and differing ideologies and goals of researchers in studying multilingualism and multilingual societies on the other hand.

The understanding of multilingualism starts from the understanding of its basic ingredient, 'language' which in the classical sense is defined as an abstract tool of communication with territorial and cultural boundaries (Kemp, 2009; Pennycook, 2010; Cruz-Ferreira, 2010; Weber & Horner, 2012). Its bounded nature inspired the creation of language names like English attached to specific geographical territories (Blommaert, 2010:4; cf. Makoni & Pennycook 2007). Language in this sense therefore is a countable entity. The realization that individuals or communities could possess more than one such entity prompted the convention of counting. The process of counting of languages then motivated the use of terms such as "bilingualism", "trilingualism", "plurilingualism" and of course also "multilingualism" (Kemp, 2009; Hammarberg, 2010; Weber & Horner, 2012) to mark plurality.

3.1.2   Multilingualism as a product of societal mobility

At first 'languages as abstract entities' were the focus of descriptions of "multilingualism" where to be multilingual was equated with possessing a number of separate monolingual systems. In Europe for instance, before the industrial revolution, it was rare to find people who knew more than two languages. Hence the term "multilingualism" was first used only in reference to societies where various languages existed side by side, not to individuals.

Thus Stewart (1968:531) for example refers to "national multilingualism" which he defined as "the use within a single polity of more than one language." Stewart (1968:532) continues by commenting on the effects of such multilingualism as,

> Multilingualism – often as the linguistic aspect of a still-vigorous ethnic or cultural pluralism – has given rise to communication problems of a serious enough nature to have prompted a number of governments to initiate remedial programs.

Stewart's (1968) view portrays language as territorially bound and users of language as immobile. He thus presents the existence of various languages as obstacles to smooth communication since individuals are not perceived to have the ability to easily acquire other languages for translocal interaction.

This view of multilingualism led to its censure for many years in communities and among individuals (Heller, 2012). It has since been revisited in light of the continuing and increasing migration and globalization which enhance constant transfer of languages and cultures from one place to another, such that, in order to either provide or access services individuals devise

communicative practices that are compliant to the diversity (Blommaert, 2010). The peculiar trends of communication observed in certain parts of the world such as South Asia, particularly India (Edwards, 1994) and Africa (Makoni & Mashiri, 2007) have presented linguists with a complex scenario that prompts more critical attention than just numerical consideration of languages (Canagarajah, 2007b). This, as Busch (2006:8) and Blommaert (2010:102) mention, highlights the situated nature of language practices that makes people acquire and use bits of language that suit particular contexts.

3.1.3   Multilingualism as an individual's competence in more than one language

In light of the above, Edwards (1994) defines 'multilingualism' in terms of individual knowledge and use of language (individual multilingualism). Edwards (1994:33) draws attention to the fact that "multilingualism – the ability to speak, at some level, more than one language – is a wide spread global phenomenon". It is observable that Edwards's definition of 'multilingualism' alludes to individual as opposed to societal language practices. He recognises that the ability of an individual to speak different languages is varied – does not exist at the same level for all languages. His definition makes a binary distinction between 'monolingualism' and 'multilingualism' in that it suggests that everyone who is not monolingual (a speaker of a single language only) is in some way multilingual. Edwards is careful not to allude to language counting as he acknowledges that sometimes speakers only know varieties of languages, yet they communicate successfully with those. In other words Edwards (1994) shows awareness that speakers' linguistic repertoires are more intricate and thus not easily reducible to countable components. Edwards (1994) goes on to extensively discuss how multilinguals use their languages in peculiar ways which set them apart from the use of a single language. This discussion forms the base for a binary approach in research, that distinguishes the complexity of multilingualism as opposed to monolingualism, and that subsumes 'multilingualism' under 'bilingualism' by authors such as Mackey (1968), Heller (2007a) and Grosjean (2008).

3.1.4   Multilingualism as a special kind of capacity

Franceschini (2009:33-34) defines multilingualism as follows.

> The term/concept of multilingualism is to be understood as the capacity of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage on a regular basis in space and time with more than one language in everyday life. Multilingualism is a

product of the fundamental human ability to communicate in a number of languages. Operational distinctions may then be drawn between social, institutional, discursive and individual multilingualism. The term multilingualism is used to designate a phenomenon embedded in the cultural habits of a specific group, which are characterised by significant inter and intra-cultural sensitivity.

Franceschini's definition emanates from a discussion of how social environment conditions the development and maintenance of language practices. Multilingualism is thus understood as a feature of society and individuals which involves cultural contact. This is in line with Mackey's (1968:554) assessment that 'bilingualism' involves open interaction and contact especially involving different cultures.

Franceschini (2009) further addresses the unfixed nature of communities and practices by acknowledging language use in space and time, and the aspect of contact. She depicts the development and maintenance of multilingualism as a natural phenomenon for which every individual has capacity, but which can only be enhanced by an appropriate social context - a real social environment. She emphasizes the value of communities of practice (institutions and groups) which breed the environment for societal and individual practices that utilize and produce language for different purposes.

Mackey (1968:554) asserts that "bilingualism is not a phenomenon of language; it is a characteristic of its use." In an attempt to give a profound description of multilingualism, Cruz-Ferreira (2010) emphasizes Mackey's assertion by viewing 'multilingualism' as an aspect of individuals and not of languages. Cruz-Ferreira (2010:1) thus claims that "multilingualism has nothing to do with languages, because languages cannot be multilingual. People can." This is not to suggest that there is no aspect of language in the concept of 'multilingualism'. It rather corresponds with the assertion by Pennycook (2010:1) that language is a local practice and is produced through repeated acts of individuals in their various communicative engagements in different social domains. In other words 'multilingualism' is brought about by social practices of individuals (what people do) with languages (Cruz-Ferreira 2010; Blackledge & Creese, 2010). Thus Cruz-Ferreira (2010:6) suggests that in order to understand and ably describe 'multilingualism', there is a need to study speakers' language practices. Taking insights from Wenger (1994), Heller (1995), Pennycook (2010), research into the capacity for multilingualism requires analysis of engagements of individuals in different communities of practice that regulate the development, deployment and manipulation of language. Upon this background,

'multilingualism' can be perceived as the linguistic practices of individuals acted out among different communicative events in different communities of practice.

In view of all the above therefore, languages are produced and used by individuals whose desire to interact on different levels and for different purposes makes them build multifaceted repertoires which they can draw on as the situations require. This is the central ingredient of 'multilingualism'.

3.2   CONCEPTS WIDELY ASSOCIATED WITH 'MULTILINGUALISM'

3.2.1   Bilingualism

'Multilingualism' has on many occasions been either included or implied in bilingual studies although bilingualism is popularly and primarily known to deal with development and use of two languages. Most prior studies of bilingualism were psycholinguistic in nature (cf. Franceschini, 2011:344), such as Cummins (1976). Heller (2007a) and Grosjean (2008) concur that these studies followed the monolingual model of analysis which viewed bilingualism in the sense of two monolinguals in one person. For instance, Mackey (1968:554) and Edwards (1994:56) assert that 'bilingualism' was long regarded as equal mastery of two languages. This is greatly depicted by Grosjean's (1982) publication – *Life with Two Languages*.

3.2.1.1   Bilingualism, cognition and competence

The knowledge of more than one language was considered a hindrance to the cognitive development of an individual and was treated as an exception, a deviation from the norm (monolingual norm). Thus the earlier studies focused on describing the process of acquisition and learning of the structures of the two languages and the deficiencies involved. This was done under the field of study of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) (Aronin and Huffeisen, 2009:3; Hammarberg, 2010:92). Since all studies about knowledge of more than one language were under Second Language Acquisition, researchers found it unproblematic to consider multilingualism a part of bilingualism. For instance, Gumperz (1971:118) and Mackey (1968:555) define "bilingualism" as the possession of competences in two or more languages, and the ability to use them alternately. Grosjean (1982:1) explicitly defines bilingualism as "the regular use of two or more languages". Bilingualism was therefore described to entail two languages or more (Mackey, 1968; Grosjean, 2008).

There were scholars as early as 1930s that are reported to have looked at multilingualism as different from, and including bilingualism. Jessner (2008:16) for example presents a definition by Maximilian Braun in 1937 who acknowledged the difficulty in defining "multilingualism", but then defined it as "active balanced perfect proficiency in two or more languages (translated from German)". This definition is a revelation of how the monolingual ideology governed studies of Second Language Acquisition in the early 20th century. The social aspects that contributed to the development of bilingual knowledge or the contexts of its usage were overly under looked (Grosjean, 2008).

Notably however, although Grosjean and Mackey focus on bilingualism, they do not completely commit their definitions to two languages only. This could be because of the complexity in determining languages known by an individual, and also complexity in language use among communities that have mixed cultures (Auer, 2007; Heller, 2007b). Grosjean (1982:2) thus comments that there is no widely accepted definition of the concept of "bilingualism". Likewise authors like Mackey (1968), Kemp (2009) and Weber and Horner (2012), all agree that there is no common ground for defining bi/multilingualism. Different scholars define it according to their direction/purpose of study. For instance I do observe that Grosjean's choice to use the phrase 'regular use' suggests that a bilingual speaker had to have full balanced facility in their two or more languages and had to constantly use these languages in everyday communication. The 'regular use' was to ensure that both languages kept thriving at a similar pace as suggested by Braun's (1937) definition. This is also evident in most of the illustrations Grosjean uses in his 1982 publication.

3.2.1.2   *Receptive and productive bilingualism*

Language practices of different individuals in linguistically diverse areas occur in different dimensions. Some languages in an individual's repertoire are engaged productively through speech while others may remain receptive where one can only comprehend a language but does not speak it (Edwards, 1994:58). Receptive bilingualism is mainly described within immigrant communities especially in Europe. The linguistic practices of these people involve native languages of immigrants and the languages of the host communities' which are mostly foreign languages to the immigrants.

Children of immigrants normally go through submersion education systems, in which they are exclusively taught in the dominant (official) language which is also the sole language used in

school and in the larger community (Harkenrath, 2011). A study by Blackledge and Creese (2010) illustrates this. This language therefore becomes dominant in their repertoires such that they use it even with their parents at home. While the older generation of immigrants speak their original home languages, their off-spring speak to them in the dominant languages. The children however do comprehend the original home languages a practice that is referred to as receptive bilingualism.

Lanza and Svendsen (2007:283) give a scenario of the Filipino children in Norway who were not allowed to use Tagalog – their home language – in the mainstream classroom. The children thus developed productive skills for Norwegian while they retained receptive skills for Tagalog and any other Filipino language that their elders may use. Thus when spoken to in any of those languages, they comprehend them, but can only respond in Norwegian (Lanza & Svendsen, 2007:290).

The concept of receptive language practice is also extended to multilingualism especially to communication with related languages (Herkenrath, 2011; Thije, Rehbein & Verschik, 2011). These usually have high mutual intelligibility. Speakers of such languages can each use their own variety in the same conversation exchange and yet achieve mutual understanding. The commonest example cited in the Literature is that of Scandinavian languages namely, Swedish, Norwegian and Danish (Cruz-Ferreira, 2010; Herkenrath, 2011; Thije et al., 2011). A case in point in Uganda is the Runyakitara varieties (Runyankore, Rukiga, Runyoro and Rutooro) already discussed in chapter two.

The concept of receptive multilingualism motivated the extension of the understanding of 'mutual intelligibility' to not only depend on structural and lexical similarity but also to be negotiated by attitudes, historical beliefs (Thije, Rehbein & Verschik, 2011), language ideology, politics and practice (Herkenrath, 2011).

3.2.2 Plurilingualism

The Council of Europe (2007), Kemp (2009), and Martyniuk (2011:5) refer to "plurilingualism" as an individual's ability to use a number of languages. According to Jessner (2008:18), "plurilingualism" is used "to denote individual multilingualism". It is basically used in reference to the European context where the monolingual ideal of full language competence still reigns (Jessner, 2008). The term has its roots in the desire and effort to embrace linguistic diversity among the European Union member states and to

enhance smooth communication. Accordingly, several European languages were made official European Union languages (specifically 23 languages according to Martyniuk, 2011; Temmerman, 2011) with subsequent consideration of migrant languages. Members of the European Union were then greatly encouraged to widen their repertoires to enable them to communicate beyond their boundaries (Jessner, 2008). It suffices to note here that the term "plurilingualism" has not been used to refer to Africa and Asia where language and language use have been realised to be complex and linguistic diversity at its highest (superdiversity). Instead all language use whether societal or individual that involves a number of languages has been referred to as 'multilingualism'. In fact 'plurilingualism' has not been popularised beyond Europe possibly because it fronts the monolingual model of language development and use which does not fit the areas with superdiversity.

3.2.3   Code-switching

Scholars like Gumperz (1971), Weber and Horner (2012) argue that all language users, whether monolingual or multilingual, practice code-switching among the linguistic varieties available to them to suit different communicative contexts.

According to Myers-Scotton (1992:165), "code-switching is the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation." Grosjean (1982:116) defined it as, "the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation". Grosjean's definition illuminates the classic framework of languages as abstracted, bounded and countable systems of communication. He asserts that code-switching only occurs when a bilingual is addressing another bilingual. This is quite misleading because as Myers-Scotton (1992:173) acknowledges, sometimes the speaker is simply not aware of the language of the interlocutor and has to test different options until one of them gets received. The interlocutor could be a monolingual speaker of a language that forms part of the bilingual's repertoire.

Although Gumperz (1971), Brock-Utne (2009), Prah (2009), Ouane (2009) argue that multilinguals switch from one language to another in a similar way as monolinguals switch from one style to another within one language, others like Edwards (1994), Lüdi (2007), Blackledge and Creese (2010) observe that the social demands and interpretations for code-switching between languages/language varieties are more far-reaching than in a single code.

In addition to that, the monolingual ideology is opposed to code-switching referring to it as a deficiency in mastery of the languages one claims to know (Edwards, 1994:78). Grosjean

(1982:147) reports that "those who code-switch extensively are often said to know neither language well enough to converse in either one alone and they are termed "semi-lingual" or "nonlingual". In other words, they are said not to have command of any language. Therefore supposedly, to maintain purity in communication one should not mix codes or alternate from one code to another. Accordingly in this view, one is deemed a true multilingual if they can keep their languages separate. Edwards (1994), Grosjean (2008) and Jessner (2008) present illustrations of this view. It is however notable that the degree of code-switching varies according to the level of linguistic complexity of the social environment speakers find themselves in (Grosjean 2008) and as such it is not a language deficiency but rather a social context appropriation.

In light of the above, Grosjean (2008:28) discusses the Complementarity Principle in which he addresses the 'deficiency' stereotype to code-switching. In this principle, languages of the bilingual are developed to suit specific audiences and purposes and their competence levels are varied. They therefore work in alternation as one communicative system. This makes code-switching a communication strategy and not a scapegoat as claimed in the monolingual ideology.

The code-switching mechanism is inevitable and important in multilingual communication. It enables individuals who know a number of languages to facilitate interaction with people of different language backgrounds or social statuses, to assume a comfortable communicative exchange, as well as to negotiate identities during communication (Myers-Scotton, 1992:165).

Shifting from one language to another takes place within linguistic structures and across audiences. However it happens in some situations and not others. For instance switching can happen where an interlocutor realises that their addressee does not have good command of a given language, or where the interlocutors have more than one language in common, but it will hardly happen in official contexts or in situations where the addressee and the interlocutor are aware that they have only one language in common. Grosjean (1982:113-117) illustrates this. He presents an example of Nicole and Roger - a French-English bilingual couple, their son Marc - an English monolingual and Nicole's workmates - one a French speaker and the other an English speaker. Nicole always code-switches with her husband, but selects and maintains a single code for the rest of the people. There is also evidence that English is always used as a neutral language (for general purposes) since it is known by all the people in Nicole's communication circle and was also employed for communicating

technical subjects. Therefore as Edwards (1994) affirms, code-switching is not random, but is always motivated.

On a different note, Grosjean (1982:147), states that,

> Because of negative attitudes towards code switching by the bilinguals themselves, and the negative treatment from monolinguals who look at the practice as impure, some bilinguals will consequently never switch, while others restrict it to situations in which they will not be stigmatized for it.

This seems to suggest that code-switching is a conscious process which speakers always overtly control for personal reasons and this is hardly true. Although speakers have a recognisable control of their language practices, code-switching is a kind of behaviour that is mainly socially rather than personally determined as already explained in this section.

3.2.4   Language choice

Resources in a multilingual repertoire are obtained with a variation of competences for use in specific contexts (Lüdi, 2007) and for specific purposes. Henceforth language choice is an important aspect to discuss in a study of multilingualism (Gumperz, 1971; Romaine, 2002). Gumperz (1971) and Duranti (1997) maintain that multilingual speakers in multilingual contexts constantly make choices as to which linguistic resource to deploy in a given setting and with a given audience. Gumperz (1971) believes that language choice depends on the realization of the communicative abilities of the interlocutors such that intelligibility is of core interest. The language proficiency for both interlocutors is important in a communicative exchange. Myers-Scotton (1992:165) on the other hand asserts that language choice is motivated by performance of identity and negotiation of agency especially during social interactions. With this view Myers-Scotton (1992) is inclined to language choice as a function of identity negotiation whereby every time the communication situation changes and people assume different subject positions (Kramsch, 2006), they choose a code that reflects their personae. Meyer and Apfelbaum (2010:1) argue that "cognitive, social and historical aspects may play an important role in multilingual communication such as level of linguistic competence of participants and the degree of linguistic regulation of interaction spaces." Influenced by formality of the interaction domain is, to the effect that not only people who speak different languages, but even speakers who have commonalities in their constellation will be supposed to use the prescribed language of the social space they are participating in.

3.2.5   Languages status

Language status involves how languages are valued in society. Language is a highly ideological object (Blommaert et al., 2005:199) that is embedded with power relations, resistance and acts of agency at different levels. Languages in multilingual communities are therefore ranked in different ways both by the speakers and the authorities through appropriating them to certain domains and purposes (Spolsky & Shohamy, 2000:4).

Woolard and Sheiffelin (1994), Silverstein (1998) and Woolard (1998), express language ideologies as beliefs and practices of social groups that relate to language form and language use. Language ideologies reflect power relations and sociocultural attitudes toward language in society. They foreground the way people categorize languages and language use, and how they distribute languages to different domains of use. Language matters are therefore controlled locally through cultural beliefs and on the macro level through political systems and decisions.

Political decisions about languages are formulated into language policies that govern how languages are distributed for use in different domains of a community. Spolsky and Shohamy 2000:10) refer to this as status language policy which means that language status is determined through a language policy. It is language policies that designate official languages and languages of education.

Official languages are used in the most highly respectable domains such as administration, the law and most importantly education. UNESCO (1968:689) defines an official language as "a language used in the business of government" – legislative, executive and judicial. By this definition it is clear that official languages are the tools of transmission of power of a nation. Official languages become the languages of power and administration because they are recognised as superior and prestigious (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2001). Only official languages are developed and promoted for highly valued and specialized domains. The non-official varieties are left for the less privileged aspects of society such as interpersonal communication. Studies by Lanza and Svendsen (2007), Blackledge and Creese (2010) demonstrate that official languages take higher position in education as often they dominate in schools and institutions for teaching and learning. Official languages are the languages of education because as many authors like Busch (2006), Moyer and Rojo (2008), Ouane and

Glanz (2010), Cenoz and Gorter (2013) agree; school is an essential domain for power-play using language.

Making languages official is both a result of and raises their prestige and status in society and people relate to them in high regard. To maintain the high status of official languages, only very few and in most countries of Africa only one or two can attain this status. In Africa official languages are usually non-indigenous and highly standardized such that to qualify as knowing them is usually measured at a certain standard attained through rigorous extensive instruction in school (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Accordingly official languages of education serve to categorise the populations into elite and non-elite (Kroskrity, 2000).

Standardization is a feature that is tied to the monolingual norm. Issues of standardization have their roots in nation - state formation in Europe where a particular language was fixed to a particular geographical location and became the brand of the legitimate people within that location (nation-state) such as Spanish for Spain. Standardization resonates with correctness and purity (Blommaert, 2007; Romaine, 2007) and thus determines inclusion and exclusion of members into a given community (Harmon & Wilson, 2006). For instance one to be a legitimate member of a specific community has to have good and 'full' command of the standard form of that community's language. Any variation is regarded as deviation from the rules and is perceived as not just different but also deficient. As such standardisation gave birth to the concept of 'dialect' - a variation from the standard code (Harmon & Wilson, 2006; Blommaert, 2007; Romaine, 2007).

Dialects were regarded deficient and thus devalued as impure language. The meaning of the concept later widened to include all kinds of variations of a language, whether linguistic, geographic or social. However the negative connotations of dialects also became more grounded among language users. Language users consequently reject the term for the more prestigious concept - 'language'.

Although majority of national languages may not be official or standard languages, they are locally accorded value in different ways which raise or lower their prestige. Contributing factors to this prestige include social and geographical distribution of a language, sociolinguistic context of use, social and cultural status of the speakers (Mtenje, 2009). Status in this case is mediated by perceptions of a social or cultural group. Kroskrity (2000:8) acknowledges that social experience and ideological constructions shape an individual's

perceptions about language and language use. For instance although Kiswahili (widely spoken lingua franca in the whole of East Africa) was given a high political recognition de jure in Uganda by being designated as second official language, locally it assumes de facto low status. This is because it is viewed as a 'language of oppression' for being official language of the army (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1996) which oppressed people in 1970s. This has for long surrounded resistance to its use by majority Ugandans.

Edwards (1994), Jesnner (2008) and Edwards (2004) relate language status to 'multilingualism' particularly through attitudes towards acquisition/learning of languages, language use and language maintenance. Blommaert et al. (2005) acknowledge that minority languages are less mobile. Ouane (2009:54) and Martin-Jones et al. (2012) then observe that people who speak less valued (minority) languages tend to acquire more languages especially those they consider of high status/prestige so as to raise their subject positions and enhance their mobility. Language status therefore plays a vital role in designing of multilingual repertoires of individuals. The kind of prestige associated with a particular language attracts or discourages individuals to learn it (Jesnner, 2008) or use it.

UNESCO (1964), Stewart (1968), Kroskrity (2000), Busch (2006) and Cenoz and Gorter (2010) indicate that individuals usually do not have much of a choice but to learn languages to which high status is attached such as official languages and languages of education. In Africa for instance, since official languages are usually ex-colonial languages, and these are politically imposed as languages of education, individuals find themselves obliged to add these languages to their already existing repertoires as much as they learn them to raise their own status in society.

Keeping in mind all the factors that contribute to the status of a language, some authors such as Edwards (1994), Agha (2007), Mukama (2009), Aronin and Singleton (2010b), proclaim that languages principally attain their status from the people and from real contexts in which they are used. Individuals through their ideologies and communicative practices that promote or confine languages, influence the value of different languages in society. This works alongside the social, political and economic status of the speakers.

3.3   MULTILINGUALISM IN EDUCATION

The education scene is a central point for controlling language use in communities both at micro levels within schools (Edwards, 1994:190) and institutions and at the macro level in the national administration.

In various countries, multilingualism in education has been suffocated through language policies that promote the use of only the official language in school. In European countries for instance, the official and national language is also the dominant language of the community, while in Africa and Asia, it is usually exposed to a few, mostly in the elite class (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1996).

However with the increase in multilingualism in various communities, the use of more than one language has been widely encouraged in education, as a way to promote individual capacities in various languages (Edwards, 1994:192; Marten & Kula, 2008; Bamgbose, 2011, ACALAN), but also as a way to promote and develop the languages themselves. In Africa the argument for multilingualism in education has been based on the claim of promoting literacy and cognitive abilities for language and other disciplines (Ouane & Glanz, 2010). This campaign has been spearheaded and supported by United Nations Education and Scientific Organisation (UNESCO), although as Banda (2009:2) laments, the real practice is to promote African languages as languages of culture and tradition.

According to Cenoz and Gorter (2010:38) multilingualism in education is a function of how languages are valued in a community and the ideologies of the speakers of these languages. They argue that when a number of languages are of high value in a community, then they will be afforded a slot in education. For example Jessner (2008) notes that in Europe where there are immigrant communities, immigrant languages are slowly becoming part of the curriculums. The immigrant children can therefore learn in their languages as well as the dominant host languages which are usually the main languages of instruction in schools.

However, Edwards (1994:195) and Cenoz and Gorter (2010:46) emphasize that in contexts where only one language is believed to have high value is sufficient for local and translocal transactions, then monolingualism will reign in education. This is evident in for example the immersion of English-speaking Canadians into French, and the submersion of immigrant children into dominant community languages.

In addition, Edwards (1994:197), Banda (2009:4) and Thamaga-Chitja and Mbatha, 2012:344) confirm that multilingualism in education is obstructed by ideologies of parents and students who prefer English as the only language of teaching and learning because of its local and global resourcefulness as a language that enables social and economic mobility. Likewise a single language is maintained for fear that supporting multilingualism will cause fragmentarity in society. This is usually the reason advanced for one-language policies in schools in various countries and is mainly a political sentiment based in the monolingual ideology which believes in the uniting power of a single language and decries the divisiveness of many languages that, but is also a way to maintain power over individuals (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1996). It is enforced through language of education policies especially at higher education levels. The fear of fragmentarity however is superficial for communities like those in Africa where individuals grow up with repertoires consisting of non-conflicting resources from different languages and thus communities, and where such resources are not competing with each other but rather complementing each other (Banda, 2009; Prah, 2009).

Although the compulsion and stipulation of a single language of education is popular, there is always the desire to integrate foreign languages in the curriculum basing on their high global status which makes them highly prestigious and desirable in society. Foreign languages are not part of the local repertoires and therefore like Edwards (1994:190) recognizes, are particularly learned in school. Foreign languages are perceived to increase speakers' mobility on a more global scale beyond the local and translocal boundaries. In schools and institutions, foreign languages are mainly learned as additional subjects (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010) and are more popular at higher levels of education.

Edwards (1994:192-193) however argues that learning languages in classrooms is an artificial process and keeps the language distant especially because usually such a language is not applied in the local community (cf. Skutnabb-Kangas & Garcia, 1995:234). A language learned in the classroom is also non- interactive since classroom teaching practices emphasize the linguistic form and not the communicative form. The same concern is also reflected by Thamaga-Chitja and Mbatha (2012:342) from students in South Africa about African languages taught in classrooms.

There is notably a growing paradigm shift from so called 'monolingualism with English' to 'multilingualism with English' where different languages are seen to work together to enrich and expand learners' repertoires (Temmerman, 2011); Visser, 2013:4). The global spread of

English and its international status as the language that connects people the world over, the language of science and technology and a key to social and economic mobility should therefore sustain multilingualism in education (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010:43) other than suppress it (Banda, 2009; Visser, 2013). Many countries in the world integrated the teaching and learning of English at various education levels alongside the other official and non-official languages (Jessner, 2008:28). Immediate examples are Norway and China, Tanzania in East Africa which formally utilized only Kiswahili, Rwanda and Burundi where French dominated.

In South Africa for instance, Thamaga-Chitja and Mbatha (2012) state that the tertiary level of education in South Africa is mandated by the National Plan for Higher Education and the Higher Education Language Policy to embrace multilingual education. Universities are given the mandate to design their own language policies compliant to racial configurations of their students (Thamaga-Chitja & Mbatha, 2012:341), but are advised to as much as possible include African languages in mainstream learning and teaching. Thamaga-Chitja and Mbatha (2012), however admit that a lot is yet to be done to make multilingual education a reality. They also note that the policy which supports multilingual education is taken aback by the National Language Policy and practice which favours the use of English in public and private spaces elsewhere where students eventually go for jobs. They therefore pick out a point in their study, that if multilingualism in education is to get positive reception, African languages should be used in complementarity with English not as its replacements (competitors) in the classroom. Then, it will be welcomed as a resource for academic growth (P. 344).

According to Thamaga-Chitja and Mbatha (2012) and Banda (2009), integration and progress of multilingualism in education in Africa and actually elsewhere is stalled by the continuous debate about domination of English in education and other vital social spaces. This means that English is seen as a language that competes with and subdues other languages. Therefore the development of African languages to serve in the educational domain is neglected and overshadowed by this debate. As Banda (2009:3) notices, in education in Africa, one language is emphasised while the rest that are given opportunity are seen and treated as additional languages which makes them optional. The optionality also weakens the effort to develop them for academic use.

It is therefore important to take note that multilingual education is considerably more complex than monolingual and bilingual education and requires more understanding of the individual

and societal linguistic practices and attitudes if its integration is to have positive and lasting results. Two earlier studies on the uses of indigenous langauges alongside English as LoLT in East African countries should be mentioned here for their reflection on the status and distribution of indigenous langauges in countries with highly linguistically diverse populations. These are Nyaga (2012) on languages in primary education in Kenya and Ssentanda (2014) on how transfer between indigenous languages and English as media of instruction is managed.

3.4   LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES

A mere quantitative distinction between speakers of one language and speakers of a number of languages[6] cannot sufficiently convey the communicative practices of multilingual communities. We ought to look further into communicative practices and how languages permeate speakers' linguistic practices. Blommaert (2010:102) therefore contends that,

> Multilingualism should not be seen as a collection of 'languages' that a speaker controls, but rather a complex of specific semiotic resources, some of which belong to a conventionally defined language while others belong to another language.

In addition, Ouane (2009:53), states that,

> Multilingualism is not a question of two or three languages existing side by side; it is that many languages in some cases over 100, and in Nigeria up to 410, exist and are used in one way or another within the same country, the same subnational setting.

The two authors present the intricacy that surrounds the forms of communication used in multingual communities both on the individual and societal levels. Against that background, researchers on multilingualism adopted the notion of 'linguistic repertoire' as a way to address language and communication in multilingual communities. Authors such as Lüdi

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[6] It is more preferable to refer to the languages of the multilingual as 'a number of languages' other than using the numbering system, such as, more than two (Kemp, 2009) because of the problems that are encountered and have not yet been fully resolved in research. It is also for the fact that there is an inconsistency in what number of languages one should have to be referred to as multilingual since even bilingual studies which tropicalize knowledge of two languages have included a close of 'more than two' (Mackey, 1968; Grosjean, 1982; Grosjean, 2008). This seems to serve as evidence that speakers of more than a single variety have more complex practices that cannot be assessed satisfactorily by referring to numbers.

(2007:166); Makoni and Mashiri (2007:84); Blommaert (2010:102), argue that multilingual studies should emphasize repertoires and not languages.

The notion of linguistic repertoires, introduced by Gumperz in 1964, has been widely adopted by various scholars to describe multilingual competences and communication. Following from Gumperz (1971:125,152), a linguistic repertoire is a total range of varied, socially constrained linguistic resources that language users draw on for their day-to-day interaction.

Several researchers such as Gumperz (1971), Ouane (2009), Blommaert (2010), Hammarberg (2010), stress that the languages of multilinguals do not exist as several monolinguals lining side by side. They are rather parts of one complex system of resources that a speaker draws on in a flexible way, according to the requirements of the communicative activities he/she engages in. Therefore these resources exist in a holistic package characterised by varied competences (Lüdi, 2007:165-166). Scholars such as Edwards (1994); Blommaert et al. (2005), Lowie and Bot (2005) and Kemp (2009), have also asserted the unnecessariness and difficulty of occurrence of equal and full levels of competences in the different languages in individuals' repertoires. Competence levels are determined by the social contexts of adoption and application of particular languages (Mackey, 1968; Lüdi, 2007; Cruz-Ferreira, 2010).

From the work of Myers-Scotton (1992), Duranti (1997), Busch (2006), Busch (2012), it is apparent that linguistic repertoires are curved through memberships of individuals in different communities of practice and reflect experiences of individuals in these communities including which social activities they engaged in through time and space (Pennycook, 2010). Since our communities of practice change from time to time (Kramsch, 1998; Wenger, 1998), our repertoires also portray various dynamics in regard to the resources that constitute them (cf. Heller, 1995; Lanza & Svendsen, 2007).

For instance, a repertoire is constituted by full languages, language varieties, specific genres, registers, modalities such as writing, reading, speaking and listening, styles, partial competences for different language (Gumperz, 1971; Blommaert, 2010), and these are used purposefully to achieve meaning and appropriateness. The social approach to multilingualism therefore advocates for treatment of multilingual repertoires as holistic configurations of communicative resources (Kemp, 2009) and not as sets of separate full languages.

3.4.1 The notion of linguistic repertoires: Language, languages and linguistic resources

3.4.1.1 Language and languages

Language is the most powerful resource humans use to enhance their thought processes, to reflect on the world and the nature of human existence (Duranti, 1997:7). Kramsch (1998:85) thus says language is a "medium of thought and a guide to social reality". Despite the existence of various means of communication, Gumperz (1971) and Kramsch (1998) maintain that language plays a central role as the instrument used for communication and transmission of culture.

Analysing and understanding 'language' are central in multilingual research (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Kemp, 2009; Cruz-Ferreira, 2010; Pennycook, 2010) due to complexity of language practices in linguistically diverse contexts. The growing complex patterns of language acquisition and use in these contexts have compelled researchers to debate a distinction between 'language' and 'a language' (Kemp, 2009:16), contemplating that it is easier to define 'language' but challenging to define 'a language'. Ironically however, the contention about what 'language' is still persists. Researchers in the field of multilingualism such as Garcia (2007), Blommaert (2010), Cruz-Ferreira (2010), Pennycook (2010), Makoni and Pennycook (2012), have thus resorted to operational definitions for 'language', that have root in the social aspects of speakers. This resulted from realising that the already existing definition of language does not encompass complex social and cultural aspects of modern language practices.

The traditional definition presents language as comprising a set of rules in form of 'grammar'. Gumperz (1971:235) defines grammar as "a theoretical construct, a set of rules which underlie verbal performance. Within this model, language consists of a set of utterances generated by the grammar". This suggests that grammar pre-exists and forms the baseline that is used as a foundation for all strings of communication that we make, but in a more rigid form. However some scholars like Agha (2007), Pennycook (2007) and Pennycook (2010) argue that grammar of a language is not pre-existent but is constructed and sedimented through repeated talk. Therefore individuals gain competency of grammar by living in a community that uses a given form of talk, and by using it repetitively. All the same relying on the term "grammar" to refer to what multilingual repertoires consist of is confusing due to the monolingual sentiments of correctness and full (native) competence it resonates with.

Monolingual processes prescribe knowledge of (a) language to presuppose knowing all its sounds, vocabulary, its morphology, rules of grammar and its pragmatic features. Multilingual processes however do not target grammar but rather means of communication by which one can ably survive in a community (Blommaert et al., 2005; Cruz-Ferreira, 2010). Therefore for multilinguals the goal for learning languages is to enable one to communicate in a variety of social contexts (Kramsch, 2002:171). Multilingualism therefore is more inclined to language practices than to linguistic features that make up particular languages. These language practices grade language acquisition and the formation of the multilingual repertoires (Edwards, 1994; Lüdi, 2007). Accordingly Riley (2007:32) asserts that, "all knowledge is conditioned by the social knowledge system and by the communicative practices through which it is negotiated and distributed." The knowledge systems may include home, school, work, neighbourhood and these are also arbitrated by time.

The monolingual system also values fixed and confined occurrence of language, and achieves this through giving names to forms of talk of specific groups of individuals. Kramsch (2006), Martin-Jones et al. (2012) and Canagarajah and Said (2013) argue that apparently the naming of languages has its roots in the one language – one nation slogan which equated language to a fixed identity.

Makoni and Mashiri (2007), Kemp (2009) and Weber and Horner (2012) argue against 'labelling 'of languages. They maintain that labelling language through naming breeds several challenges and limitations when it comes to the changing and multiple identities that are part and parcel of multilingual practices. In other words, language naming does not address the multilingual ethos. For multilingualism, as Cruz-Ferreira (2010) and Makoni and Pennycook (2012) seem to agree, what matters is not the name of the variety (for some speaker varieties especially nonstandard ones do not have names), but the function of the resource. In Uganda for instance, one fundamental way of identifying people is by their ethnic groups based on language such as Baganda, Basoga, Itesots, Alur (Mukama, 2009). This misguides our understanding that individuals have a fixed identity to that specific group and so should mainly and perfectly speak the ethnic language by which they are labelled. This however is challenged by the social, political and economic realities which have an effect on individuals' identity negotiation and construction for example through migration and education.

Furthermore, Blommaert (2010:170-171) illustrates on social order of naming languages where mispronouncing a name of a language would disqualify one from being a member of

the speaker community. Joseph - a fluent speaker of 'Runyankore'- an indigenous language in Uganda, refers to it as'Kinyankore'. However, his fluency in Runyankore', despite his wrong pronunciation of its name, is used to deny him citizenship of his home country - Rwanda. Runyankore is a label from within Uganda, while pronouncing it as Kinyankore is affiliated to Rwanda where Joseph had been born and raised. The traits of his home variety of speech reflected in his use of Runyankore - the next variety he acquired. This example indicates how membership of an individual in different communities of practice clearly resonates in his/her style of language use (Kramsch, 2006).

The above scenario displays a mixing of morphology of two linguistic systems which indicates a loose confederation of social experiences of the speaker. Focussing less on the commonalities exhibited by users of a certain linguistic code, and more on the language practices of the speakers is to attend to the intrinsic communicative activities that curve particular communities of practice (Pennycook, 2010) and identities of individuals. Communities of practice are therefore a solid ground for linguistic knowledge of individuals that shapes speakers' repertoires (Wenger, 1998; Pennycook, 2010).

3.4.1.2   *Resources*

To understand 'multilingualism' and multilingual communication, one ought to fully understand what multilinguals rely on for their communicative activities. From the above exposition on language and languages, the meaning of 'language' in linguistically diverse contexts is more complex, dynamic and more socially constructed than the classical understanding presumes (Agha, 2007; Pennycook, 2010). Thus Edwards (1994:90) argues that "languages are better seen as different systems reflecting different varieties of the human conditions." These conditions manifest unequal access to linguistic and communicative resources (Blommaert et al., 2005; Blommaert, 2010) which results in unequal development and production of meaning by different individuals.

In addition, Fairclough (1989) establishes that developing language is a process socially conditioned by non-linguistic aspects of society. Such aspects will include changing situations, environments, interlocutors which all invoke different linguistic needs and ways of negotiation of meaning in the available language(s). Thus language development involves actively engaging with those aspects and adapting to them. This presents an argument against languages as static, already existing systems within a given territory and endorses the

inclusion of social activities and social actors in the understanding of what 'language' or 'a language' is. The outcome of the dynamic process of language development is an integrated system of linguistic resources of varying types and grades that can be manipulated to suit the context at hand (Gumperz, 1971).

The subtleties of both constituting and drawing on multilingual repertoires resulted into the adoption of the term "linguistic resources" that has increasingly gained popularity in multilingual studies (Blommaert et al., 2005; Blommaert, 2010; Gardner & Martin-Jones, 2012). It is used to refer to what individuals recruit in their repertoires and put to use in their daily communication. Linguistic resources are socially situated. They are not restricted to specific language boundaries (Lüdi, 2007; Meyer & Apfelbaum, 2010; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012) and therefore they are drawn from various languages. During communication they are selected according to local constellations of the communicative context and are used in a flexible manner to negotiate identities and to ensure mobility and flexibility in society (Blommaert, 2010; Blackledge & Creese, 2010).

From the above, 'linguistic resources' provide a base for the most reliable analysis of what constitutes multilingual repertoires by not looking at single languages but the particular components (forms of language) that speakers draw on for their social practice (Blommaert, 2010). The notion of 'linguistic resources' serves to deconstruct the linguistics of 'deficiency' that Jessner (2008), Ouane (2009) and Canagarajah and Said (2014) recognize is commonly used to describe multilingual language practices. For multilinguals what is important is the capacity of an individual to adjust to communicative situations at hand.

Blackledge and Creese (2010:215) reveal a situation from complementary schools, about ideologies and practices, as they urged for learning of community languages alongside English, that is:

i.   There can no more be an assumed consensus about what constitutes a language.

ii.   Old boundaries and constraints are eroding

iii. Certain sets of linguistic resources can no longer be held to straight forwardly represent particular nations, heritages or cultures.

The situation Blackledge and Creese describe above presents the fluidity and continuity that characterises what individuals use to communicate that is not bound by national borders,

prescribed grammars, or the conventional linguistic boundaries. Therefore authors such as Branson and Miller (2007), Heller (2007), Patrick (2012) and Weber and Horner (2012) concede that to stick to the already existing term 'language' is to undermine the ability of individuals to create forms of communication that go beyond idealized codes as described in formal linguistics). Individuals within communities have the ability to manipulate what they derive from languages to fit their local communicative practices which as Edwards (1994) and Blommaert et al. (2005) argue; do not always call for full languages.

Viewing language as a local practice (Pennycook, 2010) thus fronts the idea of social action as vital in language creation and utilization. In this framework, individuals or groups of individuals within specific communities of practice, through their repeated activities, require and thus create communicative forms that suit their engagements. This henceforth calls for the focus on ways of using language as a resource through an approach which advocates and privileges how speakers through their social practices construct ways of communicating.

3.4.2 The notion of repertoire: competence including multilingual competences

Multilingual competences have been a piece of work for researchers in different fields such as Linguistics, Psycholinguistics, Applied Linguistics and Sociolinguistics. In the field of Psycholinguists where multilingualism was covered under Second Language Acquisition, multilingual competences were basically regarded as deficiencies in the different languages individuals know (Grosjean, 2008). In Applied Linguistics, multiple language competences were regarded as a threat to cognitive abilities based on challenges of learning particularly a school language (often foreign especially in Africa and for immigrants) as the study by Brock-Utne (2009) highlights and as Ouane and Glanz (2010) remark. Sociolinguistics has taken much interest in the diversities in the levels and kinds of competences and how they function for multilingual speakers (Lüdi, 2007).

Multilingual competences are developed from and applied in varied contexts. Due to the variation in these contexts, competences are not similar and are not fully developed for all languages in the repertoire (Gumperz, 1971; Busch, 2006/2012; Ouane, 2009). Edwards (1994:34) like many other scholars of multilingualism such as Blackledge and Creese (2010), Blommaert et al. (2005), Heller (2012) and Lüdi (2007), affirm that multilingualism is not just a habit of knowing many languages, but a strategy for compliance with different communicative situations. These require different competences. Therefore knowledge and

proficiency in certain forms of language and not others is basically a linguistic resource bank that a speaker can draw on for communication in contextualized social environments, and is not an index of less or more knowledge of a language(s) (Blommaert, 2010). Moreover according to Ouane (2009:57) and Blommaert (2010:103) not having equal mastery of all language modalities of reading, writing, speaking and listening does not make one deficient in a language. Language therefore does not serve as a mere tool of communication (Pennycook, 2010) but as a specialized resource appropriated for specific social activities.

Accordingly, adoption of each resource in its different form such as genre or register is largely conditioned by purpose. The broader the purpose for which a resource is useful in one's life, the higher the competence level attained in the language from which it is acquired. Therefore both need and social application facilitate the development of linguistic competencies of a certain resource to a given level.

Edwards (1994) for instance gives examples of specialised contexts of language use which if not linguistically familiar to a native speaker, does not mean he knows less of the language or is deficient. He observes that some much specialised social contexts utilise much specialised forms of language for example carpentry and boat making. Individuals who participate or are interested for one reason or another in such contexts will learn the specialised forms of language involved. The focus in multiple language acquisition is not on perfecting the flow of the language but on acquiring as much of the resource as the need for it dictates (Edwards, 1994; Ludi, 2007; Cruz-Ferreira, 2010).

Globalization and technological advancement have also had their take on development of competences in different languages. The use of modern communication technology, by way of, short message service (sms), Whatssap, and social network forums like Facebook, Twitter, which provide limited space for delivery of a message, has been cited by different scholars such as Busch (2006) and Blommaert (2010). These prompt use of more compressed forms of language. These language forms are also used in peculiar ways (bits and pieces) that do not conform to the prescribed rules of grammar of any language. What matters to the users is that they convey meaning and achieve their communicative intent. This farther downplays the attainment of structural competence among language users especially the urban youths.

Furthermore, Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson (1999), Cruz-Ferreira (2010), Meyer and Apfelbaum (2010) argue that multilingual competences are more communicatively

inspired than linguistically (cognitively) influenced, hence issues of full knowledge or correctness are not major. We however should be careful not over emphasize that correctness of form is trivial. Since competences are purpose driven, for professional, technical and academic purposes, that are language-based, it is a requirement that one acquires what suits such higher level application of language (Agha, 2007; Blommaert, 2010). These fields call for wider and high levels of competence. Still as Prah (2009) emphasizes multilingual resources especially in multilingually complex environments are mostly for ordinary social interaction which in most cases is oral and requires less perfection.

3.5 LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHIES

3.5.1 Language biographies of multilinguals

Researching 'multilingualism' has proved to be a complex task given the multifaceted nature of the subject matter. Researchers have thus sought the invention of methods into language (sociolinguistic) study that deal with the personal lives and lived experiences of individuals (cf. Kemp, 2009; Pavlenko, 2007). A case in point was the introduction of the use of language biographies in the 1990s (Busch, 2006). The study of language biographies did not simply receive an easy entry into language research. As Busch (2006:5) reveals, it was criticised as biased, naive unreliable and providing insufficient information. Nevertheless, it has been increasingly embraced in research on multilingualism especially in 'super diverse' contexts although as Woolard (2011) notes, studies in such contexts are still scanty.

The study of language biographies was first applied on teachers in migrant communities to find out how much they knew of the languages they were supposed to teach. It was later applied on learners still in immigrant communities to instil confidence in them regarding their competences.

Language biographies are personal texts containing stories of linguistic journeys of individuals. According to Pavlenko (2007:165), language biographies reveal information of languages individuals know, including information of when they acquired/learned the languages, where they acquired them from, and for what purpose (Pavlenko, 2007). It is paramount therefore to argue that multilingualism is more of a lived reality than a matter of cognitive flair (cf. Prah, 2009; Franceschini, 2009; Aronin & singleton, 2010a).

Language biographies are essential in understanding the background to the linguistic configurations of multilingual individuals. Just like Busch (2006:9) observes, language biographies do not only provide information about individual speakers, but about their social experiences, memberships and participation in communities of practice, the kinds of people they have interacted with and the stages and durations of stay in the various communities. This information is vital in understanding the intricacies of multilingual repertoires.

Language biographies also highlight the language learning processes, and very uniquely, the attitudes of individuals to the languages they know (Busch, 2006). According to Blommaert (2010:105) therefore, our biographies are the entry points to understanding our repertoires.

Novak (2012:400) argues that "language biographies contain systematic scientific presentations of a person's language development under specific individual circumstances". This suggests that language biographies are products of a compilation and analysis of all relevant information in regard to the language(s) an individual knows including perspectives on language learning, emotional dispositions, real and imagined belongings to communities of practice (Busch, 2006).

3.5.2   Motivation for including language biographies in studies on multilingualism

There has always been a tendency to impose a linear arrangement to the languages of multilingual speakers in terms of first language (L1), second language (L2), third language L3, and the list continues, depending on how many can be counted (Hammarberg, 2010). Researchers use different mechanisms to sequence the languages and these mechanisms conflict with each other while others are not clearly inclusive of all languages. It is argued that only the first language can be clearly assigned a position in a sequence attributed to being the first language one learns during infancy, before going to school (Hammarberg, 2010).

This has also faced criticism for not addressing situations where individuals acquire more than one language during infancy (Brock-Utne, 2009; Prah, 2009; Kemp, 2009). Jessner (2008:18), for instance presents contentions where first language can also stand for the strongest/dominant language in one's repertoire, and not necessarily the first language acquired basing on usage and attrition dynamics in multilingualism. Furthermore some children never acquire any language till they go to school due to confusion from exposure to different languages at the same time at home, or no sufficient exposure.

Hammarberg (2010) thus contends that arranging languages in a sequence with descriptions of the environment (such as home) and specific conditions surrounding the level assumed (learned in infancy) by the language can only be applicable in contexts where language acquisition/learning environments are neatly streamlined.

Apparently, the linear model is full of ambiguities; for instance, second language has been used to mean all languages learned after the first language as well as also standing for a majority language especially learned at school (Ellis, 1997; Birdsong, 2004; Aronin & Huffeisen, 2009; Ortega, 2009). When it comes to third language, it stands for the language that is acquired third in the sequence of the speaker's language acquisition and also to any complex linguistic practice that comprises more than two languages (Hammarberg, 2010; Edwards & Dewaele, 2007). Hammarberg (2010:93) for example states that, "L3 is typically used for the next language acquired by a person raised with two languages, or the second foreign language at school for a monolingually raised child." These scenarios reveal how problematic the linear model is. They do not illustrate occurrence of simultaneity in acquisition of languages (especially at home), which is actually common especially in Africa.

The linear model of multilingualism is therefore challenged by such factors as: simultaneous language acquisition, scanty knowledge or specific knowledge (like listening only), acquiring a language at different intervals spread over different periods, related languages whereby if a speaker knows one, they can easily understand the other without really learning it (Brock-Utne, 2009; Prah, 2009; Cruz-Ferreira, 2010; Hammarberg, 2010).

The above illuminate the scanty research on third language acquisition/learning and multiple language acquisition processes. This could be because for a long time having knowledge of more than one language was taken as the exception (Heller, 2007a; Meyer & Apfelbaum, 2010; Heller, 2012) and a deviation from the norm such that only measures to rectify the anomaly were first priority. For multilinguals living in multilingual contexts, it is quite hazy to tell which language was acquired first, second or third because one may not even realise that they are learning a new language during a certain period.

It is therefore relevant and necessary to study the social practices and the social environments that respectively induce the acquisition of these languages that underlies their usage. This justifies the need to study more personal data in form of language biographies such that the speakers provide more detailed information about their languages by themselves, which the

conventional methods may not adequately invoke. Such information may vary from individual to individual since each individual relates to the world in a unique way and individual circumstances also vary (Busch, 2006).

Due to the fact that people's physical locations, workplaces, and life experiences change, there is a multifaceted panorama of linguistic practices that get played out. These practices keep being formulated and reformulated to fit the changing social environments and social activities encountered. According to Kramsch (1998:83),

> Communicative practices reflect institutionalized networks of relationships, defined by the family, the school, the work place, the professional organization and the church, each with its own power hierarchy, its expected roles and statuses, its characteristic values and beliefs, attitudes and ideologies.

In essence individuals assume different social identities brought about by their geographical and social mobility, hence the linguistic behaviour envisaged by their communicative practices resonate with a construction and reconstruction of meaning and the fluidity of communities of they participate in (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010; Kramsch, 1998; Wenger, 1994; Pennycook, 2010). Investigating language biographies is a salient way to unveil all this information (Pavlenko, 2007:164).

The quest to understand sociolinguistic trajectories that form biographies of individuals led to creation and incorporation of new research instruments such as arts-based images namely language portraits into language research.

3.5.3   Language portraits as language biographical instruments

Narratives alone were discovered not give a full impression of the linguistic configuration of individuals because sometimes they would be carefully calculated or not well thought. Linguists therefore thought of integrating the use of images in the form of language portraits into research on multilingualism. This was aimed to get a visual representation for more detail and clarity.

Language portraits are instruments of the Arts based method of research used within the genre of Participatory Action Research (O'Neil, 2012). They afford greater access (Mitchell, 2011; Hogen & Pink, 2012; Pauwels, 2012) for the understanding and compilation of individuals' language biographies. According to Bush (2006:10), language portraits "came into use in the

1990s" with increase in migration that consistently changed the linguistic scene in Europe. It started as a children's activity, investigating language awareness of immigrant children, but later was introduced to adults starting with language teachers.

Language portraits are designed in form of body shapes drawn on paper sheets (Busch, 2006). Individuals shade the different linguistic resources they possess knowledge of and those they desire in different body parts, using different colours for distinctiveness. Busch (2012:7), upholds that language portraits embody a subject perspective to language where participants choose individually how to refer to the different resources as languages, dialects or registers depending on their perceptions, experiences and feelings (cf. Hogen & Pink, 2012; O'Neil, 2012). Likewise the choice of colours of different resources is also up to the individual. Bold (2012:10) and Busch (2012:9) agree that this activity brings into action the creativity of individuals with which they portray their languages in the most detailed way disclosing their attitudes and emotions towards these languages.

The information provided on languages in the language portraits is drawn from (i) the parts of the body chosen for different languages (ii) the colours that are used to shade and (iii) the portion (big/small) of the body that a language covers. Individuals are systematic when shading the language portraits because portraits are representative of their multiple identities which they are passionate about. Busch (2012:9) and Pauwels (2012:257) note that researchers are cautioned not to take the images as the real truth about the producer. In other words language portraits are not absolute representations of the individuals themselves but rather representations which can be studied for insights about how human subjects construct themselves basing on language (cf. Barone & Eisner, 2012:3). According to Hogen and Pink (2012:241), "art has power to impact on things outside the actual moment of practice": Hence the image can be used to probe the individual participants and their social trajectories.

Since language portraits are multimodal according to (Busch, 2012:16), they do not appear in isolation (cf. Hogen & Pink, 2012:240) but are followed by descriptive narratives in which subjects explain their drawings; the choice of colours, body parts for particular languages and the portions for different languages. In this way every individual makes a local presentation relating to the languages he/she knows and to the communities in which the languages where learned and used. The language portrait and its narrative are very specific and thus local to an individual but in their specificity relay information about language practices of communities (Corrine, Molly & Tamboukou, 2008) and general attitudes of different language groups

towards other languages. Therefore they can be used to gather biographical information about individuals and communities as well.

From the language portrait one can as well study the status of languages shaded mostly basing on where they are shaded, the kinds and levels of competences, the confidence an individual has in different languages (cf. Hogen & Pink, 2012). This is further discussed in the subsequent subsections.

Following insights by some authors such as Hogen and Pink (2012), Pauwels (2012), the study of language portraits reveals that language knowledge is embedded in situated practices that are themselves surrounded by complexity and contradiction.

3.5.4   Language portraits: Information on linguistic repertoires

Linguistic repertoires of multilinguals are complex even to the multilinguals themselves. For instance it is difficult for individuals to tell how many languages they know when faced with such a direct question. It is also not easy to tell how much one knows of a language just by mentioning it. Likewise mere mention of languages brings out only those languages that individuals use more often or have learned in class leaving out those that are not afforded linguistic space in the common communication practices that one engages in. According to Busch (2012:16), "the picture repeatedly serves as a point of reference and these references to the picture structure the interpreting and reconstructing narrative in a different way than questions concerning the individual's language biography would do". Accordingly, the images of the language portraits make it easier for individuals to reflect on their experiences and practices and to represent them in more detail that is helpful in accessing their repertoire information (cf. Lammer, 2012). Barone and Eisner (2012:3) thus affirm that they make the repertoire noticeable.

More still, Busch (2006:11) emphasizes that the portrait "foregrounds the state of the personal language profile that is actually present rather than emphasizing the path that has led to it". Therefore even those languages that have the lowest competences, those used rarely or those that are much desired all have an opportunity to be presented. In other words the language portrait provides a visual disclosure of the linguistic repertoire as it occurs in an individual (cf. Pauwels, 2012:251) in a more comprehensive style and gives readers access to its complexity with both real and desired resources.

The use of language portraits deconstructs the monolingual ideology of languages as abstract objects that are acquired for themselves with an aim to perfect competency and instead present languages as practices for construction and reconstruction of identities, derived through participation in real communities (Franceschini, 2009; Busch, 2012). Portraits show that languages form a continuum in an individual's system and this continuum has no absolute prescription of outlook, done with the varying colours all in one body shape. The idea that languages of a multilingual in their dis-uniformity form a holistic communicative package within an individual is therefore clearly illuminated by the language portrait.

3.5.5   Language portraits: Information on language status and linguistic attitudes

Since language is an ideological construct, language status is a vital aspect of language of multilingual repertoires and language practices in multilingual communities. It is however not always easy to discern the way status is locally assigned to the languages individuals have in their repertoires especially non-official languages. This is because status is not something people realize in concrete terms hence they may not be aware of it and of its application.

The visual property of language portraits is a platform to study the way languages in individual repertoires are ranked and valued. This is by considering the colours selected and the parts of the body where the languages are shaded. Usually, according to Busch (2006:11), highly valued languages are shaded with bright colours and in the upper parts of the body. Such languages include first languages, lingua francas and official languages used in education. Language status is however not depicted through portions of the body image.

The attitudes on the other hand are more revealed through narratives about the languages where individuals express passionately how they relate to each of the languages in the repertoire. They explain why they choose to shade certain languages in specific parts, and the colour choices, which usually reveals their attitudes and feelings about the different languages. They also relate those explanations to real world experiences that show the perceptions about the languages in actual communities.

3.6   CONCLUDING REMARKS

In a nutshell, this chapter has highlighted a number of studies that attempt to assess and analyse the various aspects of multilingualism. There is however no conclusive consensus on issues such as definition of" multilingualism" and "language", and issues of language status

especially in the African context. Many of the concrete studies relate to sociolinguistic situations of the western world especially about immigrants and how they impact or are impacted by their new communities. These studies are premised by the monolingual understanding of language and society. This calls for more concrete empirical studies about communities and individuals whose sociolinguistic context is primarily multilingual such as that of Kampala in Uganda.

Scholarly work on African contexts presents largely generalizations about the languages themselves, and focuses largely on language in education particularly in primary schools. Like Canagarajah (2007b:924) advocates, there is a necessity for more enquiry into language practices of young adults in and outside school in multilingual communities. The above set a backdrop for this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.0   INTRODUCTION

This is a sociolinguistic study that sets out to investigate the linguistic and sociolinguistic profiles of students at a university in Kampala-Uganda as represented in their language biographies. These profiles encompass biographical information on the linguistic repertoires students have, on how these repertoires developed across their lifespan, and on how the various languages are positioned in terms of social status and official language status. The study reports on how individuals construct themselves linguistically, culturally and socially and how they are constructed by others in the group of participants. Using art based methodologies (language portraits) to collect language biographical data, as well as semi-structured interviews it explores real life situations and practices of individuals and the individuals' interpretations of these situations and practices.

In order to achieve in depth understanding of the nature of 'multilingualism' and the language practices that are exhibited among university students in Kampala, this study employed mixed methods approach.

4.1   SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This section indicates what the boundaries of the study are in terms of participants and geographical location, as well as in terms of what kinds of questions could be answered with the particular data to hand.

4.1.1   Geographical location

The study was carried out in Kampala, the capital city of Uganda where, as has been indicated in 1.0, community multilingualism has been established as a characterising feature of communication in the city. Kampala, being the capital of Uganda where government administration is based, has the best social and economic facilities and opportunities in the country, which attract people both local and foreign from all walks of life. Hence the linguistic configuration of communities in Kampala is of interest for this study on

'multilingualism'. The linguistic and sociolinguistic state of Kampala touches its inhabitants in several ways.

The oldest and biggest university in Uganda, Makerere University, is situated in Kampala. This university was chosen as the site of research for this study because it is at an important centre of cultural and social life of especially young adults in Uganda. It is endowed with some of the best educational facilities and academic human resources in the country. As such it attracts students from various places in and outside of Uganda. Even without foreign students though, Uganda is itself widely multilingual, accommodating many indigenous languages and associated language communities as shown in 2.2.2 (cf. Mukama, 2009). This kind of environment provides a suitable base for collection of data regarding 'multilingualism' in Kampala for it is a kind of social environment that reflects and to a large extent also influences the linguistic behaviour of those who inhabit it (cf. Halliday, 1997).

4.1.2   Population of study

The study is interested in describing and analysing language biographies and linguistic repertoires of university students as the main population group for the analysis of 'multilingualism' in Kampala. The inquiry has been inspired by the experience of the researcher gained in interaction with students of Linguistics at Makerere University in Translation classes. These students exhibited knowledge of a range of different languages which seemed to be at different levels of proficiency; they appeared not to be fully functional in terms of all language skills (reading, speaking, writing, listening) for each language that they know, yet these students are expected to show advanced competence in languages they 'know' as they are being trained to become language experts and professionals in different fields such as translation, interpreting, editing and language teaching.

The participating students were registered in the Department of Linguistics, English Language Studies and Communication Skills at Makerere University, although for degree purposes they also offered subjects outside the department. The course in Translation does not comprise a fully-fledged programme in the department; rather, Translation is handled as a specialisation elective under language based subjects like Linguistics and English Language Studies. The students register for combinations of three subjects in the first year and two subjects in the second and third year within the Bachelor of Arts programme.

These students do not take any sort of language test to qualify them for admission to language subjects, apart from English which one must have passed at secondary school level.

4.2   SAMPLING OF THE PARTICIPANTS

Thirty students in all were selected from the first, second and third year Linguistics classes in the academic year 2013/2014. The group of participants comprised 13 students from the first year, 6 from the second year and 11 students from the third year class. This sample was relatively small given the kind of phenomenon (multilingualism) being studied: this was determined by the number of students registered during the period of data collection. The homogeneity of the group in terms of the courses, for which they are registered, was considered to be important, as fewer variables would allow for more detailed attention to the features in which this study is interested. Also, as this is an exploratory study, a small group is regarded as sufficient for getting to the micro data that is useful in explaining multilingual realities. The same group was maintained for all the different methods of data collection to monitor repeated responses among the participants and across the methods, and for meaningful triangulation (Cohen et al., 2011; Creswell & Clark, 2011).

Participants were selected and invited to participate on the basis of their indication that they possess knowledge of three or more languages. Participation was voluntary: those interested in being part of the research were asked to sign up as participants.

Among the participants, 13 were female and 17 were male; 28 of them were in the age bracket of 19-25 years old, which is the normal age range for students who join the university directly after secondary school and stay on for the standard degree period of three years. Only two participants were older than 25 years.

4.3   RESEARCH DESIGN

The study utilized a mixed methods research design to solicit information from the participants that would answer questions on their language profiles and language practices. Mixed methods are used to provide a rigorous and practical approach that is effective in obtaining in-depth and all-round information about the phenomenon, in this case of 'multilingualism', in the given circumstances (Denscombe, 2008; Creswell & Clark, 2011; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). This facilitates exploring participants' own rendering of

their real life experiences and practices, showing how they themselves interpret these experiences and practices, and how they reflect on their lives.

A mixed methods approach was chosen because such a design provides a pragmatic and comprehensive way to examine and analyse the data, relating different sets of information that can assist in making clear interpretations of the data and drawing valid conclusions (Denscombe, 2008). It also enables correlation of information collected within different themes and it allows the checking of possible biases and misappropriations (Creswell & Clark, 2011). In a study like this which yields a lot of ambiguities and inconsistences, the use of mixed methods enables the researcher to check different sets of data against one another; this assures that the weaknesses of one method can be covered by another (Creswell, 2009). For example, my questionnaire information could be verified, questioned or falsified by the information of the language portrait and that of expert interviews in the case of the selected group of interviewees. I was able to triangulate information from various sources in order to see how sets of information relate to each other or influence each other, and also to ensure validity of data (Creswell, 2009).

Although this study is a qualitative one, some quantitative investigation of the data was necessary to make meaning of frequencies of occurrences of certain kinds of information. Within themes certain references occurred remarkably often, so that a "count" of such features in the data could be used to complement the qualitative descriptions. Thus a more concrete understanding of the information than otherwise could be created, portraying trends and delivering a more reliable interpretation of the data (Creswell & Clark, 2011). For instance, the languages that each person listed were counted, and the scores that each used to rate their ability in the different skills in the different languages could be translated into how many individuals knew which languages to which level of proficiency. This assisted in understanding and rating the likely social and professional value of repertoires exhibited by the participants.

4.4   DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Three methods of data collection were used for this study. The process involved meeting the participants and collecting information directly from them using three instruments, namely (i) a questionnaire (ii) a "multimodal language portrait", that is, art-based information (iii) interviews with a selected number of participants in which each was asked to elaborate on

pertinent aspects of their biographies and portraits. The information acquired in this way provided details of participants' perceptions and conceptions of multilingualism, and of communication practices that individuals engage in on a daily basis. Even though the idea of individuals telling stories about their own linguistic biography (self-reports) has been criticized as indicated by Kemp (2009) and Cohen et al. (2011), it is a productive way of gathering information that gives substantial evidence of the multilingual nature of individuals in the world. Busch (2012) acknowledges that such insight cannot be retrieved simply by observing communication practices close-up or from a distance. The three instruments for data collection, i.e. the self-administered questionnaires, multimodal language portraits and semi-structured interviews will be introduced in more detail below.

4.4.1 Self-administered questionnaires

A questionnaire (Appendix C) was designed to collect comprehensive and specific information on the language profiles and language biographies of the individual participants. This was also used to gain information on the way the languages each knows are distributed across different social domains, fulfilling different kinds of functions in order to gather information on the communicative practices of the participants. The other questions were about perceptions of the languages and the whole idea of knowing and using a variety of languages on a daily basis.

All 30 students in the sample answered the questionnaire. The questionnaire had more open questions and was less numerical to allow for independent and free flow of ideas from participants. The questions that required participants to give numbers were used to arrive at a numerical breakdown of the responses in a view to examine frequencies and relations among different categories of data.

Thirty questionnaires were distributed to the participants separately in their study year groups, that is, in first, second and third year respectively. Being a community of students, some appointments were not kept and it was difficult to find a time that suited all participants. I thus requested slots within the lecture hours to distribute the questionnaires to the participants in their classrooms and give them time to fill them in while I waited and retrieved them after completion. This helped me to ensure that questionnaire answering was done in time and to limit the loss of questionnaires themselves. It was also helpful in that students would ask for clarifications on certain questions that did not seem clear to them.

The questionnaires had to be completed in a limited space of time, so the participants did not have much time to reflect on their answers. This could have affected sections that required self-evaluation; however, less reflection time often gives immediate and less contrived responses. The other instruments of data collection like the multimodal language portraits allowed for more reflection and explanation of answers.

4.4.2   Multimodal Language Portraits

The second instrument of data collection made use of an arts-based methodology. Participants were asked to colour language portraits, that is, they were given drawings of body shapes (Appendix E) on which they were encouraged to creatively represent their linguistic repertoire. This has become a new approach in studying complex linguistic phenomena related to multilingual competences and practices that form part of real life experiences, and historical trajectories that form the biographical data of individuals (Busch, 2012).

This instrument was deliberately chosen for how it helps to "raise participants awareness of their own resources and potential" (Busch, 2006:5) These two aspects are central to this study as they highlight what linguistic resources participants possess, the potential those resources carry for their owners; and, they show how participants make meaning of the two.

Practically, what happened is that students shaded a human body portrait to represent all the languages and language varieties that they know with different colours and in different body parts. Each language variety was represented by a different colour and shaded in or across parts of the body shape to give an impressionistic view of each participant's repertoire and how they use or relate to the languages and language varieties they know. The colours were randomly chosen, each person deciding on their own configurations depending on what they wanted to portray. After shading the portraits as desired, each participant gave a key (list of colours used and what languages each represented) and a description of their shading in writing and read it out to the group. They talked about the colours that they chose for the different language varieties, the way in which colours were symbolically assigned to more and less specific parts of the body. They gave information regarding where they use the various languages, where and at which stage in their lives they learnt each, and the perceptions they have of the different language varieties that they know, including those they wish to learn.

Justification for using an arts-based instrument is found in Hogan and Pink (2012:236) who maintain that "while we might want to empathise with, understand, interpret and represent other people's experiences, imaginations and memories, their sensory and affective qualities are only accessible to us in limited ways." The advantage of an arts-based instrument lies in its ability to appeal to the inner person of an individual. The information derived by this instrument cannot be read off surface observation or from experimental results; rather it is drawn from a person by indirectly getting a sense of his/her feelings and attitudes towards a language or a variety of language and the practices that go with it.

The selected colours as well as how the body shape was filled, gave information on languages known and used, but also on attitudes, ideologies, particular aspects of language status and on aspects of proficiency related to professional and other social requirements.

The narrative descriptions of participants explained the choices they made in filling in the body shaped template. This included reference to the relation of the participant to the languages and language varieties, historical trajectories that surround them, and practices in which they feature.

As will become clear in the analyses in chapters 5 to 7, rich data was elicited with details of personal information and perspectives that could not directly be solicited in interviews yet were vital for understanding the complexity of individual multilingual repertoires within a vastly multilingual community

A challenge that arose with the use of this instrument, was that it delivered such rich data, that what could be used within the designated project, had to be carefully selected. An overwhelming amount of data needs to be organised and thematised, and this is made more difficult by the extensive degree of individuality that the art-based contributions allow.

4.4.3   Semi-structured interviews

Eight participants out of the 30 were selected for expert interviews (Appendix D). The selection was made on the basis of their L1s, in that L1 speakers, representative of different languages were invited for an interview. The interview was used to collect more detailed information on the biographies, repertoires and language status of those participants. The interviews were semi-structured in that guiding questions were prepared, but if participants themselves gave more or less than was asked, they were prompted to explain. One great

advantage of interviews is that they give an opportunity for the researcher to interact directly with the respondent and get clear and well considered responses to the set questions. The choice here to interview speakers of different first languages was aimed at giving an overview of the repertoires of multilinguals from different regions of Uganda who were likely to have varied biographical stories from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

4.5   RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The whole research process started with developing a research framework that would articulate questions of the multilingual knowledge, skills and practices of inhabitants of a linguistically diverse African country, and would also allow for collecting data that could reliably answer the questions. The first step was to design and prepare the data collection tools explained in 4.4. Before actually collecting the data I secured permission from the necessary authorities, gaining ethical clearance from the relevant offices at Makerere University, Stellenbosch University and the National Council for Science and Technology in Uganda (Appendices F, G, H).

I had class meetings with the students where I introduced myself and told students about my study. I briefly explained the project and asked them to volunteer to take part. I informed them that volunteers should be speakers of at least three languages. The meeting with them started with a discussion of the research activities.

At the beginning of the semester, before their programmes were too busy, we met once to fill in the questionnaires and a second time to do the shading of language portraits. Since I had first year, second and third year students as participants, who have varying timetables, the participants were met at three different occasions. The language portrait exercise was done in small groups as shall be explained in the next sections. Then finally the expert interviews were done with the selected eight participants, where I interacted with one participant at a time convenient for him/her.

The questionnaire was tested with five randomly selected students before the full complement of participants got underway. This helped to check whether the questions would be interpreted in accordance with my intended goals and yield meaningful responses. This assisted with some questions being re-worded for more clarity.

Shading of the language portraits required time to make choices about which colours, which body parts, what portion of the body to colour; thus planning and executing this activity was not done hastily. In groups of 6 to 8 students were briefed on what the activity was about, how it was to be done as a symbolic way of telling a story about their languages and language varieties; how and where they had learned and still use those languages and language varieties. It would also tell what value they attach to the languages. I provided the participants with crayons of different colours they had a free choice depending on what they wanted their portrait to communicate for each of the language varieties that they indicated in it. At the end each participant gave a description of their image and shared it with the group. This exercise was done in sessions of one hour. Therefore we would not have long discussions about the portraits. The participants shaded the portraits and wrote a descption of their coloured portrait individually, before each reported on their descriptions to the group. Writing the descriptions before sharing them, ensured that each story was peculiar to the author and not influenced by others in the group. Illustratively I showed them images of language portraits done in research elsewhere, so that they would get a clear impression of what they were supposed to do.

The participants were not reminded of what they had listed on their questionnaires so that in this second exercise they did not just duplicate what they had written in the questionnaire. Thus the portraits served as a check regarding their repertoires; as will be noted in the discussion of results, some of them differed slightly in the number of language varieties they claimed to know and use.

For the interviews, I went through the questionnaires and selected six students who, on the basis of their L1s, seemed to hail from different parts of Uganda. The selection also considered the number of language varieties reported in their repertoires. Thus the data would show variety in terms of linguistic practices from diverse cultural and communicative contexts (cf. Gray, 2009; Cohen et al., 2011). Every interview was recorded and transcribed by the researcher.

4.6   ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study involved gathering information from human subjects directly through questionnaires, language portraits and interviews, hence I had to get permissions from different offices to allow me access the participants.

First of all I requested and secured permission from the Department of Linguistics, English Language Studies and Communication Skills at Makerere University, to allow me to conduct my data collection with students registered there. I also applied for and secured ethical clearance from the Stellenbosch University's Research Ethics Committee (REC).

I further obliged to the rule in Uganda that everyone who conducts research in Uganda be it for academic or other purposes, as long as it involves the direct retrieval of information from human subjects, has to apply for ethical clearance from the National Council for Science and Technology in Uganda. I applied for and obtained this clearance too.

Once student participants had volunteered, they were served with a consent form which they read and signed. Since my study population comprised university students who are above the age of 18 (consenting adults), I only needed consent from the participants themselves.

For purposes of anonymity that was promised to the participants in their consent forms, each student was asked to provide a pseudonym which they would like to be used in the process of data analysis so that the information would not be linked directly to particular participants. Even in situations where students forgot to use their pseudonyms like on the language portraits, I followed the ethical procedure and protected their real names.

4.7   DATA PROCESSING, MANAGEMENT AND ANALYSIS

In this section I describe how I handled the different kinds of data that I collected and how I organized the data for analysis.

I coded the data from the questionnaire that I set out to analyse quantitatively, devised labels in reference to the questions that solicited the information, so that each could be coded and entered electronically into an SPSS sheet. A copy of the codes was retained. To allow for analysing relations between different sets of information and to get a broader picture, variables were computed and re-coded for the rating of levels of competence of different languages. These were used to analyse pertinent relations that included getting broader perspectives from within the data.

To check the validity of coded data, I consulted an expert in SPSS at the Stellenbosch Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Graduate School who went through my data sheet which recorded biographical information and self-assessments of 30 participants, and verified it.

I entered the qualitative descriptions from the questionnaire into a spreadsheet recording all the responses from all participants for the different questions in the questionnaire. This ensured that I have all the data on a particular question in one place and enabled me to derive themes for analysis based on frequencies of appearance of responses. Such recording makes it easy to study and relate responses and also to secure the data in case the questionnaires themselves get lost or damaged.

The method of language portrait is one that elicits various kinds of data, which can be organised in terms of (i) the list of linguistic codes in the participant's repertoire, (ii) the colours chosen to represent the various codes, and (iii) the ways in which the various codes are drawn into the body shape. Because participants are encouraged to work creatively and to choose their own colour and shape symbolism, the data is individualistic and uniquely situated per individual. It is recognised that without participants' elaboration on the motivation of their choices, the portraits cannot be sensibly interpreted. Before relating portraits to the accompanying narrative of each participant, I studied the ordering of languages in each of the 30 portraits (referring to the key of the portrait and the descriptive narratives) to see whether they suggested useful trends that could be followed in the analysis and whether regular patterns emerged. Such patterns could then be used to analyse perceptions of the participants regarding the linguistic resources they have in their repertoires. I took into consideration the fact that this instrument works with verbal and visual representations, thus with two different but intersecting dimensions that work together, each with its own peculiarities and contributions. I first drew information from the image and the descriptive narrative separately, although I used them together in the analysis.

In interpreting the images, since each participant used a different assortment of colours in different ways to represent their language resources, I considered general themes to group the data. I looked at similarities that I could read from the trend of locating the languages in the different body parts, and the kinds of colours that were used for the different kinds of languages such as bright colours or dull colours; the portions of the painting that were assigned to the different languages. I grouped the languages into categories such as L1s, English, lingua francas, foreign languages and secondary languages (those that are less used). This approach helped in finding broad patterns, in checking for any possible generalisation and drawing meaningful conclusions, although the instrument is one specifically centred on

disclosing individual responses typically of interest in qualitative research (O'Neil, 2012)and is not designed for groupings data in generalizable terms.

In organising the narrative descriptions that accompanied the portraits, I considered how the stories unfolded for the different categories of languages that were described (what was said about them by different individuals). The languages are not the same for all the participants, especially L1s and secondary languages. Even so, looking at them from the perspective of regular categories does tell us something about individual practices in the listed languages. This becomes especially interesting if participants' descriptions overlap, as will be shown in the analysis in chapters five, six and seven Regular patterns did emerge, although there were some minor exceptions which were given attention to on individual basis. For example, the majority of the participants referred to their mother tongue as being the same as their L1, although a few distinguished between the two as discussed in chapter five. With as small a number of participants as this study had, it was possible and informative look closely at such scenarios case by case.[7]

I also transcribed the recorded interviews into Microsoft word transcripts separated per individual. From these I drew themes that I would use for writing the dissertation.

I used SPSS where I needed frequencies of occurrence of information from the questionnaires, to make certain comparisons or show certain trends in occurrence of phenomena. I used Discourse Analysis for qualitative analysis of interviews and multimodal language portraits and questionnaire data for which I did not require numerical interpretation.

4.8   CHALLENGES FACED DURING DATA COLLECTION

In this section I shall explain a number of challenges encountered during the process of data collection as explained below.

Data collection was scheduled to start in August 2013, but Makerere University experienced a crisis which developed into industrial action. The university was closed and the semester opening scheduled for mid-August, was postponed for over a month. This interrupted my program so that I had to reschedule my activities to fit in the new university timetable. This

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[7] Narratives draw our attention to social and cultural patterns that build the repertoires of individuals but also provide a forum for one to voice their individuality (Squire, Andrews & Tamboukou, 2008).

not only caused a delay, but was also accompanied by some anxiety for me because it was not certain when the situation would be settled. When the new date was announced for commencement of the semester, the students did not come to campus nor did classes start right away. Therefore I had to wait even longer while staff and students planned on how to make up lost time. This had an impact on permissions and time lecturers could allocate for me to get into the classrooms and talk to their students. It was, due to these unsettled circumstances, also not easy to get the students to come for separate meetings outside class time. I had to request lecturers on a personal basis, for at least two slots of their lecture hours so that I could talk to their students, administer the questionnaires and conduct the art exercise of the languages portraits. Going to their classrooms where they had to have regular lectures turned out to be the only way to find them all in one place at the same time.

A further challenge was to convince university students to carry out a picture shading exercise. Many of them felt, after answering the questionnaire that they had done enough, so that it was not easy to get the same group to come again for the exercise of colouring body shapes. Besides the difficulty of getting the groups together as planned, some participants felt that it was a childish activity, suitable more for young children than themselves (Busch, 2006; Bold, 2012). However, after I fully explained the exercise to the participants and showed them examples, they were excited to do it and when they started, they did it with passion. Three of the participants, who originally signed up, did not turn up for the shading exercise.

When it came to inviting students for an interview, some of the selected students did not respond even to several calls. This I believe was because they had already done two exercises in relation to this study and they were reluctant to give more time, but also, they were getting busy with their classwork, so it became difficult for them to find spare time for the interviews.

Securing the various ethical clearances from the University of Stellenbosch and from the Ugandan body in charge of research, the National Council for Science and Technology took more time than had been anticipated. The real challenge here was that the National Council for Science and Technology not only required quite a number of documents and filling in of comprehensive forms, but also required a fee which had not been budgeted for. This brought about delays as well.

The above methodology was carried out to acquire sufficient and relevant data to be used to answer research questions set in 1.7.3 (chapter one). To answer those questions the data is analysed in detail in chapters five, six and seven.

CHAPTER FIVE

LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHIES OF STUDENTS ON KAMPALA CAMPUS

5.0   INTRODUCTION

This chapter displays and interprets data on language biographies of participants in this study. A language biography presents the linguistic journey that shaped the linguistic repertoire and multilingual communicative practices of a participant. It also displays data on the variety of languages a participants knows, the kinds of communities in which he/she learned these languages, the stages in life at which they learned the languages and the circumstances which mediated the learning. This chapter shows how the language portraits, questionnaires and interviews of participants were used to obtain the language biographies of the participants in the study. Busch (2006:9) explains the value language biographies have for researchers in the following terms:

> The biographic account can offer insights into how an individual experiences the broader social context and the language regimes in which she develops her language practices, her ambitions and desires in terms of imagining herself as a speaker of a certain language or code.

The chapter thus provides information that guides an understanding of the development of multilingual profiles of many individuals in Kampala, particularly university students.

The summary of profiles of multilingualism of the participants is provided in Table 5.1. More details on the linguistic repertoires follow in chapter six.

Table 5.1:[8]   **Profile of participants according to their L1s**

Participant	First Language(s)	Total number of languages
Dellah	Luganda	6
Jomona	Luganda	5
Khalifa	Luganda	3
Leeny	Luganda	7
20	Luganda	4
Atwooki	Runyankore	7
Neville	Runyankore	7
Okanga	Runyankore	8
Piers Darius	Runyankore	7
Reyon	Runyankore	5 / 6
Tinah	Runyankore	6 / 8
Banx	Runyankore	8
Geof	Rutooro/Runyankore	6
Bluish	Rutooro	6
Hunk	Rutooro	8
Akiiki	Rusongora/Rutooro	6
Liberty	Rukiga	6
S	Rukiga	7
Juliet	Kinyarwanda	5
Ateenyi	Runyoro	6
Amonkit	Lukonzo	8
Sisoni	Lumasaaba	6
Freddie	Lugwere	7
K[2]	Lusamia	6
Mary	Luo	5
Yvone	Luo	4
Magitta	Japadhola	8
Peter	Lango	6
Ricky	Acholi	7
Cheris	Kupsabiny	5

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[8] The information given in this table is organized according to languages and language families of each participant, considering also the number of speakers of these languages in Kampala. Some participants listed more than one L1 because they were simultaneously acquired and thus perceived as such.

5.1 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATIONS THAT CHARACTERISE LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHIES

The recorded language histories of university students in Kampala portray different dimensions of linguistic environments and socialization contexts as well as socialization practices which all come together to shape their linguistic repertoires (Blommaert, 2010; Busch, 2012). The biographies portray different home backgrounds, different schooling systems, different parenting styles that participants experienced, and diverse neighbourhoods. They also display the strength of communities of practice beyond the home in shaping the linguistic knowledge of individuals (Cunningham-Anderson & Andersson, 1999; Garcia, 2013; cf. Wenger, 1998). Diverse social and historical backgrounds in different parts of Uganda have given rise to a diversity of linguistic profiles not only on the university campus, but also in the city. The following sections systematically discuss the complexity of the language biographies of the participants.

5.1.1 Family multilingualism

Families play an important role in building linguistic knowledge of individuals (Lanza, 2007:46). In multilingual communities different families have different linguistic configurations and ways of handling their linguistic practices within the home and in the closer family circle. There is a spectrum of scenarios of language development for individuals who grow up in different homes which also become clear in the data of this study.

Multilingual development sometimes starts at home as early as during first language acquisition. Where parents are L1 speakers of different and especially linguistically distant languages or varieties, a frequently reported occurrence among the participants, different communicative strategies apply (Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, 1999:3). Parents may or may not learn each other's language, or one of them may learn the other's language so that eventually there is one home language. Where no parent learns the other's language, a common language that both parents know or the dominant community language becomes the medium of communication. Parents often devise different linguistic practices to support their children's linguistic development (Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, 1999:3-5). The discussion given below highlights seven possible configurations of developing multilingualism within Ugandan families as these are articulated by participants in this study.

As illustrated in extract 1, some participants grew up in families where each parent uses their own L1 with the children to maintain it and make it active in the home. Such practices facilitated participants' simultaneous acquisition of more than one language as infants. This is articulated in the following extracts from interviews.

Extract 1

> Akiiki: […] we also use Rutooro in my family because my mom is a Mutooro and my father is a Musongora. So I grew up in those two and I think when I was shading I almost put them as my first language […]

In Akiiki's case Rusongora is the main home language; Rutooro is used occasionally by his mother. Even so, he simultaneously developed competence in both languages. The parents use both languages and thus kept them active and accessible to the children.

In extract 2 taken from the description that accompanied his language portrait, S explains how he grew up with three linguistic codes, of which two were dominant.

Extract 2

> S: I was born in Buganda and raised in Buganda but the parents who gave birth to me used different languages but not Luganda. My mom is a mukiga my dad is a munyankore which means that I learnt the two languages mostly Luganda and Rukiga from my mom, thus making it run through my body because they are the languages I know more …

Having spent more time with his mother who used both her L1 (Rukiga) and the language of the community (Luganda), the L1 of S's dad (Runyankore) was minimally used. Nevertheless learning Runyankore was possible for him due to it being closely related to Rukiga as both are varieties of Runyankore-Rukiga (cf. Cenoz & Gorter, 2010; Banda, 2012).

In another instance, L1 of the dominant parent is used with the children, in addition to a common language such as Luganda or English. Then the children learn both the dominant parent's L1 and the common language used between the parents (Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, 1999). In extracts 3 and 4, taken from Peter's interview narrative, there is reference to the father's L1, namely Lango and a lingua franca, namely English. His father's L1 is Lango while the mother's L1 is Acholi. At home only Lango and English are used. Peter indicates that his L1 is Lango, yet his biography shows early contact with English at home since that was the parents' choice, as extract 3 from an interview with Peter illustrates.

Extract 3

> Peter: We use English and Langi, but mostly it's English.

From childhood Peter apparently developed two codes concurrently, probably with different functions for each as he describes below.

Extract 4

> Peter: We use English when my mom is complaining, when she is trying to direct me to pick for her something. But we use Langi when we are eating food, just talking normal good talk, like, no complaint.

Uganda is a patriarchal society where fathers (men) dominate in almost all social affairs. Therefore wives usually learn the languages of their husbands. The children then acquire the mother's L1 later even if it is used occasionally, for example with older relatives. This scenario was commonly reported by participants from different parts of Uganda. It establishes multilingualism as a default linguistic setting in many parts of Uganda and in a number of homes.

As elders impart linguistic knowledge and skills to the children, they are also inscribing ideologies (Garrett, 2007:233) that are held in regard to these languages and their different social roles. Extract 4 above portrays the local language as one of intimacy and endearment while English is the language of command and strict values.

The fourth configuration of developing multilingualism is found Reyon's trajectory which indicates growing up in a family with two languages that he acquired sequentially. In the questionnaire, he lists his L1 as Runyankore which is also the L1 of his mother and, Luganda is his home language. In extract 5 from his language portrait, he expresses his attachment to a language which he understands, but does not know as well as the community and home language.

Extract 5

> Reyon: I have chosen this colour (Yellow) to indicate how much I love this language. It's my mother language but unfortunately and funny about this language, I love it so much, I can hear it but I can't speak it. However my mom is a munyankore that is why it became part of me …

Reyon reported that he acquired Luganda (probably the L1 of his father, although this is not explicitly mentioned) at home as a child, while although introduced to his mother's language early on, he only really acquired Runyankore at school from other students, and at home from a maid when he was around ten years old. Thus, sequentially, he acquired Luganda first and Runyankore later.

In Reyon's language portrait given below as Figure 5.1, Luganda takes a big portion indicating that it is dominant in his language practices. Runyankore (yellow) occupies less space because he is rarely exposed to its use. Even so, he has a stronger attachment to it than Luganda as he describes in the following extract above.

Figure 5.1:   *Reyon's language portrait*

A fifth configuration of developing multilingualism within the family, is one typical of towns outside of Kampala, where towns are characterised by a major language in the centre while in the suburbs residents form their own linguistic circles where they speak their minority languages. Children, whose families reside in such environments, normally learn the minority language of the small community where their home is situated, especially if the parents use it at home. Such children also learn the dominant language of the major town where the central language of the town may or may not be the L1 of one of the parents.

This pattern is illustrated in the biography of Freddie who lives in Mbale where Lumasaaba is the dominant language used in the centre of town, while Lugwere is the language of his immediate community in the suburb where the family lives. Freddie's father's L1 is Lunyole while his mother's is Lumasaaba, the language of the wider Mbale community. Interestingly, Freddie lists his L1 as Lugwere. The scenario that gave rise to Freddie's remarkable linguistic repertoire is explained in extracts 6 and 7, taken from the interview with this participant.

Extract 6

Freddie: My dad is a Munyole and my mom is Mugisu.

Extract 7

Researcher: So how come you use Lugwere?

Freddie: The environment around us, we are within Bagwere.

Researcher: So your mom and dad speak to you in Lugwere?

Freddie: Yeah

In Freddie's case the main language used at home is Lugwere, the local minority language of the immediately surrounding suburb. This pattern is interspersed with use of Lunyole (by his father) and Lumasaaba (by his mother). His parents do not use any of their L1s to each other, but they use them with other speakers outside the home or with visitors who happen to be speakers of those languages. Freddie learned his parents' languages since the parents used these languages occasionally. He therefore grew up in a family that uses three languages each for different functions.

It is observed that to have a majority language in the community as also the dominant home language, may affect a child's learning of the parents' minority L1s. Although the children may learn the minority language, they may become only passive users of it as their active communicative practice continuously takes on the majority language both at home and in the community (Cunningham-Anderson & Anderson, 1999:34). Consequently the majority language becomes the children's dominant language to such an extent that even when their parents use the minority language speaking to them, they may respond in the majority language.

Since Lugwere dominates in Freddie's home language practices, the minority language of his father became a silent language to Freddie and his siblings. They have maintained the receptive skills because their father persistently uses Lunyole as Freddie explains below.

Extract 8

> Freddie: Yes in most cases he is ever speaking the language. However much we are not interested, he speaks.

Freddie's biography illustrates the difficulty of developing of competence in a minority language where it is left to a single parent, particularly a father (Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, 1999:69). Although the parent may persist keeping the language alive among his children, having less people using it on a regular basis limits easy transfer to the children. Nevertheless multiple language development is facilitated among the children.

Yet another configuration of the development of multilingualism is illustrated in the biography of Leeny. She was born of Lumasaaba speaking parents. She only possesses receptive skills in Lumasaaba, and identifies Luganda which is the language of the community surrounding her home as her L1. Her family's hometown is Mbale but she did not grow up there. Her parents adopted the language of the community they live in in Kampala and use it with the children. She indicates Lumasaaba as one of the home languages but it is apparently used rarely and possibly not when communicating with the children. Extract 9 from Leeny's language portrait illustrates the complexity of living in the capital city where one language is privileged and yet being attached to a town where another language marks identity.

Extract 9

> Leeny: Lugisu was painted green because green is nature to me and I am a mugisu by tribe and nature. I feel very proud to be a mugisu though I can't really speak the language but can understand certain things when said. But I would very much love to learn it because it is my mother tongue.

Thus, as with Freddie, the minority language which is L1 to Leeny's parents is only used passively by the children while the majority language of the city is dominant.

It is worth mentioning here that in Uganda, as elsewhere in Africa, tribes are regarded as static identities that are assumed by individuals depending on ancestral roots (cf. Batibo 2005:14). Because the child takes on the tribe of the father, it is assumed that the child's L1 is

the L1 of the father. Tribal association however does not solely determine language practices of individuals rather; these are determined by participation in social environments that provide certain language regimes. Languages are acquired depending on how they are used and accessed, as for instance in the family. Considering language as local practice constructed and produced through social action explains how acquisition of language is mediated by social structures in which families of individuals are entrenched.

Finally there are also instances in which parents share an L1 and use it with their children who acquire it as their L1 too. Such children start as monolinguals at home, but then soon expand their linguistic repertoires due to exposure to different social and linguistic environments in their life trajectories.

To summarize the scenarios described above, Table 5.2 shows the languages of participants' parents in relation to participants' first languages.

Table 5.2:[9]   L1s of participants alongside their parents' languages

Participant	Participant's L1	Parents' languages
Banx	Runyankore	Runyankore
Atwooki	Runyankore	Runyankore
Peter	Lango	Lango and Acholi
Freddie	Lugwere	Lunyole and Lumasaaba
K[2]	Lusamia	Ateso and Lusamia
Magitta	Japadhola	Japadhola
Amonkit	Lukonzo	Lukonzo
Sisoni	Lumasaaba	Lumasaaba
Mary	Luo	Luo
Akiiki	Rusongora/Rutooro	Rusongora and Rutooro
Cheris	Kupsabiny	Kupsabiny
Liberty	Rukiga	Rukiga
Ateenyi	Runyoro	Luganda and Runyoro
Juliet	Kinyarwanda	Kinyarwanda
20	Luganda	Runyoro and Rukiga
Jomona	Luganda	Luganda and Lusoga

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[9] In Table 5.2, the L1s of fathers are on the left while L1s of mothers are on the right of the column that presents parents' languages.

Participant	Participant's L1	Parents' languages
S	Rukiga/Luganda	Runyankore and Rukiga
Reyon	Runyankore	Luganda and Runyankore
Tinah	Runyankore	Runyankore
Khalifa	Luganda	Lugbara and Luganda
Geof	Rutooro/Runyankore	Rutooro and Runyankore
Darius	Runyankore	Runyankore
Leeny	Luganda	Lumasaaba
Hunk	Rutooro	Rutooro
Bluish	Rutooro	Rutooro
Okanga	Runyankore	Runyankore
Neville	Runyankore	Runyankore

The table above has information of only the participants that participated in the language portrait exercise from which I could trace information on the parents' languages to complement that in the questionnaire.

From the table, where parents do not share a language, it turns out that more participants reported to have acquired the L1 of the mother as their own L1, for example K^2, S and Khalifa. In fewer cases like for Akiiki and Geof, the two languages/language varieties of the parents are both acquired as L1s, meaning that parents used both to the child in the early years. That the L1s of fathers' were less reported as L1s, as with Peter and Jomona, is explained by the fact that children in the Ugandan setting spend more time with their mothers than with their fathers. Accordingly, mothers are more engaged in teaching children to communicate. It could also be that some participants grew up with only their mother and her relatives and hence only their language was introduced in the initial stages. Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson (1999) and Pavlenko (2012) concur that the language of the mother has an affective role and mothers tend to use them to their little ones both for intimacy and for reprimand. If the language of the community is used at home and so becomes the L1 of the child, as with K^2 and Khalifa, then it inevitably is reinforced, so that the child mostly learns it faster.

5.1.2   Linguistically complex neighbourhoods/communities

Existence of a diversity of languages in a social environment besides the home creates a complex linguistic context, which facilitates an individual to learn a number of languages

simultaneously or sequentially from childhood or during his/her time of stay in such an environment. Even when it is not a deliberate choice by the child/individual or the parents, the sociolinguistic surrounding that provides a range of languages, constantly exposes individuals to various linguistic options (cf. Mendoza-Denton & Osborne, 2010:121). Following also Fairclough (1989), individuals operate in society and that therefore their language behaviour is socially situated, acquisition of multilingual competences becomes an inevitable result of living in such communities. K^2's interview response in extract 8 illustrates linguistic complexity that results from her hometown Busia a border town between Uganda and Kenya.

Extract 10

> K2: I learned those other languages because of the place I stay in. It has got many languages which are used. So the type of neighbours I was staying with, many of them would use many languages. That is why I could not stick on one language. I had neighbours who were Bagandas, others were from Kenya because I stay at the border. So I had to adopt Swahili.

Individuals who live and participate in communities like Busia continuously and repeatedly engage with a range of linguistic resources. In order to negotiate ways of making meaning sometimes with unfamiliar audiences, learning a variety of languages becomes inevitable, and leads to acquisition of complex communicative knowledge with various languages (Meyer & Apfelbaum, 2010; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012). Thus the complex linguistic knowledge K^2 possesses for various languages is produced by the intricate nature of the local community in which her linguistic practices have evolved.

5.1.3   Home language versus language in the neighbourhood

People who migrate from different parts of the country to Kampala for work, for education, for better facilities, move along with their languages and cultures. The languages and cultures that different people bring in are most vivid and most active in their homes and some specific work places. However the language most generally and widely used in Kampala is Luganda. This greatly impacts on families that come to live in Kampala because even if they maintain their own languages or maybe English in their homes, there is both exposure and need to learn Luganda from the surrounding. For children who go out to play, the impact maybe profound in that the language of the surrounding may become their stronger language as they interact more often with speakers of that language (cf. Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, 1999). Extracts 11, 12 and 13 from the interview with Peter illustrated this.

Extract 11

> Peter: Then for Luganda, that one comes up naturally. I have grown up playing with children who speak Luganda.

Extract 12

> Peter: […] growing up as a child I used to talk Langi because I learnt Langi first at home and it's the only language I could speak. Even when I went to play with the other kids in the flats I only knew Langi. But as I grew up I spoke so much English, so much Luganda and gave little time to Langi.

Extract 13

> Peter: Like last semester in Principles of Translation. I used Luganda as my language of practice to translate from English to Luganda. I used Luganda because I was very sure I know a lot and even in my exams I would give examples that are in Luganda.

Extract 12 shows that in Peter's home, there was use of Lango and English (refer to extract 4). However the community neighbouring his home, and in which he always went to find playmates used Luganda only. He therefore acquired and practiced Luganda competently, to the extent that he opts to use it for practical academic work in Linguistics as shown in extract 13, other than his L1− Lango. Although he did not lose competence of his L1, using it less resulted into losing certain aspects of it.

Peter's language portrait in Figure 5.2 below reveals more detail about his multilingualism.
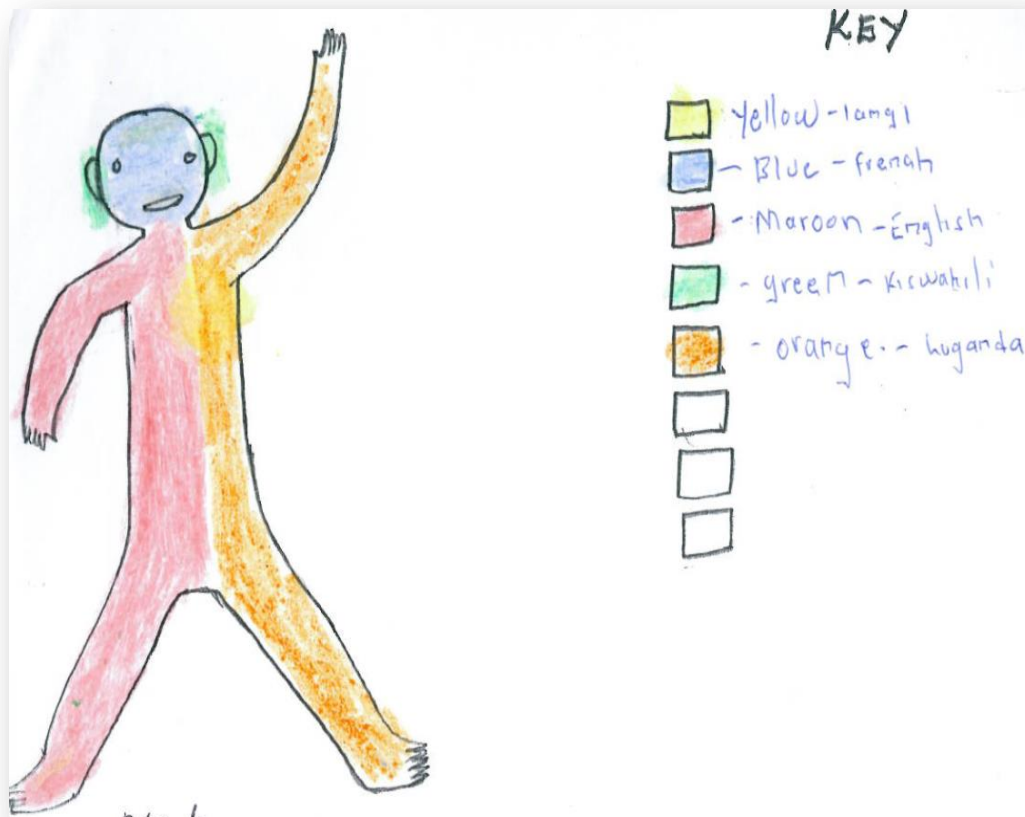
Figure 5.2:   *Peter's language portrait*

In the figure, Lango is painted yellow and only in the heart area probably because it is a language of primary identity (House, 2003:560). Luganda is painted orange and takes a portion of almost half his body. This indicates that his knowledge of Luganda overtook that of Lango. Hence having strong ties with neighbours who speak a different language from an individual's home language can result in learning and using a new language.

Peter's biography shows that linguistic competence development is therefore socially mediated (cf. Riley, 2007) and negotiated through time. It further illustrates as Agha (2007:229) maintains that language learning is also an agentive process where individuals negotiate, resist and/or maintain the language regimes that influence their linguistic knowledge.

5.1.4   School as a site for language acquisition and learning

School exposes individuals to languages both formally and informally and therefore play a vital role in creating individuals' linguistic repertoires.

Participants indicated a trend of attending different schools in different geographical regions at different stages in that they do not stick to specific regions for their entire education. This movement is influenced by factors like, quality of education, proximity with home, ethnicity of the parents, to mention but a few. The schools and their surroundings become the fluctuating communities (Kramsch, 1998; Busch, 2012) in which students carry out their practice both academic and social. To cope with the different environments they add new languages to their repertoires.

The schools in different regions are largely linguistically oriented to their area languages. Thus in a non-urban area the language of the wider community will be used to such an extent that minority language speakers there would need to learn the community language. Interview extracts 14, 15 and 16 give three different examples from participants namely Ateenyi, Freddie and Jomona, who learned community languages other than the ones that were their home languages.

Extract 14

Ateenyi: Luganda was at school. The school I went to in primary, most of the kids used to speak Luganda. So I was able to learn. Then I was also taught in class. Runyankore was still at school especially A' Level (Advanced Level). The school I was in most people spoke Runyankore.

Extract 15

Freddie: I do remember a little - Luganda actually. I have studied from Buganda since my form 1. Then Lusoga, I studied in Jinja from P.5 (Primary five) to P.7 (Primary seven).

Extract 16

Jomona: Then for Kiswahilli I was once in Kakira[10] – from Jinja when you are going to Iganga. There was a school called MM Primary School. In Kakira the local language was Kiswahili because people were of different tribes so I just found them speaking Kiswahili as a local language, like in class if the teacher is not speaking in English he has to translate in Kiswahili. So I had to learn some Swahilli from there.

Contrastively, some schools have various communities of speakers of different languages among the learners and the teachers, particularly in Kampala. Learning new languages in the school context depends on the kinds of communities a learner associates with. Although English may be used in the classroom, students are usually exposed to these languages outside

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[10] Kakira is a sugarcane growing area occupied by a sugarcane plantation and sugar factory.

the classroom. When students spend reasonable time in such schools, they sometimes learn new languages informally from their friends. Extract 17 from Magitta's language portrait illustrates this point. Magitta identified a Nilotic language, Japadhola, as home language. Going to school in Kampala, she had a group of Acholi speaking friends, from whom she then learned this language.

Extract 17

> Maggita: Green represents Acholi which I acquired in one of the primary schools which I attended in Kampala in St. Judith Naguru-Katale. This was because most of the pupils I was studying with, were speaking their mother tongue languages (Acholi) which was also most like my mother tongue (Ludaama/Japadhola) from Eastern Uganda […]

This demonstrates Kampala's multilingualism in schools where a community of speakers of a Nilotic language maintain the usage of their language in an environment surrounded by Luganda, a Bantu language.

It suffices to note that it is not always the case that students will pick up a language simply because it exists in the school which they happen to attend. Certain factors besides time spent in the school, may deter students from acquiring these languages. Such factors include interest and attitude towards the language, and school policies. Some schools have strict regulations in regard to language use on the school campus. Those schools permit only the official language and none other within the school premises (Cummins, 1997; Ngugi, 2013).

Regarding the local languages at school, students engage majorly with informal language knowledge. Therefore, the competence that is acquired for many of the local languages is communicative and not necessarily grammatically sophisticated. The level of competence depends on how often one engages with the language and for what activities. Some engage in specific activities while others are open.

Schools also provide a basic ground for developing and sustaining knowledge of English both formally and informally. Most schools that the participants attended, had only English as the designated language of instruction and it was also taught as a subject throughout primary and ordinary level of secondary school, that is, from senior one to senior four (Government of Uganda, 1992). Most participants identified English as the language of interaction around the school campuses to enhance its practice and use, so that students learn it properly (cf. Brock-Utne, 2009; Blackledge & Creese, 2010).

Nevertheless, teachers' practices sometimes defied the English-only ideology as indicated by Peter (more about school practices in next sub-section). In extract 18, Peter refers to the use of community languages by some teachers (more about school classroom practices in next sub-section). Situations where teachers use community languages, participants report taking the freedom to do the same.

Extract 18

> Peter: When I was in primary it was more of English but when I went to secondary, the teachers like at Rubaga could use a bit of Luganda. When I was in Lira Town College, the teachers would use a lot of Langi and less English.

At the university, students encounter a pool of languages since there is a conglomeration of people from all parts of Uganda. But according to the biographies, they do not actually learn new languages in this place except for a few words or phrases like greetings. Instead, the university provides a platform on which students perform their linguistic practices using the different languages that they already know. The only languages participants reported to have learned at university are those taught in the classroom especially the foreign languages (beginner's courses) such as French, German and Arabic.

5.1.5   Language use in school classrooms

In school different languages are treated and used differently. English takes its place as the official language of school activities in Uganda (Government of Uganda, 1992) and is given the priority over all to other languages (Bernsten, 1998). In research many education centres have been scrutinized as sites where exertion of power manifests, state ideologies are enacted and of individuals are regulated (cf. Woolard & Schieffelin 1994; Kroskrity, 2000; Moyer & Rojo, 2007; Martin-Jones, Blackledge & Creese, 2012; Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). Much of the exertion of power is done through regulating language. Ag and Jorgensen (2012:525) state that "language ideologies are beliefs that represent political interests and may become generally accepted as "truths" about language." For example it is usually the norm that a monolingual practice is emphasised in education (Moyer & Rojo, 2007) especially in urban schools in Uganda where the official language (English) is used (Government of Uganda, 1992; cf. Mackey, 1968), as it believed to be the most neutral and mobile linguistic resource.

Activities that are embedded in the school practices in Uganda vary from one school to another. Some schools use more of English while others use more of local languages; others

use only English, while others have almost a balance between English and the local languages. In urban schools, there is more of English while in rural schools there is more usage of local languages (cf. Government of Uganda, 1992) as illustrated by Peter's response in extract 12. Rural schools therefore provide more access to local languages while the urban schools suffocate them.

Regarding whether participants had an opportunity to use their local languages in the classroom situation, they disclosed that they studied certain languages as subjects, or used them at university in Translation classes and/or Oral Literature if they offer Literature as a subject. On the whole they agreed that local languages were rarely used in the classroom, in primary and secondary school, mainly for clarification and for reproach. In the interview extracts 19, 20 and 21 the biographies of Ateenyi and Peter voice the ways in which illustrate how local languages were utilised in the schools participants attended.

Extract 19

Ateenyi: Runyoro, because I have ever been in UPE (Universal Primary Education) school. Runyoro was used in class for teaching.

Extract 20

Peter: Yeah. The teachers don't allow you to use local language in the classroom, but sometimes the teacher can say something in English and then say it in Luganda just to make it funny.

Extract 21

Peter: … so that other students could understand because some students are very bleak when it comes to English.

Ateenyi (extract 19) testifies to the use of Runyoro, during primary school. She describes a scenario from a rural government aided school in her hometown area, where the local language was used in mainstream teaching. Peter refers to the rare use of Luganda in an urban school in lighter moments (extract 20) or to aid students whose competence of English needed support (extract 21).

In the interview Peter indicated that the students are not granted the same opportunity as teachers to use other languages. English only was allowed during classroom interaction.

A second instance where the local languages are used is when teachers are angry and want to express their disappointment to the class.

In addition, in extract 22 Sisoni reported use of local languages in extracurricular activities like music and drama

Extract 22

> Sisoni: At primary level if a teacher was angry, he would burst in a local language.
>
> So that's the reality of it. When the teacher was angry he would shout in Lumasaaba. And also during performances at school we would perform in our local languages.

These practices indicate that the utilization of local languages to convey and discuss intellectual/academic matters is largely prohibited (cf. Banda, 2009; Ouane & Glanz, 2010). Consequently it becomes difficult for individuals to develop intellectual skills in these languages. Speakers majorly develop casual knowledge for simplified applications of these languages.

Some individuals who do not get to learn local languages as subjects in primary and secondary schools could only find them at university if they registered for a language subject such as Luganda, Lwo, Runyakitara, and Kiswahili. Still university curricula in these languages include mainly the linguistic aspects of the languages and not the communicative or conversational aspects.

It appears that classroom practices can determine the extent to which students get exposed to particular languages not already included in their repertoire, aid their competences of those languages, and how they would use them. This co-determines development of their competence of those languages and how they would use them.

5.1.6 Migration

It has been argued that one of the basic factors enhancing multilingualism is high population mobility (Batibo, 2005; Jessner, 2008; Cenoz & Gorter, 2010; Heller, 2012).

It is common for families to shift from one location to another, and as Batibo (2005:9) explains about Africa, sometimes they move to locations that have different linguistic settings from the ones they vacate. Usually, the adults may maintain their languages in the new setting, but the children are always prone to learn the languages of the new home environment

(Edwards, 1994; Lanza & Svendsen, 2007). This does not necessarily mean they will drop the language/s they already acquired from the previous home environment, rather they could simply add on the new language/s resulting to development of multilingual configurations (cf. Busch, 2012).

Participant's biographies demonstrate that in Uganda, migration happens in different ways, such as, the whole family can shift their home from one place to another, or an individual could move from one home to another at different stages of their life for different reasons. The transition can be permanent or temporary.

Participants' biographies also exhibit a practice by Ugandan parents and relatives, of bringing up children in different homes at different stages in their lives. These homes could be in distant locations from each other and situated in different linguistic regions. Participants indicated that they were able to learn certain languages from different homes they lived in. Sometimes it was a conscious effort by the hosts to teach their language to the new entrant, while other times, the new entrant found learning the language used in the home the only way to cope in that home.

In extracts 23, 24 and 25, from an interview with Amonkit,heindicates Lukonzo as his L1 and illustrates how migrating to Luganda speaking region facilitated him to learn Luganda. Amonkit was able to learn Luganda because his family relocated to a Luganda speaking community and took him to a school in that community where learners used Luganda outside classroom.

Extract 23

> Amonkit: My hometown currently is Kiganda-Mubende […]. Well, I was born in Kasese (Lukonzo speaking area) and then migrated to … with my family to Kiganda in 2001.

Extract 24

> Amonkit: With Luganda, I learned it by socializing at primary school. I was in P.6 (primary six) then, when I got introduced to that language. When I came to this school I did not know many words in Luganda […]. But when I came to this school, I got into the actual learning of Luganda by socializing with students and sometimes teachers.

Extract 25

> It is in Kiganda-Mubende, that is, Kawungera Primary School. That is where I had my primary six and seven.

Amonkit indicates that his parents knew only Lukonzo but having stayed in Kiganda-Mubende for some years, they acquired some knowledge of Luganda and sometimes they use it at home and with other people within the community.

In another instance, Jomona, an L1 speaker of Luganda reports that she shifted from Buganda region to stay with her grandmother in a Lusoga speaking area, and there her relatives used Lusoga as a home language. While there, she attended a primary school (refer to extract 18) that also had a different language regime, that is, a community that speaks Kiswahili. The change of location fostered her to learn Kiswahili and Lusoga. In extract 26, Jomona during the interview explained how she learned Lusoga.

Extract 26

> With Lusoga, I have a grandparent there. One time I was studying in Jinja (Lusoga speaking area), I went to my grandma and that was the language they were speaking. Good enough I went to school in Busoga where we had Wanyange Girls School Association. It was an association teaching Lusoga. Even in Wanyange primary. So we had to learn Lusoga from school and at home.

Jomona learned Lusoga both from school and at home. The reasonable duration of stay in Busoga enabled her to access, learn and practice Lusoga to the level that she is proud of. Her attitude towards Lusoga is also highly enhanced to the extent that she values it higher than her L1, Luganda.

Jomona got an opportunity to learn two languages supported by different social contexts, when she migrated from Buganda region. Lusoga was supported by home, school and the general community while Kiswahili was confined in one small community of the sugarcane plantation/sugar factory. The two environments influenced her language development in different ways. From what she says about Lusoga on her language portrait, it was better sedimented (cf. Agha, 2007; Pennycook, 2010) as it was more locally available and accessible compared to Kiswahili which was confined.

Jomona's reveals more about Lusoga in her language portrait below.
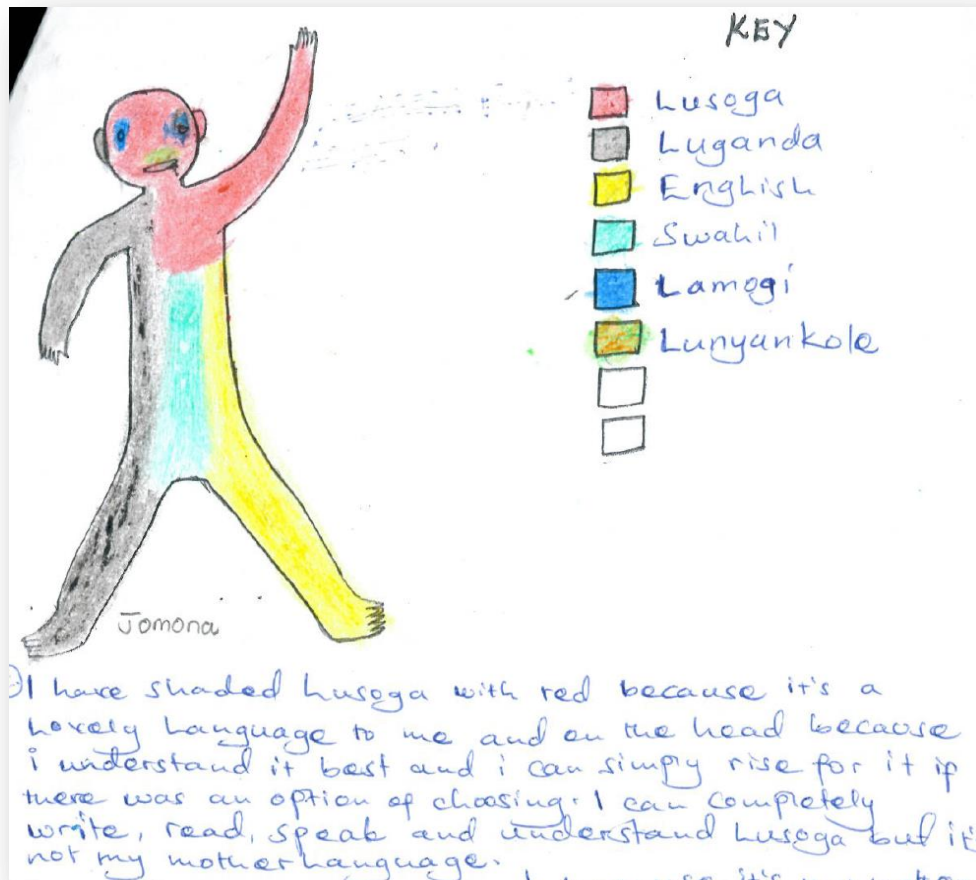
Figure 5.3:   Jomona's language portrait

Another example is from Sisoni's interview response. In Extract 27, Sisoni moved for a while from his parent's home in Mbale where his L1 – Lumasaaba, dominates, to a Lusamia speaking community in Busia. He stayed there with his auntie while he attended secondary school. This exposed him to Lusamia, the local language of the community and his auntie's home language.

Extract 27

> Sisoni: Samia, when I had finished primary level, I went to study from Busia (Lusamia speaking area). That is 2005-2007. So at school I used to speak English, as well as learning the traditional language of that area. That was Samia so I learned it from there.

Therefore, the local language practices of specific communities influence language practices of new entrants in different ways such as; checking their already existing linguistic skills and improving their attitudes towards other languages. Improving attitudes is a productive motivation for one to learn a language effectively.

Migrations provide opportunities for individuals to learn new languages which enhance their multilingual repertoires. It is noteworthy that to facilitate learning a new language, migration should be accompanied by motivation. It also involves as Heller (2007a) and Pennycook (2010) emphasize, participating in activities that involve the use of a given language within the local community.

5.1.7   Competence refinement by participating in different communities of practice

Learning of languages and language use are largely a result of participation in communities where people engage in different activities (Pennycook, 2010; Garcia, 2013). According to Wenger (1998:4): "participation is acting and belonging that shapes what we do, who we are and our interpretation of what we do." Communities of practice induce and promote the learning of a language (Blommaert, 2010) and sometimes even the refining of an already learned language (cf. Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, 1999).

The biography of Sisoni revealed that moving from one area (where his mother tongue was dominant) to another helped him improve his English by sieving out the mother-tongue influence particularly in his pronunciation. He found that the local language practices within his home area had given room for him to accommodate mother tongue influence (interference) in his English language practice. This is explained by Kramsch (1998:3), that "people do not only express experience, they also create experience with language". Sisoni's earlier experience was not tolerated in the new school he went to which had a different language regime. They regarded his accent strange and even stigmatized it. This reaction made him realise that he was different and that he needed to identify with his new community. He had to refine his English pronunciation as the following interview extract discloses.

Extract 28

> Sisoni: I never knew good English, but as I said studying from different environments ... For instance I had a mother tongue problem of interference. I would not pronounce certain words well. But when I was changed from Gishu land to Samia land, each time I would speak English, people would laugh. So from that I would learn and then that one changed me. Then I became perfect in speaking English.

From the above, different communities with different language regimes and practices influence varying ways of registering of other languages. Thus, differences in use of

particular languages by students, is greatly traced back to communities where practice of these languages was inculcated.

5.1.8   Structural similarities

Some languages/language varieties have close linguistic relatedness and high mutual intelligibility. The speakers of one such variety usually understand the other/s to a high degree. These languages are also usually geographically located close to each other. The best example of this is the cluster of some western Ugandan varieties namely Runyakitara which includes, Runyankore, Rukiga, Rutooro and Runyoro (Ladefoged et al., 1971; Bernsten, 1998). If someone speaks any of these varieties as a L1, he also easily understands at least one other or all the others in the cluster.

The formation of repertoires involves all the resources of different forms, which individuals need to achieve their communicative goals (Gumperz, 1971; Pennycook, 2007; Makoni & Mashiri, 2007; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Blommaert, 2010). It has also been noted that an individual cannot acquire everything in a given linguistic system (Edwards, 1994; Blommaert, 2010). Agha (2007:146) for instance indicates that, the socialization style of individuals determines the types, number and levels of competence of registers they can acquire in a language. This does not apply to only registers but also to styles, genres and even language varieties themselves. Some individuals could be discouraged to learn a language variety because of the different perceptions of what are recognised as similar linguistic forms. Perceptions relate to how primary speakers articulate the forms and difference in meaning.

Participants in this study who know some or all of the varieties in the Runyakitara cluster totalled to 14. Some of those however knew languages outside the cluster but which are also related to the cluster varieties to a certain degree. Such included Kinyarwanda (the national language of Rwanda, a country neighbouring Uganda in the south west) and Lukonzo. Kinyarwanda is closer to Runyankore-Rukiga while Lukonzo is closer to Runyoro-Rutooro.

From descriptions of the language portraits, the extracts 29, 30, 31 on one hand, and 32 on another hand express contrasting perceptions about structurally similar varieties. Hunk's L1 Rutooro, Juliet's L1 is Kinyarwanda while Tina's L1 is Runyankore. Extracts 29, 30 and 31 show how structural similarity facilitated acquisition of varieties related to L1, while extract 32, shows negativity towards learning a related variety.

Extract 29

> Hunk: More so green standing in for Runyankore, the fact that I am from the west, I love it and find it interesting to learn, speak and read it.

Extract 30

> Juliet: While for Lutooro, because I also understand, i.e., because it is close to Lunyankole and I really like it, because I can understand every word […]

Extract 31

> Tinah: Brown for Lunyoro and light brown for Lutooro. The two languages are a bit related as well as close to my mother language – Lunyankore. Therefore I can speak them, hear them, though not well conversant with writing them. Finally they are from the same direction with my mother tongue (western Uganda).

Extract 32

> Hunk: Purple standing for Rukiga, This is one of the languages that do not interest me because of the rude nature of the Bakiga and I do not feel like learning it though I understand it.

Social perceptions about languages and language varieties highly influence construction of repertoires. Sometimes their influence surpasses the linguistic relations among languages. As such people's perceptions about language varieties should not be disregarded even where linguistically related languages are concerned because they form pertinent backgrounds to their language practices.

Individuals' knowledge of related languages, though generally predictable (cf. Cruise-Ferreira, 2010; Thije et al., 2011), should not be taken for granted (cf. Ladefoged et al., 1971; Batibo, 2005). This is because each individual has a different social trajectory and personal experience (as the language portraits display), specific in terms of institutional, social and cultural situatedness (Hogen & Pink, 2012) from others. That experience is what delimits his/her competence.

Atwooki language portrait in Figure 5.4, the portions accorded to the three related language varieties, even for Runyankore and Rukiga which form a single sub-cluster, are different. Atwooki's L1 Runyankore covers half his body while Rukiga and Rutooro cover a limb each. That suggests that the exposure and interaction he has for these language varieties is not the same. He explicitly says for Rukiga (Lemon Green) that he rarely uses it because his mother, from whom he learned it, rarely uses it. The portions supposedly indicate varying levels of

competence Atwooki has for each language. Atwooki however does not mention Runyoro at all in his portrait yet Runyoro is linguistically clustered with Rutooro. The two varieties have high intelligibility (Bernsten, 1998) and high lexical similarity of 78% - 93% (Ethnologue, 2013). The absence of Runyoro is a reminder that the ways these varieties are adopted into speakers' repertoires should not be taken for granted. Rather it is essential to take into consideration the various aspects of the social context that surrounds accessibility and use of the varieties which aspects differ for different individuals (Busch, 2006).
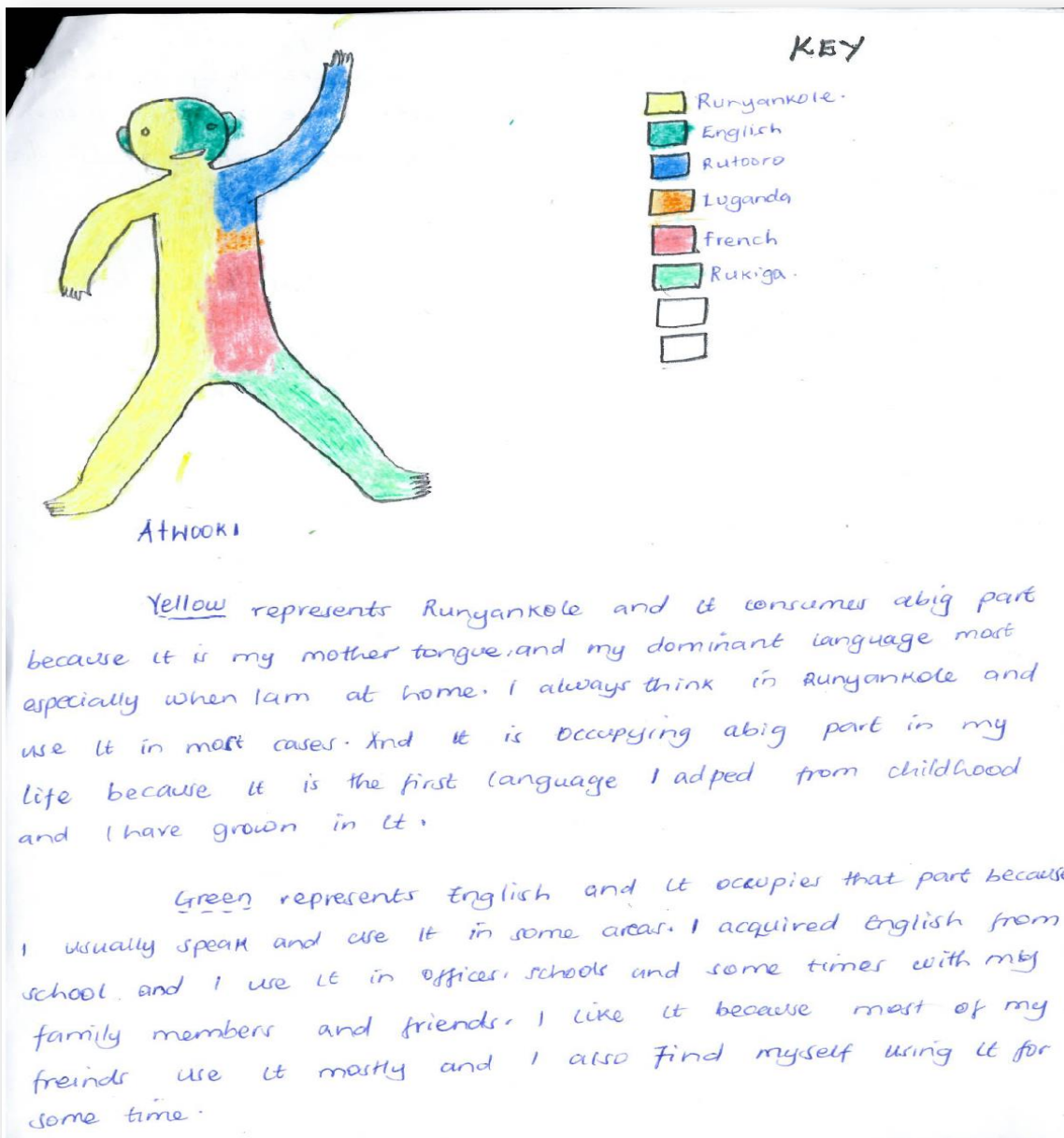
Blue represents Rutooro which acquired from my cousins. I always had my holidays from my aunt's place where they speak Rutooro and I learnt it from there. I use Rutooro when I am communicating with my cousins and my friends who also know it.

Orange represents Luganda which I hear but I can not speak it. I understand Luganda but speaking it has become a difficult game in my life. I always hear it on some Tvs and when I am in Kampala from my friends and cousins.

French represe

Red represents french which I acquired from school, I studied french for two years in my o'level and I liked it. so I can speak a bit of it and I understand it. I always use French when I meet those friends of mine on facebook or in a conversation.

Lemon green represent Rukiga in my picture which I acquired from my mum and my grand parents, Aunts and uncles from my mum's side in kabale. I always use it when I have visited them or when I am talking with them via phones. I rarely really use it with my mum because she does not usually use it. I also use it when I meet my friends and people who knows how to speak it.

In my conclusion I say that all these languages are good and interesting to learn, listen, speak and write.

Figure 5.4:   Atwooki's language Portrait

The advantage with the method of language portraits and the narratives that describe them according to Bruner (2004) in Cohen et al., (2011:584) is that they give personal information about authors, their agency and the situatedness of their story. We can then mirror their information onto the social situation that surrounds it to make reliable conclusions.

Another instance of related varieties is presented by Liberty whose L1 is Rukiga. He listed Runyankore/Rukiga and Runyoro/Rutooro in his questionnaire, but not Runyoro and

Runyankore in his language portrait. Liberty clusters the language varieties in the questionnaire because of the formal nature of the questionnaire method. He however detaches them in the language portrait.

I colour the whole body blue; my favourite colour because it is my favourite mother tongue Rukiga is what I am in love with, some times speak it to even those who do not know it and remember later. I use it while am up country. I have mastered it that I interprete at Church (from English to Rukiga).
in the head

Yellow for English as a bright colour, because its what I use for Intellectual issues, besides I think I manipulate it perfectly. I like reading works that have manipulated the English language and many people become my friends because we enjoy the language and I like those who are good at the use of it. I use it in writing my poems and enjoying its irregularity
Colored in the head above and

Red for Runyarwanda which I understand but cannot speak it very frequently. I speak the basics, but love Rwandese, my half brothers are Rwandese and we are at the borders of Rwanda. The My friends take it too, I have many contacts with the country. My brother's girlfriend teaches me Ru kinyarwanda too and I teach him her English.
in the ear

Green for Rutooro, which I hear perfectly but cannot speak it well. I use it with my Batooro friends. Its very persuasive and is enjoyable when you are hearing it being spoken. *on the mouth, my friend's best colour,*

Brown
~~Light Green~~ for Luganda, I speak while in the Central region with my friends and the shop keepers who understand it. Its the business language which I have to understand to survive in the city

Figure 5.5:   Liberty's Language Portrait

The informal nature of the arts-based method, thus allows individuals to freely represent their true selves and opinions (Hogen & Pink, 2012; cf. O'Neil, 2012). The language portrait and its description have an advantage of exploring the practices, transition, feelings and experiences about the different languages that participants for instance listed (O'Neil, 2012). This enables the researcher to critically analyse the specific elements that are 'local' to individuals within a phenomenon (Mitchell, 2011:35; Banks, 2012:218). This is vital for understanding the realities of multilingualism (Cruz-Ferreira, 2010; Martin-Jones et al., 2012). Thus, looking at Atwooki and Liberty's portraits and their descriptions, it is observed that their acquisition and knowledge of related languages is influenced by the social contexts that surround those varieties.

Normally individuals who speak Runyakitara varieties marry amongst themselves hence maintain blood relations. Therefore, the varieties are kept active and close within families. This sustains a suitable environment for the families involved to pass on these varieties to the offspring. For example S's dad's L1 is Runyankore while his mother's L1 is Rukiga; Twenty refers to Runyoro and Runyankore as his mother tongues which supposedly translates into languages of his parents although he does not use them or have good knowledge of them; Banx's parents are L1 speakers of Runyankore, but he also has an aunt whose husband's L1 is Kinyarwanda; Liberty whose L1 is Rukiga, has Rwandese half-brothers, he also mentions a brother whose girl friend is a Kinyarwanda speaker (refer to figure 5.5 above); Atwooki L1 is Runyankore, his mother's L1 is Rukiga, and he has cousins who speak Rutooro as reported in his language portrait above (figure 5.4). Such blood relationships create (and are meant to create) a 'local' environment that maintains the continuity of the language varieties within the family language practices. At home and among relatives, the child is always exposed to any of these varieties, which enhances learning and using them. It is thus not just a matter of approximation or assimilation, but the acquisition of related languages is very much fostered by exposure to actual language use within family relations. This also serves to show that 'local' does not necessarily mean fixed location, rather a specific environment or condition that serves a given purpose (Blommaert, 2010; Pennycook, 2010).

Other languages that were reported to be have been included in participants' repertoires because of their structural relatedness were Japadhola and Acholi (Ateenyi), Acholi and Lango (Peter), Lugwere and Lusoga.

Table 5.3: **Contexts of language learning and the categories of languages learned there**

Context	Language category
Home	First language and home languages
Neighbourhood	Majority/community languages
School and Special Training Institutions (Barracks)	School languages particularly English, Vehicular languages, community languages, foreign languages, Lingua francas
Street	Lingua francas, majority languages

5.2 SOURCES OF LANGUAGES IN BIOGRAPHIES

Multilingual repertoires are built from various sources within the communities of practice that individuals participate in. Likewise different people have different roles and ways of contributing to the language learning process of others.

5.2.1 Parents

Parents normally play the role of imparting the L1s into their children (Lanza, 2007; Spolsky, 2009; Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, 1999). This is the normal scenario in particularly L1 language acquisition process. The first language/s parents impart, may or may not be a L1 of any of them. Mothers always play a bigger role in helping their children learn to communicate. Therefore where languages of parents are not the same, there is a high chance that the mother will impart her own L1 as the first (one of) language a child acquires. An example is presented by Khalifa's biography. His first and dominant language is Luganda. It is his mother's L1, and also the language of the community he grew up from. He did not list Lugbara, his father's language.

From the description of his language portrait, Banx's parents speak only, Runyankore, at home which made it easy for him to acquire it as his single L1 presented in extract 33.

Extract 33

> Banx: Lunyankore is my popular language. This is because I was born of Banyankore parents who were in Ankole. Therefore I grew up speaking Lunyankore and am now well convinced that Lunyankole is the language I know better than any other languages.

Parents sometimes introduce more than one language to the child depending on the home setting, that is, depending on the number of languages they know themselves. For example Akiiki reports that his parents introduced both his father's L1 – Rusongora and his mother's L1 – Rutooro in his infancy. He says that he acquired both languages concurrently since they both were used in the home by his parents as he was growing up. Therefore sometimes parents become the first source of bilingual development of a child when they introduce more than one language.

The much discussed one person – one language strategy (Edwards, 1994; Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, 1999; Lanza, 2007) practiced among linguistically mixed parents in the western world is almost none existent in participants' biographies. Since mothers learn their husbands' L1s, they use them sometimes together with their own L1s to the children. Fathers too learn community languages which they use together with their minority languages in the homes, for example in Akiiki's, Freddie's and Peter's case (already presented in 5.1.1). In other words, there is always a parent that uses more than one language to the child among mixed language couples. A child therefore does not concentrate on a single language at a time, but is often exposed to all available languages. In Akiiki's situation however, he reports that he knows the two L1s to the same level which indicates that both parents used their L1s in the home regularly.

The exposure and acquisition of languages in multilingual settings is such an invisible process to both the parents and the children, in that they do not plan or even consciously implement it. Freddie said his L1 was Lugwere and he shows it as the only language that he learned during infancy, however, he also says that his father always insisted (insists) on using his language Lunyole to the children. Although the children did not pick interest in speaking the language, they were often exposed to the language and it found its way into their system. Being able to understand it and respond to whatever their father said indicated that they had learned the language from him. It was only weakened by the fact that it was only emphasized by one person (the male parent) in the home and just on occasions when he was around (cf. Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, 1999) and it was not supported by the community.

5.2.2 Relatives

Relatives play a vital role in exposing children to L1s of their parents especially where parents have different L1s and choose to use a majority community language other than their

L1s within the home. Relatives find this important, because these languages take precedence in executing home affairs particularly in the villages (home towns) and for maintaining identity. Still, sometimes they are the only languages relatives know. When relatives come to visit, they use these languages to the parents and to the children. In addition, children are particularly exposed to these languages when they go to visit or live with these relatives either in the village or in the relatives' homes.

At least every participant had a language that was learned or at least encouraged by relatives. For example Freddie's L1 is the community language – Lugwere but he constantly gets acquainted with Lunyole (his father's L1) through his father and the relatives when they come to visit or when he goes to the village; Jomona learned Lusoga (her mother's L1) from the village where she went to stay with her grandmother; Peter too learned Acholi his mother's language from his relatives in the village.

The L1s of Peter's parents (Lango and Acholi) are minority languages in Uganda. Growing up in Kampala greatly diminished Peter's chances of maintaining or improving his competence in these languages especially Acholi. Although Lango is used at home, the contact is limited since it is juxtaposed with English, and is not spoken in the community. The same is true for other participants whose L1s are minority, and used only occasionally with relatives.

Some relatives may have spouses who speak different languages from their own, and if it is a lady relative who has a spouse with a different language, the language of the spouse usually dominates in the home. The children who visit for a lengthy period or live with their relatives find themselves in the environment that gives exposes them to another language which they eventually learn. This situation is illustrated by Banx's description of his language portrait in extract 34, and the interview with Sisoni in extract 35. Sisoni explains that he learned Lusamia from his cousins (his auntie's children) as he was commuting from the auntie's place to go to school during his secondary education.

Extract 34

> Banx: Runyarwanda, I grade it to be my third best language I know. I also speak it and understand it in that my aunt who got married in Rwanda, the whole family speaks Runyarwanda and in this case I was forced to learn the language whenever I could go for a visit in order to ease communication between me and the rest of the family even outside the family.

Extract 35

> Sisoni: So I would learn from these kids. They are the ones who taught me. Actually I learned little from my auntie, but I learned much from these kids. That's how I learned Samia.

From the extract 35, it is clear that Sisoni had more face to face interaction with his cousins practicing Lusamia which eventually facilitated him to learn it. This was also strengthened by the availability of Lusamia in the community surrounding his auntie's home.

As shown above, participants biographies show that relatives do not only contribute to learning of minority L1s of children's parents, as much of the research, such as Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson (1999), Lanza (2007) and Spolsky (2009) emphasize. But if relatives speak or stay in a community that uses a different language from their L1, a child who stays with them has an opportunity to learn that additional language (Extract 35).

5.2.3   Other people in the home

Homes in Uganda, characteristically house different categories of people including; relatives, helpers such as nannies/house maids and home attendants. These do not necessarily share L1s with the parents.

Participants' biographies indicate that people who are not relatives also contribute linguistic input to children in the home especially if the two parties have a lot of time to interact. Usually the other person who is not a family member teaches his/her language to a family member. This way a child in a home does get to learn another language and add to their repertoire.

For example, Ateenyi was adopted by her maternal uncle (Runyoro speaker) whose wife is a Japadhola speaker. She reported that in her guardians' home, they would only have a maid that spoke Japadhola. This encouraged her to learn Japadhola. It was the only way to communicate with the maid. Ateenyi, her uncle and his wife always used English to communicate. Although Ateenyi's uncle's wife never used Japadhola with her, maintaining maids who could only speak Japadhola necessitated Ateenyi's learning of this language to enable her communicate with them as she explains below.

Extract 36

> Then Japadhola, it was home especially through the maid. They would bring a maid who only knew that language so somehow I had to learn to communicate with her. This was at my guardians' place where I stay.

Extract 36 provides evidence that time highly mediates language acquisition/learning. When one spends reasonable time interacting with a persistent speaker of a particular language, it facilitates learning that person's language.

5.2.4   Neighbours and community members

A family may adopt the use of the neighbours' language in their home either fully or partially, or the children may learn the language and use it with the neighbours. Neighbours provide a grounded source of language learning because children can hardly resist interacting with them. This is especially where a specific language dominates among the neighbours/cross-section of the neighbours, or if there are close ties between the family and the neighbours. Some participants demonstrated this in descriptions of their language portraits in extracts 37, 38 and 39.

Extract 37

> Amonkit: I choose green for Luganda because I have grown up in the environment of Luganda. Green is a colour associated with environment. I breathe, drink, eat and live with Luganda speaking people in their environment. They are also my neighbours so I shade the neighbourhood green.

Extract 38

> Darius: I also know Runyarwanda that is represented by blue. I speak a little of Runyarwanda although I hear most of it. I learnt Runyarwanda from a neighbourhood I grew up from and I have also visited a few friends in Rwanda for my form four vacation which gave me more experience in the language.

Extract 39

> K2: The second largest is Lusoga in a blue colour. I grew up in Uganda at a place called Busia. It being a bordering district, I got exposed to some of the languages like Lusoga from neighbours. Blue stand for love, so the much love I had for neighbours, made me to associate with them hence learning the language.

K^2 also learned Kiswahili from the neighbours especially from Kenya as she used to transact business with them. Indeed neighbouring Kenya has been influential in exposing many Ugandans to Kiswahili since there are more trade activities between Ugandans and Kenyans

than any other bordering country, and Kiswahili is the most accessible resource that they can use to mediate their communication.

5.2.5   Peers

Peers form strong communities that stimulate language learning and influence language practices of individuals. It is difficult for individuals to only have engagements with people who speak the same language. As such individuals end up with friends and/or playmates that speak different languages from their own. Still, being part of a social group also means being able to communicate favourably with them (cf. Gumperz, 1971:153-154). This is mostly ensured through the use of a language understood by all members of a group. This is one reason for which individuals learn languages from their peers.

According to participants' biographies, learning language from peers may be both unconscious and conscious depending on interest, reaction of others towards one's language, and rate of exposure. For children who are ten years and below, they usually naturalistically acquire a language of their mates without even noticing the process. This is because they are still within the age that people acquire language naturally and easily (Ortega, 2009:12). Many participants from other parts of Uganda described having learned Luganda from peers. The following extract from an interview with Peter, is an illustration of peers as a source of language knowledge.

Extract 40

> Peter: Acholi I learnt it the first time when I had gone to Gulu since it's very similar to Langi. I just started picking and liking the way they talk so I just learnt it from my friends. That was senior six vacation. And it did not take a long time for me to learn it. […] Then for Luganda, that one comes up naturally. I have grown up playing with children who speak Luganda. Kiswahili, I just learnt it from friends at school. I had Tanzanian friends in O' Level. So we would always interact. I would talk with them … I would teach them English so they would teach me Kiswahili. It was like an exchange because they did not know English. Then some time I went on a short holiday with them to Tanzania, so I got to be more exposed to the language and its culture.

In his questionnaire Peter indicates that he learned Acholi from relatives as an infant. The contradiction in the extract above could mean that as a child, he did not realise Acholi as a different language (cf. Makoni & Pennycook, 2012:445). Since Acholi is not used at home, he may not have had continued contact with it until his senior six vacation, when he went to Gulu where it is the community language. At that time he was already aware of the

differences amongst languages, so he could identify it as a different language. He did not find it difficult to learn because he already had background knowledge that was reactivated, and also as he mentions, because of its structural closeness to Lango, one of his home languages which is also his L1.

In addition, Freddie mentions that he learned Luganda from his friends when he attended secondary school in Buganda region. Amonkit also reported that he learned Luganda from playmates at a primary school that he joined after shifting from Kasese, an area where Lukonzo is the dominant language. Ateenyi testifies to a similar scenario in regard to Luganda. Darius too discloses that he learned Rukiga from his friends and that he is not good at it although it is related to his first language Runyankore and is actually a part of the sub-cluster namely Runyankore-Rukiga. Magitta also reported to have learned Luganda from friends in school which she attended at ordinary level of secondary school, likewise, Acholi in her primary school.

Peers apparently contribute so much to acquisition of secondary languages among individuals as participants in this study repeatedly revealed. These included both majority and minority languages. Since these peers are usually short-lived due to migration and changing of communities of practice, their impact on acquisition of linguistic resources is also unstable.

5.2.6   Teachers

All participants in this study learned their English from teachers in the different schools they attended. Teachers contribute to the learning of English through teaching it as a subject and using it as language of instruction in class. Some participants nevertheless claim to have started using it at home especially where parents did not have the same L1. Schools form communities of practice where majority of students and teachers spend most of their time. At school students spend more time in the classroom with teachers who impart knowledge and skills in various disciplines. It happens that language is one of those disciplines, and it is also the medium of transfer of knowledge between teacher and learners (cf. Ouane & Glanz, 2010:27). Hence teachers contribute immensely to imparting linguistic knowledge in the individuals that they teach both in the language classroom and in other subjects.

Most participants owe their knowledge and use of English language to the teachers in the various schools and institutions that they studied from. Usually individuals who started their education from rural schools normally have different kinds of knowledge and style of use of

English compared to those who started in urban schools. This is because in rural schools there is more use of local languages in classrooms (during lessons) than in urban schools. This follows the provision in the Government White Paper (Government of Uganda, 1992:19) for use of local languages as medium of instruction in lower primary school (from primary one to primary three), and English for upper primary in rural schools, while for the urban schools only English is selected as medium of instruction throughout the entire education.

For some participants whose L1 is not Luganda, attending primary school in Buganda region gave them an opportunity to learn Luganda in the classroom as a subject and thus got their primary knowledge of the language from teachers, which was later enhanced by other speakers in the community. Luganda is the only Ugandan local language that has had the privilege of being taught as a subject since the colonial days (Bernsten, 1998) to date at all levels of education. Others are newly developed in the curriculum. Hence the teachers have been a great source of knowledge of Luganda to many people.

Teachers are also largely the source of foreign language knowledge such as French which students listed in their repertoires. Foreign languages are taught at school both in secondary school and university as separate subjects.

Instructors in the military barracks and related training institutions are also sources of learning specifically Kiswahili for some participants (and Ugandans). This is one of the reasons why Kiswahili is related to armed forces (Bernsten, 1998; Mukama, 2009), which gives it a negative connotation and yields a negative attitude from civilians. It is even referred to as a 'military language' by some participants. This is mostly because during the previous political regimes in Uganda, it was the only language used by the military. Amonkit and Banx explained during interviews that they learned Kiswahili through training in army school and scouting activities as follows.

Extract 41

> Amonkit: I think I should talk about Kiswahili whose process of learning is quite clear to me. When I was in around primary three or four, I don't quite remember very well, I was a scout at my school. So we used to have these parades and other training mostly in Kiswahili. Then, it was time when the ADF was in Kasese. The Allied Democratic Forces, they were disturbing the people in Kasese, so there were many army camps and we would have access to these people come and train us in the basic defence mechanisms, defensive techniques. We basically used Kiswahili that … and that's how I came to be introduced to the language and I learnt some bit of it …

Extract 42

> Banx: I find Swahili so interesting as it is used by soldiers I wanted to join army when I was 15 years old but by then I was told that for one to join the army one must be knowing Swahili. Therefore I immediately joined a school in the army barracks which taught Swahili and there I got used to speaking it.

The above extracts demonstrate that teachers/instructors at all levels and in different fields also contribute linguistic knowledge and skills, sometimes even unconsciously (refer also to extracts 14, 18 and 19). This is by either repeatedly using the language or teaching it directly in schools or training institutions which are the local communities for the practitioners to practice the languages.

5.2.7   Media

Electronic media have been presented as a good source of knowledge of language, especially the conversational style. It is a popular practice in Uganda to interpret English movies into Luganda to appeal to the community that does not understand English much. The only language one can hear as they watch such movies is Luganda. Apparently Luganda is the only language into which movies have been interpreted in Uganda, particularly in Kampala. Speakers of other local languages who watch these interpreted movies can always match Luganda words with actions in the movies to get the meaning. If someone watches such movies regularly for some time, it is most likely that they will learn Luganda since they get the lexical and semantic input from the audio-visual service.

Some participants revealed that they first leaned Luganda from movies that are interpreted from English to Luganda. Akiiki and Amonkit explained during interviews that they encountered Luganda through the media as illustrated in extract 43.

Extract 43

> Akiiki: For Luganda, I think the first encounter with Luganda is in these cinemas when the Jjingos are translating (Laughs). That was the first and you get the meaning of these words and even in the songs, when you are listening to the songs, and even I got a chance I used even to sing in a choir. As you are singing these words you always want to know, "what is the meaning of these words".

Amonkit too claimed to have first encountered Luganda through interpreted movies before joining a primary school in Buganda. Such movies are only shown in local cinemas for ordinary people. People who are not native speakers of Luganda can access Luganda through

these cinemas. The practice of interpreting movies has spread further to include particularly Latino, Indian and other Asian soap operas. These are popularly shown on local television like Bukedde Television which transmits in Luganda. The practice is aimed at helping a majority of people get entertained, but it also has the benefit of exposing people to the language of delivery, that is Luganda. Luganda is used because it is believed to be easier to understand by a wider majority of the population.

Music too plays a great role of exposing people to different languages as shown in Akiiki's response (extract 43). Most of Ugandan radio stations and television stations play mostly Luganda music on a regular basis, thus providing constant exposure of the language to everyone who tunes in. From such constant exposure, some people who may not associate much in Luganda do get some linguistic input of Luganda. It is important to note that the Luganda exposed in this way is not the normal conversational Luganda, although it is a good source of vocabulary.

Table 5.4:   Sources from which different categories of languages are learned

Source	Language category
Parents	First language, home languages
Relatives	Mother tongue/first language
Neighbours/playmates	Community language/majority language, lingua francas
Media	Lingua francas, majority languages
Teachers	School languages, foreign languages
Friends	Secondary languages

5.3   PROCESSES OF LANGUAGE ACQUISITION/LEARNING

The languages of the multilinguals do not enter their system all at one go or in the same style, although it is difficult to tell specifically when a particular language is acquired (Hammarberg, 2010). There are different ways languages/language varieties get included in individuals' repertoires. These are discussed in the following subsections.

5.3.1   Natural language acquisition

The primary languages such as the L1s, home languages, community languages are usually acquired naturally (cf. Brock-Utne, 2009; Prah, 2009) with no conscious effort. Natural

language acquisition normally starts at home. Older speakers provide language input to the younger individuals through repeated language use (Garret, 2007:233; cf. Agha, 2007; Riley, 2007). L1s are normally learned this way. This confirms that language is embedded in social structures (Fairclough, 1989; Heller, 1995).

Some people are at the start exposed to one language. Those come from families where parents share a L1 or where they decided to use one language in the home. Others may have access to more than one language as already shown by the findings in the previous sub sections. The natural way of learning a language does not only work at home, but also in school and in the neighbourhoods where individuals have their regular social interaction.

Most of the languages participants have in their repertoires were naturally acquired through participating in communities and activities that utilize such languages. Akiiki and K^2 illustrate natural language acquisition in the descriptions of their language portraits in figures 5.6 and 5.7.
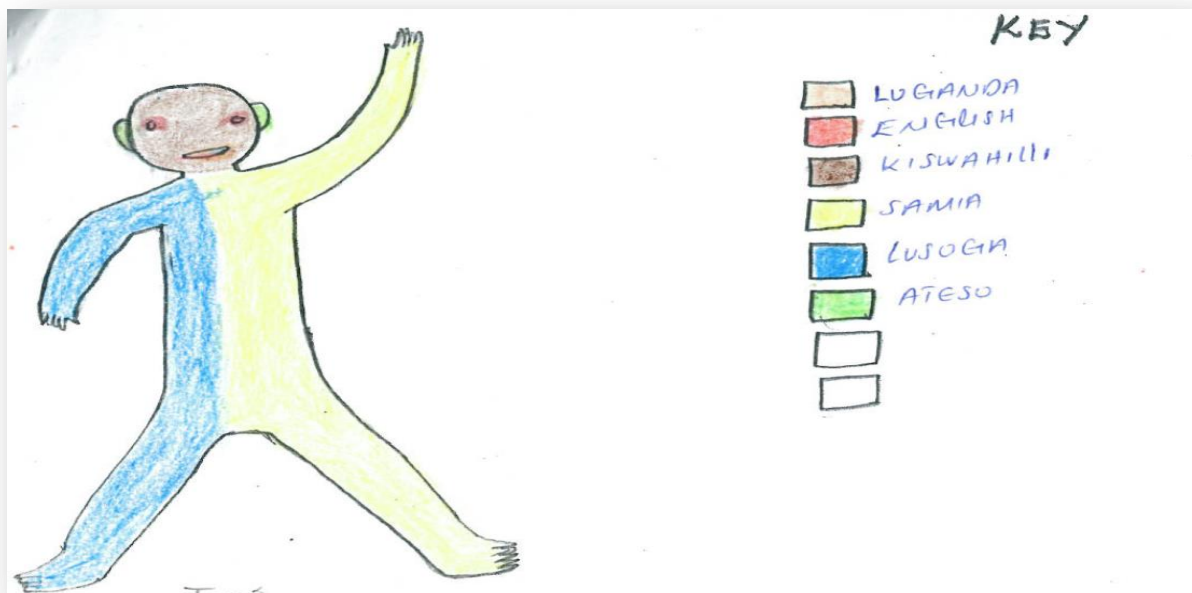
Figure 5.6:   K2's Language Portrait

lusamia is my best language shaded in ayellow Colour. It occupies the largest space because I use It more frequent since It was my first language. This happened so, that I was exposed to samia speakers since I was staying in samia land. yellow stands for sunshine. Samia as alanguage shined on me at ahighest percentage compared to other languages I speak.

The second largest is lusoga in ablue colour. I grew up in uganda at aplace called Busia. It being aboadering district, I got exposed to some of the languages like lusoga from neighbours. blue stands for love so the much love I had for neighbours, It made me to associate with them hence learning the language.

I learnt Ateso from my ~~friends~~ parents. I have shaded the ears because Iam not perfect I can hear and understand but I cannot speak perfectly this is because Iam not much exposed to other speakers but It is just the struggle of my parents. the green colour on the ears stand for peace. the peace I have at home also creates room for my learning languages.

Brown stands for kiswahilli meaning relatedness. as Iam at the boardering areas, I get acess to the neighbouring Country like kenya where by they have anational language which is kiswahili and being our secondary official in uganda, It arged me to learn for communication like business issues. much of the products we use are from kenya since we are near, Iwe can cross over and buy.

I would not only want to end on this languages though there are some challenges like not having aperfect language but I also want to chase my dreams of learning french and other languages In order to go to other Countries of my dream.
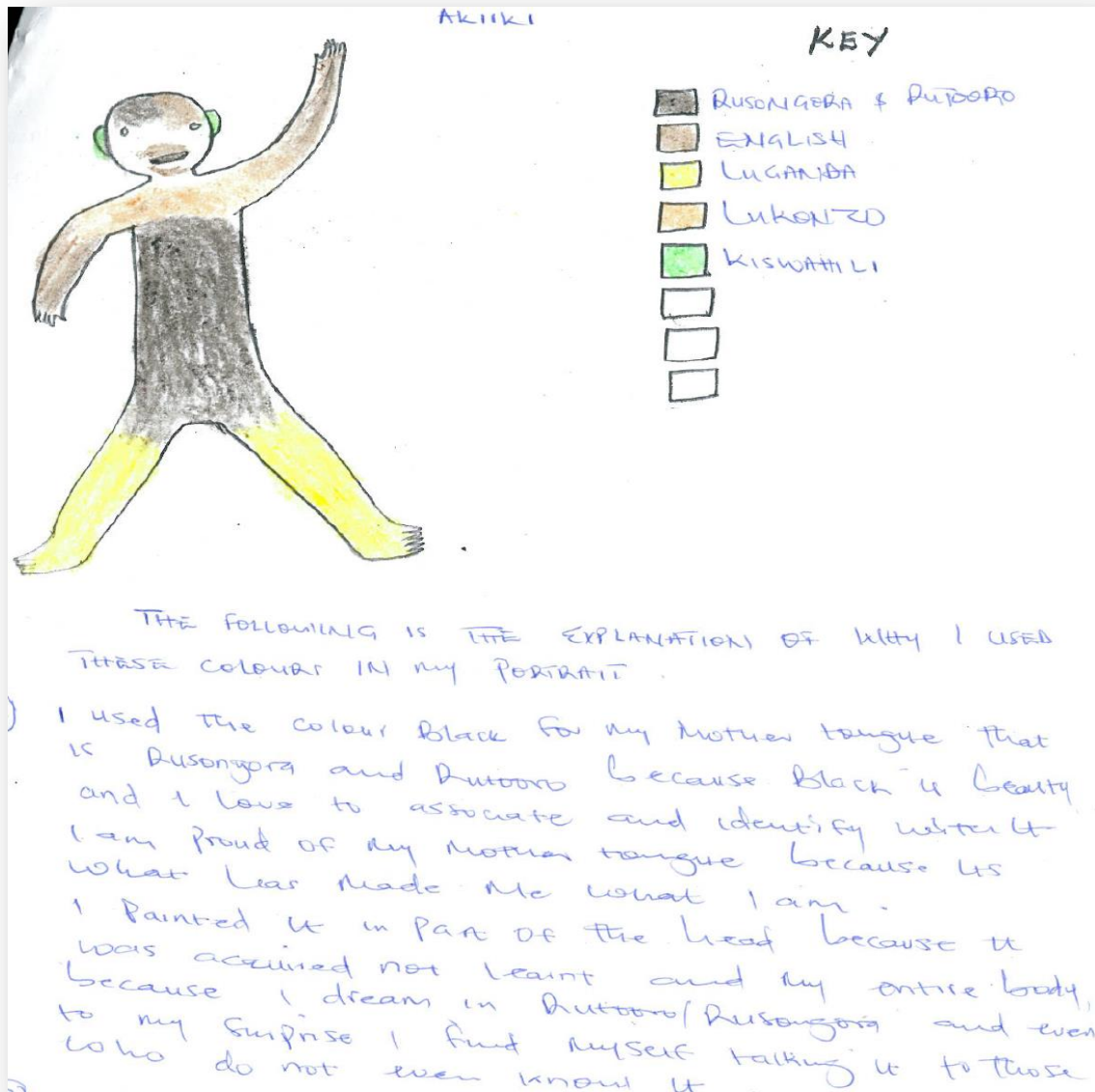
Figure 5.7:   Akiiki's language portrait

Reference to K[2]'s narrative, in figure 6 above, shows that K[2] learned all the local languages naturally at home and from the community. In figure 5.7, Akiiki also emphasizes that he acquired two L1s at home.

Of the 24 languages and language varieties that appear in the participants' repertoires only one language, French is not acquired naturally. This is mainly because French is a foreign language in Uganda and is used only in specific institutions. English is acquired at home for some individuals as illustrated by Peter (extract 3) and in Tinah's description below.

Extract 44

> Tinah: Yellow symbolises light. I started speaking English when I learnt how to speak and throughout my school life. It takes the next big percentage because I have got many people close to me both family and outside who come from different regions of the world and country as well. As a result English has become official in my family and the environment around me […]

Usually because schools have students coming from different places and backgrounds, students are introduced to new languages. Such languages are usually acquired naturally from the school environment through normal interaction outside the classroom. Community languages usually find their ways into the school premises. Participants indicated that they learned different languages spoken in the surrounding communities of different schools they went to. The level and kind of knowledge attained varies considerably from the L1 acquired at home due to differences in duration of exposure and style of usage.

5.3.2   Formal language learning

Some languages of the multilinguals are introduced to them through the formal system by an instructor. This kind of language learning is characterised by schedules and syllabuses for the purpose of, according to Moyer and Rojo (2007:141), regulating what individuals should learn, in which quantities, to which levels and when they should learn it. Here the learners' progress in learning a language is dependent on the teacher both in rate and style.

Participants' biographies disclosed that apart from English, some of them first got introduced to Luganda in the classroom in primary school, although attention to Luganda was not as vigorous as that of English. Other languages that participants got acquainted with through the formal system include French (3 of 30 participants) and Kiswahili (7 of the 30 participants) at different levels of education. Apart from English which is also used as language of instruction, the other languages are taught like any other subjects in school.

English is most particularly learned formally in Uganda, and unlike other formerly taught and learned languages, it is compulsory to all who go to school to the level of senior four (fourth class of secondary school). It is then optional at other levels. The other languages are optional at all levels of school.

Apart from international schools, foreign languages are not taught in primary school in Uganda. In this study only one participant, Peter, attended an international school at primary

level, and learned French at an early stage. He revealed that he continued to learn French even at secondary school level in the following extract.

Extract 45

> Peter: Then French, I have been exposed to French since primary because at Lohana they would teach French, I did French at senior four, although I did not do it at senior six.

The drawback is that there is no French speaking community in Uganda where one can practice the use of this language in real everyday situations. Therefore it remains a school language. And for those who only learn it at university, they obtain competence of French Linguistics and less of communicative French. This limits their ability to apply it in informal interactions which are the primary contexts of communication.

Among the 8 interviewees, 3 indicated that they studied Luganda as a subject in school either at primary or secondary level. And they have used it continuously because they have had good access to it within the community. Accordingly, next to English, Luganda stands a better chance of these participants using it for other forms of communication compared to other languages that they have learned in school. For instance, although Amonkit first got introduced to, and even learned Luganda in an informal setting, learning it in class at secondary school level helped him acquire knowledge that he later used for his class work as he revealed during the interview in the following extract.

Extract 46

> Amonkit: In my senior one and two, I used to study Luganda as a subject. And …, when I came to A' Level (Advanced level at secondary school) I was supposed to teach myself Literature in English but we did not have a teacher for English language. So I attended Luganda classes and had to translate the concepts to English language.

Learning Luganda formally was an asset for Amonkit, a Lukonzo L1 speaker because he could then use it for academic purposes. Being able to relate very well with the concepts in Luganda both socially and academically enabled him to transfer classroom knowledge from Luganda into English.

Being exposed to a language in a classroom situation therefore, makes an individual acquire peculiar knowledge than just language use for regular communication (cf. Ouane & Glanz, 2010:17). It makes the students learn more sophisticated forms of the language and its use in more complex contexts. Learning a language formally therefore equips someone with extra

skills of not just understanding the language but also interpreting it for application in other contexts.

5.3.3   Voluntary language learning

Individuals sometimes make a conscious choice and decision to learn certain languages especially in unfamiliar environments. Voluntary language learning is mostly done outside the classroom and is different from the formal style of learning in that, although there could be a 'consultant', there is no strict arrangement of how the learning should proceed (cf. Ortega, 2009:6). It is up to the learner to decide what he wants to learn and to what level, according to the purpose one has in mind for learning a particular language. This usually happens when one finds oneself in environments which offer different languages from the ones they are acquainted with (cf. Blommaert et al., 2005), and where the mobility of the languages one knows is insufficient. One could also need a language for certain specific communicative goals.

Participants disclosed that they made conscious efforts to learn certain languages and language varieties, for specific reasons. They made conscious attempts to find out the vocabulary, its meanings, and the syntax. They asked questions on how to communicate certain things and practiced what they were told with the other speakers in the community. This was motivated by the need to communicate favourably with the community members. It was also due to instrumental motivation, in that they learned languages to use them for achieving other purposes. An example is Amonkit who learned the literary genre of Luganda to be able to attain knowledge of Literature that he would use for his English Literature presented in extract 47. Repeated practice together with more exposure resulted into learning.

Biographies display that voluntary learning took place in homes, in schools and in neighbourhoods. This process is illustrated by Peter's description of how he learned Kiswahili below.

Extract 47

> Kiswahili, I just learnt it from friends at school. I had Tanzanian friends in O' Level. So we would always interact. I would talk with them … I would teach them English so they would teach me Kiswahili. It was like an exchange because they did not know English.

Another illustration of voluntary learning is from Liberty in his description of how he learned Kinyarwanda in his language portrait already presented in 5 and also partially how Jomona learned Kiswahili; to be able to ask for sugarcane on the way back home from school. It is further illustrated by Peter learned the more sophisticated genres of Luganda which he would apply for academic purposes.

The participants' biographies are in concord with Makoni and Mashiri (2007) and Blommaert (2010)'s acknowledgement that repertoires are not just sets of languages, but also of genres, registers and styles and any other resources that individuals need for their application of language knowledge in different social contexts. Multilingual repertoires are responsive to context and purpose of use of a given resource (Lüdi, 2007; Ouane, 2009), and this actually makes the term 'resource' more significant and relevant for referring to what multilingual repertoires of university students comprise other than 'languages' (cf. Gumperz, 1971; Makoni & Mashiri, 2007; Blommaert, 2010). The kinds of knowledge participants exhibit for their languages/language varieties portray the kinds of participation they have had in different communities, and the kinds of social knowledge systems through which they acquired them (Riley, 2007; cf. Moore, 2010). It is also representative of the significance of 'time' in mediating linguistic and communicative competence development.

5.4   CONCLUDING REMARKS

The biographical data presented by the participants in this study indicate their participation in various social structures and activities. It is characterised by continuous mobility and social contact in varying degrees. The kinds and levels of participation differ from community to community, for different participants (Wenger, 1998; Moore, 2010; Martin-Jones et al., 2012) and for different resources they acquired.

Students therefore acquire linguistic resources that serve their personal communicative needs from different communities. These resources are acquired for casual interaction, for educational needs which results into acquisition of special genres of the languages in question, for relationship purposes and for personal desire, to mention but a few. It is also worth noting that each individual presents a unique linguistic journey which is worth attention before generalizations can be made. These peculiarities illuminate the intricacies that create the puzzles of understanding the complex nature of multilingual repertoires and multilingual communication.

The findings in this chapter serve to register the limitedness of the generalisations that have been made in literature about the languages of Africa, in particular Uganda; the problematic nature of the naming practices which seek to separate what people speak into distinct standard languages (Makoni & Mashiri, 2007; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012), and the standardising systems which also try to lump together presumed linguistically related varieties without considering how the little differences engrain speakers' linguistic practices or even their identities. Individuals are constrained by time and the peripherality of their interaction with most environments and sources that provide exposure to the different 'languages' they know. They acquire mostly contextual knowledge of the 'languages', serves to accomplish different communicative goals.

CHAPTER SIX

LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

6.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter displays and discusses the linguistic resources that participants in this study possess and use in their daily lives, and will describe how they use them. It gives details of the levels of competence that students have in the different languages and language varieties, where they employ them and for what purposes. It also discusses the ways in which students self-reported on their linguistic repertoires, and how their own reports correlate with perspectives gained by the researcher as the data was collected and in analysing the data.

Section 6.1 presents perspectives of participants on Kampala's multilingual repertoire. Students linguistic repertoires are analysed in section 6.2 considering data on number of languages, kinds of languages and levels of competence in different languages. The motivations for acquiring/learning different languages are presented in section 6.3. Section 6.4 presents linguistic practices including frequency of usage, language choice and code-switching. Section 6.5 discusses perceptions on what it means to 'know' a language; and lastly section 6.6 presents how language is used to perform agency.

6.1 KAMPALA'S MULTILINGUAL REPERTOIRE

Kampala's multilingualism does not come as a surprise to many. It simply reflects the convergence of diversity of social activities and identities of speakers of various languages operating in Kampala. Responses from interviews with the participants as to whether Kampala's multilingual population is surprising explain the regularity of such urban linguistic diversity, as in extracts 1 to 4 below.

Extract 1

Akiiki: […] it is in the first place a capital city, most people always find opportunities in cities and we get a variety. And even mostly now if you come to the university setting, people come from various origins. From Kenya, from Tanzania, from wherever, and you find yourselves around … so it won't be a surprise if … There is a variety and you even expect more languages.

Extract 2

> Jomona: […] Kampala is a capital city and so many people from different places come to Kampala for different purposes. Others education, others work, so people of different tribes … Kampala is a collection of people. Because we meet so many people in Kampala of different tribes and they come together for different purposes.

Extract 3

> Ateenyi: […] it is the capital and everyone migrates into the capital and people come to look for different things: education, employment opportunities, and they come from all over. So it being a capital, it will definitely attract very many different people who will definitely have different languages.

Extract 4

> Peter: […] Kampala has a lot of people-like people from Somalia, if you go to Kisenyi there are people from Tanzania, if you go like to Kikoni and those areas where there are university students, there are a lot of international students … Congolese.

Kampala's metropolitan status in Uganda highlights it as the centre for convergence of people and activities. Besides their participation in various activities, diverse identities are portrayed among speakers of various languages in Kampala. People execute their identity by keeping their various native languages alive. Students are aware of this tendency as illustrated in extracts 5 and 6 below.

Extract 5

> Freddie: Let me take an example; there is this side of Kinnawataka, there is a cocoon of the Japadhola speakers, a cocoon for Basoga, and then a cocoon for say Banyole. You find in this cocoon they are speaking a different language, in the other they are speaking a different one, and you go to the other they are speaking Luganda.

Extract 6

> Amonkit: Well Luganda in Kampala is basically the language that is most used. But even then Luganda is spoken by many people that come to Kampala. But these people have a wide diversity of languages. It is a default that whoever comes to Kampala should in a few months be able to speak Luganda. But there are many languages.

Maintenance of nativity (primary identity) by the different individuals is complemented with language practices that cross boundaries of the ethnicity of the inhabitants. Individuals who operate in Kampala thereby negotiate the complexity of the space through acquiring new linguistic competences other than their native ones (cf. Mc Laughlin, 2009:3). This happens within communities where they participate, in order to cope with the linguistic and cultural

diversity, and to be able to engage in various kinds of transactions. Such practices enhance and keep Kampala's multilingualism flourishing as illustrated in extract 7 below:

Extract 7

> Freddie: … in Arua Park (business commune) everybody is speaking different languages. You will find a Langi speaking Luganda, then a Luganda speaker trying to speak Langi.

Participants also explained that the multilingualism experienced in Kampala is an indication that monolingual practice cannot thrive where linguistic diversity is the default dispensation. Participants identified this contra-indication in Kampala citing how the language practices contradict some historical facts. In relation to the question on whether Kampala's multilingualism is surprising, extracts 8 and 9 show Freddie's surprise at the fact that rather than convergence to one universal language in Kampala, there is diversity.

Extract 8

> Freddie: Kampala is a collection of every tribe *naye* (but) according to the early history of the language, I would expect Luganda to be used …

Extract 9

> Freddie: There are other languages much as Luganda was used to administer.

In view of the responses in extracts 1 to 9, we can observe that in Kampala multilingualism is the default way of life. The responses provide insights into the linguistic composition of Kampala as a society and also that of the individuals that participate in various activities. Thus the participants present the multilingual repertoire of Kampala as a complex combination of both local and foreign (more so from neighbouring countries) languages. The languages of speakers from neighbouring countries do thrive as a result of their speakers staying together in small communities as explained in extract 4 above. The participants also explain the survival of multilingualism in Kampala is a result of linguistic practices that are designed to maintain, negotiate and reconstruct identity in the light of a highly heterogeneous community. The language practices resonate with performance of resistance against forces of homogeneity through individuals acquiring more competences while maintaining the use of native languages.

6.2   PARTICIPANTS' LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES

This section discusses the details of the linguistic resources in repertoires of the students who participated in this study, and how society relates to these resources**.** The languages that were found to occur in the participants' repertoires are mainly indigenous Ugandan languages. These languages are discussed in sections 6.2.1 to 6.2.5, focusing on languages spoken as L1, languages related to L1, languages linguistically distant to L1, languages used as lingua francas, and school languages.

6.2.1   Number of languages in participants' repertoires

It is evident that many people in Kampala know and use more than two languages. There are several explanations for the occurrence of such a linguistic profile in the city, one of them being that Kampala has many migrants and visitors from various parts of Uganda and from outside. These come in with their languages from different backgrounds and then also learn some of the existing languages. Likewise the students at University in Kampala hail from different areas inside and outside Uganda. The different linguistic resources they have result from social, cultural and linguistic backgrounds they participate(d) in.

Although the phrase 'knowing a language' is problematic in terms of its limits and associations, participants reflected on their multilingual competencies and indicated that they know a number of languages. Their repertoires go up to five languages and beyond, as indicated in table 5.1 in chapter 5, section 5.0. The multilinguality of university students is therefore an issue that should not be taken for granted or ignored because it feeds into their academic practices. Sixteen different languages were reported as L1s. This in itself already testifies to the linguistic diversity of the community. In Table 5.1 the number of languages is recorded against the L1 to give an insight into which kinds of L1s that attract individual multilingualism.

The speakers of Runyakitara varieties have more resources in their repertoires. This is explained by the close structural relatedness of their varieties that is also enhanced by receptive multilingualism, and by other factors explained in chapter 5 such as close family relations.

6.2.2   Variety of languages in participants' repertoires

6.2.2.1   Languages reported as L1

Most participants reported having acquired one of their parents' native languages as L1 during childhood. They referred to this L1 as their "mother tongue/language". Many reported to have one L1; either one of the parents' native language or the dominant community language. Participants' L1s and the native languages of their parents appear in Table 6.1. Where there are two languages, the father's language appears on the left.

Table 6.1:   Participants' L1s alongside parents' languages

Name	Parents' language/s	Participant's L1
Banx	Runyankore	Runyankore
Atwooki	Runyankore-Rukiga	Runyankore
Peter	Lango/Acholi	Lango
Freddie	Lunyole/Lumasaaba	Lugwere
K^2	Ateso/Lusamia	Lusamia
Magitta	Japadhola	Japadhola
Amonkit	Lukonzo	Lukonzo
Sisoni	Lumasaaba	Lumasaaba
Mary	Luo	Luo
Akiiki	Rusongora/Rutooro	Rusongora/Rutooro
Cheris	Kupsabiny	Kupsabiny
Liberty	Rukiga	Rukiga
Ateenyi	Luganda/Runyoro	Runyoro
Juliet	Kinyarwanda	Kinyarwanda
Jomona	Luganda/Lusoga	Luganda
S	Runyankore-Rukiga	Rukiga
Reyon	Luganda/Runyankore	Runyankore
Tinah	Runyankore-Rukiga	Runyankore
Khalifa	Lugbara/Luganda	Luganda
Geof	Runyakore/Rutooro	Rutooro/Runyankore
Piers Darius	Runyankore	Runyankore
Leeny	Luganda/Lumasaaba	Luganda
20	*Luganda	Luganda
Hunk	Rutooro/Runyoro	Rutooro
Bluish	Rutooro/Runyankore	Rutooro
Okanga	Runyankore	Runyankore
Neville	Runyankore	Runyankore

Name	Parents' language/s	Participant's L1
Yvone	Luo	Luo
Ricky	Acholi	Acholi
Dellah	Luganda/Lumasaaba	Luganda

In Table 6.1 above, few (2) of the participants reported that they have two L1s, having acquired both their mothers' language and their fathers' language concurrently, as illustrated by Akiiki's response below (also explicated in chapter 5).

Extract 10

> Akiiki: Since my mother is a Mutooro and my father is a Musongora, so we always grow up with mothers … so that time it was concurrently Rusongora and Rutooro.

One participant explicitly reported that he acquired the dominant language used within his community as his L1 instead of their parents' languages. This was a result of the parents speaking different native languages, which led to them using the dominant community language in their home. In such scenarios, the dominant community language was acquired as the L1. This is illustrated below in the dialogue with Freddie whose L1 is Lugwere.

Extract 11

> Freddie: My dad is a Munyole and my mom is Mugisu.
>
> Researcher: So how come you use Lugwere?
>
> Freddie: The environment around us we are within Bagwere.
>
> Researcher: So your mom and dad speak to you in Lugwere?
>
> Freddie: Yeah

Most participants reported to have retained strong knowledge of their L1s while some suffered L1 attrition. Mobility across communities was indicated to affect language practices of some participants as they developed and used other languages that overtook and crowded out their L1s.

Extracts 12 and 13 from interviews with Ateenyi and Peter illustrate L1 attrition. Ateenyi reported her L1 to be Runyoro as provided in table 6.1 above. Her L1 faded when she moved from Hoima (Bunyoro) and went to stay with her uncle in Kampala. Her uncle's home had a different language regime and negligible connection with Runyoro. Peter also reported to have less connection with his L1 – Lango even at home, because the language of interaction

at home is mostly English. Ateenyi and Peter reported, during interviews, about their L1s as follows:

Ateenyi narrates what happens when she is in her home village.

Extract 12

> Ateenyi: If I am in Hoima, it is very rare that you will get me speaking Luganda, I will use a bit of English with a few family members who know a bit of it but when I am speaking to the locals, I will struggle with this little I know to put my message across.

Ateenyi clearly indicates that her L1 was overtaken by Luganda and English and now she simply struggles to speak it.

Peter explains about Lango as follows:

Extract 13

> Peter: Growing up as a child I used to talk Langi because I learnt Langi first at home and it's the only language I could speak. Even when I went to play with the other kids in the flats I only knew Langi. But as I grew up I spoke so much English, so much Luganda and gave little time to Langi. When I went back to the village in 2004 after some good time, I was not perfect and everyone was telling me that I used to know but now I don't know. It was funny.

In contrast with the above examples of L1 attrition, some participants depicted their L1s remaining intact. Instead, the languages of the new communities simply became additional languages.

For instance, Ricky reported his hometown to be Jinja; his L1 is Acholi (a Nilotic language) which is also his parents' native language. Jinja predominantly uses Lusoga (a Bantu language). Incidentally Ricky's score for speaking and understanding Lusoga is 2 (very close to excellent). This could mean that Ricky has lived in Jinja for a long time and mixes with the locals on a regular basis which has enabled him to sufficiently learn the community language – Lusoga. His knowledge of Lusoga has the same score as that of his L1 – Acholi, which could mean that he interacts as much in Lusoga (in the community) as he does in Acholi (at home).

In addition, Dellah lists her hometown as Busia where Lusamia is used predominantly. Busia is also highly mixed with several language groups owing to the fact that it is at the border of Uganda and Kenya, which is occupied by several people of diverse backgrounds who trade

across the border. Dellah's L1 is Luganda corresponds to Dellah's parents' language. But her rating for Lusamia is very low for all skills compared to her rating for Luganda which shows that Dellah's L1 remained intact

The above expositions illustrate that in situations where parents use the same language at home, L1s hardly get affected by a shift to new communities that use other languages. Parents' having the same native language ensures maintenance of the use of that language in the home at all times. Likewise if all members including caretakers, in a home maintain the use of a given language, then this kind of support keeps the language strong in the child's repertoire. Thus, it is less likely that the children will drop or forget such a language even in the presence of other languages (cf. Barnes, 2006:18).

6.2.2.2   *Languages structurally related to L1*

It is common that closely related languages usually co-exist in a single individual's repertoire because it is easier to acquire a language related to an already existing one through cross-linguistic transfer (Bernes, 2006:29) and receptive multilingualism (Thije, Rehbein & Verschik, 2011). Their co-existence is however not to be taken for granted as it varies in different individuals' repertoires.

The most frequent scenario among participants is that of varieties spoken in western Uganda. The main varieties namely, Runyoro, Rutooro, Runyankore, and Rukiga are constituents of the Runyakitara cluster (refer to chapter 2). Many speakers of these varieties believe and regard each variety as a separate language though they agree to the high mutual intelligibility among the varieties. Regarding these varieties as separate languages could be the major reason why speakers believe they are multilingual. Other varieties that are related to Runyakitara varieties include Kinyarwanda, Lukonzo and Rusongora.

A number of participants had languages in their repertoires which are closely related to their L1s as illustrated in the following table.

Table 6.2:   Participants with languages structurally related to their L1s

Participant	L1	Related languages known
Banx	Runyankore	Rutooro Rukiga Kinyarwanda
Atwooki	Runyankore	Rutooro Rukiga
Amonkit	Lukonzo	Rutooro Runyankore Rukiga Runyoro
Ateenyi	Runyoro	Runyankore
Juliet	Kinyarwanda	Runyankore Rutooro
S	Rukiga	Runyankore Rutooro Runyoro
Reyon	Runyankore	Kinyarwanda
Tinah	Runyankore	Rukiga Rutooro Runyoro
Geof	Rutooro/Runyankore	-
Darius	Runyankore	Kinyarwanda Rukiga Rutooro
Hunk	Rutooro	Runyankore Rukiga Runyoro
Bluish	Rutooro	Runyankore Kinyarwanda Rukiga
Okanga	Runyankore	Kinyarwanda Rukiga Rutooro Runyoro
Neville	Runyankore	Rukiga Rutooro Runyoro

Table 6.2 above comprises participants whose L1s feature one of the language varieties from western Uganda. It is observable from the table that, as much as Runyoro and Rutooro are

linguistically sub-clustered as Runyoro-Rutooro, it is not always the case that whenever someone knows Rutooro they also reported to know Runyoro.

Still, in relation to western Uganda, Akiiki reported his L1s to be Rusongora and Rutooro, and listed Lukonzo as one of the additional languages in his repertoire. It suffices to note that the Ethnologue (2013) lists Rusongora as a major dialect of Lukonzo although the speakers regard it a separate language (details discussed in chapter seven). Likewise though he listed Rutooro, Akiiki does not declare competence in Runyankore, Rukiga or Runyoro.

In line with the above, there were repertoires of participants that contained related languages from other parts of Uganda. However, the relatedness of those languages is not as pronounced as that of Runyakitara varieties. In consideration of that difference, Freddie's repertoire comprises Eastern Ugandan languages, of which his L1 is Lugwere, but also has Lunyole and Lusoga. These languages have considerable mutual intelligibility according to Ethnologue (2013), but are separate languages. Other related varieties appear in Magitta's repertoire namely, her L1 Japadhola (Ludaama), then Acholi and Alur. These are close Nilotic languages (discussed in chapter two). In the same vein, Peter's repertoire contains his L1 Lango and Acholi, both in the Lwo cluster.

All in all, a number of the participants in this research had varieties in their repertoires that are linguistically related to their L1s, although the relatedness varies accordingly. Therefore relatedness of different varieties is one of the stimulants for multilingual acquisition. Moreover, the responses indicate that it is not an obvious trend that knowing one variety within the related cluster presupposes knowing all varieties particularly for Runyakitara.

6.2.2.3 *Languages that are linguistically distant from the L1*

A number of participants' repertoires comprised languages which were   linguistically distant from their L1. For example, there were individuals with both Bantu and Nilotic languages in their repertoire. Bantu and Nilotic languages are generally spoken by two different ethnic groups and in different regions of Uganda (details in chapter two). The two groups of languages are linguistically distant.

The existence of languages that are linguistically distant from the L1 in participants' repertoires appeared to be dependent on both the social and the geographical environment in which an individual acquired and practiced his/her languages. Development of such a

repertoire can be explained by, (i) growing up in an environment with people from Bantu and Nilotic ethnic groups (ii) having lived on separate occasions in areas where the two linguistic groups were situated (iii) love relationships including marriage where an individual learns the language of his/her spouse in order to ease communication with relatives, or even just for the sake of affection. This appears to occur even if the languages are quite removed from each other in active communication. An illustration, from the language portraits, of participants with languages in their repertoires that are linguistically distantfrom their L1s is presented below:

Table 6.3: **Participants with languages that are linguistically distant from their L1s**

With reference to table 6.3 above, one example of a linguistic repertoire containing linguistically distant languages is that of Banx whose L1 is Runyankore, a Bantu language, whereas he also reported having knowledge of Acholi, a Nilotic language. He reported having learnt Acholi during his travels to Northern Uganda. According to Banx's rating of his language skills, he understands Acholi very well, while his speaking, reading, and writing skills are poorer. Generally, he appears to be able to get by in Acholi when the situation requires it of him. In light of Banx's revelation, it is apparent that shifting through

geographical space leads to an individual learning a language that is linguistically distant from his/her L1.

Along the same line regarding linguistically distant languages, Magitta who is a L1 speaker of Japadhola a Nilotic language also reported having Bantu languages in her repertoire. The Bantu languages include Luganda and Runyankore. Luganda is a lingua franca known by almost everybody who lives or operates in Kampala, while Runyankore found its place in Magitta's repertoire because her boyfriend is a speaker of Runyankore. This indicates that romantic relationships with people from different linguistic groups, aids learning languages that are linguistically distant from one's L1. Likewise Ateenyi whose L1 is Runyoro which is a Bantu language, reported having good knowledge of Japadhola a Nilotic language, and a bit of Acholi, owing to its linguistic relatedness to Japadhola.

In light of the above illustrations, multilingual repertoires are not restricted to related languages or languages from the same ethnic group. Repertoires can have varied linguistic and ethnic dispositions basing on one's communities of practice and the kinds of people an individual interacts with.

6.2.2.4   School languages

Students normally have in their repertoires languages that they learned for the first time at school. I use "school languages" here to mean the languages that are taught and learned in the classroom. Some school languages get strengthened in the community outside school while others (foreign languages) do not get a chance to be practiced in the community with the effect that they fade or competences for them remain low.

School languages in participants' repertoires included English, Luganda, French and Kiswahili as illustrated in the following extracts.

Extract 14

Tinah: Kiswahili is a language I learnt from senior 1 to senior 4.

Extract 15

Banx: I immediately joined a school in the army barracks which taught Swahili and there I got used to speaking it.

Extract 16

>   Leeny: French was taught to me in high school though at one point, it was stopped.

Extract 17

>   Atwooki: … French which I acquired from school. I studied French for two years in my o'level and I liked it.

Extract 18

>   Peter: Then French, I have been exposed to French since primary because at Lohana they would teach French, I did French at senior four.

Extract 19

>   Ateenyi: In O' level (ordinary level in secondary) and primary we were taught Luganda.

In view of extracts 14 to 17 from language portraits and 18 to19 from interviews, it is clear that school contributes to the building of repertoires. School acts as a community of practice for formal learning of not only foreign languages like French, but also lingua francas such as Kiswahili, and local languages. However, School languages take the smallest portion of participants' repertoires. As Garcia (2013:104) acknowledges, school languages always get strengthened in the repertoire if they have community support otherwise, they are frail like it is for French in some participants' repertoires (refer to Appendix A).

6.2.2.5   *Languages used as lingua francas*

Lingua francas are inevitable components of multilingual repertoires including those of students. They serve as communication bridges that are needed in linguistically diverse communities.

Each participant's repertoire contained at least a lingua franca. Languages reported by participants to be used as lingua francas include English, Luganda and Kiswahili. English stands out as the lingua franca which participants (would) mostly use. This was expressed when participants were asked which of the languages in their repertoire they would use when they have to address a stranger. The responses retreived from questionnaires are displayed in the table below:

Table 6.4:   Languages used to address strangers

Language	Number of participants
English	22
Luganda	2
Kiswahili	1
English and Luganda	2
English and Kiswahili	1
Luganda and Kiswahili	1
English , Luganda and Kiswahili	1
Total	**30**

From Table 6.4 above, majority (22) of the participants selected English as the most convenient lingua franca although Luganda and Kiswahili also perform the same function as described on the language portraits. The spontaneous selection of English can be explained by the fact that students are trained to regard English as the only language that unites people whose languages are diverse (cf. Government of Uganda, 1992). Therefore local (African) languages are not easily identified as serving this function since they have been often marked as divisive (Bamgbose, 1994:33; cf. Mukama, 2009). Some participants though, selected more than one language namely, English and Luganda, Luganda and Kiswahili, English and Kiswahili. This shows that participants realise that a single language would not serve for all situations and purposes. This relates with Fardon and Furniss (1994:4)'s claim that a lingua franca in Africa is not necessarily a single language but a 'language chain' that speakers draw on as the environment requires. From the descriptions of the language portraits, extracts 20, 21 and 22 are some statements by participants about the local African lingua francas.

Extract 20

Sisoni: It is a language I am forced to speak when all the other languages I know cannot be understood by the person I am speaking to apart from Luganda.

Extract 21

Sisoni: This is to show that Kiswahili takes me anywhere even across the borders of my country. This is because of its vast nature especially within and outside East African community.

Extract 22

>   Mary: Luganda … though it is of great value if you want better services within the central making it a necessary language, hence becomes part of the languages that I should know better.

In relation to the lingua franca role of languages which participants have in their repertoire, some participants indicated having acquired some languages because they were already used as lingua francas. This is unlike the information in table 6.4 above which is derived from responses about expectations for an unknown situation. Participants reported that certain linguistically mixed communities they participated in required of them to adopt lingua francas already in use in those communities in order to fit in. Descriptions of language portraits in extracts 23 and 24, and extract 25 from an interview illustrate this idea .

Extract 23

>   Jomona: I got to know Swahili when I went to a Swahili society that is Kakira, where Swahili was the language of the community though people were of different tribes. But Swahili was a uniting language.

Extract 24

>   Amonkit: Kiswahili is a uniting language for a wide range of African countries, and as such a symbol of Pan Africanism. I learned this language when scouting an activity in which patriotism was emphasized.

Extract 25

>   Akiiki: Kiswahili … I always tried to practice it with those people who speak it mostly in Kilembe, since it is a mining area and it is where I was during my A'level (Advanced level). There are many languages and they prefer using Kiswahili as the main language, so to fit in in that context also I ended up learning a little of Kiswahili.

Extracts 23 – 25 illustrate participants learning Kiswahili from communities that are already using it as a lingua franca. This means that participants adopted Kiswahili in their repertoire as a lingua franca and also use it as such. Therefore unlike the Ugandan local languages, Kiswahili is majorly recruited in students' repertoires as a resource used for manoeuvring linguistically diverse communities participants find themselves, and is also utilised for the same in other communities that may require it.

The linguistic resources that are found in the repertoires of the participants as displayed in section 6.2.2, are of varying statuses and serve different purposes. The communities of practice that contributed to the acquisition of these resources have a lot to do with the varied

forms in which these languages appear. These resources are of varied kinds such as home languages, school languages, related and linguisticallydistant languages, foreign languages and lingua francas. It is recognisable that the biggest percentage of languages that provide the resources in participants' repertoires is of local Uganda languages. All the components in the repertoires work as a complementary communicative unit with some resources functioning more than others.

6.2.3   Varied levels of competence exhibited in repertoires

Multilingual speakers exhibit knowledge of a variety of languages, but with different levels of competence in each (Blommaert, 2010). The term "competence" here is used to refer to the ability to use language across the four basic linguistic skills of speaking, reading, writing and listening. It is hardly the case that multilingual persons are equally competent in all the languages they have acquired (Edwards, 1994; Romaine, 2002; Busch, 2012), and across the four basic linguistic skills of speaking, reading, writing and listening. Much more regular, is that multilingual persons use the different languages in their repertoire in different domains, and that they have varying levels of competence across the set of skills in each language (cf. Lüdi, 2007).

By use of a questionnaire, all 30 participants in this study were asked to rate their levels of competence in the various languages listed in their repertoires. It was clear that they had not considered the various languages they know in such terms as levels of competence, and therefore at first found it difficult to do such a rating. Eventually, however, interesting information was recorded.

Self-assessments that individuals make of their competence in different languages are however not entirely reliable. Individuals tend to overrate or underrate their competence in certain languages in their repertoires. The limitations of self-rating are identified by Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011:388) among which are ambiguities in their interpretation of scores and giving false responses, while Kemp (2009:22) mentions participants 'wishful thinking' about their capabilities, indicating that they may give positive ratings because that is how they wish to be seen and not because they are certain of their capacity (Baker, 1992:19). Therefore results from self-rating deserve extra care and scrutiny.

Looking at participants' self-ratings, it could be observed that very few participants gave the same score to all four skills for a given language apart from English and their L1s. In fact, not

all skills were rated, some were left blank. What was perplexing is that some participants gave high scores for certain languages and certain skills. However when asked to explain their scores, the lack of confidence, derived from a reflection on their language practices, made the participants change the scores and lower them. In extract 26, Jomona explains the difficulties she has with English even though overall she had rated her English language skills relatively high.

Extract 26

> Researcher: Eh it is going down! Why do you want to change your speaking skill to the rating of 3?
>
> Jomona: Speaking English is not easy for me because sometimes you have to change the accent of the local language that you always use. So sometimes I find it difficult.
>
> Researcher: But you understand perfectly and you read perfectly!
>
> Jomona: I understand, but not perfectly.
>
> Researcher: So you want to change this as well?
>
> Jomona: Yes, to 2.
>
> Researcher: Any reason for the change of rating to 2?
>
> Jomona: I can understand English but not very well, because someone can talk to me and some words I don't understand. Some words are <u>diction</u>, so I cannot say that I understand English perfectly yet some words I don't understand.

This affirms that students feel confident that they know a number of languages perfectly, but when asked to demonstrate such knowledge, they realise that they do have limitations. This fact and the variations in the rating process also affirm that multilingual repertoires are not smooth both within and across languages (see Appendix A).

The different kinds of knowledge and use of the range of languages in each repertoire are important for this study as they show what takes place when multilingual individuals are compelled to use the languages they know. This study probed their competence across their full repertoire, considering how each language was learned and how it is used for different purposes, social, academic or professional.

This information about levels of competence for various languages was sought in the question which required participants to list languages they know and then to rate their abilities for understanding the spoken form, speaking, reading, and writing each on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is excellent and 5 is poor.

6.2.3.1   Demonstrating varied competence: the position of English

Languages in Uganda are not all afforded the same opportunities of usage in various social domains. In education, English is of high priority. It is first of all the language of instruction in schools and tertiary institutions. English serves as the language of interaction amongst students and teachers in particularly primary and secondary at school. It is also taught as a subject from kindergarten through to secondary school as a compulsory subject, and at university. The student community spends more time at school than at home and thus have more opportunities of practicing English at school than they have for the local languages. Local languages, however, take precedence outside school. As it is, English is an official language in Uganda used for all administration in school and elsewhere. This makes it an easier choice for interactants with varying L1s (cf. House, 2003:559).

Although English is introduced in school for most people in Uganda, once acquired, it is used to manoeuvre through the daily multilingual environments where one finds other languages/resources one possesses not sufficing. The standard form then becomes less of an issue (Canagarajah, 2007b). Garcia (2007), refers to such a scenario as 'Englishing' where English is a social activity appropriated for local communication needs and not a 'language' in the traditional conventional sense. English becomes 'nativized' (Bolton, 2004:377) through gradually functioning even in domains designated for local languages (Davies, 2004:439). This impacts on perceptions of competences for English and local languages as this study reveals.

On the questionnaire, most participants gave themselves an excellent rating (1) for all four skills namely, understanding the spoken form, speaking, reading and writing for English (see Appendix A). However, it was evident in the written part of their questionnaires that their English is not at that high level. The participants explained during interviews that they gave such a rating because they had been exposed to English more than to other languages. Extracts 27 and 28 below articulate this reason for giving a high rating.

Extract 27

Freddie: Actually I have that rating for English because I have learnt it and I am still learning it and I use it often.

Extract 28

> K[2]: It is because <u>I be</u> exposed to English too much more than other languages. Because when I was born, I was born in Samia land, but still I started using English from home, then from home to school. Then up to now I am still using English.

Although K[2]'s English is clearly not excellent, she rated it highly because of the long and vast exposure she had had.

Participants' explanation of their better knowledge and use of English mostly referred more to formal contexts than other contexts. They mentioned that they actually spend less time at home compared to the time they spend in school. From this kind of exposure the participants felt confident that they have high competence in English and can ably use it. These views on how more exposure to English results in better competence for English compared to home languages are expressed in extracts 29 and 30.

Extract 29

> Amonkit: Yes it is far above my mother tongue because I have not lived at home for very long. I am always at school and am … in a year, I am at school for three months, a break of one month at home and not really even at home because sometimes I am at work. So I use my mother tongue very minimally.

Extract 30

> Akiiki: We always take the first languages important. But as you are growing, we find ourselves in schools, even when you are young, like I think at four years or five years I had started schooling. So it is that language from that time. And you realize that we spend much of our time at school other than the time we spend at home. So that means that whenever …, we are even encouraged to use English so that is why I found myself slowly by slowly learning it and getting to understand it.

When asked to rate their competence of English against other languages that they know, participants maintain that their competence of English rates higher than that of their local languages (extract 29 above) because of the consistent exposure to English in school. They also attribute the higher rating of English to various opportunities to practice their English in various contexts. They further indicated that the way they acquire the knowledge of English is more sophisticated than that of their local languages. The sophistication results from many hours and years of formal instruction, reading English books and using English for all kinds of class work and all school examinations. Extracts 31 to 34 refer to the contribution of the school language practices in developing their English so that they rate their skills as excellent.

Extract 31

>Sisoni: […] everything at school has been …, they have been always setting it in English, talking to teachers in English, relating with other people in English at school.

Extract 32

>Peter: A lot of my friends always admire my accent, the way I talk, and even in class I have proven it right from primary seven to senior four. I have always got a distinction in English. I would always write a nice story and the teacher would always read my story and say this was the best story. So I just feel that my English is very good because I have interacted with many whites and they really don't have a problem like trying to understand what I am saying and I also really don't have a problem understanding what they are saying be it 'terms'. I have also tried it in music. I can hear a lot of things that other people cannot hear because of that English.

Extract 33

>Ateenyi: I am confident about the way I express myself in English both in the spoken and in the written. I have a literature background. I did Literature for all my high school and I read a lot of Literature in English so I expose myself to more vocabulary, more knowledge of the language.

Extract 34

>Akiiki: Even in our writing, you find yourself writing English other than the time you spend writing your mother tongue to the extent that when someone brings me writing, this is for my local language and this is for English, I would easily prefer the English.

Extract 32 reveals something extra relating to the legitimacy of one's English. Peter compares his proficiency to that of the 'whites' who are counted as the 'owners' of English and hence the benchmark of excellent competence. He feels that if his English communicates to the 'legitimate' speakers and theirs communicates to him, then his score must be high. This however is a misconstrual because communication with different Englishes usually involves and thrives on a negotiation of phonological and lexical variances for both addressee and addresser (House, 2003; Canagarajah, 2007b). Mutual understanding does not mean absence of such variances.

Extract 34 portrays a perception of excellence based on more practice in the various skills in English compared to practice opportunities in other languages. Of course more practice doesn't guarantee higher proficiency as an outcome. Nevertheless practice is recognised as a reliable way to consolidate knowledge of a language.

Participants also maintain that English has had a better media forum than other languages in Uganda. It is used in newspapers, most radio stations, most television stations and television programmes, on the internet, fancy magazines and books. This, they said, adds to more contact with English and so to building and boosting their practice and attainment of competence of English. Peter's and Amonkit's interview responses illustrate this.

Extract 35

> Peter: Many things are in English like journals; even you find novels written in Italian translated into English.

Extract 36

> Amonkit: Because we have, am …, most of the modern technology, if we come to things like …, on the internet, on the phone, most of it has been … I feel more confident when I am using English language even when … I am talking to somebody who knows …, the local languages that I know.

Extract 36 suggests that modern communication technology gives more access to English communication practice than to other languages. This access makes the users confident that they have good boost to their competence of English since they can ably interact with the technology.

The prestige of English could also have contributed to the way participants rated their own skills as English offers greater social mobility and transferability (cf. Blommaert 2010) to people in multilingual settings such as the group that participated in this study. This is true even if the language is appropriated and localized to the linguistic practices of a specific community (Pennycook, 2007:101). Findings on the prestige of English are presented in detail in chapter 7 on language status.

In observation of the language portraits of participants, English occupies a significant position in all repertoires. It was considerably shaded with bright colours, assigned fair portions of the body and shaded on the head for majority of the participants. Shading it in a fair portion of the body is related to frequent use, good and vast knowledge of the language. Shading it on the head reflects how participants relate their intellect to the use of English. Some participants, apart from rating with scores, explicitly stated that English is a language they can speak, write, read and understand well. Even with noticeable peculiarities in how participants shaded their portraits, these observable similarities tell how highly they relate to, and feel about their competence in English.

Unlike other languages, all participants (except one who did the scoring only partially) claimed to have mastered all four language skills for English and to use it in different social contexts especially school but including home. It is the one language that was overwhelmingly related to school, academics and intellectuality.

However, in describing their portraits, participants did not refer to high abilities in English. Many of the descriptions of English echoed its value as personal and social capital and little of how it relates to the knowledge possessed by the individuals. The descriptions participants gave included; it allows flexibility in communication, it makes one shine as an educated person, is used to interact and connect with people of different origins, to mention but a few.

6.2.3.2   *Demonstrating varied competences: the position of L1s*

Nortier (2008:39) and Littlewood (2004:501) point out that speakers usually attain a good command of languages they learn in the early years and continue to use through their lifetime. Individuals engage with L1s primarily and most actively, in the natural environment of the domestic domain. Accordingly as Wenger (1998:4) argues that 'knowing' is better achieved with active participation, the continuous active and natural engagement affords individuals an opportunity to develop high competences of L1s (cf. Ellis, 1997; Franceschini, 2009; Pennycook, 2010). These are continuously upgraded from childhood. However not all the language skills are supported especially those that are not employed for day-to-day social interactions such as reading and writing.

Participants in this study rated their L1s with high scores. The questionnaire responses showed participant rankings in two ways: (i) they gave scores between 1 and 2 for the different skills, and (ii) they listed these languages immediately after lingua francas already listed in the table. Out of 30 participants, 25 listed and rated their L1s right after the lingua francas and gave them scores between 1 and 2 for all four skills. Support for the scores is given in descriptions on language portraits using such phrases as: best known language, used longer from infancy, is in the blood, dominant language and frequently used especially at home and in the community. Some participants even emphasized that they speak it to non-speakers. However participants did not complement their rating in the questionnaires with explicit claims for all skills especially reading and writing. A point to note is that many local Ugandan languages are not standardized, and they have no literacy tradition. Similar to English, the L1s were allocated relatively bigger portions of the language portrait which

indicated, among other things, that participants had better and diverse abilities in them, and were better conversant with them.

Notably, the kinds of competences attained for English and for L1s are quite different just like their levels of competence and the domains in which they are used are different. This is accounted for by the different environments of acquisition/learning and different domains of usage (formal versus informal). Specifically, responses indicate that L1s are not just languages that participants know but symbols of their identity. The natural environment in which L1s are acquired gives individuals exposure to both linguistic and cultural material. However, not all Ugandan languages have developed written grammars, so that if they are written, people follow intuitions – not authenticated standards. As a result there will be different versions of writing among speakers of such language varieties. Therefore, expectations about the writing skill for some of the L1s are limited.

It is quite clear that many participants are more competent in their L1s than in English, yet this is not always reflected in their scoring. The kinds of knowledge and areas in which each language has value, are different for English and L1s.

6.2.3.3 *Demonstrating varied competences: structurally related languages*

Speakers of structurally related languages create a locality of their own, a linguistic space where they access all related varieties when they have learned just one of them. Thus they develop of practices that allow for fluidity in the use of their resources. They are used in a dynamic and flexible where one does not have to shift linguistically, but maintains one linguistic position while achieving other positions. In an interaction where each individual is a speaker of a different variety, each speaks his/her own variety, and yet understand others well (Thije et al., 2011:245; Cenoz & Gorter, 2013:403).

In view of the above, varieties related to the L1 were listed as part of the repertoire and then given relatively high scores in the competence rating. This was especially obvious where participants were L1 speakers of either Runyankore-Rukiga or Runyoro-Rutooro. These language varieties have high mutual intelligibility (Ethnologue, 2013), and yet do have internal differences which are evidenced also in varying written forms. At the moment Runyankore-Rukiga has a separate orthography from that of Runyoro-Rutooro (Bernsten, 1998:98). This suggests a difference in the standard form of the varieties. Thus while spoken

interaction works perfectly for the speakers of all four varieties, speakers have to enhance their written competences by learning the separate orthographies for the two main varieties.

Writing (as reading) is a taught skill which does not develop naturally, while speaking (as understanding) does develop naturally (Menezes de Souza, 2007). It is thus not uncommon to find fluent speakers who are poor at writing (cf. Cummins, 2003). For language varieties that have not been standardized, it is hard to imagine and affirm speakers' writing competences although it does not mean that when they write they cannot be understood at all.

I show a relation in the competence levels of related languages using the example of Runyankore because more participants in the sample listed it as their L1 among those in the cluster of Runyakitara (refer to chapter two, section 2.2.2). To get the competence levels of speakers of different L1s, I re-coded and computed overall ratings for each person, for all skills of each language without separating them. The aim was to have a clear impression of general competence levels of the participants for Runyankore. The overall competence was classified in response categories; poor, average, good and very good. The competence levels for Runyankore for all those who rated it in their repertoires are shown in the table below:

Table 6.5:   **Overall rating for Runyankore in participants' repertoires**

	Poor	**Average**	**Good**	**Very good**
*Luganda	50%			
Kinyarwanda			25%	16.7%
Rutooro		100%		
Runyoro	25%			
Rukiga	25%			16.7%
Lukonzo			25%	
Runyankore			50%	66.7%
Total	26.7%	6.7%	26.7%	40%

Since this study is focusing on the 'local' aspects of individuals' language practices, I will leave the labels of varieties as they were used by the participants. This also serves to give a clear impression of the variation in participants' self-rating.

From the table above (without considering Luganda which is not related to Runyankore), of all the participants who listed and rated Runyankore in their repertoires, 26.7% rated poor competence and of these; 25% are Runyoro L1 speakers, 25% are Rukiga L1 speakers.

6.7% rated average competence and of these; 100% are Rutooro L1 speakers.

26.7% rated good knowledge and of these; 25% are Kinyarwanda speakers, 25% are Lukonzo speakers and 50% are Runyankore L1 speakers.

40% rated very good competence and of these; 16.7% are Kinyarwanda L1 speakers, 16.7% are Rukiga L1 speakers and 66.7% are Runyankore L1 speakers.

The scores for the particular skills for those who rated good and very good were between 1 and 2 for each skill that was rated. Therefore we can deduce that Kinyarwanda, Rukiga, Lukonzo and Runyankore speakers in the sample rated their competences high for the different skills of Runyankore. They form 66.7%, of all those who listed and rated Runyankore. The percentages above portray that Rukiga and Kinyarwanda are closer varieties to Runyankore than the rest. The high percentage of Rukiga speakers who rated poor knowledge can be explained by issues of language status, where the way individuals value a variety affects their (perception of) competence of that variety (cf. Ladefoged et al., 1971:77).

However, we cannot ignore the percentage of those who rated below good knowledge especially the percentage for poor knowledge. Poor knowledge was rated by Runyoro and Rukiga speakers. The Ethnologue (2013) indicates that; Rukiga has 72% intelligibility with Runyankore and similarity in the lexicon of 84%-94%. Runyoro has 78%-96% lexical similarity with Runyankore while Rutooro has 75%-86%. The discrepancy in rating therefore can be explained by more sociolinguistic and historical factors (cf. Kroskrity 2000; Littlewood 2004). Kinyarwanda and Runyankore-Rukiga are more closely located geographically than Runyoro and Runyankore. The geographical distance could explain the distance in competence of Runyankore by Runyoro speakers.

The following table shows the relation of competence of Runyankore to L1s of participants who listed Runyankore in their repertoires.

Table 6.6:   **Rating of competence of Runyankore by speakers of related L1s**

Variety	Poor	Average	Good	Very good	Total
*Luganda	100%				13.3%
Kinyarwanda			50%	50%	13.3%
Rutooro		100%			6.7%
Runyoro	100%				6.7%
Rukiga	50%			50%	13.3%
Runyankore			33.3%	66.7%	40%
Lukonzo			100%		6.7%

The table above shows percentages of individuals according to their ability to use Runyankore.

Total percentages represent participants who listed the varieties as their L1s over the total of all those who have knowledge of Runyakore in the study population.

In Table 6.6, 50% of Kinyarwanda L1 speakers rated good competence, 50% rated their competence very good. All Rutooro L1 speakers (100%) who listed Runyankore in their repertoires rated their competence of Runyankore average. 100% of Runyoro L1 speakers who listed Runyankore in their repertoire rated their competence of it poor. 50% of Rukiga L1 speakers rated their competence of Runyankore poor and 50% rated their competence very good (In the sample there were only 2 Rukiga L1 speakers). This scenario however will be further explored to find out why it presents as such. 33.7% of Runyankore L1 speakers rated their competence of it good, 66.3% rated their competence of Runyankore very good. 100% of Lukonzo L1 speakers (only one in the sample) who listed Runyankore in their repertoire rated their competence of it good.

Table 6.6 also portrays Kinyarwanda and Rukiga L1 speakers to have rated their competences of Runyankore high. This can be related to a high grasp of the variety. The statistics are limited by the small size of the study sample nevertheless they give a hint for our understanding of speakers' practices and their competences across the related varieties.

Considering the limitation above, the arts based method using the language portrait and its description) reveals a comprehensive picture that provides explanations to the rating above especially relating to Rukiga (cf. Pauwels, 2012:250). For instance some parents are speakers

of different varieties yet each maintains his/her own in family communication. although the differences are minimal, mostly phonological, they mean something to some speakers. S's father speaks Runyankore and his mother Rukiga. He explains that he grew up with his mother who spoke Rukiga to him while his father's Runyankore seemed distant. Therefore he claims better competence in Rukiga than Runyankore as expressed in the following extract from his language portrait.

Extract 37

> S: […] the parents who gave birth to me used different languages but not Luganda. My mom is a Mukiga and my dad is a Munyankore which means that I leant the two languages but mostly Luganda and Rukiga from my mom thus making it run into my body because they are the languages I know more (see extract 2, chapter 5).

Liberty, another Rukiga L1 speaker, contrastively, did not separate Runyankore and Rukiga but rated them as the same language taking the same score. He however does not mention Runyankore in his language portrait or his description of it. He only mentions Rukiga which he probably takes as a default for knowledge of Runyankore.

6.2.3.4   *Demonstrating varied competences: the position of secondary languages*

The scores participants gave for their skills in additional languages other than their first and related languages, varied considerably. Many of these additional languages were acquired or learned as participants moved from one community to another community which used a different language. The languages listed in this category as "secondary" are characterised by limited exposure and occasional usage. Consequently for some languages, not all skills were rated. Those who rated all the skills gave greatly varied scores of between 3 and 5 across the different skills. Reference is made to Kiswahili which for many participants is a secondary language[11] as will be discussed below in section 6.3. The details of rating of competences in these languages are displayed in Appendix A.

In a nutshell, usually when someone needs a particular language in an important domain or for critical functions, they acquire more of the skills at a relatively high rate and level (Lüdi et al., 2010). However, the time-space mediation for both acquisition and use is also crucial as observed in according high scores to English and L1s of the participants. The latter are

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[11] I use secondary languages to mean a languages for which participants reported to have very low competence, and one that use very rarely.

acquired or learned in relatively stable environments, and are used widely and for longer durations. Contrastively, secondary languages participants know are less stable, less often used or are used only in limited domains, and therefore have been given fluctuating scores across the different skills.

Considering the above, we can confirm that socio-historical experiences are important in shaping the levels of competence in participants' repertoires. Speakers of languages not intended for formal purposes such as education or in the workplace, are not compelled to become perfect in formal aspects of the language variety (Blommaert, 2010:134). This is the case for many of the local languages which the participants know (that have been dominated by the official designation of English). This explains the low scores for writing skills of most local languages in participants' repertoires. Likewise if a language does not feature in formal domains, the access to its formal style is denied and will not be acquired. Many of the secondary languages are learned in communities or environments where one needs to be able to have just basic communication skills for circumstances where the common or the majority language fails to serve a desired purpose.

Using a likert-scale rating system in gauging the various levels of competence participants have in the languages of their repertories, gave the interesting insights mentioned in sections 6.2.3.1 to 6.2.3.4 above. However, these insights need to be scrutinized. First, it is possible that participants did not take time to carefully interrogate their competences in the language varieties they listed. The rating therefore most likely reflects less linguistic knowledge, and more, other factors which are also important to this study because they are indicators of positions that these languages occupy in the general social life of the individuals. Second, rating of skills may be characterised by idealization of language than real, measurable language achievements, in that participants present themselves as excellent especially where prestige is accorded (cf. Baker, 1992:54). This often compromises the assessment.

The competence levels of languages represented in repertoires of participants thus vary across language varieties and language skills. Some are excellent, others are poor, while some lie in between. The variation is normal and does not mean multilinguals are incompetent users of language, rather it reflects situatedness of language acquisition/learning and resource distribution in their practices.

6.3   INCENTIVES FOR ACQUISITION AND USE OF CERTAIN LANGUAGES

Multilingual individuals learn different languages based on different circumstances. For those who live in a multilingual society and interact within this society on a daily basis learning a number of languages is an inevitable process that happens naturalistically through regular social contact (Batibo, 2005; Aronin & Singleton, 2012). Still, sometimes individuals make deliberate choices to learn certain languages. The explanations given by participants in this study for having learnt particular languages are presented in the following subsections.

6.3.1   Marriage/partnership

Cross linguistic relationships are common in the Ugandan society. Some of the participants in this study were born of parents in cross linguistic relationships as displayed in table 6.2. Likewise some participants disclosed that if they got a partner that speaks a different language from theirs, they would learn that language. Indeed even some of them, namely Banx, Freddy, Cheris, expressed that within their repertoires, there are languages that they learnt because they got partners who speak those languages as illustrated in the following extract.

Extract 38

> Banx: Rutooro … I got to know it by my first girlfriend who was a Mutooro. She was harsh to me. Then I decided to learn Rutooro in order to be in good terms with her.

In multilingual communities various couples have separate L1s and therefore acquiring new languages in such circumstances is common.

6.3.2   Communication with peers and community

One's peers do not always necessarily speak the same language as him/her. This sometimes creates a need for one to learn the language of his/her peers in order to have a comfortable partnership and interaction. The community that an individual finds himself/herself in also has a similar impact; for instance to negotiate prices of commodities and to ask for direction. One can hardly desire to live as an island in a society where they are going to have their engagements every day. Therefore for an individual to fit well in the community and carry out their social practice smoothly, they are encouraged to learn the language that speakers in a given community use. This factor is illustrated in the extract below:

Extract 39

> Peter: Growing up as a child I used to talk Langi because I learnt Langi first at home and it's the only language I could speak. Even when I went to play with the other kids in the flats I only knew Langi. But as I grew up I spoke so much English, so much Luganda and gave little time to Langi (see extract 13).

Extract 40

> Ateenyi: Then Japadhola, it was home especially through the maid. They would bring a maid who only knew that language so somehow I had to learn to communicate with her. This was at my guardians' place where I stay.

The above demonstrates that regular communication with people who speak a different language creates an environment of learning that language.

6.3.3   Involuntary immersion

Participants' responses indicated that learning additional languages is sometimes attributed to being surrounded by many people who speak it. If one finds oneself surrounded by people who on a regular basis speak a language one does not know then one usually has no choice but to learn that language (cf. Ellis, 1997). This incentive to learn a new language is especially prevalent if it is a dominant language used in the social transactions one gets involved in. It could also be due to peer pressure executed persuasively by showing how advantageous it is to know that language (for example Kiswahili in Kampala) or how pompous one who knows it appears in society (especially for foreign languages). This learning usually happens naturalistically .

Similarly, individuals know that they will definitely have opportunities to use the languages which are spoken by a big population, at some point in their life. It may not be a language of the closest peers or a language within one's regular community of practice, but as long as it has a wide coverage, then others will by default learn it. The following extracts illustrate these ideas.

Extract 41

> K[2]: I learned those other languages because of the place I stay in. It has got many languages which are used. So the type of neighbours I was staying with, many of them would use many languages. That is why I could not stick on one language. I had neighbours who were Bagandas; others were from Kenya because I stay at the border. So I had to adopt Swahili.

Extract 42

> Magitta: Acholi which I acquired in one of the primary schools which I attended in Kampala in St. Jude Naguru-Katale. This was because most pupils I was studying with were speaking their mother tongue.

Extract 43

> Akiiki: For Kiswahili I used to … I liked Kiswahili … I always tried to practice it with those people who speak it mostly in Kilembe since it is a mining area and it is where I was during my A'level (Advanced level). There are many languages and they prefer using Kiswahili as the main language so to fit in that context also, I ended up learning a little of Kiswahili (see extract 24).

Extract 44

> Sisoni: Luganda is also widely spoken in Uganda. By the way you find even the Bamasaaba in Mbale speaking Luganda and he is a Mugisu […] Even when you go to Gulu you will get Luganda. Go to Juba in southern Sudan, you will get people speaking Luganda.

Extracts 41 - 44 illustrate that participants learned many of the languages they know by participating in communities where these languages were practiced and indulging with groups that practiced the languages. The extracts further indicate that linguistically complex environments afford individuals an opportunity to learn several languages sometimes concurrently especially if they all are used regularly as illustrated in extract 31. For widely used languages like Luganda, there is always an open chance that individuals will encounter them in several communities where they have their participation, making these languages inevitable to include into individuals' repertoires. The extracts also indicate that the languages were developed spontaneously through regular interactions with other speakers.

6.3.4   Improve opportunities for socio-economic rewards

In life, individuals always live with a desire to live better and to have better opportunities. Language (linguistic knowledge) is one of the important factors that can enable someone attain better opportunities such as business contacts, partnerships and jobs. As Ellis (1997:42) asserts, if one feels that a certain language is likely to link them to such opportunities, they will be keen to learn such a language. Language status is thus closely linked to this factor although it is not always explicitly expressed as an incentive for learning a language simply because it is more psychological. Accordingly, people do not consciously choose a language for its status or prestige but look out for factors that make a language prestigious and give it status incentive to learn a language. Likewise there are only a few languages that are learned

simply because of their status or because they are prestigious. In Uganda particularly in Kampala, such languages include Luganda among the local languages, Kiswahili – a regional language and English which is a global language not withstanding its official status in Uganda as illustrated below.

Extract 45

> Peter: Then French, even when you have no context where you should use French, they are making it to be studied in schools, to be studied everywhere. They say you should have it, anytime you could get a job.

Extract 46

> Mary: Luganda … though it is of great value if you want better services within the central making it a necessary language, hence becomes part of the languages that I should know better.

The extracts above indicate that participants learned some languages for the opportunities that such languages offer for social and economic advancement. These opportunities include getting jobs, getting access to social services which all ensure comfortable living as individuals transfer from one linguistic community to another.

6.3.5   Multilingualism as a valued characteristic

Individual multilingualism is highly valued as a resource by individuals living in multilingual societies (Edwards, 1994; Ouane, 2009; Prah, 2009; Ouane & Glanz, 2010) like Kampala, especially those that come from other areas of Uganda. Some people learn certain languages because they desire to have multiple identities, and to interact in various communities.

They believe that being multilingual opens them up to a bigger world and makes them more social as humans. It also gives them an opportunity to survive in various communities that they may find themselves in. The value of being multilingual is expressed in the following extract.

Extract 47

> Amonkit: I intend to go for oral Literature, to advance in that, and if one wants to do good Oral Literature, there needs to be a good base in the local languages that this person is going to, to capitalize on especially if you are going to research in the languages, in the Oral Literature of the Batooro or Rutooro speakers, you have to know the language or you may even come to an expense of going out to hire a translator if you are not equipped

with the language. But I think it is … the knowledge of these languages is trying to advance me in this research.

Extract 48

Sisoni: There are things that can be explained well in other languages other than just English. … So I find it a merit to know my local traditional languages apart from just English.

Being multilingual is valued for enabling individuals to have various identities and thus live comfortably in various communities as expressed in the following extract.

Extract 49

Sisoni: I find such people so social and another thing is that it is very hard to tell who they are or which tribe they come from, just like people don't know who I am. At times my friends think I am Kenyan, others say I am a Munyankore, then others say, "he could be a Muganda." They don't believe I am a Mugisu or a Mumasaaba. So I just admire them.

Extract 50

K^2: I promote those ones who learn more languages because it will help them in their communication and it will widen their communication through interacting with different types of people and it will give them privileges for other things.

In all the extracts 47 - 50 above, participants express the advantage of knowing a number of languages both as students and as people who belong in a regular society. Individual multilingualism is valued for educational language practice (extract 47), for smoothening cognitive activities (extract 48), for enabling communication in various communities of practice (extract 49), and for opening up opportunities to individuals. All these illustrate that multilinguals learn new languages because it adds value to their lives as well as making day to day living easy.

6.3.6 Personal reward

Some individuals find some languages fascinating in the way they sound and their rhythm. Such comments as "I like the way they talk" or "I like the way their words flow" have been made about some languages that participants came to learn. In other words, the language majorly attracts the learner because the learner personally likes its flow as the following extracts demonstrate.

Extract 51

> Reyon: […] Lusoga not because I am a Musoga […] I can hear it and also speak it but majorly I enjoy their rhythm as they are speaking […]

Extract 52

> Sisoni: I just liked the way they speak and I loved it (Samia). So I learned it. Otherwise I would have just spoken English and that would be the end. But I learned the language because I loved it.

Extract 53

> Reyon: I like white colour in every way […] I have chosen it for Runyarwanda because I can hear it but no longer respond because I just got it from a colleague at primary. However I love the language and I wish I was in touch with it again.

Extract 54

> Leeny: French […] I very much love it though I can't speak and write it well but sounds good to me and if I get the opportunity to learn it, that will be very excellent.

The extracts above illustrate that some languages in participants' repertoires are there because participants admire the way native speakers articulate them.

6.3.7   Understand speakers of the language

Language is core to people's cultures – their total way of living. As Lambert et al. (1968:473) and Hua (2014:4) note, some people who do not have an opportunity to live with some linguistic communities to experience and learn their ways of living, choose to learn their languages in order to get a glimpse into the life of those people (cf. Ellis, 1997; Lightbown & Spada, 2006). Language is a means of understanding culture, and provides insight into understanding intercultural phenomena (Hua, 2014). Some people are of a certain status in society or they may be peculiar in various ways from other people. This reason is not a common incentive for learning a language though. One participant thus expressed a desire to learn a particular language in the following extract.

Extract 55

> Peter: I would like to learn Runyankore because I would like to see what people say like in my ideology I think they take themselves to be superior sometimes. Not all but I have seen it in a few. So I would like to learn and see what is so special.

The above different factors also determine how much of a language one will learn. Therefore the levels of competence one has for the languages in an individual's repertoire cannot be the same especially for people in multilingual societies.

6.4   LINGUISTIC PRACTICES AMONG THE PARTICIPANTS

This section presents an analysis of how different language varieties are put to use among the participants. It also displays a variation in the frequency of using different language varieties in participants' repertoires.

6.4.1   Frequency of language usage

Findings on languages that participants listed as the ones they use most are presented in the following table.

Table 6.7:   Languages participants use most

Language	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
English	24	80.0	80.0
Luganda	3	10.0	90.0
Lusamia	1	3.3	93.3
Kupsabiny	1	3.3	96.7
English/Luganda	1	3.3	100.0
Total	30	100.0	

As illustrated in the table above, 24 of 30 participants listed English as the language which they use most frequently in their repertoires. Even though Luganda is a common and dominant language in Kampala, it was selected as the most used language by only 4 participants. The explanation for this occurrence lies in the nature of population for this study.

The constitution of Uganda (1995) stipulates English as the official language designated for all official and government business and institutions, such as schools and universities. English is a second language for most people in Uganda learned for the first time at school (Mukama, 2009). Many homes and ordinary informal engagements like trade, transport, employ local languages. The student community however presents a different scenario of language practices for such reasons as:

First, students spend a lot of time in school right from primary school.

Secondly, most schools insist on using English at all times in the school premises and for all kinds of class work (cf. Bourhis, 1997 for details on schools and standard official language).

Thirdly, students live in and are surrounded by a multilingual community right from home. For that reason it is a common occurrence to interact with people with different repertoire constellations which necessitates use of a lingua franca.

English is primarily imposed on the students but with time it becomes normal practice especially when in school and with peers. Apart from English being accessible to the students, its being non-indigenous resonates with neutrality which exacerbates its choice for communication in their multilingual encounters.

The majority of participants listing English as the language they use most, corresponds with their high self-rating for English competence. English functions adequately in participants' multilingual encounters according to these descriptions; it gives a green light and flexibility in communication, it is a dominant language, used to interact with people of different origins/different languages, used in many social contexts. Subsection 6.3.3.1 presents claims of participants' and generally students' long stay, and dominance of English, in school. The following extracts emphasize the same idea.

Extract 56

> Ateenyi: There is no exam you can answer when you do not know English.

Extract 57

> Peter: The teachers don't allow you to use local language in the classroom.

Extracts 56 and 57 affirm the frequent use of English in school activities which form the major part of student life to which the participants in this study belong. Thus the extracts express that participants spend most of their time in an environment that requires them to use English making it their most frequent language practice especially for school activities.

Other languages listed as most used are participants' L1s namely, Lusamia and Kupsabiny. Reasons cited for selecting these languages include: speakers feel confident to use these languages and they can express themselves well in them, being able to to find speakers of

these languages in different places, spending a lot of time at home with speakers of the same language when not at school (see Appendix I). Luganda was listed in this category mainly because it's a lingua franca.

Justifications for languages that participants use most, mostly indicate lingua franca resourcefulness (especially of English). English is used most not because it is the only or best known language to the participants (students) but mainly because it is the language of school and offers a bridge for communication across multilingual repertoires. Consequently other languages are less chosen in the light of English as the next subsection discusses.

Majority of local languages were listed as those that participants use least. The reasons forwarded for this include: (i) limited chance to learn them quite well sometimes because of limited exposure leading to lack of confidence in these languages (ii) participants' inability to freely and adequately express themselves in such languages and hence would rather refrain from using their productive skills (For more reasons see Appendix I.) This mostly affects those languages facing societal stigma (Cunningham-Andersson & Anderson, 1999; Lanza & Svendsen, 2007) (iii) scanty opportunities of coming in contact with speakers of the languages either because the speakers are few or because the language is not widely spoken, for example Luo and Acholi; likewise iv) opting for a common language when out of the hometown which is the original home of the language hence limiting the opportunity for the minority language.

The languages listed as least used include Kiswahili, Lusoga, Lumasaaba, Luo, Acholi and French.

Considering how participants rated the different languages, it is not that least used languages are those that speakers are least conversant with, but its more about the minority nature of these languages. Kiswahili is not widely used in Kampala because there are fewer speakers who also find it better to use Luganda or English which are more accessible to inhabitants in Kampala as expressed by Khalifa below.

Extract 58

> Khalifa: Honestly I speak and understand Kiswahili but rarely I speak it because even friends I can speak Kiswahili with tend to prefer English most.

Kiswahili not having much privilege in Kampala (discussed further in chapter 7) indicates that the aspect of 'resource mobility' is also determined on 'local' terms. It is determined by

the social environments where language is practiced and learned. Accordingly, the high mobility of Kiswahili within the East African region does not surpass that of Luganda within Kampala (also located in East Africa). Languages which participants reported to use least are presented in the table below.

Table 6.8:   Languages participants use least

Language	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
English	1	3.3	3.3
Kiswahili	11	36.7	40.0
Kinyarwanda	1	3.3	43.3
Runyoro	2	6.7	50.0
Rukiga	1	3.3	53.3
Runyankore	3	10.0	63.3
Lusoga	3	10.0	73.3
Lumasaaba	2	6.7	80.0
Acholi	2	6.7	86.7
Luo	3	10.0	96.7
Lusoga/French	1	3.3	100.0
Total	30	100.0	

From Table 6.8, English has the lowest percentage of 3.3% in the category of least used languages. Although there are other languages with this percentage in the category, English has the lowest because it is found in each of the participants' repertoires (30) unlike the other languages. Participants disclosed that at times they find it unnecessary to use their indigenous languages even with speakers of those same languages because they have a common language – English which unites them and which they feel they can use comfortably without leaving anyone out or being left out. Ateenyi thus says the following.

Extract 59

> Ateenyi: I always feel like, if I can express myself in English, then why I should struggle with this word in Luganda yet I can just say it simply in English.

Hence among the students' community and in other communities where there is comfort of using English, other languages have minimum opportunities of being put to use[12](cf. Davies 2004:439).

Kiswahili on the other hand had the highest percentage (36.6%) of participants who mentioned it as their least used language. It also had a wide range from other languages mentioned in this category. Details of how participants rated Kiswahili are presented in the following table.

Table 6.9:   Rating of Kiswahili across different skills

Ability	1 (excellent)	2	3	4	5 (poor)	Total
Understand	7 (23.3%)	5 (16.7%)	10 (33.3%)	3 (10.3%)	2 (6.7%)	27/30
Speak	3 (10%)	6 (20%)	6 (20%)	7 (23.3%)	4 (13.3%)	26/30
Read	6 (20%)	3 (10%)	4 (13.3%)	7 (23.3%)	4 (13.3%)	24/30
Write	4 (13.3%)	1 (3.3%)	5 (16.7%)	5 (16.7%)	8 (26.7%)	23/30

The table above shows participants' rating of their abilities in Kiswahili. Taking the scores 1, 2, 3 (ability tending to excellent), the understanding ability takes a higher percentage of 73.3% of those who rated compared to 50% for the speaking ability yet participants who rated speaking ability are also fewer in number. As one goes down the table to reading and writing, the number of participants who rated their abilities reduces further. We cannot take the scores for absolute representation of abilities of participants for the different skills (Lammer, 2012), but we can tell the general trend of the linguistic resourcefulness of Kiswahili in the participants' communication practices.

The language portrait exercise revealed more explicit information in regard to the above and it even exposed that there is much less ability to speak and much less practice of speaking Kiswahili among the participants. Below are some of the extracts from different participants' descriptions.

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[12] It is mainly the local Ugandan languages and Kiswahili that appear in the category of least used languages. If a language has very little opportunities of usage, it does not grow beyond a simple level and with time it can fade phonologically and lexically and may need re-exposure in the community of native speakers to revitalize one's knowledge and improve it to a higher level (Cunningham-Andersson & Anderson, 1999).

Extract 60

> Darius: I understand but don't speak Kiswahili represented by colour chocolate.

Extract 61

> Jomona: With Swahili as represented in Green, I can understand and speak a few of it.

Extract 62

> Hunk: Kiswahili is also a language I can understand but can't speak. I just love the way words are pronounced in Kiswahili.

Extract 63

> Reyon: I can hear the language when somebody speaks it but unfortunately I can't respond except some few words in it.

Extract 64

> Peter: Lastly green for Kiswahili on my ear since I hear it and understand it but rarely speak it since I always opt for another language thus it remains in my ears.

From these descriptions, participants explicitly express how they use Kiswahili. They have low or no speaking skills in it , or for those who speak it, they have no people to speak it with especially in Kampala. This suggests two things; either the people who know Kiswahili are scanty or they prefer to use other languages (lingua francas) as expressed by Khalifa (extract 58). Using the example of Kiswahili, when someone has little or no spoken knowledge of a language, they would rather not use it except in those circumstances where they have no choice but to use that language.

English had a small percentage because to the participants it is one of the resources and blends well with the other available resources to sustain communication. But because it has the advantage of being a school language, users get an opportunity to train repeatedly in all the language skills (speaking, writing, reading and listening). These are however influenced by the regular multilingual lifestyle that participants (and university students generally) practice.

6.4.2   Language choice

A multilingual society provides an environment characterized by linguistic diversity, together with multilingual repertoires of varying constellations. This affects the languages themselves

and the language practices of the people involved. Language choice is thus a pertinent part of the communication process and practice in such environments. Myers-Scotton (1992) indicates that the linguistic choices made are acts of identity negotiation and construction. Language choice impacts greatly on the way languages are developed further and valued among users (Heller, 1995). Therefore language choice is of crucial significance in understanding the practicalities of multilingualism that are highlighted in this study. Factors for language choice disclosed by participants are presented in the next subsection.

6.4.2.1 *Factors that affect language choice*

According to the participants language choice is dependent on: having a mixed audience, unfamiliar audience/context, other people in the company using an unfamiliar language, parents being speakers of different languages hence having to choose which one to use with the children and children having to choose which one to use in the home, not being able to keep one's languages apart because of using all of them on a regular basis and, having low competences in some languages. Participants disclosed their perceptions and experiences of language choice as follows.

First, language choice is a complex and unpredictable process that sometimes causes anxiety among speakers as presented in the extracts below

Extract 65

> Peter: I don't know if my communication will be just right or the person will misinterpret me because I am not very good in that language. Like when I meet an old person and I want to speak Luganda to them, I am confused whether to use English or Luganda because I might say something inappropriate at the beginning and someone identifies you as you are not a pure language speaker.

Extract 66

> Amonkit: When I am at school at the school where I teach, am …., and there comes a parent, say he has visited a student, then you don't know clearly which language to start with. This is a parent, of course the formal language should be English but not all our parents know English. We have diversities of language speakers in this school. So you really need to first study this person and of course using incredible speed.

From extracts 65 and 66, it can be observed that non-native speaker insecurity causes anxiety particularly when one is to choose a language that is not their L1. Anxiety may also arise when operating from a community of practice with specified language practices yet the addressee is an outsider as demonstrated in extract 66. In essence therefore, being a relevant

language practice does not make language choice automatic, rather it is a carefully thought exercise.

Secondly, sometimes choice is complicated by one's languages being fused into each other as if they really were one language such that, they all are activated most of the time especially in informal situations. This is expressed in extracts 67, 68 and 73 from Freddie and K^2 who proclaim their multilinguality makes language choice a complex task.

Extract 67

Freddie: You find yourself mixing up those words, "which one should I use?" Like let me say you are talking to a fellow …, a relative, you find it hard to distinguish *oba* (whether) I should use Lugwere or Lunyole, because you are all equipped with all the languages. So you find it hard to find a language to use.

Extract 68

K^2: Sometimes I think there are some languages which are more less the same. Then if someone tells me to choose at least a language I can speak, I end up thinking I know all. So I get confused.

Extract 69

K^2: If I am communicating to people who know many languages I speak, I end up mixing and I end up using many languages. For example if I am speaking to my dad, throughout the communication, I will end up when I have used those three languages.

Extracts 67, 68 and 69 show that sometimes language choice is difficult and instead we get code-mixing especially when one is communicating with people they are familiar with and who know similar languages. This also happens when someone is accustomed to communicating in many languages regularly such that it becomes a normal practice.

Third, language choice is determined by fixed regulations on which languages speakers should use when operating in some contexts. The knowledge of such contexts, audiences and their linguistic practices dictates choice of language. Extracts 70 and 71, show that participants choose their linguistic resources according to their knowledge of the contexts and audiences at hand.

Extract 70

Jomona: I have never come across a situation where I can get confused. Here at school I know I can use English because everyone understands English. Home I know which language I should use to which person.

Extract 71

> Ateenyi: The activity also, like here at school if I am having a discussion in a discussion group, English is the most appropriate. But then I might bring in some bit of Luganda for these people to understand because in a discussion group some people would say, *"naye mwe temwogerako ku Luganda?"* (But can't you people ever use Luganda?) yet you are in a discussion group, you are not going to write the exam in Luganda but someone is asking.

Some individuals use the same language for all family members while others use different languages for different members in the family (extract 70).

In addition to that, some activities are affiliated to particular languages as illustrated in extract 71, although again, the need for mutual intelligibility calls for flexibility. Thus despite the closure on language for academic purposes students still desire to practice their multilingualism as a resource for better understanding of academic work and for group cohesion.

Fourth, power and agency relations also mediate language choice as the following extracts reflect. Extracts 72 and 73 display how individuals use their power in selection of language during interactions. In Extract 72, teachers use their power to impose English on the students in the classroom as the official language designated for that context, but also exercise their agency by giving explanations in local languages for students to understand. In addition in Extract 73, a father uses his power to use his L1 with his children while they also perform their agency by responding to him in their own L1 which they are more comfortable with and which contributes their identity.

Extract 72

> Peter: The teachers don't allow you to use local language in the classroom, but sometimes the teacher can say something in English and then say it in Luganda.

Extract 73

> Freddie: we find ourselves that we are so much free and fluent in Lugwere. So the moment he asks a question, or says something in Lunyole we reply in Lugwere.

Performance of power and agency guide how languages are selected for different domains and purposes, and likewise impacts on development of language competence.

Fifth, the one way to redeem a situation where language choice becomes a challenge is to test different options until the adequate option is arrived at.

The extracts thus illustrate that competences of participants are not equal for all the languages. Likewise, much as there could be prescriptions of what language to use in certain domains; language choice is still governed by need for mutual intelligibility. More still, the languages of some participants are so fluid that they naturally blend into each other especially when talking to fellow multilinguals with a shared repertoire. What this reveals is that the practice of language choice relies much on competences that the interlocutors have for the languages they know especially in informal contexts and is aimed at mutual understanding.

6.4.2.2 *Choice of languages for specific purposes*

There are differences in how languages are put to use for different purposes. Development of writing skills in local Ugandan languages is usually side-lined because they are used mostly for interpersonal communication with family and friends in and out of school. At school English and other foreign languages dominate the writing practice.

Participants in this study disclosed that the problem related to writing skills arises both from inadequacy of vocabulary and lack of knowledge of the writing systems of local Ugandan languages. Since English has been studied and used all through education, its rules of grammar are even taken for granted as if they do not exist. This is because, as Agha (2007) and Pennycook (2010:9) concur, once rules are acquired, they become part and parcel of language through repetitive usage. Repetitive forms consequently become sedimented, which makes the speaker to forget that the rules exist. The rules of grammar for the languages that are rarely applied for formal usage thus become the marked phenomena. This is illustrated in the interview response below.

Extract 75

> Akiiki: […] when it comes to the writing part, in my local language I will first think of the words to write. But since English is an open language … But in our languages, there are some restrictions. There is an order you have to follow for someone to understand what you are writing about.

Difficulties with the writing system and language structure of the local languages are also expressed in the following extract.

Extract 76

> K[2]: I can, though when I am …, I am not perfect because I don't know how their morphological words slope. But I can still write in a simple form.

By morphological words, K[2] seems to be referring to both the morphological and syntactic structure of a local language. K[2] is thus faced with a challenge choosing to use her L1 for translation due to lack of formal training in the writing skill.

Peter used a non-L1 local language (also dominant lingua franca in Kampala) during translation classes. He is a first language speaker of Lango, but he used Luganda a language which he learned from his peers in and out of school. During the interview he commented as follows about translating from English into Luganda:

Extract 77

> Peter: What made it interesting was that there are terms that I learnt that were new and I could go and show off to my friends because when I was in that lesson the madam would say things like '*enkuba yafudembye'* (It rained cats and dogs) and when I could go to my friends, they were like "actually you are learning". So it made me get more interest because I was picking things from class that I never thought I could learn in class. What made it challenging was when it came to the part of writing. It is not easy to just write a language at the first time and reading it would also give me a little bit of problems.

Peter chose Luganda for translation studies because his interactions with his mates involved more of Luganda than his first language Lango. He thus felt more confident to use it for translation since he had, and continued to learn, a sufficient level of vocabulary as indicated in the above extract.

Language choice here is therefore influenced by frequent language use but also constrained by kinds of competences possessed for particular languages. Therefore since writing has its rules different from spoken forms of language already echoed by K[2] and Akiiki, one can still find a challenge in using a frequently used local language for translation if his/her usual practice of that language is basically oral. A language with a written tradition like Luganda becomes a better choice because of existence of reference materials.

Apparently the dominant use of English in school obstructs the potential of learning the orthographies and the entire writing processes of local languages which remain mostly excellently used for speech. Likewise, dominant local languages usually overtake minority languages for choices relating to various specific functions (cf. Nakayiza, 2013:20) because

they usually have more privileges and are usually standardised for example the choice of Luganda over Lango and Lugwere for practical language exercises in the classroom.

6.4.3   Code-switching

According to responses from participants in this study, code-switching is a major communicative strategy aimed at being adequately meaningful. Code-switching serves to curb misconception, misrepresentation and misappropriation of information. It comes with consideration of speakers, topic of exchange and context. Some codes are more appropriate for certain contexts, topics or interactants than others. Therefore code-switching ensures that information is delivered in the most meaningful way (Coulmas, 2002), where it abides by linguistic, social and contextual expectations. It serves to adopt better and deeper lexical, syntactic and idiomatic expressions that illuminate the idea the speaker is putting across so that it is understood in the same depth between the interactants. For example the president of Uganda usually switches to a local language for a saying or proverb when he wants to give deeper meaning to what he is saying.

Participants revealed salient data on code-switching not just by what they gave as responses to questions but also by the way they used language as they gave their responses and narratives. Asked whether code-switching should be encouraged or discouraged, there were mixed views although the general voice was that it is a practice that cannot be done away with. It is the way multilinguals negotiate their complex linguistic environment especially when one is aware that their addressee knows more than one language as expressed in the extracts below.

Extract 78

> K2: In my own opinion, it would be okay because for people who speak <u>mob</u> (various) languages, it is not easy to get a perfect language. So they end up mixing from one language to another.

Extract 79

> Jomona: I know Luganda but I don't know most of the words. Sometimes I speak Luganda and I find myself that the word I thought I know in Luganda, that it is the right word yet it is a Lusoga word.

Extract 80

> Sisoni: I know exactly how to switch. If this is a person from Kenya speaking Kiswahili, I just know I have to speak Kiswahili. But of course I find myself sometimes slipping in another language thinking that that person also knows the language, and this is in most

cases Luganda. I am speaking Kiswahili but I find myself bringing in a word from Luganda. So unconsciously I find myself speaking another language.

Extract 81

> Amonkit: Well, primarily as I said it is the context. If it is supposed to be a formal context, then you would have to stick to …, I would have to stick to a given language. If I am speaking at a funeral at home, I have to stick to Lukonzo because I am at home and these are people who expect me to do that. But if I am speaking to a friend at school, this friend, say we are having our lunch, I know the person speaks Luganda and speaks English and any other language, we can switch from whichever because it is just that way.

All the above extracts from 78 - 81 illustrate the way code-switching is a practice naturally occurring in communication of multilingual people. It is a practice that always manifests itself during interactions. The reason for this natural occurrence is revealed in extracts 80 and 81, that is, the languages of multilingual individuals form a fluid continuum.

K[2]'s mention of a 'perfect language' follows from the monolingualising normative, that generally dominates the description of linguistic competences and practices. The participant is actually raising a concern which suggests that multilinguals do not communicate as perfectly as other users of language. The blending of resources during their communication activities is misconstrued for an imperfection in their linguistic temperament. However, the response adds a voice to several others of many researchers on multilingualism such as Makoni and Mashiri (2007), Makoni and Pennycook (2007), Makoni and Pennycook (2012) who argue that languages do not exist in the nature of reified objects with distinct boundaries.

Furthermore, participants expressed mixed feelings about the relevance and importance of code-switching. First, it is criticized on a purist front as an unscrupulous practice that should be keenly watched if not done away with completely because to such people it is a sign of incompetence in the subject matter and it also brings about language derailment (Romaine 2007; Coulmas, 2002). This argument is illustrated in the extract below.

Extract 82

> Amonkit: Because I believe these languages even when they should not live in separation, in isolation, I believe as linguists we should try to perfect a language as independent of another.

> Researcher: Yeah. But many people are not linguists. The people who use languages, the people who switch are not linguists. They are not all linguists.

Amonkit: But this is the role of linguists to, to …, to at least make a difference. Then if you don't make a difference, then you … (laughs).

Researcher: What is the very reason you would discourage it (code-switching)?

Amonkit: I would discourage it because there is need to have purity, a pure language. That is what makes it a language.

Researcher: What do you mean by a pure language?

Amonkit: Am …, I mean if one is speaking English, there need, there is need to speak English and not any other language because that is how some languages come to change. And I don't think language change is good. I personally don't think it's good.

Extract 82 above demonstrates that code-switching is and has been blamed for prohibiting multilingual speakers from being able to use the languages they know 'appropriately'. In other words, as speakers dwell on code switching, they fail to master their languages and instead perfect the art of appropriation which alters the original language/s. This could be the reason why multilingual speakers according to Harmon and Wilson (2006) and Brock-Utne (2009), are always blamed for 'not knowing' particularly English – a language that is highly codified but at the same time highly linguistically appropriated and localized.

Although the practice of code-switching may be unfavourable in certain communication contexts, it is an inevitable fact of multilingual communication brought about by the unlevelled, multi-faceted repertoires in terms of competences and variety of resources. This co-relates well with the variation in scores that participants accorded to languages in their repertoires.

6.5   INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION OF LANGUAGES IN AN INDIVIDUAL'S LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE

The question of what it means to know a language is crucial when it comes to multilingual individuals, particularly to university students whose linguistic competences are always put to test. Which languages should be included in a multilingual speaker's repertoire and which not, have been much debated in recent research. The concept of 'linguistic repertoire' as it is introduced by Busch (2012) mentions two things that are pertinent to this study, namely (i) in relating to Gumperz (1964) she reiterates that speakers draw on a range of languages, styles and registers depending on the particular social context and the meanings they wish to convey, and (ii) in relating to more recently developed ideas of Vertovec (2007) increasingly

complex social formations and networking practices have a profound effect on how speakers linguistic resources are employed. The complexity of multilingual competences and practices has led several scholars like Bot et al. (2005), Harmon and Wilson (2006), Kemp (2009), Blommaert (2010), Makoni and Pennycook (2012) into discussions aimed at unfolding the mystery of what to 'know' a language really entails. Knowing a language has for long been equated to having native-like proficiency in all the skills of a language and the rules of grammar (Grosjean, 1982; Edwards, 1994; Davies, 2004; Heller, 2012). This is because the creation of 'languages' was based on creating national identities based on the one nation- one language norm in Europe (Martin-Jones et al., 2012). Each individual was to possess knowledge of one language and to be a citizen one had to know a language to its fullest (Harmon & Wilson, 2006; Canagarajah & Said, 2013). Much as it was assumed easier to achieve 'full' competency in a language in the monolingual paradigm, Bot et al. (2005:6) and Blommaert et al. (2005:199) contend that no one can know a language to its fullest and native-like competence is but a myth. Complex multilingual repertoires exhibited by most people in the world display just that.

Participants' perceptions on what languages to include in representing linguistic repertoires were sourced in interviews, by asking them (i) if the ability to identify a language one hears, counts as knowing it, and (ii) whether people can unlearn a language if they do not use it for a long time. In the rest of this section, participants' responses to these two questions will be presented.

6.5.1   Languages recognised but not spoken

Regarding whether and how speakers identify languages that are encountered in the wider community, but which participants neither speak nor understand, the most mentioned identifying feature was sound patterns, pronunciation and accent. For someone to identify an accent of a particular language there has to be some kind of prior exposure to this language.

During interviews some of the participants said they can identify local languages which they do not speak themselves if they are related to their L1s and to other languages they already know. The spatial proximity of the languages gave the participants access to speakers of these varieties, hence they became aware of the differences. In this way speakers got accustomed to how others pronounce such languages even if they were not keen to learn them or they did not have the opportunity to do so.

Peter, whose L1 is listed as Lango (a Nilotic language), says he can identify the varieties that form the Runyakitara cluster (Bantu languages) as follows.

Extract 83

> Peter: Yeah. Like Runyankore, let me just say Runyakitara as a branch. I can hear a lot of words and I can even tell if someone is back-biting me. But I will not have a very good meaning.

He says the clue he uses to identify these varieties is the accent and he describes this as follows.

Extract 84

> Peter: The accent comes into play. I can tell if someone is speaking Rukiga because he tends to use a lot of force when he is saying out some words and Runyankore, they talk much easier and yet it sounds like Rukiga. And then Batooro, they speak exceptionally slowly. I can really tell.

What Peter calls 'hearing' what speakers say in extract 83 is simply approximation by use of extra-linguistic means like gestures, facial expressions and context of talk. His 'hearing' does not yield understanding because he does not get the meaning of what is said. He says that he does not know these varieties, although he can identify them and estimate meanings of expressions. He does not possess any of the four linguistic skills in any of the varieties as is also clear from their absence in his language portrait and questionnaire.

However when it comes to a language that is related to Peter's L1 namely, Japadhola, he says he can identify it and though he does not use it, he strongly feels he knows it even if he has been disadvantaged by lack of exposure. What he says about Japadhola is similar to what Akiiki, who listed Rusongora/Rutooro as his L1s, says about Runyankore. Akiiki says that if put in a tight spot he will not completely fail to communicate due to the mutual intelligibility of different varieties. Peter affirms a difference between identifying a language related to his L1 and that which is not related in the following extract.

Extract 85

> Peter: For Japadhola, I believe I know it but I am just missing interaction with people because it's a Luo language and there is something so similar about it to my language just like the way I learned Acholi. I never knew I could speak it but I had a belief in my heart. When I went and stayed in Gulu I learnt it in just a short time.

Peter however could not say the same for Runyakitara varieties as they belong to a structurally different language family. Thus Peter's perception of knowing a language is affiliated to being able to have good knowledge of linguistic form that can be easily activated into communicative ability. In other words, if a speaker already knows language A, he feels that knowledge of related language B, is dormant and yet attainable.

For Akiiki, ability to identify a language (of which he mentioned Rukiga and Runyankore which are quite structurally related to Rusongora and Rutooro his L1s), makes him believe he knows it as he mentions in extract 86.

Extract 86

> Akiiki: Yes I feel if I can identify a language, that means if I am in a situation and it is the only way I can save myself, that means I can … I feel that inner ability that I can speak that language.

Similar to Peter, Akiiki believes if one has a good linguistic base which can easily be triggered then one knows that language to some extent. The two participants identify relatedness of the languages as a basis for knowing a language. However they also allude to the need for social interaction if the base is to be activated.

Besides phonological features and relatedness of languages, participants mentioned lexical relatedness as a means of recognising languages not listed in their repertoires. For example, some English words roughly correlate with French words and Arabic words roughly correlate with those of Kiswahili. Some kind of exposure which does not necessarily lead to learning a language appears to assist multilinguals in recognising forms for which they have no competence.

K^2 who listed Lusamia as L1, also states the following about the local languages that she can identify.

Extract 87

> K^2: There are many languages I can identify. Even Japadhola, Karamajong, if I am to use these local languages in Uganda. Gisu because it is related to Lusamia, I can identify Lugwere because it is related to Lusoga. I can identify Karamajong because it is related to Ateso.

To K^2, knowing a language also encircles just being able to identify it even if you cannot create meaning in the language. Just distinguishing it from the others can add up to knowing it

because as K^2 said, "not everyone can identify it". It is however notable that her examples comprise of languages related to those she already has in her active repertoire.

Freddie on the other hand says being able to identify languages that are closely related to the ones he already knows does not mean he knows them, if there is no exposure to them, as this encumbers using them. For him, knowing a language implies an individual's ability to use that language in real communicative situations. This applies also to languages related to the ones in an individual's repertoire.

Similar points were raised by a few who said they could identify French which they had taken as a school subject for a limited period of time. Although they cannot write or express themselves in this language, they can distinguish it using phonological hints which include pronunciation and accent.

On whether to include or exclude such languages in their repertoires, participants took different positions. Jomona and Ateenyi say they can identify French even though they are not competent in the language. They however deny knowing French, and do not include it in the lists of languages they know as expressed in extracts 88 and 89.

Extract 88

> Jomona: In senior one I was taking French, although I don't know French. In senior One I used to even take a book in examination because I did not know anything and I could not understand. But at least when somebody speaks I can identify that that is French and when there is a written text in French I can tell though I don't know how to read it. But I can tell that it's French.

Extract 89

> Ateenyi: No, because I can't express myself in that language; if I were in French speaking community I would definitely be lost.

Jomona and Ateenyi confirmed that they cannot use French to initiate or engage in an interaction. This demonstrates a perception that knowing a language is not a matter of having a classroom experience with it. It involves one being able to use the language to achieve communicative goals.

The above illustrate participants' views about the relationship between identifying languages and knowing them. From those views, it can be deduced that for some, knowing a language may not mean having all the linguistic skills or full competence (also expressed in the way

languages were rated); for others Halliday's (1997:32) argument holds, namely that no knowledge can be claimed if the speaker cannot make meaning in some way in a particular language. In other words, one has to be able to communicate in some way using that language.

6.5.2   Less used and limitedly developed languages

The responses about unlearning a language if a person did not use it for some time also provided insights on what it means 'to know a language' means. Halliday (1997), Duranti (1997), and Harmon and Wilson (2006) have discussed Chomsky's view of competency where he refers to the unconscious knowledge of the principles of a language by a native speaker, and this knowledge is understood to be enabled by an innate device which every individual has. However evidence from multilingual contexts recently researched has shown that multilingual speakers may never achieve native speaker levels of competence, and may still communicate quite successfully in a number of domains. The following responses from participants in this study present some perceptions.

Extract 90

> Akiiki: When you learn something even if you do not use it, it is somewhere in your mind. So when you get a chance to get exposed to it, you definitely retrieve and speak it.

Extract 91

> Jomona: That thing can happen but not to my mother tongue. For example it is very hard for me to forget Lusoga and Luganda even if I go to any other environment where they speak what. It is very hard for me to forget. But it is easy for me to forget Kiswahili and Runyankore because I didn't go into details of those languages.

Extract 92

> Ateenyi: I don't think you can unlearn a language. I think when you learn a language it becomes part of you. I think it just wears off with time but I don't think you can unlearn a language.

Extract 93

> K[2]: That one is mostly when you are not exposed to the speakers of that language. For example the language we just learn. If you have just learnt a language like at school and you don't get exposed to the speakers, you end up forgetting everything.

As illustrated in extracts 90 to 93, participants were of the view that an individual cannot unlearn a language that s/he already knows as long as they had fully acquired the rules of that

language (cf. Harmon & Wilson, 2008:23-26). However participants also agree that community membership has a big role to play in language development (Davies, 2004:433; cf. Garcia, 2013) and retention (Garcia, 2013:104). Language is taken as a socially situated ability (Fairclough, 1989; Pennycook, 2010) and its rules are developed as part of a social practice. When the communities of practice change, also the activities are affected depending on exposure and, negotiation of the new environment. Therefore to know a language is not just to have static rules that exist in a certain innate box in our minds, but being able to actively and adequately participate using it in communicative activities in the social context we find ourselves (Gumperz, 1971; Halliday, 1997; Agha, 2007). Participants reflected on circumstances in which a language is not used actively; Peter gave the following response.

Extract 94

> Peter: That is very very possible to unlearn a language slowly by slowly because you are using it less. Like me my example, growing up as a child I used to talk Langi because I learnt Langi first at home and it's the only language I could speak. Even when I went to play with the other kids in the flats I only knew Langi. But as I grew up I spoke so much English, so much Luganda, and gave little time to Langi. When I went back to the village in 2004 after some good time, I was not perfect and everyone was telling me that I used to know but now I don't know. It was funny.

The extract above alludes to learning L1s in a natural social environment (Cook, 2002:20, chapter 16) which involves concrete practice and a thorough grasp of the language. The process and time of learning this kind of language is usually more favourable and if an individual continues to stay in communities that use his/her L1, he/she maintains the practice. Continued contact with one's L1 when in a different linguistic community contributes to its maintenance, but most likely with alterations from that spoken in the original homeland. Peter submits to the monolingual belief that one only knows a language when they can speak it without interference from another (native speaker delusion). Although spoken Lango communicates, the lack of perfection causes those who maintain a monolingual environment as in a rural area, to judge that he does not know the language.

Where languages have been learnt in an unnatural environment like the classroom, especially if they are foreign languages such as French, the opportunities for practice are limited, language loss in highly likely. If an individual shifts to another community so that there is no access to the language, the limited practice tends to have a more detrimental effect. Cunningham-Andersson and Anderson (1998:102) have confirmed that no exposure to native speakers makes maintaining the language really difficult, often resulting in attrition.

6.6   PARTICIPANTS' USE OF LANGUAGE IN PERFORMING AGENCY

Multilinguals perform their agency by means of language choice to convey their identities (Romaine, 2002:21, chapter 4), and through distribution of their linguistic resources as demonstrated in the following subsections.

6.6.1   Performing agency through language choice

University students perform their agency through language choices that are distinct from their parents' language practices. This results from influence of communities in which they participate regularly. They use some languages productively and/or more regularly than others. This depends on the students' own need to belong or to negotiate interaction in different communities.

Participants' responses revealed how agency is performed in the use of English. As students they are taught the standard forms of the language and their speech and writing is always subject to critique. Nevertheless, they use English in a way that suits and fits the community which they (want to) identify with (Harmon & Wilson, 2006:161-162). Although some of the usage is due to constant interaction with a mixture of languages, some of it is a formulation by the group to express their freedom in using the language as illustrated in the following expressions from some participants:

> "… People who speak <u>mob</u> languages …"
> "People over <u>diss</u> that language"
> "When I meet a <u>*sogie*</u> (Lusoga speaking) friend"

The above expressions are creations into the English language that portray participants' youthfulness. The creations are a way of avoiding the norm (Garcia, 2013:112). However they become part of students' permanent language practice and sometimes inhibit their learning of the standard form.

6.6.2   Agency across contexts

Performing of agency was also displayed in the way languages and language varieties are distributed for different functions such as professional training and academic practice.

6.6.2.1   *Distribution of languages across domains*

Participants exhibited variation in distribution of linguistic resources in different domains namely, at home, with friends, with neighbours and for practical application in academics such as Translation Studies.

Peter for instance, uses English at home with the parents and for learning at school, Lango his L1 with folks in the village and at home with his mother for casual talk, Luganda with friends, and also for purposes of practical skills in translation. His level and the kind of competence in Lango are different from that of Luganda and different from that of English. The competences of Lango are related only to the domestic domain.

Freddie, uses Lugwere (his L1) at home and the neighbourhood, Lumasaaba with the wider Mbale community (beyond his home and neighbourhood), Luganda at university with friends and outside classroom, Lunyole with the fathers' relatives and receptive Lunyole skills with his father, English for class work, while for practical applications of language knowledge like translation exercises he uses Luganda.

A language is not always used for the same purpose and in the environment in which it was learned. This is illustrated by Peter and Freddie who acquired Luganda from friends/playmates yet they use it for not only interacting with friends but also for professional training. From the way participants distribute linguistic resources to different domains of use, L1 is not always the default language for all contexts that require concrete linguistic knowledge. There are other mediating factors that enhance choice of a language for different purposes. Language choices for different purposes portray how individuals exercise their agency in the distribution of their resources as discussed in the following subsections.

6.6.2.2   *Languages for informal situations*

Languages are said to have been primarily formed for informal usage. Thus we acquire the oral form first and from natural informal settings during L1 acquisition. The formal applications were secondary developments that came with modernisation (cf. Halliday, 1997; Menezes de Souza, 2012). Individuals therefore use their L1s mostly for informal situations in homes and neighbourhoods. For individuals who are mobile, languages that are used as lingua francas will then be their best choice for use in informal situations as they would provide a

wider arena for communication with people of diverse linguistic backgrounds especially the multilingual speakers.

Students form a distinct language user group from individuals outside school. Students spend most of their time in school where there are restrictions and expectations on linguistic practices. English then becomes the appropriate choice for this group for use in almost all kinds of interactions compared to local languages.

Despite the university being liberal, participants demonstrate that they developed a culture of using English in informal interactions because in their background experience as students they have always been obliged to use English at school for all purposes of communication. Therefore, the 'local' practices within the school community have influenced a choice of English for use in informal contexts to the extent that even those who share an L1, have informal conversations in English.

The choice to use English for informal interactions is an act of agency delineating the student community from the rest of the multilingual speakers in Kampala who rely on local languages, for example Luganda, for informal interactions.

However, in other locations outside school, participants would gladly and frequently use other local lingua francas while some frequently use their L1s depending on the kinds of people they mostly operate with and kinds of communities they belong to. Below are extracts from different participants indicating the languages they use in informal contexts.

Extract 95

Ateenyi: All my friends do not know Runyoro, so I find myself using English. It is easier to use.

Extract 96

Akiiki: That is English. But that depends on the setting where you are. Like at university where most friends are campusors, of course you use English. But with relatives I use …

Extract 97

Peter: Because many of my friends speak Luganda and there is an interest I have for the language, like I know about the Kabaka. I even take time to get these terminologies.

Extract 98

> Amonkit: Because we have, am …, most of the modern technology, if we come to things like …, on the internet, on the phone, most of it has been … I feel more confident when I am using English language even when … I am talking to somebody who knows the languages …, the local languages that I know.

Extract 99

> Freddie: It depends on the setting. Normally I relate so much with Baganda. There is no other language I will use apart from Luganda.

In Kampala, languages do not have standard set designations for which they should be used, but are distributed by individuals as the reality of the social context unveils. In order to cope with the complex and diverse repertoires, English is an essential linguistic resource for university students used alongside the local languages.

6.6.2.3   *Languages for professional purposes*

L1s are usually acquired in a much conducive environment that allows one to acquire not just the rules of grammar but also vocabulary that is culturally oriented. Nonetheless, some participants indicated that they would develop completely different languages for professional purposes, some of which are not yet in their linguistic repertoire. The reason they gave for selecting those languages was that they are easy to understand and that participants can write them better. The knowledge that individuals have of most Ugandan languages is mostly oral. For this reason many participants would find for instance Luganda better and easier to develop for a translation profession instead of their minority L1s. Luganda has a comparatively rich written tradition. It is also a much commonly spoken language (dominant in Kampala) hence participants feel if they find it easy to speak it all the time, then they can also write it.

Five participants registered that they would develop Kiswahili for professional translation skills because it is more widely spoken even outside Uganda. Only two listed French, a foreign language with international recognition, because of the value and prestige attached to such a language. They view use of French as providing an opportunity for one to become better economically. The reason for such a choice is not that participants have well developed competence in such a languages or a closer affiliation to it. It is rather the feeling that it can offer better opportunities in terms of employment. Participants' choices of languages for professional translation are presented in the following table.

Table 6.10:   Participants' L1s alongside language choices for professional translation

Name	First language	Language for professional translation
Peter	Lango	Luganda/French
Reyon	Runyankore	Kiswahili
Geof	Rutooro/Runyankore	Luganda
Atwooki	Runyankore	Rutooro
Jomona	Luganda	Luganda/Lusoga
Ateenyi	Runyoro	Luganda
S	Rukiga	Luganda
Ricky	Acholi	Luganda/Acholi
Hunk	Rutooro	Runyoro
Yvonne	Luo (Kenya)	Kiswahili
Sisoni	Lumasaaba	Kiswahili
Leeny	Luganda	Kiswahili/Luganda
Freddie	Lugwere	Luganda/Lugwere
Tinah	Runyankore	Runyankore/Kiswahili/French

The table above displays only participants who listed languages that are not their L1s as their choices for professional translation. These form 50% of the total participant group. The rest of the participants who do not appear in the table above listed their L1s as the languages that they would develop for professional purposes for the reason that they are comfortable with the languages since they have grown up using them. Akiiki for instance listed his L1 - Rusongora (which he also rated excellent through all the skills although it is not standardised) with the reason that he wants to promote the language. Rusongora is a minority variety spoken at the foot of mountain Rwenzori in Kasese –Western Uganda.

Participants' use of Luganda for classwork is because its vocabulary is more accessible since the participants are regularly exposed to it, and it is rich in written materials compared to their L1s.

Looking at the rating of languages however, Peter's rating for Luganda is quite close to his Lango (L1) while Freddie's rating for Luganda is much lower than Lugwere his L1, in terms of writing.

Table 6.11:   Peter's and Freddie's rating of their L1s and Luganda

Name	Languages	speaking	understanding	reading	writing
Peter	Lango	2	2	2	2
	Luganda	2	2	3	3
Freddie	Lugwere	1	1	1	1
	Luganda	1	1	3	3

In Table 6.11, none of the two participants rated Luganda the same or better than their L1. Speaking was rated high (leaning on the excellent side) for both L1 and Luganda by both participants respectively. The writing skill for Luganda is given a score of 3 (average), yet the participants choose to use it for translation which requires good writing skills. Therefore rating their L1s better in terms of writing accrues from the environment and duration of use (from infancy) of those languages on which individuals build confidence about their abilities. It has little to do with the real language skills obtained for the languages. Although Luganda is standardised, students hardly use it for formal purposes. Nevertheless they are aware of the availability of written materials and more accessible vocabulary in Luganda that is useful for translation practice.

The above scenario therefore suggests that the way language varieties in individuals' repertoires are distributed for use in professional domains, is not necessarily linked to the kind and level of competence that individuals have for that language. The suitability of a language to be drawn on as a resource for a specific purpose relates to how easy that language can be enriched for the purpose and also the yield it can bring when used for that purpose, not only in terms of communicative goals, but also in terms of social wellbeing of the individual.

6.7   CONCLUDING REMARKS

In a nutshell, this chapter has displayed the constitution of repertoires of participants. It has examined the kinds and levels of competence that multilingual university students possess for the different languages that are in their repertoires. Findings showed that there is not full or equal competence for all languages and language varieties in the repertoires despite the ratings that participants gave in the questionnaire which seem to be over skewed for some language varieties. Languages are distributed discursively without any formal criteria, for the different communicative goals that individuals want to achieve. Even within the same

location, multilinguals do not necessarily have shared repertoires. As a result, they utilize languages that function as lingua francas, for more and diverse communicative purposes than other languages they have in their repertoires. MT/L1s would be imagined to play a large part in one's communication, however this study shows differently as languages in this category are mostly used if not always, as home languages and have little to do with other social domains that utilize language unless they are languages of wider communication.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LANGUAGE STATUS

7.0   INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes how the status of different Ugandan languages determines their inclusion and relative position (ranking) in university students' linguistic repertoires. It also shows how status influences the distribution of the different languages and varieties across different domains. Thus, it becomes clear how speakers perceive language status and, in turn, how their perceptions affect their language practices.

Participants in this study attribute status to languages in terms of finding them more or less valuable within their personal repertoires (that is, as possibly contributing more or less to their personal status or the status of others). There are a variety of factors that participants mentioned in their ranking of Ugandan languages in terms of their value to the participants themselves, or their perceived value to others. Such factors include size of the population of speakers that use the language and the geographical space a language covers. The other major factor is the social status of people who use the language, particularly also as a L1. Other factors include the domains in which a language is used and the literary tradition of a language.

The subsections in this chapter will offer detailed accounts of how the status of a particular language relates to its acquisition by individuals in this study, to its inclusion in their repertoires, and to the level of competence attained, as well as its selection for practical application.

7.1   OFFICIAL STATUS OF A LANGUAGE VERSUS PRESTIGE DETERMINED BY SPEAKERS

The value Ugandan's afford to each of Uganda's two official languages, English and Kiswahili, differs considerably. English is held in higher esteem and affords speakers more privileges than Kiswahili. For instance, utilization of Kiswahili in official transactions is dependent on acceptance by parliament according to chapter 2, article 6 section 2 of the Uganda Constitutional Amendment (2005). English on the other hand enjoys all the privileges

of an official language without being subjected to any negotiation. None of Uganda's local languages is accorded official status in the constitution. These imbalances between English and Kiswahili in terms of official status and between the official languages and other Ugandan languages apparently affect the composition of linguistic repertoires regarding inclusion, levels of competence and deployment in different contexts of use.

The practices of individuals who speak these languages bring about categorizations amongst the languages based on different issues as presented in the next subsections. Various circumstances that affect the status of languages in a country as multilingual as Uganda, are instantiated, namely (i) constitutional recognition as official language, (ii) recognition in as language(s) in education, (iii) numbers of speakers and geographical distribution of languages, (iv) the status of the L1-community of a given language, and (v) mobility of speakers within the country.

7.1.1   Status as official language of the country

English is the language of all official government business in Uganda especially in Kampala, and as such it is mandatory for anyone who takes part in such business to have the ability to use English. University students engage in a wide range of activities including workshops and public presentations which require them to know and use English, as the following extract from the interview with Ateenyi demonstrates.

Extract 1

> Ateenyi: I remember one time I went for a workshop and I had to present what my group had discussed and the presentation I was doing was before the Minister of Health, some members of parliament, and the reason why I was picked upon was because they realized I could express myself in English properly.

Extract 1 indicates that English is the only language that is acceptable in government (parliament and ministries in this case) proceedings of any nature (Constitution of Uganda, 1995; Mukama, 2009). Therefore knowledge of English, and more specifically good proficiency in it, makes one able to interact in high status fora. Such a domain calls for Standard English (Fishman, 1971; Kroskrity, 2000), which university students strive to develop since they are preparing for career opportunities that value it (Batibo, 2005; Thamaga-Chitja et al., 2012).

The official status of English affords it assured and early entry into the repertoires of participants since it is used for all official business within school communities, as the following extracts indicate.

Extract 2

Sisoni: everything at school has been …, they have been always setting it in English, talking to teachers in English, relating with other people in English at school.

Extract 3

Ateenyi: There is no exam you can answer when you do not know English.

Extracts 2 and 3 illustrate the prominence of English in the school community, and thus its inevitability in repertoires of all who go or have gone to school.

Participants further conveyed their perspectives on the influence of official language status on repertoire design, as illustrated in the following extracts.

Extract 4

Amonkit: Not many people speak my mother tongue Lukonzo because they don't associate it with office work, they don't expect to get interviews in it, […,] And on the contrary English language is spoken by many people, it is the official language, most of the business here is translated in English … and elsewhere. So people feel there must be a bit of English that they learn. And if they can add on a bit of fluency, it is to their advantage.

Extract 5

Akiiki: There are many things you are looking forward to. And since you are growing, going to school, you want to get this good job, so that becomes an opportunity – English becomes an opportunity.

Extract 6

Okanga: First is English … a language which is official and spoken by the elite class where I belong.

Extract 7

Bluish: […] English, I choose to put it in my head and arms because it is helping me in academics and it will even help me find employment since it's an official language.

Extract 8

> Jomona: For Lusoga people don't struggle to learn it because it is less important. Even if they learn it, it will not help them. It will only help them in Busoga. But English will help them everywhere. They struggle to learn it because it is the official language.

Extracts 4 to 8 demonstrate the high regard in which individuals hold English as an official language. English is looked at as linguistic capital with economic gains relating to employment access and survival of business (cf. Batibo, 2005; Cenoz & Gorter, 2010). It is also viewed as social capital for it changes one's position in society as expressed in extract 6. These factors motivate the inclusion of English in participants' and other students' linguistic repertoires as they look forward to life after school. Extract 8 affirms this and emphasises that the official status of English motivates individuals to make special efforts to learn it and include it in their repertoire.

The non-official languages are regarded with lower esteem because, as illustrated in extracts 4 and 8, they are not used in domains that lead to upward social and economic mobility (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Stroud, 2007a/2007b). Furthermore, as mentioned in extract 8, the transferability of non-official languages is minimal (Blommaert et al., 2005; Blommaert, 2010).

Notably, participants did not describe the official status of Kiswahili as a reason for acquiring it or interacting with it or using it in any domain. This suggests that official status is only truly considered by speakers when it is applied in real language use situations (de facto) and not just stated in documents (de jure). Kiswahili is not used as a language of teaching and learning, neither is it a language of official administration in organisations apart from the army.

Accordingly, language being given political strength and status constitutionally, does not necessarily translate into society acknowledging and upholding that status (Spolsky & Shohamy, 2000; Garcia, 2013). This implies that language users have the power to raise or lower the status of a language beyond what is officially decreed, depending on social needs and the way people achieve these needs linguistically. The various options for challenging official status and claiming social recognition for a language are largely determined by the social context. For example, although Kiswahili was designated second official language status in Uganda by the Uganda Constitutional Amendment (2005), it has not practically achieved the expected associated social recognition in the Ugandan society, especially in

Kampala. Luganda which is a local lingua franca countrywide often challenges Kiswahili in terms of distribution and use. Also, as second official language, Kiswahili does not really measure up to the first official language, English, which has a broad world base of usage with great advantages (Bernsten, 1998; Mukama, 2009). In this study (in chapter 6, section 6.4.1), participants were outspoken about the possibility of substituting Kiswahili with another language. Where Luganda fails in the local context, English is the most likely second option.

Two factors significantly affect Kiswahili namely (i) the ability to freely substitute with another language even in the army where it used to be the sole language of operation, and (ii) the failed attempts since the 1950s to implement it in primary school education. These greatly obstruct the *de facto* achievement of what is *de jure* provided for Kiswahili as second official language in Uganda and thus impacts on disrupt its adoption and use in individuals' linguistic repertoires.

7.1.2   Prestige determined by status as a language used in education

A language of education is one which is used to deliver educational material, not merely one learned within school premises. Language as an ideological object (Kroskrity, 2000; Woolard, 2011) and education as a site for ideological execution (Cenoz & Gorter, 2013), create a locality where language, education and ideology interact (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010/2013; Stroud, 2006). Education policies and practices increase or reduce the privilege of languages (cf. Martin-Jones et al., 2012). Thus as Cenoz and Gorter (2010:38) acknowledge, when a language is designated for educational purposes, it is perceived as an important language, and also languages considered important are included in education. Languages that are not utilized in education are therefore considered to be less important. Mtenje (2009:70) thus says, "the intellectualization of a language is generally understood to be an empowering process which involves using a language for reasoning, comprehension, intuition, conceptualisation, and generation of ideas and other thought processes involved in academic discourse." Such a language is therefore perceived as one that contributes to one's mobility academically, professionally and economically.

English takes first position in education in Uganda, particularly in urban areas both in policy (Government of Uganda, 1992) and in practice, although in practice its application is often described as far from the prescribed standard (Mukama, 2009). Using English in education sets it up as an educational and professional asset. Local languages on the other hand have a

negligible position in education, even though teachers, especially in rural areas, may include them in classroom activities.

Participants' responses in interviews and in descriptions of language portraits demonstrate participants' perceptions which reflect the view of the greater community in Uganda regarding the status of English as the language for education and intellectuality. These are presented in extracts 9 to 12.

Extract 9

> Ateenyi: The values attached to those languages, like when you know English they perceive you as a learned person, when you go to the village and you speak just a little English, people will see you like you have really gone to school even if you are just in form one.

Extract 10

> Jomona: Yellow has represented English, reason being it is a language that makes me shine like an educated person.

Extract 11

> Peter: Academically it helps because many things are in English like journals; even you find novels written in Italian translated into English. This is how I see like it is a very valuable language.

Extract 12

> Liberty: Yellow for English as a bright colour in the head because it is what I use for intellectual issues. I like reading works that have manipulated the English language […] and I like those who are good at the use of it.

One who speaks English is seen in society as an educated person. This may have little to do with competence because rural people often cannot gauge it. Thus, many people especially in Kampala, who wish to be regarded as educated, strive to learn English and include it in their repertoires. Extract 12, as extracts 1 and 4 above, illustrate the admiration not only of knowing English, but also having for a high level of proficiency in the language.

Among local languages, participants portrayed Luganda as an educational language in Uganda, a medium through which one can attain academic experience. It is a language that has enjoyed a relatively long and wide tradition of literary production (Ladefoged et al., 1971; Bernsten, 1998). This was made possible by a long-standing literacy tradition and orthography that was designed by the early missionaries (and has since been revised),

enabling writing and translation to take place. Due to this advantage, one of the participants (Amonkit in chapter 5) claims to have been able to use Luganda in a situation where he had to study English Literature through the medium of Luganda.

The extracts below present illustrations by participants on how they engage educational languages. From these extracts we get a picture of which languages are considered for educational exchange by the participants.

Extract 13

> Ateenyi: … here at school if I am having a discussion in a discussion group, English is the most appropriate. But then I might bring in some bit of Luganda for these people to understand because in a discussion group some people would say, *"naye mwe temwogerako ku Luganda?"* (But can't you people ever speak Luganda?) yet you are in a discussion group, you are not going to write the exam in Luganda but someone is asking.

Extract 14

> Jomona: Sometimes you are in a discussion and you might discuss with this person when the person is not understanding in English, then you <u>changeko </u>(switch) in Luganda –"this means this and this".

Extracts 13 and 14 present English as the major educational language to the extent that, students (want to) maintain its use even during their private academic activities, namely group discussions. This position of English influences the linguistic repertoires in such a way that there will be more practice with English, which could help students sustain and improve competence levels. It also makes students become confident about their English since they use it for all activities related to learning.

In both extracts Luganda is presented as the only alternative to English in education. This is further articulated in extract 15 where Amonkit (a Lukonzo L1 speaker) narrates how he was compelled to learn Luganda in a more literary style during his secondary school education. This is because Luganda had the educational utility he needed, in form of literary materials, to foster his learning of Literature. Only the language of delivery of his assignments of Literature would vary since he had to translate the material into English.

Extract 15

> Amonkit: I used to attend the Luganda classes then change the concepts to the English language. When we talk about rhythm in …, when we talk about *omudigido* in Luganda, I know its rhythm in English. When we talk about e*ngelo* in Luganda, I know that is a

> proverb in English. So I used to attend the Luganda classes and come and translate the concepts to English. I used to read Luganda texts like 'Bwali butamanya', 'Guluma yaguzza' and several other Luganda texts and on top come and read my English texts.

Extracts 9-15, portray English as the language in which education practices are expected to proceed, and which transmits educational content needed for academic progress. Despite Luganda being commonly spoken in Kampala and among the students at Makerere, English dominates even private educational activities.   Thus participants and university students generally, highly value English and strive to develop it for intellectual purposes. Still, they acknowledge Luganda's contribution too.

Educational languages are not only valued for transfer of knowledge but also for a positive social shift through obtaining knowledge as illustrated in the following extract.

Extract 16

> Tinah: For the part of the light is that since it is the medium of instruction in all Ugandan educational levels, it has brought more light in my life as far as education is concerned. So it is one of my favourite languages.

The extract shows how an educational language (English) is valued for being an asset in one's social advancement, specifically academic. This in a way impacts not only on the effort someone dedicates to the language, but also on the training one receives in the language. It may also reflect on the competences developed for a language used in education.

7.1.3   Prestige determined by numerical and geographical distribution

An important point that this research highlights is that status of a language is often understood and perceived in terms of the number of speakers of the language and the geographical area that it covers. This represents the primary speakers and those who speak it as a second language. Participants in this study generally expressed that they would not be motivated to learn a language if it was only used by a small group of people and if it was not spread beyond its primary geographical area.

When a language is widely spoken, that gives it an opportunity to be in the spotlight for use in education, administration, business, media and even general association and communication among individuals. All these contribute to raising the prestige of a language. Languages that have had this window in Uganda include Luganda, Runyankore-Rukiga, Runyoro-Rutooro, and Kiswahili, all of which have got considerable numbers of people learning them or at least

desiring to learn them. Other languages like Lusamia, Lusoga, and Lugwere are majorly learned by people who operate for a reasonable span of time in the areas where they are primarily spoken as L1s. Other languages like Lukonzo may never have L2 learners because its L1 speakers prefer to use an alternative widely known language when communicating with visitors. The above is illustrated in the following extracts (refer also to extracts 4 and 8).

Extract 17

Freddie: I would regard actually Luganda because in every tribe you find at least someone trying to fidget with Luganda and every tribe is actually trying to learn Luganda. But it is very hard to find a Muganda trying to learn another language.

Extract 18

Freddie: I think Luganda is widely known maybe for higher status that is why people maybe have to at least learn Luganda maybe for transactions or something like … you look someone maybe a step ahead.

In view of the above, it appears that individuals who are L1 speakers of languages that have high status are less motivated to learn new languages. For example, it was not easy to find Luganda L1 speakers to participate in this study as they reported to know only two languages (Luganda and English). One reason for this is that speakers of high status languages already possess valued linguistic capital. Since multilingual repertoires are designed according to communicative needs, languages with high status provide a sufficient base of communicative advantage making it unnecessary for speakers of such languages to learn other (local) languages. The following extract illustrates this.

Extract 19

Amonkit: Luganda is also of high status because whether you go to the north, whether you got to the south, or anywhere, you speak in Luganda and there will be in a group of five somebody who understands you at least even when you are out of the Buganda region.

Although Luganda is not an official language in Uganda and not a documented national language, in practice it wields high prestige compared to other local languages (Bernsten, 1998; Mukama, 2009). It is a language spoken nationwide and used in various domains. Luganda affords its L1 speakers access to most domains apart from Education where English dominates (Ladefoged et al., 1971:85). The status of the language then contributes to the social standing of its L1 speakers.

Speakers of low status languages, on the other hand, usually have to negotiate new communicative resources when they move outside their home location due to the relative immobility of their languages (Ouane, 2009; Martin-Jones et al., 2012; cf. Blommaert et al., 2005).

Extracts 17, 18 and 19 above voice one general viewpoint, namely that being a language of a majority of speakers affords Luganda high prestige and therefore everybody in Kampala strives to learn it. Its status is both a reason for and a result of having a large population of speakers. In addition, the extracts above, as well as extract 20 below suggest that speakers of Luganda as an L1 hardly need to learn other local languages because they know Luganda suffices widely as illustrated below.

Extract 20

> Amonkit: Not many people speak my mother tongue Lukonzo because they don't associate it with office work, they don't expect to get interviews in it, […], you see that even somebody can live in Bukonzo region, in the … among the Lukonzo speaking people, and maintain their Luganda (refer to extract 4).

Luganda is therefore a part of all participants' repertoires, despite the fact that they hail from different regions of Uganda. This lessens the need for those who speak Luganda as L1 to learn other languages, since their language affords them high access both socially and economically.

7.1.4   Prestige determined by position of a community

Status of a language, also relates to speakers' position in society. Individuals are motivated to learn certain languages in order to identify with prestigious positions or social identities. For example, Runyankore is the native language of the first family of Uganda. The president of Uganda usually uses it in in his speeches to convey cultural or intricate information. Some individuals therefore desire to or actually do learn Runyankore in order to identify with the ruling class. Participants expressed this view in the following extracts.

Extract 21

> Akiiki: Now take an example of a language like Runyankore, it is gaining more and more status because of the politics by the mere fact that even the president of Uganda is a munyankore. There is now that prestige.

Extract 22

> Peter: I would like to learn Runyankore because I would like to see what people say like in my ideology I think they take themselves to be superior sometimes. Not all but I have seen it in a few. So I would like to learn and see what is so special.
>
> Researcher: Do you think you know the reason why they think they are superior?
>
> Peter: I think it's more political since they belong to the ruling class and most of the leaders come from their region, most of the army men come from their region, like if you look at the generals in Uganda. I would just like to learn it and see; If I spoke it would it make me more accepted in their cocoon?

Extract 23

> Ateenyi: You see the president comes on TV and begins citing proverbs in Runyankore so someone out there is thinking that if the president can go on national TV and speak this language, then there must be something nice about it, why not learn it!

Extracts 21 to 23 demonstrate the high prestige of Runyankore resulting specifically from positions of power held by its speakers. Busch (2006/2012) point out that repertoires are not made of only languages and varieties speakers know, but also of those they desire to know and imagine as part of their identities (cf. Norton, 2013:223). In a similar vein, according to Kramsch (2006:99) language evokes subjective responses. It makes individuals construct themselves in terms of "fantasies, projections and identifications". The perceived status of Runyankore causes admiration from other individuals, which is a step to including the language in their repertoires while those who already know it will continue to proudly enrich it.

7.1.5 Language mobility

Modern patterns of human migration, e.g. from rural to urban areas, from one workplace to another, in seeking better life chances – also in moving away from areas of poverty, civil unrest and war – contribute to the mobility of populations. A mobile language is one which enables speakers to function comfortably beyond their own communities (Blommaert et al., 2005; Blommaert, 2010); such a language attracts learners because it enables wide range communication unlike a language whose usage does not extend beyond its traditional community, or is not versatile in terms of contexts of usage. For Edwards (2004:457), while home is a central domain of language maintenance, there must be additional domains in which the language is regarded as useful. This implies that socially and geographically static languages are vulnerable to abandonment or attrition. Likewise, relating to Edwards' argument, such languages remain inaccessible and often are not attractive to non-native

speakers. Hence mobility uplifts the value speakers attach to languages and raises their prestige too. Such opinions towards languages relating to the aspect of mobility are expressed in extracts 24 to 27.

Extract 24

Jomona: Why should I learn a language that will not help me? I know if I go in Rwanda I can use Kiswahili or English.

Extract 25

Sisoni: Kiswahili is painted purple and on the legs. This is to show that Kiswahili takes me anywhere even across the borders of my country. This is because of its vast nature within and outside East African community. When I am moving, I can talk to any person in case I need direction so as to keep going.

Extract 26

Peter: I like Luganda since it connects me to all kinds of people, literate, illiterate and this helps me a lot in day to day activities

Extract 27

Sisoni: English is painted green because it is a language that gives me a go ahead to interact with people of different origins and races easily. Therefore since the hands are ever swinging in motion, I feel that English gives me a green light and flexibility to easily communicate.

In the extracts 24 to 27, participants demonstrate how certain languages enable individuals' transferability from one community to another. The extracts also demonstrate how participants are inclined to such languages. Hence mobile languages like Luganda, Kiswahili, and English are adopted in students' repertoires for among other factors, their prestige as languages that are useful in various regions and contexts. Extracts 4 and 8 above refer to Lukonzo and Lusoga as such immobile languages and participants' reluctance to learn such languages. Contrastively, Kiswahili and Luganda are presented as examples of languages that individuals learn because they allow transferability.

7.2   PRESTIGE, STIGMA AND LINGUISTIC IDENTITY

Speakers' perceptions about languages grow and spread over time. Some of the perceptions bring about stigma against particular languages such that individuals who speak them are treated with ridicule. This sometimes causes anxiety among potential learners of such

languages making them less interested in learning the languages. Such anxiety is referred to by Stroud and Wee (2006:300) as "identity-based anxiety". This kind of anxiety is nurtured by the desire to 'belong' through getting "acceptance by one's peers or a desire to avoid ridicule from them". Normally, stigma towards a language is brought about by the way speakers of a language are perceived in society (Harmon & Wilson, 2006:156), especially if they are ridiculed for their behaviour, their language practices, social status and sometimes their culture (norms and customs). Those who already know the language may abandon using it which in the long run affects their competences. Sometimes they may resist the stigma by proudly continuing to use their language wherever they can (Harmon & Wilson, 2006). Those who are not native speakers may adopt just a few words and phrases that they can use for very specific purposes, or they may not learn the language at all.

Speaker views that reflect existence of stigma against some languages are expressed in the definitions of language status given by some participants as follows:

Extract 28

Freddie: According to me I will gauge it in this way that language status is the degree at which a language is valued in a certain environment.

Extract 29

Akiiki: I think that goes to the pride of the language and … Take an example, there are these languages, the people are proud of the language and there are these people who feel that they are not comfortable with their languages.

Some, related language status, to hierarchical ranking of languages as follows:

Extract 30

Peter: When I see status in language, it means to me that some languages in other people's eyes look more superior to other languages."

When asked what he meant by 'superiority' of a language he responded as follows:

Extract 31

Peter: When someone thinks to speak one language is better than to speak another because people may laugh at you or people may under look you and say "where are you from?", such things.

Participants' responses in extract 28 to 31 illustrate the existence of stigma by the way individuals attach value to languages. The responses indicate that some languages are accepted while others are denigrated and those who speak them are scorned as illustrated in extract 31.

The kinds of stigma against certain languages and how individuals react to such stigma is elaborated. Lusoga, a Bantu language spoken in the Eastern part of Uganda is prominent for facing stigma as expressed in the following extracts.

Extract 32

Leeny: Lusoga was shaded brown and put at the leg because it is not my passion and I have never dreamt of learning it, though I can understand a few words because it sounds like Luganda …, because of the drama and the bad things said about it.

Extract 33

Freddie: Because Lusoga I speak it when I find a fellow speaker. That is when I will use the language and I feel like when I use Lusoga, they have a bad impression about Lusoga. So I don't often use it.

Extract 34

K[2]: People over <u>diss (scorn)</u> that language. For example they take Basoga (Community that speaks Lusoga) to be uncivilized. So there is a way their prestige decreases.

Extract 35

Freddie: What people feel about Lusoga ... They are like it's a language of <u>*oba*</u> (maybe) is it a language from 'jigger land' (parasitic flea)!

Extract 36

Ateenyi: Yeah, like Lusoga, there is this thing they say that these people are dense […] so for that reason I don't see myself learning Lusoga.

Extract 37

Hunk: With Lusoga language … I just love listening to people conversing using it, but I find it less interesting for me to learn it. I find it less interesting to learn because it is a language for cowards.

The responses 32-37 display the demeaning views about Lusoga L1 speakers portraying them as lower people in society; being unhygienic to the extent of sustaining the jigger plague, being remote and also mentally incapacitated. These stereotypes about speakers of Lusoga are

transferred to their language practices (cf. Harmon & Wilson, 2006), which thus lowers the prestige of their language. Consequently, some individuals are not keen to learn Lusoga as a way to distance themselves from the Soga community as illustrated in extracts 32, 33 and 37. Negative stereotyping of speakers could hinder other individuals from learning a language and can stunt competence development if speakers halt practicing it.

However, it is also worth noting that L1 speakers of the stigmatised language are sometimes not troubled by the negativity around them. Many times they resist the stigma by strongly keeping their language alive, and proudly keep practicing it actively whenever the speech context favours it as demonstrated in following extracts.

Extract 38

> Ateenyi: Yeah, like Lusoga, there is this thing they say that these people are dense … When I hear … actually I had friends of mine at New Vision when I was doing internship and they were Basoga. Whenever they would speak Lusoga, I would tell them you people if I was a Musoga I would hide (Laughs). I wouldn't want to be identified as one (laughs). Yet for them they would be talking loudly and I felt like telling them to lower down. So for that reason I don't see myself learning Lusoga.

Amidst all the stigma of different kinds attached to Lusoga, the extract above demonstrates that the L1speakers do not necessarily resign. They rather continue to use their language and perform their identity normally. This is referred to by Harmon and Wilson (2006:167) as "covert prestige" by which speakers' views about their variety supersede those of the wider community rejecting all insecurity surrounding the use of their variety. This way their competency of Lusoga is secure.

Along the same line of thought, stigma is exercised as Duranti (1997:70) acknowledges, by elevating certain varieties of languages to standard varieties while neglecting others as dialects or vernacular. This may cause resistance among speakers of so-called dialects who may not want to be subsumed under the superordinate. Thus they may look for all ways of denigrating the major group. Sometimes this brings about conflict between the groups with more and less prestige, so that for example, Lusoga L1 speakers may turn against the L1 speakers of Luganda.

One participant presents such a scenario. For example he juxtaposes Rusongora with Rutooro as related languages with similar grammatical structures. However, he does not do the same with Lukonzo which according to the Ethnologue (2013), is similarly related to Rusongora.

He explains that in his community they use a Rutooro bible which according to him rhymes with Rusongora. The use of the Rutooro bible however most likely stems from the fact that Lukonzo is not standardized. Thus Rutooro is the closest written language whose texts can be used by the Lukonzo family, just like the Basoga for a long time used the Luganda bible. Geographical proximity between Rutooro and Rusongora at the foot of the mountain could have facilitated language contact which brings Rusongora closer to Rutooro (cf. Ladefoged et al., 1971). Likewise differences in the terrain on the mountain and at its foot allow for different economic activities as the participant reveals them.

Resistance by Rusongora L1 speakers towards Lukonzo is expressed in negative perceptions and stereotypes about the Lukonzo speakers as the following extracts demonstrate.

Extract 39

> Akiiki: I have seen this since we are pastoralists we have cows and most people that help to herd our cattle are Bakonjo (community of Lukonzo speakers).

Extract 40

> Akiiki: I think it is a perception they have put in themselves since in the first place they come from the mountains and they are even short.

Extract 39 and 40 present belittling views about the Lukonzo community that make Akiiki and probably other Rusongora speakers to not want to associate themselves closely with Lukonzo, although it is linguistically determined that Lukonzo is the superordinate to Rusongora.

Akiiki further expresses contradicting views about the way Lukonzo speakers value their language in the following extracts.

Extract 41

> Akiiki: It has been a problem for Bakonjo to learn English because they are the majority and they go to their own schools. So they speak that language though if you went to class … they will try English when you are in class. But the moment you go out they start Lukonjo. So when you enter class, they expect you in the first place to speak their language other than English. To the extent that even in the staffroom, they speak their language. That means even in class when these teachers who know Lukonjo are there, they use it more than they use English.

Extract 42

> Akiiki: A language like Lukonjo, when a Mukonjo gets a chance to learn some other language, they will definitely switch to that language and mostly I have seen that in school setting. Someone doesn't want to even be told that, "You are a Mukonjo". We could be few like Basongora but we are proud of our language. The Bakonjo are many, they have developed a bit but they feel like …

Extract 43

> Akiiki: because if you are a Lukonjo speaker and you can't speak Lukonjo, there is no way I can be encouraged to learn Lukonjo because you yourself you are side-lining yourself from it.

In extract 41, Akiiki presents Bakonzo as people who love their language to even use it in an English language classroom against the policy for higher education which stipulates 'English only' in the classroom. He however turns around in extract 42 and portrays them as people who shy away from their language and who would discard it given the opportunity. This he construes as their not being proud of it. The extract suggests that Bakonzo use more of Lukonzo in their home area and when they travel they look for other options. This practice is supported by the view that Lukonzo is a minority language which necessitates that the speakers renegotiate their linguistic practices every time they are out of the Lukonzo speaking area. Such practice happens for all minority languages though. Akiiki therefore contradicts himself because he wants to express negativity on two grounds namely, (i) the Bakonzo are not competent in English – a high status language, and (ii) the Bakonzo are not proud of their identity. These two factors are meant to subordinate the Lukonzo speakers even further. He then uses his sentiments to account for the language not attracting learners in extract 43. This therefore means that a minority group can redirect stigma resisting developing and use of the dominating variety. This view is also demonstrated in the response below.

Extract 44

> Akiiki: Personally I speak Lukonjo and I learn Lukonjo but most people in my village because they think it is a language of low status it is a language of the people that they even use in their jobs which are for lesser people so they feel like there is no reason they should learn that language.

Akiiki claims that Lukonzo L1 speakers have a low self-esteem accruing from their physique. He further indicates that the Rusongora L1 speakers despise them because they (Bakonzo) do lowly jobs like cattle herding for them (Basongora). He concludes that most people do not see a reason for learning Lukonzo although he does not indicate that they do not know it. Such

stereotyping usually diminishes the prestige of the language or language variety amongst a particular group. This in turn affects repertoires in such a way that even if individuals know the language, they may choose not to use it. Such practice may lead to attrition or retention of only passive skills in a language. The extract 44 is a demonstration of what the minority language speakers sometimes do to resist domination of the majority language.

The situation demonstrated above is similar to what Amonkit presents about Baganda (Luganda L1 speakers) and Runyoro in the following extract.

Extract 45

> Amonkit: We live in a society that has a history, for example when we are in the Buganda region, a Muganda will call the small chicken *akakoko akanyoro*, a kanyoro chicken, just because he does not value that society and the society of course comes with its language. So when a Muganda hears a Munyoro speaking, they don't esteem that language but only …

Historically Buganda and Bunyoro were part of the mighty Bunyoro-Kitara Empire that covered southern Uganda, parts of Rwanda, Tanzania and former Zaire (Kahangi, 2006:54). When the empire disintegrated, the two groups competed for supremacy. The European missionaries favoured Buganda, and gave it territories that previously belonged to Bunyoro (the lost counties). Buganda thus became stronger and geographically wider. This created rivalry between Bunyoro and Buganda. Since Runyoro was the language used by Bunyoro-Kitara rulers, the Baganda redirected the stigma to it when Buganda advanced to supremacy. This was through labelling all undesirable things 'nyoro'. Such stigma demotivates Baganda from learning Runyoro. The difference in this example from the preceding one on Lukonzo is that between Luganda and Runyoro, none is a dialect of the other.

Stigma is further indicated for language varieties that are linguistically related and considered to form one language. This happens in a way that an individual praises one variety and ridicules the other. Runyakitara varieties are a good example. Extract 46 from a Rutooro L1 speaker (Runyoro-Rutooro) demonstrates such stigma towards Rukiga, a Runyankore-Rukiga variety. This is attributed to the negative perceptions about the people who speak it as L1, presented in extract 46 and 47.

Extract 46

> Hunk: […] Rukiga. This is one of the languages that do not interest me because of the rude nature of the Bakiga and I don't feel like learning it though I understand it.

Extract 47

> Peter: I can tell if someone is speaking Rukiga because he tends to use a lot of force when he is saying out some words.

Extract 48

> Freddie: For Rukiga there is a way they sound, like a commanding language, a language of force sort of.

Extract 46 is an explicit indication that the participant does not intend to improve his competences in Rukiga but will simply retain passive skills (Details about the Runyakitara varieties have been discussed in chapters 2, 5 and 6). The way Hunk rated Rukiga actually corresponds with his claim. He gave a score of 4[13] to his understanding, 4 to his speaking and 2 to his reading. He does not rate his writing skill. The stigma towards Rukiga could therefore be the reason for his rating the skills as low, and not necessarily linguistic difficulty (cf. Ladefoged et al., 1971:77).

In light of the views above, denigrating tendencies among speakers of different languages stemming from historical or social factors, lowers the prestige of languages and jeopardises interest to learn and use them. Therefore stigma towards different languages or language varieties affects linguistic repertoires in various ways for it allows speakers to perform different acts of identity and agency such as evaluating, withdrawing, resisting to mention but three.

7.3   CLASSIFICATION AS LANGUAGE OR DIALECT (NAMING)

Language status in terms of language variation (dialect/language) influences the way speakers perceive and name what they speak and thus how they adopt it in their repertoires (Batibo, 2005; Pennycook, 2010; Aronin & Singleton, 2012). Every community of speakers tends to regard the code they speak as a 'language' (cf. Fishman, 1971:23-25); which identification locally associates what they speak to prestige (high status). An illustration of the layman's confusion regarding dialect vs. language demarcations appears in extract 48.

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[13] The rating scale was ranging from 1=excellent to 5= poor

Extract 49

> Akiiki: Rusongora! It is not a dialect because it is a language that has been there for almost some years although it is not developing because it is not like in writing …

Extract 49 echoes a local perception that the term dialect is derogative and should be dissociated with. This is a similar situation with Runyakitara varieties which speakers continuously refer to as separate languages (cf. Batibo 2005:2). In extract 49 above, the participant maintains that Rusongora which is his L1 is a full-fledged language and not a dialect. The participant refutes the idea that Rusongora is a dialect based on how long it has been in use/duration of its existence (which he is not certain of). Relating to Edwards (2004:452)'s claim, this is an instance of striving to maintain identity which is thought to be under threat. The participant nevertheless brings in a feature of comparison that is used in the monolingual paradigm to delineate languages from dialects, that is, 'standardization' (Harmon & Wilson, 2006; Pennycook, 2007; Romaine, 2007). He acknowledges that Rusongora lacks standardization which according to Menezes De Souza (2012) does not disqualify an indigenous variety from being a language. Speaking is the basic ingredient of language and as Haugen (1997:346) argues, speaking is of basic importance in all societies.

Some individuals view acquisition of dialects as a negative aspect and would only adopt what they consider full languages or what they know as such. Dialects are stigmatised as incomplete or incorrect versions of 'proper' languages (Harmon & Wilson, 2006, Martin-Jones et al., 2012), which diminishes their prestige and consequently their attractiveness to other people.

The above circumstances communicate the dynamics in telling the number of languages as well as the kinds of resources in individuals' repertoires. For instance some participants listed Runyankore-Rukiga as one language while majority separated the two on the basis that each is a separate language. They even described the varieties separately as discussed under language biographies in chapter five. It is most likely that those who separated the four varieties (even with knowledge of their linguistic relatedness) valued these language varieties differently. For instance if one grew up speaking Runyankore (historically had a kingdom in its name - Nkore Kingdom) which they know to be a superior variety to Rukiga, they would not wish to combine the two in one name and thus list them as different languages in their repertoires. It is also true that the Bakiga see Banyankore as lazy people which difference

filters into language matters. Such opinions based on social differences are attached to languages and their social prestige and thus affect how languages are included in repertoires.

7.4 LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE AND HIERARCHIES OF LANGUAGES

The status/prestige a society affords to languages influences how speakers rank these languages in their repertoires and relate them to each other. For instance, many participants value their L1s highly as the languages that give them free and easy expression, as well as symbols of their basic identity. Others tend to label languages that are actually additional languages to them as their primary languages, possibly because of the prestige they perceive these languages to have. Others perceive knowledge of certain languages to afford them a special place in society.

Languages particularly local languages do not rate the same in terms of social and economic value. As such even individuals rank them differently in their repertoires or as languages they encounter during their participation in different communities of practice. This is discussed in the following subsections.

7.4.1 Hierarchies within given repertoires

As an international language, English ranks higher in participants' repertoires compared to all languages they know not because it is their best known, language but because of the prestige that it resonates with (Batibo, 2005; Banda, 2009; Aronin & Singleton, 2012). As already discussed in prior subsections, participants highly affiliate and attach their communicative practices to English to match their identity as the educated.

7.4.1.1 *Professional and practical application of languages*

As already demonstrated in the previous sub-sections, some local languages are believed to provide social and economic capital while others are not. Although it is rare to develop local African languages and vernaculars for practical and professional application (Stroud, 2007a; Banda, 2009; Ngugi, 2013), there are certain professional fields that utilise these languages and language varieties such as 'translation'. For university students who are still in the process of making choices and developing their professional skills for future careers, it is necessary to choose a linguistic medium for such professional development.

Responses of participants indicate that the status/prestige of a language motivates choice of a language for translation skills development. They portrayed a link between prestige and the resourcefulness of a language in availability of reference materials.

The following extract demonstrates a participant's choice of Luganda because of the prestige its speakers afford it.

Extract 50

> Peter: I think it comes from my friends. They are so proud of their language and they just make me say why not like this language if these guys are proud of speaking it?

Peter an L1 speaker of Lango a Nilotic language spoken in Northern Uganda, grew up in Kampala where Luganda, a Bantu language, dominates in local communication exchanges. He explains in his response that Luganda speakers do not just speak Luganda to communicate, but they also speak it as pride for their cultural identity. This in essence demonstrates that they attach high value to their language. Hence, the spread of Luganda in several regions in Uganda and its domination in Kampala are reinforced by the pride of its native speakers which makes Luganda prestigious and therefore a valuable linguistic asset. This is also coupled with a long history of written tradition that serves for reference purposes. In view of this, Peter and some other non-native Luganda speaking participants develop their translation skills in Luganda (more is discussed in chapter 6).

Participants' choices of languages they would develop for professional translation relating to language status are displayed in the following table.

Table 7.1   Choice of languages for professional translation based on language status

L1	Prospective Language for Translation	Reason for the choice
Lango	French	I think it has a high financial capacity and it will link me to various people
Lumasaaba	Kiswahili	This is because many people can speak at least some Kiswahili
Luganda	Kiswahili	Because Kiswahili is being adopted by East African countries, it would be easy to get employment in East Africa
Rutooro	English	Because English has a wide audience. People are missing a lot of information such as Oral Literature which is in local languages like Rutooro.

In the table above, four participants explicitly listed languages they would develop for professional translation skills based on the high status of those languages. They selected languages that are of high value to a global community because they envisage a wide range of opportunities in using these languages. The fact that some participants listed English illustrates and emphasises that status of a language is an important motivation for attaching professional aspirations to (a) particular language(s). Its official status and wide usage are advantageous for providing a wide range of readers. Kiswahili and English were listed for their wide market potential due to a wide coverage of readers regionally and globally.

Although not many participants listed languages they would develop for professional translation based on language status, the strong views held by the few are still not to be ignored. They exhibit that actually language status is a factor to consider when preparing for career opportunities, since language is needed in negotiating power (Kroskrity, 2000; Canagarajah & Said, 2013). However, many participants listing their own L1s (not in the table above), indicates language status as a local construct. Most local languages are minority languages, spoken by small communities. The speakers who perceive them of high language status because of being emblems of their cultural identity uphold their prestige (House, 2003:560; cf. Kramsch, 1998; Riley, 2007). Half the number (15) of participants in this study selected their L1s largely because they symbolise and convey a sense of belonging. Developing these languages professionally means maintaining them and resisting any dominating forces against them.

7.4.1.2   *Social categorization of languages*

Individuals have a tendency to strongly affiliate themselves to certain languages because of the status they wield, to the extent of ranking the languages high in positions that belong to other languages. This affiliation is based on the prestige attached to these languages and the desire to associate oneself with such prestige. In this study such a scenario was presented as follows.

In the questionnaire Banx recorded his L1 as Kinyarwanda (which he refers to as Runyarwanda – a morphological characterization that is used in Uganda). He lists his home town as Kigali – capital of Rwanda. He even lists Kinyarwanda as his home language and the language of his parents. However on his language portrait, he passionately mentions Runyankore as his MT, as the language he knows best and one which he grew up speaking as follows.

Extract 51

> Banx: Lunyankore is my popular language. This is because I was born by Banyankore parents who were in Ankore. Therefore I grew up speaking Runyankore and am now well convinced that Lunyankore is the language I know better than any other languages. In addition to that my secondary schools I attended were based in Ankore i.e. Ntare, Mbarara high school.

Below is what he explains about Kinyarwanda:

Extract 52

> Banx: Runyarwanda I grade it to be my third best language I know. I also speak it and understand it, in that my aunt who got married in Rwanda, the whole family speaks Runyarwanda and in this case I was forced to learn the language whenever I could go for a visit in order to ease communication between me and the rest of the family even outside the family.

Extracts 51 and 52 explicitly demonstrate that Banx learned Kinyarwanda after Runyankore and his knowledge of Runyankore supersedes that of Kinyarwanda. He states that his parents are speakers of Runyankore and not Kinyarwanda as he listed in the questionnaire.

The scenario presented by Banx demonstrates a case of desire to identify with a different community of speakers because presumably their language is fancy and the people themselves are esteemed in certain social aspects such as 'looks'. It could also be because Kinyarwanda is 'foreign', not in the sense that it is alien to Ugandans but for being primarily spoken in a

different country, which makes it a prestigious language. Also the country, Rwanda, is admired by Ugandans for its fast development. This affirms that language status/prestige is truly a strong social asset in identity negotiation and construction, although not necessarily linguistic competence.

Furthermore, language status can sometimes influence the way speakers draw on their resources during interactions in a way that reflects their ranking in the repertoire. The different kinds of status languages have, determines their ability to function as avenues to power negotiation, identity (re)construction and access to symbolic and material resources (Canagarajah & Said, 2013; Norton, 2013). Participants' responses illustrate how language status influences language choice in the following extracts.

Extract 53

> Peter: Normally I would like to use English with people I consider of high class, someone with status or something like a title. When I am dealing with ordinary people, lay people, I prefer to use Luganda. When I go to the market, I am not going to pull out my English coz they will cheat me. So I prefer to use Luganda and a bit of Kiswahili.

Extract 54

> Ateenyi: I will use a bit of English with a few family members who know a bit of it. But when I am speaking to the locals, I will struggle with this little I know (Runyoro) to put my message across. I rarely use Runyoro here at school because the people I associate with … it's more of academic so you find that English is the easiest way to communicate.

Extract 53 above demonstrates how Peter draws on the languages in his repertoire by considering the activity and community of engagement (Busch, 2012). He considers the language with a status that best matches the communicative context at hand. He provides more information on how consideration of language status is vital. The prestigious cross-section of the community, are usually the educated ones in society, the wealthy or the ones in prestigious positions. Peter feels that it is important to identify with them in a language that matches their social status. Although Luganda has a high status amongst Ugandan languages, it does not compare with English. This state of affairs usually happens when there is a comparison between a 'foreign'[14] and a local language as illustrated by Myers-Scotton (1992) on code-switching between Kiswahili and English by a Kenyan passenger. Thus, English gets

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[14] 'Foreign' is used in the sense that a language is not indigenous much as it is widely used in different social domains. Thus it has cultural distance.

selected for the prestigious community of speakers while Luganda becomes more suitable for interactions with the ordinary people some of whom, such as the market venders, are not educated. This illustrates the view that multilingual communication is a locally situated practice where language resources in one's repertoire are carefully developed and used for specific purposes (Busch, 2006; Lüdi et al., 2010). The advantage of using specific languages in specific contexts is the symbolic appropriateness that results into fair treatment as extract 53 illustrates. The choice of a language may be used to match status of addressees, but it also provides information about the identity of the speaker.

In the same vein, extract 54 indicates how the distinction between the status of English and that of local language Runyoro influences the way they are selected for use in interactions. The audience of the 'locals' as the participant refers to them, influences the participant's choice of a local language. The participant indicates that she does not have adequate competence in the local language, but for local appropriateness, she has to choose it. 'Locals' are indigenous people or natives. The way the participant uses the term 'locals' and her indication that she has to struggle to use a local language gives an insight that these people are not particularly socially advanced, hence the requirement to use a language that is less advanced. However at school where the environment is for socially advanced people with academic orientation, a more advanced language becomes appropriate.

This section demonstrates that knowledge of the local status of various languages is functional in determining the distribution of languages in a multilingual repertoire in different communities of practice. This distribution is based on ranking of both the audience and the languages. The language choices participants report are motivated by their communicative needs which include negotiating and (re)constructing identity to suit the different scenarios, as well as to obtain impartial service.

7.4.2   Adding to the adult linguistic repertoire

Adult multilingual repertoires are normally expanded by choice. The University students being an adult group decide to learn languages which add value to them socially and which have an economic potential.

In light of the above, foreign languages are connectors to the international community. The motivation to learn them comes at a higher level when individuals realize how prestigious and how important it is to connect to the wider world community. This is the main reason why

university students opt for French and Arabic. It is through use of at least a foreign language that certain Africans have become prominent and presented with awards worldwide. Even linguists have studied and described African languages using foreign languages because it is the only way to get published (Ouane & Glanz, 2010). Ngugi (2013:8) remarks that African languages are disregarded in the promotion of African literature particularly when awarding prizes.   Therefore Africans are recognised as remarkable if they produce their own knowledge in a foreign language and for this they will always desire to identify with foreign languages.

University students strive to get the minimum competences of foreign languages that they can use to relate with other speakers. Even then they still attach higher value to these languages in their repertoires. Participants thus made the following comments:

Extract 55

> Peter: In honesty I think I would learn a language because of status as a human being without lying. Like Arabic, I really want to learn Arabic because of the status. It is world standard.

Extract 56

> Peter: everything we study, we study it in English. It is in our system. Then French, even when you have no context where you should use French, they are making it to be studied in schools, to be studied everywhere. They say you should have it, anytime you could get a job.

Extract 57

> Atwooki: I studied French for two years in my O-level and I liked it. So I can speak a bit of it and I understand it. I always use French when I meet those friends of mine on Facebook or in a conversation.

Extract 58

> Leeny: French was shaded using red because I very much love it though can't speak and write it very well. It sounds good to me and if I get the opportunity to learn it that will be very excellent. French was taught to me in my high school though at some point it was stopped.

From the extracts, when Peter talks of languages of high status, he mentions only foreign languages. He also goes on to show in extract 56, that society in Uganda values foreign languages (Government of Uganda, 1992) to the extent of encouraging students to learn them

with prospects of getting jobs (international jobs) that value these languages. Thus foreign languages are perceived as economic capital.

Extracts 56 and 57, show that participants studied French as a school subject for only two years. This means it was timetabled like other subjects and accorded limited time not sufficient for one to grasp a newly introduced foreign language. Extract 57 however illustrates the participant's high regard for French by associating it to modern social media which he does not mention for other languages. Extract 58 shows a participant's craving for French despite not being able to gain any competences in it during the two years she attended French classes.

Students hence construct imagined identities based on strong desire and affiliation to foreign languages although the desire may not match the proficiency. This desire and affiliation is attributed to the prestige enjoyed by foreign languages in the job market, modern technology and world recognition. Thus the foreign languages are not learned as target languages but as resources that can open doors to a wider and better world unlike the local languages. Ngugi (2013:11) states that, "if you know your language and add on all the languages of the world, that's empowerment". This suggests that local languages are vital but addition of foreign languages is perceived to have the capacity to empower Africans by bringing them to the same footing with the rest of the world.

7.5   THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REPERTOIRE AND COMPETENCE

This issue is relevant here insofar as levels of competence in the various languages within a speaker's repertoire characterise that repertoire. In the repertoires of the participants', English provides an example where language status is limitedly correlated with the level of competence speakers present.

The status of English in Uganda is unquestionably high (Mukama, 2009), as is evidenced by the positive attributes accorded to it by the participants in, amongst others, extracts 4, 7, and 24 above. However, it is also clear that, despite the high regard for and privileges afforded to individuals by English as an official language, lingua franca, language of education and the media, the competence levels attained in it do not necessarily match its status. This is because of local language influence and frequent code switching between English and local languages.

Participants therefore only rated English competences high because they affiliate themselves to its high status not necessarily because they are highly competent in it.

Interestingly, participants' ratings of their competence in Kiswahili are similarly not high. Although the government of Uganda has upheld the status of Kiswahili as the language that would foster Regional Corporation (Government of Uganda, 1992), and established it as an official language in 2005, many still do not feel secure about their competence in this regional language.

The situation of language status and levels of competence is rather different for local languages. Ugandan local languages even if spoken by relatively large numbers of speakers within the country, are regarded as minority languages (Mukama, 2009:89) thus they have a predetermined low status. The languages that are perceived to be of low prestige are usually acquired for simplified functions and unless they are used as L1, they are used only occasionally. Competence in languages that, in education, are not used beyond the 3rd year of schooling and in many cases do not have a strong literacy tradition, is rarely even measured. Consequently, the competences speakers have in these languages appear limited. The following extracts illustrate this point.

Extract 59

K2: I learned Ateso from my parents. I shaded it in the ears because I am not perfect I can hear and understand but I cannot speak perfectly. This is because I am not much exposed to other speakers. It is just a struggle of my parents.

Extract 60

Amonkit: Some of my classmates don't know many of these languages, and even when they know them, some of them know languages, can speak them but cannot write them.

Extract 61

Sisoni: this is the real English I use in other subjects. If it is Geography, Literature, Mathematics, all we write in English.

Extract 62

Freddie: Often I practice, like, writing and speaking English. I put it down. Then in the other languages it is rare.

Extract 63

> K2: I can, though when I am …, I am not perfect because I don't know how their morphological words slope. But I can still write in a simple form.

Extract 64

> Tinah: Brown for Runyoro and light brown for Rutooro. The two languages are a bit related as well as close to my mother language Runyankore. Therefore I can speak them, hear them, but I am not so conversant with writing them.

Extract 59 to 64 give varied illustrations provided by participants who are L1 speakers of different languages namely, Lukonzo, Lumasaaba, Lusamia, Lango, Runyankore-Rukiga and Lugwere. They show certain languages lacking in certain registers such as writing. Extracts 59 to 61, illustrate the small numbers of speakers as well as the geographical and functional confinement of local languages. Extract 61 expresses limited or no access of local languages to the high status public domain of education. Then extracts 59, 60, 62 and 63 illustrate the limited competences that participants possess for some local languages. All these illustrations affirm how the status of local languages influences their distribution to functional domains. The distribution apparently impacts on the competences developed for different languages and language varieties in the repertoires. Competences in different language skills, vocabulary and application of the languages are often limited to domestic domains. However for a language like English and possibly Luganda, although high status does not necessarily result into high competences, the competences acquired are spread across different skills due to spread of the languages in various social domains such as education and mass media.

Writing is usually learned in school hence for languages not used in the education domain, the writing skill is compromised or even avoided. More information on domains of language use is presented under language biographies in chapter 5.

Furthermore, many of the local languages are not standardized. For this reason they cannot impart knowledge in written form and cannot be used for academic purposes or reference purposes. Most participants have no writing or reading competences in many local languages they know, as is articulated by one participant in extract 49 above about Rusongora. The participant indicates that the lack of advancement of the language is as a result of the language being short of standard form. Without standard form, speakers and learners cannot obtain the writing skill. Likewise, the application of the language variety is restricted in certain functional social contexts and their linguistic practice.

7.6   CONCLUDING REMARKS

The status/prestige of different languages evokes different reactions and actions which characterise language practices. From this chapter it is clear that the status/prestige of a language does not necessarily reflect in the levels of competence different individuals attain, it rather determines the desire and choice to learn certain languages. The status/prestige of a language also greatly influences choice and distribution of languages for different purposes. Languages with high status are applied in a wide coverage of social contexts unlike those with lower status.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 have discussed in detail the most important agents in the shaping of multilingual biographies in Uganda, the major components of repertoire composition, that is, the resources and competences related to them, as well as the standing various languages have in the repertoires of multilingual students. The analysis of various kinds of data has assisted in presenting and relating these components to communities that impart and utilize the various languages found in the repertoires of the participants. The development of competences and the distribution of the resources are related to how society attaches value to the different languages and language varieties. The findings and conclusions drawn from all this information are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.0   INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a discussion of the findings of the study, explicitly relating the outcomes given in chapters five to seven, to the aims and objectives set out in chapter one. It discusses findings in terms of the students' language biographies and linguistic repertoires. It will also discuss how the status of the different languages relates to students' linguistic repertoires. A brief discussion and evaluation of methodological aspects is given, followed by conclusions and suggestions made for future research.

The overarching aim of the study was articulated in chapter one, section 1.2 as follows:

> The main objective of the study is to characterise features of multilingualism that a community of university students in Kampala exhibit, and to match this with the existing scholarly definitions of multilingualism.

In more specific terms this aim was to be achieved by its embodiment in answers to the set of questions in chapter one section 1.3 which took interest in: (i) the language biographies associated with the linguistic profiles of university students, (ii) features of the linguistic repertoires of the students, (iii) the effects of different kinds of status of different languages on language learning and language use and, iv) what the insights from the biographies, repertoires and language status suggest regarding definitions of 'multilingualism'.

8.1   LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHIES: COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE AND LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE

This study was interested in the language biographies of students in Kampala for a number of reasons. It is clear that the personal biographies of individuals also shape their language biographies: where they were born, which language(s) their parents and larger family speak, where they grow up, gain their education, make their livings - all are linguistically mediated and have an impact on their lives.

The language biographies of students in this study indicate that every one of them possesses knowledge of a number of languages and language varieties. The knowledge they possess

originates from different sources and social contexts. The different sources include parents/caretakers, friends, teachers, co-workers, relatives and home attendants. This translates into different styles of delivery of knowledge of different languages. Consequently the knowledge of language provided by the different sources resonates with variations in style, level and kind.

The participants' biographies indicate that their memberships in communities of different practice have a strong impact on development of language and on language use. These communities of practice are not just venues in which students found themselves, but also social contexts in which they actively participated in one way or another (cf. Gumperz, 1971:179), engaging in activities that utilize particular languages (Wenger, 1998). The findings suggest that language is a central instrument in bringing people together. Examples of such contexts in which participants were introduced to languages other than their L1s, include a mine, a sugar cane plantation and sugar factory, schools and army institutions, homes and neighbourhoods. An important point to note here, is that the multilingualism of the various participants is a direct function of their own and their families' mobility: moving from one community to another for employment, for schooling, to join relatives, etc. often took the students from one language community to another, or from a community with one constellation of different local languages to another identified by a different set of local languages.

As participants engaged in different activities, they naturally learned languages used by other participants as this was the only way they would become full members of these communities and take part in the basic way such communities carry out their activities. For some, learning the languages was a planned move while for others it was not. Nevertheless, for most of them, as suggested by Franceschini (2009) and Garcia (2007/2013), knowledge of these languages developed from continuous direct interaction with the speakers. Even when language learning was a matter of voluntary choice, social interaction with speakers facilitated the process. The findings affirm Wenger's (1998:4) assertion that social participation is crucial in the language learning process. This study has confirmed the position of Garcia (2013:103) who maintains that acquisition of knowledge of languages and the associated linguistic resources is achieved through living and participating in communities that use such languages. Hence, acquisition of knowledge of multiple languages and linguistic resources is attributed to belonging to, and

participating in various communities of practice which include homes, neighbourhoods, school and work places.

Memberships in communities of practice give participants a variety of different kinds of experience and knowledge. What is noticeable about the presence of participants of this study in different communities is that their stay is seldom permanent, not even at 'home' (cf. Kramsch, 1998; Wenger, 1998). In other words their stay is always mediated by time, with some stays in a single community lasting quite long and others being limited to shorter or interrupted periods. Because of constant mobility between one community and another (Blommaert, 2010), and because people practice different activities in different communities (Wenger, 1998; Moore, 2010), the development of linguistic knowledge for specific languages is not stable, but rather dynamic in a number of ways. The differences in duration of stay have an impact on the levels of competence developed and how particular resources are put to use by individuals.

Further, some community memberships of participants were core in that they engaged more deeply in the activities of the community and had more solid and close partnerships with other members, for instance in their homes and schools. Other memberships were more peripheral where participants did not necessarily establish deep and close partnerships, nor participate regularly in the repertoire of community activities (Moore, 2010:126). Core membership provided more profound learning opportunities, than did, peripheral membership. This is evident in the development and use of English in school by the participants, whose participation in different activities both academic and social mostly utilizes English. This is due to students' core memberships in educational institutions where English is emphasized.

Most of the languages present in participants' repertoires are learned in contexts other than the classroom. These include languages acquired as L1s from infancy and also later as home languages in multilingual families. Therefore multilingualism among people in Kampala, including among university students, is not a result of formal instruction in different languages, but majorly a result of the communicative contact facilitated by a multilingual society which brings individuals in touch with a variety of languages. Living in such a society and interacting with speakers of various languages on a regular basis enhances the building of multilingual repertoires as a natural phenomenon, and as a strategy to cope with the dynamics of different communicative contexts. Therefore knowing and using multiple languages is a natural and informal aspect of society and individuals in Kampala.

In addition to giving information on which languages are acquired, learnt or developed in different kinds of contact, students' biographies also reveal how multilingual repertoires shape their real as well as imagined identities (Busch, 2006:9). There are languages and language varieties that students passionately desire to learn or associate with for reasons that are mostly ideological. Sometimes students regard languages that they would like to learn (but do not know yet) as part of their repertoires. Therefore, simply asking individuals to list the languages they know does not necessarily reveal all valuable information about repertoires – some may recognise a language without themselves being competent in the language. A language included in the repertoire does not necessarily imply ability of actual usage. What this study has tried to disclose in investigating language biographies, is some of the intricacies of sociolinguistic aspects that surround the linguistic configurations individuals have and encounter in multilingual societies. It gives a detailed account for every resource in the repertoire which can be used as a backdrop for understanding university students' needs for professional training in applied language studies, as e.g. in translation studies.

The findings of the present study thus disclose the range of factors that play a role in students' language biographies, shaping not only which languages they know, but also which communicative skills they develop in the various languages.

8.2   LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES

8.2.1   Kampala's multilingual repertoire

This study was interested in the linguistic repertoires of students in Kampala, first to confirm the suggestion that urban, adult citizens in an African country such as Uganda are indeed remarkably multilingual, that their linguistic repertoires actually go beyond knowledge of an African language and English, and second to gain some indication of how multilinguals themselves value their knowing, understanding and ability to use a number of different languages – even if for different functions and with different levels of competence. A qualitative study provides the opportunity to investigate not only what linguistic repertoires people have, how these repertoires were formed and how the speakers assess the value of their linguistic resources; it also allows one to consider what brings about the power of some languages (and language groups) in relation to others.

The findings of this study portray the linguistic environment in Kampala as linguistically complex. This is illustrated in the multiplicity of resources that radiates in repertoires of almost the entire population. Language practices typically found in situations of language contact, such as code-switching and code-mixing and translanguaging are thus unsurprisingly prevalent. The repertoires of individuals vary, and yet it is evident that in most cases individuals keep alive the languages they know, in the different social activities where they engage including school activities. These practices do not act as a solution to low linguistic competence in some varieties or registers, but are a communicative strategy to cope with the language diversity within different social contexts. Code-switching and translanguaging practices are indices of the flexibility of multilingual repertoires (Lüdi, 2007:166; Garcia, 2009:40; cf. Creese & Blackledge, 2010) and the specificity with which linguistic resources are put to use in certain social contexts.

Although Luganda, which is widely distributed, is the dominant language in Kampala, other languages are also used including English. The latter is especially used as a lingua franca in formal contexts. Through their language practices, individuals resist being dominated and supressed, as they negotiate the space to execute their identity. They keep their various native languages alive amidst the pressure of unifying communication (Blommaert, 2010; Heller, 2012; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012) by using a lingua franca. Individuals appear to utilize every available opportunity to use their native languages, hence the burgeoning multilingual practices in the city.

The movement of languages is another prominent feature that Kampala's linguistic repertoire portrays. It is evident that students learn many of their languages when they are away from the city, but through their migrations, transfer these languages from their original locations to Kampala. Such is the reason why Kampala comprises almost all languages and language varieties spoken in different parts of Uganda. Therefore, the understanding of languages as territorially fixed entities is superficial and misinforms designing of language policies by the perception that particular communities are tied to a specific language and specific languages belong to particular communities only (cf. Banda, 2009:2).

8.2.2   Kinds of resources in students' repertoires

The findings of this study show that, if one observes the languages participants know and use, the highest percentage of linguistic resources in students' repertoires is local Ugandan

languages and varieties. They are also mostly oral and conversational because they are acquired in contexts that rely largely on those modalities and registers.

Students' multilingual repertoires are constituted by varying resources from different languages and language varieties. The variation in resources results from varied communities of origin, participation in different social settings such as home, school, church, etc., and varied relationships in the different communities to which they belong. The repertoires of participants include separate languages, different varieties of the same language, receptive skills without the ability or confidence to speak a given language/variety, different registers and even desired languages that they wish to know, but do not. Since students operate in a multilingual environment, all these resources get to be utilized in different ways and on different scales.

In addition, findings reveal an important trend namely that, participants' knowledge of languages in Uganda and in particular Kampala comprises more of related varieties than completely separate languages. Most of the participants' repertoires comprised languages that show structural similarities and appear also to be related in language-genetic terms, from different regions of Uganda. The reasons advanced for having these resources in the repertoires are often given as "because they are related". Also, those languages that individuals are able to identify (even if they cannot speak or understand them) are those that are related to the ones they do know. This therefore affirms that many repertoires of individuals in Kampala can be characterised as continuums of related varieties other than sets of distinct languages. This confirms what Banda (2009:3) notes about African multilingualism, namely that it majorly comprises of related varieties. Therefore linguistic practices in Kampala have a high degree of fluidity. This poses a potential challenge for the description of multilingualism in Kampala where the number of resources that can be identified as "separate languages" in individuals' repertoires, may be different according to different ways of identifying languages, varieties and dialects.

8.2.3   Students' multilingual competences

This study reveals that university students' repertoires comprise varied kinds of competences. The variation is because some resources are used actively and productively, while others are used limitedly and sometimes only receptively. Nevertheless, they are all important for operation in different communities in which the students participate. Repertoires are

determined by social and historical trajectories (Blommaert, 2010; Busch, 2012) while putting languages to use is determined by need to negotiate meaning and to perform identity in certain communities.

Resources that present as only receptive skills arise from limited opportunities to use a particular language. Examples of this phenomenon were found in my data in reference to Kinyarwanda, Lukonzo, Lango and Japadhola, which are local languages of communities further away from Kampala. Participants who acquired or learnt them before moving to Kampala indicated that these are minority languages, spoken by small numbers of people and in few communities (cf. Ladefoged et al., 1971; Mukama, 2009). Individuals though do not lose the languages completely when they migrate. They gradually lose the productive (spoken) competence. Sometimes such occurrence is also due to a language being a minority language in Kampala, such that it is only used minimally in one's home. Additionally, the official language policy of the University explicitly and de jure, advances monolingual practices amongst a multilingual student population, locking out or constraining at least within the school confines, the use of other linguistic resources students may possess. This also jeopardises the sustainability of productive competence for some languages and language varieties in the repertoires. Hence students' multilingual competences are by default varied.

The situatedness of the competences of resources in students' repertoires applies mainly to local languages. Students' repertoires indicate that competences associated with resources that were acquired in domestic contexts are used in informal contexts, while those attained in the formal contexts such as English, are more spread across the formal and domestic contexts.

More still, findings show that the competences attained for structurally related languages are not necessarily equal.Likewise, it is not by default that if one knows one variety in the cluster then they possess competence in all varieties. Competence in related varieties also requires, and is consolidated by interacting with people who utilize the varieties

Structurally related varieties are utilized largely through the practice of receptive multilingualism (Thije et al., 2011), such that individuals, who do not necessarily learn all the related varieties per se, can still draw on them to negotiate meaning during interactions. Narratives of participants that related to the competences of language skills of reading, writing, speaking and listening for related varieties in different repertoires, show that these competences vary among varieties. Individuals can possess some competences and/or skills

and not others. The aspect of partial competences goes for all linguistic resources in students' repertoires owing to the temporal-spatial mediation of both acquisition and use.

8.2.4   Language practices

Concerning language practices of students in this study the practices of code-switching particularly in informal interactions is common.   Students frequently engage in translanguaging especially when it comes to application of languages in practical contexts. For instance, in the classroom or workplace, a student can use a resource from one language for speech only and when it comes to writing, a different language is selected. This is common in linguistic practices that involve local languages where a language like Luganda which has a long written tradition is selected for writing activities by individuals who are native and fluent speakers of other languages (including L1s). Hence taking one's language abilities on face value based on ethnic leanings is misleading when it comes to multilinguals and how they draw on their languages.

Another feature is the variability in use of linguistic resources. Students use some resources regularly while they use others rarely, especially the less prestigious varieties and those of minority groups, which are hampered by immobility.

Turning to students' use of Kiswahili the repertoires reveal that the practice of Kiswahili is restricted to specific social contexts such national border areas, security related institutions such as military schools and scouting clubs, school (taught as subject) and industries such as mining and sugar production. Therefore Kiswahili is hardly a language of regular social communication practice among the students. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that the functions that Kiswahili performs for the neighbouring countries are satisfied by English and Luganda in Uganda, and particularly in Kampala. These factors explain the limited knowledge Ugandan university students in Kampala have of Kiswahili, characterised by majorly receptive and highly situated competences. This also goes for foreign languages like French which was listed in some of the participants' repertoires, which in most cases was learnt as a secondary school subject with no context for regular use.

Repertoires further reveal that multilingual practices too are diverse according different communities of speakers even if they may draw from the same set of languages. For example within the student community, English dominates the linguistic practices for reasons especially of wanting to delineate themselves as the schooled population and to approximate

themselves to the elite class. Additionally, English is the norm in the education system as stipulated by the language policy such that it imprints in the regular practices of students. Society also expects the student community to be knowledgeable in English. Accordingly societal expectations and ideologies in some way influence language choice of these individuals and the way they perform their identity. Students are aware that the socio-economic and socio-political environment outside school, which they aspire for, greatly values and utilizes English (Mukama, 2009:72; cf. Myers-Scotton, 1993:28) especially the written mode. Hence students always feel the need at all times to show their competence of the language which gives them linguistic capital.

Although English is the major or sole language used for learning purposes in the classrooms particularly at university level, it is commonly used for simplified communication outside the classroom and usually gets mixed up with the local languages (cf. Edwards, 1994; Pennycook, 2007; Higgins, 2009). This is due to presence of an eclectic variety of languages and a recognisable linguistic diversity among individuals that students interact with outside the classrooms and the university context. Although students spend a lot of time in school, the time they spend using English formally is less compared to that for which they use it in informal contexts. The informal linguistic practices, in which speakers care more about communication than about proficiency, therefore weigh more on students' linguistic output of English than the formal (Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, 1999; Andy, 2013).

It is worth emphasising that sets of competences that are possessed for English language are quite distinct from those of the local languages. The local languages are used in more deeply rooted cultural environments and their acquisition process has leanings in cultural backgrounds (as displayed in the language biographies of the participants). Hence they contain and reflect more indigenous knowledge and styles of application compared to English which is learned in a more unnatural environment and is also used in what can be characterised as a non-native[15] environment (cf. Bernsten, 1998:10). The competence of English possessed by the students is often a hybrid of local languages and nonstandard English which according to Mukama, (2009:73) has also come about as a result of nonstandard competences of teachers that teach it. As revealed by the findings, the teaching practices are also influenced by multilingualism of both individuals and the society. Therefore

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[15] 'Non-native' is used to refer to the environment in Kampala, which is not originally English speaking although since its introduction, by the missionaries English has become widely adopted and localized.

language practices of students portray considerable indigeneity for local languages and hybridity for English. It is therefore inappropriate to measure the competences of these languages on the same scale, since practices that mediate their acquisition and their use differ.

8.3   LANGUAGE STATUS

8.3.1   Language variation and language naming

This study displays the dilemma involved in identifying and naming, and it calls for revisiting such terms as "dialects" and "languages" (Makoni & Mashiri, 2007; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012). It also suggests further interrogation of the notion of 'mutual intelligibility' (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Batibo, 2005).

Relating to the above, this study shows that individuals may not have all the skills in the related language varieties but will be able to use the varieties in one way or another. Among the participants in this study, speakers of Runyankore have Rukiga, Runyoro, Rutooro, and sometimes Kinyarwanda, while, speakers of Kinyarwanda have Runyankore and Rukiga in their repertoires. Although linguists use mutual intelligibility to cluster and name certain varieties (Bernsten, 1998; cf. Makoni & Mashiri, 2007), the participants believed they are distinct languages and were adamant to refer to them as dialects mostly because the separate varieties are what they actually use as their 'language' (means of communication). Referring related varieties as dialects is taken as reducing their value (Duranti, 1997:70), yet they are symbols of speakers' valued identity (Wilson & Harmon, 2006). The debate of whether Runyankore and Rukiga are two varieties of one language or two separate languages is partially resolved by the social and historical affiliations of the speakers (Kramsch, 1998; Makoni & Mashiri, 2007; Riley, 2007; Blackledge & Creese, 2010). The social and historical situatedness strongly influence the way we interpret linguistic practice and what it comprises (Pennycook, 2010; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012). In addition being able to conduct a conversation where different interlocutors use different varieties does not confirm that each one is completely competent in all the varieties (cf. Lüdi, 2007:173). This could add to maintaining them as different.

The dichotomizing tendencies between language and dialect have not resolved the problem of identifying what people really use to communicate due to high inconsistencies and relativity (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Haugen, 1997) that characterises them. This setback is highlighted

where some participants have competence of two or three varieties from a cluster and not the full range. The naming of Runyoro-Rutooro and Runyankore-Rukiga clearly indicates that linguists are still stuck in the language-naming practice which does not reflect the practices of the language users (Makoni & Mashiri, 2007). How come we do not hear of Swedish-Norwegian or Danish-Norwegian even when high mutual intelligibility has been reported between these languages (cf. Cruz-Ferreira, 2010; Thije et al., 2011) and how come they are not referred to as dialects, but rather maintained as different languages. This research demonstrates that language names do not simply relate to linguistic structural systems but to what speakers actually use and value as their identity and way of communication. Speakers attach more social value than just linguistic form to language names. Referring to communicative forms as linguistic resources other than 'languages' or 'dialects' (which terms are for majorly circumscribed linguistic form), presents them according to how they function among individuals.

The reductionist practice which fuses related varieties into one or into sub-clusters considers variety or diversity as an exception from the norm which looks at standard (codified) languages as the only legitimate forms of communication, and where differences are regarded as deficiencies that ought to be corrected or dropped (Heller, 2007a; Heller, 2012). Multilingual societies are however primarily characterised by diversity (Franceschini, 2009:28) and differences are embraced as a resource and not as deficiency (Fardon & Furniss, 1994:4; cf. Prah, 2009). From what this study reveals, the endless consideration of similarity in structure of certain codes, guides practices and debates of labelling of linguistic form, but does not sufficiently recognise diversity in what and how individuals really speak. Local language varieties actually provide a means for speakers, of performing their agency and identity. This calls for a reconsideration of the ways in which community languages (local languages in Uganda) are characterised, categorised and classified.

Understanding multilingualism requires a move away from concentrating on language structure, to a focus on how people use language in practical situations and how language functions in their lives (Franceschini, 2009; Cruz-Ferreira, 2010). To understand language as local practice enables us to envisage language as something that results from contextual engagements that make meaning to a particular group of people (Pennycook, 2010; Blommaert, 2010). It is important to recognise what value speakers attach to linguistic signs which they deploy for use in different social contexts. The deployment is determined by

semiotic factors, as identified by Kroskrity, (2000), such as interactants, topics of discussion, settings and institutions. Apparently, as Makoni and Mashiri (2007) and Jaffe (2012) recognise, the same signs maybe perceived differently from one group of users or context of use to another. This is exactly what happens with structurally related languages which could have high lexical similarity, but with a difference in contextual assignment of the lexical items and therefore, the meaning they offer to the users

The notion of communities of practice by Wenger (1998), offers us a solution to understand and explain the divergences and convergences of language varieties. It allows for consideration of individuals as having memberships in various communities of practice and multiple identities. In this framework, knowing is a result of repeated engagement or exposure to a given social activity (Wenger, 1998; Agha, 2007). The notion therefore favours understanding language not just in terms of linguistic form, but as a resource created and used during social activity (Pennycook, 2007: 96: cf. Heller, 2007a; Pennycook, 2010), an aspect that those intent on language naming ought to take into serious consideration. Variation in names of communicative forms should relate not only to form, but also to function – thus to variation in social practices that produce the varieties.

8.3.2   Language learning, language choice and levels of competence

People's ideologies about particular languages have a strong sway on the design of their repertoires and their language practices. For instance some people deny that they know certain languages or varieties, or maintain passive practice simply because they consider the languages or varieties inferior (Ladefoged et al., 1971:77). From the findings of this study, the status of different languages infiltrates immensely the language practices of university students relating to acquisition, choice and use of language. This research discovers that the way students attach value to certain languages makes them react in different ways towards these languages namely, they may (i) deny they know certain languages, (ii) choose not to learn certain languages, (iii) decide not to include certain languages they know in their active language practices (iv) practice the use of a valued language more than others and in more domains. All these reactions have an impact on the design of repertoires and language practices of the students. For instance if the negatively affected language is part of an individual's repertoire; it could fade with time, or one could lose some of the skills or the person will not put in any effort to advance his/her skills in such a language. Likewise if one does not have the language in his/her repertoire, he/she may not be enticed to learn it. In turn,

repertoires, especially competences in different languages are dependent on the local value communities and individuals attach to languages.

In addition, language choice but not necessarily language competence among university students is much related to language status. For example, the choice by students to use English in more social contexts including those that were previously for local languages, is based more on the perceived high status of English than on high levels of competence. Students' output may not be regarded excellent but the input is considerable as indicated in the different participant narratives. This is true especially about knowledge and use of English and (e.g.) Luganda, both of which are functionally valuable to different individuals. The study discloses that individuals endeavour to build prestige by using on a wider scale a language to which they attach high status, real or perceived. The relation between language status and linguistic competence is not necessarily that of equivalence by default. Students for example gave high scores for the languages to which they accorded high status although the narratives during interviews and on the language portraits revealed different trends. This therefore means that individuals wish to present themselves as highly knowledgeable in the languages they and the society value highly in order to assume a certain social status and identity. Language status therefore is shown to increase the frequency of usage of a language but competences will depend on a combination of practical factors. Language choice based on language status is therefore related more to identity and much less to competence (even for local languages).

Along the same line, although students assign high status to their L1s, which they values as carriers of their primary identity, this does not necessarily correspond to levels of competence in these languages. Students' participation in various communities and activities gives them multiple identities and sometimes the primary identity may not present as the strongest in terms of language practice.

Further, multilingual education and multilingual practices at higher levels are hampered, as university students are sceptical (though not completely resistant) about including other languages that are not official in their language practices especially within the academic environment. This is a result of, the tendency by the authorities to raise the status of particular languages by designating them as official and/or national languages, gives an implicit message that those are the more important languages in the community and as such they take priority in the public domain. It turns out that only such languages are developed or supported

socially, politically and financially as languages of vital sectors like education, law, administration and business while other local languages are left undeveloped and with no support that can advance them for usage in vital domains. In effect

8.3.3   Lingua francas

Lingua francas are a major component of the city's linguistic configuration and that of the students in this study. That the repertoires of university students all contained at least one lingua franca, confirms the multilingual nature of Kampala. Further, the presence of more than one lingua franca in different repertoires indicates the diversity of multilingualism that prevails. Multilingual constellations vary among different groups of individuals especially in Kampala. Hence a single lingua franca may not be sufficient for all situations. Thus individuals find it important to have more than one resource which will allow cross-cultural communication.

The adoption of more than one lingua franca (e.g. English and Kiswahili, or English and Luganda) ensures that multilingualism continues to flourish. In other words students' repertoires affirm Fardon and Furniss' (1994:4) recognition that multilingual repertoires themselves act as lingua francas in a society characterised by high linguistic diversity.

The existence of local lingua francas, namely Kiswahili, but majorly Luganda, alongside English is an intriguing aspect. Luganda is a language spoken by all categories of people in the city, both as L1 and as an additional language. It is much closer to Ugandans (in terms of cultural identity) than Kiswahili, is convenient and accessible in most local communities. Although both English and Luganda facilitate neutrality in terms of tribal or regional allegiance, within the local practices in Kampala, use of the local variety overrides. Within the local language practice, English is therefore better recognised as of a language for wider communication in the formal contexts (local and translocal, national and transnational) while Luganda plays the local lingua franca role in informal contexts (enable communication among linguistically diverse interlocutors). This is presented among language practices of university students especially during their private academic and non-academic activities. Kiswahili on the other hand is employed only in circumstances where Luganda fails especially with foreigners from neighbouring African countries such as Kenya, Congo and South Sudan.

8.4   REMARKS ON METHODOLOGY

By investigating language biographies of participants, particularly by use of language portraits, this research has emphasised that language acquisition and language learning is a matter of social action and that individuals acquire languages by participating in real communities that give them access to the different languages and language varieties (Pennycook, 2010). Language learning is exhibited as an agentive activity and is embedded in ideological dynamics (Blommaert et al., 2005). Biographies invigorate the need to recognize language as local practice where 'local' stands for specific (but not fixed) environments and social experiences of different individuals and the influence of such environments and experiences on individuals' language development and language practices. Therefore issues about language should not be taken for granted as matters of the mind or ethnic origins, but one needs to observe the social experience of a given speaker to understand the kind of linguistic repertoire that he/she possesses. Which languages are included and valued in repertoires, and how the various languages are used or undergo change, can therefore not simply be predicted through studying and making generalizations about linguistic form. What is required is cross examination of social practices in which individuals engage.

Language biographies are a vital source of information for all who wish to understand the intricacies of language practices of individuals. For research on the nature of multilingualism in various contexts, such as the Ugandan urban setting, they provide primary personal information surrounding language acquisition and language practices. This in turn illuminates the complexities in multilingual repertoires. Language biographies are stories worth investigating for their rich and versatile data (Busch, 2006:9; Pavlenko, 2007:165). They highlight the importance of considering language resources of university students not as language systems, but as communicative resources acquired and utilized for specific purposes during participation in different social contexts and activities (Blommaert, 2010:103,139). Using the arts-based method of the language portrait which is multimodal and works with the visual makes it revealing of both actualities and imaginations about individuals relating to languages and communities. The personal details about different linguistic resources all emphasize the locality of language both to individuals and to communities. This relatively new method of eliciting data highlights how language is acquired and how its use is developed through practice.

8.5   CONCLUSION

According to Wenger (1998:5) 'learning', involves belonging, experiencing, doing and becoming. Although Wenger does not put an order to these aspects, and although they each can exist solely in relation to learning, the learning process is more concrete when they accompany each other logically or simultaneously. The aspects Wenger listed emphasize the vitality of participating in communities in the development of knowledge. In the case of this study this refers to knowledge of languages. Thus where languages that students know are supported by regular participation in corresponding communities, their competences are high and more diverse than their competences in those languages that are closed off from the communities where students operate.

Students repertoires are characterised by different linguistic resources developed as a result of two main processes. These are: (i) growing up and living in linguistically complex communities of practice, (ii) continuous mobility of the students especially for education purposes. As a way to cope with different linguistic environments students develop various strategies such as learning specialised registers of languages for specific needs, practicing their agency in a way that they decide which languages or language variety to practice more and which style, make voluntary choice to learn certain languages or practice code-switching. All these strategies contribute to their competence development and maintenance in different ways.

Furthermore the knowledge and consistent use of a variety of languages within the same community affects the languages themselves (Cenoz & Jessner, 2009:125) and the language practices of the individuals involved. For instance, English spoken in Kampala has local language interference while local languages also have interference from English. Students therefore need more training in specific languages which they aim to develop for professional careers such as translation or language teaching where competences of standard forms are required (Agha, 2007; Blommaert, 2010).

Ideological constructions about certain languages maintain language as a local practice. They influence university students' language practices and imaginations about languages and language varieties. For instance students' high regard for mobility of English relating to intellectuality, economic viability, internationality, makes students desire and manoeuvre to use English more frequently and in more social contexts than local Ugandan languages. The

ideological constructions themselves are embedded in local practice of communities by decisions about how they distribute and apply languages.

In a nutshell, individual multilingualism of people living in Kampala flourishes on mainly local Ugandan languages. Few participants (3 out of 30) reported competence in foreign languages, and such competence was given low ratings. This is because there is limited access to communities whose social practice utilizes those languages. The schools that teach them are also few, which further limits access to them. The multilingualism among university students comprises languages, varieties of languages, registers, genres, at different levels of competence and distributed variedly. Individuals use these resources fluidly especially where their repertoire constellations are similarly complex.

8.6   RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This project has highlighted the multilingual skills of participants in the face of a strongly monolingual education system. Continued research should take note of this and particularly attend to accommodating multilingual repertoires in national education programmes. There is a need for more vigorous studies on not just including but, how best to include local languages in the education curriculum up to higher levels than is currently the case. This includes introducing local languages as university subjects since they are part of the core linguistic pool that individuals utilize in their daily practice in Uganda. An education system that does not only designate a few languages as languages of instruction but allows practices that integrate various languages in classrooms is necessary for improvement of literacy and application of local languages in various fields other than just education. Research is required to consider new curricula that will provide exposure and improve students' linguistic skills in those languages, specifically for those who wish to be specialists in fields that require well developed competences. The fields here refer to translation, interpretation, editing, language teaching and the likes. Further research should guide ways of developing local languages for such high level applications. Furthermore it should develop and distribute knowledge that will reduce stigma levelled against certain languages and ensure their maintenance in the wider community.

In line with the above, there is need for more research into translanguaging practices in multilingual classrooms and institutions. These practices are pertinent and resourceful in multilingual communication among students, including their learning activities. These

practices however, often go unnoticed or are condemned as jeopardising language learning, particularly learning of English and developing new knowledge generally.

Further research should consider how to integrate knowledge of social backgrounds that form students' language biographies. There is need to understand the intricate nature of language practices of multilinguals generally, and of university students specifically, as it is clear that their language use is characterised by diversity right from the grassroots, yet difficulties in achieving high expectations as to language standards are ignored. This will guide processes of finding suitable ways to appropriately engage students in specialized language courses at university, and also in designing language courses that take knowledge of language repertoires of the students into consideration. Research into the provision of alternative, improved language tests to replace ones developed on a monolingual bias, is vital. Practices that construct multilinguals as being linguistically stunted and that take standard language competences only as acceptable norms, need to be investigated and better aligned with complex linguistic practices that this study has shown to be extant.

Finally, there is a need for in-depth research in the status of different local languages and how speakers integrate that status in their language practices, both in formal and informal contexts. It has been revealed that language status is vital in the selection of languages for various activities within multilingual communities, for management of communication but also for performance of agency and identity. Therefore, studies on the status of languages, regarding how status is developed and assigned, deserves more interrogation.

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APPENDIX A

PARTICIPANTS' RATING OF LANGUAGES
ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT SKILLS

Name	Skill	English	Luganda	Kiswahili	Rutooro	Runyoro	Runyankore	Rukiga	Acholi	Ateso	Japadhola/Ludama	Kinyarwanda	Kupsabiny	Lango	Luo	Lugwere	Lugwisha	Lukonzo	Lumasaaba/Gisu	Lunyole	Lusamia	Lusoga	Rusongora	French	Japanese
Banx	Understand	1	1	2	1		1	1	1			1													
	Speak	1	1	2	1		1	1	3			1													
	Read	1	2	2	1		1	1	3			1													
	Write	1	1	2	1		1	1	4			1													
Atwooki	Understand	1	3	4	1		1	1																3	
	Speak	1	3	4	1		1	1																3	
	Read	1	4	4	1		1	1																3	
	Write	1	4	4	1		1	1																3	
Peter	Understand	1	2	3					2					2										2	
	Speak	1	2	3					3					2										3	
	Read	1	3	3					2					2										2	
	Write	1	3	4					2					2										2	
Freddy	Understand	1	1	2												1			1	1		1			
	Speak	1	1	2												1			2	1		1			
	Read	2	3	4												1			2	2		1			
	Write	2	3	5												1			2	2		1			
K²	Understand	1	2	3						3											1		2		
	Speak	1	3	4						4											2		2		
	Read	1	4	4						5											4		4		
	Write	1	5	4						5											4		4		
Magitta	Understand	1	1	1	1				1			1		1				1							
	Speak	1	1	2	3				2			3		2				3							
	Read	1	4									4						3							
	Write	1	4									5						4							
Amonkit	Understand	1	1	3	2	2	2	2										1							
	Speak	1	1	3	2	2	2	2										1							
	Read	1	1	3	2	2	2	2										1							
	Write	1	1	3	3	3	3	3										1							
Sisoni	Understand	1	1	1															1		1	1			
	Speak	1	1	1															1		1	5			
	Read	1	1	1															1		1	5			
	Write	1	1	1															1		1	5			
Mary	Understand	1	3	5										1									3		
	Speak	1	3	5										1									3		
	Read	1	4	5										1									5		
	Write	1	5	5										1									5		
Akiiki	Understand	1	3	3	2													3					1		
	Speak	2	3	4	2													3					1		
	Read	1	4	4	2													4					1		
	Write	1	4	4	2													4					1 2		

Name	Skill	English	Luganda	Kiswahili	Rutooro	Runyoro	Runyankore	Rukiga	Acholi	Ateso	Japadhola/Ludama	Kinyarwanda	Kupsabiny	Lango	Luo	Lugwere	Lugwisha	Lukonzo	Lumasaaba/Gisu	Lunyole	Lusamia	Lusoga	Rusongora	French	Japanese
Cheris	Understand	1	4	3									1						5						
	Speak																								
	Read																								
	Write																								
Liberty	Understand	1	1	4	1	1	1	1				1													
	Speak	1	2	3	2	2	1	1				2													
	Read	1	1	2	1	1	1	1				1													
	Write	1	2	4	2	2	1	1				2													
Ateenyi	Understand	1	1			1	3		4		3														
	Speak	1	1			1	4		4		2														
	Read	1	2			3	4		5		2														
	Write	1	3			4	4		5		4														
Juliet	Understand	1	3	3			2					1													
	Speak	1	3	2			2					1													
	Read	1	3	3			3					1													
	Write	1	4	3			3					2													
Twenty	Understand	2	1				3	3																	
	Speak	1	1																						
	Read	1	2																						
	Write	1	2																						
Jomona	Understand	2	1	2			3																1		
	Speak	1	1	2			3																1		
	Read	1	1	2			4																1		
	Write	2	1	3			4																1		
S	Understand	2	2	5	2	2	2	2																	
	Speak	2	2	5	3	3	3	1																	
	Read	1	4	5	4	3	4	4																	
	Write	1	4	5	5	3	5	5																	
Reyon	Understand	1	1	1			1					1													
	Speak	2	2	4			3					4													
	Read	1	1	1			1					1													
	Write	2	1	1			1					1													
Tinah	Understand	1	3	2	1		1	1																	
	Speak	1	1	2	3		1	1																	
	Read	1	1	1	4		1	1																	
	Write	1	1	1	2		1	1																	
Khalifa	Understand	1	1	1																					
	Speak	1	1	4																					
	Read	1	3	1																					
	Write	1	3	3																					
Geof	Understand	1	2	3	4		3													2					
	Speak	2	3	4	3		1													5					
	Read	1	2		4															3					
	Write	2	3	5	4																				
Piers Darius	Understand	3	3	4	3		1	1				3													
	Speak	3	3	5	3		1	1				4													
	Read	3	4	5	5		2	4				5													
	Write	3	5	5	5		5	5				5													
Leeny	Understand	1	1	3	3														3			4		4	
	Speak	1	2	3	4														4					4	
	Read	1	3	3																					
	Write	1	3	3																					

Name	Skill	English	Luganda	Kiswahili	Rutooro	Runyoro	Runyankore	Rukiga	Acholi	Ateso	Japadhola/Ludama	Kinyarwanda	Kupsabiny	Lango	Luo	Lugwere	Lugwisha	Lukonzo	Lumasaaba/Gisu	Lunyole	Lusamia	Lusoga	Rusongora	French	Japanese
Hunk	Understand	1	1	3	1	1	4	4														3			
	Speak	1	3	4	1	3	3	4														2			
	Read	1	3	4	1	4	2	2																	
	Write																								
Bluish	Understand	2	3		1		2					4													
	Speak	2	3		1		3					4													
	Read	2	3		2		3					4													
	Write	2	3		2		4					4													
Okanga	Understand	1	1	1	1	5	1	1				1													
	Speak	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				1													
	Read	1	5	5	1	1	1	1				5													
	Write	1	5	5	5	5	1	1				5													
Neville	Understand	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																	
	Speak	1	1	5	5	5	1	1																	
	Read	1	5	1	1	1	1	1																	
	Write	1	5	5	5	5	5	5																	
Yvone	Understand	1	5	1											1										
	Speak	1	5	1											1										
	Read	1	5	1											1										
	Write	1	5	1											1										
Ricky	Understand	2	3	3					2					3								2			5
	Speak	2	2	3					2													2			5
	Read	2	3	4																					
	Write	2	4																						
Dellah	Understand	1	1	2			3												3		4				
	Speak	1	1	3			4												5		5				
	Read	1	3	4			3														5				
	Write	1	4	5			4														5				

* 1 = Excellent and 5 = Poor

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITEIT·STELLENBOSCH·UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

PROFILES OF MULTILINGUALISM IN KAMPALA:
AN ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHIES AND LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES OF
UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Ms. Florence Tendo Bayiga, PhD student, from the Department of General Linguistics at Stellenbosch University. The results of this study will be used for writing a thesis for the study mentioned above. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because this study is about knowledge of a number of languages and usage of the same languages by university students of which you are part.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The study will attempt to establish and analyze, the languages known by university students in Kampala and the way these languages are used, to come up with a concrete picture of the linguistic and sociolinguistic situation that surrounds the linguistic knowledge of this population.

2. PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to fill in a questionnaire with general information on your linguistic background, after which you will be involved in a drawing-exercise that represents your languages in a way that shows how and when they are used, what meaning and value each language has to you. You will then be asked to briefly talk about your representation. You may also be selected for a short interview in regard to the same research as already mentioned.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Participation in this study will not hold any risks or discomfort you in any way.

4. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

You will not benefit directly from this research in terms of tangible or material gain, although the study is presumed to create a certain awareness and confidence to you about your sociolinguistic identity. Knowledge of the sociolinguistic situation of the population under study may enhance reflection on relevant policies and practices in some public spaces such as state education that have an interest in the multilingualism of students in Uganda – and so carry indirect benefits.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

This exercise is voluntary, and as such there will be no remuneration for participation.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential in that no participant's personal information will be divulged in the course of the research. All recordings will be handled and transcribed by myself, and only I and my supervisors will have access to it.

Confidentiality will be maintained by means of the use of pseudonyms.

The audio recorded data will be in my safe custody and you can review it to be sure that what it contains is what you really wish to say. All data will be used for academic purposes only.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Taking part in this project is entirely up to you, and no one will hold it against you if you decide not to participate. You are allowed to withdraw at any time, or not answer some questions but still remain in the study.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Ms Florence Bayiga, researcher, on +256-702-8745564, e-mail: fbayiga2000@yahoo.co.uk/ and Prof. C. Anthonissen, supervisor, at ca5@sun.ac.za (Stellenbosch University).

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT

The information above was described to *me* by *ms Florence Bayiga* in *English* and *I am* in command of this language (or the content was satisfactorily translated). *I* was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to *my* satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____
Name of Subject/Participant

_____   _____
Signature of Subject/Participant   **Date**

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____ [*name of the participant]. H*e/she was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in English.

_____   _____
Signature of Investigator   **Date**

APPENDIX C

PROFILES OF MULTILINGUALISM IN KAMPALA:
LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHIES AND LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES
OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Thank you for your consent to take part in this study. Please fill in the following as completely and accurately as possible. There are no right or wrong answers – this is a survey from which the study wishes to draw an accurate profile of the multilingual skills and uses of a particular group of students.

You are requested to answer the questions in the spaces provided or to tick a box where applicable.

SECTION A: Personal information

Surname: ....

Preferred pseudonym: ....

Gender: Male ☐

Female ☐

Age bracket: 19 - 25 ☐

Older than 25 ☐

1. Give the name of your home town..

2. What is your first language? ....

SECTION B: Knowledge and use of languages

3. Please list all the languages you know, even if you are not very proficient, and include your first language (as given in question 2). For each language, rate your ability in the language for the skills listed in columns (ii) to (v) (understanding the spoken form, speaking, reading, writing) on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is excellent and 5 is poor.

i	ii	iii	iv	v
Languages	**understand**	**speak**	**read**	**write**
English				
Luganda				
Kiswahili				

4. This question has to do with where and when you learnt the languages you listed in question 3. Please complete the table below for each language you listed. Fill in the name of the language in column (i), the age at which you learnt it in column (ii), the place and setting in which you learnt it in column (iii), and people among which you learnt it in column (iv).

i Languages	ii Age of acquisition	iii Place/context of acquisition	iv Persons you interacted with during acquisition
English			
Luganda			
Kiswahili			

5. This question has to do with where, when and with whom you currently use the languages you listed in questions 3 and 4. Please complete the table below for each language you listed. Fill in the name of the language in column (i), the place and setting in which you use it in column (ii), and people among which you use it in column (iii).

i Languages	ii Place/context of use	iii People you interact with using this language
English		
Luganda		
Kiswahili		
E.g. Runyankore	*Outside classroom*	*to chat with some Runyankore-speaking friends*

6.   Which of the languages that you listed in questions 3 to 5 do you use

    (i)   Most   ....

    (ii) Least   ....

7.   Give a reason for your answer in 6 above.

    ....

    ....

    ....

8.   Which language(s) is/are spoken as the **main** community language in your home town?

    ....

9.   Which language(s) do your parents speak?

    ....

10. Which language is used as your home language? ....

11. Name the languages you have encountered at the university (whether you know them or not)?

    ....

    ....

12. Arrange the languages you encounter at the university in order of difficulty for you to follow and to learn, starting with the one that challenges you most.

    ....

    ....

13. What would *withhold* you from learning a language that is within your immediate surroundings?

    ....

    ....

    ....

14. What would *encourage* you to learn a language that is within your immediate surroundings and which you do not know yet?

    ....

    ....

    ....

15. Would the status of a language or that of its speakers determine whether you learn a language or not?

    ....

16. Give a reason for your answer in 15 above.

    ....

    ....

    ....

17. On a ten point scale, where **1** is **not at all** and **10** is **all the time**, circle the frequency with which you use English *outside the classroom*.

Not at all   **All the time**

   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

18. Do you ever have conflict as to which language to use in a given context?

Yes ☐

No ☐

19. Give a reason(s) for your answer in 15 above.

....
....
....

20. What would make you switch from one language to another in an interaction?

....
....
....

21. Which of the languages that you listed in questions 3 to 5 above, would you use when you have to address a stranger?

....

22. Give a reason(s) for your answer in 18 above.

....
....
....

23. You are a multilingual person living in a multilingual community.

(a) What do you find *most challenging* about knowing, using and encountering a variety of languages in everyday life?

....

(b) What do you find *most advantageous* about knowing, using and encountering a variety of languages in everyday life?

....

24. Which of the language(s) that you know would you select to use in translation studies with a view to becoming a professional translator and interpreter?

....

25. Give a reason(s) for your answer in 21 above.

....
....
....

26. Please use these lines for any additional information you would like to provide regarding the variety of languages you know and use – e.g. on where or from whom you learnt them, what value they have for you, what difficulties they sometimes pose, etc.

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

....

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A selected number of students will be interviewed on aspects of individual and community multilingualism regarding. I would like to ask each one some questions related to the languages they know and those they have interacted with, where they learned them, how they use them and how they influence the person's communication practices in school/lectures and outside school/lectures in order to understand their language awareness and communicative practices better. This information should give insight as to the language production and usage of the respondent, as a sample of a young multilingual adult of undergraduate university level.

The interview will take about 15-20 minutes.

A   Language biography

1. According to the questionnaire you filled in, your home town is .... Is that right? How long did you live there? Do you still return there often?

2. Is the main language of your home town the same as your home language? If not, please explain the difference.

3. I saw on your questionnaire that you know xxx languages.

   a) Which of them do you use most at home and which one do you use most at the university? Explain any changes and differences.

   b) You indicated in the questionnaire that your parents speak xxx languages. Under what circumstances do you use each? How frequent is the usage of each?

   c) Besides English, did/do you ever use any of the languages you listed in the classroom situation? Which ones? For what purpose?

   d) Do you find knowing more than one language to be an advantage or disadvantage in the learning context? Please explain your position.

   d) Can you describe the process of learning those languages you did not learn as first language or in the formal classroom situation?

   e) Do you ever feel confused about which language to use in a given situation? Explain your answer.

   f) Do you think Kampala has an exceptionally multilingual population, or is the multilingualism of the community unsurprising?

B   Linguistic repertoires

1. Which of the languages you know, do you use most comfortably? Explain your answer.

2. Which of the language you know do you use least confidently? Explain your answer.

3. a)   Do you admire people who know and use a number of different languages fluently?

   b)   How many such people do you know?

4. Are there languages besides the ones you have mentioned that you can identify even if you do not use them, for example if someone speaks them or if you come across a text?

   a)   Name them.

   b)   What guides you to identify these languages?

   c)   If you are able to identify a language even if you cannot speak or understand it, do you feel that you 'know' that language? Explain your answer.

5. What language do you mostly use in informal conversations, on the telephone, in text messages? Explain your answer.

6. Do you ever have opportunities to use your knowledge of local languages for academic purposes? If so, do you find it easy, fun, challenging ...? Explain your answer.

C   Knowledge and use of English

1. In the questionnaire you rated your knowledge of English as ___. Explain why you give such a rating.

2. How would you rate your knowledge and use of English against other languages you know?

3. a) Do you think your knowledge and use of English affects your knowledge of local languages?

   b) Do you think your knowledge and use of local languages affects your knowledge of English? Explain your answers.

4. Although English was officially the language used in education, how and how often were other Ugandan languages used in your school classrooms?

5. Do you think that the use of English all through your education with minimal or no use of local languages has been educationally helpful or has set you back in any way? Explain.

D   Switching from one language to another

1. Do you think switching from one language to another in an interaction is okay or is it a practice you would completely discourage? Explain your answer.

2. a) What would prompt you to switch from one language to another?

   b) What determines your choice of a language for a given context?

E   Language status

1. What do you understand by the term "status" in reference to the status of a language?

2. Would you regard any of the languages you know of high status?

   a) If so, which language(s)? Explain why.

b) Is the status of a language you have encountered in Uganda a reason for learning (or not learning) it?

3. In your opinion, what makes some languages more privileged than others?

   a) Do feel that certain languages you know are less privileged? Explain your answer.

   b) If so, which languages you know, do you consider to be less privileged? Explain why.

4. In your experience, do people "unlearn" certain languages they used to know, through using them less?

5. In your experience, do people refuse to learn certain languages because they are of lower status, or less privileged? Explain your answer.

THANK YOU

APPENDIX E

DRAWING EXAMPLE
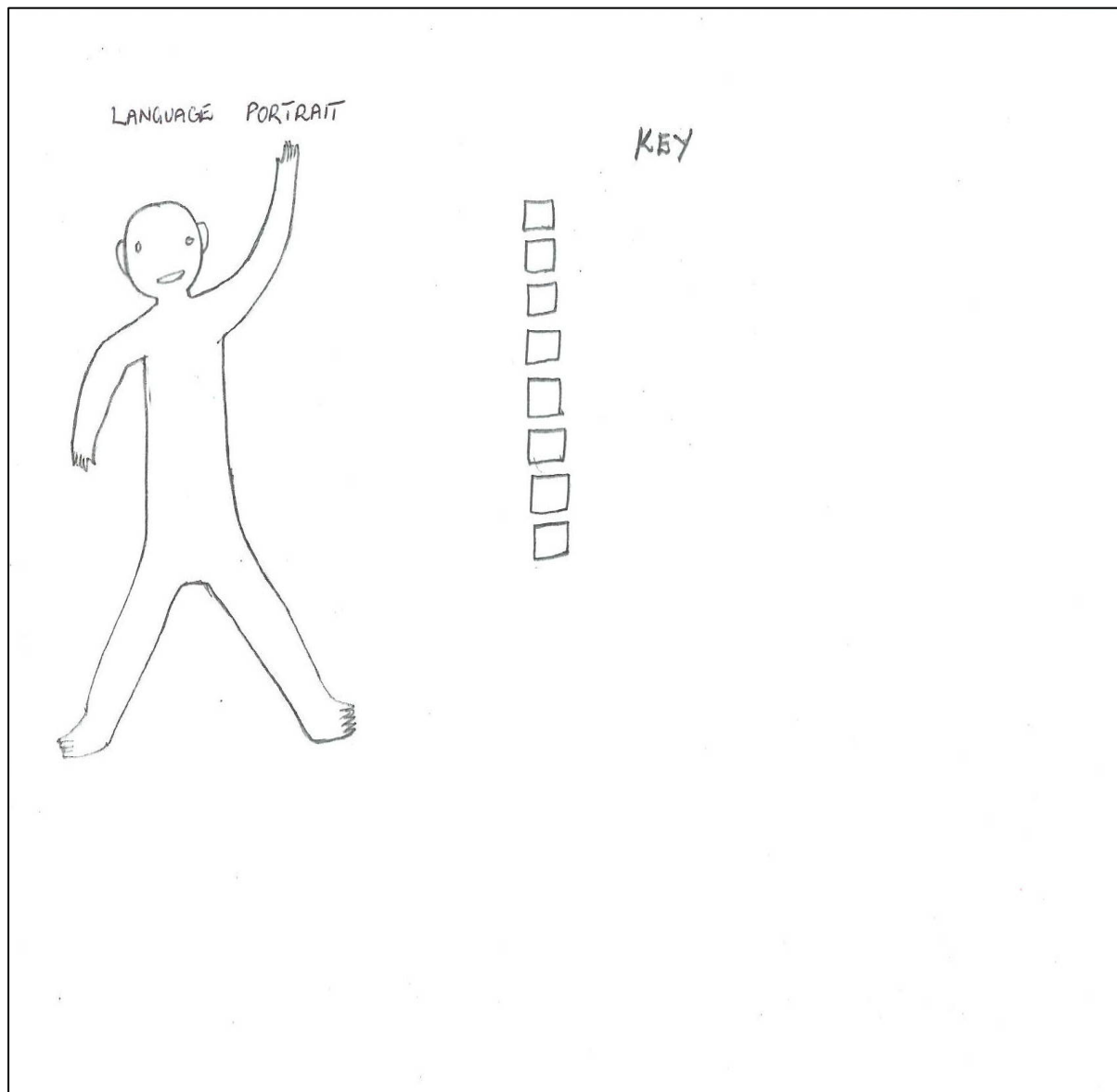
APPENDIX F

RESEARCH PERMISSION

MAKERERE UNIVERSITY

P.O. Box 7062, Kampala, Uganda

E-mail: dlec@arts.mak.ac.ug

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS, ENGLISH LANGUAGE STUDIES AND COMMUNICATION SKILLS

Office of the Chair

Your ref:
Our ref:

3RD MAY 2013

MS. FLORENCE BAYIGA

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY,
SOUTH AFRICA

Dear Madam,

RE: PERMISSION TO DO RESEARCH IN OUR DEPARTMENT

I write in response to your email of 29th April 2013 where you had expressed interest in doing research in our department. I wish to inform you that you are most welcome to the department and we pledge to give you all the necessary support that you may need.

This letter then serves as permission to you to conduct research in the department.
Any assistance from other relevant authorities will be highly appreciated.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

OFFICE OF THE CHAIR
DEPT. OF LINGUISTICS, ELS & COMMN. SKILLS

0 3 MAY 2013   ★

MAKERERE UNIVERSITY
P. O. BOX 7062, KAMPALA

Wangotta Michael Masakala
Ag.Chair,
Department of Linguistics,
English language Studies and Communication Skills.
Mob: 0774027252   email: masakala@arts.mak.ac.ug.

APPENDIX G

APPROVAL NOTICE

UNIVERSITEIT·STELLENBOSCH·UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot · your knowledge partner

Approval Notice
New Application

23-Aug-2013
Bayiga, Florence FT

Proposal #: DESC_Bayiga2013
Title: PROFILES OF MULTIUNGUAUSM IN KAMPALA: AN ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHIES AND LINGUISTIC
REPERTOIRES OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Dear Ms Florence Bayiga,

Your DESC approved **New Application** received on **22-Jul-2013**, was reviewed by members of the **Research Ethics Committee: Human Research
(Humanities)** via Expedited review procedures on **22-Aug-2013** and was approved.

Please note the following information about your approved research proposal:

Proposal Approval Period: **22-Aug-2013 -21-Aug-2014**

Please take note of the general Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these
guidelines.

Please remember to use your **proposal number** (**DESC_Bayiga2013**) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your research proposal.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the
conduct of your research and the consent process.

Also note that a progress report should be submitted to the Committee before the approval period has expired if a continuation is required. The Committee will
then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary).

This committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research, established by the Declaration of Helsinki and the Guidelines for Ethical Research:
Principles Structures and Processes 2004 (Department of Health). Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number REC-050411-032.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research.

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at 0218839027.

Included Documents:
Permission request
REC Application
Informed consent forms
Interview schedule
DESC form

Sincerely,

Susara Oberholzer
REC Coordinator
Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)

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APPENDIX H

RESEARCH APPROVAL:

UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Uganda National Council for Science and Technology

(Established by Act of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda)

UNCST

Our Ref: SS 3315

13/10/2014

Ms. Bayiga Florence Tendo
Makerere University
Kampala

Re: Research Approval: **Profiles of Multilingualism in Kampala: An analysis of Language Biographers and Linguistic repertoires of university students**

I am pleased to inform you that on **15/11/2013**, the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) approved the above referenced research project. The Approval of the research project is for the period of **15/11/2013** to **15/11/2014**.

Your research registration number with the UNCST is **SS 3315**. Please, cite this number in all your future correspondences with UNCST in respect of the above research project.

As Principal Investigator of the research project, you are responsible for fulfilling the following requirements of approval:

1. All co-investigators must be kept informed of the status of the research.
2. Changes, amendments, and addenda to the research protocol or the consent form (where applicable) must be submitted to the designated local Institutional Review Committee (IRC) or Lead Agency for re-review and approval **prior** to the activation of the changes. UNCST must be notified of the approved changes within five working days.
3. For clinical trials, all serious adverse events must be reported promptly to the designated local IRC for review with copies to the National Drug Authority.
4. Unanticipated problems involving risks to research subjects/participants or other must be reported promptly to the UNCST. New information that becomes available which could change the risk/benefit ratio must be submitted promptly for UNCST review.
5. Only approved study procedures are to be implemented. The UNCST may conduct impromptu audits of all study records.
6. A progress report must be submitted electronically to UNCST within four weeks after every 12 months. Failure to do so may result in termination of the research project.

Below is a list of documents approved with this application:

	Document Title	Language	Version	Version Date
1	Research proposal	English	N/A	N/A
2	Consent form	English	N/A	N/A
3	Questionnaire	English	N/A	N/A
4	Interview schedule	English	N/A	N/A

Yours sincerely,

Winfred Badanga
for: Executive Secretary
UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

LOCATION/CORRESPONDENCE	*COMMUNICATION*
Plot 6 Kimera Road, Ntinda *P. O. Box 6884* *KAMPALA, UGANDA*	**TEL: (256) 414 705500** **FAX: (256) 414-234579** **EMAIL: info@uncst.go.ug** **WEBSITE: http://www.uncst.go.ug**

APPENDIX I

JUSTIFICATIONS FOR PARTICIPANT'S FREQUENCY OF LANGUAGE USE

English always makes me to express myself confidently without any problem while French, very few speakers are available.
I use Luganda most because I have many Baganda friends. I use Lumasaaba least because I find no one to speak with.
I am exposed to Lusamia so much compared to Kiswahili
I use English the most because it is the most used at school and work place where I spend most of my time. I use Rukiga the least because my friends who use Rukiga can also use English.
I use English most because of the many interactions I make with people of different local languages and ethnicities which are varied.
I use English the most because it the language that I and other people I interact with can use it best, and Lusoga least because I do not have people to communicate with around me at all times.
I use English most because I spend most of the time at school. I use Kiswahili least because few people speak it.
I use Kupsabiny most because most of my friends are Sabinys.
I use English most because the environment I stay in is multilingual, English is the lingual franca. Kiswahili least because I have few friends who speak it.
I use English most because it is the commonest medium of communication at school where I spend most of my time, and Acholi least because I have no body to speak it with
Because Kinyarwanda is my mother tongue and I understand it better and English it's the one I commonly use with my friends.
Luganda is the language I use the most because it is the language used at home and in a society I live in, while English is the least because at home we use it to a small extent and I use it mostly only at school.
Because majorly I deal with people who are good in Luganda speaking. The Runyankore speakers are few to my side.
I speak English most because most of my friends use English. And Kiswahili least because I rarely go to barracks playgrounds and meet Swahili buddies.
I use English because most people I associate with understand it and Runyankore least because I hardly be with people who understand it.
I use English most because I spend eighty percent of my time at school meaning I use it to chat with friends and also talk to teachers. I use Kiswahili least because I know it less and also have few Kiswahili speaking friends.
I use English most because I spend more time at the university and we often interact in English. I use Kinyarwanda least because I have a few Banyarwanda friends.
This is because the environment determines or influences me to English rather than Runyoro
This is because most of the people I interact with on a regular basis are English speakers
I use English most because first I am in a foreign country and so most of my friends speak neither Luo nor Kiswahili. So the only way to communicate is by using English.