

JIMMA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
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**An Investigation of Afar Language Shift and Maintenance:
The Case of Dubte District in Afar Regional State**

By
Mohammed Edris

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An Investigation of Afar Language Shift and Maintenance: The Case of
Dubte District in Afar Regional State

By: Mohammed Edris

Principal Advisor: Bikila Ashenafi (PhD)

Co-Advisor: Alemayehu Negash (PhD)

November, 2022

Jimma, Ethiopia

Jimma University
College of Social Science and Humanities
Department of English Language and Literature

Declaration

I, undersigned, developed my original thesis entitled *an Investigation of Afar Language Shift and Maintenance: The Case of Dubte District in Afar Regional State*

I duly acknowledged the resources I took from various scholars. I ascertain that the work is my original MA research work.

_____	_____	_____
Name of the student	Signature	Date

The thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval.

_____	_____	_____
Principal Advisor	Signature	Date

_____	_____	_____
Co- advisor	Signature	Date

Approved by the Board of Examination

_____	_____	_____
External Examiner	Signature	Date

_____	_____	_____
Internal Examiner	Signature	Date

_____	_____	_____
Moderator/Chairperson	Signature	Date

Abstract

The main objective of this study was to assess the language shift and maintenance in Dubti town with respect to the town dwellers. In order to achieve the objective of this study, basic questions were raised regarding proficiency, choice of language in different domains, use of MTs, and perception of respondents towards each language collected through questionnaire, participant observation, and recordings from the targeted population based on interviews. The study attempts to discover the domains of shift of the Afar language and other Ethiopian languages, their attitudes towards their ethnic language and other Ethiopian languages, and the factors that led them to either maintain or lose their ethnic language. The analysis of the overall results of the questionnaire, interviews and community profile confirms the ability of the Afar community to maintain their ethnic language for many centuries despite of all the challenges and difficulties that they faced over the years as well as the presence of language such as Amharic which is the official language in Ethiopia. The Afar community mix between their language and Amharic unconsciously. Knowledge of Amharic is vital in schools and universities, to get good jobs and to communicate with the whole society. The government bodies should give attention to the linguistic profile of the community, when planning language for education, administration and the like. Since there is frequent and intense contact among speakers of different languages in the study area, it needs further research on outcomes of language shift and contact to come up with details of language shift due to borrowing, code switching and code mixing between/ among different languages. Since the current study is limited to the Afar community who live in Dubte, The researcher recommends further studies to be conducted about the Afar community who live in other parts of Afar Regional State.

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List of Acronyms

Afar-af [ʃäfär-äf]:	Afar Language
CSAE:	Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia
ECP:	Ethiopian Census of Population
FGD:	Focus Group Discussion
IDI:	In-Depth Interview
L1:	Language First
L2:	Language Second
LM:	Language Maintenance
LS:	Language Shift
CS:	Code-switching
CM:	Code-mixing
ML:	Matrix language

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Ethiopia is a multicultural country, where by the people speak about 85 languages of different ethnic groups, (ECP2007). Ethiopian languages are classified into 4 major families: Semitic, Cushitic, Omotic, and Nilo-Saharan. The Cushitic family has many languages, such as Afan-Oromo, Afar-af, Somali, Sidama, and so on (Bender, Bowen, Cooper, & Ferguson, 1976).

The Afar Regional State is one of the 11 Regional States of Ethiopia, and is the homeland of the Afar people. Formerly it was known as Region 2, and its new capital as of 2007 is the city of Semera, which lies on the paved Awash-Assab highway. The Afar Triangle, whose northern part is the Danakil Depression, is part of Ethiopia's Great Rift Valley, and is situated in the north of the region. It has Ethiopia's lowest point, and it is one of the lowest places in Africa. The Afar Regional State has a population of 1,812,002 based on the 2007 census survey conducted by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (CSAE, 2007).

Afar-af is the predominant language (89.96 percent) spoken in the region and is the working language of the regional state of Afar. Certain languages which have significant numbers of speakers include Amharic (6.83%), Tigrigna (1.06%), Argobba (0.79%) and Wolaitigna (0.43%) Afan-Oromo (0.4%) (CSAE, 2007).

The Afar language is spoken in three African countries: Ethiopia, Djibouti and Eritrea. Afar is an Eastern Cushitic language with four main dialects: North dialect, Central dialect, Awash dialect and Badu dialect. These dialects of Afar are related to Afan-Oromo and Afka-Somalia according to Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (CSAE, 2007). However, Afar-af has high contact with other Ethiopian languages, such as Amharic, Argoba, Afan-Oromo and Tigrigna spoken in Afar Regional State.

1.2. Description of the Study Area

1.2.1. Location

Zone one (Awsi-Rasu) is one of the five Zones of the Afar Region State of North East of Ethiopia. It is 660km far from Addis Ababa. Zone one (Awsi-Rasu) is located bordering in the north by Zone three (Gabbi-Rasuon), in the south-west by Zone five(Harri-Rasu), in the west by the Amhara Region, in the north-west by Zone four (Fanti-Rasu), in the north-east by Eritrea, and in the east by Djibouti, (CSA in 2007).

The researcher found full information for those areas because Awsi-Rasu is the strategic center and back bone of the Afar Regional State. The study was conducted in Dubti Woreda of zone one (Awsi-rasu) of the Afar Regional State. Dubti is a town in north-eastern Ethiopia. Dubti is one of the 35 Woredas in the Afar Region of Ethiopia. Administratively, it is found in Zone One of the regional administration. Dubti Woreda is bordered on the south-west by Mille, on the west by Chifra, on the north-west by Administrative Zone 4, on the north by the Administrative Zone 1, on the northeast by Elidar, on the east by Asayita, and on the south-east by Afambo. In Dubti town include Asayita, Afambo, Date Bahri, Sardo and Semera-Logiya. These marshes are under encroachment by the Tendaho Sugar Company, Dubte Referral Hospital and Cotton Plantation whose fields surround the town of Dubti, (CSA in 2007).

The Dubte population's livelihood was mostly based on tending livestock. However, currently, the people of Dubte Woreda are primarily or predominantly engaged in agro-pastoral economy whereby both livestock and crop production are practiced. In addition, some of the people reengaged in small business, and others work as daily laborers and as government employees and earn extra income. The average elevation in this woreda is 503 meters above sea level the highest point in Dubti is Mount Manda Hararo 600 meters. The Ethiopian Ministry of Mines and Energy announced July, (CSA: 2007).

1.2.1. Demographics of the Woreda

Based on figures published by the Central Statistical Agency in 2007, this Woreda has an estimated total population of 87,197, of whom 36,281 were male and 50,916 were female; 24,236 or 27.79% of its population are urban dwellers, which is greater than the Zone Average of

14.9%. With an estimated area of 3601.4 square kilometers, Dubti has an estimated population density of 24.21 people per square kilometer, (CSA: 2007).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There is no clear cut information about when languages of the globe came into shift, rather there is a belief that languages have been in shift ever since the time human beings started dispersing out into independent sub-groups. There are two principal ways that languages come into shift at an earlier time in human history. Some language shift recognized when groups of people met after moving into previously unoccupied territory. Gradually, the people of the world settled in the territory they occupied became suitable for their stay and developed their languages. In most recent human history, the common way in which language comes into shift is the movement of groups of individuals into the territory of the other people speaking different languages (Smelser, 2000: 8325).

However, because of lengthy shift with dominant groups and languages in Ethiopia, especially Amharic, might assume that language shift has taken in the Afar language. Dubte District is a place where groups of people from different ethno-linguistic groups congregate for distinctive purposes. As a result, the great majority of the urban occupiers who are the chief concern of this study are bilinguals who are proficient in at least two languages, their ethnic language and one other language. In such urban settings where a lot of minority and majority ethno-linguistic groups co-exist with their respective languages, there is a need to give serious attention. This will make Dubte District a convenient location to study language shift and maintenance. In addition, in Afar Regional State specifically in Dubte District, there was no study conducted before in order to investigate language shift and language maintenance.

Therefore, this study would attempt important to determine to what extent the language of the community shifts, and to know the mechanisms that the local people used to maintain their language. However, the researcher believes that such facts have great input to the field of study and investigated the previous issues in the study area. In fact, there was no research conducted so far regarding the socio-linguistic aspects which emphasizes on language shift and language maintenance in Dubte District. Thus, this study gives special emphases on language shift and language maintenance in Dubte District.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What are the social factors that could contribute for language shift in the Afar speech community of Dubte District?
2. What are the expressed domains that contribute for the language shift in the study area?
3. How can we maintain the Afar-af/ language in the speech community of Dubte District?

1.4 Objective of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective of the Study

The general objective of this study is to investigate the factors that contribute for language shift and language maintenance in Dubte District, Afar Regional State.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the studies are; -

- to recognize basic social variables that could contribute to language shift in the Afar speech community of Dubte District.
- to determine language, shift in different domains of Dubte District.
- to identify the factors that could play special role in language maintenance in Afar in the speech community of Dubte District.

1.5 Scope of the Study

This study is conducted only in Afar National Regional State, particularly zone one in Dubte District. The reason for the selection of this area is the linguistic complexity, and there were three big organizations, that mean two governmental organizations and one private plantation, such as Tendaho Sugar Company, Dubte Referral Hospital and Cotton Plantation in the study area respectively. People who come from different parts of the country, especially people from Amara and Tigray Regional States, work in these three organizations and live in the district. From time to time, the Afar people got the opportunity to speak Amharic as fluently as their mother tongue. In addition, because of time and economic constraints, it is difficult to address the issue in the other districts of the region. Thus, the study is limited to investigate Language Shift and Maintenance in Dubte District.

1.6 Significance of the Study

These findings of the paper would help the readers to understand the socio-linguistic mechanisms and their contributions in the study area. On the absence of any study about Language Shift and Language Maintenance in particular, the study would have important value and provide understanding to other researchers in related issues. The study would also help as a reference for the postgraduate students of Documentary Linguistics, Cultural and related fields of study.

The study may be used to create awareness on the governmental and non-governmental organizations and their interferences in the many development activities of the society as the linguistic behaviors of the members of the society were facts that address too many social activities.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Concept of Language Shift and Maintenance

The term language shift (LS) is used when the deflection of one language for another results not in the complete loss or death of the former, but rather the existence of high influence of the latter on the speech culture that finds itself in a communication situation. In sociolinguistic terms, LS involves the gradual replacement of one's main language or languages, sometimes called L1, by a different language, generally referred to as L2, in all uses in the area. The terms 'gradual' and methods pursued by the society in question are relevant in the description. In most situations, different forces and stresses that come from the other speech culture could be the causes that contribute for language death (Fishman, 2013: 466).

If language shift is characterized in all usage spheres as the process in which a language is gradually replaced by another language, often labeled as L2 could play as a dominant language. Language maintenance is best described as the continued use or retention of an L1, a minority or heritage language in one or more language usage spheres. Definitions of language maintenance seldom if ever address the question of the degree of use that a speaker or a group needs to have in order to talk about language maintenance. This may indicate the more extreme cases of language maintenance whereby the population of the language group transfers from one linguistic atmosphere (L2) to another (L1) (Clyne, 1991).

Just a few community members practice bilingualism involving the majority language, so that important contact can take place with the wider community. This language maintenance scenario can only occur in situations where the 'migrated' population or group is self-sufficient and only requires minimal contact with the wider community to survive. Definitions of these more extreme versions of language maintenance are Linguistic Enclaves (Pauwels, 2014).

There are many different social factors which can lead a group to move from using one language for most purposes to using another language, or from using two distinct codes in different

domains, to using different diversities of just one language for their communicative needs. The phenomena of Language Shift and Maintenance do not have clearly defined borders, but should be thought of as a movement across a continuum ranging from language maintenance to language death. Argues that the negative side of the continuum was portrayed in depth in the language maintenance / change continuum, in studies of erosion, transfer, endangerment, loss and death; whereas the other side of the continuum was examined much less closely, reversal, regeneration, reconstruction, revitalization and destabilization (Fase, 1992).

2.2 Language Contact

Many scholars in the field of language contact prefer to cite Weinreich's (1953:1) language contact definition, that is, when two or more languages get into contact, they have to be used alternatively by the same person. Fasold (1984: iii) points out language contact refers to a situation when different people with diversified linguistic behaviors come into contact, not only the people interact but also their languages interact. Moreover, Appel and Muysken (1987:1), state that language contact inevitably leads to bilingualism. Hence, language contact can be considered as a prerequisite for bilingualism.

According to Haugen cited in Kamwangamalu, Nkonko M. (2000:88), when two or more languages come into contact, as is the case in multilingual communities in Africa and elsewhere in the world, they color one another. He termed this coloring inter-lingual contagion, manifesting itself in language contact phenomena such as borrowing, code-switching, code-mixing, language change, pidginization, creolization and diglossia.

Coulmas (1997) quotes, language contact focuses on the traces that can be detected in linguistic system of the contact and interact with neighboring speech communities through bilingual members. Florian, Coulmas (1997:282) defines that language contact is "a prerequisite for language shifts". Language contact is "any situations in which speakers of two or more languages communicate with each other usually in person, but sometimes in writing (including e-mail)" Smelser, (2000): has listed down situations that lead to language contact-linguistic border, colonial expansion, ethno-linguistic enclaves, and post-colonial migration.

2.2.1 Code-Switching

Different scholars define code-switching differently. Hudson (1980: 56) defines code-switching as the use of different varieties at different times by the same speaker. Myers-Scotton (1997: 150) defines code-switching as “the selection by bilinguals or multi-lingual of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation”. According to Gumperz cited in Solé, M. (2003: 01), code-switching is “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical system or subsystem”. Weinreich, 1953 cited in Šabec (1997: 130) states code-switching as switching "from one language to another according to appropriate change in the speech situation (interlocutor, topic etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence".

As can be read in the vast literature, code-switching has become one of the most intensively investigated topics in the studies of contact phenomena (Kamwangamalu, 2000:94). Code-switching (or code-mixing) has been the objective of considerable attention in recent years; the topic has certainly aroused the curiosity of many researchers and a host of different aspects of it has been studied (Hoffman, 1994, Appelle and Muysken, 1987, Šabec, 1997:129, Kamwangamalu, 2000: 93-94). “Code-switching has flourished in recent years as part of a growing emphasis on sociolinguistic code-switching”. First, among the language contact phenomena code-switching is regarded as an infant phenomenon. Code-switching has been studied in considerable detail since 1970, from a sociolinguistic code-switching point of view: why do people switch between languages; from a psycholinguistic point of view: what aspect of their linguistic capacity enables them to switch and to have not simply introduced an element from another language into their linguistic system?

In different literature, scholars use different names for various types of code-switching. For instance, Appel and Muysken (1987:119) distinguish three types of code-switches on the bases of textual material. These are:

- a) **Intra-sentential Switches:** occur within a sentence.
- b) **Inter-sentential Switches:** occur among sentences.

c) **Tag-switches:** Involve a tag, exclamation, or a parenthetical in another language than the rest of the sentences.

On the other hand, Gumperz and Blom cited in Hudson (1980:56) states three types of code-switching:

1) **Metaphorical Code-switching:** a speaker switches his/her language to a variety or varieties of language which best suits for particular purpose.

2) **Conversational Code-switching:** every instances of switch are closely related to a change in the situations.

3) **Situational Code-switching:** refers to the relative appropriateness of different varieties of language in different situations.

2.2.2 Code-mixing

Code-mixing (CM) is a thematically related term, but the usage of the term code-mixing varies. In other words, it is another result of language contact phenomenon. Fasold (1984) defines code-mixing as the use of at least two languages together to the extent that interlocutors change from one language to another in the course of a single utterance. In addition, Wolff (2000: 317) defines code-mixing as a particular phenomenon which is intimately linked to individual multilingualism and has attracted much attentions referred to by terms such as code-choice, code-change, and code-mixing. For his purpose he used the term code-mixing to refer to any instances of interchanging usage of two or more languages within the same conversation or discourse by the same bilingual speaker.

Among the scholars, little consensus has been reached regarding the usage and functions of the terms: code-switching and code-mixing. Some scholars have made an attempt to make distinction between the two language contact outcomes (code-switching and code-mixing). For instance, Kamwangamalu (2000: 92) attempts to put distinction between code-switching and code-mixing as code-switching refers to language alteration across sentence boundaries, while code-mixing is language alteration within sentence boundaries. On the contrary, some also admit similarity between the two terms. In other words, some scholars use either term to denote the same practice. For example, Wolff (2000:317) sees the two phenomena as the same and used code-mixing as a cover term for terms such as code-change, code-choice and code-mix.

➤ *Why Do Bilinguals Code-switch?*

Prior to considering the reasons why bilinguals code-switch, it would be appropriate to deal with the two scholarly views. The first (purist) view of scholars considers language shift as bad. The second (non-purist) view sees code shift as linguistic ability. Regarding the former view, traditionally, language shift has been viewed as strategy to compensate for diminished language proficiency. In other words, there is predisposition to assume language shift as bad-mannered and shows disrespect to the routine culture of uttering and using language. The switch is mainly made due to the mood of speakers or he/she might feel that a particular part of the conversation can be best conveyed by switching to. However, the second view asserts language shift as natural bilinguals' ability almost everyone engaged in language shift every day. Because we all deal with different kinds of people with whom we have different levels of relationships in contexts of all sorts all the time.

Referential Function: refers to speakers' lack of knowledge in one language or lack of facility in that language on a certain subject. Certain subject may be more appropriately discussed in one language, and the introduction of such a subject may lead to a switch. It is a type of switch that bilingual speakers are most conscious about.

Directive Function: this type of switch involves the hearer and have two roles: to include certain person by using her/his language (i.e. accommodation) or to exclude certain person by using other language.

Meta-linguistic Function: this type of switching comes into effect when it is used in one way or another way on the language involved. Many examples of this kind of switches are found in the public domains: performers, circus directors, market and salespeople.

2.2.3 Borrowing

Kamwangamalu (2000: 89) defines borrowing as the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one language into another. The switching of word is the beginning of borrowing, which occurs when the new word is more or less integrated into the second language.

According to Wardhough (1977:237), borrowing is adding new items to a language or dialect by taking them from another language or dialect. Borrowing is not a new phenomenon. Speakers of one language take words and any linguistic elements or properties such as sound, phonological rules, grammatical morphemes, syntactic patterns and semantic associations from another language. This process is called borrowing which is defined as the use of linguistic items from one language in discourse in another language that shows no sign of adoption in the borrowing language. This kind of borrowing is said to be nonce borrowing. According to Haugen (cited in Appel and Muysken, 1987:164), there are three types of borrowing:

- a) **Loanwords**: morphemic in-part without substitution,
- b) **Loan blends**: both morphemic substitution and in-part,
- c) **Loan shift**: morphemic in-part without substitution and only meaning, single or composite is imported.

According to Campbell (1998: 69-70) there are criteria that address the question about how we identify loanwords. These are:

A) Phonological Clues: this is the strongest evidence for loanword identification and the directions of borrowing. It is concerned with phonological patterns of the language. Words containing sounds which are not normally expected in native words are candidates for loans.

B) Morphological Complexity: deals with the cases of borrowing, when the form in question in one language is morphologically complex (composed of two or more morphemes) or has an etymology which is morphologically complex, but the form in the other languages has no morphological analysis, then usually the donor language is the one with the morphologically complex form and the borrower is the one with the monomorphemic form.

C) Geographical and Ecological Clues: refers to associations of the words suspected of being loans whether they are borrowed and what the identity of the donor language is. There is a hot debate within bilingual studies in differentiating code switching from borrowing. In making distinction between the two language contact results, Winford (2003:107) supplies two major criteria in which code switching and borrowing are distinguished.

These are “degree of use by monolingual speakers” and “morphophonemic integration”. In this regard, Kamwangamalu (2000: 92) states that one of the criteria that set CS apart from the

language contact phenomena is non-integration borrowing. The different from borrowing in the following important aspects: in code switching first of all, the switched elements do not fill 'lexical gap' in the host language. Second, they are not restricted to a more or less limited set of lexically assimilated items accepted by the speech community of the host language; and thirdly, they are not necessarily into the host language by regular phonological and morphological processes. Besides, the only valid criterion that distinguishes code mixing from borrowing is the one that regards borrowing as phenomena that may take place in both bilingual and monolingual contexts, whereas code switching is a category that is available only to bilinguals. Similar, but not identical criteria were offered by Myers-Scotton, (1993).

A) Borrowing is the one that takes place by both monolinguals and bilinguals while code switching takes place only by bilinguals.

B) Borrowing is occurred by the need to bridge lexical gap, but the need in code switching is occurred by such a need subtle;

C) Borrowing is phonologically and morphologically adapted to the borrowing language while code switching structures are not.

He further forwards code switching should be distinguished from borrowing, where morphological assimilation of lexical items from the donor language into the recipient language is of essence and there we are basically dealing with one not with two linguistic systems. Similarly, Appel and Muysken (1987:172) suggests that in the classical views CS and borrowing can easily be kept apart: with code mixing the non-native items are not adopted morphologically and phonologically, with borrowing. However, they further mentioned that this view is problematic for at least two reasons: first, there may be different degrees of phonological adoption for borrowed items. Second, it is not evident that all non-adopted items are clearly cases of code mixing. According to Fasold (1984:181), the orthographic and pronunciation conventions can be used as criteria for separating borrowing from switching.

2.2.4 Bilingualism

One of the most common outcomes of language contact is bilingualism. In defining bilingualism there are two polar or extreme and well-known definitions of bilingualism. These are Bloomfield's definition (Appel and Muysken, 1987:2). As Bloomfield defines "a bilingual should possess 'native-like competence of two or more languages'".

Quite opposite to Bloomfield's definition, some authors called 'bilingual' if one has some second-language skill in one of the four modalities (listening, speaking, reading and writing) other than in his mother tongue. However, there are many intermediated definitions between the definitions above. For instance, Smelser (2001:117) defines "Bilingualism" is the regular use of two languages, and bilinguals are those people who use two languages. More specifically, he notes bilingualism as it refers to the individual competence of comprehension and production of two (natural) languages (language variants like dialects).

The following two dimensions are distinguished of bilingualism on the basis of relative competence and age of acquisition, among other dimensions. The first dimension includes:

Balanced Bilingual: refers to a person who has equivalent competence in both languages.

Dominant Bilingual: refers to a person's competence in one of the languages, more often in the mother tongue, which is superior to his competence in the other.

The second dimension involves:

Compound: implies two sets of linguistics that are associated with the same set of meaning.

Coordinate: refers to translation equivalents in the two languages corresponding to two different sets of representations.

On the other hand, the three natures of bilingual competences are distinguished: compound, coordinate and mixed. According to him, the former has a single meaning system with two sets of words, while the latter is assumed to have two meaning systems each with its own set of words.

Rubin (1968: 353) provides three categories of bilingualism:

Co-ordinate Bilingual: is one who speaks and understands both languages well.

Subordinate Bilinguals: are those who lack fluency and good understanding, but able to speak.

Incipient Bilinguals: are those only good at understanding, but they do not speak.

Similarly, Smelser, (p.1170) states that there are three types of bilingualism: Balanced bilingualism: having balanced and full competence in both languages. Imbalanced bilingualism: having bilingualism-dominance of one language; whereas, semi-balanced bilingualism is having imperfect competence in both languages.

2.3 Multilingualism and Bilingualism

We have stated that language maintenance and language shift is possible consequences of language contact. If the outcome of language contact is some degree language mixing, then we have a situation of bilingualism or multilingualism. The term ‘bilingualism’ rather than ‘multilingualism’ was preferred in earlier work on language mixing and language shift. This was probably due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of studies were concerned with language situations involving or seen to involve two languages. Only a minority of studies dealt with situations involving three or more languages. In migrant settings, this meant that the focus was on the heritage language and its competition with the dominant or majority language of the new environment. In the case of territorial minority settings, the bilingualism under investigation involved an individual’s or group’s use of the minority and majority languages. More recently, the term ‘bilingualism’ has given way to ‘multilingualism’, especially in relation to groups and communities rather than individuals. An example of this is the renaming of the Handbook of Bilingualism to the Handbook of Multilingualism in the 2013 revised edition (Bhatia and Ritchie 2013).

The original preference for the term ‘bilingualism’ was most likely linked to the prevalence of descriptive and analytic frameworks based on structuralism and operating with the (abstracted) notion of language rather than with the notion of language repertoires that is made up of several languages and language varieties (Weber and Horner 2012).

The greater prominence of the term ‘multilingualism’ can also be seen as a reaction to a heightened visibility and presence of linguistic diversity in communities, societies and countries around the world. It is also triggered in part by a reconceptualization of language use as a set of linguistic practices and repertoires on which an individual draw to communicate. Within current language maintenance and language shift research these two terms tend to be used

interchangeably when describing the two, three or multiple languages or language varieties used by individuals or groups in a contact situation. The definitions of bilingualism that have most currency in LM and LS research do not generally include a measure of proficiency, or, if they do, it is not seen as a central feature. For example, Haugen (1953) included people with a smattering of another language and those who have a high degree of competence in two languages. In Pauwels (1986: 7) bilingualism or bilinguals were defined as ‘those people who make use of more than one language and who recognize themselves, and are recognized by others as using more than one language, regardless of their degree of competence in those languages.

There are numerous typologies of bi- and multilingualism but many of these have no direct relevance to language maintenance research as they pay considerable attention to degrees of fluency or ‘mastery’ in the languages. A distinction that is pertinent for the study of LM and language shift is that between ‘stable’ bilingualism and ‘transitional’ bilingualism. Although the term ‘stable’ is somewhat clumsy, given that dynamism and fluidity are prominent features of any kind of bi- or multilingualism, it is meant to refer to situations where the result of language contact is one of continuing multilingualism. ‘Transitional’ multilingualism, on the other hand, is a more straightforward term indicating that the multilingual state of play in a group or community is a passing phase, most likely resulting in a reduced number of languages used, or even monolinguals. The outcome of this process is then indeed referred to as either LS or language death, as discussed before. Our dominant setting for analysis the migrant setting is best described as one of transitional multilingualism, Baetens-Beardsmore, Grosjean; Hamers and Blanc (1982-1983)

2.4 Language Shift

We start by defining language shift rather than language maintenance because language shift has affinity with a number of other terms such as language loss, language attrition, language obsolescence and language death, so that some delineation is desirable, where possible. If a language contact situation results in one or more languages being abandoned by speakers, the terms ‘language shift’, ‘language loss’, ‘language obsolescence’ and ‘language death’ can be applied. The term ‘language shift’ is used when the abandonment of one language for another language results not in the complete disappearance or death of the former but merely the

disappearance of it from the specific speech community (or part thereof) that finds itself in the contact situation. In sociolinguistic terms, language shift involves the gradual replacement of one's main language or languages, often labelled L1, by another language, usually referred to as L2, in all spheres of usage. Important in this definition are the phrases 'gradual' and 'spheres of usage: language shift is both a process and an outcome. It is a process because the move away from one language to another occurs gradually: this implies that it may take one or more generations of speakers before the language is entirely abandoned. It also implies that the shifting away from the L1 does not occur simultaneously across all its uses or functions; rather, it gradually recedes across an increasing number of uses, functions and settings.

Language shift is also an outcome when the language in question is no longer used by members of the community in any sphere of usage. The rate and speed of the shift process will vary from community to community. In some cases, the process is relatively swift, within one or two generations, and in other contexts it will take much longer. An example of the former is the Dutch migrant community in Australia where over 95 percent of second-generation Dutch Australians (the first generation to be born in Australia) no longer use and, in many instances, can no longer speak Dutch. This means that the shift from Dutch to English has occurred in one generation. A much slower process of language shift is one that spreads over many generations and/or centuries. Such a process is less likely to occur in migrant settings, although it can be witnessed among a number of communities that have maintained a life style that sets them apart from that of the new society (Mennonite and Amish groups in North America). Slower rates of language shift are more likely to be found in settings that we will label territorial minority settings, especially if they have resulted from changed political boundaries or political developments. The terms 'language loss', 'language death', 'linguistic/language extinction' and 'linguistic/language obsolescence' are used for the more dramatic outcomes of a language being abandoned by an entire speech community so that it is no longer used or spoken anywhere in the world. The process leading to language death or language extinction may also vary considerably in terms of speed and intensity. This will depend on the specific circumstances of the community and the triggers for change.

Yet in comparison to the process of language shift, language death is less likely to occur within one generation. However, there are circumstances where language death may occur relatively quickly after language contact: for example, if a speech community is fully eradicated, through illness, aggression or natural causes, then their language dies with them and this can of course happen swiftly. The violent eradication of Australian Aborigines living in Tasmania illustrates this scenario (Reynolds 1995). ‘Linguicide’ is the term that is sometimes used for the more violent and radical examples of language death (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1999). Indeed, use of the term ‘abandonment’ should not imply that this is mainly a voluntary process undertaken by the community in question. In most cases various forces and pressures external to the speech community are the triggers leading to language death as already exemplified previously.

The term ‘language attrition’, sometimes also labeled ‘language loss’, is mostly used to refer to reduced or diminishing linguistic competence of an individual speaker. Schmid, (2011), stresses that the term mainly applies to the loss or changes in grammatical and other linguistic features of a language as a result of its declining use by speakers who have changed their linguistic environment and language habits. While the process of language shift may go more naturally hand in hand with language attrition for certain speakers, the same can also be said for a relationship between language maintenance and language attrition. For example, a speaker of language A continues to maintain language A for certain functions and in some contexts, but, because he or she has little contact with the source community for that language, this speaker’s language may start exhibiting linguistic features typical of attrition, for instance, simplification of grammatical structures.

Language attrition is also found in speakers of ‘dying’ languages: Dorian’s (1981) study of a dying Scottish dialect clearly illustrates this point. Neither the topic of language death nor that of language attrition will be pursued further in this book. Both topics have, of course, links to the study of LS, but they have also become significant fields of study in their own right, generating numerous scholarly works that describe and document the process leading up to the (possible) extinction and death of a language.

2.5 Language Death

The death of language usually has effectively died long before the death of the last speaker of that language. This generally means that when a language no longer has any native speakers the term language death is used. In other words, language death refers to the complete disappearance of a language. Only extreme cases of language death could be the result of the sudden death of a whole community of speakers. More often, language death comes in a situation of language contact and shifting to bilingualism Romaine, 2000; Fishman, 1991; Fasold, (1984).

There is hypothesis in Language death under the specific label of death or demise. However, much of the relevant literature can be found under the labels of language drift, language shift, language replacement or language obsolescence. The study of Language Shift and Maintenance deals with the extent of change or retention of language and language features among a group that has more than one code for communication both within and outside the group. The term language death which generally includes the notions of maintenance, shift and loss, is closely linked with language viability. The implication is that language shift and loss go step by step, Fishman, (2001).

2.6 Language Maintenance

If language shifting is defined as the process in which a language is gradually replaced by another language, often labelled L2, dominant language or majority language, in all spheres of usage, then language maintenance is best described as the continued use or retention of an L1, a minority or heritage language in one or more spheres of language shift.

Definitions of language maintenance rarely if ever address the issue of the degree of usage that needs to be in place by either a speaker or a community to speak about language maintenance. More extreme cases of language maintenance are those where a community or language group moves from one linguistic territory into another but does not adopt the other language (L2) and continues to use its own language for all functions and in all contexts. Only a few members of the community develop bilingualism involving the majority language so that essential communication with the wider community can take place. This scenario of language maintenance can occur only in settings where the 'migrated' community or group is self-

sufficient and needs only minimal contact with the wider community for its survival. Linguistic enclaves or Sprachinseln are examples of these more extreme versions of language mixing.

In fact, in the previous chapter we pointed to Sprachinsel for schung as a precursor of language maintenance and language shift studies. Today, there are still some communities that exhibit features of the original linguistic enclaves, e.g., the Amish communities in parts of the United States and Canada, but they are unlikely to be able to maintain the same degree of linguistic isolation that former linguistic enclaves could maintain. The dominant or majority language that ‘surrounds’ them tends to infiltrate the community either for certain functions or in certain contexts. The term language maintenance is, however, also applied to situations where an L1 continues to be used in some but not all contexts by various generations of speakers. Key elements in identifying a situation of language maintenance are, therefore, (1) the period of continued use since the initial language contact, (2) the extent to which it is the exclusive language in any given context and (3) the number of contexts (usually called ‘domains’ or spheres of usage) in which the L1 continues to be used either exclusively or in conjunction with another language. Later in this book we shall explore these elements further. Here it suffices to say that situations that exhibit some continuation of L1, however minimal, over an extended period of time attract the label language maintenance.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. The Research Design

This section consists of discussion on three major techniques used in this study. These are data gathering technique, sampling technique and data analysis technique.

3.2. Data Gathering Technique

In the present study, data were collected from the population of two kebeles: Hanikis, and Alelo which are composed of different (age, gender, linguistic groups, education level, religion and occupation and intermarriage) using the three pronged approaches (questionnaire, interview, and participant observation). In addition to the aforementioned methods actual speeches from the subjects have been recorded. Questionnaire was the principal means of data gathering. Besides, the questionnaires were preferred because they were suitable to secure information from a large number of people. The questionnaires were prepared in English and were translated into Amharic and Afar-af. This is because of the simple reason, that this was enabled respondents to grasp the main idea of the given questionnaire and to react to the questions professionally. Interview and participant observation were the other means of data gathering in the present study.

The information gained by these techniques the two instruments served as an additional, complementary source of information to cross check the data that is obtained through other technique. Explicitly, an interview helped to gather information which was not being able to get easily and/or those which were inaccessible through the questionnaire. In line with this, participant observation was employed to verify the actual language shift in the social domains.

3.3. Sampling Technique

One of the most frequently used methods in sociolinguistics is random sampling, Šabec, N. (1997:139). According to her, this is the appropriate type of sampling to accommodate the different variables prevailing in the whole population in a city. Since, the present study area, Dubti town, is a multilingual setting where different languages are at play, to study the present

language shift situation in different domains, sample population of 180 were responded from whole sample population are 170 from different domains such as the social/public services (schools, health centers, workplace, religious and institutions); authorities (the Police station and the court); the market, home, neighborhood, and friendship from the two Kebeles. Examples of domains are the school, the family, employment, the playground, street, government and administrations. There are no universal sets of domains applicable to all speech communities.

3.4 Data Analysis Techniques

The obtained data is analyzed both in quantitative and qualitative methods. In the first step, the data which were gathered through questionnaire, interview and observation (schools, health centers, workplace, religious and institutions) were analyzed using qualitative technique by using into percentages, and tables. The percentages calculated to identify the significant differences of language shift and language attitude of respondents. This in turn has helped to determine the significant percentile differences between the research respondents' attitude for each language. The second set of data which are gathered by recorder, that is, the data which are expected to constitute words, sentences, utterances and dialogues from subjects in different social contexts and narrations were described and analyzed by using qualitative technique.

3.5 Procedure of the Research

Before the commencement of the study, a letter was obtained from Ethics committee of the College of Social Sciences and Humanities. Approval letter was obtained from concerned bodies. Then the individual respondents would be kindly requested to participate in the survey to fill the questionnaire. Then, all the respondents were informed about the objectives of the study, and data collection activities and verbal consent was obtained.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF THE STUDY

This chapter presents the participants’ demographic, background information, and the results found through the three basic questions of the study which helped to investigate Afar Language shift and maintenance: The Case of Dubte District in Afar Region State. The three questions used were:

- What are the social factors that could contribute for language shift in the Afar speech community of Dubte District?
- What are the verbalized domains that contribute for the language shift in the study area?
- How can we maintain the Afar language in the speech community of Dubte District?

4.1 Participants’ Demographic Background Information

Table 1. Demographic Data

Age		Gender	
Age	No.	Males No.	Females No.
(20 – 29)	30	8	26
(30 – 39)	34	28	9
(40 – 49)	28	19	11
(50 – 59)	44	22	14
60 and above	32	28	5
Total	170	105	65
Marital Status		Residency/Living place	
Marital Status	No.	Residency /Living place	No.
Single	21	Afar neighborhood	95
Engaged	23	Amara neighborhood	37
Married	115	Mixed neighborhood	28
Widowed	8	Other...	10
Divorced	3		

Total	170		170
Occupation		level of education	
Occupation	No.	level of education	No.
Business	67	Primary school	15
Education	54	Middle school	36
Technical field	0	Secondary school	48
Civil service	23	Diploma	33
Handicraft field	0	B.A	22
Student	17	M.A	14
No occupation	0	Ph.D.	3
House wife	9		
Other	0		
Total	170		170

Source: own survey, 2022

4.2 Data Analysis and Discussion on the Demographic Characteristics

The major characteristics of individuals in the sample are summarized in the above table (1). Respondents in this research involve the use of mother-tongues, Afar af, Amharic, Tigregna, Afan-Oromo. In response to the question “What is your first language?” majority of the respondents claimed, a two languages (Afar-af and Amharic).

The data obtained from respondents demonstrate Afaraf MTs and Amharic MTs speakers were greater in number. Those indicated 95 and 37 of respondents were Afar af and Amharic MTs respectively. From this data, one can understand that Amharic and Afar af are the two languages having many first language speakers in the town. This could imply dominance of Amhara demographically in the town. It also indicates Amharic speaker have high ethno-linguistic vitality in the vicinity of Dubte town.

Concerning the data on ethnic group distribution of respondents, the data in the above table (1) shows that different language speakers were residing in Dubte town. Of the various ethno-linguistic groups living together, the striking feature reveals that the dominance of Afar, and

Amhara respectively in the research area (Dubte town). As opposed to this, Tigray, Oromo, and Wolayta live in a lesser extent in the town.

Occupation is one of the important factors that determine language custom behaviors in a multilingual setting. It accelerates contact among ethno-linguistic groups. As a result, of this, participants of this research were characterized by different occupations. This inevitably leads people to operate different languages in their daily interactions with people having the same occupation. Subsequently, participants of this research in the area entail occupations such as farmers, government employees, traders (merchants), students, teachers, public workers, and shopkeepers in the above table (1). One unique occupation probably that sets out, this research area from other urban areas in the region, is the existence of farming. Respondents' occupation in this study was dichotomized into governmental (employee, public workers, teachers, and students) and non-governmental (farmers, merchants, and shopkeepers) for convenience. Of these immense numbers of occupations, most of the participants were students followed by employees.

It is assumed that religion plays a significant role in influencing language shift behavior among different religion followers while carrying on their religious activities. Hence, the numbers of those people who adhere to different religion were displayed in the above table (1). As designated numerically in the above table, there were significance differences between religions. Concerning their religion, most of the respondents were Muslim religion followers. This implies that Muslim religion followers exceed the rest of religions in the research area this is mainly because the Afar are exclusively Muslim religion followers while other ethnic groups were composed of all the existing religions.

Generally speaking, the respondents of this research were dwellers of Dubte town. According to the administration of the town, two ethnics Afar and Amhara were mixed up and form one. As a result of this, the two ethnic are unevenly distributed in terms of composition. Therefore, in order to account this, participants for this study were composed of these two Amhara and Afar. The respondents' residence profile is put as in the above table (1).

Intermarriage or cross marriage is one of the internal stratification of community that can extremely affect the language shift in a community. Concerning intermarriage, elderly people asserted that intermarriage with Afar is less frequent than other ethnic groups. In the Afar ethnic group two peculiar factors seem to influence intermarriage. These factors are originated from cultural and religious issues. In relation to the former factor, men are permissible to marry from other ethnic group (outside their ethnic group), whereas females are not.

The second factor which is also common for other ethnic group members of Muslim religion followers, emanated from religion. It is a determinant factor that obstructs intermarriage among ethnic groups having diversified religions. Besides, even in the case of men inter-marriage is conditioned by the sameness in religion.

4.3 Respondents' Language Skill/Proficiency

Under this section items were asked the subjects to rate their language skill/proficiency. Respondents' language proficiency is categorized into four integrated language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) by using three point scales. Tables 2 and 3 present data on language proficiency of respondents. Language proficiency self-assessment could best predict the levels of LM and LS, David, et al, (203:10).

Table 2 the Extent of Language shift

Skills	Language	Proficiency							
		Often		Some times		Never		Total	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Speaking	Afar-af	65	38.23	43	25.3	42	24.7	150	100
	Amharic	70	41.2	79	46.5	11	6.5	160	100
	Tigrigna	59	34.7	67	39.4	14	8.23	140	100
	Afan-Oromo	39	22.94	71	41.76	20	11.76	130	100
Listening	Afar-af	73	42.94	81	47.64	11	6.5	165	100
	Amharic	68	40.0	76	44.7	26	15.3	170	100
	Tigrigna	57	33.52	43	25.3	46	27.0	135	100
	Afan-Oromo	28	16.8	39	22.94	88	51.76	155	100
Reading	Afar-af	51	30.0	63	53.0	25	14.0	139	100
	Amharic	60	35.3	78	45.9	11	6.5	149	100
	Tigrigna	7	4.11	42	24.7	58	34.11	107	100
	Afan-Oromo	9	5.3	21	12.35	67	39.41	97	100
Writing	Afar-af	15	8.82	69	40.9	58	34.1	142	100
	Amharic	98	57.64	66	38.82	5	2.94	169	100
	Tigrigna	14	8.23	24	14.11	87	51.2	125	100
	Afan-Oromo	13	7.64	29	17.0	55	32.35	97	100

Source: own survey, 2022

Table 3 Respondents' mean scores of the four-language skill/proficiency in each language:

Languages / Skills	Listening	Mean	Speaking	Mean	Reading	Mean	writing	Mean
Afar-af	"	2.3	"	2.1	"	2.1	"	1.7
Amhari	"	2.5	"	2.3	"	2.4	"	2.6
Tigrinya	"	2.2	"	2.1	"	1.6	"	1.4
Afan-Oromo	"	1.2	"	1.5	"	1.2	"	1.3

Source: own survey, 2022

In spite of the fact that respondents of this research were vary in their language skills, they provide their skill/proficiency in each languages as presented in the above table (3). The respondents' language skill/proficiency for each language presented in the above table (3) thus far is described above. One can see the mean score of the Afar-af language in table 3 and the proficiency level in in the above table (2) contradicts each other. However, in table three above it was presented in comparison with the proficiency level of other language.

➤ **Respondents' Listening Proficiency in Each Language**

The obtained mean score calculated for the respondents' listening proficiency in Afar af 2.3 and, Amharic, 2.5 and are nearly equal and significantly exceed the expected mean score. The respondents do have relatively equal proficiency in listening skill of all the languages. This indicates respondents' have good proficiency in listening for all the stated languages in varying levels.

➤ **Respondents' Speaking Skill/Proficiency in Each Language**

Regarding the respondents speaking proficiency, while the obtained calculated mean score in Afar-af and Amharic, is in Amharic is much greater than other languages, this shows respondents are not proficient. From the above discussion, it is possible to infer that regardless of the respondents are proficient in Afar-af; respondents are more proficient in Amharic than the Afar languages. This indicates that respondents are bilinguals with Two speaking proficiency of languages.

➤ **Respondents' Reading Skill/Proficiency in Each Language**

Concerning respondent's proficiency in reading skill the mean score for Amharic and Afar-af, is (2.4 and 2.1) respectively. This indicates the respondents have a good reading skill in both Afar af and Amharic; however, they are more proficient in reading Amharic than Afar af. This has to do with the fact that those languages in which respondents respond having less proficiency are said to be languages having no role in education whereas those languages in which respondents respond having good proficiency are said to be used in education system in schools.

➤ **Respondents' Writing Skill/Proficiency in Each Language**

With respect to respondents' writing proficiency in Amharic, (2.6) is significantly exceeded the expected mean score (1.5). However, the obtained mean score calculated for respondents' writing proficiency in Afar af, (1.7) is relatively equal to the expected mean score whereas respondents' proficiency in Tigrinya and Afan-Oromo (1.3 and 1.4) are relatively equal and it is

less than the expected mean score. Therefore, respondents' language proficiency shows that respondents are shifting to the use of Amharic.

To summarize, from the above discussion it is evident that respondents have better proficiency in the first two skills in the majority of languages in question whereas they have lesser proficiency in the two latter languages skills (in reading and writing). This is due to the reason that the languages have in significant role in the education system. While Afar af is only given as school subject in elementary school, Tigrinya and Afan-Oromo have no role to play in the education system of the region in general and the research area in particular.

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the first two skills (Listening and Speaking) in which the respondents are proficient. Besides, the figure on table (3) shows knowledge of Amharic is much more common in the town; there is also substantial bilingualism between the two main languages (Amharic, and Afar af). The consistent good proficiency of respondents' shown for the majority of participants both in Amharic and Afar af are mainly emanated from educational role of the two languages. However, the above description/analysis, it is possible to draw two main findings: first, nearly all of the respondents were bilinguals in all the languages; second, there is a shift of respondents towards Amharic; It clearly shows that the respondents were bilinguals.

These mean that there is interaction between two and more language speakers in the study area that can lead to language shift. Generally, finding by the idea of, Macnamara, (1987). Somebody should be called a bilingual if he has some second language skill in one of the four modals (listening, speaking, reading and writing).

- **Results of the First Question: What are the social factors that could contribute for language shift in the Afar speech community of Dubte District?**

This question deals with the language that social factors that could contribute for language shift in the Afar speech community of Dubte District in different domains.

In this section, language shift across different domains such as the home, neighborhood, and friendship, recreational, school, gov't officials', local businesses, the domain of worship,

Language and Media and social gathering places is presented and discussed. The analysis of these domains of language use highlights the description of the functional distribution of Afar-af, Amharic, Afan-Oromo and Tigrigna in the research setting. To some domains more than one language could be used. To the subsequent sections the major domains of language use will be described in detail. Along with the respondents' report on their language use in various domains, the researcher will cross-check it with the data gained through interview and observations.

4.4 Language shift in Home Domain

Home is a setting where members of a family usually interact with each other. The interaction within family members in the home is believed to be the final spot in which a community language can be shift and maintain. Hence, the home is the last bastion of community languages. Regarding this Clyne (1997) argues that the home domain is the least locale in which minority languages can survive. In line with this, respondents of this study were asked what Language(s) they most often use with their family members (grandparents, parents, children, Brothers/sisters and relatives) in the home domain. Their responses are presented and analyzed in the following table. Language shift in the home domain: with parents, grandparents, children, Brothers/sisters, servants and relatives.

Table 4 Language shift at Home and among the Family Members

Language	What language do you speak most often at home domain with :												Total
	Parents		Grandparents		Children		Brothers/sisters		relatives		Servant		
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Afar-af	26	15.3	17	10.0	21	12.35	19	11.18	23	13.5	4	2.35	110
Amharic	15	8.82	2	2.2	6	3.52	9	5.3	4	2.35	3	1.8	39
Afar-af + Amharic	3	1.8	1	0.6	2	2.2	3	1.85	-	-	1	0.6	10
Afan-Oromo	2	2.2	-	-	-	-	1	0.6	-	-	1	0.6	4
Tigrigna	2	2.2	-	-	1	0.6	3	1.8	-	-	1	0.6	7
Afar-af + Afan-Oromo	-		-	-	4	2.35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Afar-af + Tigregna	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-
Total													170

Source: own survey, 2022

As it can be observed from table (4), the majority of respondents, 26 (15.3%), the use of Afar language in the home domain with their parents, On the other hand, the use of other languages in the home domain with parents is lesser. This shows that Afar language by the use of Afar language is dominantly used by respondents with their parents.

The large number of respondents, 17 (10%), use Afar af while communicating with their grandparents. Next to Afar af, Amharic is dominantly used, with 2 (2.2%) respondents. However, the uses of Tigrigna, Afan-Oromo are lesser in the home domain while respondents communicate with their grandparents. Moreover, the alternate use of all languages except Amharic and Afar af is not claimed by respondents when they communicate with their grandparents in the home domain.

The respondents, who have children, 21 (12.35%), use Afar af while communicating with their children at home. Following use of Amharic 6 (3.52%), respondents use Amharic with their children. The least number of respondents use Tigregna with their children, 1 (0.6%).

When we consider language use of respondents with their parents, the majority of respondents, use of Afar af while communicating with their brothers and sisters at home, 19 (11.18%) Amharic takes the second rank being used between respondents and siblings in the home domain, with 9 (5.3%) respondents. On the contrary, the use of other languages is lesser when respondents communicate with their brothers in the home domain. Regarding language use of respondents with their relative face to face, of the total (100%), 3 (1.8%) respondents use Afar af; 4(2.35%) use Amharic while communicating with their relative at home. However, the use of Tigrigna, Afan-Oromo and other is reported while no responded to communicate with their relative at home. In general, all languages; Afar-af, Amharic, Afan-Oromo and Tigrigna are used in the home domain. However Afar-af is predominantly used. Languages/Afar af is extensively used while respondents communicate with their family.

Table (4) indicates that most of Afar people use their ethnic language/ Afar af when they talk with family members and relatives; father, mother, children, brothers and sisters. This result agrees, over the family meetings and in meeting relatives face to face Afar af.

Hofman, J.& Cais, J. (1984). Assert that a shift from the 'melting pot 'ideal to that of 'cultural diversity' would imply a shift towards favoring mother tongue maintenance among members of minority groups. In addition, confirms the role of family with minority children in maintaining their ethnic language by encouraging parents to talk with their children and teach them things that interest the members of their ethnic group.

4.5 Language Shift in Neighborhood, Friendship and Recreational Domain

In this section, language shift in the neighborhood, friendship and recreational domain is analyzed.

Table 5: Language shift in the neighborhood domain

Domain	Setting	Interlocutor	Language	Frequency	Percentage
Neighborhood	Neighborhood	Neighbor	Afar-af	57	33.5
			Amharic	36	21.2
			Tigrigna	4	2.3
			Afan-Oromo	3	1.8
			Afar-af + Amharic	70	41.2
			Other	-	-
			Total	170	100

Source: own survey, 2022

As the above data reveals there are about four languages in use either exclusively or alternatively with Afar-af in the neighborhood domain. These are Afan-Oromo, Amharic, and Tigrigna. Of these languages, Amharic is widely used, with 57 (33.5%) respondents followed by Afar-af, 36 (21.2%) respondents. next to Afar + Am, 70 (41.2%) of respondents. The alternate use of Amharic and Afar-af while respondents communicate with their neighbors is also significant. According to the above data Oromifa and Tigrigna are used in the neighborhood domain .to a lesser extent. Generally, in this domain, Amharic is found to be the most dominant language followed by Afar-af.

4.5.1 Language shift in friendship domain

Table 6: Language use in friendship domain

Domain	Setting	Interlocutor	Language	Frequen	Percentage
--------	---------	--------------	----------	---------	------------

				cy	
Friendship	Cafeteria	Friend	Afar-af	64	37.65
			Amharic	74	43.5
			Tigrigna	2	1.2
			Afan-Oromo	4	2.35
			Afar-af + Amharic	26	15.3
			Afar-af+Afan-Oromo	-	-
			Afar-af+Tigregna	-	-
			Total	170	100

Source: own survey, 2022

As depicted in the above table, the majority of respondents, 74 (43.5%), Amharic while communicating with their friends followed by Afar-af, 64 (37.657%) respondents. The alternate use of Amharic and Afar-af takes the third largest proportion to be used between respondents and their friends, with 26(15.3%) respondents. The use of Afan-Oromo and Tigrigna is lesser in the friendship domain.

In general, Amharic is a predominant language of friendship domain. Observation of the researcher also conveyed the dominant use of Amharic in this domain. These mean that there is interaction between two and more language speakers in the study area that can lead to language shift.

4.5.2 Language shift in recreational domain

Among the total sample, 170 (100%) respondents have an experience of recreation café.

Accordingly, they have reported on their language shift in recreational places.

Table 7: Language shift in recreational domain

Domain	Setting	Interlocutor	Language	Frequency	Percentage
Recreational	Cafeteria	Waiters/ Waitress	Afar-af	26	15.3
			Amharic	76	44.7
			Tigrigna	-	-
			Afan-Oromo	-	-
			Afar-af + Amharic	68	40.0
			Afar-af+Afan-Oromo	-	-
			Total	170	100

Source: own survey, 2022

As can be seen from the above table, more than half of the respondents, 76(44.7%), use Amharic while communicating with waiters. A considerable number of respondents, 68(40%), use both Amharic and Afar-af alternatively while communicating with waiters/waitress in cafe's/bars. The sole change/shift of Afar-af in recreational area is lesser, 26(15.3%) respondents. Moreover, the alternate use of Amharic and Oromifa is infrequent. Generally, Amharic is widely used in recreational areas as the above data indicates. It is also insured by the researcher while observing language shift in the recreational domain.

4.6 Language Shift in Court, Workplace, Public Security, Health Centers, and Market Domains

This section describes the situation of language shift in government offices such as court, public security, health center, and workplace arenas. Thus, in subsequent sections the respondents' response on what language(s) they most often use in Court, public security, health center and workplace are described in details in line with the data gained through observations and interview.

4.6.1 Language shift in court

A court is one of the domains where different language speakers interact with judge to accuse someone or defend prosecution. Out of the total sample, 170(100%) respondents have an experience of going court. In line with this, they were asked to report on their language use in court. The result of the report, hence, is revealed in table (8) below.

Table 8: Language shift in court

Domain	Setting	Interlocutor	Language used	Frequency	Percentage
Administration	Court	Judge	Afar-af	56	32.94
			Amharic	49	28.82
			Af+Am	65	38.23
			Total	170	100

Source: own survey, 2022

As can be seen from the above table, the majority of the respondents 56(32.94%), use Afar-af while communicating with judge in the court domain. While 49(28.82%) respondents help Amharic in court. They claimed that, they express their ideas in Amharic then the interpreter interprets their ideas in to Afar-af and again when the judge reply the interpreter interprets it into Amharic to the non- Afar-af speakers. Similarly, the researcher also observed the same thing while the legal process was going on in the court domain. The least number of respondents, 65(38.23%) use alternatively Amharic and Afar-af in the court domain.

4.6.2 Language shift in the workplace

Workplace is another setting where different ethno-linguistic groups interact with each other for different purposes. According to Fishman (1971), workplaces are formal domains of language use. There are many government offices which bring together many people from various ethno-linguistic groups in Dubti town. Language use in workplace is mainly between workers and boss, workers and workers, and workers and customers. In accordance with this, out of the total sample, 60 (23.71%) respondents are government employees in different offices. They were asked to report on their language use in their workplaces with their boss, colleagues and customers. Consider the table (9) below.

Table 9: Language shift in workplaces

Language	Interlocutors					
	Boss		Colleagues		Customers	
	Fr		Fr		Fr	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Afar-af	64	37.65	44	25.9	46	27,05
Amharic	32	18.85	62	36.5	52	30.6
Afar-af/Amharic	74	43.5	64	37.6	72	42.35
Total	170	100	170	100	170	100

Source: own survey, 2022

Table (9) above shows the language used at work with fellow employees. As conveyed in the table above, out of the total sample,64(37.65 %) respondents are government employees in different institutions found in Dubti town. They were asked to report on their language use in their respective workplace with different interlocutors. When we consider language use of

respondents with their boss, Afar-af and Amharic is mostly used 74(43,5%) followed by Afar-af 64(37.65%). The alternate use of Amharic and Afar-af is higher in the interactions of worker and boss.

A considerable number of respondents 72 (42.35%) use Amharic and Afar af while communicating with customers in the workplaces. While 52(30.6%) respondents use Amharic with customers. The data which obtained from observations and interview indicate that Afar-af and Amharic are major languages in the work places. The phenomena could be attributed to the sociolinguistic contexts of the workplace. Workers working in offices under Afar Regional State usually use Afaraf and sometimes use alternatively Afar-af and Amharic, while workers working in offices under Federal Government of Ethiopia usually use Amharic and sometimes both languages.

Furthermore, in the offices that are under Afar Regional State, workers use Afar-af in formal situations (e.g. meeting, writing), but in informal occasions (e.g. spoken) they use Amharic and alternatively both languages to each other and customers. Moreover, it seems Amharic is reserved for spoken interactions and Afar-af is used for written purposes such as writing letter, report, notices and the like. In general, in the work places (offices), Afar-af is dominantly used when government employee respondents communicate with their boss. On the other hand, when government employee respondents communicate with their colleagues and customers the alternate use of Amharic and Afar-af is dominant.

4.6.3 Language shift in public security

Out of the total sample, 80(47.0%) respondents have experiences of interacting with police. They were asked to report on their language use while interacting with police. The result of the report, therefore, is revealed in table (10) below.

Table 10: Language shift in public security

Domain	Setting	Interlocutor	Language	Frequency	Percentage
Administration	Police station	Police	Afar-af	54	31.8
			Amharic	36	21.2
			Afar+Am	80	47.0
			Total	170	100

Source: own survey, 2022

As disclosed in the above table, the majority of the respondents, 80(47%) use Afar af and Amharic while communicating with police; 54(31.8%) respondents use Afar af. The use of Amharic is reported by less number of respondents, 36(21.2%). The above data as well as observation of the researcher generally shows that Afar-af and Amharic is dominantly used in the public security domain followed by Amharic.

4.6.4 Language shift in health center

Health center is an important domain where various people come to get services they want. In accordance with this, out of the sample, 77 (45.3%) respondents conveyed that they have experiences of going to health centers. They were asked to report on their language shift in health center.

Table 11: Language shift in health center

Domain	Setting	Interlocutor	Language shift	Frequency	Percentage
Administration	Health center	Physician	Afar-af	57	33.5
			Amharic	36	21.2
			Afar+Am	77	45.3
			Total	170	100

Source: (own survey, 2022)

As shown in the above table (11), relatively half of the respondents, 77 (45.3%) reported that they alternatively shift Afar-af and Amharic at health centers. Afar-af is takes the second largest to be rummage-sale between respondents and their physician, with 57 (33.5%) respondents. A considerable number of respondents reported that they use Amharic with their specialist, with 36(21.2%) respondents.

In general, the alternate shift of Afar-af and Amharic is dominant in health centers followed by the exclusive shift of Amharic. The researcher observation of the health center domain also shows similar finding. The language shift situation of one hospital (Dubti hospital) and two

clinics was observed by the researcher. The interaction between patients and physician was taken place predominantly by changing the two languages alternatively.

4.6.5 Language shift in market domain

In market domain, different people with different backgrounds interact with each other for trading purpose. Therefore, it is one of the most important domains to describe language shift. The Dubte markets are a setting where people of different linguistic and ethnic backgrounds interact with each other two times a week: Sunday and Thursday. There are two market places in the town. These are local animal markets and a principal market.

Table 12: Language shift in market

Language shift		
Language	Fr	%
Afar-af	52	30.6%
Amharic	88	51.8%
Tigrigna	-	-
Afan-Oromo	-	-
Af+Am	30	17.6%
Af+Oro	-	-
Total	170	100%

Source: (own survey, 2022)

As depicted in the table above, out of the sample, 170(100%) respondents use Amharic with buyers or sellers while buying or selling different commodities in the market, 88 (51.8%) respondents use Afar-af, 52 (30.6%) respondents the alternate use Amharic and Afar-af 30 (17.6%). Amharic used in market domain either exclusively or alternatively together. This, the use of Amharic is widely used. To line with this, the researcher personally observed the market domain when people buy or sell different commodities from each other.

Transactions were carried out in different languages; Oromifa, Arabic and tigre the alternation of Amharic and some other languages. The change of Amharic and Afar-af is the most usually used

language between buyers and sellers in the market places. The sole usage of Amharic and Afar-af are also meaningfully used in the market places.

However, the alternation of Amharic and Afar-af is predominantly used followed the sole use of Afar-af and Amharic in the market domain. These mean that there is interaction between two and more language speakers in the study area that can lead to language shift.

4.7 Language shift in school domain

Fasold (1984) state that school is one of the main agents of language spread, education and language have a very close relationship. On one hand, the acquisition of knowledge is highly connected to the ability to speak and understand a language.

Meyer and Richter, (2003) defines language due to its function as a means of cognition, promotes and secures the acquisition of knowledge. Schools are a domain in which members of all ethno-linguistic groups are served. Of the total sample, 66(26%) respondents are students at both primary and secondary levels. They were asked to report on their language use with their teachers and classmates in the school domain. In accordance with this, their responses have been analyzed in the following table.

Table 13: Language shift in school domain

Setting School level		Interlocutor	Language								
			Afar		Amharic		Afar-af + Amharic		Af + En	Am + Eng	Total
			No	%	No	%	No	%	No	No	
School	1-4	Teacher	48	28.23	63	37.0	64	28.82	-	-	170
		Student	58	34.11	53	33.5	49	37.64	-	-	170
School	5-8	Teacher	50	29.41	65	38.23	55	32.35	-	-	170
		Student	66	38.82	64	37.64	40	23.52	-	-	170
School	9-12	Teacher	30	17.64	55	32.35	50	29.41	32	28	170
		Student	50	29.41	30	17.64	57	33.52	5	3	170

Source: (own survey, 2022)

As demonstrated in the table above, three languages: Afar-af, Amharic and English are used in the school domain. In the first cycle of elementary level (1-4th grades), communication between students and teachers is dominated by the custom of Afar-af followed by Amharic. The substitute use of Amharic and Afar-af and the additional use of Amharic and English are lesser. Besides, communication among students is widely carried out through the use of Afar-af. The alternate use of Amharic and Afar-af and the sole use of Amharic are also significantly used between students at this school level.

In the second cycle of elementary level (5_8th grades), communication between students and teachers is mostly conducted by Amharic, 65(38.32%), followed by Afar af50(29.41%). The alternate use of Amharic and Afar-af is also significantly used for this function, 55(32.35%). On the other hand, communication among students is carried out mostly in alternation of Amharic and Afar-af, 66(38.82%), followed by the sole use of Amharic, 64(37.64%). The exclusive shift of Afar-af is less significant in communication between students at this school level, 40(23.52%). In the secondary level (9_12th grades), communication between students and teachers is frequently carried out through Amharic, 55(32.35%). A considerable number of student respondent's usage Afar-af 30 (17.64%).

The teachers use Amharic and Afar-af alternatively 50(29.4%), respondent's Afar-af and English 32(18.82%), and the alternation of Amharic and English 28(16.5%) while communicating with their student. On the other hand, with regard to communication among students, majority of respondents use Amharic and Afar af while communicating with their classmates, 57 (33.52%), and the respondents use Afar af50 (29.4%) respondents use Amharic alternatively 30 (10.3%) respondents use Afar af and English,5(2.94%), Amharic and English 3 (1.76%) alternatively with their classmates. The above data indicates, Amharic, afar-af and English are used either exclusively or alternatively in school domain.

In general, regard to first cycle of elementary school (1_4th grades) Afar-af is dominantly used followed by Amharic. However, in the case of second cycle of elementary school (5_8th grades) the alternate use of Afar-af and Amharic is most common whereas in the secondary school (9-12th grades) Amharic is used more frequently than Afar-af.

2^h grades) Amharic is dominantly used followed by Afar-af. This attributes to the reason that both languages have significant role as medium of instruction in elementary level in the study area. From this finding we can assume that as the school level of pupils’ increases, the language they use is more of SL, i.e. Amharic.

4.8 Language shift in religious domain and social gathering places

This section presents language shifts in the religious institutions and social gathering places.

4.8.1 Language shift in religious domain

Fishman (1991), Language will have a better chance for maintenance when it is used in religious affairs of its respective speakers. Language and religion are highly interrelated singularities. Religion is also the most important domain to maintain and develop a language of its respective followers. It plays a vital role in shaping a language use of an individual and society. The religious domain is the first social structure outside the family that aims to influence language shift." Language is an important instrument through which religious issues are practically manifested, Clyne (1997).

Table 14: language shift in religious domain

Language(s)	when praying and discussing with religious leaders			
	Praying in group		Discussing spiritual Issues with religious leaders	
	No.	%	No.	%
Afar-af	60	35.3	64	37.6
Amharic	38	22.35	71	41.8
Arabic	72	42.35	35	20.6
Other	-	-	-	-
Total	170	100	170	100

Source: (own survey, 2022)

As shown in Table (14), , 72 (42.35%) of the participants use Arabic when they pray, 60 (35.3%) often use the Afar language. When they speak with their fellow worshippers, the majority of them 71 (41.8%) prefer using Arabic, 64 (37.6%) use only the Afar languages 35 (20.6%) use Amharic.

Respondents of this study were asked to report on what language(s) them most frequently use in the religious domain such as churches, mosques and other traditional religious practices areas with religious leaders, and other followers of the religion. Their responses are described in the following table.

4.8.2 Language shift at social gathering places

Social gathering places such as social clubs, wedding and funeral ceremonies are very important to describe language use. They are important because they are areas where different people from different ethnic groups interact with each other. With regard to this, respondents were asked to report on their language shift at these places. Consider the following table.

Table 15: language shift at social gathering places

Language	Language shift at social gathering places	
	Frequency	Percent
Afar-af	51	30.0
Amharic	53	31.2
Af+Am	66	38.8
Total	170	100

Source: (own survey, 2022)

As depicted in the above table, with regard to language use at social gathering places, most respondents The alternate use of Amharic and Afar-af is also used at this setting, 66 (38.8%) use Amharic followed by Afar-af, 53(31.2%) and 51(30%) respondents, respectively. The alternate use of Amharic and Afar-af is also used at this setting, 66(38.8%) is widely used at social gathering places followed by Afar-af. The use of other languages at this setting is less dominant.

4.9 Discussion of the results Related to Language shift in different domain

Table (4) indicates that most of Afar people use their ethnic language (Afar-af) when they talk with family members and relatives (father, mother, children, brothers and sisters) over the family meetings and in meeting relatives face-to-face Afar-af). In addition, confirms the role of family with minority children in maintaining their ethnic language by encouraging parents to talk with their children and teach them things that interest the members of their ethnic group, Fillmore

(2000). Results reported in Table (5) and Table (6) concerning the language used in the neighborhood in friendship domain and (7) recreational domains demonstrate that Amharic is used by the Afar community more than the ethnic language when they talk with their friends and people in the neighborhood, recreational places and when they talk with their friends. They use Amharic due to mixing with other people from other minorities who do not know the Afar language.

These results match Fishman (1989) who assures that cultural and linguistic shift is inevitable. It is inevitable also that the languages of these ethnicities will be modified as well. Language shift, in the usual linguistic sense of alteration in lexicon, semantics, syntax and phonology, is, of course, always ongoing, particularly between languages in contact,

Again, results shown in Table (8) Language shift in court, Table (9) workplace domains indicate that the vast majority of the participants use Amharic at Judge in in court, with police at public security, with physician in health center and at work place also talking with fellow employees, discussing with the boss or general topics with their colleagues at work. Similarly, the results in Table (10) public security, Table (11) health centers, Table (12) market and Table (15) show Amharic as the major language used by the participants in talking with in market domain or going to local businesses as well as social gathering place.

These results agree with Fishman (1989) who believes that in some cases the partial language shift is possible. The ethnic language is replaced only in certain areas of interaction "and a new pattern of inter-generational continuity is then stabilized.

Table 13 in school domain indicates that Education Background Based on result mentioned education almost there are lower grade being a factor for the changes majority of the interviewees mentioned, not having a formal afar language in high school education in region as there shift to be, has contributed largely to the shift. Besides, they mention how children are influenced by the languages shift at school.

These results match Fishman (1989) who assures that cultural and linguistic change is inevitable. It is inevitable also that the languages of these ethnicities will be modified as well.

Language change, per se, in the usual linguistic sense of alteration in lexicon, semantics, syntax and phonology, is, of course, always ongoing, particularly between languages in contact.

2. Results of the second Question; the second question of the study is “**What are the verbalized domains that contribute for the language shift in the study area?**”

This question focuses on the attitudes and verbalized factors that support the use of Afar language shift. It is divided into two parts; the attitude factors that contribute the use of Afar language that support the shift of Amharic. The second part is verbalized domains that contribute for the language shift. Also the statement of this question is given three options to answer: Disagree, Undecided and Agree.

Results reported in Table (16) present some factors that contribute the use of the Afar community. While 98% of the participants believe that the family has a major role in maintaining their ethnic language, only 2% of them are undecided. All of the participants (100%) believe that living in a neighborhood with a majority of Afar is a positive step that helps them to maintain their ethnic language. Furthermore, the results show that 98% of the participants believe that the internal marriage among the afar ethnic group helps them preserve their ethnic language and just 2% disagree.

Similarly, 96% believe that the continued suffering of the afar over years made them insist on maintaining their own ethnic language. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of them, (98%), believe that the strong families ties among the Afar help maintain their ethnic language.

4.10 Attitudes towards the Afar language

Table 16: Attitudes towards the Afar language at home and neighborhood

Question	Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Total
	No	%	No	%	No	%	
I feel at home when I talk in Afar language.	102	60	44	25.9	24	14.11	100
Your neighbors?	98	57.6	29	17.0	43	25.2	100

Source: (own survey, 2022)

Results reported in Table (16) present some factors that support the use of the Afar community. While 120 (60%) of the participants believe that the family has a major role in maintaining their

ethnic language, only 44(25.9%) of them are undecided and only 24(14.11%) Disagree with the statement. All of the participants (100%) believe that living in a neighborhood with a majority of Afar is a positive step that helps them to maintain their ethnic language. Table (16) above shows, that 98 (57.6%) of the participants prefer using Amharic with their neighbors, while 29(17%) undecided and only 44(25.9%) disagree.

Table 17: Attitudes towards the Afar language identity

Question	Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Total
	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Afar language is a symbol of my individual identity.	116	68.2	37	21.8	17	10.0	170
It is important that my children to speak fluently Afar language.	121	71.8	13	7.6	26	15.3	170
I like Afar language and I am proud of it to express myself best	91	53.5	68	40.0	11	6.5	170

Source: own survey, 2022

Table (17), above shows the results of the Afar language is a symbol of my individual identity by the participants While 116(68.2%) of the participants agree that the language a symbol of an individual identity of the ethnic, only 37(21.8%) of them are undecided and only 17(10%) Disagree with the statement. While 121 (71.8%) of the participants agree children to speak fluently, only 13(7.6%) of them are undecided and only 26(15.3%) Disagree with the statement. Regarding the language best to express them self, Table (17) above shows that 91(53.5%) of the participants agree with Afar language, 17(10.0%) undecided and whereas 11 (6.5%) disagree.

Table 18: Attitudes towards the Afar language at work, higher education and communication

Question	Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
The Afar language does not help me in the work.	43	25.3	29	17.0	24	14.11	96
The Afar language does not help me in education.	38	22.35	12	7.0	24	14.1	74
The Afar language has many dialects that make the communication more difficult.	20	11.8	18	10.6	58	34.1	96

Source: own survey, 2022

Table (18): Attitudes towards the Afar language at work, higher education and communication results also reveal that 43(25.3%) of the participants agree that Afar is the language which is considered the language does not help in the work, results show 29(17%) undecided and whereas 28(16.5%) disagree. The results also reveal that 38(22.35%) of the participants agree that Afar is the language does not help in the education, 16 (14.11%) undecided and whereas 24(14.1%) disagree.

Finally, the results assert that 58(34.1%) disagree that Afar is the language has many dialects that make the communication more difficult, only 18(10.6%) undecided and whereas 20(11.8%) agree.

Table 19: Attitudes towards the Afar language heritage domain

Question	Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Total
	No	%	No	%	No	%	
It is the language of my ancestors.	118	69.4	27	15.9	35	20.6	170
This language is associated with the Afar heritage and history.	113	66.5	36	21.8	21	12.35	170

Source: own survey, 2022

Table (19): Attitudes towards the Afar language as their ancestors since 118(69.4%) of the respondents agreed with that and 35(20.6%) disagree remained neutral. Similarly, 113(66.5%) of them agreed that the language is associated with the Afar heritage and history, 21(12.35%) disagreed and remained neutral.

4.11 Language Attitudes towards the Amharic Language

The following questions are related to your attitudes and feelings towards the Afar language and Amharic.

Table 20: Language Attitudes towards the Amharic Language social, religious and work

Question	Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Total
	No	%	No	%	No	%	
I prefer to use Amharic for social mobility.	115	67.6	26	15.3	29	17.0	170
It is important for promoting religious unity in the Community.	62	36.5	20	11.8	88	51.8	170
It is necessary for conducting business.	126	74.1	12	7.0	32	18.8	170

Source: ownsurvey,2022

Similarly, 115(67.6%) regard Amharic the language of Islam and the Holy Quran. Furthermore, 62(36.5%) agree that Amharic is the language of childhood and 26(15.3%) disagreeing whereas 20(11.8%) are neutral. However only 29(17.0%) do not consider Amharic is the language that is in line with modern life while a large number of them, 88(51.8%) believe so.

Table 21: attitude Factors that Support the shift of Amharic

Question	Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Total
	No	%	No	%	No	%	
It is necessary for getting jobs.	98	57.6	28	16.5	54	31.8	170
It is important communicate with the other constituents of the Afar society	118	69.4	16	9.4	36	21.2	170
It is important that I speak Amharic in daily topic	78	45.9	38	22.35	54	31.76	170
Amharic is the official language, so it must be learned	149	87.6	6	3.5	15	8.82	170

Source: own survey, 2022

Table (21), above shows the factors that support the use of Amharic. 98 (57.6%) of the participants agreed that Amharic is useful for getting a job. Similarly, 118(69.4%) believe Amharic is an important language in order to communicate with the other constituents of the Afar society. Also, the results confirm that all the participants, 170(100%), support learning Amharic and believe that it is important and necessary because it is used in schools and universities. Similarly, (100%), consider Amharic the official language of the country. The results also reveal that 118(69.4%) of the participants assert that Amharic is the language which is considered the most necessary for getting jobs in the community. Moreover, results show 78(45.9%), of the participants confirm that Amharic plays a significant role because it unites all the Afar society. Finally, the results assert that 149(87.6%) take into consideration that Amharic is the language used in communication with other fellow Amharic in Ethiopia at large.

Generally, from the above data we can conclude that Amharic is the most commonly used language in contexts (situations) such as daily interactions, academic issues, in all domains as vehicular, and prestigious.

Table 22: attitude Factors that Support the shift of Amharic

Question	Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Total
	No	%	No	%	No	%	
It is important that I speak Amharic in all domains such as;							
➤ School	92	54.1	40	23.5	28	16.8	170
➤ Social gathering							
➤ Market							
➤ Media							

Source: own survey, 2022

The questions presented positively respondents assert their agreements in Amharic that is important that I speak Amharic in all domain school, social gathering, market and media. The question was agreed by more than 50% of the respondents (agree).

Generally, from the above data we can conclude that Amharic is the most commonly used language in all domains. Finally, out of the questions presented positively respondents assert their agreements in Amharic that is important that I speak Amharic in all domain school, social gathering, market and media. This implies Amharic gains more positive attitudes by respondents. From the above analyses it is possible to infer the majority of respondents have positive attitudes towards the Amharic languages.

4.12 Verbalized Language Interferences

➤ Inter-sentential Code Switching

Inter-sentential code switching (CS) manifests switch/mix between languages at sentence level. Finlayson and Slabbert (1997: 70) quoted inter-sentential CS is the more “skilled” code-switching. In other words, this level of CS would seem to involve the more skilled production, the speaker must produce entire, well-formed sentence.

Similarly, Myers-Scotton,(1993: 147) mentioned in this type of switching so as to switch proficiently one needs to have a familiarity with both/all languages in the CS interaction. Examples listed down below were collected through participant observation from telephone conversation in Dubte town. Consider the following data. In identifying CS from borrowing

instances it is important to know the words underlined without bolding refers to CS instance whereas the bold words which are underlined are referred to borrowing instance.

- a) 'be:ra saku burah yo-l ama:y', '**käza bi:ro abäen ini-hüdalän**' (Tomorrow come to my home, then we will go together to the office).
- b) Awak ta:ma liyoh, **bähu"ala innigänañ** (Now I am at work, we shall meet later).
- c) uma:ne baitem kataku akke-waytu, '**käzh bähu"ala yih-dirgit indayiddäggäm**' (Whether he commit the mistake or not, this action should not happen again).

Thus, the above examples can be concluded by the idea of Myers-Scotton (p. 147) and Slabbert (1997:70) that is inter-sentential CS requires good proficiency of languages under question. Concerning reasons behind the switch of respondents in the above examples seems to do with one of the functional model (met linguistic code-switching) suggested by Apple and Muysken (1987:20), that is, speakers switching shows their linguistic abilities.

Data taken from different ethnic group and occupation

In this section, Afar-af extracts of conversation collected from different: age, gender, linguistic ethnic group, education level, religion, and occupation using mainly through participant observation and interview down the most important points were presents. The languages involved were English and Amharic switched into Afar-af. Consider the following data. In identifying CS from borrowing instances it is important to know the words underlined without bolding refers to CS instance whereas the bold words which are underlined are referred to borrowing instance.

Data gathered from farmer community members in the town

1. Atu naharak **sira limd** lito mantu? "First do you have **work experience** or not"
2. Toke:k **k'it'ir dabdabe** ko-h aktubä-no "Then we can write for you appoint letter"
3. A bi:ro дума:k **kabital bajet** dago "This office from the very beginning lacks capital budget"
4. **Digri ke: diploma** yalle:nim-ih, ta tama ma-geyan "Even though they are degree and diploma holders, they will not get this job"
5. Dolat **meŋe zər buŋre** aba-h aḥayuk geytima 'The government is giving good seeds for farmers'

Data taken from conversation of head of woreda municipal with one community member

6. dubte magala дума kaddam mefe bilan luk sug-te, “Dubte town had very good plan”
7. atu naharak **mamälkäčča** nel ba:ha:y ko-h bihsenno, “First bring **application letter** then we will have made it for you”
8. a ba:ro **mingist**-i **ba:ro** kinnim tarig-e, “Do you know the land is **governments**?”
9. ko:nasanatak дума ta maga:la**mabratke**: transborttaḥabiluksugte, “Five years ago there was **electricity** and **transport** problem in the town”

Data collected from Hanakis kebele youth association

10. ḥunda:neyti inkih **gat** akam-uk asa “All youths spent the whole day **chewing chat**”
11. akkel tamulem ḥunda:neytah **moral** ḥato abtam ane-waytama “Here there is no one who helps for the youth **morality**”
12. ḥunda:neyti **mahibär** dissimagidih ma:li digaf uli bi:ro ma-abinna “No office **helped** for the establishment of youth **association**”
13. fadimta tama abnuh nahara:k niḥrät ma-nnu “We have no property to do what is needed”

Data collected form conversation between school principal and parent

14. ḥebikoll-ih ma-ba-y **higg**-ih koabbire-yyo /**firdibet-ilkiss**-ikok a-beyyo ‘I will not quarrel with you but I will ask you in low’ or I will accuse you in court.

Generally, in this section the extracts of switched elements into Afar af represent. The data above also show that explicitly switch to Amharic in this area and it was mentioned by respondents that Afar af speakers are expected to be accommodating towards Amharic language as Amharic is working (official) language, because this language is a language of national official language and regard as important language to get better job and the like.

Data collected from market place during interaction

Another very important fascinating set of borrowing lexicons is emanated from trade (transactions). As a result of contact through trade, Afar and Amara are in contact in the occasions of transaction. Due to the fact that these two groups live together for a long time in the town, it is likely that these people are in contact. As was noted in the preceding section, in particular concerning language use pattern of respondents in market domain, it is proved that Amharic is extensively used in this domain. The following example denotes this.

In the situation in which several languages have been spoken in the same area and mostly by the same people for a long time, it is likely that language to influence each other. The coexistence of Amara with Afar inhabitants have led to a considerable language shift influence.

Superfluous words

Some loan words are borrowed from the donor language (Amharic and Arabic in this case) in the existence of genuine words in the recipient language (Afar-af). This kind of borrowing is usually termed as superfluous borrowing. Consider examples below in (1-5).

Data gathered from names for commodities

In line with this additional source of Amharic loans words come from commodities purchased. We find the following Amharic loans in Afar-af:

1. Amh.	Af.	Gloss.
käröt	[kā:rö:t]	‘carrot’
birtükän	[bürtükä:n]	‘orange’
tēmätim	[timā:tim]	‘tomato’
sāmunä	[sä:bunä]	‘soap’
k’ibät	[kibä:tä]	ointment’
širö	[sirö]	‘shiro’ (an Etnwot)
zējīt	[dējiti]	‘oil’

Some of these words have been borrowed regardless of Afar terms in use. In relation to the first four loan words they are already loan words in Amharic which have now gone from Amharic to Afar. The rest of loan words are from Amharic. For instance, the genuine Afar term for the term “orange” is *timā:tim*. Therefore, the purpose of the above Amharic loan words in Afar af seem to have filling lexical gap, since most of these terms are manufactured products and coined names by the manufacturers’. In other words, this borrowing seems to be emanated from lack of concepts and linguistic forms.

Data gathered from educational terminologies

Modern education is another determinant factor (source) of loan word borrowing.

2.	<u>Amh.</u>	<u>Af.</u>	<u>Gloss.</u>
	tēmhirt	[timhirti]	‘education’
	mēmhēr	[mämhiri]	‘teacher’
	tēmhirt-bēt	[timhirti-bē:t]	‘school’
	ēšķirbitö	[išķirbitö]	‘pen’
	dēbtēr	[däftä:r]	‘book’

The equivalent terms in Afar to the above stated loan words are read as *baritto* for education; *barse:na* for teacher; and *barittobura (sari)* for school.

Data gathered from religious based terminologies

Another main source of borrowing in Afar-af is due to religious contact with Arabic. In other words, the religious influence has led to numerous loan words via the Muslim emphasis.

According to Leslau, (1990: 27). There are various reasons for the existence of Arabic loanwords in Ethiopic. Besides, he stated that the Arab speakers found commercial opportunities in Ethiopia and became the merchants of the country. They also found political entities there, and convert certain segments of the Ethiopian population to Islam. Consequently, the Arabs on the whole live dispersed their Ethiopian neighbors. This may be the case for contact between Afar and Arab speakers. For all the reasons mentioned to find certain number of Arabic loan words in Afar-af.

Consider the following examples:

3.	<u>Af.</u>	<u>Arb.</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	Qoloma [ʃölömä]	[ülämä]	‘Religious knowledgeable persons’
	Darasa [däräsä]	[däräsä]	‘Religious students’
	Raamadaan [rä:mädä:n]	[rämäzän]	‘Month fasting’
	Moom [sö:mü]	[söm]	‘fasting’
	Wakti [wäkti]	[wäkti]	‘time’
	Duhri [dühri]	[zühür]	‘7 o’ lock prayer’
	Addooniya [äd-dö:nijä]	[ädünijä]	‘possession of this world’

These loan words fully adopted in the Afar-af as religion are principal indicators of the existence of Arabic loans in Afar-af. In other words, religion is the main means of language contact. Another source of loan borrowing deals with terminologies related with crown.

4. <u>Amharic</u>	<u>Afar af</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
killil	[kil-lil]/ [raka:aj]	‘region’
zone (originally English)	[dö:nü]/ [rasu]	‘zone’
worädə	[wärädä] / [daʕa:ra]	‘woreda’
käbēlē	[käbēlē] / [awda]	‘kebele’

In the above cited examples, the words in side parenthesis are the native lexicons of Afar af for the lexicons which are under question. These superfluous words show the existence of Amharic loan words in Afar af. In these particular cases the Amharic loan words are used without any modification. Even though most of the terms are recently introduced in the Afar, they have coined indigenous names for the terms. However, the data reveal that Amharic loans are used instead of the equivalent Afar terms.

Data gathered from names of furniture

Furniture is another source for loanwords from Amharic. The three below loan words are developed from furniture.

5. <u>Amh.</u>	<u>Af.</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
wēnbēr	[wänbär/korsi]	‘chair’
älgä	[älgä]	‘bed’
tērānp’ēzä	[täräbē:dä]	‘table’

Some of these words have been borrowed in spite of Afar terms are in shift. For example, *korsi* is the most commonly used Afar term for chair, and *ʕarkayto* is the word for bed. Similarly, *uwiro:r* is the Afar term for table. As an evidence for this some phonological modification processes were made.

Results of the third Question;

The third question of the study is ‘‘How can we maintain the Afar language in the speech community of Dubte District’’?

This question focuses on the assesses whether Afar-af is maintaining by the Afar-af speaking community in the locality. The family and home played a key role in maintaining the Afar community languages. This result is identical to Holmes et al. Pointed out that ‘‘parents play an increasing role in the intergenerational language maintenance, Dweik & Kittaneh (2011).

4.13 Attitudes towards the Afar language maintenances

Table 23: Attitudes towards the Afar language maintenances

Question	Agree		Undecided		Disagree		Total
	No	%	No	%	No	%	
The social clubs in Dubte had a role in maintaining the Afar languages.	77	45.2	19	11.17	74	43.5	170
Afar community leaders played a vital role in maintaining Afar ethnic language.	86	50.58	22	13	62	36.5	170
Watching Afar TV programs helped to maintain the Afar ethnic languages.	98	57.6	27	15.9	45	26.5	170
Living in an Afar community in Dubte helped to maintain the Afar ethnic languages.	71	41.8	46	27	57	33.5	170
Internal marriages with Afar helped me maintain my Afar community language.	130	78.2	20	11.8	19	11.2	170
The schools in Dubte had a role in maintaining the Afar community languages	75	44.2	17	10	78	45.9	170

source: own survey, 2022.

Although most of the live in Dubte with Afar communities. This is clear when 71 (41.8 %) agreed that living in Afar community in Dubte helped them maintain the Afar community languages. 46 (27%) are undecided and 57 (33.5%) disagree. This result is in line with Holmes et al. (1993) who noted that residential closeness is significant for language maintenance. Furthermore, 130 (78.2%) agree Afar community fostered by internal marriages helped the Afar community languages to survive, 20(11.8%) are undecided and 19 (11.2%) disagree. This result is in line with the findings of emphasized that the internal marriage system among the Chechens of Jordan gave the advantage of retaining their mother tongue, Dweik, (2000).

However, 98 (57.6%) believe that Watching Afar TV programs play a role in maintaining the Afar language, 27 (15.9%) are undecided and 45 (26.5%) disagree. Conversely, 98 confirm the importance of social clubs in maintaining the Afar language. Finally, 90% believe that the educational policy in Ethiopia encourages ethnic groups to learn the ancestors' languages.

Based on the major findings presented above, the following conclusions are drawn: The language shift was analyzed in Dubte town. Despite of considerable differences in the language shift behavior of population in the town, as the current data indicated the difference in respondents' proficiency in each language in the four language skills reveals that there is varying standards of proficiency among respondents. While respondents were good in listening and speaking Amharic, and Afar-af respectively; they were less proficient in listening and speaking Arabic and Oromifa. However, they were good in reading and writing Amharic and Afar-af respectively; But they were less proficient in Tigrigna, Afan-Oromo and Walayta respectively.

Generally, while in listening and speaking majority of respondents have better skill, in reading and writing they have slight skill. This is emanated from the two languages (Amharic and Afar-af) have role in education at varying levels. Referring back to the Fishman's domain classification as power-full and less power-full, in the power-full domains such as (education, public service (in office, and authorities) Amharic has been used predominantly, whereas in the less power-full domains, it is evident that there is inconsistency language shift and utilization of two languages were exhibited: Afar-af and Amharic. In one of the less power-full domain, that is, religious domain, particularly communicating with Sheiks, Afar-af has been used exclusively; in market and in neighborhood domain the shift of solely Arabic has been exhibited. On the other hand, Amharic also has shown dominance even in less power-full domains such as friendship.

Generally, Amharic dominates the domains that are in question and Amharic has dominant function in all the power-full domains. This implies Amharic is the major means of communication. Besides, while respondents shift their respective languages in situations/contexts such as in dream, author, and counting, they use Amharic widely in different situations/contexts/ such as in day-to-day con TV watching, education, socio-economic, political, sport events and sexual matters. On the other hand, respondents contact their respective languages during intra-group communications, and they use/contact Amharic during inter-group communication.

Furthermore, while all respondents show favorable attitudes towards Amharic they show unfavorable attitudes towards all the other remaining languages. The positive factors towards Amharic seem to do with, the role /status/ that Amharic has both at national level and at regional level; It is used as both school subject and medium of instruction; It gives better employment opportunities; It is a developed language; It better expresses ideas. On the other hand, the unfavorable attitudes towards the rest of the target languages are for they are not working languages; not used as both school subject and medium of instruction; they are less developed languages; give less job opportunities, less express ideas.

In relation to the resultant of language contact, a code-switching phenomenon of Amharic into the host language of Afar-af has been prevalently exhibited. The overwhelming majority of lexicons borrowed into Afar-af were either directly or indirectly taken from Amharic. However, Arabic through religious contact; English through formal education were dominant languages as sources of loan words in Afar-af. Afan-Oromio and other languages are less contributing languages into Afar-af. This is reasonable since all of the bilinguals in the Dubte town, whose first language; Afar-af, Tigrinya, Afan-Oromo and Walayta obtain their formal education in Amharic. Likewise, many of their everyday interactions involve the use/contact of their MTs languages along with Amharic. As a result, words and concepts in Amharic become more accessible than all the remaining other languages. The motives for borrowing lexicons from the said languages seem to have to do with lack of concept and linguistic form. In other words, from the reasons behind respondents' code-switching and code-mixing, two main reasons can be drawn: One and the most common reason has to do with speakers' lack of competence in the target language, that is, unawareness of lexicon which have equivalent meaning and explains well the given lexical item. This process may be correlated with the lack of proficiency in the target language (Afar-af).

In such occasions, speakers switched lexical elements from other languages so as to bridge the gaps resulted from language incompetence. This mechanism functions as a defensive mechanism for speakers as it gives opportunity to continue communication or in order to avoid gaps. The second reason for respondents' code-switching denotes speakers' lack of concept in the target language and speakers have no term which is well expressive, equivalent for using the target language explanation for a particular lexical item.

To sum up, the study shows that native speakers of Afar-af, are not proficient in reading and writing Afar-af; Afar-af is only limited to less powerful domains and even not used in some of these domains such as neighborhood, market etc. And its usage is limited to topics such as TV watching, counting, oath and dream; It is used only in intra-group communication; It has got unfavorable attitude both from its speakers and others; and no respondent is reported that he/she code-switch and/or code-mix from other source language towards Afar-af. Hence, it is evident that Afar-af is not maintaining in the study area, rather the language is at risk of shifting and/or in the verge of shifting.

Therefore, regional government and district administrations at varying levels and stockholders should give due attention towards Afar-af development strategies, uplift the status of the language and to normalize the current unfavorable attitudes of the community in the study area. Regional political figures should continuously work hard to give political decision, to make the language actually working language of the region. Further study is required to assess the current status of Afar-af in all urban settings of the region in which several languages are in contact or shift.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

The main objective of this study was to assess the language shift and maintenance in Dubti town with respect to the town dwellers. In order to achieve the objective of this study, basic questions were raised regarding proficiency, choice of language in different domains, use of MTs, and perception of respondents towards each language. In attempting to address/ the questions, the data were collected through questionnaire, participant observation, and recordings from the targeted population based on interviews.

Chapter two was concerned with review of related literature and related works so as to make a basement for the discussions of the findings. The review of related literature involves language contact results such as code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing, maintenance and language shift based on the attitude of the people. Besides, some related works were reviewed in order to insure the importance of this study.

The third chapter was devoted to data analysis. The study was employed mixed (qualitative and quantitative) survey method to analyze the data based on the basic research questions. The obtained data were calculated using percentage, table, and mean. The remaining data were analyzed qualitatively.

Chapter four touches up on demographic background information and the data for this chapter were mainly obtained from recording and participant observation. After the analysis and interpretations of the data, both quantitatively and qualitatively made the findings were identified. Finally, Summary, conclusions and recommendations were organized.

5.2 Conclusions

The analysis of the overall results of the questionnaire, interviews and community profile confirms the ability of the Afar community to maintain their ethnic language for many centuries despite of all the challenges and difficulties that they faced over the years as well as the presence of language such as Amharic which is the official language in Ethiopia.

Generally, the Afar communities use their native language in various domains, especially at home among their family members and relatives. The Afar communities have positive attitudes towards their mother tongue. They see it as a symbol of their national identity and they are very proud of this language. It is the language of their ancestors and childhood. This language is closely associated with their heritage and history. With regard to Amharic, the Afar communities also have positive attitudes towards it.

They change it predominantly in all domains because it is the official language of the country as well as it is the language of the country. The Afar community mix between their ethnic language and Amharic unconsciously. Knowledge of Amharic is vital in schools and universities, to get good jobs and to communicate with the whole society. Finally, the role of the Ethiopian government and its educational policies has played another positive role in preserving their ethnic language.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the above conclusions, the researcher forwards the following recommendations for the concerned bodies that live in Dubte, a linguistically heterogeneous town. Different language speakers live in the town. Thus, the culture and tourism office of the town should give attention concerning the language diversity of the community.

Moreover, it should also create a suitable situation for the community to maintain and preserve their languages. The government bodies should give attention to the linguistic profile of the community, when planning language for education, administration and the like. Since there is frequent and intense contact among speakers of different languages in the study area, it needs

further research on outcomes of language shift and contact to come up with details of language shift due to borrowing, code switching and code mixing between/ among different languages.

The current study is limited to the Afar community who live in Dubte. The researcher recommends further studies to be conducted about the Afar community who live in other parts of Afar Regional State, especially in northern east Afar where many Afar communities live together with multilingual communities.

Therefore, regional government and district administrations at varying levels and stockholders should give due attention towards Afar-af development strategies, uplift the status of the language and to normalize the current unfavorable attitudes of the community in the study area. Regional political figures should continuously work hard to give political decision, to make the language actually working language of the region.

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Appendix A Interviewing Questions

Dear participants,

I am an M.A. student at the Jimma University in Ethiopia-Jimma, Department of English Language and Literature, conducting a Socio-cultural linguistic study as a partial requirement for obtaining the Masters' degree in English. I would like to express my gratitude in advance for taking the time in answering the following questions about the Afar-af/language in Dubte District.

I. Demographic Background

1. Age
2. Gender
3. Religion.....
4. Place of birth
5. Highest degree.....
6. Occupation
7. Marital status

Questions

1. Are there any channels for the Afar-af in Dubte District? If yes, mention them.
.....
2. Are there special schools for Afar in Dubte District? If yes, mention them.
.....
3. What is the educational background of the Afar in Dubte District?
.....
4. Are there any religious places, centers that they attend? Mention them.
.....
5. Are there any cultural and social clubs for the Afar in Dubte District? If yes, mention them.
.....
6. Name some of the celebrations and festivals that the Afar of Dubte celebrates?
.....
7. What kind of jobs do they have? Mention them?
.....
8. What kind of businesses do they possess? Mention them.
.....
9. How strong are the social relationships among the Afar in Dubte District?
.....
10. Are there areas in Dubte, whose names are written in the Afar language? If yes, mention them.....
.....

Appendix B The Socio-cultural Linguistic Questionnaire

Dear participants,

I am an MA student in the Department of English Language and Literature at Jimma University in Jimma, Ethiopia. I am conducting a socio-cultural linguistic study as a partial requirement the Masters' degree in English.

I would like to express my gratitude in advance for taking the time in filling out the attached questionnaire, which is entitled “Language Shift and Language Maintenance among the Afar of Dubte District”. The questionnaire includes four sections: the participant’s social and language background, the domains of using the Afar-af/language and Amharic, attitudes towards both languages and the factors that support the use of each language.

You have been selected because you are a member of the investigated community. I am interested only in obtaining the needed information that may help me to find valid answers for the current study. All information provided is used by the researcher only for scientific research purposes.

Thank you very much for your cooperation in this study!!!

Mohammed Edris Adem

mamebalta99@gmail.com

I. Demographic Background Information

Please choose appropriate answer by putting [√] inside the brackets

1. Gender: Male [] Female []

2. Age

20-29 [] 30-39 [] 40-49 [] 50-59 [] 60 and above []

3. Marital Status

Single [] Engaged [] Married [] Widowed [] Divorced []

4. Occupation

Business [] Education [] Technical field [] Civil service []
Handicraft field [] Student [] No occupation [] other:
Housewife []

5. Level of Education

Primary school [] Middle school [] Secondary school []
Diploma [] B.A. [] M.A. [] Ph.D. []

6. Residency/Living Place

Afar neighborhood [] Amharic neighborhood [] Mixed neighborhood []

7. Social Activities

- Visiting social institutions (clubs, associations, schools, Places of worship etc...) That belongs to the Dubte District. Yes [] No []
- Attending parties, religious or national celebrations, etc. Yes [] No []

8. Ethnic Background of Your

Father Amara [] Afar [] Other.....
 Mother Amara [] Afar [] Other.....

9. The Extent of Language Use

Afar-af	Often []	Sometimes []	Seldom []	Never []
Amharic	Often []	Sometimes []	Seldom []	Never []
Tigreana	Often []	Sometimes []	Seldom []	Never []
Afan Oromo	Often []	Sometimes []	Seldom []	Never []

10. Level of Language Proficiency in the Afar Language

- Speaking Very good [] Good [] Accepted [] Poor []
- Listening (When you listen to a conversation in the Afar language, can you understand it?)
 - Listening Very good [] Good [] Accepted [] Poor []
 - Reading Very good [] Good [] Accepted [] Poor []
 - Writing Very good [] Good [] Accepted [] Poor []

II Domains of Language shift

The following questions are related to the language(s) that you use when you talk to different people in different places about different topics. Please choose the suitable answer by putting [√] in the proper box.

I. Questionnaire regarding language shift in different domains								
Which language(s) do you use				Afar-af	Amharic	Tigrinya	Other	
1.	Family domain							
	Which language do you use with your grandparent at home							
	Which language do you use with your parents at home							
	Which language do you use with your children at home							
	Which language do you use with sister/brother							
2.	Which language do you use with your neighbors							
3.	Which language do you use with your friends							
4.	Education							
	Which language do you use with your fellow students at school							
	Which language do you use with your teachers in school							
5.	Market							
	Which language do you use with buyer in the market							
	Which language do you use with sellers in the market							
6.	Religion							
	Which language do you use with Sheiks in the mosques							
	Which language do you use with Priests in the Church							
7.	Health center (public service)							
	Which language do you use with Physicians in health center							
8.	Employment							
	Which language do you use with your colleagues in office							
	With your boss in office							
9.	Authorities							
	Which language(s) do you use with police man in police station							
	Which language (s) do you use with judge in court room							