

## KISWAHILI AND LOCAL LANGUAGES IN TANZANIA A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY

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It is a generally acknowledged fact that for many years Swahili has played a substantial role in communication between persons of different ethnic and hence linguistic backgrounds. The processes, however, which supported the spread of that language took place with an intensity which for many reasons varied from area to area.

In all parts of the coastal strip and the hinterland of what is actually Tanzania, there were numerous contacts between Kiswahili speakers and their neighbours speaking Bantu languages bearing a striking similarity to Kiswahili. This factor contributed greatly to the spread of Kiswahili and its increasing use among the population together with, or even at the expense of, their own mother tongue. The picture changes as soon as one comes to up-country rural areas where the people had little opportunity to meet Kiswahili speakers and who because of their occupation, mainly as peasants, seldom left the country—side. For these and other reasons there is great variety in Kiswahili usage, in particular in rural areas up-country.

Since independence, the implementation of Kiswahili, which for many years took place mainly in a sporadic way, has become more and more planned and directed by the Tanzania Government. Various activities are being channelled through respective institutions. These activities are aimed at an intensification of Standard Kiswahili usage even in remote areas which up to now have not achieved much progress in this field. But, even now, it is a matter of fact that our information concerning language use and competence in Kiswahili or other Tanzanian languages<sup>2</sup> is very limited. Therefore, the former Promoter of Kiswahili of the Ministry of Youth and Culture, Ndugu A. Khamisi, is completely correct to state: "Very little has been written on what language people speak, under what occasion, and with what degree of sophistication. It would be hazardous to assume that a Msukuma and another Msukuma would speak Swahili in their family circles ... What is true about the linguistic behaviour along the coast and in some town centres in the country may not necessarily hold true for the most remote corners of the country" (Khamisi 1974, 289). Thus, one can conclude that any research on the use and on the spheres of function of the local languages as well as of Kiswahili would be of great value in many respects. Supported by sociolinguistic data, concrete steps towards a broader implementation of the language policy with a restricted distribution of Kiswahili may be planned. Until now, however, sociolinguistic field work in Tanzania has been carried out within a very limited scope. A first scientific approach in this direction was carried out in the "Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa" the activities of which were partly directed towards the study of issues of sociolinguistic interest as well. Unfortunately, the results of the Survey are not yet available, except for some details of a more or less technical nature. There is another paper written by Heine (1976) which reveals the results of field work done in Mara Region in 1971. Generally, however, it may be concluded that sociolinguistic data with focus on the Tanzanian scene are as yet very scarce.

To make a modest contribution to a better assessment of processes actually taking place in the field of Tanzanian languages in respect to sociolinguistic issues, the authors of this paper, in close cooperation with the University of Dar es Salaam, and in particular with the Institute of Kiswahili Research, carried out research by questionnaires in Tanzanian secondary schools and at the University of Dar es Salaam. They were aiming at a study of the integrating function of Kiswahili within the Tanzanian nation, given the policy of the Party and the government to promote Kiswahili in a systematic and consequent way as a nation wide medium of communication and, finally, to fulfil its function as the Tanzanian national language.

The authors are well aware of the fact that this investigation could cover only a limited, although not unimportant, sphere because those interviewed will, within the next few years, constitute part and parcel of the intellectual stratum within the Tanzanian society. Obviously, it would be worthwhile doing research of this kind in spheres of decisive socio-economic character as well, as for instance to analyze the language situation in Ujamaa villages, modern industrial enterprises or service institutions as well as among various groups of the urban population. An investigation of this kind, however, was not possible due to the given situation. Such a project has to be undertaken by a working team which consists of more researchers than ours.

In the course of the investigation which took place in October and November 1974, approximately 1,950 students of secondary schools, and colleges of national education in Kilimanjaro, Arusha and Iringa as well as in the University of Dar es Salaam were given questionnaires. After a short introduction to the type of research, they had to answer the questionnaire. At this stage they were directed, assisted as well as controlled by members of the teaching staff and by the authors. Out of these 1,950 questionnaires, 1,908 could be processed. The questioning was selective, i.e. representative figures for each form (I—III) were collected.

To begin with, the questions of the first complex (No. 1) concerned knowledge of African languages in general in order to cover the sphere of bi- and multilingualism. Competence in the English language, which is the official medium of instruction (except for Political Education and Kiswahili) as well as a regular subject, was taken for granted. In question No. 2 the students had to state which of the language(s) they speak (English included) is (are) spoken most often. Question No. 3 was about the language(s) spoken at home with parents and other relatives. In each case the analysis of the data was based on the information provided by the students with respect to language (or dialect) names, irrespective of its status in scientific publications. Question No. 4 was oriented towards the language used when speaking with friends of the same age group, whereas question No. 6 dealt with the language used in conversations with classmates within the school during breaks, extra-curricular activities etc. Finally question 5 asked about the languages used most frequently in the classroom which, of course, has to conform to the policy set out by the Ministry of National Education, but which may vary from school to school.

The questioning itself was carried out anonymously. The interviewed persons were merely requested to state age, sex, place of birth, location of primary school or other places where they had stayed for a long time as well as to indicate when they had started to learn or speak Swahili. Some of these figures may not be discussed or

analyzed in detail in this paper. The questionnaire was written in Kiswahili.

The results will be shown in several tables, the first of which (see table A) gives a summary of the data collected in each institution. This is followed (see table B) by a more detailed account of the figures according to each school/CNE or the University, which reveals the linguistic (and, to a certain extent, the ethnic) background of the interviewed person. Table C tries to discuss the main aspects of the research with reference to linguistic origin. Cases, in which the identification of the linguistic background was dubious, were omitted.

We are completely aware of the fact that an analysis of this kind may not be representative for each linguistic/ethnic group as a whole. It reflects, however, the language attitudes of that group in a situation in which the persons have already left a narrow, traditional sphere and entered institutions with a nation-wide composition and importance.

**Table A: SUMMARY OF RESEARCH RESULTS  
(IN PERCENTAGES)**

School/Institution	Moshi Sec. School	Shule ya Ufundi Moshi (Boys)	Mawenzi Sec. School
Interviewed Persons	255	194	119
<i>[1] Language knowledge</i>			
a. Swahili only	5.49	11.86	6.67
b. Two afr. langu.	76.86	60.31	74.80
c. More afr. langu.	17.65	27.83	19.17
<i>[2] Most used language[s]</i>			
a. Swahili only	82.35	82.99	82.36
b. Swahili + Local	—	3.09	5.04
c. Swahili + English	11.37	12.37	10.08
d. Local only	—	—	0.84
e. English only	4.31	1.55	0.84
f. Sw. + Engl. + Loc.	1.97	—	—
<i>[3] Language use at home</i>			
a. Swahili only	10.98	18.56	20.17
b. Swahili + Local	33.72	29.38	28.57
c. Swahili + English	—	—	1.68
d. Local(s) only	55.33	52.06	49.58

[4] *Language use among*

a. Swahili only	54.51	63.92	57.98
b. Swahili + Local	11.76	7.73	8.40
c. Swahili + English	22.75	20.62	21.85
d. Sw. + Engl. + Local	8.63	6.70	10.09
e. Local(s) only	—	—	0.84
f. English only	2.35	1.03	0.84

[5] *Language use at school*

a. Swahili only	23.14	20.10	20.17
b. Swahili + English	54.51	66.49	71.43
c. English only	21.18	13.42	8.40
d. Sw. + Engl. + Local	1.17	—	—

[6] *Language use outside class*

a. Swahili only	52.94	64.95	60.50
b. Swahili + Local	1.18	—	3.36
c. Swahili + English	32.94	26.80	30.26
d. English only	9.41	4.95	4.20
e. Sw. + Engl. + Local	3.53	3.60	0.84

[7] *Language use before attending school*

a. Swahili only	19.57	23.71	32.77
b. Swahili + Local(s)	28.24	20.62	20.17
c. Swahili + English	—	—	—
d. Local language(s) only	48.63	53.13	45.38
e. Other cases	3.17	2.54	1.68

Arusha Sec. School	Iringa Sec. School (Girls)	Lugalo Sec. School Iringa	Mkwawa Sec. School Iringa
213	194	169	298

(1) a. 14.90	3.61	7.10	6.04
b. 63.85	81.96	60.94	66.44
c. 19.25	14.43	32.05	27.52

(2)	a.	85.44	75.77	89.94	86.58
	a.	2.35	6.70	3.55	4.35
	c.	9.93	9.28	2.36	2.68
	d.	0.94	4.64	2.36	2.68
	e.	1.41	3.61	1.18	2.01
	f.	0.47	—	—	1.70
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(3)	a.	24.41	7.22	23.08	13.08
	b.	35.67	13.40	31.30	24.82
	c.	0.94	—	—	—
	d.	35.68	79.38	55.02	60.40
		0.47 (English)	—	—	—
		0.94 (S/E/Loc)	—	—	1.70*
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(4)	a.	56.81	54.64	85.21	66.10
	b.	8.44	19.59	2.96	10.06
	c.	26.29	16.49	6.51	14.76
	d.	5.17	3.61	1.18	4.02
	e.	0.94	1.03	1.18	3.02
	f.	2.35	4.65	2.96	2.01
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(5)	a.	10.33	3.10	18.93	19.46
	b.	80.27	93.30	64.50	48.99
	c.	9.39	3.60	16.57	28.86
	d.	—	—	—	2.68
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(6)	a.	70.89	73.71	86.98	74.83
	b.	1.88	10.32	2.96	7.04
	c.	25.35	11.34	8.28	14.09
	d.	0.94	2.57	1.18	1.34
	e.	0.94	1.57	0.59	2.68
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(7)	a.	36.15	22.68	18.93	19.46
	b.	20.18	8.25	21.89	11.07
	c.	—	0.51	—	—
	d.	43.68	68.56	58.58	67.79
	e.	—	—	0.59	1.67

[ Gujarati

College of Nat. Education Marangu	College of Nat. Ed. Iringa	University of a. Idara ya Kiswahili	Dar es Salaam b. Development Studies
120	161	61	124
(1) a. 6.66 b. 70.00 c. 23.34	1.24 36.65 62.11	4.89 50.82 44.26	4.00 74.20 21.80
(2) a. 85.00 b. 5.83 c. 3.33 d. 3.33 e. 1.67 f. 0.83	90.06 1.86 3.74 1.86 0.62 —	65.57 21.31 13.12 — — —	78.20 1.60 8.90 — 11.30 —
(3) a. 13.33 b. 29.16 c. — d. 57.50 e. —	11.80 19.87 0.62 67.79 —	6.56 24.59 — 68.85 —	10.50 10.50 0.80 77.40 0.89 (Engl.)
(4) a. 56.66 b. 18.33 c. 10.83 d. 10.00 e. 4.16 f. —	69.56 8.07 15.53 3.10 3.10 0.62	40.98 29.51 11.48 18.03 — —	64.50 9.70 16.10 7.30 — 2.40
(5) a. 56.67 b. 40.00 c. 3.34 d. —	51.55 45.34 3.10 —	8.20 75.40 16.40 —	13.70 40.30 46.00 —

(6) a.	67.50	80.74	44.26	62.10
b.	5.00	1.24	—	1.61
c.	18.33	16.77	47.54	29.83
d.	5.00	—	1.64	3.23
e.	4.16	1.24	6.56	3.23

(7) a.	20.83	19.25	19.67	9.70
b.	17.50	9.94	11.48	8.10
c.	0.83	—	1.64	—
d.	60.83	70.82	67.21	81.40
e.	—	—	—	0.80

**TABLE B — DETAILS OF LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE AMONG STUDENTS (BEFORE ATTENDING SCHOOL)**

**1. Moshi Secondary School:**

225 questionnaires analysed language knowledge before attending school as follows:

(a) Kiswahili only	50 = 19.57%
(b) Kiswahili + one or more local languages	72 = 28.24%
(c) One local language	124 = 48.63%

*Composition of [b]:*

Kiswahili + Chagga 28; + Pare 20; + Meru 4; + Zigua 4; + Nyiramoa 3; + Luguru 2; + Sambaa 2; + Ikizu; + Gweno; + Nyaturu; + Luguru; + Fipa; + Hehe; + Digo; + Iraqw; + Bondei; + Sambaa each 1.

*Composition of [c]:*

Chagga 66; Pare 18; Iraqw 11; Meru 7; Sambaa 6; Nyiramba 4; Zigua 4; Jita 2; Nyaturu 2; Matengo; Nyamwezi; Bondei; Pogoro; Luguru; Nyakyusa; Mbunga; Isanzu; Sukuma; Masai each 1.

**2. Shule ya Ufundi — Moshi:**

194 questionnaires analysed

(a) 46 = 23.71%
(b) 40 = 20.62%
(c) 103 = 53.13%

*Composition of [b]:*

Kiswahili = Haya 3; + Zigua 2; + Sukuma 3; + Chagga 4; + Pare 3; + Rangi 2; + Sambaa 5; + Kurya 2; + Jita; + Kwaya; + Meru; + Zanaki; + Ha, + Gogo; + Hehe; + Luguru; + Fiome; + Nyiramba; + Bondei; + Nyakyusa; + Arabic; + Ngindo; + Manda; + Jita; + Ruri each 1:

*Composition [c]:*

Nyaturu 2; Nyiramba 7; Ha 3; Nyamwezi 6; Pare 5; Nyakyusa 6; Bena 2; Sukuma 11; Sambaa 1; Rangi 2; Chagga 12; Hehe 2; Haya 6; Jita 7; Gogo 2; Pogoro 1; Bondei 1; Fipa 1; Kurya 4; Zaramo 1; Nyambo 2; Makonde 1; Kinga 2; Kerewe 2; Ngoni 2; Iraqw 2; Wanji; Zigua 2; Sangu 1; Meru 1; Arusha 2; Chagga; Meru 1.



3. **Mawenzi Secondary School, Moshi:**

119 questionnaires analysed

- (a) 39 = 32.77%
- (b) 24 = 20.17%
- (c) 54 = 45.38%
- (d) 2 = 1.68% (English + Gujarati)

**Composition of [b]:**

Kiswahili + Chagga 12; + Pare 5; + Bonde 1; + Sukuma; + Fipa; + Haya; + Gujarati; + English; + Bena; + Hehe: each 1

**Composition [c]:**

Chagga 30; Pare 14; Haya 3; Zigua; Ha; Sukuma; Hehe; Zaramo; Luguru; Gujarati: each 1.

4. **Arusha Secondary School:**

213 questionnaires analysed

- (a) 77 = 36.15%
- (b) 43 = 20.18%
- (c) 93 = 43.66%

**Composition of [b]:**

Kiswahili + Chagga 14; + Pare 12; + Meru 6; + Haya 3; + Hangaza; + Luguru, + Masai; + Jita; + Bondei; + Kurya; + Samba; + Yao: each 1.

**Composition of [c]:**

Chagga 40; Pare 11; Meru 11; Iraqw 6; Masai 5; Gujarati 3; Nyakyusa 2; Fipa; Bondei; Nyamwezi; Ndali; Haya; Rangi; Arabic; Malila; Pogoro; Zanaki; Sonjo; Somali; Barbaig: each 1.

5. **Iringa Secondary School [Girls]:**

194 questionnaires analysed

- (a) 44 = 22.68%
- (b) 16 = 8.25%
- (c) 133 = 68.56%
- (d) 1 = 0.51% (Kiswahili + English)

**Composition of [b]:**

Kiswahili + Bena 4; + Nyakyusa 4; + Gogo; + Bulongwa; + Pare; + Nyiramba; + Hehe; + Bena: each 1.

**Composition of [c]:**

Bena 22; Hehe 24; Nyakyusa 24; Nyamwezi 12; Chagga 7; Pangwa 6; Gogo 2; Sambaa 4; Pare 2; Sukuma 2; Ngoni 2; Wanji 3; Ndali 4; Kinga 6; Manda 4; Zigua; Mbughu; Ndamba; Guruka (?), Nyaturu; Safwa; Nyika; Barbaig; Pogoro: each 1.

**6. Lugalo Secondary School Iringa:**

169 questionnaires analysed

- (a) 32 = 18.93%
- (b) 37 = 21.89%
- (c) 100 = 59.17%

**Composition of [b]:**

Kiswahili; + Hehe 13; + Bena 7; + Nyakyusa 4; + Nyamwezi 4; + Chagga 3; + Pare; + Meru; + Sukuma; + Manda; + Kinga, 4 Zaramo: each 1.

**Composition [c]**

Bena 8; Chagga 10; Hehe 28; Kinga 9; Manda 3; Nyakyusa 8; Pare 4; Nyamwezi 7; Wanji 5; Haya 2; Jita; Luguru; Magoma (?), Meru; Ngoni; Sangu; Sukuma; Yao; Zanaki; Matengo; Pangwa; Safwa; Hehe; Kinga; Hehe; Chagga; Manda - Ngoni: each 1.

**7. Mkwawa Secondary School, Iringa:**

298 questionnaires analysed

- (a) 58 = 19.46%
- (b) 33 = 11.07%
- (c) 202 = 67.79%
- (d) 5 = 1.67%

English (Gujerati)

**Composition of [b]**

Kiswahili; + Pare 7; Chagga 4; Nyakyusa 3; Sukuma 2; + Mwera 2; + Luguru 2; + Hangaza; + Nyiramba; + Gogo; + Sagara; + Pogoro, 4 Mbughu; + Sambaa; + Kaguru; + Mpoto; + Mbunga; + Zaramo; Nyakyusa; Safwa; Ndamba; Bena: each 1.

### *Composition of [c]*

Chagga 11, Pare 27; Ha 11; Haya 11; each 7: Nyakyusa; Jita; Sukuma; Hehe; Sambia; each 5: Matengo; Pogoro; Kaguru; Zigua; each 3: Nyiramba; Bena; Gogo; Nyamwezi; Makonde; Iraqw, Fipa; each 2: Ndamba, Luguru, Masai, Nyambo, Luo, Safwa; each 1: Zanaki, Pangwa, Nguu, Kinga, Kurya, Nyasa, Ndengereko, Kami, Tindiga, Bondei, Mbunga, Zaramo, Nyaturu, Nata, Barbaig, Nyiha, Manda, Mwera, Meru, Ngindo, Jita Ruri, Jita, Kerewe, Masai, Iraqw, Pare, Gweno, Lingala, Rundi, Ha.

### 8. *College of National Education, Marangu:*

120 questionnaires analysed

- (a) 25 = 20.83%
- (b) 21 = 17.50%
- (c) 73 = 60.83%
- (d) 1 = 0.83% (Swahili + English)

### *Composition of [b]*

Kiswahili; + Chagga 9; + Makonde; + Shashi; + Rangi; + Pogoro; + Zigua; + Sukuma; + Nyarutu; + Makua; + Haya; + Bondei; + Manda; + Pare: each 1.

### *Composition of [c]*

Chagga 30; Pare 7; Meru 4; Haya 3; Nyamwezi 3; Jita 3; Sukuma 3; Luo 2; Masai 2; Iraqw 2; each 1: Nyiha; Sambia, Sandawe, Fiome, Gweno, Hake, Subi, Nyakyusa, Ha, Nyiramba, Hehe, Roba Barbaig, Pogoro, Luguru.

### 9. *College of National Education; Iringa:*

161 questionnaires analysed

- (a) 31 = 19.25%
- (b) 16 = 9.94%
- (c) 114 = 70.82%

### *Composition of [b]*

Kiswahili; + Haya 3; + Sukuma 2; each 1: Nyaturu; Isanzu, Zinza, Pare, Makonde, Bondei, Makua, Kaguru, Ngoni, Mpotu, Gogo.

### *Composition of [c]:*

Chagga 13; Haya 10; Nyakyusa 9; Pare 8; Matengo 8; Hehe 6; Bena 6; Nyiramba 5; Sukuma 4; Ndali 3; Gogo 3; each 2: Iraqw, Arusha, Sambia,

Ngoni, Jita, Hangaza, Manda, Sangu, Nyaturu; each 1: Sonjo, Njoro; (?); Yao, Ha, Ndendeule, Kinga, Nyamwezi, Kaguru, Doe, Rangi, Pogoro, Kerewe, Sumbwa, Pare, Sambaa, Somali, Iraqw, Ngoni, Nyanja, Kinga, Nyakyusa, Doe, Kerewe, Ngoni, Yao, Nyasa.

10. *University of Dar es Salaam:*

i) **Idara ya Kiswahili**

61 questionnaires analysed

- (a) 12 = 19.97%
- (b) 7 = 11.48%
- (c) 41 = 67.21%
- (d) 1 = 1.64% (Swahili + English)

*Composition of [b]*

Kiswahili; + Pare; + Masai; + Russian or (parents 'study in U.S.S.R.')

+ Makua; + Sukuma; + Kutu; + Sambaa: each 1.

*Composition of [c]:*

Chagga 33; Haya 16; Nyakyusa 5; Pare 4; each 3: Sukuma Nyambo, Jita; each 2: Matengo, Sambaa, Masai, Yao, Ha, Kurya; each 1: Kerewe, Fipa, Nyamwezi, Sumbwa, Pangwa, Zanaki, Rangi, Luo, Manda, Luguru, Ndamba, Nyaturu, Ngindo, Hangaza, Zigua, Safwa, Nyiramba, Matengo, Nyasa, Pare, Sambaa.

The analysis of language knowledge and language use according to individual ethnic groups (Table C) is based in particular on answer 3 and 7 which, to a certain extent, allow ethnic identification. Only unambiguous cases were considered. Ethnic groups which were represented by just a few persons were left out because they would hardly allow conclusions for the group as a whole. This remark applies for instance to Digo, Mbughu, Ndamba, Nyanja, Ikizu, Somali, Kwaya, Nyika, Ndengereko and others. The figures given under each group are absolute ones, figures of larger groups (over 30 persons) are followed by the percentage in parenthesis.

**Table C — language attitudes of selected ethnic groups**

Ethnic group interviewed	Arusha	Bena	Bondei	Chagga
	23	60	16	392
[1] <i>Language knowledge</i>				
a. Kiswahili only	—	—	—	—
b. 2 Africa languages	18	24(40%)	5	337(86%)
c. More Afric. languages	5	36(60%)	11	55(14%)

[2] *Most used language[s]*

a. Kiswahili only	19	56(93.3%)	15	311(79.3%)
b. Kiswahili + local	—	2(3.3%)	—	13(3.3%)
c. Kiswahili + English	3	2(3.3%)	—	49(12.5%)
d. Local only	—	—	—	4(1.9%)
e. English only	1	—	—	14(3.6%)
f. Sw + Engl + Local	—	—	1	2(0.5%)

[3] *Language use at home*

a. Kiswahili only	3	2(3.3%)	—	13(3.3%)
b. Kiswahili + Local	10	10(16.7%)	6	132(33.7%)
c. Kiswahili + English	1	—	—	5(1.3%)
d. Local(s) only	9	48(80.0%)	9	242(61.7%)

[4] *Language use among friends*

a. Kiswahili only	16	46(76.7%)	11	205(52.3%)
b. Kiswahili + Local	3	4(6.7%)	1	48(12.2%)
c. Kiswahili + English	2	7(11.7%)	2	93(23.8%)
d. Sw + Engl + Local	1	—	—	34(8.7%)
e. Local(s) only	—	3(5.0%)	2	18(4.6%)
f. English only	—	—	—	4(1.0%)

[5] *Language used at school*

a. Kiswahili only	4	20(33.3%)	3	97(24.7%)
b. Kiswahili + English	14	32(53.3%)	13	229(58.4%)
c. English only	4	19(31.7%)	3	66(16.8%)
d. Sw + Engl + Local	—	1(1.7%)	—	—

[6]

a. Kiswahili only	15	49(81.7%)	11	233(59.4%)
b. Kiswahili + Local	1	2(3.3%)	—	9(2.3%)
c. Kiswahili + English	7	9(15.0%)	5	102(26.0%)
d. Sw + Engl + Local	—	—	—	4(1.0%)

Fipa	Fiome	Gogo	Ha	Haya	Hehe	Iraqw
10	3	14	22	75	95	35
(1) A: —	—	—	—	—	—	—
b. 9	—	7	19	55(73.3%)	65(68.4%)	27(83.9%)
c. 1	3	7	3	20(16.7%)	30(31.6%)	8(16.1%)
(2) a. 10	3	10	20	59(78.7%)	81(85.3%)	29(83.9%)
b. —	—	—	—	7(9.3%)	5(5.3%)	2(6.4%)
c. —	—	2	1	7(9.3%)	4(4.2%)	2(6.4%)
d. —	—	—	1	—	5(5.3%)	2(6.4%)
e. —	—	1	—	2(2.7%)	—	—
f. —	—	1	—	—	—	—
(3) a. 3	—	1	1	2(2.7%)	4(4.2%)	—
b. 1	2	6	4	10(13.3%)	26(27.4%)	11(32.3%)
c. —	—	1	—	—	—	1(3.2%)
d. 6	1	6	17	63(84.0%)	65(68.4%)	23(64.5%)
(4) a. 8	2	7	17	42(56.0%)	72(75.8%)	20(32.3%)
b. —	—	—	4	7(9.3%)	6(6.3%)	2(6.4%)
c. 2	1	4	3	14(18.7%)	11(11.6%)	10(29.0%)
d. —	—	1	—	9(12.0%)	3(3.2%)	2(6.5%)
e. —	—	1	3	2(2.7%)	3(3.2%)	—
f. —	—	1	—	1(1.3%)	—	1(3.2%)
(5) a. 1	—	2	5	25(33.3%)	21(22.1%)	10(32.3%)
b. 6	3	8	11	31(41.3%)	54(56.8%)	20(50.1%)
c. 3	—	4	6	19(25.3%)	20(21.1%)	5(9.6%)
d. —	—	—	—	—	—	—
(6) a. 7	2	2	18	56(74.7%)	78(82.1%)	27(54.8%)
b. —	—	—	1	4(5.3%)	1(1.1%)	1(3.2%)
c. 1	1	1	3	12(16.0%)	15(15.8%)	11(35.5%)
d. 2	—	1	—	2(2.7%)	—	1(3.2%)
e. —	—	—	—	1(1.3%)	1(1.1%)	1(3.2%)

	Hangaza 5	Jita 44	Kaguru 15	Kerewe 4	Kinga 22	Kurya 12	Luguru 14	Luo 11
(1) a.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
b.	2	23(52.3%)	7	2	13	8	9	9
c.	3	21(47.7%)	8	2	9	4	5	2
(2) a.	5	36(81.8%)	15	2	18	7	13	8
b.	—	4(9.1%)	—	—	1	1	1	—
c.	—	4(9.1%)	—	2	2	3	—	1
d.	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
e.	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
f.	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
(3) a.	—	—	2	—	—	1	1	—
b.	1	10(22.7%)	3	2	7	6	6	2
c.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
d.	4	34(77.3%)	10	2	15	5	7	9
(4) a.	3	26(59.1%)	10	2	15	4	8	8
b.	—	4(9.1%)	—	—	—	—	1	—
c.	1	6(13.6%)	3	2	5	5	4	1
d.	—	5(11.4%)	—	—	—	2	—	—
e.	—	3(6.8%)	2	—	1	—	1	1
f.	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—
(5) a.	—	19(43.2%)	6	—	5	1	3	5
b.	4	20(45.5%)	9	3	13	8	11	5
c.	1	5(11.3%)	—	1	4	3	—	1
d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(6) a.	5	30(68.2%)	10	3	17	4	12	7
b.	—	1(2.3%)	—	—	—	—	—	—
c.	—	12(27.3%)	3	1	5	6	2	2
d.	—	1(2.3%)	—	—	—	2	—	1
e.	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1

	Makonde	Makua	Manda	Masai	Matengo	Meru	Mwera
	8	3	16	20	21	24	6
(1) a.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
b.	8	1	9	10	7	20	3
c.	—	2	7	10	14	4	3
(2) a.	7	—	14	15	17	19	5
b.	—	—	1	—	2	—	1
c.	—	1	1	2	2	1	—
d.	1	—	—	1	—	1	—
e.	—	—	—	3	—	3	—
f.	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
(3) a.	2	—	1	1	1	1	—
b.	2	1	5	6	5	8	2
c.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
d.	4	2	10	13	15	15	4
(4) a.	5	2	12	12	12	13	3
b.	—	—	1	2	2	1	—
c.	2	1	3	4	3	7	3
d.	—	—	—	1	3	2	—
e.	1	—	—	1	1	1	—
f.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(5) a.	5	2	7	1	7	8	1
b.	1	1	8	16	11	11	2
c.	2	—	1	3	3	5	3
d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(6) a.	7	3	12	11	11	13	1
b.	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
c.	1	—	3	6	9	9	4
d.	—	—	1	—	—	1	1
e.	—	—	1	3	1	—	—



	Ndali	Ngoni	Nyakyusa	Nyambo	Nyamwezi	Nyaturu	Nyiramba
	8	15	82	5	43	10	26
(1) a.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
b.	3	7	58(70.7%)	4	26(60.5%)	9	22
c.	5	8	24(29.3%)	1	17(39.5%)	1	4
(2) a.	8	12	71(86.6%)	4	31(72.1%)	9	21
b.	—	1	3(3.7%)	—	1(2.3%)	—	2
c.	—	1	4(4.9%)	—	3(7.0%)	—	2
d.	—	1	—	—	2(4.7%)	—	—
e.	—	—	1(1.2%)	1	1(2.3%)	1	1
f.	—	—	2(2.4%)	—	—	—	—
(3) a.	—	1	2(2.4%)	1	1(2.3%)	—	—
b.	2	9	20(24.4%)	1	12(27.9%)	2	6
c.	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
d.	6	5	60(73.3%)	3	30(69.8%)	7	20
(4) a.	6	6	53(64.6%)	4	32(74.4%)	8	14
b.	1	3	3(3.7%)	—	1(2.3%)	1	2
c.	1	5	15(18.3%)	—	5(11.6%)	—	7
d.	—	1	1(8.5%)	—	1(2.3%)	—	—
e.	—	—	1(1.2%)	—	4(9.3%)	—	—
f.	—	—	3(3.7%)	1	—	1	—
(5) a.	3	6	20(24.4%)	1	10(23.3%)	3	6
b.	5	9	41(50.0%)	3	25(58.1%)	5	16
c.	—	—	21(25.6%)	1	8(18.6%)	2	4
d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(6) a.	6	8	52(63.4%)	2	34(79.1%)	9	12
b.	—	2	2(2.4%)	—	—	—	—
c.	2	4	26(31.7%)	2	8(18.6%)	—	11
d.	—	—	1(1.2%)	1	—	1	3
e.	—	1	1(1.2%)	—	1(2.3%)	—	—

	Pangwa 9	Pare 192	Pogoro 15	Rangi 9	Safwa 5	Sambaa 33	'sangu' 4	'Swahili' 216
(1) a.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11(51.4%)
b.	6	145(75.4%)	11	6	3	22(66.7%)	—	52(24.1%)
c.	3	47(24.5%)	4	3	2	11(33.3%)	4	53(24.5%)
(2) a.	8	164(85.4%)	13	9	5	27(81.8%)	4	193(89.4%)
b.	—	5(2.6%)	—	—	—	1(3.0%)	—	1(0.5%)
c.	—	16(8.2%)	1	—	—	5(15.2%)	—	18(8.3%)
d.	—	1(0.5%)	—	—	—	—	—	—
e.	1	5(2.6%)	1	—	—	—	—	4(1.9%)
f.	—	1(0.5%)	—	—	—	—	—	—
(3) a.	—	2(1.0%)	1	1	1	1(3.0%)	1	188(87.0%)
b.	1	70(36.5%)	8	4	1	8(24.2%)	—	23(10.6%)
c.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5(2.4%)
d.	8	120(62.5%)	6	4	3	24(72.8%)	4	—
(4) a.	6	122(63.5%)	11	6	4	23(70.0%)	3	161(74.5%)
b.	—	18(9.4%)	2	—	—	3(9.1%)	—	—
c.	2	37(19.3%)	2	3	1	6(18.2%)	—	46(21.3%)
d.	—	6(3.1%)	—	—	—	—	1	—
e.	1	9(4.7%)	—	—	—	1(3.0%)	—	—
f.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9(4.2%)
(5) a.	3	42(21.9%)	2	1	—	8(24.2%)	1	56(25.9%)
b.	3	114(59.4%)	11	8	4	17(51.5%)	2	126(58.3%)
c.	3	36(18.8%)	2	—	1	8(24.2%)	—	34(15.7%)
d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(6) a.	7	119(62.0%)	10	4	5	22(66.7%)	4	175(81.0%)
b.	—	5(2.6%)	—	—	—	—	—	—
c.	2	56(29.2%)	5	5	—	10(30.3%)	—	39(18.1%)
d.	—	9(4.7%)	—	—	—	1(3.0%)	—	1(0.4%)
e.	—	3(1.6%)	—	—	—	—	—	1(0.4%)

	Swahili Chagga	Sukuma	Sumbwa	Wanji	Yao	Zanaki	Zaramo	Zigua
	8	49	2	8	12	5	7	26
(1) a.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
b.	7	34(69.4%)	1	3	6	3	5	18
c.	7	15(30.6%)	1	5	6	2	2	8
(2) a.	7	40(81.6%)	2	8	12	4	7	20
b.	1	4(8.2%)	—	—	—	—	—	1
c.	—	2(4.1%)	—	—	—	1	—	3
d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
e.	—	1(2.0%)	—	—	—	—	—	1
f.	—	2(4.1%)	—	—	—	—	—	1
(3) a.	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	3
b.	6	15(30.6%)	—	5	4	2	2	10
c.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
d.	2	34(69.4%)	2	3	4	3	3	13
(4) a.	5	27(55.1%)	2	7	6	4	5	17
b.	—	6(12.2%)	—	—	—	—	—	2
c.	1	5(11.2%)	—	1	6	1	2	4
d.	1	8(16.3%)	—	—	—	—	—	1
e.	1	2(4.1%)	—	—	—	—	—	1
f.	—	1(2.0%)	—	—	—	—	—	1
(5) a.	1	7(14.3%)	—	1	1	—	—	2
b.	7	31(63.3%)	1	5	6	4	5	18
c.	—	11(22.4%)	1	2	5	1	2	6
d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(6) a.	5	38(77.6%)	2	6	9	2	6	15
b.	—	1(2.0%)	—	—	—	—	—	1
c.	3	10(20.4%)	—	2	3	3	1	10
d.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
e.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

## CONCLUSIONS

Although the research mentioned above deals only with one specific sphere, one may deduce some conclusions of general importance. First of all the results obtained demonstrate clearly the language knowledge of the interviewed persons. As far as the competence in African language is concerned, it is obvious that the greater part of them (about 65%) is bi-or multilingual (when taking English into account). To a certain extent, this fact might also be relevant for that part of the Tanzanian population which is actively involved in the national life, as regards for instance the economy, political issues, administration or education.

In general, after having acquired the language of the respective ethnic group (which we also call "local language") the interviewed persons have started to get acquainted with Kiswahili, at least within the first years of primary education. In many cases, however, this contact took place much earlier. Thus, they acquired a good command of that language which increasingly became the medium used and spoken on most occasions. This, in particular, is the case after leaving the area where the local language is spoken. Thus, an average of 82% of the pupils or students declared Kiswahili their most used language. A remarkable number of them has acquired a knowledge of Kiswahili as well as of at least two other African languages. Their number exceeds even that of the group which does not speak any other African language apart from Kiswahili. The reasons for this are as follows:

To this group belong persons who grew up bilingually, for the parents, due to the different ethnic origins, spoke two languages at home. Others lived in areas which are typically bilingual. A third group again became used to understanding and speaking languages of the host area they had moved to afterwards, despite the fact that Kiswahili prevails in conversation among people of different ethnic origin. The data collected in several schools such as Lugalo, Mkwawa or Shule ya Ufundi Moshi, the Colleges of National Education as well as the University of Dar es Salaam support this conclusion.

Compared with figures above, the number of persons who do not speak any other African language, except Kiswahili (plus English) is relatively low. It amounts to an average of about 7%. These persons form the group which calls itself "Waswahili." This low percentage, however, does not really reflect the given situation, for, as might be seen from Table C, under "Swahili", a higher figure is recorded which includes another important part of Kiswahili speakers who are bi-and multilingual. Hence the portion of 10% Kiswahili speakers which results from our research coincides closely with Whiteley's figure for the Kiswahili speakers in Tanzania (Whiteley, 1969, 3). This part, however, becomes more and more important.

With regard to the most used language there is an overwhelming majority of students in all institutions who opt for Kiswahili, notwithstanding the fact that this language is sometimes spoken in combination with English or with local languages.

According to the data, English still holds a remarkable position in respect to the most used medium, although in comparison to Kiswahili its percentage is lower. Above all, the figures are quite high in those institutions where English is still the medium of instruction, such as at the University of Dar es Salaam in the Institute of Development Studies (20%), Shule ya Ufundi Moshi (14%). The option for English

is lower in cases where English does not prevail as the language of instruction, as for instance in the Colleges of National Education in Iringa or Marangu, which endeavour to use Kiswahili as the medium of instruction.

We emphasized already that the data on language use before attending school as well as on the language(s) spoken at home reveals, to a certain extent, the ethnic origin of the interviewed persons (see Table C). Obviously, the figures confirm the high percentage of persons speaking Kiswahili only or in combination with a local language even before attending school. An average of about 22% for those speaking only Kiswahili supports the conclusion that the number of "Waswahili" among the Tanzanian population is permanently growing. The figures for the combination Kiswahili + Local language(s) is striking evidence for the role the former language is already playing within Tanzanian families. In this field, however, the portion of those who were brought up in an exclusively local language(s) speaking community is quite high. It does not seem very likely that remarkable changes will take place in the future. In family circles English, except for a few individual cases, does not play any substantial role. From this evidence it might be concluded that, despite the far reaching colonial influence as well as the imposition of English both as the official language under the British administration and as an international medium of communication, that language did not take root on the family level.

The analysis of the question of language use at home reveals that there is still a great variety in the sphere of function of Tanzanian languages. In general, when communicating with the parents or other relatives who often live far away from the school or University, the local language of the respective ethnic group alone (nearly 60%) is predominately used, whereas the figures for Kiswahili alone or this language combined with a local language amount to 21% and 38% respectively. In this sphere too, English does not have any influence.

The language use among friends, e.g. playmates of the same age group, varies greatly without having negative effects on the position of Kiswahili. The percentage of Kiswahili spoken within a given age group amounts to 98%. 2% only are in favour of English alone. Nevertheless, the combination English + other language reaches 26%. This figure reflects the fact that in this sphere mainly Kiswahili to a lesser extent English and sometimes also local languages (about 20% together with Kiswahili) is spoken. Sometimes this has the effect of code-switching in conversation. Local languages are preferred in conversation, if the listener is understood to originate from the same ethnic group.

It has to be taken into consideration that among classmates there is a higher figure for Kiswahili use in extra-curricular conversation compared to the data for that language within the family.

As far as the language attitudes of male and female persons are concerned, the results show that the percentage of Kiswahili speakers among the latter, as a rule, is lower, the figure for local language use being substantially higher. Contrasting the figures of a girls' secondary school (Iringa Girls' Secondary School) with a boy's school (Shule ya Ufundi Moshi), we see for instance, that under Question No. 3 80% of the girls stated that they speak language(s) of ethnic groups at home (male students - 52%). Compare other selected data:

*Shule ya Ufundi      Iringa Sec. School*

(1) a.	11.9%	3.6%	(!)
b.	60.3%	82.0%	(!)
c.	27.8%	14.4%	
(2) a.	83.0%	75.8%	(!)
b.	3.1%	6.7%	(!)
c.	12.4%	9.3%	(!)
d.	—	3.6%	(!)
(3) a.	18.6%	7.2%	(!)
b.	29.4%	13.3%	
c.	52.1%	79.4%	(!)
(4) a.	63.9%	54.6%	
b.	7.7%	19.6%	(!)
(5) a.	20.1%	3.1%	
b.	66.5%	93.3%	
c.	13.4%	3.6%	
(6) a.	65.0%	73.7%	
b.	—	10.8%	(!)
c.	26.8%	11.3%	
(7) a.	23.7%	22.7%	
b.	20.6%	8.3%	
c.	53.1%	68.6%	

The higher percentage of females speaking local language(s) is a matter of fact which has been recorded by other sociolinguists too<sup>6</sup>. If, however, there is a choice between English and Kiswahili, the girls are likely to opt in favour of the latter.

The language use among various ethnic groups shows, among other things (as long as the samples might be called representative<sup>7</sup>), the following results:

1. The ethnic groups which live close to Kiswahili speaking areas or traditional trade routes share in general a higher percentage of Kiswahili usage than peoples which live up-country or did not originate from Bantu stock (e.g. Masai, Iraqw, Luo etc.) The latter also show a greater variety in the data obtained in various spheres of language use. The typological distance between the various non-Bantu languages and Kiswahili also seems to play a certain role.

2. Smaller ethnic groups are more often subject to a switch-over to Kiswahili. Moreover, at the same time, these groups also frequently speak languages of the larger ethnic units which live nearby (this holds for languages like Chagga, Pare, Sukuma, Nyamwezi, Haya, Iraqw, Bena etc.). On the one hand, these languages have been learned to facilitate the communication with the respective unit which in

many cases plays a certain important role in local affairs. Kiswahili, on the other hand, took over the function of a lingua franca with a nation - wide distribution.

3. Quite impressive is the relatively high percentage of Kiswahili competence already acquired before the interviewed persons attended school. That is the case with the Chagga (34%), Hehe (72), Iraqw (32%), Kinga, Luguru, Gogo, Arusha, Jita, Kurya, Matengo, Meru, Nyamwezi, Pare, Sukuma, Makonde, Fipa, Fiome and others. A fact like this indicates that the young generation of these ethnic groups grows up more and more as bilingual or as Kiswahili speakers. The tendency to adopt Kiswahili as the mother tongue continues.

4. Very important also is the use of English in several spheres among groups such as the Chagga, Pare or Iraqw. The same fact also holds for the "Waswahili" and other ethnic groups of the Coast.

5. The percentage of bilingualism or multilingualism is relatively high among the "Waswahili" (about 49%).

What does all this data reveal with regard to the national development in Tanzania in the future?

First of all, the fact has to be acknowledged that even before independence various processes took place in the economic basis of the Tanzanian society which supported the emergence of Kiswahili as an inter-ethnic medium of communication in East Africa. The existence of the Tanzanian nation (as well as of the Kenyan one) was a prerequisite for the expansion of the national market into which actually, to a greater or lesser extent, all areas of the country have been incorporated. In the future, the involvement in economic activities will be to a growing intensity. Moreover, any development which in particular aims at a growth in industrial production and the modernization of the agricultural sector will, at the same time, prepare the ground for spreading and improving the Kiswahili language in order to function as the national language in all spheres of communication.

It is an accepted fact that the urban population grows very fast in Africa. Tanzania is no exception in this respect. In this context, some figures are given below which illustrate the dynamics and the extent of urban growth in Tanzania in the years 1948—1968:

	Population			Percentage of growth	
	1948	1957	1967	48/57	57/67
Tanga	20.619	38.053	61.058	7.0%	4.8%
Mwanza	11.269	19.877	34.861	6.5%	5.8%
Arusha	5.320	10.038	32.452	7.3%	12.4%
Moshi	8.048	13.726	26.864	6.1%	7.0%
Iringa	5.702	9.587	21.746	5.9%	8.6%
Musoma	2.962	7.207	15.412	10.4%	7.9%
Mbeya	3.179	6.932	12.479	9.1%	6.0%
Songea	612	1.401	5.430	9.7%	14.4%
Morogoro	8.173	14.507	25.262	6.6%	5.7%
Dodoma	9.414	13.435	23.559	4.0%	5.8%
Dar es Salaam	69.227	128.742	272.500	7.7%	5.8%

Because the urban centers always stimulated the spread and use of Kiswahili, any growing inter-dependence between them and the rural districts which is within the scope of the Tanzania policy may result in an improvement of the position of Kiswahili in the villages. Although our figures date up to 1967 only, it can be assumed that the tendency of urban growth shown above has also continued within the past 10 years, which means that notwithstanding other factors of language promotion the Kiswahili language has spread remarkably. Even recently arrived town dwellers from the country side easily grasped that language.

Of a more far reaching importance for the promotion of Kiswahili as the national language are, however, the steps which were undertaken in the past by institutions of the social superstructure. By declaring Kiswahili the official language ("Lugha ya Taifa") which has to be used in all spheres of economic and political activities, in education, including the functional literacy campaigns, the mass media, army as well as in culture, which gave birth to a new type of Kiswahili literature, and even in religion, a new quality in the spread of that language has been achieved.

From this it follows that the use of local languages becomes increasingly limited to communication within the family and those groups in rural areas whose production is still based on subsistence agriculture. The process of giving up these languages gradually and in a long period in favour of Kiswahili continues, although the consciousness of being or having been affiliated before to a certain ethnic group is still deeply rooted. This attitude will not be given up within a measurable span of time. It will, however, be superseded (in the Hegelian sense) by a more and more pronounced national consciousness which is determined by the common historical destiny as well as the socio-economic conditions under which the whole Tanzanian population lives, by basic aims and interests which are implemented by the political leadership of a revolutionary — democratic party. Future development presupposes the firm integration of all ethnic groups and nationalities in the national policy and economic progress over a historically long period by recognizing and strictly respecting the principle of complete equality as well as by promoting closer contacts between these groups. In this way, the specific features and interests of the latter will decline. At the same time, Kiswahili as the national language will gain more and more importance.

Closer contacts between ethnic groups will result in an increasing impact of Kiswahili on local languages which, in particular, is obvious in the lexical field. Although this phenomenon is widely known, it has not yet been subject to research.

Any evaluation of the present achievements in the field of promoting the national language as well as a comprehensive account of its role as an integrating factor, first results of which are already evident in many areas, may not be carried out until a longer span of time has passed. Nevertheless, Tanzania has gained much experience in language planning and promotion which is not only of enormous importance for theory but foremost for social praxis.



**Footnotes**

1. An early account is given in the *Handbook of German East Africa* [London, 1916].
2. For these Tanzanian languages [with the exception of Kiswahili] in this paper the term "local languages" or "languages of ethnic groups" will be used.
3. See for instance, Whiteley's paper in *Journal of the Language Association of Eastern Africa*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1970 or Edgar C. Polome: "Problems and Techniques of a Sociolinguistically-Oriented Survey: The Case of the Tanzania Survey." In: S. Ohannessian, C.A. Ferguson & E.C. Polome (eds.); *Language Surveys in Developing Nations*. Arlington 1975, pp. 31—50.
4. The authors express their gratitude to the University of Dar es Salaam and to the Institute of Kiswahili Research in particular for the financial support they were given.
5. These figures have to be read as follows: The data under (a) + (b) reveal the number of persons whose mother tongue is Kiswahili either alone (a) or together with a local language (b). The figures under b) and c) show the linguistic background with reference to local languages which were spoken either exclusively (c) or in combination with Kiswahili (b). Thus, under b) for instance + Pare 20 means that 20 persons spoke Kiswahili and Pare before attending school. + Ikizu, + Gweno, + Nyaturu... each 1 reads that there was 1 person speaking Kiswahili + Ikizu, 1 person speaking Kiswahili + Gweno etc.
6. Comp. Heine (1971) who has come to similar results for selected areas in Kenya.

**Further References**

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