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„Language use in Rwanda.

Multilingualism in public and private contexts.“

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Katrin Jordan
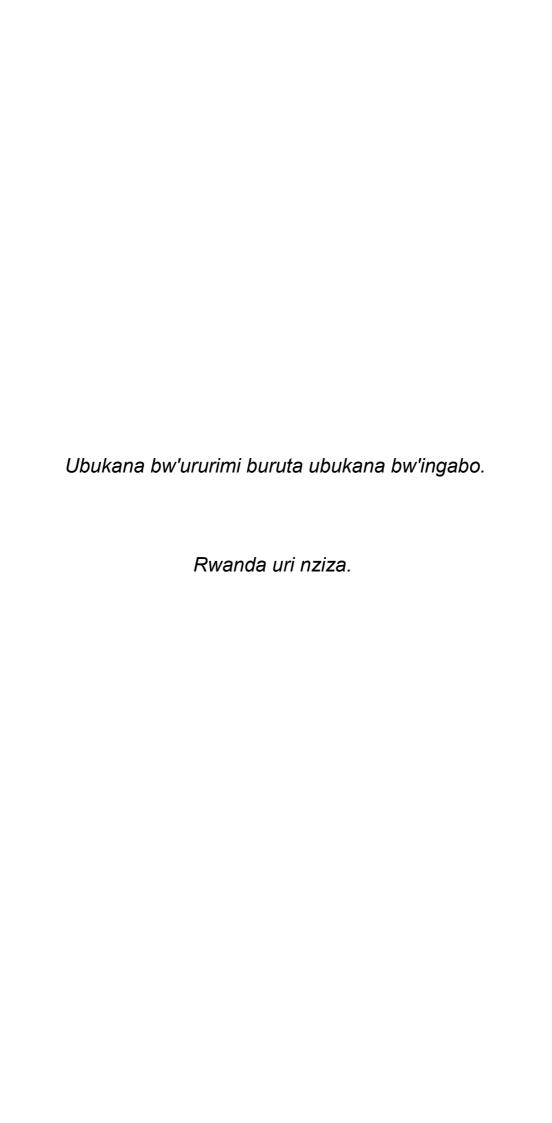
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Ubukana bw'ururimi buruta ubukana bw'ingabo.

Rwanda uri nziza.

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The writing of this thesis has been a struggle, a constant up and down but now it is finally time to finish the last sentences, write the last words and close this chapter of my life.

I had to break through obstacles like writer's block, deal with unavailable or inadequate sources, explore new scientific territory, develop new competencies, overcome my inner laziness, push myself beyond personal limits and try to regain motivation time and time again.

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1 Introduction

The Republic of Rwanda is a small, densely populated country located in the heart of Africa. The 'land of the thousand hills', as it is often called due to its hilly landscape, represents, from a sociolinguistic point of view, an interesting example with a trilingual language policy that grants the status of an official language to its only national language Kinyarwanda, in addition to French and English.

The main objective of this graduate thesis is to find out whether the official multilingual status of these three languages is implemented or whether the language use and competence is characterised by asymmetric power relations, with one language being seen more prestigious than the others, that does not reflect the official equality of Kinyarwanda, English and French.

The historical, political and economic reasons for the introduction of a trilingual language policy, Rwanda's ongoing transition from French to English, and the consequences of this shift are going to be of prime importance.

1.1 *Rwanda's trilingual language policy*

The national language[1] of Rwanda is Kinyarwanda, which is estimated to be spoken by nearly 99% of the mostly rural population. This linguistic set-up puts Rwanda in a special position with practically only one national language, as opposed to most sub-Saharan countries.

Due to Belgian colonial administration from 1916 until independence in 1962, French became the first official language of Rwanda and served as the language of administration and of instruction for almost 40 years. In sub-Saharan Africa multilingualism is omnipresent and indigenous languages are often in competition with other national or foreign languages for prestige, status and usage in the linguistic market.

Rwanda experienced a transition from Kinyarwanda being the national language before colonisation to official bilingualism with shared official status of Kinyarwanda and French and

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[1]   Contrary to the terms 'local' or 'indigenous language', 'national language' refers to a language that holds a special position in a country, without it being necessarily an 'official' language at the same time. In the case of Rwanda, Kinyarwanda can be described as the 'local', a 'national' and even an 'official' language. The attribute 'national language' is going to be used in this study to refer to the importance of Kinyarwanda in the national context, being the main language of Rwanda.

finally to a trilingual situation with the introduction of English as third official language in 1996 after the genocide of 1994, that had left nearly one million dead and thousands displaced. (Steflja 2012; Munyankesha 2004)

Today, English is not only the third official language but also the language of instruction at every educational level and it continues to expand its role in the country's language policy, being associated with economic, technological, political and social development.

The changes of Rwanda's language policy since 1996 have played and continue to play an important role in social reconstruction, reconciliation (Samuelson, Freedman 2010:191) and the building of a new national identity to overcome poverty and trigger successful development, leaving war and genocide behind.

The tremendous social and economic transformation dynamics of the world today develop at great speed and countries are struggling to keep up with these changes. In order to be competitive on the global market, it is necessary to redesign development strategies to achieve the goal of long-term sustainable economic development. Thereby, Rwanda is guided at macro level by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). At micro level, the country is determined to work for progress towards development and has set ambitious goals for the future in its 'Vision 2020' document, which will serve as a strategic framework for all development stakeholders. (Kagwese 2013: 10ff.)

The government of Rwanda has made education one of its top priorities because it is seen as one of the major instruments of national development. The formation of skilled human capital should eventually give rise to the 'making' of a knowledge society and conduce Rwanda to attracting foreign investors and becoming East Africa's new ICT hub. (Kagwese 2013: 10ff.; Knutsson 2011)

The language policy of Rwanda, which includes a language shift from French to English, defined as "[c]hanges in the degree of functional use from one language to another" (Spolsky 1998: 124), is not only part of the ambitious project of the government to construct a new national image and identity, but is also expected to have profound effects on the political and economic development of the country. (Steflja 2012)

This multilingual setting is the scope of this sociolinguistic study which aims to explain language dynamics and the influence of language policy on language use and competence of the population as well as development prospects assigned to certain languages like English. Rwanda's transition from French to English as well as the role of Kinyarwanda today are going

to be explored further in this thesis, using key concepts of sociolinguistics.

Terminological issues and linguistic phenomena associated with multilingual situations make up a large part of this thesis. I have paid particular attention to the theoretical framework since research on the multilingual setting of a country is delicate. Existing literature on the linguistic situation of multilingual countries often remains vague and key concepts are often not explained adequately which is why I intend to concentrate on sociolinguistic phenomena, underline their implementation with examples from multilingual backgrounds from all over the world and answer my working hypotheses through the combination of theory and empiricism.

1.2 *Research questions and sources*

Preliminary assumptions on the multilingual situation of Rwanda have guided this research. By and large, the aim of this study is to describe the status and use of languages in Rwanda.

This not only includes the three official languages, a small part of this research is also dedicated to exploring the potential of Swahili in Rwanda in the context of the country's membership in the East African Community (EAC).

The main idea of this study is that official language policy is disconnected from the linguistic reality of society. I believe that the official trilingual equality is characterized by asymmetric language use, with French being replaced by English, which widens its influence in official and informal domains and the lack of adequate recognition of the national language Kinyarwanda. In this regard, I assume that Kinyarwanda does not live up to its potential in socio-economic development. Such insight should lead to a shift in language policy towards the empowerment of African languages.

Moreover, the reasons for the language shift in Rwanda towards English, for example the country's membership in the EAC and the Commonwealth, are going to be investigated. The consequences of the changing language policy, combined with the reasons for it, represent the central question of the thesis.

What are the economic, political and historic reasons and the resulting consequences for Rwanda's transition from a bilingual towards a trilingual language policy?

During the writing of this graduate thesis, a few more detailed questions were essential. Some

of them will be answered in the theoretical part, while others required the practical approach of the case study. They include the following questions:

- **How can Rwanda be described linguistically?**
- **How has the introduction of English as the only medium of instruction at every educational level influenced the education system, students and teachers?**
- **What is the status of Kinyarwanda in the Rwandan language policy[2]?**
- **What are the distinctions between 'official' and 'de facto' language policy?**

The question **'Who speaks what language, to whom and when?'**, which is based on the famous Lasswell formula and is going to be explained further in chapter 2.3, concerning language use, language competence and language attitudes in Rwanda's multilingual setting, is one of the main ideas guiding this research.

While it may seem like a purely sociolinguistic study at first sight, I would like to underline that I am not a student of linguistics. However, I am going to try to give a short insight into basic sociolinguistic concepts, terminology and phenomena to better understand the multilingual set-up of Rwanda. Theory on sociolinguistics should help to examine the socio-economic, political and historical reasons and consequences for the language shift from French to English closely and observe language use and multilingualism in Rwanda from a holistic point of view.

This study is based on sociolinguistic studies, literature and official documents published in the respective field of inquiry. The doctoral dissertations of Irmi Maral-Hanak (2009a) and Tove Rosendal (2010) and the research of Brigitta Busch, Louis-Jean Calvet, Michael Clyne, Florian Coulmas, David Crystal, Charles Ferguson, Joshua Fishman, Miriam Meyerhoff, Bernard Spolsky or Suzanne Romaine, just to name a few, are going to provide the necessary theoretical background.

When accessible, original sources were used, including official documents from the UNESCO and the Republic of Rwanda.

During the research for this study it became apparent that many authors claim to have used data from the 2002 census to underline their findings concerning language competence and use in Rwanda. However, their data does not always correspond to the official reports

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[2]   Language policy is "[...] an officially mandated set of rules for language use and form within a nation-state." (Spolsky 2012: 3)

published by the government of Rwanda. For completeness and genuine truth, the data used in this work is exclusively taken from the statistics and the studies of the 2002 census, conducted by the Rwandan Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, the National Commission of Census and the National Service of Census, analysed by Athanasie Kabagwira and published by the government of Rwanda under the following address: http://statistics.gov.rw.

Furthermore, newspaper articles and online resources are consulted to ensure a wide variety of the material necessary for the scope of this study.

1.3 Structure of this work

This study is made up of two main parts. The first one is named 'Theoretical framework' and comprises five main chapters and various sub-sections of these chapters.

Throughout the theoretical framework, the basic vocabulary necessary to analyse sociolinguistic key concepts plays an important role. It is of utter importance to first define the linguistic terms to then be able to explore the underlying theoretical principles in connection with empiricism.

First of all, a sociolinguistic approach, which is going to be used in this study, is going to be explained, following a short digression on general sociolinguistic methods. The issue of speech communities is explained shortly since an extensive presentation on this complex topic would exceed the scope of this work. However, it is important to mention that there are different notions concerning the term 'speech community' which have to be taken into account. Repertoire, register and prestige will be explained as well as considerations on the issue of language attitudes which all influence language use.

By and large, the aim of the third chapter is to analyse the complex sociolinguistic terminology that is considered necessary to examine the language situation of Rwanda more closely. To avoid ambiguity, various definitions of the broad range of linguistic vocabulary are going to be explained using terms of the UNESCO and different relevant linguists. Within the chapter terminology, matching vocabulary is going to be compared and inquired in pairs, such as first versus second language, lingua francas versus vernacular languages, official versus national

language and endoglossic versus exoglossic. Additionally, regional and social linguistic varieties are going to be looked at.

To fully examine sociolinguistic key concepts and study them in reference to the linguistic situation of Rwanda, the fourth chapter is going to connect terminology with the analysis of linguistic phenomena. The sections of this chapter are first going to define the terms used in the respective linguistic concepts, second delve into the underlying principles of these key concepts and third connect the theoretical denotation to empiricism and analyse their importance for the sociolinguistic situation of Rwanda. In this regard, monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism are going to be surveyed, followed by the principle of diglossia. The theoretical work of Charles Ferguson and Joshua Fishman on the complex issue of diglossia are going to be expanded by the remarks of Louis-Jean Calvet to provide a detailed analysis of diglossia and diglossic situations, not only in Rwanda.

The terms status and corpus, which can be traced back to Robert Chaudenson, are going to be examined concerning the terminological issues, as well as their functionality with regard to status planning and corpus planning.

Finally, a respective section on code-switching and language contact will resume the terminology and analysis of sociolinguistic key concepts in the fourth chapter.

The fifth and last chapter of the theoretical framework is called language policy. As always, the terminology on language policy and language planning is going to be studied first, followed by various examples of language policy in Rwanda and other sub-Saharan countries. The language policy of South Africa, comprising eleven official languages, is considered as exemplary for a multilingual nation. The insight into the official linguistic strategy of other nations enables a broad perspective on language policy. It is important to take the influence of colonialism on the language policy of sub-Saharan nations into account which is demonstrated by the example of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Scrutinizing the language policy of a neighbouring country of Rwanda should provide a deeper insight into power dynamics that influence the linguistic path of a country during colonial administration and after independence. The digression on language policy in South Africa and the Democratic Republic of Congo round off a broad and detailed view of the theoretical framework that is considered important for the analysis of the sociolinguistic situation of Rwanda.

The second part of this thesis is named 'Rwanda – a sociolinguistic case study'. It is made up

of four main chapters that will give further insight and empirical data on the sociolinguistic setting of Rwanda.

Starting with a general overview, including political, cultural, geographical and economic facts on the Republic of Rwanda, a historical outline concludes the background and essential information about the country.

The study continues to explore Rwanda linguistically, describing the languages of Rwanda with regard to their historical, political and economic importance starting with Kinyarwanda, the country's only national language which also serves as an official language, followed by French, the language of Belgian colonial administration and one of the official languages of Rwanda, then English, the country's third official language, and finally Swahili, which has no official status but is considered important with reference to its role in the whole East African region. The language competence and proficiency in the respective languages rounds up the eighth chapter of this thesis.

The chapter on language policy in Rwanda includes descriptions of the official status and use of the languages involved and the language use in media, as well as a conclusion of the language use in official and informal domains in Rwanda. The lack of Kinyarwanda in the current language policy is going to be surveyed further, followed by a section on the use of English as the language of instruction at every educational level since 2009 and the consequences of this language shift.

In the last chapter of this thesis, the reasons for Rwanda's transition from a bilingual towards a trilingual language policy are going to be looked at, ranging from the influence of language attitudes and the role of France during the genocide to Rwanda's membership in the Commonwealth and the East African Community.

The connection of the theoretical framework and the findings of the case study should lead to the answering of the core questions and by and large provide a broad and detailed overview of the sociolinguistic setting of Rwanda.

Theoretical Framework

The methodological instruments as well as the key concepts necessary to describe the social and linguistic situation of Rwanda are going to be described in the following chapter. The phenomena and the background of the transition from French to English and to what extent the national language Kinyarwanda is considered in which domain and how, will all be examined after this excursion to the theoretical background of multilingualism, sociolinguistics and other language related subjects.

I use a sociolinguistic approach to examine the language situation in Rwanda since the influence and implication of language use on society and vice versa is important for the aim of this study.

The first part of this graduate thesis is made up of six main chapters, many of them comprising sub-sections, which should connect theory and empirical evidence by using examples. Furthermore, the language policies of other countries are going to be used to compare Rwanda's linguistic setting to that of other African nations and therefore providing a deep insight into the field of sociolinguistics.

"The willingness to draw on different methodologies has benefited sociolinguistics in a number of ways" (Meyerhoff 2011: 280). This is also one of the reasons why many different concepts and approaches are going to be used throughout this study to provide a vast perspective on different linguistic phenomena and facilitate well- informed statements on the linguistic situation of Rwanda.

2 Sociolinguistic approach

Living languages are always changing, as they respond to changes in social structure. Language reflects society; it also serves to pass on social structure, for learning a language is a central feature of being socialized. Sociolinguistics is thus the study of language as it is used and of society as it communicates. (Spolsky 1998: 78)

This thesis could be perceived as a macro-sociolinguistic study since it focuses primarily on large groups of speakers within a specific geographic area, in our case the country of Rwanda. It does not bring into focus the micro-level interactions of individuals but rather tries to paint a picture of the linguistic situation of the society as a whole. The broad concerns of macro-sociolinguistics include multilingualism, language policy and language planning but since this work also includes topics such as speech, conversation, language competence and the effects of the language policy on individuals, micro-linguistic elements are also going to be included which makes it rather difficult to define it as a macro- or micro- sociolinguistic study since both micro- and macro-sociolinguistic points of view are going to be important. Spolsky describes both micro- and macro-sociolinguistics as the 'sociology of language'. He differentiates them by defining micro-sociolinguistics as an "[a]rea of sociolinguistic study which concentrates on linguistic variables and their significance" (Spolsky 1998: 124) and macro-sociolinguistics as the area "[...] which concentrates on the use of a variety and its social significance." (ibid.)

The 'sociology of language', which deals with language and sociological factors from a broad perspective (Spolsky 1998: 124), rounds up this work and both the macro- and micro-sociolinguistic approaches are going to be used.

A sociolinguistic approach is important in this research since I want to find out more about the implications of language use in society, which language is used in which particular context and why. "Because it is deeply concerned with language in society, sociolinguistics has from its start been equally involved in social matters." (Spolsky 1998: 78)

Language use is one of the main topics at stake in this study. According to Alistair Pennycook, "[...] using, speaking, learning, teaching language is a form of social and cultural action; it is about producing and not just reflecting realities." (2001: 53). Language use thereafter does not only reflect society, when both society and language are considered as rather static entities, but instead is part of the social formation that shapes society, which does not correspond to the social reality. (Pennycook 2001: 53f.)

Who talks to whom in which language and which particular situation does not only reflect individual language preference or competence but is often related to the social background of the partners in communication, the specific situations and topics of conversation.

> *The central question remains the close intertwining between a language and the social context in which it is used. Language and society may not be purely human but they are such fundamental human phenomena that they cry out for better understanding. (Spolsky 1998: 78)*

2.1 Sociolinguistic methods and the issue of speech communities

One of the questions when dealing with sociolinguistics, in short the connection and relation between language and society, is whether to conduct qualitative or quantitative methods. In this study, a qualitative approach is going to be used because there is not enough data available on this particular subject of investigation.

For a long time, quantitative methods were considered as more important and of greater scientific value due to their accountability, using numbers and percentages to explain certain linguistic phenomena, yet the methodological discourse has recently changed and proved that qualitative methods are not inferior to quantitative techniques. The qualitative approach is going to be used extensively in this work since general key concepts of linguistics are going to be explained first and then applied and transferred to specific linguistic situations. Moreover, the lack of reliable quantitative sources favours a qualitative approach as well.

Miriam Meyerhoff states in her book 'Introducing Sociolinguistics' that sociolinguists are committed to the principle of accountability and want to be able to draw generalisations about what people know about language, how they use it, when and with whom. (Meyerhoff 2011: 279) Even if the accountability of collected data plays a very important role, sociolinguists sometimes have to work with the 'messiness of spontaneous speech' because "[i]t is in spontaneous speech that the richest information about the extent of variation in a speech community becomes apparent." (Meyerhoff 2011: 278)

The objects of investigation of sociolinguistics are 'speech communities'. "A group of people who share the same language and/or the same knowledge about the distribution and differential use of a set of languages and varieties." (Coulmas 2005: 235) A 'speech community' thus "[...] share[s] notions of what is same or different in phonology or grammar.

[…] Underlying is the idea of a group of people who could, if they wanted, speak to each other." (Spolsky 1998: 24) They often "[...] share not just a single language but a repertoire of languages or varieties. The speech community is a complex interlocking network of communication whose members share knowledge about and attitudes towards the language use patterns of others as well as themselves. There is no theoretical limitation on the location and size of a speech community, which is in practice defined by its sharing a set of language varieties (its repertoire) and a set of norms using them." (Spolsky 1998: 24f.)

Although the definitions of Spolsky and Coulmas seem somewhat forthright, the issue of the speech community is much more complicated. Peter Patrick argues in his article on "The Speech Community", that "[...] the problem of relating a linguistic system to its speakers is not trivial […], yet there is remarkably little agreement or theoretical discussion of the concept in sociolinguistics, though it is much defined." (Patrick 2001: 2) It is seen as problematical that speech communities are taken for granted and treated as clearly definable social entities. An extensive description on the various notions of speech community would exceed the scope of this study, yet it is important to mention the ongoing debate. Patrick concludes that speech communities "[...] should not be taken for a unit of social analysis" (Patrick 2001: 41) since it cannot be assumed that they "[...] exist as predefined entities waiting to be researched" (ibid.).

To describe the observed speech community of this thesis as the population of Rwanda, the whole diaspora of Rwandans or all Kinyarwandophones around the world, hence seems to be unrealistic. The focus of investigation does not lie on the speech community of Rwanda – if such a speech community exists at all – but the sociolinguistic situation of the country, including the speakers of the languages surveyed, yet the study does not primarily focus on the various speech communities in and around Rwanda.

2.2 *Repertoire, register and prestige*

Brigitta Busch extensively treats the importance of the 'verbal repertoire' that belongs to the biographical linguistic research area, which, in contrast to the above explained broad perspective of sociolinguistics, provides a more detailed and individual perspective on sociolinguistics. (Busch 2013: 13)

Based on research conducted in two rural communities in the North of Delhi and in the

Norwegian Rana-Fjord, this concept was developed by anthropologist and linguist John Gumperz in 1964 which is going to be explained shortly as follows.

> *The raw material of our study is the distribution of linguistic forms in everyday speech. [...] Since social interaction always takes place within particular groups, linguistic source data will have to be made commensurable with such groups. We therefore choose as our universe of analysis a speech community: any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction over a significant span of time and set off from other such aggregates by differences in the frequency of interaction. Within this socially defined universe forms are selected for study primarily in terms of who uses them and when, regardless of purely grammatical similarities and differences. […] Procedures such as these enable us to isolate the verbal repertoire, the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction. Since spoken communication of all kinds is describable by a finite set of rules which underlie the formation of all possible sentences, verbal repertoires must have structure. The structure of verbal repertoires, however, differs from ordinary descriptive grammars. It includes a much greater number of alternants [sic!], reflecting contextual and social differences in speech. Linguistic interaction, as Bernstein (1964) has pointed out, can be most fruitfully viewed as a process of decision making, in which speakers select from a range of possible expressions. The verbal repertoire then contains all the accepted ways of formulating messages. It provides the weapons of everyday communication. Speakers choose among this arsenal in accordance with the meanings they wish to convey. (Gumperz 1964: 137f.)*

In short, 'verbal repertoire' can therefore be defined as the completeness of all linguistic competences available to a speaker in a specific situation, including dialects, styles, register, codes and routine that characterize everyday communication and interaction. (Busch 2013: 21)

> *The social etiquette of language is learned along with grammatical rules and once internalized it becomes a part of our linguistic equipment. (Gumperz 1964: 138 quoted in Busch 2013: 21)*

While the term 'repertoire' thus refers to "[t]he totality of speech forms of an individual or speech community" (Coulmas 2005: 235), the term 'register' describes "[a] speech form considered appropriate to a situation. Speech situations vary with respect to several factors, such as formality, the medium of communication, e.g. speech or writing, and the subject matter of the discourse." (ibid.)

In Rwanda, the verbal repertoire of the people who returned to the country after the genocide, having spent many years in exile, often in Anglophone countries, was significantly different to the repertoire of the people who had stayed in Rwanda. The promotion of English to a virtually

official status in 1996 was part of the government's strategy to guarantee the inclusion of the returnees and allow the participation of all citizens in society. English was introduced to avoid disadvantages for those whose repertoire did not include French, to execute administrative tasks and allow public administration to function without discriminating people without an adequate competence in French or Kinyarwanda.

It is also important to take into account that the implementation of the repertoire is largely situation-dependent.

> *SprecherInnen aktivieren in ihrem Gesamtrepertoire immer diejenigen Ressourcen, von denen die SprecherInnen annehmen, dass sie dem kommunikativen Ziel – der erfolgreichen Verständigung – angemessen sind. Abgesehen von rein praktischen Verständlichkeitskriterien, können aber auch soziokulturelle Variablen die Sprachwahl steuern oder zumindest beeinflussen. (Waldburger 2012: 10)*

One of these socio-cultural factors which influence language use is the so-called 'prestige' of a certain variety, which has an effect on the status of a language and is closely connected to social, political, cultural and power-related impacts. The prestigious status of a variety is always politically motivated and reflects power relations, concerning not only the status of a linguistic variety, but also its functionality.

2.3 *Language attitudes – Accommodation theory and Lasswell's formula*

> *"We draw very powerful inferences about people from the way they talk. Our attitudes to different varieties of a language colour the way we perceive the individuals that use those varieties. Sometimes this works to people's advantage; sometimes to their disadvantage."*
> *(Meyerhoff 2011: 58)*

The way we perceive the world around us, the opinions we form towards our communication partner solely relying on their style of speech as well as which language features are perceived as positive or negative, is closely linked to the terms 'linguistic relativism' and 'determinism'. The influence of language on the world we observe and our thoughts about it lead to the conclusion that language constructs social relations as well as reflecting them. (Meyerhoff 2011: 64ff.) Language attitudes are closely connected with this issue as they comprise "[t]he feelings and ideas people have about their own language and other languages." (Coulmas

2005: 234)

In this framework, Meyerhoff refers to the application of the principle of the accommodation theory which "[...] is built on the supposition that speakers express their attitudes to themselves and others in the way they speak." (Meyerhoff 2011: 68)

> *Another contextual approach is accommodation theory, as developed by Giles and his associates, which investigates motivations and consequences of changes in languages styles (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977). It assumes that people are motivated mutually to adjust their speech styles. […] [T]he disposition to accommodate is also effective in conversational encounters involving speakers of different languages. […] Bilingual conversations […] are relatively rare precisely because there seems to be a universal norm to settle on a common code for one conversation. It is, however, possible for speakers to accommodate each other, passively tolerating each other's use of the language in which their respective productive ability is greatest. (Coulmas 2005: 139f.)*

The process of assimilating one's speech, whether consciously or unconsciously, encompasses the so-called 'convergence' and 'divergence' of speech. 'Convergence', the "[a]ccommodation towards the speech of one's interlocutors [...]" (Meyerhoff 2011: 74), underlines common features of speech styles to emphasize similarities and make the speaker sound more like their interlocutor (ibid.). On the other hand, 'divergence' is used to emphasize difference and increase social distance. It represents the accommodation away from the speech of one's interlocutor. (Meyerhoff 2011: 74f.)

The process of 'accommodation', "[t]he usually unconscious tendency of people to make adjustments in their speech under the influence of the speech of those they are talking to" (Coulmas 2005: 233), is especially interesting for the aim of this work, considering the 'Lasswell formula' and the answer to the question 'who speaks what language to whom and when', which is an important part of this thesis. However, it must be noted that Coulmas also includes the speech level while Lasswell only deals with language rather than the process of speaking.

Demonstrating convergence or divergence through the process of accommodation is especially interesting when people use this method to consciously use language as a means to define themselves and take on a certain identity associated with the used variety. The rising use of English by the new ruling class of Rwanda reflects the demarcation of the old French-speaking elite and automatically creates associations with modernity, success and economic

development, since English is seen as the language of progress. In chapter 10.1 and 10.2, I am going to take a closer look at the language attitudes in Rwanda, the message the government is trying to send with the increasing use of English and how President Kagame uses language to further promote a new Rwandan identity, one of well-educated, English-speaking people.[3]

Throughout this graduate thesis, language attitudes, language use and the implications of language policy are to be examined, always keeping in mind the 'W-questions' of Lasswell.

Joshua Fishman not only deals with diglossia (see chapter 4.3), but also analysed multilingual settings in his article 'Who speaks what language to whom and when?' which is closely related to Lasswell's formula, 'Who says what in which channel to whom and with what effect', "[...] a question which set the agenda not only for bilingualism research but also for the study of language in society in general." (Wei 2007b: 28)

Fishman tries to find answers to this question by analysing the domains involved, "[...] a cluster of characteristic situations around a prototypical theme which structures both the speakers' perception of the situation and their social behaviours, including language choice." (Wei 2007b: 28)

> *"Domain" is a theoretical concept. It refers to an aggregate of locales of communication – public vs. private; role relationships between participants – family members, official/client; and kinds of interaction – formal vs. informal. The domains which are typically distinguished include home, work, school, church, market, government and leisure. Whether there is need for more fine-grained distinctions – e.g. health services, media, gastronomy – must be decided case by case. If the association between domains and codes is sufficiently stable, as is the case, for instance, in many diglossic situations, a criterial hierarchy for the decision process can be established. (Coulmas 2005: 138)*

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[3] In personal communications, Rwandans told me, that they guess President Kagame would speak deliberately English with a typical Rwandan accent in public while using Western varieties in other occasions. His growing-up in English-speaking Uganda and military education in the United States of America as well as the elaborate vocabulary he uses during speeches, especially abroad, could suggest that his English might be 'better' than he claims it to be. He might be using a 'typical' Rwandan accent when talking in English, especially in Rwanda or to Rwandan media etc., to exemplify the status of this official language and the enhanced role it should play in Rwanda today, since it is considered essential for the dynamic development of the Republic of Rwanda. To decrease the linguistic barrier towards the majority of the population, it is possible that he speaks in a variety that is connoted with typical features of the national and official language Kinyarwanda. Taking into account that there are no verifiable sources for these reflections, the process of accommodation of English in Rwanda could, however, be a strategic move by the president.

To describe language use in a multilingual setting, Fishman refers to various factors that influence language use, including group settings, situation, topic of conversation, domains of language use, media of communication and political setting. (Fishman 1965: 55ff.)

By using the analysis of the domains of language choice, Fishman attempts "[...] to provide socio-cultural organization and socio-cultural context for considerations of variance in language choice in multilingual settings" (Fishman 1965: 68), and provide explanations for language choice, language use and also language shift, considering changing variants such as the group membership of the interlocutors, the specific situation the conversation takes place in and other possible changing factors in multilingual settings.

> *When systematically interrelated with other sources of variance in language behavior […] and when based upon underlying analyses of the role-relations and topics most crucial to them, domains of language behavior may contribute importantly to the establishment of dominance configuration summaries. Domain analysis may be a promising conceptual and methodological tool for future studies of language behavior in multilingual settings and for socio-linguistic studies more generally. Ultimately, a relatively uniform but flexible analytic scheme such as that described here[, domain analysis,] may enable us to arrive at valid generalizations concerning (1) the kinds of multilingual settings in which one or another configuration of variance in language choice obtains and (2) the language maintenance or language shift consequences of particular configurations of dominance or variance. (Fishman 1965: 68)*

Fishman's findings are relevant for this thesis since different domains of language use are going to be explored.

Concluding this section on language attitudes and general sociolinguistic methods, as well as reflections about register, repertoire, prestige and the issue of speech community, other linguistic terminology is now going to be explained in the following chapter.

3 Terminology

Prior to the analysis of the case study of Rwanda, the linguistic vocabulary has to be explained and the important terms defined, since there is no unified terminology.

Linguistic terminology concerning languages is complex, since many authors and scientists use the same linguistic terms and key concepts with different meanings and implications.

In 1951, during the meeting of the UNESCO specialists on the use of vernacular languages, the definitions of a whole set of linguistic terms, used to describe linguistic phenomena, were unified to avoid ambiguity. After 1951, the UNESCO continued to work on multilingual issues and the related terminology. Given the diversity of vocabulary of sociolinguistics, this study is going to be based on the UNESCO glossary of linguistic terms, using complementary definitions of various linguists to underline the findings.

Linguists have coined different terminologies to define the various functions of languages in different societies and communicative situations. This vocabulary is often of bipolar character and includes terms such as 'endoglossic' and 'exoglossic', 'first' and 'second language', 'official' and 'national' language amongst other terms, which are going to be studied in the following chapters.

3.1 Multilingualism

'Mother language' or 'native tongue' is described as the language which is acquired in early years of life and which normally becomes the natural instrument of thought and communication of a person. (UNESCO 1951: 46)

> *The mother tongue is literally just that, the language of the mother and is based on the normal enough view that children's first significant other is the mother. Of course there are situations in which that caretaking [sic!] person is not the biological mother but instead the father, grandparent or nurse. (Davies 2003: 16)*

Davies comments further on the issue of 'mother tongue' by stating that the person providing the child with the most spoken input may also "[...] provid [sic!] bi- or multi-lingual input for the child either because the 'mother' is herself bilingual or because the role of the mother is shared

by several adults who use more than one language in speaking to the child." (Davies 2003: 16) In this case, the amount of linguistic input for the child is not limited to one language only, but can lead to the child having more than one 'mother' or 'father' language.

Instead of 'mother tongue', the term 'first language' seems to be more appropriate today to underline that another language than the language of the mother or father, can become someone's best developed and preferred means of communication.

3.1.1 First language versus second language

There are many different opinions on the issue of first and second language present in the linguistic field, especially in reference to the time the languages are acquired. First language in this case would then be the language acquired first, in early childhood, sometimes also referred to as 'mother tongue', or the "[...] language used most in the household or the language a person knows best." (Rosendal 2010: 31) A second language or L2, would then be a language that is learnt after the first language has been acquired, "[...] either in the community where it is spoken or through formal education." (Rosendal 2010: 31) Generally, second language in relation to first language refers to a language which is acquired and used additionally. (UNESCO 1951: 46)

The distinction of languages into L1 and L2, as done for instance in Tove Rosendal's study, refers to the time when language competence is acquired. L1 therefore defines the language learnt first, which is also defined as 'mother tongue' or 'first language' by other researchers. But the question is, whether the 'first language' of a person always corresponds to the language of his or her mother? And can someone have more than one 'first language'? Alan Davies examines these questions in his book 'The Native Speaker: Myth and Reality':

> 'First language' refers to the language which was learnt first. Again this seems straightforward. Your first language is the language ('tongue') you learned from your mother, biological or not. This however, is, straightforward for only a small group of people and may reflect the monolingual nature of much anglo-centric society. Many people live in multilingual societies and we all live in multidialectal societies. The mother tongue and the first language may be different because, first, the mother tongue is [...] influenced by peers as well as by parents, it may be more than one language and then it is not easy to decide which one is first. Second, what is the first language may change over time so that, for example, a young child for whom Welsh is the

mother tongue or 'first language' in the sense of time of learning, may gradually come to use
English more and more and relegate Welsh to a childhood experience. […] Equally it can be the
case that […] people would claim to have more than one first language and this raises what is in
some sense a philosophical question of whether it is possible to have more than one first
language at the same time. (Davies 2003: 17)

Due to Davies' observations I conclude that a person may not only change his first language due to alterations of the living situation or other modifications that can influence the language use and competence of a person, but it may also be possible for someone to consider more than one language as his or her first language(s). If someone considers more than one language as his or her first language, the languages will occupy different areas of life, this scenario can also be described as "[...] more than one dominant language, each language being dominant in certain areas of life." (Davies 2003: 18)

One of the most important differences between first language and second language is the difference between language acquisition as a child or as an adult. Irmi Maral-Hanak writes in her course manual "Sprachenerwerb" (Maral-Hanak 2009b: 91ff.), that people are able to have more than one first language, depending on the time and setting when and how languages are learnt.

She thereafter differentiates first and second language acquisition as "Erstsprachenerwerb = Sprechen lernen" and "Zweitsprachenerwerb = Sprachen lernen". While language faculty, the acquisition of the ability to speak and communicate, is learnt as a child, second language acquisition, the learning or studying of other languages, can happen in adolescent and adult age. (Maral-Hanak 2009b: 91)

Contrary to the definition of first and second language as referred to by Rosendal and the UNESCO, first language is a term which can not only be used for one language, the mother tongue, because, especially in a multilingual setting, people can perceive more than one language as their first language.

The types of bilingual or multilingual upbringing are going to be explained further in chapter 4.2 by reference to Suzanne Romaine who distinguishes six different types of bilingual language upbringing. At this point I would just like to give a short example to show that multiple languages can be used by children equally well, depending on the situation and the communication partner(s).

In the Ugandan city of Bombo, in the north of Kampala, there are four languages used predominantly: Luganda, Nubi, Swahili and English. Luganda is the 'regional language', spoken by the largest ethnic group of the region. Nubi is the most widely spread language of the city, whose speakers are connected by being descendants of a British-colonial military unit in South Sudan and the insinuated joint social history. Swahili is the language of the military affected to the region and English is the language of instruction at school. Nubi and Ganda living in Bombo are usually able to speak the language of the other ethnic group, but since Luganda is the dominant language of the region, it is used as the common language of communication, as a 'lingua franca', of speakers with different first languages.

Cornelia Khamis describes the language use and language attitudes of children of a large family, where some of the adults have Nubi, others Luganda as their first language, but all of them are bilingual in the sense that they have competence in both languages. The children observed have parents or persons of reference whose language attitudes and language use influence the language preferences of the children. The different languages used have been introduced into the home at different times. (Maral-Hanak 2009b: 95)

> *Bisirikirwa Zam-Zams (etwa 7,5 Jahre) bevorzugte Sprache ist Nubi. Überlässt man ihr die Sprachwahl beim Erzählen einer Geschichte entscheidet sie sich in der Regel für Nubi. Sie kann jedoch fliessend [sic!] Ganda und wechselt mühelos nach Bedarf zwischen den Sprachen. Sie spricht auch sehr oft Ganda. Ihre Englischkenntnisse sind ihrem Alter entsprechend gut. Sie versteht sehr gut Swahili, kann Geschichten, die sie in Swahili gehört hat, auf Nubi oder Ganda wiedergeben. Allerdings spricht sie kaum Swahili, nur sehr zögerlich, wenn sie dazu angehalten wird. … Es ist schwer zu bestimmen, was Bogeres (etwa 6 Jahre) bevorzugte Sprache (d.h. Nubi oder Ganda) ist. Er selbst kann sich meist nicht entscheiden, wenn ihm bei der Erzählung einer Geschichte die Sprachwahl überlassen wird. Er wählt stets die bevorzugte Sprache des Gegenübers. … Shamims (etwa 4 Jahre) bevorzugte Sprache ist Ganda. Sie hat keine Schwierigkeiten Nubi zu verstehen und zu sprechen. Trotzdem spricht sie mit allen Kindern, ausser [sic!] mit Lesin, Ganda. ... Lesins (etwa 3 Jahre) bevorzugte Sprache ist Nubi. Er spricht jedoch, wenn nötig, auch Ganda. Verwenden alle Kinder um ihn herum Ganda, wechselt auch Lesin zu dieser Sprache über. Er besitzt weder Swahili- noch Englischkenntnisse. (Khamis 1994:100-107 quoted in Maral-Hanak 2009: 95)*

The example shows that all the children in the observed family were at least bilingual in Nubi and Ganda, some even multilingual with Swahili and English as additional languages that have been acquired at school, in kindergarten or through the influence of other children or adults. Their language use shows a peaceful coexistence of Nubi and Ganda in everyday life and

reveals that Swahili and English are languages used only in specific situations and settings outside of home. Their use is therefore restricted to certain domains and they become more and more important with increasing age due to their role in education and other official domains.

Looking at the languages the children use at different ages, it becomes apparent that more than one language can be described as first language. Being able to use more than one language to communicate already at a very young age, children enlarge their 'verbal repertoire'. They don't acquire an additional language for its own sake; they gain language competence unconsciously to widen their linguistic capacity and their ability to communicate. In the example above, Nubi as well as Ganda, can be described as first languages, while English and Swahili are more likely to be ranked as second languages because they are usually acquired at school or in pre-school and are not commonly used at home and can therefore not be classified as 'home languages', which are defined as "[t]he language[s] most commonly used in the family." (Coulmas 2005: 234)

In Rwanda, the first language is presumably Kinyarwanda for the majority of the population, but as will be discovered in chapter 4.1.2, different varieties of Kinyarwanda exist and there are other languages present in different parts of the country. Therefore, Rwandans can have more than just one first language. As personal observations have shown, parents who have studied abroad sometimes use their second language when communicating with their children to increase the children's' language competence in not only Kinyarwanda but also in English or French.

3.1.2 Lingua Franca versus vernacular language

Other important terms summarized by the UNESCO to establish an exemplary terminology professional jargon, which is used throughout this study, include "[l]ingua franca [,] [a] language which is used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication between them" (UNESCO 1951: 46), more accordingly to our context, 'lingua franca', is also sometimes referred to as 'vehicular language', and can also be described as an 'auxiliary language' used by groups of people with different 'native languages'. (Crystal 1985: 180)

Languages which are used for communication between and within multilingual communities

are also often described as 'languages of wider communication' which is used in Rosendal's work with the same implications as a 'lingua franca'. (Rosendal 2010: 32)

The main topic of the UNESCO meeting focused on the use and possible advantages and disadvantages of 'vernacular languages' in education (UNESCO 1951: 45). 'Vernacular language' is defined as "[a] language which is the mother tongue of a group which is socially or politically dominated by another group speaking a different language." (UNESCO 1951: 46)

In his book, 'Language wars and linguistic politics', Louis-Jean Calvet describes two tendencies, first towards a 'lingua franca', a common language whose objective it is to increase communication with as many people as possible, secondly a tendency towards a 'vernacular language', which limits communication to a few people and marks group frontiers. (Calvet 1998: 55)

He points out that "[t]hese two tendencies, towards a lingua franca or a vernacular language, can be applied to multilingual situations as well as to monolingual ones." (Calvet 1998: 55)

Due to his experience in the field dealing with languages all around the world, Calvet is able to underline his theoretical explanations with actual examples and thereby provides a detailed picture of the implications of theoretical concepts in the field of sociolinguistics.

One of the underlying ideas of a vernacular is the desire to limit communication to a certain group of people, a few selected communication partners, irrelevant of whether this selection is made deliberately or not. The ascription of terms like 'slang', 'coded slang', 'local language' etc. to vernaculars is closely related to power relations. Whether a vernacular is received as a sole means of communication which aims at limiting communication or whether this variety is associated with prestige and power, is a question of attitude.

The intention to limit communication is applicable to the use of certain social registers, the linguistic forms of age-groups and even family languages, as stated in the following example by Calvet (1998: 55):

> [...] French people living in the USA and working in English will use their own language between themselves in its vernacular function, as against English. But besides this in their own families they may use particular forms of French, still with a vernacular function, and in the same family the children may use particular vernacular forms to differentiate themselves from their parents. […] We all have, in our own lexis, words that come from our personal histories and which we only use with a very limited number of people: the sweet nothings of a pair of lovers, the

vocabulary of a group or age-group reserved for friends, pet-names and nicknames reserved for the family, children's words, like those mistakes in pronunciation which follows us all our lives, thanks to the formidable memory of our parents, and which reappear at every family reunion. (Calvet 1998: 55f.)

The specific repertoire applied in certain situations, not only influences the utilization of the designated variety but also its association with identity and prestige. The social register is used to determine which variety of a language is appropriate in which communicative situation. The verbal repertoire, which was already covered in chapter 2.1, leads to the speakers using the available linguistic varieties in the most effective way, including the application of vernaculars to underline certain associated identities, power and prestige (see chapter 2.2).

The utilization of languages or linguistic varieties, to exclude certain people from the communication is especially interesting in Rwanda concerning English as the language of the governing elite serving as a means to exclude the old French-speaking elite and mark the frontiers to the regime of the genocide. Not to mention the exclusion of a large part of the population. The introduction of a language, which never had real importance in Rwandan history and therefore is not spoken by the vast majority of the – mostly rural – population, excludes the masses from important spaces of communication. The use of English allocates power and influence to elitist groups – even more as did the use of French in colonial and postcolonial times.

> *While Kigali is packed with experienced technocrats functioning in a booming high tech sector, the rural picture is different. Nearly 90 percent of Rwandans are dependent on subsistent farming and the country's new and projected prosperity is not reaching many villages. It is thus difficult to see how potential benefits of language reform will reach most Rwandans. (Steflja 2012: 4)*

The existence of a vernacular does not exclude the existence of a lingua franca at the same time in the same geographical framework. Considering the growing role of Rwanda in the EAC, 'lingua francas' gain importance to communicate with as many people as possible, beyond the frontiers of Rwanda.

David Crystal describes English as the world's most common lingua franca, followed by French, and, for example, Swahili in East Africa and Hausa in West Africa which is used mostly as an auxiliary language. (Crystal 1985: 180)

West Africa is an enormously large region comprising over a dozen countries and an extraordinary amount of languages. The quantity of languages spoken is disproportional to the number of states of West Africa, which is why multilingualism is usually the norm in these countries. Lingua francas are therefore necessary to enable communication throughout the region.

In Senegal, Wolof is the most widely used language, serving also as a lingua franca to the whole country, uniting linguistic minorities. Louis-Jean Calvet has conducted extensive fieldwork in which he assumes the family unit to be an important place of language transmission. He studied the impact on language use and language competence of the family, monolingual, bilingual or multilingual in itself, on children, confronted with a multilingual environment inside and, or outside of the family. (Calvet 1998: 67ff.)

The outcome of Calvet's research on the topic of children's first languages, with the "[...] aim of finding out what languages were spoken by the children when they began schooling" (Calvet 1998: 67), including questions "[...] about the ethnic groups of father and mother, the language spoken in the home and the other languages spoken by the child" (ibid.), was not surprising concerning the amount of children who were able to speak Wolof, 96.62% (ibid.), but "[...] established some surprising results concerning the process by which children acquired a first language in the family." (Calvet 1998: 68)

> *[A]lthough two-thirds of children speaking Wolof as a first language came from parents speaking Wolof, it was different for a significant percentage of homes. Some, 7% of the overall population, learnt the language (Wolof) from their mothers, others (5.59%) from their fathers, and finally 11.82% spoke a language (Wolof again) in the home, which was the first language of neither the mother nor the father. (Calvet 1998: 68)*

3.1.3 Conclusion of chapter 3.1.1 and 3.1.2

The results of Calvet's research in Senegal blend in to the topic of this thesis in the following ways:

First, it shows that the so called 'mother tongue' is not always the dominant language of someone, it may as well be the language of the father, the 'father tongue' or even both first languages of the parents that become the first languages of the child. This underlines the

findings of the chapter on First language versus second language, that children may have or perceive more than one language as their 'first language', depending on which languages the children know best and whether or not these languages have been part of the process of learning how to communicate rather than acquiring a language after a basic linguistic competence has been established.

Second, it shows that the dominant language in a household is not only dependent on the family but can also be represented by a lingua franca of the region. The influence of the social background of the region clearly affects the language use even in families with other first languages than the dominant regional language. With the aim of being able to communicate with as many people as possible, the lingua franca used by the parents to communicate with people of other linguistic descent in everyday life, can then become the first language of their children, provided the parents use this specific language, with its origin outside the framework of the household, to communicate with their children from birth on.

Other examples of the importance of lingua francas in Africa, include Bambara in Mali, Zarma and Haussa in Niger and Lingala in Congo (Calvet 1998), where the languages of wider communication have a tendency to become the first language of children born to parents of different linguistic descent, and where the importance of African lingua francas in daily life, for example in markets and other places of business, cannot be undermined by the promotion of European languages through official language management.

3.1.4 Regional and social linguistic varieties

Following the investigation on first and second language and the implications of lingua francas and vernacular languages, regional and social linguistic varieties are going to be examined in this section.

The language of the people considered to be the original inhabitants of an area is called 'indigenous language', whereas 'regional language' is defined as a language that is used as a medium of communication between people who live within a certain area and who do not share the same 'mother tongue'. (UNESCO 1951: 46) Additionally to 'regional language', the term 'area language' is sometimes used as well to describe the main language used within a defined geographical area. (Rosendal 2010: 32)

Miriam Meyerhoff defines 'variety', another important term for this work, as a relatively neutral term which is used to refer to languages and dialects. While the term 'dialect' is often connoted with negative attributes, in non-linguistic settings, variety avoids these negative attachments and can therefore be used to describe a language as well as a dialect. (Meyerhoff 2006: 32)

Apart from variety, "[a]ny language or dialect that can be identified by its speakers and speakers of other varieties" (Coulmas 2005: 235), the terms 'accent' and 'dialect' have to be looked at more closely, to examine the language situation in Rwanda. When examining the speech of people, sociolinguists use the phonological, grammatical and semantic variations as well as other features to differentiate and typify the accents and dialects of speakers from different regions. Generally speaking, dialects are distinguished from one another by differing pronunciation. However, Miriam Meyerhoff argues that, if only the pronunciation of speakers can be distinguished, while the grammar of the respective languages may be largely the same, the variation of speech can be defined as different accents (Meyerhoff 2006: 31). This can indicate the geographic origin of the speakers as well as social factors such as level and type of education, or even language attitudes. (Meyerhoff 2006: 31)

Accents only concern differentiation of pronunciation; on the contrary, dialects "[...] refer to distinctive features at the level of pronunciation and vocabulary and sentence structure. So, for example, the English used by many Scots would be considered a dialect [...]" (Meyerhoff 2006: 30).

However, the term 'dialect' has to be treated carefully, considering its various denotations and utilizations. The language use and language competence of individuals is generally referred to as 'idiolect'. (Welte 1974: 587)

> *Idiolekte sind somit Individualsprachen. Die Anzahl der zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt existierenden Idiolekte ist gleich der Anzahl der zu diesem Zeitpunkt lebenden Sprecher dieser natürlichen Sprache. Idiolekte unterscheiden sich voneinander durch ganz bestimmte, oft individuell typische Eigentümlichkeiten in der Aussprache, im Umfang und der Auswahl des 'Wortschatzes'. (Welte 1974: 587)*

Idiolects therefore enclose the individual level of language competence. In contrast, 'dialects' are generally described as geographically determined group languages. Dialects either comprise a geographical criterion or can be understood in reference to phonological, semantic-lexical and syntactic attributes. (Welte 1974: 587) Dialect is "[a] language variety in which

pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary are indicative of the regional background of the speakers." (Coulmas 2005: 233)

Last but not least, the term 'sociolect' in connection with 'dialect' has to be looked at closely, since it takes into account social features that influence language use.

> *Ein Soziolekt ist die für eine bestimmte soziale Schicht typische Sprachverwendungsweise, eine sozial bedingte [...] Gruppensprache. Soziolekte zeichnen sich besonders durch ein spezifisches lexikalisches Material aus, z. B. Pennälersprache, Soldaten-, Teenager- bzw. Sportjargon. Einen Grenzfall bilden 'Fachsprachen'. (Welte 1974: 587)*

The social milieu of the speakers therefore heavily influences their speech and also their language choice. Hence, the use of a specific linguistic variety is dependent on the social environment, the communication situation and partner, and the repertoire of the speaker.

The assessments concerning regional languages, varieties, dialects and accents should be kept in mind, and are of particular importance for the understanding of chapter 4.1.2, where all the different types of languages in Rwanda are going to be examined.

3.2 *Official versus national language*

To be able to give a full picture of the sociolinguistic situation of Rwanda, it is necessary to define the exact meaning of 'official' and 'national' language. These terms are used to describe the status and the function of languages in the state apparatus.

The United Nations define 'official language' as a language "[...] that has legal status in a […] political entity such as state or part of a state, and that serves as a language of administration." (UN 2002: 153 quoted by Rosendal 2010: 30) This definition brings into focus the role a language plays in the state apparatus, administration and official domains such as the juridical system and the influence on the role of all other languages present in the country. It should therefore be stipulated in the constitution or laws of the respective country.

> *The official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and in its social uses. It is in the process of state formation that the conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language. Obligatory on official occasions and in official places (Schools, public administrations, political institutions, etc.), this state language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured.*

(Bourdieu 1992: 45)

In the 1951 document of the UNESCO, 'national language' is defined as "[t]he language of a political, social and cultural entity" (UNESCO 1951: 46), whereas an official language is "[a] language used in the business of government – legislative, executive and judicial." (ibid.)

In the article 'État des langues et langues de l'État au Zaïre', Mwatha Musangi Ngalasso considers the importance of official languages and emphasises that the function of the state's language should not let the other languages be forgotten.

> *Il va de soi que le fait de choisir telle ou telle langue pour exercer telle ou telle fonction dans la nation, notamment la fonction de « langue de l'État » que celle-ci soit appelée langue officielle ou langue nationale (1), ne doit pas faire oublier l'ensemble des autres langues pratiquées à l'intérieur des frontières nationales, celles qui précisément constituent la parole ordinaire des citoyens. Ce fait revêt une importance capitale, car la responsabilité de l'État ne consiste pas seulement à développer la ou les langues officielles mais aussi à promouvoir toutes les langues parlées sur son territoire, quelle qu'en soit l'importance, parce que toutes font partie intégrante du patrimoine culturel national. (Ngalasso 1986: 7)*

Looking at Ngalasso's text, the functions occupied by the official languages cannot be reduced to one language but have to take into consideration the symbolic value and practicability as well as the cultural and social characteristics of all the languages spoken in a country.

In Rwanda, Kinyarwanda as well as English and French are, according to the constitution of 2003 (Republic of Rwanda 2003) chapter 1 article 5, considered as the official languages of the country while Kinyarwanda is the only national language of the Republic of Rwanda.

> *The term national language has four different meanings (Brann 1994; Legère 2008): territorial (as e.g. in Cameroon), regional (as in Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo/DRC or Nigeria, which has four regional languages called national languages), countrywide (as in Tanzania) and, finally, official. The term national is most commonly understood as all languages spoken in a country (territorial) or one language spread and used all over the country by more than 50 per cent of the population countrywide, as classified by Heine (1979:17). In Rwanda, it has the latter implication. (Rosendal 2010: 30)*

Throughout this work, I am going to consider Kinyarwanda as the national language of Rwanda, which is also used as an official language, because of its importance in official domains as well as its usage all over the country by more than 50 percent of the population. English and French do not classify as national languages in Rwanda, since they are of

'exoglossic' character (see chapter 3.3) and either inherited from colonial times, French following Belgian administration, or introduced for various other reasons, like English that was introduced as official language in Rwanda in 1996.

The colonial discourse on language did not only contribute to the choice of official languages after independence but influenced other linguistic developments during and after colonial rule as well, which is going to be explored in chapter 5.2.

3.3 *Endoglossic versus exoglossic*

While Europeans often consider it as granted to be able to use their first language in almost every situation in their lives, they forget, that this does not reflect the linguistic reality in other parts of the world, such as Africa, where multilingualism is generally the norm.

After independence there were only few African countries that granted a certain importance to the African language(s) spoken in their country. One of the countries to do so was Rwanda.

Among those countries adapting an endoglossic approach were Ethiopia, Mauritania and Somalia. Botswana, Burundi and Lesotho even chose a language policy similar to Rwanda's, with the official language status being shared by a non-African and an African language. (Rosendal 2010: 96)

While most of the African countries decided to "[...] put foreign languages in the position of official language [...]" (Maral-Hanak 2009a: 124) and therefore chose the exoglossic pathway, which generally gave the language of the former colonizer the most important role in official domains, a handful of countries decided to adapt an endoglossic language policy and promote the importance of indigenous languages. (Maral-Hanak 2009a:124)

Rwanda's language policy can be seen as both endoglossic and exoglossic, because the government decided to use an African language, Kinyarwanda, as well as French, the language of Belgian colonization after independence in 1962.

The exoglossic approach favours a language that is usually not part of the linguistic reality of the majority of the population. It is often a non-African language that is used exclusively in official domains such as state administration, the judiciary system or other official areas,

without any importance in informal communication.

When only a small number of people are able to speak and understand the colonial language, the linguistic preference of a foreign language can lead to elitist societies, opening opportunities only to those being able to master the official language. With a large part of the population being marginalised with no possibility to participate can therefore lead to the hampering of democracy as well as economic and social development.

A holistic and successful development of the country is not possible if a large part of the population is excluded from economic, political and social activities due to language deficiency. Sustainable development of the country is only possible if the whole population is included in the process and the importance of languages and language competence is essential to the well-being of the country to allow participation of the whole population in developmental and economic progress.

4 Sociolinguistic key concepts – terminology and analysis

The following part focusses on the key concepts of sociolinguistics necessary for the analysis of the case study Rwanda. William Mackey summarizes one of the big problems of sociolinguistics which has also been a challenge in this graduate thesis, that is, the enormous plurality and variety of definitions of key concepts:

> *[…] Each of these terms, however, does not mean the same thing to everyone who uses them. Some twenty different definitions of the term bilingualism have been cited […]. Most of the differences are due to competence and performance criteria – often arbitrary – imposed by the authors, on what they think should be considered as two different "languages", or on how and how well they should be used […]. Some authors exclude dialects or varieties of the same language. Some insist on a good command of both languages; others would simply apply a criterion of mutual intellegibility [sic!]. The problem arises in having to determine the threshold of interlingual understanding. The same difficulty arises in finding the point of demarcation where a dialect is really a different language. (Mackey 1987: 699)*

The composition of this unit will be structured in five sections:

First, I am going to define the concepts of multilingualism and monolingualism and answer the question if Rwanda can be classified as monolingual or not.

Second, the characteristics of bilingualism are going to be discussed with the aim of gaining a better understanding of the concept of diglossia, in section three, which is essential for the case study and general understanding of linguistics.

Fourth, a short chapter is dedicated to the relevance of status and corpus of languages in a state, as explained by Robert Chaudenson, and finally, the phenomenon of code-switching by Carol Myers-Scotton is going to be studied, not going into detail of this complex field of linguistics, adding a chapter that critically observes the implications of language contact.

4.1 Multilingualism versus Monolingualism

When reading about the linguistic landscape in Rwanda, it caught my eye that many authors used the term 'monolingual' to describe the situation in Rwanda, due to the existence of only one national language, Kinyarwanda. As seen in chapter 3.2, the distinction made between official and national language is by far not the only crucial differentiation necessary to characterise a language or even a society. It is because of this enormous variety of characteristics and features of a language why the statement, "Rwanda can be described as monolingual" seems to be a bit far-fetched, considering that a country can actually not be described as either monolingual or multilingual, at the utmost its society. (Ntakirutimana 2012: 5; et.al.)

Although research for this study has shown that many authors claim that Rwanda is a monolingual state, the linguistic situation of a country is always closely connected to marginalisation or inclusion of certain linguistic groups, power, prestige and identity. Considering Rwanda as a homogeneous linguistic field leads to false expectations, like the assumption that languages are countable or that clear cut linguistic entities exist.

Based on the assumption that Rwanda, or at least its society, cannot be defined as monolingual but rather multilingual due to the existence of more than one language, the evolution of the concept of 'multilingualism', the plurality of definitions found and the languages present in Rwanda are going to be studied in the following chapter.

Based on linguistic research emerging from the Anglophone territory, multilingualism was, for a long time, restricted and summarized under the term 'bilingualism'. The existence of two languages in the field of research was seen as opposing to the norm of 'monolingualism', with

only one language present in a certain society. To account for the case that sometimes more than two languages were present; the term 'trilingualism' was in effect used as well to distinguish these situations from the assumed reality of only one language being present in a society or country. (Busch 2013: 9)

Using the above definitions, one could suggest that languages can be clearly differentiated, characterized and perceived as clear cut different entities since the definitions rely on the assumption that languages are countable. Jacques Derrida gives a critical view on languages being numerable. He states that it is impossible to count languages since there is no 'comptabilité' of languages, because the unity of languages is never thoroughly definable. (Derrida 1997: 25 quoted in Busch 2013: 9)

Nevertheless Brigitta Busch writes that one tends to take the unity of languages as granted and focuses on difference and differentiation when working on interactions between languages. (Busch 2013: 9) Even contemporary pictures of language situations are still constructed using the same principles, to structure the diversifying situation rationally and classify, number and place them in different positions in the hierarchies of languages as official, national or other. (Nikula; Saarinen; Pöyhönen et.al. 2012: 42)

> *[...] [T]his kind of enumeration and representation of the language situation is already language-ideological work, an attempt to essentialize [sic!] languages into countables [sic!] that can be labelled, contained and controlled. In a situation where these categorizations and enumerations are needed, the warm and fuzzy understanding of multilingualism is truly challenged. (Nikula; Saarinen; Pöyhönen et.al. 2012: 42)*

Considering the many facts that have to be considered to create a multilingual environment which not only fully lives up to its ability to enrich society, but also considers all languages and their speakers involved as equal partners in a diverse society, it is safe to say that multilingualism does not only possess advantageous and enriching characteristics. It can also be seen as a challenge to a nation state that struggles to maintain its identity, because of the lack of only one language acting as an instrument of unification and the formation of a homogeneous national identity (Nikula; Saarinen; Pöyhönen et.al. 2012: 42).

The various definitions of the concept of multilingualism are going to be explained in the subsequent chapter, following the analysis of Rwanda as a multilingual rather than monolingual nation and society.

4.1.1 Definitions of multilingualism

"The term 'multilingualism' can refer to either the language use or the competence of an individual or to the language situation in an entire nation or society." (Clyne 1997: 301)

Michael Clyne states that the significance of multilingualism concerning the individual competences is generally subsumed under the term bilingualism, since there are not as many plurilingual individuals as monolingual or bilingual speakers recognized in society, who habitually use more than two languages. (Clyne 1997: 301f.)

It is important to differentiate between the theory of multilingualism and the reality of it. The normative definitions of plurilingual situations which officially require individuals to be bi- or multilingual and have equal competence in either language, have acquired the languages simultaneously or to use them to the same amount and in same contexts, are only of normative character and are simply unrealistic to be applicable in reality. Clyne continues that even though definitions tend to be more general nowadays, "[a] common definition of 'multilingualism' would then be – 'the use of more than one language' or 'competence in more than one language'" (Clyne 1997: 301) which "[...] allows for further refinement in the actual description to cover different levels of command or use of the various languages." (ibid.)

The description of multilingualism is more suitable on the societal or national level, as Clyne further describes his understanding of multilingualism. He warns that it is important to distinguish between 'official' and 'de facto' multilingualism since the official multilingual status of a nation does not correspond with reality. (Clyne 1997: 301)

Like other sociolinguists, he uses the example of Switzerland, on the national level of multilingualism, which officially is described as a multilingual country, although the reality of people can generally be seen as more or less monolingual.

> *At the societal or national level, we have to distinguish between 'official' and 'de facto' multilingualism. For instance, Switzerland is an officially multilingual nation in that it has been declared such, but there, multilingualism is based on a territorial principle. While public documents for the entire nation are in French, German, and Italian, most people grow up monolingually in a canton which typically has one official language. (Clyne 1997: 301)*

The proclaimed multilingualism of Switzerland can be described as 'territorial' with the official documents stating that the entire country is multilingual in French, German, Italian – and

Rhaeto-Romanic in a few areas. However, most people live in monolingual cantons with only one official language being present in this particular area. (Clyne 1997: 301)

> *Societal multilingualism is created by contextual factors such as international migration (as in Argentina or the US), colonialism (e.g., in Wales or Kenya), international borders (e.g., the border between Austria and Slovenia), Sprachinseln (ethnolinguistic enclaves, e.g., Hungarian enclaves in Slovakia, Serbian ones in Germany), and the spread of international languages. (Clyne 1997: 302)*

Having covered the definition of multilingualism from Clyne's point of view, that is, individual and societal or national multilingualism, other linguists prefer to define multilingualism in close connection with the accountability of languages (see criticism on accountability of languages by Jacques Derrida in chapter 4.1).

The Canadian William Mackey, for example, clearly considers the accountability of languages necessary to define key concepts like multilingualism:

> *To indicate the use of more than two languages, multilingualism is a common term, while plurilingualism […] refers to more than one language. These have been used as generic terms. When the exact number of languages is significant, trilingualism, quadrilingualism and other numerical indications have been used. (Mackey 1987: 699)*

The dictionary of linguistics and phonetics written by Crystal on the other hand, gives a more detailed definition of multilingualism:

> *A term used in sociolinguistics to refer, in the first instance, to a speech community which makes use of two or more languages, and then to the individual speakers who have multilingual ability. "Multilingualism" (or "plurilingualism") in this sense may subsume bilingualism, but is often contrasted with it (I.e. a community or individual in command of more than two languages). A further distinction is sometimes made between a multilingualism which is internal to a speech community (i.e. for routine domestic communicative purposes), and one which is external to it (i.e. an additional language being used to facilitate communication with other nations, as in the use of a lingua franca). (Crystal 1985: 202)*

Finally, Coulmas refers to multilingualism plain and simple as "[a] situation where several languages are used side by side within one society" (Coulmas 2005: 234).

4.1.2 Rwanda – multilingual or monolingual?

Europeans often take it for granted to use their first language in every situation of life. This is far from reality in African countries, where multilingualism is the norm. (Rosendal 2010: 7)

Today, many societies in Europe and across the world, who might have considered their sociolinguistic situation as more or less monolingual in the past, are now increasingly challenged to cope with rising multilingualism. The diversity of languages and cultures present in Europe can be traced back to the influence of global economic processes which underline that more varied language resources are needed in society. Immigration contributes greatly to the existence and growing importance to cope with multilingual societies as well. (Nikula; Saarinen; Pöyhönen et.al. 2012: 41)

> *Currently, there are over 300 languages of almost 200 nationalities spoken within the boundaries of the European Union. While the official policy of the EU is to promote the freedom of its citizens to speak and write their own language, it is the 23 official languages and to some extent the 60 odd-heritage languages which are given priority. (Nikula; Saarinen; Pöyhönen et.al. 2012: 41)*

While the existence of many different languages in one geographical area is and was often considered as a language situation prone to linguistic chaos, leading to individuals not being able to perform equally well in all the languages present or necessary in various social situations, there are some researchers who show that the presence of more than one language in a society does not necessarily lead to chaos. Even if monolingualism and standard varieties are still considered supreme, the non-standard varieties are just as complex and sophisticated as the standard ones. Sociolinguists like Labov, Ferguson and Fishman demonstrate that individuals can speak more than one language without necessarily performing inadequately in any of them and underline the positive effects of a multilingual society (Maral-Hanak 2009a: 121).

Considering these definitions of monolingualism and multilingualism, I am now going to take a closer look, which categorisation is applicable in the case of Rwanda, bearing in mind the following statement of Calvet:

> *I have already referred to the widespread illusion that views the world as divided, in isomorphic fashion, into countries and languages, with linguistic frontiers corresponding to state and national frontiers. It is an illusion, for there is practically not one monolingual country and,*

conversely, languages are rarely confined to one country. (Calvet 1998: 90)

The language situation of Rwanda cannot only be seen as special due to its language policy after independence which granted an important role to its indigenous language Kinyarwanda, but also because it belongs to a group of only a handful of sub-Saharan countries where more than 90 percent of the population have one language in common (UNESCO 1997: 28). Évariste Ntakirutimana states that Rwanda has benefited from this exceptional language situation:

> *Le Rwanda a longtemps profité de son enclavement pour promouvoir son unilinguisme légendaire. Avant 1898 en effet, le pays des mille collines est demeuré unilingue, parlant son unique langue locale, le kinyarwanda […]. (Ntakirutimana 2012: 5)*

The dominant language in Rwanda is Kinyarwanda which is considered as the mother tongue of the majority of the people, even if there are no real linguistic minorities to be found, the use of different varieties of Kinyarwanda in different regions should not be underestimated.

Tove Rosendal gives a short summary of the findings of the investigation of the CONFEMEN, the 'Conférence des ministres de l'éducation nationale.' in 1986 and states that there are some other languages found in Rwanda.

> *Chiga (in CONFEMEN called Gihima or Oluciga) is said to be spoken by approximately 96,000 people in the prefectures Byumba and Ruhengeri (CONFEMEN 1986:258). Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) interestingly classifies Chiga as a dialect of the Rwanda language, as does Kimenyi (2007). The CONFEMEN report further states that Havu (called Amahavu, Igihavu) is spoken in the area of Lake Kivu by approximately 96,000 as well, while Mashi (Amashi) is found in the border area close to Congo-Kinshasa and is spoken by 35,000 inhabitants. Furthermore, Rasi (also called Ikinyambo, Ikirashi, Ikirasi, Urunyambo, Ururasi), spoken in Kibungo is estimated to have 25,000 speakers. Rasi is said to be intelligible by Chiga speakers, i.e. these could be said to be dialects that are not geographically close (CONFEMEN 1986: 258). Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) only reports English, French and [Kinya]-[r]wanda as living languages in Rwanda. Bufumbwa, Chiga, Hutu and Twa are said to be dialects of [Kinya] [r]wanda.*

> *Even [Ki][r]undi, which is spoken mainly by people of Burundian origin, is reported by CONFEMEN (1986: 259) to be found in Rwanda. It is classed as a separate language because of its status in the neighbouring country Burundi even if the two languages belong to the same linguistic unity. (Rosendal 2010: 77)*

Additionally to Rosendal's information on the languages present in Rwanda, taken from the CONFEMEN investigations of 1986, which unfortunately were not accessible in original, for the completeness and assurance of accuracy of the data presented in this thesis, other sources were consulted to complete the findings on the languages spoken in Rwanda.

While the varieties of Kinyarwanda are described as different 'languages' in Rosendal's text, Ethnologue uses the term 'dialect'. It is difficult to decide which of these definitions is correct because the classification of the languages in dialects, regional languages and so on, is a delicate subject. However, it is important to note that the ascription 'language' or 'dialect' comprise certain attitudes which are decisively influencing the prestige of the described linguistic variety. Rosendal could be using the term 'language' to advocate for the revaluation of African languages, which have often been described as less 'valuable' than European languages and were attributed with the negative connotations of the term 'dialect'.

On the one hand there are tendencies to valorise the status of 'dialects' by classifying them as 'languages'; on the other hand there is a countermotion as well. As described earlier, it is important to differentiate between 'dialect' and 'sociolect' in this matter (see chapter 3.1.4).

Ethnologue (Ethnologue 12.09.2013a) proved to be a useful source concerning the languages spoken in Rwanda, their alternate names and dialects.

Alternate names of Kinyarwanda, with the official abbreviation 'kin', include Ikinyarwanda, Kinyarwanda, Orunyarwanda, Ruanda, Rwandan and Urunyaruanda. (Ethnologue 12.09.2013b)

The following languages are described as dialects: Bufumbwa; Gitwa; Hutu, also found as Hera, Lera, Ndara, Ndogo, Shobyo, Tshogo and Ululera; Igikiga, also named Igishiru, Ikigoyi, Kiga and Tshiga; Ikinyanduga and Rutwa or Twa (Ethnologue 12.09.2013b). Ikinyanduga, Indara, Iganza and Indorwa are not only mentioned as dialects of Kinyarwanda in Ethnologue, but in the 'Thesaurus of African Languages' as well. (Mann; Dalby 1987: 143)

These descriptions are to be considered carefully since there is no definite differentiation made between orthographic variations and distinct notations. In general, linguists do not use the prefixes to name Bantu languages, however ambiguity aggravates definite naming.

Varying linguistic agreements lead to varying names. Since there is no convention of designation, a precise and unmistakable assignment of the different languages and dialects

cannot be guaranteed.

The 'Handbook of African Languages' mentions that the language 'Rwanda', or 'Nyaruanda' and 'Runyarwanda' (Bryan 1959: 104), is spoken in Rwanda, Burundi, in Uganda Kigezi District, in Tanzania and in the DRC. The differentiation of the social classes is taken into account to describe certain varieties of Kinyarwanda[4]:

> *As in the case of the RUNDI, the people calling themselves banya-RWANDA consist of two social classes, the ba-TUTSI and ba-HUTU, both owing allegiance to the one Mwami (King). The ba-TUTSI speak with an 'aristocratic', the ba-HUTU with a 'common', accent. The difference is sufficient to affect spelling. The form chosen for the Bible is that used by the HUTU (Bryan 1959:106f.)*

The handbook describes the following varieties as dialects of Kinyarwanda in Rwanda and adjacent areas:

Rwanda ('proper'); Nduga at Nyanza; Ndaragala; Ganza at Rwamagana; Ndorwa at Biumba and Kiga of Bwisha, the speech of Bufumbwa in Uganda. Ndara at Kisagala; Lera at Rwasa; Shobyo at Nyundo; Tshogo and Tshigo spoken in the mountains of Murunda are considered part of the speech of the ba-Hutu. (Bryan 1959: 107)

The Rwandan Ministry of Sports and Culture additionally mentions Ikirashi and Ikinyambo, spoken in the Eastern Province, Urushobyo spoken in the Western Province and Urukiga, spoken in Northern Province, as dialects of Kinyarwanda in its policy paper on cultural heritage and underlines the importance of "[e]xtensive research in linguistics […] which will consider measures to safeguard [these] dying local dialects." (Rwanda 2008: 16)

The intelligibility of Kinyarwanda and Kirundi is also important to grasp the expansion of the languages of Rwanda.

> *RUNDI and RWANDA are usually classed as separate languages, because they are acknowledged as such by their speakers, but they are extremely closely interrelated. […] [T]he unification of Ikinyarwanda and Ikirundi is eminently desirable and, moreover, capable of being achieved very rapidly if local collisions are avoided. It is a psychological rather than a linguistic problem. (Bryan 1959: 107)*

The languages Shubi, Hangaza and Ha are classified as D.64, D.65 and D.66 respectively, according to Guthrie, which also demonstrated the proximity to Kinyarwanda. (Bryan 1959:

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[4]   These reflections seem interesting for the aim of this study, however, I doubt that a significant differentiation between an 'aristocratic' and a 'common' accent is easily made today, considering the changes of Rwanda's society in regard to the misleading identification of originally social classes as different ethnicities.

100) They are spoken in and around Rwanda, as is Haya (ibid.: 196), Havu (ibid.: 97) and Nyambo (ibid.: 107).

Considering this classification, together with Kirundi, Ha, Hangaza and Shubi, Kinyarwanda is spoken and understood, in these variations, not only in the country of Rwanda but beyond its borders in Burundi, Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda, which is visible in Table 1(Huffman 2013).

Table 1: Languages in and around Rwanda
(Huffman 2013)

In opposition to some literature on the language situation in Rwanda, the country can, due to these findings, not be classified as monolingual; since there are more than one languages present and Kinyarwanda cannot be seen as the only first language of all Rwandans. Additionally, the distinctions made in chapter 3.1 have to be considered, taking into account the different functions and varieties of languages such as vernaculars, dialects and varieties as well as different registers used in specific situations. Calvet summarizes the actual non-existence of monolingualism as follows:

> *No matter how monolingual we are, we are also all more or less multilingual. I mean by this that, even within the framework of a single language, our own, we use different forms of this language, and the choice of one form or another comes down to particular functions. (Calvet 1998: 55f.)*

4.2 Bilingualism

Having explored the implications of monolingualism in the previous chapter, logic suggests to continue with the definition of bilingualism that could be seen as the inception of multilingual research in the linguistic field.

> *Bilingualism in a restricted sense is used referring to native speakers of two languages (Bloomfield 1933) or in a wider sense referring to individuals having minimal competence either in understanding, in speaking or in writing in a language which is not their L1. (Rosendal 2010: 34)*

Essential criteria to classify someone as bilingual are linguistic competence and language use. According to Leonard Bloomfield (1935: 56) bilingualism can be seen as a "[...] native-like control of two languages." He continues to explain that "[a]fter early childhood few people have enough muscular and nervous freedom or enough opportunity and leisure to reach perfection in a foreign language; yet bilingualism of this kind is commoner than one might suppose, both in cases like those of our immigrants and as a result of travel, foreign study, or similar association. Of course, one cannot define a degree of perfection at which a good foreign speaker becomes a bilingual: the distinction is relative." (Bloomfield 1935: 56)

Uriel Weinreich describes the perfect bilingual person as someone who "[...] switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence. […] There is reason to suspect that considerable individual differences exist between those who have control of their switching, holding it close to this ideal pattern, and those who have difficulty in maintaining or switching codes as required." (Weinreich 1974: 73)

One of the problematic issues concerning the typologies of bilingualism is that they always take individuals and their individual language competence as the point of reference and not the intersubjective dimension of linguistic characteristics.[5] (Busch 2012: 44f.)

When Weinreich talks about the 'perfect bilingual' the question comes to mind how someone even becomes bilingual. Earlier, in chapter 3.1.1, it was stated that a second language can be acquired through formal education but also through the daily interaction in a certain language

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[5]*"Als Kriterium dafür, wer als bilingual gilt, werden sprachliche Kompetenz oder Sprachverwendung herangezogen. […] Typologien in Bezug auf Bilingualität sind insofern immer problematisch, als sie von Individuen und individuellen Sprachkompetenzen ausgehen, nicht von der intersubjektiven Dimension von Sprachlichkeit." (Busch 2012: 44f.)*

which is used by the community a child grows up in. Research on language acquisition shows that there exist different types of bilingualism, depending on the influence of the first languages of the parents and the regional language.

Suzanne Romaine (1989: 166ff.) recognises six different types of bilingual language upbringing and describes them in connection with their respective role in the community, the parents and the used strategy as to which language is spoken with the child:

1) One Person - one language:

Parents: Both parents have different first languages, with a certain degree of competence in the other's language.

Community: The language of one of the parents is the dominant language of the community.

Strategy: The parents each speak their own language with the child.

2) One language - one region (Non-dominant home language):

Parents: Both parents have different first languages.

Community: The language of one of the parents is the dominant language of the community.

Strategy: Both parents speak the non-dominant language to the child which is not the regional language therefore the child only listens to the regional language outside home, for example, at school.

3) Non-dominant home language without community support:

Parents: Both parents share the same first language

Community: The dominant regional language is not the one of the parents'.

Strategy: The parents speak their own language to the child, who is, as in 2), only exposed to the regional language outside home.

4) Double non-dominant home language without community support:

Parents: Both parents have different first languages.

Community: The dominant regional language is different from both of the parents' languages.

Strategy: the parents each speak their own language to the child, who is, as in 2) and 3), only exposed to the regional language outside home.

5) Non-native parents:

Parents: Both parents have the same first language.

Community: The dominant regional language is the same as the parents'.

Strategy: One of the parents speaks to the child, using a language which is not his/her first language and therefore not the dominant regional language.

6) Mixed languages:

Parents: The parents are bilingual.

Community: Certain sectors and domains of the region/the community may also be bilingual.

Strategy: Parents code-switch and mix languages.

Even if the above classification tries to include as many characteristics of bilingual upbringing as possible, yet, it cannot provide a full catalogue of all factors involved in multilingual education. It is also apparent that the term bilingual can be used in a variety of descriptions with more than one language involved. The above mentioned 'code-switching' in type 6 of bilingual acquisition in childhood by Romaine is going to be explained and further discussed in chapter 4.5.

Colin Baker assigns the terms 'equilingual', 'ambilingual' or 'balanced bilingual' to a person "[...] who is approximately equally fluent in two languages across various contexts [...]" (Baker 1994: 8). Nevertheless he points out, that 'balanced bilingualism' is an idealized concept since rarely anyone will be equally competent in two different languages in any communicative situation.

"Most bilinguals will use their two languages for different purposes and functions." (Baker 1994: 8) However, the language use of one language in a specific situation and the assignment of different functions to the different languages and their unequal status belong to a different key concept, diglossia, which is going to be explained extensively in the following chapter 4.3.

4.3 *Diglossia – Charles Ferguson and Joshua Fishman*

"Diglossia is defined as any linguistic situation where more than one language or variety is spoken and 'clear functional differences between the codes' is involved." (Maral-Hanak 2009a: 120)

The term 'diglossia' was first developed by Charles Ferguson in 1959 and further developed by Joshua Fishman in 1967/1970 and describes the coexistence of high and low varieties of a language which fulfil complementary functional roles and imply a hierarchical relationship between the varieties. (Rosendal 2010: 34f; Maral-Hanak 2009a: 120)

Ferguson introduced the term 'diglossia', which simply means bilingualism in Greek, into the world of linguistics in 1959 and defined it as a stable relationship between two related linguistic

varieties, with one of the varieties called 'high' and the other 'low', for example "[...] classical Arabic and spoken Arabic, demotic Greek and 'purified Greek [...]" (Calvet 1998: 26). While the standard varieties, also called high varieties, are used in formal situations and communicative domains of greater prestige, low or non-standard varieties are used in non-formal situations and communicative situations of lower esteem. (Rosendal 2010: 34f; Maral-Hanak 2009a: 120)

Louis-Jean Calvet describes the principle of diglossia as used by Ferguson in 1959, with the example of Haiti, where "French was used in school, in church, in political speeches, and the like, while Creole was used in daily life, relations with 'inferiors', etc." (Calvet 1998: 26) and mentions that although the linguistic situation in Haiti may have changed since Ferguson's illustration, this example nevertheless shows the underlying principle of diglossia which "[...] brings together two varieties of a single language, where one has prestige, is standardized, and is the vehicle of a respected body of literature, but spoken by a minority, while the other is believed to be inferior, but is spoken by most people." (Calvet 1998: 27)

Fishman extends the concept of diglossia taking into account the functional divisions in the use of two or more distinct languages. He includes the individual and his or her linguistic competence and questions whether people in a diglossic situation are able to communicate in both high and low contexts or if they are excluded from more prestigious domains. (Maral-Hanak 2009a: 120)

The modifications made by Fishman are, according to Calvet, crucial in two ways: "First, he places much less emphasis on the presence of two codes […]. Secondly, he suggests that diglossia emerges as soon as there is a functional difference between two languages, whatever the degree of difference, from the very subtle to the very radical: it is not necessary for the two languages to be related." (Calvet 1998: 28) In addition there can be more than two varieties involved, although Fishman postulates that "[...] usually the situation comes down to an opposition between High and Low varieties." (Calvet 1998: 28)

Fishman does not only include the role of the individual and his or her language competence into the concept of diglossia, but also extends the definition by including a differentiation between bilingualism and diglossia, in which he defines "[...] bilingualism […] as the individual ability to use two languages, and diglossia […] as a social situation where two or more languages coexist with different status […]." (Rosendal 2010: 35)

The work of Fishman and Ferguson as well as the work of sociolinguist William Labov

demonstrate, that, as already mentioned earlier in this work, individuals who live in a diglossic society are able to acquire the necessary language skills to perform equally well in more than one language present in the linguistic field. (Maral-Hanak 2009a: 121)

4.3.1 Diglossic situations

Fishman explains that the languages surveyed do not necessarily have to be genetically related but the function of the high variety may also be carried out by a language unrelated to the low variety. His analysis proposes a theoretical model explaining the relationship between bilingualism and diglossia, which is clearly represented in the following table that shows the four possible combinations of diglossia and bilingualism in societies. (Rosendal 2010: 35; Fishman 1967: 48)

Along with many other sociolinguists, Florian Coulmas agrees with Fishman on the theory that "[d]iglossia is one kind of societal bilingualism, not vice versa" (Coulmas 2005: 133), which is essential to fully understand the table of proposed types of bilingual societies. (Coulmas 2005: 133)

Bilingualism	Diglossia	
	+	-
+	Everyone in a society speaks both languages.	Bilingualism among immigrants and their children.
-	The elite use a prestigious language different from the one spoken by the masses.	Linguistically egalitarian society with no language variation.

Table 2: Fishman's proposed types of bilingual societies (Rosendal 2010: 35)

Fishman's table on proposed types of bilingual societies describes bilingual societies ranging from a bilingual and diglossic society where everyone speaks both languages to the existence of bilingualism and not diglossia with bilingual speakers among immigrants and their children.

The usage of a prestigious language which is different from the language spoken by the masses is a sign for diglossia without bilingualism and finally the non-existence of neither bilingualism nor diglossia that leads to a linguistically egalitarian society where there is no noticeable language variation. (Fishman 1967: 47ff.)

Calvet exemplifies this table of theoretical possibilities with the following four situations (Calvet 1998: 28):

1. Paraguay, where everyone speaks Spanish and Guarani, Spanish being functionally the High form and Guarani the Low form.
2. Certain unstable situations where there are many bilingual individuals but no social bilingualism (the German-speaking area in Belgium, where French is slowly replacing German).
3. Tsarist Russia, where the nobles spoke only French and the people only Russian.
4. The rare situation where a small community has a single linguistic variety.

The hierarchical classification of languages in 'high' and 'low' varieties is due to asymmetrical power relations, dissimilar prestige and varying language attitudes.

The different domains of use of languages depending on their status in society, and therefore the concept of diglossia as used by Fishman, are useful for describing multilingual situations. The concept is evident and applicable in all sub-Saharan countries where few languages of high status and prestige dominate, almost exclusively non-African, former colonial languages of European origin, a number of languages of low status, which are mostly national or indigenous, African languages. Linguistic situations with one language being politically dominated by another one, which are confronted, can be described as dynamic and conflictual. (Rosendal 2010: 36)

4.3.2 Diglossia according to Calvet – the importance of power relations

Since the positions of languages in society are closely linked to power relations and the political setting of a country, their hierarchical relationship is not immune to political changes and official languages in the African context "[...] do not coexist in a stable and functionally

complementary diglossic situation." (Rosendal 2010: 36)

Calvet claims that, above all the notions of functions and prestige, it is necessary to include some kind of reference to power. Circling back to Ferguson's illustration of diglossia, using the example of Haiti, he underlines, if it is true that French has more prestige than Creole, even possessing functions not shared by the low variety Creole, this stems from historic and sociological reasons which themselves are results of power relations and the organization of society. (Calvet 1998: 29)

In reality, the majority of the people often don't understand the languages with the highest social prestige, which are used in administration, politics and other official domains, which undoubtedly leads to unequal opportunities of education, economic success and incompatibility with any form of inclusive or participatory development communication. (Maral-Hanak 2009: 121)

The diglossia in Rwanda, for example, is not a stable linguistic situation but shows tensions between various linguistic functions which reflect power relations between groups that are to be considered dynamic because of the recent changes made in the language policy and official management which led to alterations of language function, use and status. (Rosendal 2010: 37) In order to break these barriers, "[...] one must not forget that the relation of communication par excellence – linguistic exchanges – are also relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between the speakers or their respective groups are actualized." (Bourdieu 1992: 37)

Both diglossia and bilingualism can be used to describe plurilingual situations, as described by Fishman. In this regard, Louis-Jean Calvet criticises that in reality, the linguistic landscape is often more complex and requires further explanation and alignment to make it adoptable for the plurality of situations to be encountered in the world. (Calvet 1998: 28ff.)

Neither Ferguson's nor Fishman's original concept of diglossia is applicable to complex linguistic situations. Calvet takes into account the possible existence of multiple diglossic situations within one society or nation. These diglossic conflicts between varieties of languages and different languages might be of interest for the application of the methodological concept of diglossia in multilingual societies in African countries, yet it is neither mentioned in Ferguson's nor Fishman's model.

In Tanzania, for example, there was at first diglossia between the language inherited from colonialism, English, and the national language, Swahili. But there was also a second period when there was a diglossia between this same Swahili, which is the mother tongue of only a minority of the population, and the other African languages. (Calvet 1998: 29)

Calvet continues to mention other examples, like Mali, with French, the language of the former colonizer, being in a diglossic relation with Bambara, the vernacular language of the region, which itself is as well in a diglossic situation with other African languages. The same situation is applicable in Senegal, with French considered as the high variety in comparison with Wolof and Wolof seen as the high variety in comparison with other African languages.

Calvet calls this principle 'overlapping diglossia' and states that this kind of diglossia can often be found in former colonial countries. (Calvet 1998: 29)[6]

Calvet's prime example of overlapping diglossia is, as already mentioned, the linguistic situation in Tanzania, where English is, with regard to Swahili, a high form, while Swahili itself is a high variety with regard to the other languages present in Tanzania. (Calvet 1998: 29)

He underlines in all the cases brought up, access to power always depends on the ability to speak the official language, which is English in Tanganyika, Swahili and English in Tanzania or French in Mali and Senegal. He points out that the majority of the population in sub-Saharan countries do not speak the high variety, which is why the prevailing language policies continue to serve only the already powerful elites, but even the mastery of the dominant African language, Swahili in Tanzania, Bambara in Mali and Wolof in Senegal, can grant a certain, yet different, kind of power. (Calvet 1998: 29; Calvet 1987: 47 quoted in Maral-Hanak 2009a: 121)

In Rwanda, the three official languages hold specific functions in society. English and French are regarded as languages of prestige; they represent the high varieties in a diglossic situation. The national language Kinyarwanda is used more frequently in informal domains and therefore represents the low variety. Further remarks on the multilingual diglossic situation in Rwanda are going to be made after the detailed explanation of the linguistic set-up within the framework of the case study.

The concept of diglossia strongly emphasizes that multilingual situations may be characterized

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[6] Since Rosendal grounds her work on Calvet's original text in French, she translates Calvet's original term 'diglossie enchassé' herself and uses the term 'embedded diglossia', which in my opinion, does not reflect the interference, therefore the 'overlap', of languages sufficiently. (Rosendal 2010: 36)

by unequal relations and different functions of the languages involved. Differences between the official functions and the 'de facto' use of languages are not only closely connected to the principle of diglossia with high and low varieties within one multilingual framework, but also to the terms 'status' and 'corpus'. The underlying notion of these words is part of the work of French linguist Robert Chaudenson which is going to be explained in the following chapter.

4.4 Status and corpus – terminological and functional issues

As seen earlier, the official status of a language does not always reflect reality. To observe the position a language holds in a society, there are various factors that have to be considered.

Robert Chaudenson, a French linguist, "[...] has approached language policy and its implementation in a comparative way and developed an instrument to measure and discuss the relationship between a country's languages' status (statut) and use, called corpus [...]" (Rosendal 2010: 42).

In this context, it is important to note that "[l]anguage-status policy is by its very nature a political activity" (Spolsky 198: 69) and to distinguish between status and corpus planning, which make up an important part of language policy (see chapter 5).

> *[…] [I]n a situation where there are seen to be two or more languages available, any attempt to set up norms or rules for when to use each is what is called status planning. A decision to make one language official, or to ban another from use in school, or to conduct church services in a third, are cases of status planning. The most studied cases are in deciding on official or national languages […]. Once a language has been fixed as appropriate for use in a specific situation (i.e. as the official language, or in printing books, or in schools), any effort to fix or modify its structure is called corpus planning. […] One aspect of corpus planning is the process of language standardization […]. […] In countries where there is clear recognition of the existence of two or more respected languages and associated ethnic groups, such as Belgium, Switzerland, or Canada, status planning is an important activity. In a country where there is believed to be only one important language, and where other indigenous languages tend to be marginalized, the principal activity tends to be some aspect of corpus planning, such as the purification of the standard language. (Spolsky 1998: 66f)*

Chaudenson's explanations concerning the concept of status and corpus were originally used to examine the language situation in countries being a part of the 'Francophonie'. These countries, having been described as a collective of peoples who speak French or live in a

Francophone country, often have language policies that do not reflect the reality of the speakers. While French might have a high official status, because it is used as official language or used in formal domains as language of communication, it might not have a similar status in everyday life of the inhabitants.

Chaudenson defines status as:

> *Toutes les données qui ressortissent du juridique du politique et de l'économique (officialité, usages institutionnels divers, place dans l'éducation et dans les moyens de communication de masse, rôle dans les secteurs économiques privés). (Chaudenson 1989: 68)*

In this thesis, the term 'status' is primarily used in the meaning of "[...] position which a language has in a social system" (Griefenow-Mewis 1991: 101). This definition is closely linked to languages being hierarchically classified, with different functions, and therefore to the concept of diglossia, chapter 4.3. Corpus in Chaudenson's understanding is defined as:

> *Corpus regroupera, non pas comme dans l'usage habituel ce qui touche à la langue elle-même, mais tout ce qui concerne, au sens large la 'production langagière' (modes d'appropriation de langue; types de compétences; véhicularisation et vernacularisation; production et exposition langagières). (Chaudenson 1989: 69)*

The categories 'status' and 'corpus' are considered important taking into account the analogy of 'official' versus 'de facto' language policy.

While the status of a language might be 'high', the corpus could be at the same time 'low', leading to the language not having a 'base' in the population's language competence and use, only being used in official domains and by the elite of the country.

As a result, Chaudenson identified four different types of states of the Francophone community (Féral 2011):

1) States with a 'status' and 'corpus' like France, where French does not only occupy important official functions but is also spoken by practically everyone and even used in informal domains and in everyday communication.

2) States with a language 'status' but no 'corpus', like Mali, where French is the official language and used in state affairs, but not in daily activities and spoken by only a small number of people, who normally use Bambara as a vehicular language to communicate in non-official situations.

3) States with no 'status' but a 'corpus' of the French language, like Algeria, with French

occupying no official status at all, but still possessing a certain 'corpus' because it is studied at school and a certain part of the population is able to use it as a means of communication, taking into account France's former occupation of Algeria.

4) States with neither 'status' nor 'corpus' which comprise for example countries like Brazil or Australia.

Considering the categorization made by Chaudenson, it is not sufficient to analyse the language situation of countries based only on these categorizations. It is also important to sub-categorise the four types further as to how high or low the status and corpus of a language is.

I consider Rwanda as part of the second category with French being represented as an official language, with a certain amount of status, which is due to historic reasons, yet a weak corpus. The changing landscape of multilingualism in Rwanda led to the changing of the status as well as the corpus of French which is due to the changing language policy of the country.

> *A political decision on the status of a language, if it is in fact to be implemented, usually leads to other activities. Often, a language whose status has changed, needs to be modified in some way. This is corpus planning. (Spolsky 1998: 70)*

'Status planning' and 'corpus planning' hereby represents the function of the terms 'status' and 'corpus' within the sociolinguistic setting of Rwanda. The functionality of these terms is closely connected to the planning and implementation of language policy, making status planning and corpus planning relevant terms that have to be considered for the examination of the sociolinguistic situation in Rwanda.

In Rwanda, it was not the status of French that was changed, but English which went from simply being a foreign language to the adoption as official language. Considering Chaudenson's initial intentions, I would like to take a look at the language status of French in Rwanda, in correspondence to the Francophonie.

The 'Organisation internationale de la francophonie' (OIF), which was founded in 1970, "[...] represents one of the biggest linguistic zones in the world. Its members share more than just a common language. They also share the humanist values promoted by the French language." (Francophonie 2013b) At least this is what the organisation claims. While it still lists Rwanda as one of its 57 member states, the status of French in Rwanda is not listed as official language, but as 'langue étrangère' (Francophonie 2013c). This seems to be a bit opposing and raises the question if this misinformation is only due to the insufficient research of the OIF or if Rwanda is looking to change its status in the Francophone world.

The breach between Rwanda and France due to France's role during the genocide (see chapter 10.2) and the country's accession to the Commonwealth and the East African Union certainly indicates a transition away from French and the Francophonie, towards the English language and the Anglophone world.

Rwanda's unique geographic and linguistic situation, "[a] mountainous country, centrally situated, almost symbolically […], on the watershed of the Nile and Congo, Rwanda is pulled simultaneously towards the East and the West." (Calvet 2005: 1973)

Calvet explains this struggle through the gravitational model, which constitutes a version of the linguistic aspects of globalisation and presents the hierarchical relations of languages (Calvet 2006: 1). In Rwanda, "[...] tension between the hypercentral language, English, the pivot of the gravitational organisation of the world's languages, and one of the supercentral languages, French" (Calvet 2005: 1973f.), can be examined and explains the country's division between English and French.

The split position of Rwanda between English and French is also expressed through the country's language policy, which, with the nomination of English as sole medium of instruction in 2008, took drastic steps in corpus planning, further implementing the official status of the language. The changing status and corpus of the languages present in Rwanda's multilingual environment could be considered the essence of the country's language policy.

Chaudenson's observations on status and corpus of languages thus make up an important key concept of this graduate thesis, as well as the following chapter, which addresses the complex idea of code-switching.

4.5 Code-switching

Sprachkontakt und Mehrsprachigkeit stehen in mehrfacher Beziehung zueinander, ohne dass sich daraus allerdings zwingend Formen der gegenseitigen Bedingtheit ableiten lassen. Die unterschiedliche Definition der beiden Konzepte wird häufig mit einer Fokussierung auf unterschiedliche Gegenstände begründet […]. Sind die Sprachen selbst Gegenstand der Forschung, so wird von Sprachkontakt gesprochen; Mehrsprachigkeit tritt dann in den Vordergrund, wenn die SprecherInnen unterschiedlicher Sprachen von primärem Interesse sind. (Waldburger 2012: 91)

Based on the above differentiation between language contact and multilingualism by Daniela

Waldburger, I conclude that this work covers both areas. Not only are the languages important for this research but also the speakers themselves who constitute an essential part. The connection between multilingualism, which itself has already been explained and defined in chapter 4.1, and language contact is visible to the effect that language contact requires individuals to be multilingual, to possess a certain language competence and proficiency in several languages. (Lehmann 2009: 2 quoted in Waldburger 2012: 91)

With the definitions of multilingualism (chapter 4.1.1) and bilingualism (chapter 4.2) as well as diglossia (chapter 4.3) in mind, I am now going to focus on the phenomenon of 'code-switching' (CS) and the role it plays in the communicative competence of multilingual people. Multilinguals have two or more languages at their disposal, when they enter into communicative contact with other multilinguals who share the same linguistic resources. The speakers can access all linguistic resources available in their linguistic interaction, provided the communication partners have the same linguistic competences in all languages used in common, or at least possess passive language competence to be able to employ the languages in a communicative situation. (Waldburger 2012: 92f.)

The term 'code', generally "[a] system of signs used for sending messages" (Coulmas 2005: 233), is defined in sociolinguistics as "[...] a system of linguistic signs, used by some scholars to mean a socially distinct variety" (ibid.), which is why 'code-switching' describes the alternation between different languages or varieties. Literature on the phenomenon of 'code-switching' offers a great variety of possible perceptions of the concept, which all share the notion that there must be one code that is more dominant than the other(s).

"Lässt sich ein dominanter Code nicht eindeutig feststellen, wird in der Literatur die Verwendung von Code mixing (CM) vorgeschlagen." (Waldburger 2012: 94)

In most cases, the different notions on 'code-switching', concern the question whether the switching of codes can only occur within one sentence, which would represent a narrow field of inquiry, or if the analysis of this phenomenon should comprise the whole of the communicative situation, and therefore adopt a wider field of analysis. (Waldburger 2012: 94)

Suzanne Romaine devotes a big part of her book 'Bilingualism' to the phenomenon of code-switching and uses the term "[...] in the sense in which Gumperz (1982: 59) has defined it, as 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems'. In code-switched discourse, the items in

question form part of the same speech act. They are tied together prosodically as well as by semantic and syntactic relations equivalent to those that join passages in a single speech act." (Romaine 1994: 111)

The used codes in the code-switching process are therefore not swapped without any rules guiding this process. Just like in a monolingual conversation, the usage of more than one language within the same speech act is not independent from one another but follows syntactic and grammatical rules and is constrained by a variety of social factors, such as setting, topic and degree of competence in both languages. (Romaine 1991: 115)

> *For a bilingual, shifting for convenience (choosing the available word or phrase on the basis of easy availability) is commonly related to topic. Showing the effect of domain differences, a speaker's vocabulary will develop differentially for different topics in the two languages. Thus, speakers of a language who have received advanced education in a professional field in a second language will usually not have the terms in their native language. (Spolsky 1998: 50)*

Although many different theories, trying to explain the phenomenon of code-switching, have been developed over time, looking for characteristics that determine and cause 'code-switching', the plurality of different points of view on this phenomenon of various linguists, aggravates the work with and about 'code-switching' since no clear and unifying definition has yet been established, which is why Clyne (2003: 70) refers to a "[...] troublesome terminology around 'code-switching'".

> *The literature on code choice, code changing, code-mixing and/or code-switching and related issues in the psycho- and sociolinguistic study of individual multilingualism is so massive that it is already beyond the control of the average linguist. Competing models to describe the linguistic processes involved exist, and different authors may use the same terms with completely opposite meaning. (Wolff s.a.: 5 quoted in Waldburger 2012: 90)*

Breaking the phenomenon of code-switching down into smaller parts, to acquire an overview to enable its use in this thesis in connection with the language situation in Rwanda, leads to the question of who practises code-switching. (Coulmas 2005: 111) Are speakers who regularly engage in code-switching bilingual? Are they unable to express themselves in only one language or is the practice of code-switching a deliberate choice? If so, what are the conditions for speakers to engage in code-switching and are all multilingual societies prone to adapt these language practices? Coulmas answers these questions as follows:

In language-contact situations speakers of various linguistic backgrounds make diverse code choices not all of which should be regarded as code-switching. The ideal code-switcher is a phantom appearing in almost a many guises as there are scholars interested in his or her performance. However, some common features stick out. Ideal code-switchers speak at least two languages which are habitually spoken in their community. They are fluent in both languages. […] [T]heir linguistic repertoire encompasses not just two main systems, L1 and L2, but at least three, L1, L2 and LX, which is directly connected with code-switching. Switching, then, is a linguistic skill in its own right rather than a makeshift solution to an anomalous communication problem. Code-switchers accommodate to each other. They possess a wider repertoire of adaptive strategies and modification devices than monolingual speakers (Grosjean 1985), but they do not feel the need to settle on a lingua franca in the sense of "one conversation, one language". Rather, the conversation is the frame in which the code-switch. (Coulmas 2005: 113)

This definition shows similarities to the definition of an ideal bilingual by Uriel Weinreich (1974: 73), as seen in chapter 4.2, who states that bilinguals do not switch within one speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence. The description of 'switching' as a linguistic skill, by Coulmas (2005: 113), leads to the assumption that code-switching could be a stylistic device to express a certain social motivation, used by multilingual speakers that are able to consciously switch between more than one code within a conversation and even within one single sentence.

The intention to use code-switching as a stylistic device to achieve a certain goal, is called functional code-switching by Carrol Myers-Scotton, who formulated four different functions of code-switching based on language use in Kenya (Waldburger 2012: 97ff.):

1) *Wenn CS innerhalb eines kommunikativen Ereignisses in Serie vorkommt, ist es unmarkiert, weil im gegebenen Kontext der Äußerung der Wechsel als "normal" und passend gesehen wird […].*
2) *CS selbst kann die unmarkierte Wahl sein […].*
3) *CS kann auch eine markierte Wahl darstellen, wobei Myers-Scotton unter "markiert" versteht, dass es nicht dem "erwartbaren Muster" entspricht […].*
4) *CS als Testen (exploratory choice): […] ein Austesten der Codes, das dadurch bedingt ist, dass SprecherInnen nicht klar erkennen, welche in einer gegebenen Situation die unmarkierte Wahl ist.*

Waldburger concludes that in 3), where codes could be used to underline social distance by using a code of higher prestige to distance oneself from the dominated code, as well as in 4), with CS being used to explore the appropriate code for a specific situation; where code hierarchies are not clear from the beginning, code-switching is socially motivated.

In diesen Fällen hat CS eine spezifische Funktion. Es ermöglicht den SprecherInnen, wenn gewünscht, mehrere sprachliche und damit verbunden auch soziale Identitäten einzunehmen. (Waldburger 2012: 100)

Circling back to Rwanda, the social motivation of someone to use code-switching could be, for example, to use French or English as an instrument to create social distance or to adopt a dominant position through the use of a language of higher prestige.

It is also worth noting that code-switching, the use of two linguistic varieties within the same conversation or interaction, as described by Myers-Scotton (2002), is frequent both when speaking Rwanda and languages of European origin. Code-switching in Rwanda most frequently takes place within a sentence, e.g. in parliamentary debates. (Rosendal 2010: 80)

Using English instead of Kinyarwanda in a situation where all speakers are Kinyarwandophones and the national language would be the appropriate variety does not only imply higher prestige. Code-switching could, in this case, be used to deliberately trigger associations of certain social identities. The recently enhanced status of English could be used by students who have studied in English to underline dominance and distance themselves from the older generation who had studied in French to provoke associations of modernity, technology and development that are usually linked to the prestigious status of English.

The identities associated with specific languages certainly influence the language practice and language use as well as the language attitudes of people who, if they are multilingual, can use code-switching to their advantage and deliberately adopt various linguistic and social identities in different situations.

However, Coulmas notes (2005: 109) that to outside observers who are not familiar with the practice of code-switching, it might seem difficult or impossible to recognize any pattern and clear rules concerning this language practice. As a consequence, there are two assumptions that have been made in connection with code-switching. First, "[...] the resulting admixture has, therefore, often been considered a deficient and bastardized blend, [...]" (Coulmas 2005: 109) rather than a proper language. Second, "[i]t has also been assumed that speakers engaging in such communication practices are forced to do so because their command of the languages involved is limited." (Coulmas 2005: 109)

Unfamiliarity with the practice of code-switching may lead to these assumptions but extensive "[...] research into the relationship of linguistic diversity and societal complexity carried out during the past four decades [...]" (Coulmas 2005: 109) has falsified both these conjectures.

It is not necessarily for lack of competency that speakers switch from one language to another, and the choices they make are not fortuitous. Rather, just like socially motivated choices of varieties of one language, choices across language boundaries are imbued with social meaning. (Coulmas 200: 109)

4.6 Language contact

Language contact is, in short, "[a] situation where, because of geographic proximity or migration, bilingual speakers bring two or more languages into contact with each other." (Coulmas 2005: 234). It takes place whenever speakers competent in more than one language communicate. These communicative situations can lead, for example, to borrowing. The process of borrowing is not easy to observe, since it can only be observed after is has happened. The enrichment of a language by the usage of lexical terms originating from another language is only easy to determine when a borrowed word has been observed in retrospect. (Coulmas 2005: 108)

The switching of words is the beginning of borrowings, which occurs when the new word becomes more or less integrated into the second language. One bilingual individual using a word from language A in language B is a case of switching, but when many people do, even speakers of B who don't know A are likely to pick it up. At this stage, especially if the pronunciation and morphology have been adapted, we can say the word has been borrowed. (Spolsky 1998: 49)

Personal observations have shown, that the borrowings made in Kinyarwanda, depend on the interlocutors of the speaker. If this group consists mainly of people the speaker associates with the French language, maybe because they have studied in a Francophone country, borrowings tend to be French. Meanwhile, the same topic could be enriched by borrowings from the English language within a group of Rwandans associated with English, because they were educated in English-speaking countries or are part of the younger generation of Rwandans who have been alphabetized in English, or have been affected by the language shift that has led to English being the language of instruction in Rwanda.

The utilization of a word originating from one language within the context of another, could be the source of various linguistic phenomena "[...] resulting from language contact, such as nonce-borrowing, quotation, interference, mixed discourse, pidginization, or code-switching."

(Coulmas 2005: 108)

English[, for example,] is one language that has borrowed freely. From its beginnings in regular contact with first Danish, then French, its lexicon was constantly being enriched not just by coinages but by borrowing. During the periods of scientific and technological development, English freely coined new words based on Latin or Greek (or even, to the horror of Classical purists, with elements of both). (Spolsky 1998: 71)

Romaine remarks that "[t]here is also increasing attention given to the systematic study of language contact by linguists and some have used the term 'contact linguistics' in a wide sense to refer to both the process and outcome of any situation in which languages are in contact […]. Linguists who study language contact often seek to describe changes at the level of linguistic systems in isolation and abstraction from speakers. Sometimes they tend to treat the outcome of bilingual interaction in static rather than in dynamic terms, and lose sight of the fact that the bilingual individual is the ultimate locus of contact." (Romaine 1995: 8)

It seems to be clear that whenever languages are in contact, they influence each other since they do not act independently in a static but in a dynamic environment. During the research for this work it turned out that there are certain linguists who put their focus too much on the potential changes that could arise from language contact.

In Rwanda, there are three main languages in contact, Kinyarwanda, English and French. The coexistence of three official languages does not only affect the language use of the speakers but also affects the substance of the languages themselves.   Changes of the phonemic as well as phonological system of a language or the morphological and syntactic system as well as its lexicon and other linguistic characteristics can occur when two or more languages are in contact and interfere with each other. That is what the Rwandan linguist Hilaire Habyarimana postulates in his study on "Multilingualism and change on the Kinyarwanda sound system post-1994" from 2012. (Habyarimana 2012: 11)

The examination of this extensive study on language contact seems to be of interest for this research on the sociolinguistic situation of Rwanda because of the great mutual influence languages allegedly have. As seen in the previous chapter 4.5, code-switching is part of the bilingual and multilingual reality but Habyarimana proposes another impact, which is, the changing of the standard sound system of one of the languages surveyed.

I consider Habyarimana's approach interesting for this case study because in the multilingual set-up of Rwanda, languages as well as people of different social and linguistic background

interact and influence each other. The language shift from French to English affects the language use of the people of Rwanda greatly, including the lexical and maybe even the phonic system.

> *"[...] [W]hen a speaker has command of more than one language, both language systems do not coexist as two entirely separate spheres but a large number of transfer and interference phenomena are to be expected in multilingual speakers." (Herdina; Jessner 2002: 20 quoted in Habyarimana 2012: 8)*

This happens either through language contact, language transfer or language interference.

> *The problem of phonic interference concerns the manner in which a speaker perceives and reproduces the sounds of one language [...]. Interference arises when a bilingual identifies a phoneme of the secondary system with one in the primary system and, in reproducing it, subjects it to the phonetic rules of the primary language. (Weinreich 1968: 14)*

Habyarimana postulates that phonemic changes in Kinyarwanda occurred because up to four million Rwandans were repatriated, of which only older people had kept their native language Kinyarwanda. (Habyarimana 2012: 3) Whether this number, of four million returnees, is based on reliable data is questionable.

Because of the different languages, like English and local African languages of neighbouring countries, which were introduced in Rwanda through the return of many expatriates, "[...] communication became a problem everywhere in the country, and the consequence of the situation which prevailed in the country was that Kinyarwanda started losing some standard features and its status as a national language in that linguistic chaos. [...] During this time, French and English were used in order to facilitate communication in offices, schools, public meetings, churches and so on, and Kinyarwanda became a second tool of communication through translation." (Habyarimana 2012: 4)

Habyarimana's argument that French and English were used as languages of wider communication, as lingua francas to facilitate communication throughout the population is, in my opinion, quite a stretch and not reflecting reality; the use of another Bantu language like Swahili would, in that case, seem more plausible.

First, only a very small percentage of Rwandans was and is able to speak French or English, as established in the census of 2002. Tove Rosendal remarks that, in former colonies, there has always been only a small percentage of people with the ability to speak the official language, since local languages are used to communicate in everyday life. (Rosendal 2010:

80) The necessity to speak another language than the indigenous language is even lesser in Rwanda because of the wide distribution of the one and only national language. If however, other languages are used to facilitate communication between as many people as possible, hence are used as vernacular languages, it might be necessary to speak a non-African language to enable communication in everyday life.

Secondly, the attributes Anglophone and Francophone do not imply that people are fluent in English or French.

"Anglophone or Francophone. These tags are used although they have nothing to do with one's competence in the languages." (Mulaudzi; Mbori 2008: 22)

Growing up in an 'Anglophone' country like Uganda or Kenya does not automatically mean that someone is a competent speaker of English. On the contrary, people are likely to acquire language competence in an African language, a local language that is used as an instrument of communication in everyday life. In Kenya, Kikuyu or Swahili, and in Uganda, Luganda, are languages likely to have been acquired by exiled Rwandans due to the vicinity of these Bantu languages with Kinyarwanda and due to the convenience of being able to speak the language of the region one lives in.

While English and French used by Rwandans are often considered to be languages of prestige with a high status, yet a low corpus, their use is limited to administrative and official matters, but they are only of little or no importance in everyday communication for the majority of the people. Habyarimana's hypothesis suggesting that English and French did not only serve as vernacular languages in the multilingual 'chaos' that befell Rwanda after the return of many refugees, but also influenced the Kinyarwanda phonic-system severely, leading to changes of its 'standard' sound repertoire, can therefore be discounted as implausible.

It seems to be more likely that the linguistic landscape of Rwanda was influenced by the introduction of other Bantu languages which is why the consideration of African languages in official language planning should not be neglected. If anything, the focus should be laid on the potential of regional languages in socio-economic development.

4.7 Final remarks on the sociolinguistic key concepts

Many of the phenomena explained earlier also play an important role in Suzanne Romaine's book, 'Bilingualism'. Some of them are summarized in the following citation of Mackey:

Mackey […] points out that bilingualism is not a phenomenon of language but of its use. The study of bilingualism could therefore be said to fall within the field of sociolinguistics in so far as the latter is a discipline which is concerned with the ways in which language is used in society. From a global societal perspective, of course, most of the world's speech communities use more than one language and are therefore multilingual rather than homogenous. It is thus monolingualism which represents a special case. (Mackey 1968: 554 quoted in Romaine 1991: 8)

Mackey also notices that the dynamics in a multilingual environment are complex. This leads to constant changes in the communication situation for the speakers who have to make many linguistic choices as for example, which language is used in which situation and how to handle the requirements of plurilingual settings.

Multilingual research has revealed that the languages coexisting in one society are hardly ever equal, if only because they are associated with demographic strength, power and prestige. Choosing one language or another, or choosing elements of one language or another, therefore, invariably carries social meaning. Every choice has a motivation and hence can be explained. (Coulmas 2005: 109)

5 Language policy

One of the important terms used in this work is 'language policy'. The development of the concept of language policy can be traced back to the 1920s. Originally, it was used to cope with the multilingual situation in the Soviet Union. During the 1960s and 1970s, language policy and language planning gained more importance as a field within linguistics, mainly through the pioneering work on language planning of Haugen (1959; 1966) and later Fishman (1970). (Rosendal 2010: 39)

Generally, language policy refers to the relationship between languages, which are given certain official functions in society, and society itself. It deals with the allocation of status within the formal domains of society and the management of these language choices (Rosendal 2010: 32). While many researchers, such as Legère and Spolsky, consider language policy to include "[...] all the language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community or polity" (Spolsky 2004:9), Rosendal only includes activities which affect the status of languages and doesn't take into account measures by informal groups and individuals, which she refers to as 'language management'. Since a big part of the data used in my study is taken from Rosendal's work, I am going to stick to her definition of 'language policy' and consider 'language management' and 'language planning', as different areas of research.

Hence, 'language planning' can be defined as "[a]ny systematic, theory-informed design to solve the communication problems of a society by influencing speaker's choices concerning languages and varieties (status planning) as well as structural features of language such as pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary and terminology (corpus planning)." (Coulmas 2005: 234)

During the establishment of 'language planning' in the late 1950s, planning in general was considered essential to find solutions for various economic, political and social problems after the Second World War, which was reflected in the linguistic theories of the time. (Spolsky 2008 quoted in Rosendal 2010: 40)

Jan Blommaert (2012: 6ff.) describes the tradition of language policy and planning as relying on solid modernist principles, according to which languages were ranked hierarchically, and assigned to different domains of society, depending on their status.

According to Blommaert, language policy originally tried to establish linguistic stability in multilingual societies which were considered as 'chaotic' because of the high number of

different languages present. In that regard, language planning was used to assign each language a different role and place in society, favouring the former colonial or other languages that were considered as prestigious and privileged. (Blommaert 2012: 6ff.)

Irmi Maral-Hanak widens the definition of 'language planning' and describes it as "[...] a domain that focuses on the scope of action for political leadership in language use" (Maral-Hanak 2009a: 124), while Crystal defines it as "[...] a term used in sociolinguistics to refer to a systematic attempt to solve the communication problems of a community by studying the various languages or dialects it uses and developing a realistic policy concerning the selection and use of different languages." (Crystal 1985: 174)

> *The goal of language policy is to perpetuate, establish or undo a language regime. […] Language planning is needed whenever a language regime is to be changed. It is concerned with implementing language policy goals. […] As any other regime, a language regime is the result of rival interests and reflects inequalities in social strength and power. (Coulmas 2005: 186 f.)*

In Rwanda, the target of language policy was the language regime of French, which was considered the language of the state with high prestige and status during colonisation, after independence and throughout the hatred dominated government which planned and carried out the genocide.

> *Language planning involved making informed choices about language that counter quasi-natural, market-driven developments that are expected to take place in the absence of any intervention, or that have taken place, with or without intervention, and which the language policy is intended to halt or reverse. (Coulmas 2005: 186)*

Without conscious language planning, I doubt that English would have achieved the status it now holds in formal domains or would even have been declared an official language of Rwanda. It is thus imperative to take a closer look at language policy when, for example, observing language shift and language use in public and private contexts.

To summarize the purpose and objective of language policy, I would like to quote Ngalasso who underlines its cultural and social component:

> *Avoir une politique linguistique, ce n'est pas seulement avoir dans la Constitution un article concernant la langue officielle, c'est d'abord prendre conscience que la langue est un fait de culture et un facteur de développement économique et social tout à fait primordial; c'est ensuite opérer des choix clairs en matière de langues en déterminant lesquelles d'entre elles doivent*

être utilisées dans tel ou tel domaine de la vie nationale et en particulier dans l'enseignement, les actes d'administration et la communication avec le monde extérieur; c'est enfin décider des moyens logistiques (en argent, en matériel, en personnel) à mettre en œuvre pour rendre opérationnels des choix ainsi faits. (Ngalasso 1986: 7)

With the theoretical explanation of language policy in mind, I would like to take a short detour and give an example of multilingual language policies in other countries, using Miriam Meyerhoff's (2011: 108ff.) description of language policy and language rights in South Africa. Then, the colonial influence on language policy today is going to be illustrated, considering the example of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The following analysis is going to include investigations on the influence of political power and how a diverse language policy can help to promote the importance of African languages and deal with the colonial past of a country.

5.1 *Language policy and language rights in South Africa*

Following the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa in 1994, the modification of language policies and the establishment of language rights in the new constitution might not have been considered as the most important items on the agenda at first, yet they were essential for the creation of the new South African nation.

The domination of the white Afrikaner population, descendants of the first Dutch colonists, and the equally dominant white population of English descent, concentrated power and control of land until the 1990s. This led to economic and ecological resources being controlled by only 15 percent of the population, while the Black majority and the population of Indian descent were actively discriminated against and excluded from decision-making processes in domains such as land rights and educational policy.

During the dominance of the White Afrikaner population, Afrikaans became the language of official business of the nation state as well as the medium of instruction at all educational levels. The official language policy therefore allocated a high status to a minority language, completely neglecting the importance of regional languages. The fact that Afrikaans was imposed as the language of tuition was one of the most hated aspects of the apartheid regime. The resistance towards the imposition of Afrikaans in 'Black schools' was often the focus of

protests in the Black community against the injustice of the apartheid regime and gave rise to the student uprising in Soweto in 1976, which continued until 1980 when it was brutally ended with the killing of hundreds of protesters, including schoolchildren, in clashes with the government's armed forces. (Meyerhoff 2011: 109) (Spolsky 1998: 68f.)

When the oppressing regime of apartheid finally collapsed in the 1990s, political power had to be divided, agrarian reforms were undertaken and a new constitution was drawn up, granting equal rights and full suffrage to all ethnic groups in an attempt to merge the deeply divided nation. Today, the 'rainbow nation' thrives on its diversity and considers the great number of different ethnicities and cultures, as well as languages, as enrichment for the country. (Meyerhoff 2011: 110)

The new Constitution of South Africa is easily accessible online at The Constitutional Court of South Africa[7] and includes detailed information on the language policy in section 6, which is going to be looked at more closely in the following paragraph in order to provide a good example of how language policy and language rights can be promoted through state measures like the stipulation in the Constitution (Republic of South Africa 1996: 4):

> *(1) The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.*

These eleven languages were given equal status, underlining the importance of linguistic plurality in the Republic of South Africa.

> *(2) Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.*

This clearly reflects the desire of the government of South Africa to distance itself from the unjust practices, beliefs and unequal rights towards peoples and their languages during the apartheid regime. The injustices of the past should not be forgotten and have to be used to learn from the mistakes and promote equal rights to all eleven official languages in the future.[8]

> *(3)(a)The national government and provincial governments may use any particular official*

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[7] http://www.constitutionalcourt.org.za/site/theconstitution/thetext.htm

[8] Although English might play a more prominent role considering its importance in international business and on the global market. On a side note this global importance of English is considered as one of the official reasons for the language shift in Rwanda.

languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages.

(b)Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.

(4)The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions of subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.

In order to put the equal rights of eleven languages into practice, it is not only essential to allocate the necessary financial resources; it takes an enormously large number of translators as well. Apart from administrative challenges, it also needs persistence and willingness to use more than one language in government affairs, let alone eleven. The obligation to use at least two official languages contributes to the further promotion of equal language rights.

(5) A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must-

(a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of- (i) all official languages; (ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and (iii) sign language; and

(b) promote and ensure respect for- (i) all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu; and (ii) Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa.

The Constitution even specifies the establishment of a Language Board responsible for promoting official and non-official languages in South Africa. Language rights and language diversity obviously are of great importance, taking into account official as well as minority languages of lower status.

Other important sections of The Constitution of South Africa which highlight the importance of languages in the establishment of a new nation include section 29 on education and section 30 on language and culture. (Republic of South Africa 1996: 10)

Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account-

(a) equity; (b) practicability; and (c) the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices.

Linking this citation to the case study of Rwanda, the influence of language policy on education, especially on the language of tuition and first language education, becomes obvious. Official language policy in comparison with 'de facto' language policy is going to be one of the main areas of survey examined in the case study.

The following extract of section 30 underlines the importance of languages in connection to identity. The promotion of language rights can contribute to the definition of core values and national identity of the multilingual and multicultural nature of South Africa (Republic of South Africa 1996: 10):

Everyone has the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights.

Miriam Meyerhoff analyses the language aspects of The Constitution of South Africa and states that the need to define language rights and the importance of language, arises from the former role that language has played in a history of oppression.

The example of South Africa's language policy and its political approach to extensively include language rights in the constitution, hence to promote the rights of peoples, shows the importance of well organised and sophisticated language planning, language management and language policy, which is going to be significant for the survey of the linguistic situation of Rwanda.

5.2 Colonial influence

Blommaert describes in his book "Dangerous multilingualism" (2012), the colonial influence on language policy of now independent nations:

Multilingual societies, first, needed to reduce the number of (societally, and thus economically, valuable) languages in use on their territory – the principle of oligolingualism. Second, because of the efficiency and loyalty principle, the remaining languages needed to be ranked, hierarchically ordered across different domains in society […]. Thus, in many postcolonial African states a number of local languages could be used in primary education, a smaller

number in (parts of) secondary education, and one language – invariably the ex-colonial one – in higher education […]. The general idea was that the high number of languages in postcolonial countries such as Cameroon or Nigeria was a form of "chaos", which required a (modernist) effort to bring order. Indigenous languages also needed to be "developed", and the model for such development was the former metropolitan language or classical languages such as Latin; exercises such as status and corpus planning always started from the assumption that what needed to be planned was a pure, uninfluenced, stable authentic language. (Blommaert 2012: 6f.)

The status that was assigned to non-African languages during colonialism is reflected in the language policy of many sub-Saharan countries today.

During colonial rule, language was used strategically to create hierarchies and enforce power mechanisms of the colonizers. While African languages were considered as 'inferior', the power and influence of European languages were increased. The promotion of European languages didn't imply that everyone was obliged to speak this language; however, educational and economic opportunities were closely linked to the languages of high status and prestige, the language of the colonizers.

English colonial rule in East Africa granted a certain importance to Swahili, but the language of the elite remained English, a language the majority of the population had no access to, since the 'native languages' were often considered as sufficient for primary education and small-scale economic activities, for example at the marketplace. Higher education was only provided in English, yet access to secondary or tertiary education was denied to the local population. (Maral-Hanak 2009a:118)

The massive interference in linguistic practices under colonial rule took place a few decades ago, influencing language policy of African countries today. Even after independence, "European languages continued to be used as the languages of education and official communication, excluding the majority of the population who had no knowledge of these idioms" (Maral-Hanak 2009a: 118).

Not only language policy but also power mechanisms remained retrogressive and elitist positions, educational opportunities and economic success continued to be limited to the elites while the better part of the population was excluded from developmental processes.

"[...][M]ost governing elites in Africa have an interest in the exclusive function of ex-colonial

languages: As long as politics and government are inaccessible to the majority of the population who have no access to these languages, it remains easier for the powerful to retain their privileges." (Maral-Hanak 2009a:119)

Other reasons for the failed plans of linguistic change after independence include the marginalization of African languages through the dominance of European transnational corporations and technologies, globalisation and the fact that the effects of colonialism, a century-long domination and oppression of local cultures, values and beliefs, could not be reversed in only a few years' time. (Maral-Hanak 2009a: 118f)

5.2.1 Colonialism and language policy in the Democratic Republic of Congo

I assume that a stable linguistic environment could contribute to a certain social and cultural stability and hence facilitate economic development. However, political discussions going to and fro concerning language policy of a country after independence are very common.

As mentioned before, Rwanda is one of few countries which chose to embrace an endoglossic approach on language policy after independence which granted more importance to the national language than to the imposed and imported languages of colonialism. Its neighbouring country, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), former Zaïre, chose a different approach towards language policy.

Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda have in common the fact that they were Belgian colonies and were therefore subject to a linguistic regime different from that which France applied in its own colonies: in the French case, African languages were excluded from the educational and administrative system whereas in the Belgian case some of them were taken into account. When they became independent, therefore, […] some of their languages were written and were used in schools and sometimes in the press. (Calvet 2005: 1972)

Rwanda promoted the local language Kinyarwanda as a national language as well as an official language and therefore encouraged its usage in education, administration, juridical procedures and other official domains, whereas the language policy in the DRC was focused on the enhancement of French.

Flemish, which in addition to French, had been an official language in all African countries

under Belgian administration, was abandoned completely. This was probably due to its negligence under Belgian rule, where "[t]ous les décrets et réglements [sic!] ayant un caractère général sont rédigés et publiés en langue française et en langue flamande" (Ngalasso 1986: 17). In general, French was used much more frequently and was regarded as more prestigious (ibid.). Reportedly there were even considerations to divide Belgian Congo into a French- and a Flemish-speaking part, but those projects were never realised. (ibid.)

Ngalasso underlines that the high status of French, and the restricted possibilities for the population of DRC to acquire it, reflected the unwillingness of the Belgian administration to grant access to this prestigious language for the majority of the population. (Ngalasso 1986: 17)

The prestigious and elitist status of French before independence was, on the one hand, kept with the old elites enlarging their power in the new state of DRC, but on the other hand, French was partly demystified, becoming the only official language of this young state and widening its influence and importance in all official domains, especially in education, being used at all educational levels and therefore being accessible to the local population.

While the importance of Kinyarwanda in Rwanda increased after independence, the status of the national languages of DRC declined. While local languages were used as medium of instruction in primary education under Belgian rule, the absence of the regional languages at all educational stages afterwards resulted in their complete disregard in official matters.

French became the language of instruction at all educational levels in 1962. Without favouring any national language, the governing elite tried to eradicate ethnic division and conquer tribalism by taking advantage of the usage of a non-African language. The strong centralisation of administration and the need for a 'neutral' means of communication that promoted unity, since it was neither attached to a certain ethnic group nor to a specific region – although its diffusion was much higher in urban centres than in rural communities – gave rise to the strengthening of the official status of French, the language of the former colonizer, and reinforced its prestige and association with social advancement. (Ngalasso 1986: 19)

A change of politics in the Republic of Congo in 1965 towards a policy of 'authenticity', the revival of traditional African values and beliefs, changed the course of language policy. National languages were ultimately regarded as equal to French and to one another. Additionally, the positive effects of first language education in the regional languages – at least in the first few years of primary school – were taken into account. (Ngalasso 1986: 19f.)

The measures taken to reinforce the ideology of the return towards the authenticity of Congolese values underline the importance of language policy, as Louis-Jean Calvet remarks rightfully, "[...] une prise de pouvoir politique est aussi une prise de pouvoir linguistique." (Calvet 1977: 27 quoted in Ngalasso 1986: 21).

Challenging the monopolist status of French, four regional languages of the DRC were promoted to the status of national languages and ultimately used in primary instruction. French remained an official language, but shared administrative and educational domains with the four main regional languages, Kikongo, Ciluba, Lingala and Swahili. These national languages became virtually semi-official languages because of their importance in communication, education, local administration and local judiciary processes.

> *Here [, the DRC,] more than two hundred languages are spoken including four major regional lingua francas: - Kikongo […] - Lingala […] - Ciluba […] - Kiswahili […]. These languages are used for communication between speakers of different native languages and appear along tracks, along the river and in the urban centres. (Calvet 2005: 1974)*

First language education is one of the most essential factors challenging the newly adopted language policy of Rwanda, towards primary education in a non-African language, targeting its effectiveness and influence on language use and competence.

The opposing language policies of Rwanda and its neighbouring country, the DRC[9], show different approaches towards language planning and language policy and therefore towards development. Although national languages are not associated with economic progress, they could facilitate the participation of the population and thus integrate people of various linguistic backgrounds in the development process of a country.

The exploration of other countries' linguistic experiences, such as the language rights in South Africa or the DRC, are considered important in this graduate thesis to finally be able to look at the multilingual language situation of Rwanda in its entirety.

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[9] Though they are topologically, demographically, concerning their magnitude, linguistic and ethnic diversity, not directly comparable, they share similar colonial experience, which is why this example was illustrated.

6 Conclusion of the Theoretical Framework

Starting with the very basics of sociolinguistics, the defining of the basic technical vocabulary supplied the skills necessary for further exploration of the linguistic field.

The terminology of first versus second language, lingua francas and vernacular languages, the endoglossic versus the exoglossic approach and the implications of regional, official and national language, varieties and dialects, proved to be essential tools to understand the key concepts used to explain linguistic phenomena.

From monolingualism, through bilingualism towards multilingualism and the existence of diglossic situations, different points of view were brought about which helped to analyse the complex field of multilingualism in Rwanda.

The various functions languages possess did not only play an important role for the explanation of the concept of diglossia, the existence of high and low varieties, and language contact but also the differentiation of status and corpus. Language attitudes heavily impact the prestige and value of languages, determining their use in communication situations and the phenomenon of code-switching.

Finally language policy, its diverse definitions and the examples given, completed the picture of the theoretical framework, which provided a wide range of approaches, enabling the examination of the language situation of Rwanda in its entirety.

Rwanda – a sociolinguistic case study

7 The Republic of Rwanda – an overview

The Republic of Rwanda is a small, landlocked country located in the heart of Africa. The 'land of the thousand hills', as it is often called, is characterised by the hilly landscape of the high plateau of Central Africa, with lush rainforests and volcanoes in the west, home to the famous rare mountain gorillas, and savannah and wetlands to the east. It shares borders with Uganda in the north, Tanzania in the east, Burundi in the South and the Democratic Republic of Congo in the west. (Republic of Rwanda 2013a)

Situated in the heart of the Great Lakes region, about 120 kilometres south of the equator, Rwanda is one of the most densely populated countries in Africa with a land area of only 26,338 square kilometres but approximately 12 million inhabitants, according to the latest estimations. (Republic of Rwanda 2013a; Ntakirutimana 2012)

According to the last census of 2002[10], 99,7% of Rwanda's population are able to speak the country's only national language, Kinyarwanda. (Kabagwira 2002: 36) The other two official languages, English and French, were introduced to the country in the 20th century, finally leading to Rwanda adopting a trilingual language policy from 1996 onwards.

The country's national flag was introduced in 2003, after the new constitution came into effect. It consists of three horizontal bands, blue, yellow and green from top to bottom, and a golden sun with 24 rays in the upper right corner. While blue represents happiness and peace, yellow stands for economic development and mineral wealth and green symbolises hope of prosperity and natural resources. (Republic of Rwanda 2013c; Republic of Rwanda 2013d; Republic of Rwanda 2003)

The introduction of a new flag along with a new anthem, called 'Rwanda Nziza' which means 'beautiful Rwanda', and coat of arms were part of the country's plan to create a new national identity, neither Hutu nor Tutsi or Twa, but plain and simply Rwandan. (Republic of Rwanda 2003: 3)

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[10] A new census was to be carried out in August 2013

Table 3: Flag of the Republic of Rwanda (Republic of Rwanda 2013c)

Table 4: Coat of arms of Rwanda (Republic of Rwanda 2013c)

The Seal of the Republic comprises the country's motto, which is 'Ubumwe, Umurimo, Gukunda Igihugu' and means 'Unity, Work, Patriotism' and the name of the Republic of Rwanda in Kinyarwanda, 'Repubulika y'u Rwanda'. (Republic of Rwanda 2003: 3) The unity of Rwanda is represented by the sun on the flag, which also stands for "[...] enlightenment and transparency from ignorance." (Republic of Rwanda 2013d)

7.1 *Historical overview*

The first humans to set foot in Rwanda are believed to be the Twa, a pygmy hunter population, in the 8th century BC. For centuries, the kingdom of Rwanda existed as a centralized monarchy, where the 'mwami', the king, was supreme to all the people living on his land, who shared not only the same culture, customs and territory, but also one language. (Republic of Rwanda 2013b; Rosendal 2010: 75f.)

In 1899, Rwanda became part of 'Deutsch-Ostafrika' under German colonization which lasted until 1919, when the system of indirect rule continued with the country becoming a mandate territory of the League of Nations, under Belgian administration. (Republic of Rwanda 2013b)

After gaining independence in 1962, the country was left with the legacy of Belgian juridical and educational system and French as the official language besides Kinyarwanda.

Another heritage of Belgian colonisation was the rather absurd classification of the once unified people of Rwanda into so-called 'ethnic groups' (Schicho 1999: 239). In contrast to the

population of neighbouring countries, the people of Rwanda actually cannot be classified as different tribes or ethnic groups, which is why I tried to avoid references to ethnicity throughout this work.

> *Status and wealth, vested in their ownership of cattle, were associated with being Tutsi. Tutsi who lost their cattle and became poor came to be identified as Hutu, and Hutu who became wealthy could become Tutsi. The system was more one of class than of ethnicity. (Stock 2004: 47)*

Originally indicating social classes, 'Tutsi' representing the ruling class in the Kingdom of Rwanda, the bourgeoisie who maintained a feudal domination of the 'Hutu', the peasantry, and 'Twa', the aboriginal people who lived as hunters and gatherers – these terms were modified under Belgian administration. The colonial rulers stipulated certain physical and psychological features, dividing the population into different 'ethnicities': Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. (Schicho 1999: 242)

The division of Rwanda's society was caused by long-lasting favouritism of the colonial administration towards the Tutsi minority, which then changed to preference of the Hutu due to the Tutsi's independence efforts and led to a reversal of ethnic groups being installed as the leading elite. The introduction of identity cards that indicated one's ethnic belonging worsened the dissipation of Rwandan society, stirring up ethnic violence and hatred towards the formerly preferred and dominant ethnic minority of the Tutsi.

"The importance of ethnicity for conflict is conditioned by ethnic pride and fears and anxieties about being dominated by other groups." (Igwara 1995: 3)

From 1959 onwards, the conflict between Hutu and Tutsi caused many violent outbreaks, leading to hundreds of thousands of deaths, leaving many people homeless and sending almost two million Tutsi into exile to neighbouring countries. (Republic of Rwanda 2013b) Throughout the First and Second Republic, discrimination against people of Tutsi ethnicity was institutionalized, leading to the dispute's horrible climax in 1994, when the plane of the Hutu president Habyarimana was shot and crashed on April 6th, leaving no survivors. The accusation that Tutsi were responsible triggered a massive outbreak of violence, causing the Rwandan genocide. (Rosendal 2010; Igwara 1995; Republic of Rwanda 2013b)

Within one hundred days, over 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu were killed. Thousands of people sought refuge in neighbouring countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi. Families were torn apart, neighbours turned against each

other and whole villages were burned to the ground, their inhabitants killed or banished.

The purpose of the Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU), founded by Rwandan refugees in exile in 1979 and later transformed into the Rwandese Patriotic Front in 1987, was to mobilize against divisive politics and genocide ideology, repeated massacres, statelessness and the lack of peaceful political exchange. (Republic of Rwanda 2013b) The victory of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) in July 1994 put an end to the short but devastating genocide and the darkest chapter of Rwandan history.

In 1994, Rwanda's infrastructure was destroyed, human capacity extremely diminished and people were left traumatised, but instead of giving into despair, Rwandans chose to leave the past behind and work together to rebuild a better version of their country. In the post-1994 era, Rwanda was governed by the ruling RPF party and Major General Paul Kagame as the President of the Republic, who, in 2003, was elected with landslide majority to serve a term of seven years. That year, the country's new constitution came into effect and laid the foundation for the country's unprecedented socio-economic and political progress which underlined the determination of the government and the people of Rwanda, that they are "[c]onscious that peace and unity of Rwandans constitute the essential basis for national economic development and social progress" (Republic of Rwanda 2003: 1).

In 2010, President Paul Kagame was re-elected to serve a second term. Consolidation, peace, stability, social cohesion and further development still seems to be high on his agenda as well as the fundamental principles of the Republic of Rwanda that should give rise to the positive transformation of the lives of all Rwandans and national well-being.

The fundamental principles include:

> *1° fighting the ideology of genocide and all its manifestations; 2° eradication of ethnic, regional and other divisions and promotion of national unity; 3° equitable sharing of power; 4° building a state governed by the rule of law, a pluralistic democratic government, equality of all Rwandans and between women and men reflected by ensuring that women are granted at least thirty per cent of posts in decision making organs; 5° building a State committed to promoting social welfare and establishing appropriate mechanisms for ensuring social justice; 6° the constant quest for solutions through dialogue and consensus. (Republic of Rwanda 2003: 4)*

Today, the 4th of July 1994 is celebrated as the 'Liberation Day', which marked the end of hatred and division and encourages Rwandans to internalise the country's guiding principle: *"Learn from our history, to build a bright future".*

8 The sociolinguistic situation of Rwanda

The unique situation of Rwanda with only one national language which is practically spoken by the whole population has already been mentioned, yet it is still essential to fully examine the sociolinguistic situation of Rwanda. The most important languages determining the set-up of the multilingual society of Rwanda are considered to be Kinyarwanda, French, English and Swahili, although the order of reference does not necessarily reflect the languages' role in the official language policy of Rwanda.

Language competence and use of the various languages are going to be examined towards the end of this chapter to provide a conclusive overview of the detailed descriptions of multilingualism in Rwanda.

8.1 *Kinyarwanda*

Rwanda is, as we have already established in chapter 4.1.2, not a monolingual country even though it is often classified as monolingual since Kinyarwanda is the first language of the majority of the population. This represents a unique sociolinguistic situation in sub-Saharan Africa, even compared to Rwanda's neighbouring countries, except for Burundi, whose linguistic set-up is similar with Kirundi as the country's sole national language.

> *[…] [T]he Democratic Republic of Congo is an extremely multilingual country (with more than two hundred languages spoken), with four regional francas, whereas Rwanda and Burundi are considered 'monolingual' countries. In this context, 'monolingual' does not mean that only one language is spoken, but rather that there is a common language spoken by everybody. (Calvet 2005: 1972)*

Kinyarwanda is a Bantu language of the Niger-Congo family and is understood beyond the borders of Rwanda due to its intelligibility with Kirundi and resemblance to other Bantu languages, which are united by, for example, "[...] their classification system and a large proportion of vocabulary which can be traced back to reconstructed common roots by fixed phonetic correspondence rules" (Calvet 2005: 1972).

Due to the proliferation of Kinyarwanda from Rwanda to its neighbouring countries, some sources estimate the number of Kinyarwandophones up to 35 or 40 million people. (Gahindiro 2008; Ntakirutimana 2012: 5)

In Rwanda, we speak Kinyarwanda; in Burundi, they speak Kirundi; in Eastern Congo and Southern Uganda, they speak Kinyarwanda and related dialects like Gikiga. In Western Tanzania, they speak a language similar to Kinyarwanda and Kirundi. Overall, we are a community of 35 million speakers of Ururimi, 'a language', coined for Kinyarwanda/Kirundi and associated dialects. (Gahindiro 2008)

The closeness of Kinyarwanda and Kirundi is also registered in Malcolm Guthrie's classification system of Bantu languages, based on intersecting isoglosses and geographical considerations, 15 zones were distinguished that are identified by a capital letter. In this system, Kinyarwanda is classed as D 61 and Kirundi as D 62, indicating the vicinity of these two languages as being the first and second language of group 60 in zone D. (Calvet 2005: 1972; Guthrie 1948: 40)

Kinyarwanda is, apart from a few minor languages, the main local language of Rwanda. Additionally it holds the status of a national and an official language. It can be split down to different varieties and dialects, which are, together with the mutual intelligibility of Kirundi, Ha, Hangaza and Shubi, understood beyond the borders of Rwanda in Burundi, Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda.

The Kinyarwanda variety of central Rwanda, mainly in the area of the capital Kigali, is considered the norm; the dialects spoken in the other provinces include Goyi in the prefecture of Gisenyi, Rera in the north, in Ruhengeri, and north-west, in Gisenyi. The main dialects of the south, the Gikongoro area, are called Ubulimi and Nduga. (Rosendal 2010. 77f.; Kimenyi n.d.)

Kimenyi underlines that "Kinyarwanda is a prototypical Bantu language. It has all the features that characterize this language group." (Kimenyi n.d.) The richness of Kinyarwanda is represented by countless poems and a great quantity of oral history, existing since pre-colonial times. (ibid.)

The national language of Rwanda serves as an official language although it is used more frequently in informal domains. According to the 2002 census, statistics published by the government of Rwanda showed that nearly all of the population of Rwanda residing in the country in 2002, respectively 99,7%, were able to speak Kinyarwanda. (Kabagwira 2002: 36)

8.2 French

Belgian administration introduced the French language in Rwanda in the 20th century. It was used as the language of administration and education. Nevertheless, only few predestined Rwandans really benefited from the introduction of French. Just like in the Democratic Republic of Congo, as seen in chapter 5.2.1, Belgian colonial administration did not mean to educate the majority of the population in this language of high prestige, only a few people were selected to learn French, to serve as personnel to the missionaries and Belgian administrators. (Ntakirutimana 2012: 8; Ngalasso 1986: 17)

> *Il faut bien le dire: Les Belges en Afrique, pas plus que les Français malgré leur réputation assimilationniste, n'ont jamais vraiment favorisé l'acquisition de la langue française par les autochtones. De ce point de vue-là, la francophonie, dans ce qu'elle a aujourd'hui de plus conquérant, est bien une invention post-coloniale. En tous cas, cette attitude qui a fait longtemps du français une langue ésotérique, une langue interdite au grand nombre, n'est pas étrangère à la double fonction d'occultation et d'ostentation que joue encore cette langue en Afrique. (Ngalasso 1986: 17)*

The language of the 'abazungu', the white people, was not taught at all educational levels. Kinyarwanda served as the language of tuition in primary school, while secondary and tertiary education was held in French, which limited the number of Rwandans being able to speak this language since only few could attend secondary school and just a handful had the opportunity to obtain a university degree. (Ntakirutimana 2012: 8ff.)

> *Incorporated under paternalism policy, the colonial regime in Rwanda systematically avoided offering adequate education. Top-down educational policy was persistently ideological, upholding stringent obedience to authority using syllabus entrenched in socially constructed stereotypes inciting hatred and discrimination. […] Following the establishment of the National University of Rwanda at Butare in 1963, only 100 students had graduated by 1994. (Assan; Walker 2012: 177)*

Nevertheless, the fact that even minimum education was possible during colonisation meant that Rwanda, contrary to many other African countries, was seen as "[...] a successful development model exemplary to the rest of Africa." (Assan; Walker 2012: 178)

> *While Kinyarwanda was acquired naturally as a first language by almost every Rwandan, French could only be acquired as a second language through formal education. In turn, due to limited resources, education, and therefore French itself, was accessible to only a small minority of Rwandans. (Gafaranga 2010: 121)*

Due to limited access to French for the majority of Rwandans, Kinyarwanda continued to play an important role as the national language, at the same time constructing deep social division between those who were able to speak the language of the Belgian administrators, and those who were denied these privileges.

> *Education was not held in high regard by the colonial administration. As a consequence this maintained the intensity and application of Kinyarwanda within the country and at its borders for trading purposes but equally minimised any significant knowledge of French. For the modest education that did exist, French was the principal medium of instruction, although on the whole it remained superfluous and of little use. (Assan; Walker 2012: 178)*

The emergence of a diglossic situation with Kinyarwanda representing the low variety and French the high one, was due to unequal language use and the attribution of Kinyarwanda being the language of the indigenous people, serving as a language of low function, while French was the language of the elites and associated with prestige, wealth and power. (Ntakirutimana 2012: 8)

French remained the language of administration and official domains even after independence in 1962. Even though Kinyarwanda was added as an official language, the language of colonial administration continued to play an important role in state affairs, business, education and formal domains. The national language continued to be the language of instruction during the first three years of primary school, as suggested by the UNESCOs' plea for first language education in 1951. From then on students were educated in French.

Rwanda's membership of the Francophonie and its close ties with France, Belgium, Switzerland and Canada, were the reasons for those countries serving as the main donors and economic and developmental partners, further strengthening the predilection of French as official language of Rwanda. (Ntakirutimana 2012: 10; Francophonie 2013c)

The recent change in language policy towards the growing use of English and the decline of French, did not only result in Rwanda's resigning of the Francophonie and joining the Commonwealth, it also entailed the change of the donor community, towards an increased influence of the United Kingdom (UK), the United States of America (USA) and other countries like Germany or Sweden, and the adoption of English as language of tuition, decreasing the use of French in official and informal domains.

8.3 *English*

The introduction of English as a subject in primary and secondary schools after independence from Belgian colonial administration marked the beginning of the language's success in Rwanda. The track record of English continued with its nomination as an official language "[...] in the revision of 18 January 1996 of the Loi fondamentale (Article 7), which states that 'Les langues officielles du Rwanda sont le kinyarwanda, le français et l'anglais'." (Rosendal 2010: 97) English was finally reaffirmed and declared an official language in the new Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda in 2003.

One of the reasons for the adoption of English as an official language was the return of a great number of former exiled Rwandans. Most of them had fled the country during the pogroms of 1957 and 1973, migrating to neighbouring countries to seek refuge. After the genocide – when they finally came back for good – many returnees had spent more time abroad than in their country of origin, Rwanda.

"In addition to the practical aspect of the introduction of English, it probably also had a symbolic value. In this way, English was given a social legitimacy." (Rosendal 2010: 96)

Two years after the end of the genocide and after the return of nearly 800.000 expatriates, many of them grown up in Anglophone countries like Uganda or Kenya, English had finally found its way into the new constitution of the Republic of Rwanda. The return of the former Rwandan refugees had a large impact on the sociolinguistic situation of the country. This plurilingual imbalance, adding other Bantu languages like Luganda or Kirundi, and the increased use of Swahili and English to Rwanda's linguistic set-up, affected not only the language policy in official and informal domains, but also the language practice. (Habyarimana 2012: 7; Rosendal 2010: 75)

The official census of 2002 showed that only a very small proportion of Rwandans were able to speak one of the official languages of European origin, French was spoken by 3,9%, English only by 1,9%. (Kabagwira 2002: 36)

Since 2002, many initiatives to strengthen the role and especially the language competence of the population in English in Rwanda have been introduced. Intensive language courses for civil servants were offered and the government encouraged people to learn English rather than French, mainly due to Rwanda's membership in the Commonwealth and the EAC, where English is much more important than French. (Republic of Rwanda 2010: 14)

The success story of English finally reached its peak when the government decided that English was going to be the only language of tuition at all educational levels in October 2008. From 2009 onwards English was used as the only language of instruction, replacing both Kinyarwanda and French. (Republic of Rwanda 2010: 14ff.) This swift move lead to adverse consequences. An enormous pressure was laid on the teachers who often couldn't answer the government's claim to start teaching in English from one day to another. The hasty transition declaring English the sole language of instruction definitely had positive outcomes as well, yet the negative aftermath for the people directly involved seems to outweigh the success. (Republic of Rwanda 2010: 55)

The importance of English in official domains, international cooperation, regional collaboration and development scenarios is continually increasing, although English technically shares the same official status as French. The language of the former colonial administrators and the 'old' elite, the regime of the genocide, continues to lose ground in Rwanda and the government, the 'new' Anglophone elite, doesn't conceal their personal language preferences that further indicate a transition towards English.

This language shift not only affects the decline of French, but that of the national language Kinyarwanda as well. The importance of other African languages in the East African region for regional cooperation and development issues also seems to be denied adequate attention in official language policy.

8.4 Swahili (Kiswahili)

Swahili is a Bantu language which could be regarded as the most important language in the East African Community, being used in all neighbouring countries of Rwanda.

The language has often been described as a 'mixed' Arab-African idiom due to the high percentage of loanwords (Whiteley 1969: 7 quoted in Maral-Hanak 2009a: 116), even though "[...] the influence of other languages at the lexical level is irrelevant for linguistic genetic classification." (Maral-Hanak 2009a: 116). Oddly enough, the richness of synonyms and expressions of the English language can be seen as a result of the high proportion of terms borrowed from other, mostly Roman, languages, yet has it never been described as a so-called 'mixed' language. (Maral-Hanak 2009a: 116f.)

Swahili served as a lingua franca during German colonisation and was therefore used in the

whole region of 'Deutsch-Ostafrika'. Originally being substantially associated with Islam, the language spread as a result of trade in Eastern Africa and continues to play an important role in trade and economic collaboration in the region until today. (Mulaudzi; Mbori 2008: 20)

The lingua franca Swahili served the indirect rule of administration well in the whole region and even better in Rwanda and Burundi where a centralized system of government was already established. After Rwanda was taken over by Belgian administration, Swahili lost ground in the region as it was no longer regarded as an important language of communication, being replaced by French. (Mulaudzi; Mbori 2008: 19)

The language experienced another uplift in 1979 when the governments of Tanzania and Rwanda signed an accord to support the development of Swahili in Rwanda. The signing of the 'Arusha Accords' in 1990 expanded the use of Swahili, granting Rwandan returnees who returned to their home country the possibility to use the language they were most fluent in. Nevertheless, the Accords also required the returnees to learn Kinyarwanda and French. (Mulaudzi; Mbori 2008: 20)

Today, the 2002 census shows that Swahili is spoken by 3% of the population of Rwanda. (Kabagwira 2002: 36) The domains in which Swahili is used include religious settings, marketplaces and radio broadcasts.

> *[…] [I]n Rwanda, Kiswahili is considered neither an official nor a national language. Nonetheless it is used and associated with religion. Kiswahili is the main language of communication in the Kigali City estates such as Nyamirambo, which incidentally also has a large Muslim population. Every day on Radio Rwanda, the national radio service, the news is broadcast in Kiswahili before being broadcast again in Kinyarwanda, French and English. This illustrates Rwanda's sociolinguistic asymmetry. Further, in contexts which tend to bind Rwandans together, Kiswahili becomes the preferred language. Kiswahili is the language used in contexts such as football and infotainment. […] Hence, Kiswahili is given a quasi official status that should be incorporated into the country's language policy. (Mulaudzi; Mbori 2008: 25)*

While it is widely believed by Rwandans that Swahili was and is the language of command for both the police forces and the army of Rwanda, Tove Rosendal objects these conjectures.

> *It is a fact that Swahili used to be employed extensively in both the police and the army, even during the first period of the new regime that came to power after the 1994 genocide. However, there has since been a successive shift to English. For example, army drills used to be in Swahili, but even these are now in English. This change is due to the officers' backgrounds: the*

majority of them were educated in anglophone countries. Additionally, as Rwanda is a language spoken by practically all Rwandans, there is no need to use Swahili as a lingua franca. Why English has been chosen for drills and not Rwanda is not clear; this is probably linked to the background of the commanding officers. (Rosendal 2010: 108)

The importance of Swahili in Rwanda seems to be marginal, yet its role in the region might increase its influence in Rwanda. The use of Swahili, which "[...] has become the preferred language of communication in multilingual contexts in East and Central Africa" (Mulaudzi; Mbori 2008: 23), could also bear great potential for the unification of the people in the EAC and this potential unifying characteristic of Swahili should be reflected in the current language policies in the region.

Swahili is spoken by about fifty million people (as a first or second language or as a lingua franca, with various degrees of competence), from the East to the West coast of Africa, including the countries discussed here, [Rwanda, Burundi and the DRC,] but also in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, that is in former colonies of the British crown. (Calvet 2005: 1972)

8.5 Language competence and proficiency

Summarizing the findings concerning the language competence of the population of Rwanda of the 2002 census, 99,7% were able to speak Kinyarwanda, French was spoken by 3,9%, English by 1,9% and Swahili by 3% of the population. (Kabagwira 2002: 36)

The studies further show that there is a notable difference of the percentage being able to speak a foreign language when urban and rural areas are compared. (Kabagwira 2002: 36ff.)

While it is evident that a much larger number of men are able to speak a foreign language, these numbers are even higher when the results of Swahili are examined closely. Since Swahili was and is mainly used as a language of business or in the military, and women are almost completely excluded from these contexts, this might be the underlying reason for their considerably lower proficiency in Swahili. (Kabagwira 2002: 41f.)

Additionally the studies show that widowed women are more likely to be able to speak a foreign language which is closely linked to a higher percentage of widowed women being actively involved in economic activities, for example, in small scale business. The reason for the increased ability of widowed women to converse in more than one language is probably due to their role as the sole income generating person of the household. (Kabagwira 2002:

41f.)

The assumptions concerning the language competence of people due to the results published in the 2002 census seem to be of interest for the examination of the multilingual situation of Rwanda; however, they have to be handled with care since the basic knowledge of a language does not give further information on the person's proficiency.

> *Language knowledge does not automatically imply proficiency. The proficiency in languages learnt formally is rather poor in Rwanda, as a study on proficiency in French, English and Rwanda of students and teachers, conducted in the Rwandan educational system in 2003-2004 by Ntakirutimana (2005: 4-6) shows. (Rosendal 2010: 80)*

Learning a language is different than using it in daily situations and without any further practice, people will most likely not be able to use the language skills acquired at school in everyday life.

Concerning this matter, it is questionable what level of language competence people had to possess to be counted as speakers of English, French or Swahili apart from Kinyarwanda in the studies estimating the number of speakers in the 2002 census. When is it eligible to count someone as speaker of a language? Which skills matter in this case, what level of proficiency qualifies someone as speaker of a language? Is only the the actual process of 'speaking' taken into account or are other competences like reading, listening or writing skills as well?

While studying the 2002 census, I never came across any further indication as to what level of language proficiency was considered necessary to characterise someone as 'speaker' of the languages surveyed.

> *Who counts as a speaker of a language: natives only; bilinguals; speakers with reduced proficiency for lack of use? These and similar problems must be dealt with, if only arbitrary, if data are to be classified and processed. Language spread can be assessed only on the basis of representative data. The very first step in the study of this process makes it necessary to ascertain who speaks the language under investigation in a given community; what functional roles it fulfils in that community; and whether there is intergenerational change. It should be pointed out that these and other related questions concern not just L1 speakers of that language but L2 speakers, too, for L2 speakers are crucially important for language expansion. Gathering data of this sort is a highly complicated matter. (Coulmas 2005: 151)*

It is difficult trying to examine whether a person could be classified as bilingual or multilingual because "[i]f a person is asked whether he or she speaks two languages, the question is ambiguous. A person may be able to speak two languages, but tend to speak only one

language in practice. Alternatively, the individual may regularly speak two languages, but competence in one language may be limited. […] The essential distinction is therefore between ability and use." (Baker 1994: 5)

To allow clear distinctions it is therefore necessary to define the terms used to determine language ability and use.

Language skills tend to refer to highly specific, observable, clearly definable components such as writing. In contrast, language competence is a broad and general term, used particularly to describe an inner, mental representation of language, something latent rather than overt. Such competence refers usually to an underlying system inferred from language performance. Language performance hence becomes the outward evidence for language competence. By observing general language comprehension and production, language competence may be presumed. Language ability and language proficiency tend to be used more as 'umbrella' terms and therefore used somewhat ambiguously. For some, language ability is a general, latent disposition, a determinant of eventual language success. For others, it tends to be used as an outcome, similar but less specific than language skills, providing an indication of current language level. Similarly, language proficiency is sometimes used synonymously with language competence […]; other times as a specific, measurable outcome from language testing. However, both language proficiency and language ability are distinct from language achievement (attainment). Language achievement is normally seen as the outcome of formal instruction. Language proficiency and language ability are, in contrast, viewed as the product of a variety of mechanisms: formal learning, informal uncontrived language acquisition (e.g. on the street) and of individual characteristics such as 'intelligence'. (Baker 1994: 5)

The complexity of the characteristics necessary to define language proficiency, ability and skills is clearly stated by Baker, however, a minimal reference to the classification of speakers of a certain language, should not be left unmentioned in official studies.

When looking at the 2002 census and its results, one can notice a difference in language use today. While new studies are almost exclusively published and conducted in English, the results of the 2002 census found online on the official site of the government of Rwanda are much more detailed in French.

The upcoming census of August 2013 is going to give further insight into the changing multilingual landscape of Rwanda. Whether the transition from French to English and the effect on language use and competence are going to be visible in these studies will provide an interesting subject of investigation.

9 Language policy in Rwanda

"Language policy in Rwanda has revolved around three languages – Kinyarwanda, the indigenous language of Rwandans, French and English." (Steflja 2012: 2)

The languages share equal rights according to the constitution of 2003, yet the linguistic reality is characterised by an inconsistent language policy, which augments the role of English, further decreasing the role of French and neglecting the unifying character and great potential of the national language Kinyarwanda. The extent to which the official language policy is represented in the linguistic reality of the small country is going to be the object of investigation of the following chapter.

9.1 Official status and use of languages

"The national language is Kinyarwanda. The official languages are Kinyarwanda, French and English." (Republic of Rwanda 2003: 3)

The establishment of the trilingual language policy in the Constitution of Rwanda not only grants equal rights to the languages in official domains, it also states that discrimination because of language, besides other characteristics like gender, culture or age, is prohibited (Republic of Rwanda 2003: 4) and guarantees interpretation services and the right to use the official language people are most familiar with. (Rosendal 2010: 97)

In official domains, equal usage seems to be implemented. All laws are published in the three official languages in the 'Official Gazettes', which are easily accessible on the homepage of the 'Office of the Prime Minister' of Rwanda. (Republic of Rwanda 2013e) Having screened through the official gazettes available online, two things became apparent. First, the transparency concerning the actions taken by the Rwandan parliament seems to be extremely high. The gazettes state changes made to or introductions of new laws, the changing of names, the accreditation of non-governmental organisations as well as the establishment of companies and associations. Second, the publications are generally written first in Kinyarwanda, then in English and finally in French. While all laws have to be written in the three languages, the official gazettes sometimes mention that the original version was drafted in Kinyarwanda. (Republic of Rwanda 2013e)

The importance granted to Rwanda's national language is obvious in political processes, too:

Parliamentary proceedings are only recorded in Rwanda, even if interphrasal code-mixing was noticed […]. Parliamentary reports and official correspondence used to be in French. Written reports were translated into the other official languages depending on the target group and financial means available (Ntakirutimana 2002: 48). Today, all the official languages can be used in official documents. However, documents in French have to be translated into English, and vice versa. Documents in Rwanda do not need to be translated. (Rosendal 2010: 109)

Even though Rosendal's observations stem from 2010, they still show that Kinyarwanda plays an important role in official domains. The extensive use of the indigenous language of Rwanda also affects the language use in judiciary processes and as language of administration in ministries and governmental offices in general.

Language practice varies in the administration of ministries and central governmental offices. The prevailing pattern is nevertheless an extensive use of the national language Rwanda in administration, in both written and oral communication. The [other] official languages, English and French, are used to a lesser extent […]. Rwanda also occupies a prominent position in the judiciary. All Rwandan court cases are first recorded in Rwanda. At the end of each year, the verdicts are translated by professional interpreters and translators employed by the court, and printed in the official languages. (Rosendal 2010: 107)

Observations of the utilization of the official languages on official online resources show that the role of French has declined. The homepage of the government of Rwanda (http://www.gov.rw), the Office of the Prime Minister (http://www.primature.gov.rw), the Ministry of Education (http://www.mineduc.gov.rw), the Ministry of Health (http://www.moh.gov.rw), the Rwanda Development Board (http://www.rdb.rw) or the Ministry of Agriculture (http://www.minagri.gov.rw) are just a few examples of official online resources that are only available in English and in Kinyarwanda.

The website of the Ministry of Trade and Industry (http://www.minicom.gov.rw) is solely outlined in English, with few documents available in Kinyarwanda. The web-page of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (http://www.minecofin.gov.rw) is exclusively written in English.

The few government websites available in all three official languages include that of the Parliament of Rwanda (http://www.rwandaparliament.gov.rw), the Ministry of Infrastructure (http://www.mininfra.gov.rw), and the Rwanda Broadcasting Agency (http://orinfor.gov.rw) which is the national information office of Rwanda and in alignment with the agency's mission

to provide television, radio and newspapers in all three official languages.

Providing essential information just in English leads to a lack of information for the rural, uneducated or simply non-English speaking people of Rwanda. I assume that this elitist language practice has negative consequences for many Rwandans.

Taking a look at official objects such as passports, national identity cards and the local currency, the prevailing role of Kinyarwanda can be observed.

The national currency of Rwanda is the Rwandan Franc (RWF), which is divided into 100 cents. While the coins, that range from a value of 5 to 100 RWF, are minted in Kinyarwanda only, stating the value of the currency on one side, for example "Amafarang icumi" for 10 RWF or "Amafaranga ijana" for 100 RWF, and coined with "National Bank of Rwanda", "Banki Nasiyonali y'u Rwanda", on the other side, the banknotes bear witness to the trilingual language policy of Rwanda. The obverse side bears inscriptions of French and English, "Banque nationale du Rwanda" above "National Bank of Rwanda". The amount of the value is also written out in both languages. The reverse side of the banknotes only presents writing in Kinyarwanda, once again stating the "Banki Nasiyonali y'u Rwanda" and the amount of the banknote written in words.

Why the banknotes bear French before English might not be of grave importance, however, the important role of Kinyarwanda is once again underlined. While the coins are monolingual in Kinyarwanda, stamps are available solely in French.

The trend to use English in official documents is observed when looking at passports or identity cards. While the front of the passports issued since 2010 reads "Republika y'u Rwanda" above "Republic of Rwanda" and "République du Rwanda" on the bottom, the languages are used in a different order on the inside, where French is used after Kinyarwanda and English as the third language. Whether this order has any underlying meaning is not distinctly explicable. However, the tendency to encourage the use of English seems to fall into place concerning the 'National Identity Cards'. While they were issued in the three official languages a few years ago, they now display information first in Kinyarwanda and then in English.

9.2 Language use in media

Since no personal research has been conducted in the country itself, the possibilities to observe language use in television, radio broadcasts and newspapers, were limited. However, online versions of Rwandan newspapers and blogs, offering information on and from Rwanda, were explored, presenting the results concerning the language use as follows:

Kinyarwanda:

- 'Umuseke' (http://umuseke.rw/)
- 'Imvaho Nshya' (http://orinfor.gov.rw/printmedia/newspaper.php?type=rw) published since 1969 and part of the state owned media of Rwanda
- 'Kigalitoday' (http://www.kigalitoday.com/)
- Izuba Rirashe (http://www.izuba-rirashe.com/) also a well-established newspaper
- 'Iwacu' (http://www.iwacu.rw/) and the music- and news-portal 'Inyarwanda' (http://www.inyarwanda.com/) provides information about the site in English, yet all articles are published in Kinyarwanda
- 'e-presse Rwanda' (http://epresserwanda.blogspot.co.at/), a blog covering news from Rwanda

English:

- 'The New Times Rwanda' (http://www.newtimes.co.rw), a long-established Rwandan newspaper that proved to be one of the most reliable online newspaper resources
- 'The Rwanda Focus' (http://focus.rw), that was equally well presented and organized
- 'Kawowo' (http://www.kawowo.com), a sports journal
- 'In2EastAfrica' (http://in2eastafrica.net), containing a section on Rwanda but also focussing on the news of the entire East African region
- 'Irwanda' (http://www.irwanda.rw/), which calls itself "Rwanda's premiere News, Lifestyle, Sports, Technology, Job, Property Portal"

French:

- 'La Nouvelle Relève' (http://orinfor.gov.rw/printmedia/newspaper.php?type=fr), part of the state-owned Rwanda Broadcasting Agency
- 'Grands Lacs Hebdomadaire' online version, also called 'Rwanda News Agency' (http://www.rnanews.com/) provides headlines in English, yet the content is entirely in French.

Bilingual news provided in English and Kinyarwanda:

- 'News of Rwanda' (http://www.newsofrwanda.com/)
- 'Bahoneza' (http://www.bahoneza.com)
- 'Rwanda Eye' (http://www.rwandaeye.com/)

Bilingual information in French and Kinyarwanda:

- 'Tribune franco-rwandaise' (http://www.france-rwanda.info), a news blog
- 'Le site de la diaspora rwandaise' (http://www.rwandaises.com/), yet some features were presented in English

English and French information concerning Rwanda were only found at the country's section of 'AllAfrica' (http://allafrica.com/rwanda/), which offers a wide and seemingly well researched range of information.

Trilingual sources:

- 'Kinyamateka' (http://journalkinyamateka.blogspot.co.at/), a long-established Catholic Church newspaper's online resource on blogspot
- 'Umupira' (http://www.umupira.com), an online sports portal
- 'Kigali Connect' (http://kigalikonnect.com/)
- 'The #Rwanda Daily' (http://paper.li/tag/rwanda?_escaped_fragment_=), a twitter generated daily online 'newspaper'
- 'The Rwandan' (www.therwandan.com), a news-portal blog
- 'Rwanda :: News' (http://news.irwanda.net/), which compiles news about Rwanda from other news sources.
- 'Igihe' (http://en.igihe.com) even offers a section in Kirundi

Generally, the blog 'Kigaliwire' (http://kigaliwire.com/) by journalist Graham Holliday provides a good overview of the news resources and thereby used languages of Rwanda:

http://kigaliwire.com/resources/

Other online resources containing information in Kinyarwanda include, for example, Kinyarwanda's section of Wikipedia, which comprises 1,817 articles (http://rw.wikipedia.org/) or the existing Kinyarwanda version of the BBC (http://www.bbc.co.uk/gahuza/).

During the process of research, the amount of information provided online was quite overwhelming, which is why the listing above only provides a glimpse into the enormous flow of information found online.

An overall impression of language use in media in Rwanda is presented through the fieldwork of other researchers which helps underline the findings made in this chapter.

Tove Rosendal takes a closer look at the language use of the three official languages of Rwanda in Radio, Television and Publishing. She concludes that "Rwanda is the language which is used most in practically all communication within private media, with the exception of advertisements in newspapers." (Rosendal 2010: 270) The frequent use of Kinyarwanda in newspapers, periodicals, publishing, as well as in privately run radio stations, additionally to its extensive use in state owned media (Rosendal 2010: 285), emphasizes the importance of the national language. However, Rosendal remarks that even though Kinyarwanda is frequently or predominantly used in all units of analysis except for advertisements in newspapers, "[...] the official and national language is used less than its potential" (Rosendal 2010: 287). In this regard, I agree with Rosendal's statement that Kinyarwanda has even greater potential to be used more frequently in informal and official domains than it already is.

9.3 Conclusion of Language use in official and informal domains

Studying the official objects and the use of the official languages in various areas, it is evident that the official languages are not used to the same extent despite their official equal status. Kinyarwanda is characterised by a strong communicative function, due to the high percentage of people who are able to speak it, regardless of their educational background. (Rosendal 2010: 113)

"Rwanda is clearly used more than the co-official languages French and English in the Republic of Rwanda" (Rosendal 2010: 121), however it lacks adequate acknowledgement in the official language policy.

9.4 Kinyarwanda in the current language policy

Kinyarwanda has a minor status in the current language policy which focuses more on the use of the languages of European origin than the encouragement of African languages. This is part of the asymmetric employment of the three official languages in Rwanda. While French is also in decline in official matters, the role of English is enhanced to the detriment of Kinyarwanda.

> *So while Kinyarwanda does enjoy the unique advantage of being the only non-colonial language widely spoken in Rwanda, it is not the primary language of cultural, social and economic capital. (Samuelson; Freedman 2010: 193)*

The fact that Kinyarwanda is spoken and understood by the majority of the population, regardless of their educational background should be accounted for in the official language planning processes. Rurangirwa states that official authorities argue there is no need to promote the use of the language of Kinyarwanda since it is already the dominant language of communication (Rurangirwa 2012: 170). Seemingly in contrast to this statement, the 'Rwanda Academy of Language and Culture', was established in 2012, despite having been in the statutes since 1981. The Academy's main aim is to promote, preserve and reinforce the national language (Tanganika 2012), which suggests the Rwandan government is fully aware of Kinyarwanda's importance.

"Local language is central to Rwanda's development and economic activities if properly used. This is according to Dr. Cyprien Niyomugabo, the Executive Secretary of Rwandan Academy of Languages and Culture." (Turikumwe 2013)

However, Kinyarwanda is still not associated with development and economic success due to its virtual non-existence on the global market. The association of English with modern technology, economic progress and globalization (Spolsky 1998: 76) does not facilitate the promotion of African languages, which imperatively have to be included in official language planning to enable sustainable development for the whole population.

> *There is little doubt, that a strategy for development conceived in Rwanda, whether by public power or international organizations excluding Kinyarwanda, a language spoken by the entire Rwandan population, would likely fail. (Rurangirwa 2012: 173)*

The involvement of the population in development projects is of utter importance to ensure the progress of the country as a whole, rather than only that of certain urban areas which attract foreign investors and the well-educated technocrats of Kigali. The most vulnerable are not to be left out of the development process and the projects conducted involving Rwandans have to be chosen whilst taking into account their language policy. Programmes targeting the advancement of Rwanda should incorporate language planning on their agenda to allow participation and progress for urban as well as rural population. The role of national language in development projects is also advocated by Irmi Maral-Hanak:

> *Practical considerations seem to determine the norms of language use in development networks. In Tanzania, the use of Swahili is taken for granted for communication in rural areas. At grass-root level, using English is not a viable option, as peasant farmers are not proficient in the language. [...] In short, one could generalize that in development work in Tanzania the use of Swahili is in the interest of beneficiaries, while the use of English excludes them. In contrast,*

foreign donors benefit from the use of English, as it gives them access to programme information. (Maral-Hanak 2009: 157)

While the influence of European languages like French and English on the global market cannot be denied, it is also essential to realize the importance of African languages in development. Policy makers in Africa have to let go of the belief that the adoption of European languages at every level of language planning in public and private domains is the only instrument to promote development since an imported language does not have a monopoly on achieving modernity.

Reasoning that it is only possible to get a good job or even be employed at all if one is able to speak a language dominant in the country's economy, in Rwanda English or French, seems to be rendered mute by the fact that "[...] well over 50 per cent of residents of low-income countries participate in the informal economy, which is more likely to require skills in local languages and regional lingua francas." (Walter; Benson 2012: 285)

The prominence of African languages should not be limited to cultural and national identity matters. Furthermore, it should still be recognized in the development process and contribute to national modernization.

In the new context of globalization, Africa has to promote African languages to enhance and safeguard the cultural and linguistic heritage of the continent, otherwise it will be threatened and perhaps it will be dissolved a process of modernity. (Rurangirwa 2012: 171)

Beyond everyday communication, African languages, in this case Kinyarwanda, can ensure the effective communication in technical work fields such as the structuring of frameworks for project development in agriculture, popularization, trainings, education, health and other aspects affecting the rural or less educated population directly. (Rurangirwa 2012: 172)

The positive attitude of a language policy which is not characterized by the negligence of the national language, but rather embraces the positive effects a countrywide spoken language like Kinyarwanda implies, cannot only foster a positive language attitude towards the Rwandans' mother tongue, but could even stimulate a successful holistic development of the country.

9.5 English - language of instruction

The recent world-wide diffusion of English, […] has raised not just concern among speakers of other languages, but controversy among sociolinguists. To what extent, they argue, is it the result of conscious planning by the governments and experts of English-speaking countries like the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, South Africa, and Australia, and to what extent is it the result of a large array of factors connected with modernization and globalization? [...]The association of English with modern technology, with economic progress, and with internationalization, has encouraged people all over the world to learn English and to have their children learn it as early as possible. The more this has succeeded, the greater the reason for others to want to have access to the power and success assumed to be a result of knowing English. […] But whatever the cause, the spread of English is producing a new sociolinguistic reality, by threatening to take over important functions from other major languages, and by furthering language shift. It is an important task of sociolinguistics to understand this process. (Spolsky 1998: 76, 77)

The worldwide spread of English has embraced Rwanda, where it was declared the third official language and has been the language of instruction at all educational levels since 2009. While it could be argued that Rwanda has to promote the language competence in English, in order to be competitive on the global market, it is questionable whether the negligence of Kinyarwanda, even at the earliest stage of education, does not ultimately cause problems for both students and teachers.

According to the Constitution there are three official languages – Kinyarwanda, French and English. Previously, a trilingual policy was adopted meaning that there was a choice of medium of instruction based on the linguistic background and experience of the pupils. However, with Rwanda's membership of the East African Community (EAC) and the Commonwealth, and the increasing development of international partnerships, the use of English has become more prominent and the need for literacy in English greater. It is seen as an important vehicle for trade and socioeconomic development and as a gateway to the global knowledge economy. […] Against this background, a new policy was adopted in 2008 and implemented in 2009 to use English as the medium of instruction throughout the education system. (Republic of Rwanda 2010: 14)

English was made the sole language of tuition at all educational stages in 2009. This meant that Kinyarwanda and French were only taught as subjects from then on and all courses were to be taught in English, regardless of whether another language had previously been used. (Kagwese 2013: 15)

At the end of 2008, NUR, in its draft policy on language teaching, reflected the language change. The policy document stated that English would be the sole language of teaching, learning and assessment throughout the University, except for the disciplines which focused on French, or African languages and/or literature, or on subjects, such as Law, where the ability to read and comment on documents in French or Kinyarwanda was an essential skill. The document further stipulated that English would be the normal language of the administrative business of the university both for students and staff, and the normal language of university meetings (NUR, 2008). (Kagwese 2013: 15)

English can be seen as the language of the future and can actively contribute to the further development of the country, representing global and regional growth as the language of science, commerce and economic development. The decision to abandon French in favour of English still remains a top-down decision and seems to be easier to adopt on a theoretical level rather than in practice. (Samuelson; Freedman 2010: 192)

Historically speaking, Rwanda stands out as one of the few countries that granted an African language a certain status in education, using Kinyarwanda as language of instruction in the first three years of primary school. To Kinyarwanda's advantage it had already been written and standardized for a long time, dating back even to the beginning of colonisation and the work of German missionaries. The decision to use English as language of tuition not only challenges the administration and teacher force, but the people of Rwanda as well.

Taking into consideration that usually not more than 5-20% of the population of the African states speak the respective European language, one can easily imagine the problems connected with the development of the educational system in countries where the overwhelming majority of pupils in primary schools have to learn a foreign language as the medium of instruction. (Griefenow-Mewis 1991:. 115)

Due to difficulties second language instruction can evoke, the African Ministries of Education decided to address this problem at their 1976 conference where they "[...] underlined the role of African languages […] in the process of teaching and educating. They demanded that the African languages should be further developed, standardized, and that the norms be established so that they could be used as medium of instruction on all levels of education." (Griefenow-Mewis 1991: 115)

"However, mother tongue education became more closely linked with political ideology than with effective education." (Walter; Brenson 2012: 287)

The changing status and corpus of the various languages of multilingual Rwanda, especially

the country's transition from French to English and its use as language of instruction, are closely linked to language planning and by association, status and corpus planning.

> *First language planning is about speakers as much as it is about languages, and secondly, there is a vicious circle relating status planning with corpus planning. Implementing a decision that gives a language the status of school language is futile if the language lacks the functional registers and its speakers are, therefore, unable or unwilling to use it in this capacity. And if the language is not used for schooling, corpus planning measures to develop these functional registers will be unsuccessful. Status planning and corpus planning, the social linguistic aspects of language, are bound together and must be pursued in close coordination. (Coulmas 2005: 195)*

Coming back to the challenges of the language shift from Kinyarwanda and French to English as medium of instruction, it was the immediate implementation of the decision by the Rwandan Parliament in October 2008 that presented the greatest obstacle. The new school year was set to begin in January 2009, which theoretically implied that teachers were expected to switch to English as the language of tuition without considerable time of transition even though they had only taught in French or Kinyarwanda up until then. Thus, just a few teachers were able to pursue the government's decision, since the majority of teachers had studied in French themselves and were not accustomed to English as the language of instruction.

> *The challenge for the education system is that current levels of English language proficiency amongst teachers are low – in a baseline survey in 2009, 85% of primary teachers and 66% of secondary teachers only had beginner, elementary or pre-intermediate levels of English. Teachers therefore need to develop their own language skills as well as learning to teach in English. (Republic of Rwanda 2010: 14)*

Apparently the country's need for development and progress, which was expected to proceed simultaneously with the enhancement of the role of English, was more important than the primary and secondary teachers' English language competence. (Ssenyonga 2012) To keep up with the official language policy, teachers who had been brought up speaking French had to relearn their English or learn the new language of tuition from scratch. (Vesperini 2010)

> *The implementation of English as the official language of instruction has led to serious hurdles in the Rwandan education system. Among them has been establishing a teaching force fluent in English. The country has experienced difficulties in finding adequate foreign and domestic instructors to teach teachers English, yet the pressure for a quick linguistic transition continues. (Steflja 2012: 3)*

To satisfy the need for language education of teachers, the government offered English training courses lasting five weeks to equip the participants with basic English skills. The obligatory programme was carried out with the help of foreign trainers and financial support of the British Council and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to provide teachers with communication skills which should then be passed on immediately in class. (Asiimwe 2010) The abrupt language shift forced primary teachers to take English classes in the evening, at the weekends and during their holidays, to be able to keep up with the government's requirements. While the press described the engagement of the teachers to learn at night and pass their quite recently acquired knowledge on to their pupils during the day as heroic, most teachers didn't have a choice, since those who did not participate in the language programmes risked losing their jobs. (Samuelson; Freedman 2010: 195) The Education Sector Strategic Plan for 2010-2015 mentions the risks of insufficient language skills of teachers. "Inadequate quantity or quality of teacher training to meet the needs of introducing English as the medium of instruction may reduce teaching quality." (Republic of Rwanda 2010: 55)

Ssenyonga claims that "[a]ll these efforts are commendable but can only be considered short-term, not long-term strategies. This is because the teachers who were using French before can only be taught to the level of functional Basic English and not to the level of fluency that allows them to claim they teach in English" (Ssenyonga 2012).

Apart from the problems the teachers of Rwanda faced, the pupils too, were challenged by the new language policy that demanded them to learn in a foreign language.

> *Pupils' own exposure to English is also limited, particularly in rural areas. There is a shortage of textbooks and readers in English and the language levels of some of the learning materials that are available are above the pupils' competence levels. (Republic of Rwanda 2010: 14)*

Walter and Benson, alongside many other fellow scientists and international organisations like the 1992 European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages on the European level and the UNESCO in the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights of 1996, state that studying in any language other than the first language, can have a negative effect on the learners. (Walter; Benson 2012: 288)

> *Collectively, more than 2,3 billion people lack access to education in their first language. To the extent that language of instruction matters in education, the data suggests that nearly 40 per cent of the world's population is potentially negatively affected by official policy on language use in education. (Walter; Benson 2012: 282)*

It is ambiguous to what extent the language shift has influenced the quality of the lessons and the ability of teachers to explain the subjects efficiently and comprehensibly for the pupils. English as the medium of instruction is not likely to be favourable for the majority of Rwandan students, leaving many with additional disadvantages. (Samuelson; Freedman 2010: 192)

The observations made in this chapter led to the conclusion, that:

'The transition towards English as the sole medium of instruction was made too abrupt. Teachers, students and schools were not sufficiently prepared for this rapid language shift.'

The importance of first language education was just briefly touched in the paragraphs above, however it is not possible to illustrate its magnitude in the framework of this graduate thesis. The effects of the altered language of tuition in Rwanda, whether positive or negative, on teachers, pupils and the entire population, will definitely provide an interesting field of study for future research.

Concluding that the transformation of the linguistic field in regard to the language of instruction in Rwanda was made too hastily and under too much pressure, leaving no time for the involved parties to adapt to it and prepare adequately for the transition, I assume that the government's decision was made without appropriate consideration of the positive effects of first language education at least in the first three years of primary school. However, recent evaluations of the education system of Rwanda by the Institute of Policy Analysis and Research of Rwanda have led to yet another change in official language policy:

> *In 2009 English was adopted as the language of tuition in Rwandan primary schools. Prior to this nearly all schools in Rwandan used French, with only a small number already using English. The goal of the reform is to further integrate Rwanda into the East African Community (EAC) and to improve the country's chances of becoming a sub-regional leader in trade, tourism and science and technology. However, after challenges in training all teachers to teach well in English and also following the weight of evidence on the importance of children learning first in their mother tongue (Gove and Cvelich 2011), the government decided that Kinyarwanda should be the language of tuition for the first three years of primary school, with English taught as a subject and then after that for English to become the language of tuition across the curriculum. (Paxton 2012: 22)*

Taking a closer look at the decision to reverse the educational language policy, I positively remark the government's realization of the challenges the hasty transition from Kinyarwanda and French as languages of instruction, to English as the sole medium of tuition, held for the

people. The reversed language policy, to use Kinyarwanda in the first three years of primary school and continue with English as language of education, does not only imply the country's mission to increase the use of English to achieve economic and technological progress, but also takes into account the positive effects of first language education. The linguistic path taken will allow Rwanda to benefit from the inclusive and unifying characteristics of its national language Kinyarwanda and the associations of English with modernity and development at the same time.

10 Reasons for the language shift

10.1 Language attitudes

The attitudes towards specific languages heavily influence the way we speak, which language we use, in which situations and why. As explained in chapter 2.3, Lasswell's formula is concerned with examining the languages we speak, with whom and why we use them.

When we look at the languages in Rwanda, it becomes clear that historical developments have heavily influenced the attitudes towards the different languages.

This seems to be especially evident when looking at the French language. Even though its status is officially equal to the status of Kinyarwanda and English, except for the extraordinary role of English in educational settings, French does not seem to be used to the same extent as the other two official languages. Its downgrading as language of instruction had an impact on its role in other official and informal domains as well.

English has become the favourite language of the governing elite and the inner circle around President Paul Kagame. This is certainly not only due to the English educational background and upbringing in Anglophone countries, but also due to the negative language attitudes and associations towards French.

10.2 The role of France during the genocide

The decision to distance Rwanda from the French language also has implications for the country's post-genocide identity project. It allows for a break from the colonial past and ties with Belgium and France, factors which the Rwandan government specifies as key in the development of genocidal ideology. (Steflja 2012: 5)

France's involvement in the genocide led to a rough start of relations between the new government of Rwanda and its former close ally. When France voiced accusations against high government members and associates of president Kagame concerning their responsibility in massacres during and after the genocide, this further aggravated diplomatic ties. These accusations, all concerning former members of the RPF, created a hostile environment towards France and French cultural institutions, resulting in the closing of the French embassy,

the French cultural centre and taking Radio France International off the air. (Steflja 2012: 4)

These actions finally gave rise to the transition from French to English in official language policy.

To distance themselves from France and the regime of the genocide, the governing elite made sure that this demarcation also took place on a linguistic level. This language shift to introduce a new language as an official language and to make it the preferred language of the government came as no surprise.

> *This was not just a matter of habit but also a deliberate ploy to distance themselves from the ousted elite and their close friends in France. Paul Kagame, the leader of the rebels and now the president, never speaks French in public and speaks English fluently. (Education South Africa: 101)*

The President hereby uses language as a means to define himself. His position towards the old regime underlines the often mentioned objective to create a new Rwandan identity. The increased use of English is part of the country's strategy towards integration in the Anglophone East African region, enhance dynamic development and achieve the ambitious goals of the Vision 2020, to make Rwanda a knowledge based society. (Knutsson 2011: 181)

> *While some hailed the increasing use of English as a sign of change for the better, harboring bitter associations with the role of French in their country's recent dark past, other took the president's linguistic deficit as a reminder that he and many of the RPF ruling inner circle were raised and culturally formed in English-speaking Uganda. The president preferred to leave aside these issues to one side. "There is no particular preference for me between French and English. I am unfortunately not able to speak French, not because I hate it.... I am able to speak English better than French because of historical circumstances.... I know that people have tried to politicise that … this should not have implications beyond simply communicating." (Waugh 2004: 222)*

10.3 *The Commonwealth and the East African Community*

Rwanda's largest donor, the United Kingdom and the development assistance by USAID, have clearly influenced Rwanda's decision to encourage the shift from French to English. (McGreal 2009) The country's joining of the Commonwealth as its 54th member in November 2009 (Banerji 2010: 485), and the membership in the East African Union seem to be essential processes that resulted in the change of language policy.

Officially, the language shift is part of Rwanda's membership in the EAC and economic relations with other member states. Rwanda relies on trade with Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania, and since 1994, the country has increased economic ties with the United Kingdom and the United States. It has also traded membership in La Francophonie for membership in the Commonwealth, even though Rwanda was never a British colony. Rwandan officials emphasize that the eagerness to switch languages is not about choosing the Anglophone world but about choosing the path toward economic success. (Steflja 2012: 3)

However, as discussed in the previous chapter, the difficult relations to France also seem to have influenced the transition from the Francophonie towards the Commonwealth. The complexity of this issue was simplified by a question asked by the BBC after Rwanda's admission to the Commonwealth, questioning whether trade benefits Rwanda hoped to receive by the admission were the only reason for joining: "Does Rwanda gain any real economic or political benefit from joining the British Commonwealth, other than probably upsetting the French?" (Holmes 2011: 526)

Clearly, the membership of the Commonwealth and the EAC was primarily due to economic interests, "[h]aving recently joined the Eastern African Community (EAC) and eager to align itself better with other trade developments in the region, Rwanda moved out of the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (CEPGL), which was proving ineffective. […] [It was] suggested that too many African countries maintained a kind of paternal loyalty to their former colonialists […] rather than nurture new relationships in other countries where opportunities for government funding or private investment were more readily available." (Holmes 2011: 527)

Considering Rwanda's membership in the EAC as one of the reasons for the transition from French to English, taking into account economic arguments that point out the prominent role of English in the global market, it comes to mind that a shift towards an increased used of African languages could also have been an option in this regard.

Outdated beliefs that only European languages are able to enhance economic success and technological progress should not guide the language policy of today. In the past, African languages were often considered as 'dialects' which were spoken by 'tribes' and could therefore never live up to the standard and prestige of European languages. The division of all languages of the world into three linguistic categories – inflecting, agglutinating or isolating languages – is still a tool of modern linguistics but unlike in colonial times, it doesn't ascribe a certain hierarchy to the three types (Maral-Hanak 2009a:116). Language structures of inflecting languages, including Indo-European languages, were considered to be more

'advanced' (Maral-Hanak 2009a: 116) in the past which led to the false belief that languages of the other types were even "[...] incapable of conveying any concepts relating to advanced science, technology and higher levels of government. These domains, which were at the heart of colonialism's 'civilizing' mission, and at the same time also the domains on which the emerging discourse of progress and development relied, were to be reserved for the English language." (Maral-Hanak 2009a: 118)

The integration of Rwanda in the East African Community is seen as one of its major economic strategies and puts into question why Swahili has not been considered at all or only to a very small amount in Rwandan language planning. Almost all of the member states are Anglophones or Swahilophones and therefore represent a huge market and a huge client base for potential business partners who are fluent either in English or in Swahili.

The global importance of English should not be denied; however, if the EAC is serious about the development of the whole region, the enormous market emerging from the five member countries should not be underestimated. The inclusion of the non-English speaking population through the use of an African language could enhance commercial and social progress, tighten the political and economic ties and finally enable sustainable development, including both the urban and rural population, as well as educated and non-educated people in the process without unjust exclusion due to lack of language proficiency.

The donor community of Rwanda presents another powerful stakeholder that pursues certain interests in the country and the whole region. It is questionable whether Rwanda is going to be able to unite the various demands of its donors, without neglecting its own development objectives. Guiding Rwanda's path on the macro-level, the MDGs, and the Vision 2020 on the micro-level, have to be harmonized, aligning the country's language policy with these agendas.

Keeping in mind the influence linguistic policies have on everyday life and the development processes of the country, policy analyses and self-critical awareness are going to be useful to successfully include language planning and shape a path towards modernization and national well-being.

It remains questionable whether Rwanda and its people will be able to keep up the good work, yet hopes are high that the little country will continue to surprise and rise with each challenge.

11 Conclusion

In the final conclusion of my thesis, the questions asked at the beginning are going to be answered, taking into account the sociolinguistic approaches presented, the terminology defined, the key concepts examined, the linguistic setting analysed and the empiricism surveyed in this study.

The questions which guided the course of this thesis, can be answered as follows.

- **How can Rwanda be described linguistically?**

Rwanda is characterized by a multilingual society. Due to the findings presented in this thesis, any claims that described Rwanda as a monolingual nation, proved to be wrong.

- **How has the introduction of English as the only medium of instruction at every educational level influenced the education system, students and teachers?**

Inquiries concerning these questions led to the conclusion that *the transition towards English as the sole medium of instruction was made too abrupt. Teachers, students and schools were not sufficiently prepared for this rapid language shift.*

The decision to reverse the educational language policy, which is already under way, is a reflection of the failed implementation of English as the only language of tuition at every educational level. *The changing language policy in Rwanda lead to a language shift which had major consequences on the population, especially in the education sector.*

Additionally, the utilization of Kinyarwanda in the first three years of primary school leads to the hypothesis that *the country's only national language, Kinyarwanda, could have positive effects on student's learning ability if used as language of instruction, at least in primary school.*

- **What is the status of Kinyarwanda in the Rwandan language policy?**

Due to the high prestige of English and the influence of European languages like French and English on the global market, Kinyarwanda has a minor status in the current language policy. The national language is still not associated with development and economic success due to its virtual non-existence on the global market. The association of English with modern technology, economic progress and globalization leads to the negligence of African languages, which imperatively have to be included in official language planning to enable sustainable development for the whole population.

- **What are the distinctions between 'official' and 'de facto' language policy?**

It became apparent that English is used increasingly whilst the application of French is decreasing. *The nomination of English as third official language leads to a shift of language use, decreasing the role and influence of French in formal and informal domains.*

As a result, the official stipulated equality of the three languages is not applied to the same extent. The asymmetric implementation of the official language policy therefore evokes the conclusion that *the three official languages are not used equivalently despite their official equality.*

Finally, the core question, **'What are the economic, political and historic reasons and the resulting consequences for Rwanda's transition from a bilingual towards a trilingual language policy?'** can be answered as follows:

Rwanda's membership in the East African Community and the Commonwealth, as well as the role of France during the genocide, are part of the reason why the country increased the role of English. The changed landscape of the donor community in Rwanda, the growing influence of English-speaking countries in development cooperation further promoted the use of English in Rwanda.

Other reasons for Rwanda's transition from a bilingual towards a trilingual language policy include language attitudes, prestige and development prospects.

English is seen as a language of high prestige, the language attitudes towards this language are widely positive since it is the preferred language of the government and associated with modernity, social and political progress, technology, economic success and the development of the whole country.

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Appendix

I. Abstract

This thesis deals with the historical, political and economic reasons for the introduction of a trilingual language policy in Rwanda, the ongoing transition from French to English, and the consequences of this shift.

The official languages of Rwanda are Kinyarwanda, French and English. Since independence in 1962, Kinyarwanda is one of the official languages of the country as well as the national language, which is spoken by almost the entire population. Until recently it was used as the language of tuition in the first three years of primary education. French has been an official language since Belgian colonial administration and used to be the language of instruction after the first three years of primary school. In 2003, English was made the third official language of Rwanda and became the sole medium of teaching in 2009. The language shift from a bilingual towards a trilingual language policy, the reasons for this transition and the consequences are examined in this thesis.

This multilingual setting is the scope of this sociolinguistic study which aims to explain language dynamics and the influence of language policy on language use and competence of the population as well as development prospects assigned to certain languages like English. Rwanda's transition from French to English as well as the role of Kinyarwanda today are explored further in this thesis, using key concepts of sociolinguistics.

Terminological issues and linguistic phenomena associated with multilingual situations make up a large part of this thesis. The basic vocabulary and linguistic terms necessary to examine sociolinguistic key concepts are defined and the underlying theoretical principles in connection with empiricism are analysed.

II. Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit untersucht die historischen, politischen und ökonomischen Gründe für die trilinguale Sprachenpolitik in Rwanda. Der Wechsel von Französisch zu Englisch, vor allem in Bezug auf die Unterrichtssprache, und die Konsequenzen dieser sprachlichen Veränderung werden analysiert.

Die offiziellen Sprachen von Rwanda sind Kinyarwanda, Französisch und Englisch. Seit der Unabhängigkeit im Jahr 1962, dient Kinyarwanda sowohl als offizielle als auch nationale Sprache, die von der Mehrheit der Bevölkerung gesprochen wird. Bis vor Kurzem wurde diese Sprache in den ersten drei Jahren der Grundschule unterrichtet, gefolgt von Französisch. Französisch dient seit der belgischen Kolonialverwaltung als offizielle Amtssprache. Im Jahr 2003 wurde Englisch als dritte offizielle Amtssprache eingeführt und schließlich im Jahr 2009 zur einzigen Unterrichtssprache auf allen Schulstufen ernannt. Dieser Sprachenwandel, von einer bilingualen zu einer trilingualen Sprachenpolitik, die Gründe für diese Maßnahme und die daraus resultierenden Konsequenzen werden in dieser Diplomarbeit beleuchtet.

Der multilinguale Hintergrund bildet den Kern dieser soziolinguistischen Studie, die darauf abzielt, sprachendynamische Prozesse und den Einfluss von Sprachenpolitik auf Sprachverwendung und -kompetenz der Bevölkerung zu klären. Die Rolle der jeweiligen Sprachen hinsichtlich Entwicklung, Fortschritt und Wohlstand sind eng verknüpft mit Stellung und Prestige der Sprachen in der Gesellschaft. Der Übergang von Französisch zu Englisch und der Status von Kinyarwanda in der heutigen Sprachenpolitik werden mit Hilfe von soziolinguistischen Konzepten erforscht.

Begrifflichkeiten und linguistische Phänomene, die mit multilingualen Situationen assoziiert werden, bilden einen Großteil dieser Arbeit. Das grundlegende Vokabular, die Terminologie und linguistische Begriffe, die zur Untersuchung der soziolinguistischen Konzepte notwendig sind, werden definiert und die zugrundeliegenden theoretischen Prinzipien in Verbindung mit Empirie analysiert.

III. Curriculum Vitae

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Name: Katrin Jordan

Date of birth: 24.01.1990

Place of birth: Klosterneuburg, Austria

E-Mail: jordan.katrin@hotmail.com

EDUCATION

2008-2013   International Development Studies, University of Vienna

                   Individuelles Diplomstudium Internationale Entwicklung

2011   ERASMUS semester abroad at the „Université Nice Sophia-

                   Antipolis" in Nice, France

since 2008   Bachelor Studies International Business Administration

since 2009   Elective courses in Bachelor Studies of Romance Phylology

2004 – 2008   High School, Vienna Bilingual Schooling

                   Gymnasium Draschestraße 90-92, 1230 Vienna

2000- 2004   Junior High School, Gymnasium Draschestraße 90-92, 1230 Vienna

1996-2000   Primary School, Volksschule Tesarekplatz, 1100 Vienna

RELEVANT WORK EXPERIENCE

March 2013   Volunteer at the humanitarian congress in Vienna

2013   Volunteer for "LIGHT FOR THE WORLD- Christoffel Development

                   Cooperation"; Program Department Africa