



# **Living with Language: An Exploration of Linguistic Practices and Language Attitudes in Gulu, Northern Uganda**

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## Abbreviations

ANT	-	Actor Network Theory
CDN	-	Core Discussion Networks
DR Congo	-	Democratic Republic of the Congo
GSS	-	General Social Survey
GT	-	Grounded Theory
GWP	-	Government White Papers
LIEP	-	Language in Education Policy
LL	-	Linguistic Landscape
LRA	-	Lord's Resistance Army
MAL	-	Main Area Languages
MGT	-	Matched-Guised Technique
NRA	-	National Resistance Army
SNA	-	Social Network Analysis
SNT	-	Social Network Theory
TRA	-	Theory of Reasoned Action
UGX	-	Ugandan Shilling
UNLF	-	Uganda National Liberation Front
UPDF	-	Uganda People's Defense Forces





## **Part I. Introduction and Socio-Historic Background**

## *1. Introduction*

Understanding the complex structure that is language was a core task for many philosophers, sociologists, historians and anthropologists and remains one of the big questions for all human sciences. In his introduction to the field of sociolinguistics, Allan Bell (2013) tried to capture this exceptional character of language when he wrote:

“[This book] is about the profusion of voices in society. It is about language as social fact and as identity bearer; language as interaction, as communication, as a bridge between self and other; language as expresser; language as delight. We are immersed in languages, dialects, varieties, genres, accents, jargons, styles, codes, speech acts. They eddy and swirl round us in an always-changing current linguistic reproduction and creation. Each voice has its time and place, its desire to be heard, its timbre. This is the linguistic profusion of Babel, that ancient story that I believe champions rather than condemns language diversity.” (Bell, 2013, p. 1)

There are few things in this world that determine our everyday experience to the same degree as language does. Language is everywhere, it accompanies us from our birth until our death; from the moment we wake up, to the moment we go to sleep and even beyond that in our dreams. When our radio alarm starts ringing in the morning and music pulls us slowly out of our beds, we are exposed to it even before meeting another person. Hanks (1996) expressed the same sentiment when he wrote that “(...) language permeates our daily lives, from the kitchen to the UN, and all the media in between.” (p. 2). Communication is essential to our very existence, as it connects us to our social environment and expresses who we are as individuals and social beings alike. Because of this intrinsic relationship between the various forms and types of languages that we use to communicate with our environment and the very shape of these environments, their study is in many ways a study of people and the things they produce in general. The impact of social developments, economic changes, historic events and political decisions can all be found imprinted in the languages people use and the attitudes they hold towards them.

The understanding of language as a crucial element of communicative practices being deeply connected to the conditions of our social reality is at the core of many recent trends within the fields of linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics. Current hot topics like urbanisation, migration, diversification, technology and globalisation all deal with current major socio-economic and political developments of our modern world. As a result, the field has grown tremendously in scope and complexity. This is also reflected in the sheer number of anthologies

and magazines devoted to these various topics. Introductions, handbooks and compilations from the field reflect this situation and showcase those multiplex facets and viewpoints. Already the “*Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*” edited by Alessandro Duranti (2004) for instance included topics regarding the shape and appearance of language, like linguistic diversity, language contact, or language as a performance, just as it features the function of language in society, focussing on the social dynamics of language acquisition, choice and use, as well as the connection of language to ideologies and identities. After all, Duranti views the purpose of linguistic anthropology to be “(...) not only the interest in language use (...), but their focus on language as a set of symbolic resources that enter the constitution of social fabric and the individual representation of actual or possible worlds.” (Duranti, 1997, p. 3), leaving the door open for all types of empirical and theoretical approaches and perspectives on language in society.

All these different phenomena that shape the way we experience language, including many more not mentioned yet, do not exist separate from each other, but are intertwined. The social reality of someone living in a town, regardless of what continent or in which country, is simultaneously shaped by technological innovations like social media for instance, and dynamics of urban development. That person is likely also touched by local and global streams of migration, either as the result of growing inequalities between different parts of the world or within the same nation (see Martin, 2013). All these different factors have a huge impact on the individual experience, not only from a synchronic perspective, but also diachronically, as linguistic capabilities and attitudes towards language are shaped through being continuously exposed to these many factors and conditions.

For linguistic approaches to these dynamics this complexity creates the need to not only increase the scope of what can or even must be considered within linguistic research, but also how to conceptualise these new perspectives. For instance, regarding language in urban environments, several new concepts and terminologies were created in the past couple of years. Concepts like *superdiversity*, coined by Vertovec (2007), or *metrolingualism* by Otsuji and Pennycook (2010; 2015), deal with new cultural, political and linguistic signs and practices that arise from interactions within the complex and changing settings of contemporary urban areas. With people of diverse geographical and social backgrounds moving into towns and cities, their ethnic, social, cultural and linguistic make-up is continuously changing. This has opened new questions and perspectives on the formation of identities, social practices and on the issues of power and access as social and economic key factors.

Further, communicative practices have become a key focal point for ethnographic studies in linguistic anthropology. Meaning can only be understood within its contextual frame and this frame cannot be captured through categories like gender, income and education alone, but crucially entails performative aspects like gestures, facial expressions, verbal repertoires, as well as the specific conditions of the social spaces the communicative practices are performed in (Hanks, 1996, pp. 5-7). Thus, the observation and analysis of actual performance is necessary for understanding the relevant ideologies and identity constructions that are essential to the production of meaning and the role of language in social life.

This expanded scope of linguistic anthropology and the new conceptualisations of language in society have created questions regarding the methods used in exploring these scenarios and dynamics. Attempting to capture the complexity of language and human social interactions poses critical challenges to any research. Looking at the scientific landscape of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, we find different ways of approaching this complexity. For many, the best way to address complexity is to make use of the new possibilities created by technological innovations and new forms of communication. Examples include the mass data analysis on language use in social media networks like Facebook that follow the digital linguistic footprints left behind by its users (a.o. Zhuravleva 2015). In other areas it enables researchers to create large datasets from questionnaires through the use of the internet, even without having to move into the field itself or having any kind of personal contact with the participants. Quantitative approaches can now reach numbers of data entries far greater than ever before, allowing for potentially more reliable statistical analysis. On the other end of the spectrum, qualitative methods gain attraction as well. Approaches like *Anecdotal Theory*, as described by Jane Gallop (2002), put the emphasis on ethnographic methods and focuses on analysing very specific observed situations to build theories out of experienced real-world interactions. In many ways, it seems that linguistic anthropology is in a phase of exploration and it is yet to be determined what the best ways to deal with this new scientific landscape are.

The areal focus in the scientific discourse on language in society and the influences of new technologies and contemporary socio-political dynamics has for the most part been geographically limited. When urbanisation is the topic of discussion, it is the urbanisation in Europe, the Americas or Asia that is referenced. When the talk is of migration, it is the global migration into the cities and metropolises in the western world or China that people usually have in mind. The same is true for explorations in new methods and approaches that try to capture these processes and phenomena. Africa on the other hand receives only limited attention, despite that some of the most dynamic processes of urbanisation and migration take place there.

Accordingly, Lüpke and Storch (2013) note the following regarding the current state of understanding African contexts:

“Little is known about the true extent and diversity, neither at the level of linguistic structure and its change, nor of sociolinguistic configurations and self-representations, and even less about the connections and feedback between structure and conditions of language use, for instance in language contact resulting from widespread, long-term and different situations of multilingualism.” (p. 267)

Thus, it seems that the demand for studies exploring this subject and the necessity for new approaches in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology is just as big, if not bigger, in these contexts. It is also possible to find a better understanding of these supposed modern trends and dynamics in African contexts where some of these dynamics are present in a very compound form, while others have been part of the local conditions for a long time already.

“We feel that established approaches to these languages and their contexts - approaches being based on still barely reflected upon academic pasts - no longer suffice as appropriate means of describing and documenting them.” (Lüpke & Storch, 2013, p. 1)

Classical perspectives of linguistics that portray languages as fixed entities that can be studied as if they were chemical molecules with a clearly defined shape and constant atomic components seem to work even less in this environment, as variation and diversity are integral parts of much of the continent’s linguistic scenery. Additionally, traditional as well as modern quantitative methods and approaches are often not or only with great difficulty usable. Official social data is either not available or very limited, prior research is rather rare and access to public institutions and resources often highly regulated and difficult. Using the internet or other technologies to collect high quantities of data is problematic, as access is often unevenly distributed and differences in language repertoires for instance in urban areas make it difficult to create universally usable questionnaires.

With these current developments regarding the conceptualisation of language in society and the necessity to find new methods and approaches in mind, this study looked at the linguistic situation in Gulu from various angles. The biggest city<sup>1</sup> in northern Uganda offers in many ways an ideal researching ground to explore these multidimensional and complex social and linguistic dynamics, that are so typical of the African context. The very storied recent history of this town and region, its connectedness to the world outside Uganda, the ongoing urbanisation and the

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<sup>1</sup> The terms ‘town’ and ‘city’ are used interchangeably in this study to refer to Gulu, as its status is currently in between both (Owiny, 2017).

spread of modern communication technologies have created individual stories like the one of Mark:

When I came to Gulu for my second fieldtrip in 2015, Mark was one of the first people I reconnected with after we had become friends during my first stay there one year earlier. Back then he had worked in a coffee shop that mostly served the local expatriate community, as well as the occasional researcher. He owned a hospitality-degree and was known for his communication skills that not only made him a valuable member of the staff but also a popular person within the expatriate community. From spending a lot of time with people from the US he even had developed a slightly Americanised accent when speaking English that made him stand out. However, one year later he was no longer working in that coffee shop but had instead started his own small business of selling second hand shoes for women on one of the major markets in Gulu. For this small business he would take the bus to Kampala, the capital of Uganda, and go to the biggest market of the country, Owino market in the downtown area. On this market he would buy his stock speaking Luganda with the vendors there, the language of the Buganda region where the capital is in. He did this because others there would often assume, he was from South Sudan due to his tall and slender stature and his dark skin, suspecting him to be an importer of goods that has a lot of money. However, speaking Luganda himself he was able to understand the conversations among the vendors and to identify himself as a Ugandan. He had learned the language when he went to high-school in Jinja between 1999 and 2001. Now it helped him negotiating the best prices with the mostly Baganda vendors. As a secondary language he would speak Kiswahili on this market. Mostly to speak with vendors that came from the Eastern region at the border to Kenya. He had learned to speak Kiswahili attending hospitality school in Kenya after finishing High School. Here, he avoided using English. Mainly because the prices tended to be higher when he spoke it. Once he had completed the purchases, he loaded the shoes into one of the buses back to Gulu, usually with a discount price he received from the fellow Acholi bus conductors. Back in Gulu he displayed the shoes on the Cerelino market along the main road coming from Kampala. The shoes that he bought for 1,000 to 3,000 Ugandan Shilling (UGX), about 0.30 € to 0.90 €, he sold for roughly double that. As most of his customers were Acholi like him, this was also the main language he would use there. However, it was a regular occurrence for people that were not Acholi to visit his small stand, as the area around this market was known for its relatively high percentage of migrants. Thus, he made full use of his language repertoire, greeting customers he did not know with the Kiswahili phrase *Karibu customer* ('welcome customer') and adapted to whichever language the customers replied in. In the years following he had first again started to work in a restaurant

before then beginning to work in the United Arab Emirates.

Stories like his open-up many questions and issues regarding the role that language plays. Beginning with the multilingual setting, the use of language in the different market spaces, the influence of international institutions and globalisation, or the apparent mobility, not only as part of his work-life, but also during his childhood. These questions touch for instance upon how this specific environment in Gulu looks like and which historical and socio-political developments created these scenarios, but also on the individual perspective of someone who is subjected to these complex processes and must constantly deal with changing conditions.

This study attempted to explore the role that language took on in the everyday experiences of members of this local community; not trying to include every single element or environmental factor, but to study a few, selected environments and situations that qualify as part of an everyday or at least every-week routine, the context in which these exist, while also taking the individual perspective of those interacting within them into account. By doing that, it became a study about language as an object of social relevance in a general sense, hoping to thereby create a larger image of language in this community or area and gain insights into universal questions regarding the connection of language and social reality.

### *1.1. Approaches, theories and methods*

At its core this study was about the way that people deal with their environment and the linguistic challenges they are confronted with. The questions that were asked aimed to identify the functions of language in these encounters and interactions and to understand how language fits in with other factors of social reality and social structure that constitute peoples' social experiences and attitudes. It further explored the linguistic skills people have at their disposal to engage with their environments and how they connect those capabilities to the spaces and networks they are part of. The main questions asked in this study were:

- How do people experience language within their environment(s)?
- What skills do they bring into this environment and the interpersonal encounters in this environment?
- What do they think about the languages and linguistic practices they are confronted with?

Outgoing from these three basic questions, further questions arose that needed addressing. While trying not to expand the scope of the study too far, these key questions were separated into subdivisions intended to form more intuitive and approachable tasks.

- How do people experience within their environment(s)?
  - How does this environment look like and how did it come into existence?
  - What is the role of language in this environment?
  - How do people connect with language in their environment?
- What skills do they bring into this environment and the interpersonal encounters in this environment?
  - What languages did people learn?
  - Which languages do they know now?
  - How good do they know these languages?
- What do they think about the languages and linguistic practices they are confronted with?
  - What languages have relevance to people and why?
  - What are the attitudes towards these relevant languages?
  - How are these opinions and attitudes formed?

It could be argued that answering each set of these questions would warrant a study on its own, however, the underlying motive of this study was to explore how these questions are intertwined with each other on an elementary level. For this reason, they were explored at the same time to achieve a more general image of these interrelations and the role of the addressed issues and factors within this complex system. Creating a shape that carries the unique elements of each question and at the same time highlights their intertwined nature had been a major challenge from the start. The likely biggest issue was to build a methodology capable of capturing the sought-after complexity, while remaining functional under the conditions of the studied field. Creating a methodology is the key ingredient to any kind of scientific study. It is the defining factor for almost all steps in the creation of a research project, including theoretical considerations, practical questions regarding timetables, required facilities and equipment, needed skill in the research, up to the language and style the final product is presented in. Methodologies also localise a research project within a disciplinary field, giving it an identity and in many cases also an ideology, choosing the audience it is intended for or not intended for. For all these reasons, methodologies are important; without even having considered the object of the study itself. In many ways, science and scientific discourses are based on these questions and the topic of methodology. Having a methodology that fits a certain profile differentiates between scientific and unscientific. In fact, that is even its official definition of unscientific:



“not scientific; not based on or exhibiting scientific knowledge or scientific methodology : not in accord with the principles and methods of science” ("Unscientific", 2017)

The question of what constitutes a proper method is already a difficult and complex one in natural sciences and it seems even more complicated in the field of social sciences. The nature of all research objects is fleeting and murky. Regardless of historians reconstructing and analysing events of the past, economists trying to reliably predict future market developments, psychologists searching for the motivation of peoples' actions or sociologists studying the formation of social movements, they are all faced with data that is rather unwilling to present itself in an easily measurable manner. As a result, the various fields within the many sectors of social sciences have come up with a great variety of approaches to the many questions asked towards their objects of interest. The second consequence from this eternal conundrum is the at times extreme specialisation and limited perspective, as many researchers try to force their four-dimensional objects into digestible two-dimensional shapes. Trying to keep the complex nature of the studied subject intact and let it shine through in the final product was therefore one of the goals of this project.

The study took on the task of observing and analysing social structures and practices from the viewpoint of language. Even though this at first sight seems to be a limitation, it is on closer view the total opposite. Language is at the core of all things social, being a key ingredient to the unique and sophisticated communication that makes human life special and our forms of organisation possible in the first place. Language is in everything and therefore everything can be subject to linguistic research. Especially for studies on the relationship between language and social reality this can create somewhat of a problem. Theoretically, every method developed within the different disciplines of social sciences should provide value for linguistic research. Within sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology methods can vary significantly, even when they are concerned with the same phenomena. Research on language variation and variants can be done using questionnaires, interviews and recordings, as famously done by Labov (1963); they could use common descriptive standards or dialectological approaches; they can use *discourse analysis* or work with *network analysis*, as in the Belfast study (Milroy & Milroy, 1981). There is no defined or even refined methodology, but rather a set of different approaches that researchers select from for various reasons, at times without a clear understanding for the consequences of their choice. The same issue exists for studies like this one, which is less concerned with the imprint of social reality in language, but rather with the imprint of language in social reality. On the one hand, this lack of clarity and consensus regarding proper methodology makes it difficult for any research considering previously uncovered areas to use

reliable and proven paths, but on the other hand it also grants the freedom to venture on new paths and create a methodology outside the general norms.

### *1.2. Thematic focus and key concepts*

“Over a period of several decades – and often emerging in response to issues predating superdiversity – there has been ongoing revision of fundamental ideas (a) about languages, (b) about language groups and speakers, and (c) about communication. Rather than working with homogeneity, stability and boundedness as the starting assumptions, mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding are now central concerns in the study of languages, language groups and communication.” (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, p. 3)

The understanding and conceptualisation of language and the social dynamics around it are in a constant state of evolution. Strongly held beliefs about the nature of language are no longer uncontested within the linguistic canon, as the focal points and framework for linguistic research has partially shifted. The first point mentioned in the quote is the changed understanding of language. Language was often portrayed as a homogenous unit in accordance with the classic ideal of the monolingual nation-states. Many of the products of typical linguistic fieldwork followed this line, including dictionaries and grammars as the publicly most visible and often-times highest rated outcomes of linguistic research. Consequently, language is in many ways the product of linguists. By giving their stamp of approval they add value to the object of their studies itself. In highlighting this connection between linguistics and the creation of language as an artefact, Good & Hendryx-Parker (2006. ) coined the term *languoid* to denote this artificially constructed entity (Lüpke & Storch, 2013, pp. 2-3). For any research dealing with the perception of language this comes with a methodological challenge. How to assess the complexity of language and communication when their complexity tends to remain hidden behind uniform imaginations of languages? Furthermore, it is not only linguistics that tends to use simplified notions of language, but people in general. This study attempts to offer a perspective to the issue of language attitudes and language use that takes this problem into account.

Even though any form of dichotomy represents a problematic simplification, some tasks of this study might be best understood in the form of oppositions. For instance, regarding the difference between individual perspectives and collective perspectives, which in terms of conceptualisation can also be portrayed as the difference between focussing on *ideologies* or *attitudes*. In a further

simplification, this can be portrayed as the choice between approaches that seek to account for the complexity of their subject as much as possible, and those approaches that accept the simplified conceptualisations that are part of our perception of reality for the sake of structure and comparability. As this study tried to highlight the intertwined nature of the many aspects of language in society, it seemed appropriate to not restrict it to only one of these perspectives, but instead open room for both perspectives.

### *1.2.1. Repertoires and speech community*

Before focussing on these methodologic issues, it is necessary to address the conceptualisations of language and social structure that underlie the methodical core of the study. Viewing languages as fixed entities with finite properties in structure and vocabulary against which speakers are to be judged regarding their competence is in most cases a concept of the past, just like people speaking only a single language or style across society and individually. This simplified conceptualisation of language, derived from dominant discourses involving national and ethnic identity, has often been replaced by more nuanced approaches, despite their ongoing relevance outside of linguistics (Duarte & Gogolin, 2013, p. 6). Terms like *repertoire* have been taken to the frontline to highlight the heterogenous nature of language. Strongly linked to the work of Gumperz (1960; 1964) it comprises the existing variation between communicational practices of people within the same *speech community*. Speakers are not bound to a singular way of expressing themselves but have multiple styles and variations at their disposal which are part of their verbal repertoire. These variations are all part of that speech communities' "accepted ways of formulating a message" (Gumperz, 1964, p. 138) and bound together form what is understood as a language or dialect (Gumperz, 1964, p. 140).

Being revolutionary at the time, the concept has undergone several revisions over the past decades. The concept of the speech community has been highly criticised for portraying homogenous groups of speakers that only exist in theory. The term is mostly attributed to large scale social groups, at times reaching as far as nation states, tying it to ideological constructs independent from linguistic observation. Current applications of speech community therefore separate the term into two distinct iterations. One is connected to "the analysis and description of linguistic, semantic, and conversational features that are gathered from a group and are in turn deemed to be stable indicators of that speech community." (Morgan, 2004, pp. 3-4). The second uses the term speech community to refer to the function of language as a form of identity marker and for representation. In this concept, the speech community is a discursive element

and not an analytical term. A speech community not only carries knowledge of language structure and vocabulary, but also cultural knowledge on how to apply these linguistic elements in accordance with local discourses regarding relationships, ethnicity, social structure, culture, identity or politics (Morgan, 2004, p. 4).

The term repertoire has also undergone several revisions over time. Gumperz understood repertoires as the collective linguistic norms and properties of a community and its members. Today the term expanded beyond those restrictions, also referring to the linguistic capabilities of a single person rather than a community and accommodating for the mobility of speakers and languages through the rise of modern information and communication technologies. Especially Blommaert & Backus (2011; 2013) and Busch (2012) have contributed significantly to this latest reframing. They conclude that individuals are not bound to the linguistic conditions of a specific place and can transcend them even without moving physically (Blommaert & Backus, 2011, pp. 3-4). The concept of repertoire therefore must also account for the flexibility of speakers as well as the “(...) fluidity and creativity in linguistic practices” (Busch, 2012, p. 4). These new conceptualisations allow researchers to study repertoires as displays of social reality, showing the inscriptions of social dynamics and membership to social groups, whatever these may look like. The impact of globalisation, migration, language policy and ideologies can be studied through those repertoires, just like the journeys and choices made by individuals that led to them picking up or dropping languages, variants and styles (Blommaert & Backus, 2013). Juffermans and Tavares (2017) further pointed out that the interpretation of repertoire developed by Busch (2012) allowed to expand the scope beyond studying the past and present, as it also includes the desired linguistic knowledge of a person looking forward. These desires give insight into individual motivations, practices and identity constructions as well as developments on the socio-cultural, political and economic macro-level that exceed the possibilities offered by other models.

For this research, a contemporary interpretation of repertoire was paramount, as it concerned itself not only with the perspective of the individual, but also tried to gain an understanding of the collective perspective within a community. The community was here not conceptualised as a unit with certain properties, but as the sum of peoples’ relationships within a certain space. Gulu was not seen as home to a speech community in the sense of Gumperz, nor is this something this study was trying to look for. Instead it was studied as the space that forms the background to encounters and interactions of the people living in it. In those parts of the study that refer to specific boundaries, be they spatial or ethnic, they are understood as discursive elements, as described by Morgan (2004). Thus, repertoires were not studied for their structural

properties or issues of competence and knowledge, but as markers within individual biographies and forms of representation.

Unlike several other studies with a similar outlook on language and society located in linguistic anthropology, this study will not use a model of *community of practice* as either a methodological frame or to conceptualise social formations. The community of practice-model, which originated in the field of social learning (Lave and Wenger 1991, Wenger 1998) and was famously adopted by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992, Eckert 2000) for linguistics, is a discursive approach to social organisation. It emphasises investigating social practices in specific social formations to understand the development of linguistic norms and attitudes towards certain linguistic practices. Because a community of practice in its narrow sense is understood as a group that works in a joint operation with a common goal that shares a domain of interest, is engaged in joint activities, shares information and builds relationships by performing certain practices together, this concept was considered too restricted to capture highly diverse forms of social organisation and social practices this study was aimed at. Nonetheless, the study included the observation and analysis of social practices within specific social groups. However, it used the more open concept of *social networks* to conceptualise the studied meaningful social formations and relationships.

### *1.2.2. Ideologies and attitudes*

As indicated by choosing a discursive interpretation of the repertoire concept, it was not the goal of this study to accurately portray the appearance and application of languages in specific settings, but to identify the language attitudes and ideologies that are inherently tied to peoples' repertoires and the connected linguistic practices. Attitudes and ideologies are both crucial to understanding social structure, social practices and individual behaviour, but are not easy to incorporate into a single research and argument. Even though both terms denote something rather similar, their general approach comes from different angles that are often difficult to combine. These differences can be attributed to attitudes focusing on the individual perspective, while ideology is rather about the social dynamics of groups (Garrett, et al., 2003, pp. 3-4). However, they go in many ways deeper than this simple dichotomy.

The term ideology, which saw its first iteration during the time of Napoleon by Destutt de Tracy (Eagleton, 1991, p. 66) has been a key to social and political theory ever since. It has seen many waves of evolutions, changes and reimaginings making it one of the most diverse, controversial and consequential concepts in all social sciences. However, it is not the purpose of this study to deeply delve into its long history.<sup>2</sup> Since the concept of ideology had such a central meaning to this studies frame, it is nonetheless necessary to clarify the way it was interpreted and applied here.

Even though what is understood as ideology has been part of philosophy from Plato, over Luther, to Kant, Hegel and so forth, the person that has the strongest connection to it is certainly Karl Marx (Marx & Engels, 1932 [1845/46]). His idea of ideology was that of a state of mind used as an instrument by ruling elites to reproduce the social status quo through creating an *inverted consciousness* that mediates the material and the way the material is perceived (Hawkes, 1996, p. 90). In the context of capitalism, ideology reflects the inversion of reality by creating *commodities*<sup>3</sup> whose evaluation is not solely based on the human labour required to produce it, but also on the evaluation given by the market on which the commodities are exchanged. This creates a “disjunction in capitalism between how things actually are and how they present themselves – between in Hegelian terms, ‘essences’ and ‘phenomena’.” (Eagleton, 1991, p. 86). Eagleton (1991) notes that this definition is grounded on the concept of ideology in the material world, binding it to the effects of social reality and society, of which the mystification of objects and activities in the form of *commodities* is an inseparable element (ibid, 86-87).

While many ‘Marxists’ following in the footsteps of the German philosopher and sociologists focussed more on the question of power and power relations ingrained into this system<sup>4</sup>, this duality grounded in social reality and the social relations between people remains the most important element of this concept for this study. Verschueren (2012), who makes use of ideology in a similar fashion, uses the following definition for ideology:

“We can define as ideological any basic pattern of meaning or frame of interpretation bearing on or involved in (an) aspect(s) of social ‘reality’ (in particular in the realm of social relations in the public sphere), felt to be commonsensical, and often functioning in a normative way.” (Verschueren, 2012, p. 10)

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<sup>2</sup> For a historical overview of ideology as a concept in political theory see McLellan (1995) or Haywood (2007).

<sup>3</sup> Products and activities of social relations and labour that can be exchanged (Marx, [1858] 1986: 80).

<sup>4</sup> Like Plekhanov (1897), Gramsci (1929-1934) or Althusser (1969)



In many contemporary approaches describing and analysing social reality, the term ideology is replaced or supplemented by another concept describing ideational processes and social relations; *discourse*. Especially in poststructuralist philosophy, discourse, knowledge and power substitute the concept of ideology. Discourse analysis, popularised among others by Michel Foucault (1972), followed in the footsteps of Nietzsche's deconstruction of "Western thought" and combined it with ideas from post-structuralist linguistics. In his materialist view, all forms of objectivity are removed, and every practice or object is subject to discourse, leaving no place for *true, false* or *inverted consciousnesses* (Hawkes, 1996, pp. 152-153). Discourse is not just the product of the exchange principles in the capitalist market place but is "(...) a group of statements insofar as they belong to the same discursive formation" (Foucault, 1972, p. 117). This *discursive formation* is therefore a pattern of *statements* in some kind of material form, be it an object or a practice. This definition also lead Hawkes (1996) to conclude that Foucault failed in his attempt to overcome the dichotomy of idea and matter, as he was forced to retreat to the concept of material to describe the content of discourses (Hawkes, 1996, pp. 155-156). In retrospect, the differences between both concepts are far from being as pronounced as they were once proclaimed to be (Malešević, 2006, pp. 68-69). Ideology and discourse are not mutually exclusive concepts and can appear together within the same framework. Aspects of *meaning*, like they are discussed in post-structural approaches have their place, just like the concept of commodity that is key to the understanding of ideologies.

More important for this study was that both concepts of ideology and discourse open chances to explore the role of language in society and within social relations. In the understanding of ideology as portrayed by Marx, it is language with which the real world is distorted, and the inverted consciousness is created. Furthermore, all consciousness is expressed through language, making it the mean through which commodities are being created. On the other side, post-structuralist approaches opened the door for linguistic and semiotic approaches into ideology-theory, as the exploration of meaning is a central element in the analysis of discourse and discourse formations.

Conceptualisations of *language ideologies* appear to take on some form of a hybrid understanding between the approaches described above. When Silverstein for instance defines them as "(...) sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193) or Irvine argues that language ideologies are "(...) the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests." (Irvine, 1989, p. 255), we see ideational elements as well as systemic elements being recognised by both authors. In

their discussion of language ideologies and what this concept entails in the context of social reality, Gal and Woolard's (2001) state that:

“Cultural categories of communication, such as named languages, dialects, standards, speech communities and genres, are constructed out of the messy variability of spoken interaction. Such bounded and naturalized representations are the product of experts and expert knowledge as well as of more widely shared linguistic ideologies. These representations are enacted and reproduced in familiar linguistic practices: translations, the writing of grammars and dictionaries, the policing of correctness in national standards, the creation of linguistic and folklore collections or academies. The work of linguistic representation produces not only individualized speakers and hearer as the agents of communication, but also larger, imagined social groupings, including (...) publics. Such processes are crucial aspects of power, figuring among the means for establishing inequality, imposing social hierarchy, and mobilizing political action” (Gal & Woolard, 2001, p. 1)

Therein they define language ideologies as constructed representations of language that find their realisation in linguistic practices on all levels, including the actions of individual speakers and their choices as agents, as well as the relations between these representations and the imagined, but also tangible social constructs. This understanding also opens the door for theoretical approaches and concepts that increase the focus on this individual perspective, like *language attitudes*, which are equally points of interest in this study.

### *Attitudes*

The concept of *attitude* has been a key element of psychological research since the days of Carl Jung (1921), who used attitudes to categorise people according to the way they relate to objects. We can find an overview of the early role of attitudes in psychology with Allport (1935; 1954), who was also one of the first to give a comprehensive definition of the term, stating that “an attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related” (Allport, 1935, p. 810). Early definitions contained three basic components:

1. A *cognitive* level referring to the beliefs held.
2. An *affective* level referring to the emotions felt.
3. A *conative* level, meaning that they are in some form of behavioral nature.



This tripartite conceptualisation can also be understood as the defining characteristic of the mentalist approach to attitudes. The other main school of thought on *attitudes*, the behavioral approach, focusses more on the affective component (Gardner, 1985). When we take a closer look at the developments that theories on this subject have taken, we see that the difference between mentalist and behavioral approaches is, at least on the theoretical level, not very big. For instance, the above mentioned three aspects are in some form part of all definitions, either explicit or implicit and attitudes are generally believed to be mostly acquired through socialisation and play a vital role in the behavior of individuals. Instead, the differences between both schools of thought generally revolve around the question, how to approach the study of attitudes.<sup>5</sup>

The way that the relationship between attitude and behavior is conceptualised has however changed over the last decades. The behavioral component is no longer directly included in the definition of attitude. Instead, the connections between attitudes and behavior are now generally examined separately. Accordingly, Gardner (1985) describes attitudes as “an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the Individuals beliefs or opinions about the referent.” (p. 9). One other important difference to Allport is that Gardner states that attitudes refer specifically and only to objects. Attitudes are about a thing, which can either be very specific, for example referring to specific person, or rather unspecific, maybe referring to an idea of something, like a language for instance (Ibid., 8-9). Among the most influential theoretical work in the more recent past Eagly and Chaikens (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993) come to mind, as well as Ajzen (1991), and Ajzen and Fishbein’s decades long elaborations on this issue (1969, 1975, 1980, 2000, 2010).

The former defined attitudes as “(...) a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 1). The main components in this definition are the terms *psychological tendency* and the element of *evaluation*. Psychological tendency is understood to be a disposition of the inner state of an individual. The use of the term tendency is here noteworthy as it underlines that attitudes are of temporal nature. Even though attitudes are often understood to be acquired or learned, they can also result from biological reactions. Therefore, Eagly and Chaiken (1993) exclude the aspect of acquisition from their definition and opted for a term that better fits their understanding; tendency. The component of evaluation became a part of the definition to negotiate between the multitude of stimuli and responses that influence the formation of attitudes. Responses are here understood to be the expression of approval or disapproval, like or dislike towards an object.

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<sup>5</sup> for a discussion on this issue see McKenzie (2010, pp. 19-24).

These expressions inherently include a form of evaluation where these responses are given a valence in form of intensity; for instance, between extremely good to extremely bad (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, pp. 2-4).

The notion that attitudes are an important part of language and therefore also of linguistic and ethnolinguistic research is strongly ingrained in sociolinguistic tradition. Scholars such as Hymes (1974) refer to attitudes as being a major factor to all forms of language production, as language is enacted in the form of communication. In difference to the deep and rich history in theoretical work on attitudes in social psychology, the work on attitudes regarding language remains rather underdeveloped. In many cases the term attitude is not being used within a specific scientific reference frame, but as a general term referring to an opinion or feeling towards something. The main reason for that appears to be that the interest in linguistics is more in the empirical side of the issue (McKenzie, 2010, pp. 25-26), while even those authors that give more attention to the theoretical aspects prefer to give an overview rather than discussing the specifics of their terminology. A concrete model for language attitudes that is comparable to models for attitudes in general like in social psychology does not exist. Three prominent approaches to the theory of language attitudes exemplifying this issue come from Edwards (1982), McKenzie (2010) and Garrett (2010), who all worked on attitudes towards variations of English.

Edwards (1982) refers to the definition of attitudes by Sarnoff (1960), taking on a mentalist approach, as he emphasised the importance to recognise the cognitive, affective and connotative aspects of attitudes. He also claims that the connection of attitudes to behavior is rather strong in language attitudes (Edwards, 1982, p. 21). McKenzie (2010) references Ajzen and Fishbein and their *Theory of Reasoned Action* (TRA) as well as Ajzen's *Theory of Planned Action* for his conceptualisation of attitudes in relation to behavior, pointing out the advantages of mentalist approaches. He views attitudes as a cognitive reflex of categorising environmental signals. Additionally, he emphasises that underlying attitudes are a conscious process of rational decision making, somewhat like the concept of intent presented in the TRA, and that attitudes have an intensity to them. Like Edwards (1982) he does not proceed to link these explanations and basic assumptions on attitudes to the specific issue of language attitudes and instead just presents them as a collection of empirical studies concerning language in society (McKenzie, 2010, pp. 19-26). Garrett (2010) also shows many similarities to these two earlier approaches. He likewise refers to Ajzen and Fishbein, but does not employ their latest iteration, but rather an older, revised version, which lacks the recognition of individual biographical differences as well as the influence of control or the importance of the environment and abilities (Garrett,

2010, p. 27). He does, however, recognise some of the issues that this older model of the TRA possesses, noting that several factors excluded in this model can interfere with the actual performance of a behaviour in accordance with the attitudes held. He thus notes that these are in themselves just as interesting to study as the factors included in the model (Garrett, 2010, pp. 27-29).

Summarising the current landscape of language attitude theory, we see a massive gap in modelling the interrelation of mental conceptualisations on language and speaking to the performative and behavioral speech production as well as a lack of clarity and precision regarding the terminology. Instead, the focus has been directed towards studying language attitudes in specific areas of interest. Baker (1992) lists these eight forms of attitudes as being the most important ones (Baker, 1992, pp. 29-30):

- Attitudes towards language variation, dialect and speech style
- Attitudes towards learning a new language
- Attitudes towards a specific minority language
- Attitudes towards language groups, communities and minorities
- Attitude towards language lessons
- Attitude of parents towards language lessons
- Attitude towards the use of specific language
- Attitude towards language preference

From a contemporary viewpoint, some of the points seem somewhat problematic. The term minority language for instance needs to be viewed as relative to the specific scenario and perspective taken, as a language can be a minority language in a national or regional perspective while being a majority language in a local perspective, or the other way-round. It also appears questionable to split the topic of language learning into two different issues, while other issues overlap to the point of being inseparable. In many ways, however, this list covers the main areas of interest so far.

The methods used to study language attitudes generally vary depending on the general approach to attitudes. Studies using the mentalist approach to attitudes attempt to access the beliefs and opinions towards the psychological object “language” momentarily present in the human mind. The most frequently used approaches in studies with a mentalist background are the so-called *direct methods*; mainly using self-reporting questionnaires and interviews. Despite their popularity, especially in large scale language-attitude studies like national language surveys<sup>6</sup>,

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<sup>6</sup> For a recent example see Marmion, Obata and Troy (2014) on language attitudes on Australian aboriginal

these methods are faced with serious criticism. Risks of direct methods include the *social desirability bias* where answers are altered to appear socially appropriate, or the *acquiescence bias* that leads participants to give answers they think the researcher wants to receive (Oppenheim, 1992). Especially in research concerned with sensitive social, economic or political issues, social desirability bias can create major problems, whereas the acquiescence bias necessitates a very careful phrasing of questions and handling of the researcher-participant relationship. To counter some of the issues, the matched-guised technique (MGT) was created as a form of indirect method (Lambert, et al., 1960). In the original study, the researchers confronted participants with speech samples from different languages and asked them for their evaluation of each speakers' character. Thinking each language was spoken by a different speaker, they often gave different evaluations for each sample. In truth, each sample was spoken by the same multilingual speaker. Thus, the given evaluations for each sample could be connected to the presented language. Following this, many other studies have used the MGT to study attitudes thought to remain hidden in direct methods and the MGT was adapted over time to fit different research questions (Bourhis, et al., 1975). However, both direct and indirect methods are criticised for their inability to properly consider environmental and contextual factors.

To lessen this problem, mentalist attitude studies often include historical, social and political contextualisation, describing the general environment or at times even offering additional ethnographic data. These attempts remain in the concept of attitudes as mental representations though, without shifting the emphasis towards the behavioral and discursive aspects. There are, however, approaches that move the analytical focus from evaluating the cognitive representations of language in the human mind towards the study of attitudes in discursive linguistic practices. These discursive approaches often use qualitative methods to understand language attitudes in their real-life applications and explore the relationships between the individual and language as a mental construct (Garrett, 2010; Liebscher & Daily-O'Cain, 2009). They understand attitudes as something that is created situationally within the given context and does not have a neutral form that can be accessed outside of context. Liebscher and O'Cain (2009) differentiate between three types of approaches within discourse-based language attitude studies. The first are the content-based approaches that look for expressions of attitudes towards language in large corpora of conversations (Daily-O'Cain, 1997). The second are the turn-internal and pragmatic approaches that use similar data as the content-based approaches but put more emphasis on deconstruction of each attitude related statement instead of taking only the

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languages

obvious content of the statement. The third type are interactional approaches that employ strategies from conversation analysis and interactional sociolinguistics, considering things like turn-taking, intensity of speech, pauses or code-switching (Auer, 1995; Rampton, 1995). These methods are not without issues either. They rely heavily on the researcher and the corpora chosen for the analysis. It is difficult to create data that is comparable to other studies or even control for the validity of the made claims. They also must include discursive practices that precede and follow the analysed excerpts. Additionally, to an even greater extent than mentalist approaches, these discursive methods require a high degree of transparency, because so much emphasis is put on the choices made by the researcher, making it is necessary that the background, observations, relationships, interactions and intentions of the researcher are discussed in the study itself. Unfortunately, these points of criticism often remain unaddressed. This study tried to avoid this issue by showing the position of the researcher at various points throughout, increasing the transparency of the perspectives taken here.

### *1.3. Methodology*

“Before an aspect of meaning can be seen as an ingredient of ideology, it should emerge coherently from the data, both in terms of conceptual connectedness with other aspects of meaning and in terms of patterns of recurrence or of absence.” (Verschueren, 2012, p. 23)

Since this study intended to combine perspectives focusing on both ideologies and attitudes, it needed to employ approaches from either scientific tradition, that ideally also shared some common ground. The study also wanted to give room to the perspectives of individuals without presenting an overemphasised singular viewpoint and distorting the image of local practices, ideologies and identities beyond the already existing limitations of such a research project. Even though the idea of objectivity in science is nothing but an illusion, there is nonetheless the ideal of creating data that remains accessible outside the limits of singular viewpoints and that lends itself to comparisons with other, similar studies. To account for the different theoretical and conceptual approaches that are part of the study’s framework, it also needed to include data capable of depicting elements from the micro-level and the macro-level; the individual and the collective; attitudes and ideologies. Having the complex starting parameters in mind, it became clear that a singular approach was incapable of delivering on all these points and the application of multiple methods was needed.

At its base, this study took inspiration from Grounded Theory (GT), which encourages the use of data from multiple sources using various methods. To describe the idea of GT, Charmaz

(2006) calls back to the founders of this approach, Glaser and Strauss (1967; Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987), and lists its central principles (Charmaz, 2006, pp. 5-6):

- Simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis
- Constructing analytic codes and categories from data, not from preconceived logically deduced hypotheses
- Using the constant comparative method, which involves making comparisons during each stage of the analysis
- Advancing theory development during each step of data collection and analysis
- Memo-writing to elaborate categories, specify their properties, define relationships between categories, and identify gaps
- Sampling aimed toward theory construction, not for population representativeness
- Conducting the literature review after developing an independent analysis.

Utilising the idea of enriching recorded data with coding elements to structure the gathered information that inform further inquiry, allowed for the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods in multiple, consecutive steps. The data and analysis of that data gathered in one step, was used to inform the data collection in the next one. It allowed for a methodological flexibility that was desperately needed for this study, without losing structural integrity. In practical terms, this had several consequences for this study:

- It was undertaken in multiple steps
- The sample of the study did not try to create a representative data set, but explored specific contexts
- Some of the methods were chosen during the research to further specify patterns previously observed.
- Source for theory construction was the data, not literature.
- The structure of the final draft was conceived following the analysis and not beforehand.

How this study incorporated these principles will be elaborated on shortly below. The starting point was an interview conducted with an Acholi living in my hometown Cologne, Germany. Before meeting this person, who had gone to school and lived in Gulu for much of his life, the study did not have a thematic focus beyond studying attitudes and ideologies in Gulu. In this interview, several aspects that later became focal points of the study were brought up for the first time, including issues of internal displacement and migration, globalisation of culture and language, as well as education. The method of the interview also became exemplary for many interviews that were to follow; it was done without the use of a preconceived set of questions or



recording devices. Using information gathered in these undirected interviews became a key element for this study at various points and was used to inform further inquiries using the same or different methodological approaches.

The next major step informing the direction of the study was the first field trip. Overall, data was collected over three trips between 2014 and 2016. The first fieldwork in 2014 lasted about seven weeks, the second one in 2015 for about 5 months and the latest trip in 2016 again for about seven weeks. Splitting the fieldwork into three steps enabled to build the questions asked and the specific focal points of the study upon knowledge acquired in the field and not on assumptions taken from afar. Thus, it was possible to identify subgroups that could be of special interest for the study and to further specify the types of behaviour targeted. The stronger focus on the use of English was one result of this approach, as its role in the local language ecology became apparent during the first field trip. This first stay in the field also helped in identifying the spatial scope of the study. On my third day in Gulu, after getting acquainted with my immediate neighbourhood I decided to take a walk through the town. During this walk, depicted below, I not only attained an understanding of the size of that part of Gulu, but also received a visual image of the physical landscape, as well as a first idea of the speakers and their linguistic practices.

*Map 1. A walk through Gulu, March 05.2014 (created using © OpenStreetMap).*



As it turned out, most places featured in this study were either directly on, or just nearby the path I took during this several hours lasting walk. This underlines the role and impact of myself as the researcher to the construction of the data set and presented perspectives. The study was inevitably ethnographic, using information from participant observation in all steps of the data collection. Together with the undirected interviews and conversations held throughout the course of the data collection process, these observations offered a continuous stream of information to this research. In the field of linguistic anthropology, the use of ethnographic methods has gained more and more attention in the recent past. The focus on the contextual characteristics of language by researchers such as Duranti (1997; 2004), or in the field of African linguistics by, amongst others, Lüpke and Storch (2013), highlight the use of qualitative approaches to acquire information that exceeds what can be captured through classical methods of variationist sociolinguistics. This recent movement, which has its roots in the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1964; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972), allows for an improved understanding of the impact of social or environmental factors on linguistic behaviour. Ethnography is understood as the “(...) written description of social organisation, social activities, symbolic and material resources, and interpretative practices characteristic of a particular group of people.” (Duranti, 2004, p. 85). It requires the researcher to be able to step back from his own immediate reactions and experiences in order to, as far as possible, achieve some form of ‘objectivity’ or ‘neutrality’, while also identifying with the situation and the people involved emphatically to gain, what Duranti calls an “insiders perspective” (Duranti, 1997, p. 82). This in many ways contradictory task has often been shown to be rather difficult, as it requires the researcher to decide to what degree he intends to participate in the studied situations and groups (Clark & Trousdale, 2003, p. 37; Geertz, 1983, pp. 57-58). The best way to deal with the challenges of participation and closeness of the observer is to acknowledge the different perspectives that exist in the given context and present the interactional and dialogical nature of knowledge production in the text. This includes the attempt to make the perspective of the researcher transparent.

This study used elements of linguistic ethnography to create an emic perspective on language attitudes. It looked at peoples’ daily activities and routines through the lens of participant observation to take note of linguistic practices in interactions within their contextual frame. It also used undirected interviews and conversations made within the specific context to discuss the individual experience of language and communication. Through this, the study hoped to comply with the notion of Hymes (1964) regarding the study of language:



“It is not linguistics, but ethnography—not language, but communication—which must provide the frame of reference within which the place of language in culture and society is to be described.” (Hymes, 1964, p. 3)

Beyond the use of undirected interviews as well as participant observation, the aim of the study was to incorporate methods from more traditional approaches to social sciences that are generally connected to the study of attitudes. Instead of putting aside the methods of mentalist approaches, the study incorporates them into the methodological framework and tried to give them equal space. It is the author’s opinion that there are considerable benefits from using these mentalist methods and quantitative approaches that can hardly be replicated using only discursive methods. For one, creating a questionnaire ensures that the study produces data that allows for comparisons between people from different backgrounds and social groups, as every participant was asked the same questions. Secondly, it can offset biases created by the researcher’s ability to gain access to certain social groups and settings, as it often requires less effort to produce this quantitative data. While it could take month to be allowed to participate or even observe some social practices, it could only take minutes to gain the consent of a potential participant to fill in a questionnaire. On the other side, for some people it also is easier to take part in the study using the questionnaire than to create time and space for an outsider to take part in their life, even if they were interested in participating in general. In the context of this study, the share of women participating in this study greatly benefitted from the use of questionnaires. As the study will discuss later, personal networks in Gulu tended to be rather homogenous regarding gender. This equally effected my own networks and my ability to interact with women for this research. Doing a longer interview with an unknown man could raise questions among neighbours or their families, especially when the interviewer was a stranger. The questionnaire on the other hand did not carry this problem and in some cases even led to an agreement to do an interview anyway, as the participants could discuss their participation with others using the questionnaire as a token. Even through the overall structure and the topics of the survey were constructed in advance following the first fieldwork in 2014, the individual questions of the questionnaire were created at the beginning of the second and longest fieldwork in 2015 in cooperation with local partners.

Despite the different methods and approaches present in this study, it followed a set of common themes and issues throughout its various elements. These include questions focussing on the individual, like language biographies, language repertoires, their use of language or language attitudes, but also questions on how the individual is connected to its immediate and greater social and physical environment. Because of the relatively wide range of methods applied here,

each chapter carrying a unique methodological approach includes a short introduction to its theoretical, conceptual and methodical base.

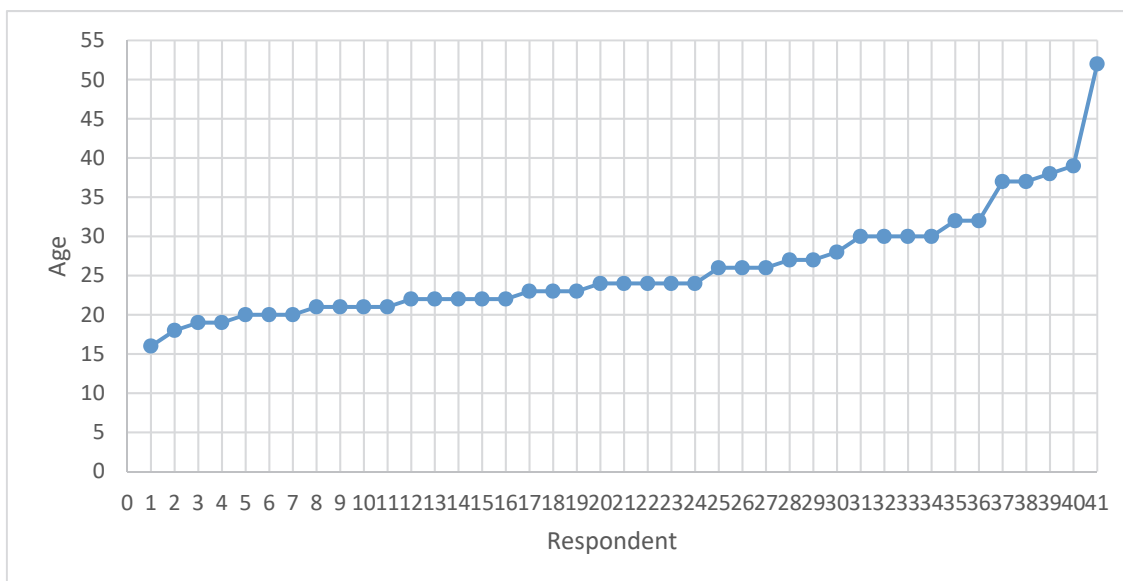
### *Sample*

In most quantitative studies, the purpose of the sample is to present an excerpt of the field that enables “the avoidance of bias” (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p. 23). There are different sampling methods that are usually employed to create such an unbiased perspective by incorporating some form of randomisation. Since for this study, the quantitative approaches were the result of previous research, a randomised sampling method was not necessary. Instead, the sample was created consciously by the researcher using a *non-probability* sampling method (Marshall, 1996). It included people from the different aspects of social life covered in the study and was supposed to incorporate the social and ethnic diversity of Gulu. The size of the sample was kept rather small, so that the survey could be done by a single researcher and allowed for follow ups to some of the answers.

Overall, forty-one people with highly diverse backgrounds became part of the study. The average age of the participants was just under 26 years, at 25.9. In comparison, the average age of Ugandan citizens according to the latest national census in 2014, was 15.9 years (2016, p. 14). However, it should be noted that this study excluded everyone under the age of 16 from participating, so that the statistically largest age group in Uganda was not registered here at all. Especially considering the exclusion of the youngest Ugandans it can be said that the participants in this study are of a rather young age, with the oldest participant being 52 years old.

It should also be kept in mind that the age given by the participants does not necessarily have to be correct in terms of actual lived years. Granted, this can be said about all information gathered through self-reporting as well as most other methods of data-collection, but in this case, caution might be of extra value for multiple reasons. First, as in many other places of the world, the exact date of birth is often not known to the respondent themselves and what age the participants think they have might not be true. Also, some could report a number different from their actual age for personal reasons. Even though it is not assumed that this was a common occurrence, there is one known case of a participant who stated to be younger in the questionnaire, just as he did in his everyday life. This was only revealed after a close relative of the person in question disclosed this information afterwards.

Figure 1. Ages of all respondents.



The gender distribution of the sample showed a higher number of males taking part than females, with a difference of twenty-four to seventeen. Ideally, the study would have had an equal number of men and women taking part, but as representativeness was not the main concern of the sample this difference was considered acceptable.

Most participants identified themselves as ethnic Acholi or Luo. The sample further included participants who identified as Karamojong, Itesot, Baganda, Lugbara and Nubi.

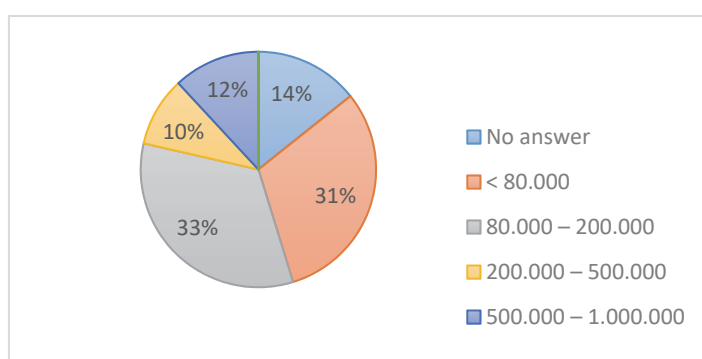
Table 1. Ethnic composition of the sample group.

Acholi/Luo	32
Karamojong	3
Itesot	2
Muganda	2
Lugbara	1
Nubi	1

Twenty-five of the participants also named Gulu as their place of birth, making it the place most of the participants were born at. In terms of occupation, the sample mainly consisted of employees in either small or medium sized businesses. Eight participants said they were students, however, two of them also named an additional occupation besides being students. Twelve participants said they were self-employed in some form. Further, one participant named farming as occupation and three were working in government jobs. Two as teachers and the third in civic registration. Three participants opted not to name their current occupation. Only one of the participants listed unemployed as their current occupation.

Regarding the participants' income, the questionnaire asked them to give a rough estimate of their monthly income and place it into one of six income brackets. The use of income brackets in this questionnaire, besides being more practical in terms of analysing, was the result of variation in many people's monthly income; not only for those being self-employed, but also for some employees who were paid according to their monthly work-load. The income brackets for this questionnaire were also not chosen randomly. They were supposed to represent different job opportunities connected to education levels, as well as specific differences in terms of affordable assets and standard of living. Most participants in this study had a monthly income below 200,000 UGX, or roughly 60 Euros.

*Figure 2. Estimated income of participants in UGX.<sup>7</sup>*



While most participants in this study were in the lower income brackets, the level of education of those taking part in the questionnaire was comparatively high, as a comparison with the data from the most recent national census in 2014 (Uganda, 2016) shows:

*Table 2. Level of education, sample and National Census 2014.*

Highest Level of Education	Sample		Gulu Census in %	National Census in %
	#	%		
No School	0	0	7,2	18,9
Primary	7	17,1	29,6	58,4
Secondary	12	29,3	63,2	15,4 (O-Level) 3,0 (A-Level)
Institute (Diploma)	6	14,6		4,3
University	16	39,0		

As visible in the table above, the study used a different assessment of education levels compared to the national census. For one, the census only registered what levels of education someone had

<sup>7</sup> At the time of the study the exchange rate was about 3,800 UGX for 1€

**completed.** The study on the other hand asked for the highest form of education **attended.** The reason for this was that the sheer participation was presumed to be of higher importance than acquiring the according degree. This was also done to accommodate for the way the education system often operated in Uganda, as the participation in final exams must often be paid extra for by the students, leading to some people dropping out prematurely. Thus, the acquisition of a school degree is not only connected to the actual competence of a student, but also to financial aspects. For the comparison of the used sample to the data collected from the census, this means that several individuals who were considered to have received tertiary education in the study would not have appeared under that label under the definition of the census.

Unlike the national census, this study did not differentiate between O-Level and A-Level in the secondary level, as both degrees are acquired in the same institutions. Different to the numbers available for Gulu, tertiary education was here also assessed separately from secondary education. Unlike the national census it also included the category of institutes. While universities function in the same way as colleges and universities in other countries, institutes are more comparable to vocational schools. Both educational institutions serve entirely different purposes and are completely separated entities that require different levels of investment to enter and previous educational achievements. Institutes can be found a lot more frequent in the country than universities and can also appear in more rural areas, whereas universities are mostly based in urban areas. Thus, vocational schools tend to generally appeal to different parts of the demographic than universities. Unfortunately, the national and regional census did not clarify whether degrees earned from institutes are included within their concept of tertiary education, further complicating the comparability of the data sets.

To illustrate the consequences of the different definitions of education levels between this study and the national census, following table depicts an alternative interpretation and comparison:

*Table 3. Comparison of highest levels of education achieved.*

Highest Level of Education Completed	Sample		Gulu Census in %	National Census in %
	#	%		
No School	1	2.4	7.2	18.9
Primary	12	29.3	29.6	58,4
Secondary	20	48.8	63.2	15.4 (O-Level) 3.0 (A-Level)
University	8	19.5		

Using this deviating definition of education levels, we see that the sample can appear looking very similar to the data given for the Gulu municipality, showing that even though the sample was not created with the goal of producing representative data, its results can nonetheless be used to identify more general trends in this specific context.

On the other hand, considering that all the participants in this study attended at least primary school for some period and more than half of the participants have some form of tertiary education by the definition chosen here, it must be concluded that the sample has a bias towards a higher educated part of the population. However, as the numbers showed, the higher level of education not always led to a higher monthly income, even though some correlation seems undeniable. The sample also showed a significant variation in the participants' education and income levels, opening the possibility to compare peoples' answers regarding their personal backgrounds.

#### *1.4. Naming conventions*

One of the issues this study faced was the variety of names given to languages and ethnic groups, not only by the people participating in the study, but also by linguists, anthropologists or politicians. A single ethnic group or language could carry different names denoting the same object or be referred to using different variations of the same term. This presence of terminological variation can best be illustrated using the ethnic group at the centre of this study; the Acholi. The multitude of terms referring to this group of people, whose language usually carries the same name as the ethnic group, is for instance visible in the work of one of their foremost historians, Ronald R. Atkinson (2011 [1994]). Writing about their early history, he used the term "Acholi" not as an ethnic or linguistic term, but to describe the place where the current Acholi people reside. To describe them as an ethnic group and their language he used the term "Luo". While he shifts to the ethnic term "Acholi" when he sees their common ethnic identity to have formed, he remains using "Luo" to collectively describe the languages of the Alur, Jonam, Acholi and Lango people. On the other hand, another historian of the Acholi, Uma-Owiny Paul Vincent (2012), who wrote about the Acholi chiefdoms before and during the colonial period, refers to the early Acholi settlers in the region as "Lwoo", a term that in linguistics is used to refer to the Western Nilotic language cluster that includes *Acholi*, *Lango*, *Alur*, *Adhola*, *Dholuo* and *Kumam* (Heusing, 2004).

These varying terms are not restricted to historical or linguistic writing but find their reflection in the self-identification of many participants in this study. Some used the term "Luo" to refer

to their ethnic identity, others to refer to their language and a few used the term for both. Most however used the term “Acholi”, as only six of the thirty-two participants who identified themselves as Acholi chose an alternative term for their ethnic affiliation. In two cases the participants added the name of their clan and in a third the participant added the ethnic affiliation of their mother (Bunyoro) to denote his own ethnicity. He nonetheless generally referred to himself only as an Acholi. In the other three deviating cases we also found the terms Luo and Nilotic.

*Table 4. Ethnic self-identification*

Acholi	Luo	Acholi + Luo	Acholi + Nilotic	Acholi + Clan	Acholi + Bunyoro
26	1	1	1	2	1

A similar image could be seen in the answers for peoples’ first language, as six of the respondents used the term *Luo* here:

*Table 5. Term for their first language by ethnic Acholi respondents*

Acholi	Luo	Luo (Acholi)
26	5	1

All six respondents who used the term *Luo*, used it to refer to the *Acholi* language. Two of them also listed *Lango* as part of their language repertoire, further demonstrating that they used the term synonymously to *Acholi* and not to refer to the language cluster *Lwoo*. This impression was reinforced in a conversation with one of the participants that listed *Luo* as the answer to what their first language was. He thought of *Luo* as the language of the Acholi people, and not as the language of the Acholi, Alur and Langi. However, he also admitted to not being sure about these terms and that he would use them interchangeably.

Among the nine participants that were not ethnic *Acholi*, seven called the language *Acholi* and two used the term *Luo*, both using it to refer solely to the *Acholi* language.

*Table 6. Use of Acholi or Luo by non-Acholi respondents.*

Acholi	Luo
7	2

Beyond academic work and the answers given by the respondents in this study, the term *Luo* also appeared in cultural practices. The term was for instance used among musicians. The popular local Hip-Hop artist MC Wang-Jok<sup>8</sup> referred to his own style of music as “Luo-Synthesis Rap”, which he understood as the combination of modern, western style Hip-Hop and traditional elements from Acholi culture. Other Acholi artists have also used the term *Luo*, like fellow Hip-Hopper Lumix, who passed away in 2015 and was proclaimed the “Luo Hip-Hop King”<sup>9</sup>, or the musician Okeng Born Town from Gulu who created a song called “*Leb Luo*” in which he refers to various northern Ugandan ethnicities, including Acholi, Langi, Alur, but also Ma’di and Atesot. The lyrics to this song were, however, entirely in *Acholi*.<sup>10</sup> Beyond music, the term *Luo* can be found with dance-groups<sup>11</sup> and other elements of local culture<sup>12</sup>. It is also not exclusively used by Acholi, but can equally be found with other, non-Acholi artists. The popular musician Coco-finger from Lira for instance refers to himself as the “Luo-Ambassador”, even though the lyrics to most of his songs are in Luganda and English.

Similar issues also existed for other languages and ethnic groups appearing in this study. For the *Itesot* ethnic group the terms *Teso* and *Itesot* were used by respondents, and for their language the terms *Teso*, *Ateso* and *Atesot*. The language *Karimojong* was also referred to as *Karamojong*, *Ngi’karimojong* and *Nga’karimojong*, and the *Nubi* ethnic group was also referred to as *Nubians*. To avoid confusion, this study tried to use only one term for either language or ethnic group throughout:

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<sup>8</sup> See <https://www.facebook.com/TheJoksWay/posts/922460364521378:0>; accessed June 24, 2017

<sup>9</sup> See <http://www.adwarping.co.ug/luo-hip-hop-king-dies-after-a-liver-failure/>; accessed June 24, 2017

<sup>10</sup> See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zPDw-Tcouok>; accessed June 24, 2017

<sup>11</sup> See <https://www.facebook.com/Luorevolutiongroup/>; accessed June 24, 2017

<sup>12</sup> See <http://www.ntv.co.ug/news/local/31/may/2015/luo-secrets-book-highlighting-luo-culture-and-customs-6424#sthash.RIdKQOkv.dpbs>; accessed June 24, 2017



Table 7. Nomenclature of ethnic groups and languages.

	By respondents and elsewhere	Convention
Ethnic groups	<i>Acholi</i> <i>Luo</i> <i>Lwoo</i> <i>Nilotic</i> <i>(Clan-name)</i>	<i>Acholi</i>
	<i>Itesot</i> <i>Teso</i>	<i>Itesot</i>
	<i>Nubi</i> <i>Nubian</i>	<i>Nubi</i>
	<i>Karamojong</i> <i>Karimojong</i>	<i>Karamojong</i>
Languages	<i>Acholi</i> <i>Luo</i>	<i>Acholi</i>
	<i>Atesot</i> <i>Ateso</i> <i>Teso</i>	<i>Atesot</i>
	<i>Karimojong</i> <i>Karamojong</i> <i>Ngi'karimojong</i> <i>Nga'karimojong</i>	<i>Karimojong</i>

The choices regarding the names that were used in this study generally depended on which terms were the most common among the participants.

### 1.5. Ethical considerations

Ethical questions have become more and more important in the field of linguistics over the last couple of decades, especially since the creation of ethic boards and guidelines for all research involving humans. These guidelines include the demand for public accessibility of results of the research, the considerations of the wellbeing of all participants involved in the project as well as at times the demand of financial compensations for them. Above all they include the absolute necessity of obtaining an official permission before conducting the research. This is true for research in Uganda as well, where ethical considerations must be addressed in all applications for research permits, including this project, following the lines of the “National Guidelines for

Research Involving Humans as Research Participants”. The research permit was issued by the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) on July 14<sup>th</sup>, 2014 under the file number SS 3455 and the clearance letter from the Research Secretariat of the Office of the President was handed over to the local district authorities.

In the field of linguistics, the task of understanding the ethics of the research can be challenging at times, as the immediate impact on the participants is not as clear as with research in other fields of social sciences. Therefore, it seemed useful to consider the ethical issues in a broader sense. Cameron et al. (1992) groups these issues into three categories:

- I. Ethical research in the sense of taking care of the participant’s wellbeing and acknowledging their contribution to the research.
- II. Doing the research not only with the participants, but also for them and using the produced knowledge to support the participant’s interests in the field that (s)he worked in. This category is therefor also called the “advocacy position” (Cameron, et al., 1992, p. 15)
- III. Using research methods that do not objectify the participants but involve them in dialogue. Research must be conducted “with” people and not about people and thereby empower them to be active subjects within the research.

As noted by Trechter (2013), this model focusses mainly on the power relations involved in research between the one conducting it and those participating as informants. Applied to the present research project this was a point of great importance. It was not only situated in an area definable as “less developed”, but also in an area with a colonial past. This created a difference or gap between researcher and informants that not only must be considered in the light of results of the research, but also in its ethics. The skin colour may mark the researcher as an outsider, but potentially also as a person of higher power in many contexts, as foreign researcher from western institutions are often associated with money, higher education and power. This has strong consequences especially for the third point in Cameron’s categorisation; creating a research situation and method that allows the informant to take agency within the project can be very challenging.

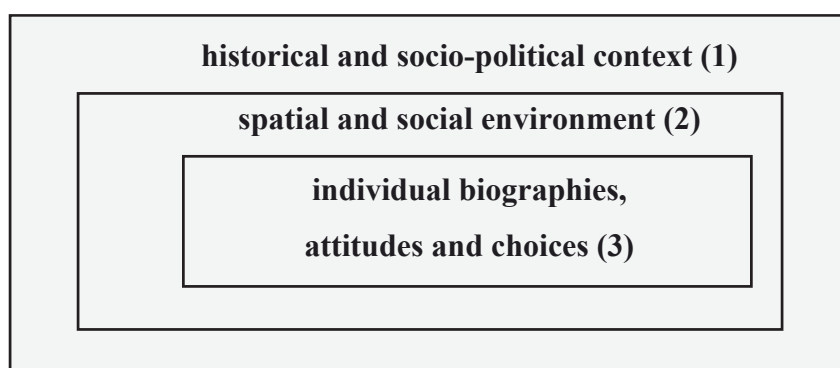
The first action resulting from this issue was to create a method, which gave the participants the room to express themselves and their thoughts on this subject as freely as possible. This also meant that the respondents could choose to skip any question they were not willing to answer, without being questioned for their motives. Another point was to conduct the research not in an artificially set up space, but in a space comfortable for the participant. This meant that not the

participant was the mobile part of the interview, but the researcher. That was done to ensure that the power relations of the interview situation would not include the spatial circumstances as well, reducing the “difference” between researcher and informant. Even though the topics covered in this study were not deemed dangerous, the participants had the option to opt for anonymity or to disguise their name to their liking. All participants signed a letter of consent, informing them of the topic and intention of the research as well as their right as participants to retract their consent at any time. All participants received the letter ahead of time to take it home and discuss it with whoever they wanted to. The participants were not paid for their contributions, but all costs connected to their participation were reimbursed by the researcher. In the published version of the study, the names of all participants were altered.

### *1.6. Thesis structure*

From the beginning it was the intention of the research to incorporate different perspectives on language in society and try to create an image that exceeds the at times singular viewpoints that can result from restricting a study to only one approach. To structure these different perspectives, the study employed a form of zoom-in approach. It first explored the macro-sociological conditions, then looked at the local spatial and social environment before finally focussing on the attitudes and biographies of individuals living within this social and spatial frame. This choice was based on the idea, that people perform their individual linguistic repertoires influenced by their attitudes in their specific social and spatial environment within a given contextual frame.

*Figure 3. Zoom-in approach of the study*



In the first part following the introduction and methodology, the thesis discusses the contextual frame of the studied field. Therein it gives room to the social, historical and political backgrounds that set the stage for the empirical elements of the study. This background is not

only important to understand the social conditions of this community, but also the linguistic diversity that is so characteristic for the environments and individuals the study focussed on. In chapter 4., the study explored several spatial and social environments that appeared as essential elements of social life for many in this community. For the spatial dimension, the study had chosen different market environments and church communities that showed very specific characteristics regarding the influence of language and linguistic choices. The chapter focusses on some of the social and linguistic practices performed there and asks how these linguistic practices are related to the character of these environments. Following this, chapter 5. focuses on the social networks in which people engage, exploring the linguistic choices made in family-, friendship- and work-networks. It explores the way that people are connected to others and how language is being ascribed to these different connections. In chapters 6. and 7. the thesis aims its focus towards the individual speaker. It first looks at peoples' biographies, their language socialisation and their personal stories regarding their experience with language and follow this up with an exploration of their linguistic choices and language attitudes. Finally, this thesis will in chapter 8. use the synopsis of this study to connect this approach and its results to issues of theory and methodology.

## *2. The history and politics of ethnicity and language*

The ethnic and linguistic diversity of Africa is often a key point in discussions of the linguistic, sociological and political landscape on the continent. Among linguistics, this diversity is usually greeted with great enthusiasm, as it provides tremendous insight into the possibilities of human languages and a wealth of un- or under-studied objects for research. However, this positive attitude is often not echoed in social or political discourses. In the context of “nation building” the ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity has by many been portrayed as a problem that needs overcoming. That includes ideologies, that view the nation as the progressive alternative to tribalism, as well as the level administrations, where the promotion of a single official language promised to improve the efficiency of governing. Since the end of the colonial period the relationship of language with nation and national identity has remained a topic across the continent with different approaches and supposed solutions.<sup>13</sup>

### *2.1. Demographics of Uganda*

Located across the equator about 800 kilometres away from the Indian Ocean, Uganda is part of East Africa. As a landlocked country, it is neighboured by the South Sudan to the north, Kenya in the east, Tanzania in the south, Rwanda to the southwest and the Democratic Republic of Congo to the west. Uganda sits right at the northern ridge of the world’s second largest fresh water lake, Lake Victoria. Of its total area of 241.551 km<sup>2</sup>, just over two hundred thousand square kilometres are land area. The country is home to more than forty million people.<sup>14</sup> Since 1980 the overall population of Uganda has more than tripled and with a growth rate of over three percent per year it is expected to continue growing significantly. In 2017 it had the second youngest population of the world with a median age of only 15.2 years and almost half of Ugandans being under the age of fifteen. To illustrate how rapid this growth was, we can compare the latest estimations of the overall population with the latest national census from just 2014, which only reported about thirty-four million people (2016).

Uganda is one of the least urbanised countries in the world with only 16.4 percent of the population living in an urban area (WorldBank, 2016).<sup>15</sup> Of all African countries, only Burundi has a lower rate of urbanisation. Most of the urban population is concentrated in the nation’s

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<sup>13</sup> For a discussion on this topic see Laitin (1992, pp. 1-4)

<sup>14</sup> Uganda Population (2017-11-14). Retrieved 2017-12-28, from <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/uganda-population/>

<sup>15</sup> The census of 2014 shows a slightly higher percentage for people living in an urban center at 21.7; a difference resulting from varying definitions for “urban” between the World Bank and the Ugandan Bureau of Statistics.

capital Kampala and its connected neighbour districts. Including the municipalities Nansana, Kira, Makindye and Mukono, which are all part of the Kampala metropolitan area, more than 2.6 million live in or directly around the capital, making it the by far biggest urban center of the country. The urban population of Uganda is, however, growing faster than the overall population at a rate of 5.4 percent<sup>16</sup>, leading to an ongoing process of rapid urbanisation that is not restricted to Kampala but takes place in many urban centers across the country.

Uganda is among the least developed countries in the world with an economy largely dependent on its agricultural sector. Almost seventy percent of Ugandans work in agriculture, mostly as subsistence workers (Census 2014: 29). The capital Kampala is situated in the central region, the most densely populated part of Uganda with about 10 million people. The region northern Uganda, where this study was situated, has the largest share of territory, but the smallest population. Despite having over forty percent of the countries land mass, it is home to just over twenty percent of the population. Of the twenty-five largest municipalities, only three can be found in this region, with Gulu being the by far biggest one with over 150,000 people as of 2017.<sup>17</sup>

As mentioned before, Uganda is ethnically highly diverse with sixty-five recognised ethnicities and several minority groups without an official status. The latest census from 2014 presents the following numbers for the largest ethnic groups in the country.

*Table 8. Largest ethnic groups in Uganda (Census, 2014: 20).*

Ethnic Group	2002		2014	
	Number (millions)	Percentage	Number (millions)	Percentage
Baganda	4.13	17.7	5.56	16.5
Banyankore	2.33	10.0	3.22	9.6
Basoga	2.07	8.9	2.96	8.8
Bakiga	1.68	7.2	2.39	7.1
Itesot	1.57	6.7	2.36	7.0
Langi	1.49	6.4	2.13	6.3
Bagisu	1.12	4.8	1.65	4.9
Acholi	1.14	4.9	1.47	4.4
Lugbara	1.02	4.4	1.10	3.3
Other Ethnic Groups	6.76	31.4	0.80	32.1
Total	23.29	100	33.6	100

<sup>16</sup> <http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=uganda> (accessed December 20, 2016)

<sup>17</sup> The other two being Lira (99.059 people) and Arua (62.657 people).

The largest single ethnic group in Uganda are the Baganda from the central region with more than 5.5 million people. Along with them, the three next biggest ethnic groups, as well as the seventh biggest group, the Bagisu, coming from the southern part of the country<sup>18</sup>, these five neighbouring groups comprise almost half of the Ugandan population. The largest ethnic groups from northern Uganda are the Langi with about 2.1 million and the Acholi with about 1.5 million people (Census 2014: 20). Regarding changes to the percentage of each ethnic group the two censuses did not show significant differences, as groups had grown roughly equally over that time span. Remarkable to this statistic is that about one third of the population is presented in aggregated form under “Other Ethnic Groups”, highlighting the fractured and diverse nature of the Ugandan ethnic landscape.

## *2.2. A short history*

Prior to the establishment of the British Protectorate of Uganda in 1894, the territory that now comprises the Republic of Uganda was a conglomerate of many independent kingdoms and chiefdoms with varying degrees of interrelations with each other and the outside world. The most powerful political entity of the region prior to colonialism was the Buganda kingdom. Situated at the northern shores of Lake Victoria they had been in contact with British explorers like Speke and Baker, as well as Arab traders coming from Zanzibar from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century on. Ruled by the Kabaka, the king of the Baganda people, they possessed a centralised form of government that later became the anchor for the colonial activities of the British empire. After some internal conflicts over the religious orientation and preferred political affiliation ended in the kingdom being oriented towards Christianity and the British Empire (Byrnes, 1990, pp. 10-12), the British began extending their influence over the remaining territories. During this time also fell the official instatement of the British Protectorate through a treaty signed by the Kabaka at that time, Mwanga II. However, the establishment of a colonial apparatus in all of present-day Uganda took many more years, as the resistance, for instance by the Acholi chiefdoms, lasted well into the next century and the treaty with the second biggest political unit of the region, the Bunyoro kingdom, was not signed before 1933 (Ibid., 13).

With the expansion of the colonial administration extending outwards from the Buganda territory, ethnic Baganda were positioned at its very centre. In many ways, this exceptional position became the foundation for the economic and political divide that is still present today and one of the sources for the many conflicts of its turbulent history following independence.

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<sup>18</sup> Here understood as southwest, central, and eastern Uganda.

Preparations for Uganda's independence started following the Second World War and the process leading up to it was characterised by the struggles for dominance between the different local kingdoms and religious groups. Especially the prospect of the Kabaka becoming a national political figure led to the establishment of opposing political initiatives like the UPC with the ethnic Langi Milton Obote at the top or the DP as the Roman Catholic opposition to the Kabaka from within Baganda ethnic group. To attain its own, separate independence, the Kabaka urged his supporters to boycott the first democratic election in Uganda in March 1961, leading his internal rivals of the DP winning most seats in the new national assembly. Understanding the danger of this outcome to his own position, the Kabaka then joined forces with the UPC, making Obote the first prime minister of Uganda, with the Kabaka becoming the first head of state of the new nation in 1962 (Ibid., 18-20).

However, this split of the two highest political positions with the Kabaka on one side and the UPC with the Langi Obote on the other side did not lead to an end of the ethnical divide in the country. The administration of Obote was accused of northern hegemony, as the Kabaka along with other leaders of the Bantu languages speaking ethnic groups planned to oust him. This included a shift of the conflict from being between the Kabaka as the representative of the Baganda and all other ethnic group in Uganda to a divide between the Nilo-Saharan languages speaking "Northerners" and the "Bantu". Following this unsuccessful attempt, the UPC government in turn overthrew the presidency of Kabaka Mutesa II. and ordered the abolishment of the local kingdoms. In the end, Obote used his military power to establish himself as the main political force of the country. This leaning on the military to support his presidency became later his downfall, when his military chief Idi Amin started a successful coup against Obote in 1971 and forced him into exile (Ibid., 24-25).

By that time, ethnic affiliation had become a major part of Ugandan national politics and loyalty to political leaders was in many cases connected to it. As a result, among the first actions taken by Amin was the promotion of north-western Ugandans in the Army, like fellow ethnic Kakwa or Lugbara, and the deposing of Acholi and Langi soldiers who were suspected to be loyal to Obote. In the following years, soldiers and civilians of both ethnicities became special targets of the regime. The other group that was targeted by Amin was the Asian community in Uganda, most notably from India, which had been part of the country since the colonial period. Over the decades they had become important figures within the Ugandan economy resulting from their elevated status in the colonial apparatus. They had largely refused to integrate into the local Ugandan ethnic groups as intermarriages with people from other ethnic groups were usually not accepted, thereby creating a parallel society within the country; a sentiment that seemingly



remains the same to this day. This created negative attitudes towards this group that had built up over the decades and culminated in the expulsion of an estimated 80,000 Asian Ugandans in 1972 (Patel, 1972).

On the other side, communities like for instance the Nubi of Uganda became profiteers of the Amin administration. This community can serve as a great example for the effects that the political shifts and turns in the countries' history had on individual ethnic groups. The history of the Nubi in Uganda, which should not be mistaken for the Nubians living in the north of the Sudan and south of Egypt, reaches back to precolonial times. The group is said to have originated in what is now the South Sudan in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. As descendants of Emin Pashas multi-ethnic army they came under the leadership of Selīm Bey to Uganda, where they entered the ranks of the British colonial administration and military, making the military garrisons their main places of settlement (Hansen, 1991, p. 324). This includes the military garrisons around Gulu. Over the years, the Nubi maintained their relative isolation, even following the Ugandan independence. As their role integration in the military started to loosen, in parts due to them being Muslim in a majority Christian country, they mainly became small traders (Wellens, 2003, p. 22). After Idi Amin had seized power, they were re-integrated in the administration and military, as Amin, who was able to understand some of their language, saw them natural allies as a fellow Muslim. (Hansen, 1991, p. 339). During this time, the common Muslim religion also became the defining criterion for community membership (Wellens, 2003, p. 22). As part of the Amin regime, they were said to have taken part in military operation directed against the Langi and Acholi ethnic groups, leading to many of them being forced into exile following the deposition of the Amin regime in 1979. Only after Museveni came to power in 1986 were many able to come back to Uganda and re-establish their communities. The latest census in 2014 stated the overall size of the Nubi population in Uganda at just under 30,000 (2016, p. 72), with most living around Bombo and only a few hundred residing in the area of Gulu.

At first it seemed that the disposal of Amin would lay the foundation for a functioning interethnic cooperation in a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual democratic state, as the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) included forces from all parts of the country. However, following the win of the UPC in the elections of 1980 and the comeback of Milton Obote into power, again using his support among the Lango and Acholi, as well as other forms of manipulation during and after the election, the hoped-for unity broke apart. Shortly after the election, the former leaders of the UNLF, Yusuf Lule and Yoweri Museveni formed the National Resistance Army (NRA) with the goal of overthrowing the Obote regime. Their strongholds

were in the western and south-western parts of Uganda, where Museveni, a member of the Banyankore ethnic group, originated from. The Ugandan Bush War that followed lasted until 1986 and resulted in the death of hundreds of thousand civilians and soldiers and the displacement of many more. In the meantime, Milton Obote had already forcefully been replaced by the Acholi general Tito Okello in 1985, with the new leadership striving for a peace treaty with the opposing NRA. The Nairobi agreement from 1985, which was supposed to regulate the integration of the opposition into the Ugandan administration never came to fruition and in January 1986 the NRA troops entered the capital Kampala and Yoweri Museveni was declared president (Byrnes, 1990, pp. 204-205); a position that as of 2017 he was still holding. Throughout the history of Uganda, ethnicity has been a major source for conflict and animosity. The British colonial administration had set the foundation for ethnic division, as it had paid more attention to certain ethnicities and allocated political power towards them. Most notably the Baganda and their king the Kabaka. They also created districts along the lines of ethnic borders, establishing and institutionalising them as meaningful political concepts. This division continued in the process of independence, as Kibanja, Kajumba and Johns on (2012) described:

“The formation of political parties in the country was from the start organized along tribal, religious and regional lines. The idea of political party being a body of organized opinion along rationalistic, ideological lines does not have a convincing history in Uganda. Yet ingroup favouritism based on ethnicity is undoubtedly a motivating force for conflicts in modern Uganda.” (p. 416).

Using the *Social Identity Theory* as their anchor Kibanja, Kajumba and Johnson (2012) argue that this history lead to the creation of negative social stereotypes amongst the different ethnic groups and multiple cultural and political divides within the country. For instance, negative attitudes directed at northern Uganda, and here especially the Acholi, who are portrayed as a “problem” in the light of the long-lasting civil war in northern Uganda. Conflicts connected to ethnicity also still exist regarding the Buganda kingdom, or in districts such as Kibaale, home to members of both the Banyoro and the Bakiga, leading to disputes on the political representation of each group (Ibid., 420-425). The history of Uganda, as well as the current political landscape demonstrate that ethnicity and ethnic identity are central elements for social life of Ugandans and the attitudes they hold towards each other. Ethnic or tribal interests and preferences have been part of the political process throughout and created a highly volatile environment based on those factors.

### *2.3. The languages of Uganda*

Like in most African countries, the linguistic environment of Uganda can be characterised as highly diverse and complex. It is home to over forty languages that are considered indigenous, as well as numerous others that have become part of the country's language ecologies over the course of centuries.

Regarding the specific number of languages, Rosendal (2010) argues correctly that it is currently not known, as different studies and publication on this subject like Ladefoged, Glick and Criper (1972), the Government White Papers on Education Policy (1992), or Ward, Penny and Read (2006), offer varying quantities ranging from twenty-five (Government White Papers, 1992) all the way up to sixty-three (Ward, et al., 2006). The Ethnologue (2017) currently lists forty-three individual languages for Uganda of which two are listed as endangered and five originate from outside the country. The non-indigenous languages listed are English, Kiswahili, Nubi, Gujarati and Hindi. Rosendal (2010, p. 83) argues in favour of the number given by Ladefoged, Glick and Criper (1972) with thirty separate languages plus a few dialectal varieties. However, it seems just as justifiable to use the number sixty-three given by Ward, Penny and Read (2006), who wrote that "(...) it seems that larger language groups have begun to break down into smaller and more distinct local variants and dialects" (Ward, et al., 2006, p. 49).

The indigenous languages of Uganda belong to four language groups; Central Sudanic, Western Nilotic and Eastern Nilotic, all three part of the Nilo-Saharan language phylum, and Bantu, which is a sub group of Niger-Congo. Geographically, the Nilo-Saharan languages are mainly spoken in the northern regions of the country, apart from few exceptions like Adhola, while the Bantu languages are mainly spoken in the western, central and eastern areas. The most spoken language according the Ethnologue is Kiswahili, as a lingua franca estimated to have over thirty million speakers. The indigenous language with the most speakers is Luganda, the language of the largest ethnic group in the country, the Baganda.

Current numbers for the speakers of each individual language do not exist, with the last attempt of accounting for them coming in the national census of 2002, when the country had an overall population of only about twenty-six million. Considering this, as well as other developments which have influenced the linguistic preferences and abilities since that time, it must be concluded that there are no reliable numbers regarding the general language repertoires of Ugandans currently. As a compilation of Ladefoged et al. (1972) and data from the Ethnologue (Lewis, 2009), Rosendal (2010) also gave an overview of the most spoken first languages in Uganda. However, she noted that these numbers are mainly based on ethnic affiliation and

created under the assumption that ethnic identity and first language are identical (p. 89).

*Table 9. Major languages as L1 in Uganda adopted from Rosendal (2010, p. 87).*

Language	Language Group	% of speakers (Ladefoged et al. 1972)	Number of speakers (Lewis, 2009)	% of speakers based on <i>Ethnologue's</i> numbers of speakers
<b>Ganda</b>	<b>Eastern Bantu</b>	<b>16.3</b>	<b>4,130,000</b>	<b>17.5</b>
Soga	Eastern Bantu	7.8	2,060,000	8.8
Masaaba	Eastern Bantu	5.1	1,120,000	4.8
Gwere	Eastern Bantu	1.7	409,000	1.7
Nyole	Eastern Bantu	1.4	341,000	1.4
Saamia	Eastern Bantu	1.3	335,000	1.4
<b>Nyankore</b>	<b>Western Bantu</b>	<b>8.1</b>	<b>2,230,000</b>	<b>9.9</b>
Chiga	Western Bantu	7.1	1,580,000	6.7
Tooto Nyoro	Western Bantu	6.2	488,000	2.1
			667,000	2.8
Rwanda	Western Bantu	5.9	764,000	3.2
Rundi	Western Bantu	2.0	101,000	0.4
Konjo	Western Bantu	1.7	609,000	2.6
Amba	Western Bantu	0.5	35,600	0.2
<b>Lango</b>	<b>Western Nilotic</b>	<b>5.6</b>	<b>1,490,000</b>	<b>6.3</b>
Acholi	Western Nilotic	4.4	1,170,000	5.0
Alur	Western Nilotic	1.9	617,000	2.6
Adhola	Western Nilotic	1.6	360,000	1.5
Kumam	Western Nilotic	1.0	174,000	0.7
<b>Teso</b>	<b>Eastern Nilotic</b>	<b>8.3</b>	<b>1,570,000</b>	<b>6.7</b>
Karamojong	Eastern Nilotic	2.0	260,000	1.1
Kakwa	Eastern Nilotic	0.6	30,000	0.5
Kupsabiny <sup>19</sup>	<b>Southern Nilotic</b>	0.6	181,000	0.8
<b>Lugbara</b>	<b>Central Sudanic</b>	<b>3.7</b>	<b>797,000</b>	<b>3.4</b>
Ma'di	Central Sudanic	1.2	Ma'di: 296,000	1.3
			Ma'di Southern: 48,000	0.2
Other languages		4.0	Aringa: 589,000 Bari: 60,000 Gungu: 49,000 Ik: 10,000 Kenyi: 390,000 Lendu: 11,100 Ndo: 33,800 Nubi: 26,100 Pökoot: 70,400 Ruuli: 160,000 Soo: 5,000 Talinga-Bwisi: 68,500	2.50 0.30 0.20 0.04 1.70 0.05 0.10 0.10 0.30 0.70 0.02 0.30
Total		100	23,335,500	100

<sup>19</sup> Kupsabiny was wrongfully listed in (Rosendal, 2010) as an Eastern Nilotic language but is in fact part of the Southern Nilotic branch (see Kawachi 2010).

### 2.3.1. *The state of multilingualism*

As is typical for African countries, most of the populace does not only speak one single language (Okech, 2002; Reh, 2002; Rosendal, 2010). The colonial history, as well as the above described development of Uganda as a nation has led to a widespread circulation of both English and Kiswahili. At the same time, the ethnic and linguistic diversity of Uganda has led to the development and establishment of other lingua franca on the regional and local level. Knowledge of English is in Uganda usually spread through formal education, where it is the main *Medium of Instruction* (hereafter MoI). Kiswahili serves as a lingua franca throughout the whole Eastern African region with Tanzania and Kenya as the main regions it is spoken, not only as a lingua franca but also as a L1. Apart from those two countries it is also spoken in Burundi, Rwanda, Congo, Uganda and some regions bordering Eastern Africa.

The degree and form of multilingualism varies from region to region. Reh (2002) for instance remarks that individuals from Western Nilotic languages or Atesot speaking communities are far more likely to speak more than one language than people from the Ganda-speaking central region. These differences also concern which lingua francas are more common, as historically, English, Kiswahili and Luganda have varying degrees of penetration and importance depending on the region (Okech, 2002, p. 19).

The emergence of Luganda as a lingua franca can be linked to the role of the Buganda Kingdom within the colonial administration and the centralisation of power in Kampala. It was also the first language originating from Uganda that was used in writing. Due to the special role of the Baganda as administrators in the colonial apparatus, Luganda was for instance used in communication with people of other Ugandan ethnicities and especially with people from neighbouring groups (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 1996, p. 165). This role has in parts continued to exist, as government officials including the president sometimes take to Luganda when speaking publicly.<sup>20</sup> Ssempuuma (2011, p. 123) even argues that Luganda has a big part in the reluctant acceptance of Kiswahili in Uganda compared to the neighbouring former British protectorate Kenya. Since the colonial apparatus was established in Kampala, the missionaries of the Church of England also used it as their base for Christianisation and education. Formal education was first established here and as it branched out into other regions, Luganda was brought along. Thus, Luganda became a basic element of primary education in the Baganda and Busoga regions (Ssempuuma, 2011, pp. 125-129). The question, whether Luganda or Kiswahili was to become

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<sup>20</sup> As he did in his latest inauguration speech (The Observer, 2016)  
<http://allafrica.com/stories/201605130590.html>

the national language of the protectorate was over several decades argued back and forth in what Pawliková-Vilhanová (1996) called the “Swahili-Luganda-controversy”. In the end, it was Kiswahili that was chosen as the official language despite vehement protests by the Kabaka (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 1996, pp. 166-167). Since Kampala developed into not only the political, but also the social and economic centre of Uganda, it became host to most national media outlets. Especially for TV and print media. Thus, it is the local language that features the most in these media outlets (Ssempuuma, 2011, p. 131). Further, it is promoted through entertainment and cultural products like music.

One factor in regional forms of multilingualism is that many of the Ugandan languages can be grouped together in clusters of languages that are very closely related up to the point of mutual intelligibility. These language groups, which are spoken by an estimated 80-90% of the population, can be grouped into either five or nine clusters (Ward, et al., 2006, p. 49):

*Figure 4. Language clusters in Uganda (after Ward, et al., 2006)*

Variation 1	Variation 2
Luganda	Luganda
Atesot	Atesot
	Ngakaramojong
Luo	Acholi
	Alur
	Lango
Lugbara	Lugbara
Runyakitara	Runyankore/Rukiga
	Runyoro/Rutoro

These two groupings were originally conceived to create a simplified image of the indigenous languages in Uganda through these Main Area Languages (MAL) for the use in education. Variation 1 is an older conceptualisation of these MAL, while variation 2 is a revised version (Ward, et al., 2006, pp. 48-50).

### *2.3.2. Language policy in Uganda*

The official language policy of Uganda reflects to a great extent its colonial past. While at the beginning of the colonial rule in the late 19th century Kiswahili was the de facto lingua franca in the British Protectorate of Uganda, English was named the official language of the country following its independence. The importance of English had before continuously increased as it

was heavily used in education and among the new political elite of the young nation. The decision for English also avoided further conflict between proponents of Kiswahili as the official language and those lobbying for Luganda. This discussion also flared up during the rule of Idi Amin as the question of Uganda's official language came again to the forefront. In the end, this remained without actual consequences though (Rosendal, 2010, pp. 101-102). Finally, in the amendment to the 1995 constitution from 2005, Kiswahili was added as the second official language, however, with the restriction that its use must be explicitly decreed by the Parliament. The constitution also allows for any other language to achieve a similar status provided the Parliament decided so (Uganda, 2006, p. 2):

2. Official Language of Uganda. (Article 6)

*An official language is used as a medium of conducting official business*

- (1) English is the official language of Uganda.
- (2) Kiswahili is the second official language, to be used, as Parliament by law provide.
- (3) Any other language may be used in school or other educational institutions or for any other purposes as Parliament may provide.

In the recent years, the perceived importance of Kiswahili has increased. It is commonly spoken in most member states of the East African Community and was in 2017 even Rwanda adopted it as its fourth official language (Bishumba, 2017). Consequently, the language has become a focal point in the current education policy, as Kiswahili is now a compulsory subject for all students.

This new legislation was, however, not able to resolve the conflict regarding the status of Luganda. The rising number of Luganda speakers either using it as their first language or as a lingua franca and seemingly improving attitudes towards it has kept the idea of Luganda as the third official language of Uganda alive (Ssempuuma, 2011, p. 139). Among others, this movement appears to be met with great reservation though, as many recognise the potential danger of lifting one of the many indigenous languages into official status. Becker (2013) for instance notes on that issue that:

“For Uganda, four languages stood at the forefront: English, Kiswahili, Luganda, Acholi. Interesting in this list is that the preferred solutions [among the participants] were the non-indigenous languages English and Kiswahili, whereas the local languages Luganda and Acholi were more polarising and connected with more emotional language attitudes.” (Becker 2013, 309, own translation)



The divisive nature of assigning only a single indigenous language to official status was further noted by Medadi Ssentanda and Judith Nakayiza from the Makerere University, who proposed that Uganda should recognise multiple languages as official languages.

“Uganda is not the only country in Africa that has struggled with the question of national languages<sup>21</sup>. South Africa and Zimbabwe have gone the multi-language route. Uganda should do the same.

Wouldn’t it be helpful and prudent if, say Runyoro-Rutoro; Runyankore-Rukiga; Luganda, Ngakarimojong and Ateso were elevated to official status? These are the major languages in Uganda are fairly representative of all the country’s peoples.” (Ssentanda & Nakayiza, 2015)

Noteworthy here is that they did not mention any of the Western Nilotic languages Acholi, Lango, Alur, etc., which were spoken by almost 3.5 million people in 2002 and whose first language speakers made about fifteen percent of the country’s population at that time. Instead they listed two Eastern Nilotic languages in Karimojong and Atesot, both spoken by a lot fewer people.<sup>22</sup> This further underlines the highly politicised nature of discourse around the status of languages in Uganda, as it evokes conflicting and controversial opinions even from within the Ugandan linguistic science community.

### *Language in education*

The use of local languages in educational institutions has been subject to some research in recent years, as it touches a very sensitive issue in Uganda. Especially the role of English as the main language of instruction in the Ugandan education system has been discussed controversially. On one side are those who argue that English is not only the dominant language in the academic, but also the economic world and building the educational system around this language was advantageous. The availability of literature and teaching material was considerably higher than for any other language. Arguing against this are those pointing out that large parts of the population did not speak English, or only at an insufficient level, despite the decade long commitment to this language in education (Mulumba & Masaazi, 2012, p. 436).

In the colonial education system, that was in big parts build through the efforts of missionaries, the local languages were generally only used for primary education, while all forms of education

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<sup>21</sup> The terms “national language” and “official language” were used interchangeably in the article

<sup>22</sup> Karimojong 736.000 people and Atesot 1.909.000



beyond that used English as the Medium of Instruction (hereafter MoI). Kiswahili, which was introduced in Uganda already in pre-colonial times as a trade language was implemented as the language in the military of Uganda. For a period, Kiswahili was also used in education, as parts of the colonial administration saw it as an easy to learn lingua franca and wanted to use it to strengthen the unity of the East African colonies. However, in 1952 Kiswahili was removed from the education system (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 1996, p. 168).

Following the independence in 1962, this system was largely continued. The great diversity of languages made it impossible for one of the indigenous languages to be dominant, leading to English as a somewhat neutral language being viewed as the best choice for all forms of advanced education. In the following years the idea to reintroduce Kiswahili into the education system came up time and time again but never found considerable traction (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 1996). Instead, Kiswahili remained as the language in the military and police from the time of the colonial rule onwards. However, it could be argued that this position is being challenged, as English and Luganda gain more and more in importance in recent years.

The education policy was for the first time revised in 1992 when the Government White Papers (GWP) on education (Uganda, 1992) were introduced following a comprehensive analysis of the nation's education system. As one consequence, the education policy from then on differentiated between rural and urban areas in relation to the MoI. For the rural population the use of local languages in primary education was for the most parts continued, but the growing trend of urbanisation necessitated a new approach for these regions. Unlike for most rural areas it was not possible to identify a locally dominant language that would be suitable for all students. Instead, English was supposed to become the only MoI in urban areas, with Kiswahili being introduced as a compulsory subject from P4 on due to its supposed potential in supporting social development (Tembe & Norton, 2008, p. 35). The preceding report also pushed for a better implementation of local languages in schools. Even though they officially were the MoI in early education since the colonial times, the reality often looked rather different and even in rural areas English was in many cases used as the only MoI (Ssentanda, 2016). The low rates in literacy in any language especially in these rural areas was viewed as the result of this failed implementation. Thus, the policy makers introduced new guidelines for schools in 2006 that forced the district language boards in rural areas to identify the locally dominant language and ensure their use as MoI from P1 to P3 (Ssentanda, 2014, p. 2).

### *Conflicting ideas and issues of implementation*

These changes to the language in education policy (hereafter LIEP) in Uganda did not appear out of nowhere, as they are the expression of a language ideology that counters long-held ideas of national languages. Already from the 1950s on, institutions like the UNESCO started promoting the use of first languages, or “mother tongues” in education, creating two opposite ideologies of LIEP. One favoured the limitation to only a single language within a nation, while the other favoured the use of multiple languages, with both ideologies being ingrained in a network of other, related ideologies about language, education, identity and nationality (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2015, p. 2).

In Uganda, this ideological conflict is still very much alive. The GWP from 1992 still promoted English as the main MoI, as the purpose of using local languages is here merely to improve the English language competence in the early parts of education (Nankindu, et al., 2015, p. 191). Nonetheless, the new primary school curriculum introduced in 2000 and 2002, which followed the recommendations of the GWP, strengthened the use of local languages as it addressed the previous problem that schools were not regulated with respect to their MoI. However, several recent studies still showed that the implementation did often not meet these expectations. In other cases, it was English that was not fully introduced in the classroom and education continued in the local languages beyond the supposed timeframe, or a mix of English and local languages was used. Reasons for these issues were found in the at times lacking competences among teachers, or in case of the failure to use local languages, the lack of teaching material in the respective local languages. Another problem is the difficult identification of the relevant local language, as even rural areas can be linguistically heterogenous or a regional lingua franca can be chosen over the locally most common first language (Tembe & Norton, 2011, pp. 7-8).

### *LIEP in Gulu*

Unlike the central and southern regions, northern Uganda was not a focal point for the British colonial administration. Having established their base in Kampala, capital of the Buganda kingdom on the shores of Lake Victoria, development and education was mostly centralised in this part of the 1894 formed Ugandan Protectorate. The northern regions of this colonial construct remained neglected for the most parts, as it was deemed economically unimportant as well as being the site of the feared sleeping sickness. Additionally, disputes among the different Acholi clans as well as with Arab and Nubian settlers had made this part of the Protectorate a

hot-bed for conflicts that were not officially ‘pacified’ until 1913 (Behrend, 1999, p. 17). Thus, education was largely left to the Anglican and Catholic churches that had established missions in the Acholi region at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At first, western and Christian education was only provided to the local chiefs and their sons before the first schools were opened in Gulu and Kitgum, the two biggest settlements of this region. According to Amone, Lilly and Okwir (2013, p. 130) the collective effort of both Anglican and Catholic missionaries led to a relatively fast establishment of a functioning system of formal education with a highly positive reputation among the local population. The missionary led education system came to an end in 1971 after Idi Amin had seized power and most foreigners had left the country by 1972. However, educational institutions with a religious background are still having an important role in the overall education system of the region.

This system, as implemented in the Acholi region, had put significant weight on using Acholi during the first few years of education (Heugh & Mulumba, 2014, p. 34). This consequently shaped the current implementation of the national LIEP agenda, as the use of Acholi in the first few years of education was, at least among members of the Acholi Language Board <sup>23</sup>, not controversial at all. However, issues nonetheless continued to exist. For instance, even though the district of Gulu is relatively homogenous in terms of its linguistic and ethnic makeup, the question of identifying a local language for Gulu is somewhat problematic. The GWP states that in urban areas the MoI is supposed to be only English. It does not define what an urban area is, though. While it may be possible to definitively identify Kampala as such a place, for all other areas in Uganda this is a lot more difficult. As stated earlier, Gulu meets the criteria for an urban area, at least regarding the non-western definition of the term. The Acholi language board nonetheless issued Acholi as the MoI for the first years of education despite a considerable number of community members not speaking Acholi as their first language (Heugh & Mulumba, 2014, p. 34).

#### *2.4. The Acholi region and language*

The Acholi sub-region is a part of the administrative region of Northern-Uganda. Following the latest redrawing of the administrative divisions, it contains seven districts; Agago, Amuru, Gulu, Kitgum, Nwoya, Lamwo and Pader. The Acholi region is bordered in the west by the districts of the West Nile, to the north by the South Sudan, to the east by the Karamojong region, to the

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<sup>23</sup> Each Ugandan district has a language board responsible for implementing policies on indigenous language education (Namyalo, et al., 2016, p. 29)

southeast by the Langi region and to the south, across the Nile, by Bunyoro. According to the census of 2014, those seven districts were combined inhabited by just under 1.4 million people with the Gulu district being by far the most populated one (Uganda, 2016).

#### *2.4.1. The genesis of the Acholi*

The settlement of the Acholi in their current territory is compared to the ethnic groups in the southern part of the country relatively young. While Bantu speaking groups had begun to occupy the area around Lake Victoria as early as the fourth century B.C. and created larger political formations in the form of chiefdoms and kingdoms by the end of the first millennium A.D. (Byrnes, 1990, p. 6), did the Acholi not arrive in their present-day area before the 15<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Of their history during this time only little is known. The account of the Acholi reaching the furthest back is the historical reconstruction by Atkinson (2011 [1994]), who described the development of the chiefdom and clan system in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century that is still a vital element of the social and political environment of the region. Vincent (2012), a Gulu-based journalist who created an account of the history and traditions of the Acholi, wrote that the traditional local forms of organisation were based on smaller units, often only consisting of families living together in hamlets. Farming and hunting dominated the live in this rural environment and larger distances between settlements kept the hierarchical structures comparably flat. The Acholi, unlike many of their southern neighbours, did not create a form of centralised kingdom but instead organised themselves as a collection of smaller chiefdoms. The laws of social life among the Acholi were set up by the elders of the clans, regulating everything from sexual conduct, over blackmailing and stealing, to killing someone (Vincent, 2012, pp. 20-26).

According to the reconstruction by Atkinson (2011 [1994]), the Acholi as a group emerged alongside the other Luo groups in Uganda and Kenya following several waves of migration coming from the territory of present-day South Sudan over a period spanning multiple centuries. However, to what degree this emergence was accompanied with the creation of a common identity is rather disputed. Atkinson (2011 [1994]) wrote on this issue:

“First came the establishment of new, chiefly, socio-political institutions and ideology. This in turn forged new political entities and identities as well as wider social relations. Finally a common social order and political culture developed, and new society and collective identity evolved, and a common language (Luo) spread.” (Atkinson, 2011 [1994], p. 80)

He understood the emergence of an Acholi identity as a final step in a social process that did not find its conclusion until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Whitmire (2013) on the other hand argued that a common identity had already formed prior to that during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. As droughts and famines forced groups to move within the Acholi territory and create more cohesive forms of organisation to survive, a common identity had to form to support this new social structure of connected and intertwined chiefdoms. The existence of separate chiefdoms was therefore not an expression of difference, but one of a common political ideology and identity (Whitmire, 2013, p. 41).

The colonial experience of the Acholi differed greatly from the experience of those in the southern parts of the country. Since the British had set up their administrative centre in the areas of the Buganda Kingdom and their main trading routes extended eastwards towards Kenya, the northern parts remained ignored for a long time. Instead, the Acholi were integrated in the Arab trading routes coming from the north, trading in goods, but also in slaves. Vincent (2012) portrayed this relationship in his account as rather hostile and negative:

“Most of these Arabs carrying business of slave trade were coming from Egypt, they passed through Sudan to the northern Uganda. The first leader was Kuturia as mentioned before. Kuturia Housein fired the first gun shot on Acholiland who had never seen and heard of gun sound, they were used to only lightning thunder sound. These guns brought to the land by Kuturia caused a lot of death in the sub-region of Acholi.” (p. 34)

Further he described how this negative experience led to generally negative attitudes towards outsiders:

“The Arabs had established a killing government on Acholi, some of the chiefs who supported them at first also regretted their support after seeing the sufferings of Acholi in the hands of Arabs, this prompted Acholi not to accept any foreigners on their land any more.” (p. 34)

Even though this contact was described as a grossly negative experience for the Acholi, this time was critical to the social and political development of the region. The main point of contact with the British was through Samuel Baker. He had established the Equatorial Province in 1870 that included areas now belonging to South Sudan and the northern regions of Uganda. It is reported that the Acholi chiefs generally accepted the position of Baker, as he had helped them fight the Arab slave traders and his colonial administration was viewed as not very invasive (Whitmire, 2013, p. 46).

During this period of growing integration into the colonial trade routes, the Acholi chiefdoms were able to gain wealth by trading mainly in ivory. This made the chiefs more independent from their clans, giving them the ability to accumulate wealth and power beyond their rights to land and tributes paid to them. This period of increased contact with non-Acholi accelerated the solidification of an Acholi identity, with their common language becoming an important marker. It was also during this period that the name “Acholi” was coined by the Arab traders, calling them *Shuuli*, based on their language being similar to *Shilluk* from South Sudan. This term then morphed into *Chuuli*, before finally becoming Acholi as it was applied with the pronoun prefix *a-* denoting the 1<sup>st</sup> Person Singular (Whitmire, 2013, p. 51).

The full integration of the Acholi into the British colonial complex happened comparatively late. The relationship between the Acholi and the British had for a long time been rather loose and friendly, but after the inception of the British Protectorate of Uganda in 1894, which included the northern regions, this relationship changed. The Acholi resisted the establishment of the colonial rule in their region for decades, before finally being integrated in the Ugandan territory in the form of the Acholi district (Vincent, 2012). Due to its central location and the close cooperation of their *rwot* (‘chief’) Alier with the British, the centre of the colonial administration within the region and the district headquarters were erected in the area of the Payera chiefdom and in 1911 they established here the Gulu township (Whitmire, 2013, pp. 53-61).

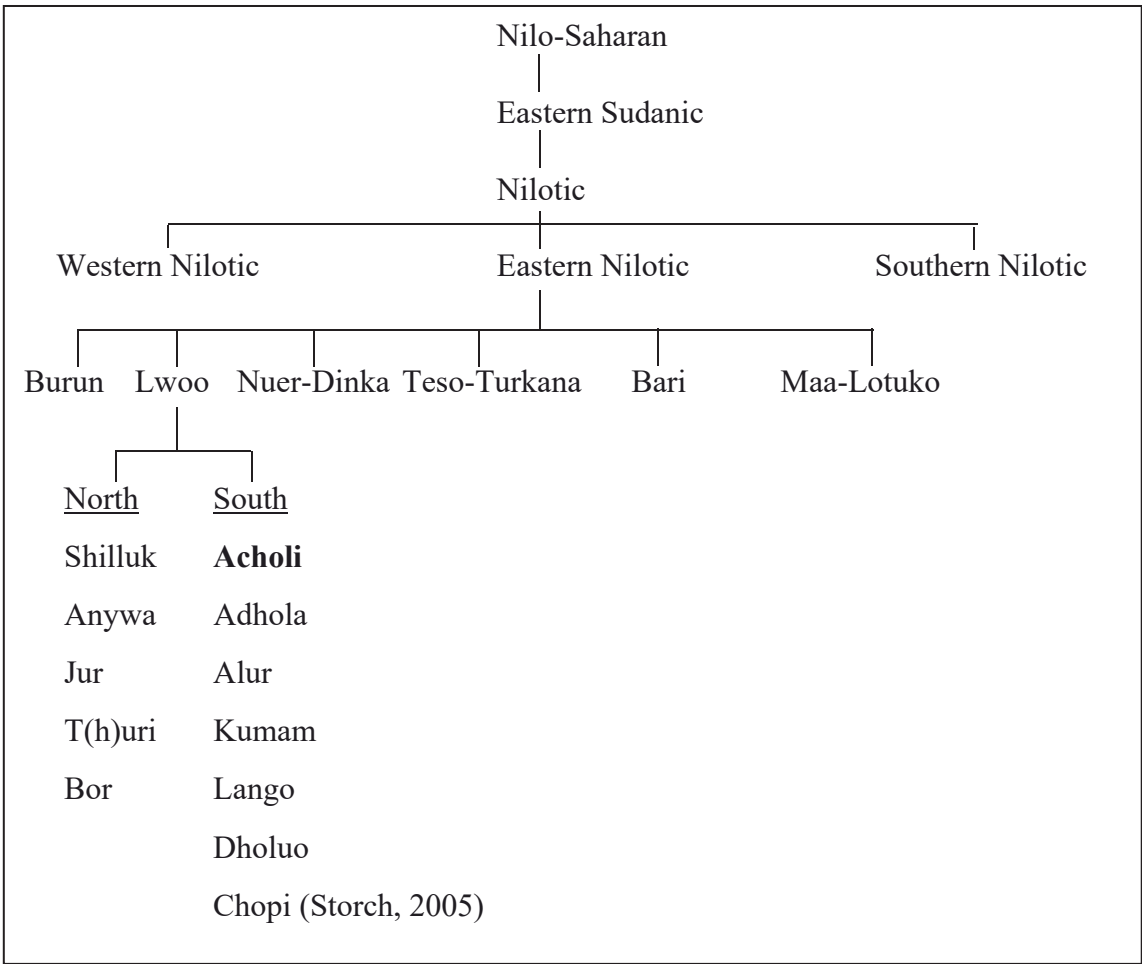
Even though the recent history of conflict can in some ways be tracked all the way back to the colonial times, where the Acholi stood often in opposition to the British colonial rule, the starting point to the most recent violent conflict was the overthrow of the Okello-led government by the NRA in 1986. When the victorious NRA started violent acts of vengeance in the following years, a civil resistance movement started forming in the region. Led by Alice Auma, who claimed to be possessed by a spirit named Lakwena, the so-called Holy Spirit Movement fought a rebellion against the central government. However, this rebellion was defeated when it attempted to attack the nation’s capital Kampala in 1988. At the same time Joseph Kony formed his own rebel group, the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA), echoing some of the spiritual themes used by the Holy Spirit Movement. At first fighting against the insurgence of the army of the central government, the LRA, after losing support from the local population, also turned on the people of northern Uganda, leading raids all over the region. The conflict had dramatic effects on the local population. Apart from hundreds of thousands of deaths and tens of thousands being abducted, many of them children, the conflict led to the displacement of millions. At its peak in 2005 over 1.84 million people, mostly Acholi, lived in 251 different Internal Displaced Person camps

(UNHCR, 2012). This conflict lasted until 2008 and ended with the LRA fleeing to Eastern Congo.

### 2.4.2. The Acholi language

In 2009, Acholi was one of the six Ugandan languages identified as having more than one million first language speakers at the time. However, this number is most likely considerably higher now, due to the ongoing growth in population. It is part of the Southern Lwoo languages in the Western Nilotic branch of Nilo-Saharan. The Southern Lwoo language group encompasses the six closely related languages Acholi, Adhola, Alur, Kumam, Lango and Dholuo, which is spoken in in the West of Kenya. As some of these languages show some form of mutual intelligibility amongst each other, they were at times interpreted as a dialectal cluster named “Luo”. In addition to these six languages, some authors also classify Labwor (Ladefoged, et al., 1972; Heine & König, 2010) and Chopi (Storch, 2005) as individual languages, instead of as dialects of Acholi.

Figure 5. Classification of Southern Lwoo after Heusing (2004) and Storch (2005).





## 2.5. The city of Gulu



*Image 1. Jomo Kenyatta road and main bus park in Gulu (Lorenz 2015)*

Gulu is the biggest town of northern Uganda and the centre of the Acholi sub region, about 335 km north of the capital Kampala. The road connecting Kampala and the capital of the South Sudan, Juba, leads straight through Gulu, with the boarder just 100 km to the north. As of the latest census, the municipality houses about 150,000 people in its four divisions:

*Table 10. Population of the Gulu municipality (Uganda, 2016, p. 114)*

Divisions	Population	Land Area (in km <sup>2</sup> )	Density (Pop. /km <sup>2</sup> )
Bar Dege Division	40,322	21.4	1884
Laroo Division	27,313	9.9	2759
Layibi Division	37,205	11.8	3153
Pece Division	45,466	12.0	3789
<b>Gulu (Total)</b>	<b>150,306</b>	<b>55.1</b>	<b>2728</b>

The Gulu municipality comfortably qualifies as an urban area on its population density, exceeding even the density of Cologne, Germany<sup>24</sup>. It also has a relatively low percentage of people living as subsistence farmers within the limits of the municipality with under 20 per cent (Census 2014. Northern Region, 2014: 121). As can be expected, Gulu further shows a significant concentration of people with advanced education levels:

<sup>24</sup> 2618,6 People/km<sup>2</sup> in 12/2015 (IT.NRW, 2016)



*Table 11. Education levels in Gulu of people 15 years and older (Uganda, 2016, p. 116)*

Divisions	Never been to School	Primary	Secondary and above	Literacy rate (18+)
Bar Dege Division	2,031	6,230	11,946	78.4
Laroo Division	891	4,441	10,433	85.3
Layibi Division	1,544	6,770	12,581	81.2
Pece Division	1,506	7,160	17,616	85.8
<b>Gulu (Total)</b>	<b>5,972</b>	<b>24,601</b>	<b>52,576</b>	<b>82.8</b>
Percentage	7.2	29.6	63.2	/

Unfortunately, there was no data available regarding the ethnic composition of the inhabitants or the languages spoken, making the observations made during the fieldtrips and the limited data set of the quantitative questionnaire the only available source on this matter. However, it must be assumed that the populace of Gulu is like many larger urban areas both ethnically and linguistically diverse.

During the insurgency Gulu was at the very centre of the conflict. As the largest urban area and the socio-economic and administrative capital of the region, it was targeted by the LRA on many occasions. It was sight to several abductions of school children and massacres conducted by the rebel group, but also saw human rights violations by the governments Ugandan People Defence Forces (UPDF). Several Internally Displaced Persons camps were situated within town, as churches, factories, schools or even the main bus park were used as guarded areas for displaced people and night commuters seeking shelter.<sup>25</sup> Due to this, the population of Gulu grew from around 40,000 in the early 1990s (Branch, 2013, p. 3155) to currently over 150,000. Because of the conflict and Gulu being the centre of the region, national and international Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) took office in town, making it a hub for the global aid and development community (Weber, 2013, p. 18). Even though this community has greatly decreased in size over the past years, there remains a sizable group of aid workers in town that is engaged in a variety of development or educational projects. Gulu has also become of interest for Christian missionaries trying to expand their influence in Africa. Especially evangelical churches either directly from the United States of America or connected to it, have built a considerable presence over the past years, bringing people from the US over for longer projects or short visits every year. The end of the civil war also enabled Acholi that have found refuge

<sup>25</sup> For more on the civil war and the insurgency see Ehrenreich and Thondon (1997), Finnström (2008), or Lamwaka (2016)

in other countries, not only in direct neighbourhood to Uganda, but all over the globe, to return to their places of origin.

Beyond being integrated into the global migration streams and networks, Gulu also gained in importance on the regional and national stage. Infrastructure projects have improved the quality of roads in the region and within town, the availability of electrical power has increased and the boom in the mobile economy that takes place all over the continent has spread the possession of mobile phones (Wall, 2014). The economic development of Gulu itself is not well documented so far, making it impossible to draw an accurate image of the local economic situation, but my personal observation over the span of my fieldwork, combined with the infrastructural improvements, lead me to the statement that Gulu has become an attractive site for people looking for business opportunities and employment.

Since 2003 Gulu is also host to the public Gulu University, offering degrees in Medicine, Agriculture and Environment, Science, Education and Humanities, Business and Development Studies and Law.<sup>26</sup> It admits thousands of students every year, making it one of the biggest institutions for higher education in the country with almost half of those students come from outside northern Uganda.<sup>27</sup> Besides higher education, the town offers educational institutions ranging from private nursing schools to secondary schools that function as boarding schools. As of March 2018, there were 55 nursery schools, 182 primary schools and 31 secondary schools listed in Gulu, as well as 10 vocational schools focussing on teaching practical skills and three universities.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> See Gulu University (2017).

<sup>27</sup> Concrete numbers could not be found, but one article speaks of about 2.500 post graduate and under-graduate students admitted in 2014. (New Vision, 2014)

<sup>28</sup> Data from [www.schooling.ug/schools-in/Gulu](http://www.schooling.ug/schools-in/Gulu) (2018); accessed March 10, 2018.

## **Part II. Linguistic Practices and Social Networks in Space**

### 3. *Language in space*

The task of connecting information on the macro-level, pertaining for instance historical developments or socio-economic dynamics to the local level and the outcomes in the form of social practices is a key issue for all contemporary critical sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. Especially regarding larger trends and developments like globalisation or urbanisation that appear to dominate the current academic discourse, it seems highly difficult to successfully bring the macro- and micro-level together.

One solution for this issue has been to use a concept of *space* as a linkage and organising principle that connects the outcomes of macro-level factors with observable individual social practices. Incorporating space or spatial elements as central points in assessing the role of language in social life has almost become the norm in recent years. Space, taken in its physical interpretation, is a key element of current concepts dealing with multilingualism connected to globalisation and urbanity. Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck (2005) for instance asked:

“(...) how does space organize regimes of language? Can space be seen as constitutive and agentive in organizing patterns of multilingualism?” (Blommaert, et al., 2005, p. 198).

The physical environment is not just a foil or a background to the interactions taking place, but a contributing factor in the realisation of social interactions. For Lefebvre (1991), space in the form of *social space* is the critical mediating element that connects the mind and the individual to the mechanisms of social practice that went ignored by linguists and philosophers alike for a long time (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 5).

“(Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationship in their coexistence and simultaneity – their relative or and/or (relative) disorder.” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 73)

As such, space is a crucial factum to all social practice that cannot be reduced to a single object but is a product of the social actions that take place in it, its topography, its physical appearance, and the people that inhabit it over a finite period. Thus, understanding social practices requires the recognition of spatial conditions in their visible, physical nature as well as the underlying dynamics, the waves and streams of movement, signs of historicity and duration, embodiments of traditions and culture, representations of identities and ideologies that constitute this social space.

Having such a concept of space in mind, the study approached it from various angles to

accommodate for its complex and diverse nature. The first approach was to survey so-called *Linguistic Landscapes* (LL) in Gulu to gain a more general insight into some of the ideologies and identities that are visibly represented in the local space. In a step resembling the approach chosen by Backhaus (2016), who explored the use of language in the Tokyo subway system, the study added to the scope of LL by exploring the sounds that are produced and audible in this space by incorporating perspectives of radio programming and music in a form of a '*linguistic soundscape*'. Following this, the study presents two portraits of types of public spaces that have significant importance to the social life of many people living in Gulu. The first space portrayed is the market, which has become a prototypical example for a socially and linguistically heterogeneous meeting point in rural and urban areas and a hot spot for studies on contemporary forms of multilingual communication (cf. Beyer 2010, Blackledge, Creese and Hu 2016). The second type is the church, which is of considerable social relevance in the local context. These two types of spaces serve as examples for the relationship between specific places, institutions, their individual properties and conditions, and the social practices exercised in them.

### *3.1. Looking for Linguistic Landscapes*

In many ways, the topic of LL studies is the words on the streets. It was initiated by Landry and Bourhis (1997) as a tool in language planning and deals with the physical representation of language in public through written texts of various kinds. In this form, language surrounds us as we move through our environment full of street signs, billboards, postings and many more incarnations of public displays of written communication. This rings especially true for urban environments where the complex social organisation and sheer quantity of participants create the necessity for forms of communication that last longer than the duration of spoken words. Public writing is an essential element of what we understand to be public spaces and an important driver for both individual expression and social collaboration. It gives every person the chance to create an own interpretation of its meaning, provided the general meaning of the displayed signs is subject to a shared understanding (Coulmas, 2009, pp. 13-14).

In a multilingual setting these public displays of language can become a characteristic symbol for the local language ecology and principles of language management. Studies that have explored the use of signs and texts in contested, complex linguistic environments have been conducted in Brussels (Wenzel, 1996), Montreal (CLF (Conseil de la langue française), 2000; Monnier, 1989), Paris and Dakar (Calvet, 1990; 1993), or Tokyo (Gorter, 2006). At the centre of interest are often the relations between official signs and non-official signs or which

languages or styles are being displayed in which contexts. Studies further often distinguish between signs on stationary objects and signs on movable objects, as they connect differently to their spatial environment. Stationary objects are fixed elements in the ensemble of visual representations of a given locality that are constant part of its linguistic environment, whereas movable objects, like writings or symbols on cars or carts are generally part of a different spatial and indexical frame, as they are not bound to only one immediate environment and can be introduced or removed from a given space at any time. The question, whether to include or exclude mobile forms of writing from the LL is rather contested, as some take these forms into account (Reh, 2004), while others consider them incompatible with the concept of LL altogether. Another issue arises from the question on how to deal with multiple forms of writings denoting the same object, and whether to consider them as individual messages and texts, or as part of an ensemble. The answer to this, however, can only be given case by case (Gorter, 2006, p. 3). Regardless of the type of writing though, it is through the patterns of use and application of different languages and linguistic signs that these displays can become symbols of identities, ideologies and the connected power relations. The indexicality of each sign, transporting the ideologies involved in its creation and application contributes to the character of the given space and influences its reader as the user of that space (Silverstein, 1998, p. 128). Through this systemic connection we can survey the LL for the intended functions of those spaces or the expected linguistic competences and language attitudes of their users.

### *3.1.1. Language on display in Gulu.*

Capturing the LL of a specific place, in this case the urban area of Gulu, posed a difficult and delicate task. It was necessary to make choices regarding the spaces and the individual examples of writings that are to be included. Gulu is full of public displays of language, as almost every single shop, often just a few meters wide, came with some type of a sign. Because this study did not intend to create an exhaustive overview over the languages within this urban space in general, images were picked with the specific purpose of highlighting specific issues of local linguistic identities and language ideologies in their direct neighbourhood that are exemplary for more general observations. The forms of texts and writings that are the most prominent in the LL of Gulu are much like Reh (2004) noticed for the second largest town of northern Uganda, Lira, found on stationary objects. They are often attached to the buildings along the streets, using wall paint, wooden signs on walls or posters and banners hung above door frames. They are on fences, sign posts and even trees. Billboards, carrying advertisement for beverages or electronic

providers were also present, but generally restricted to the bigger roads and less common in the central parts of the town with its many small shops. Other forms of writing included newspaper stands outside smaller shops or small signs advertising the products sold in the connected store, which even though being movable in general, usually remained stationary or were only removed when the stores or shops closed in the evening. Entirely movable forms of writings that can be seen when surveying the LL of Gulu included writings on cars or busses, or on clothing worn by people. The languages dominating the LL in Gulu were English, which constituted the most used language, and Acholi. Kiswahili, Luganda. Other regional, national or international languages would also appear, but less common and often only in specific locations.

As is standard in Uganda, official signs denoting administrative or governmental buildings were written in English. Additionally, many if not most signs by private businesses or organisations also used English. Notably, billboards were usually in this language as they advertised products like beer, soft drinks, or mobile phone carriers. That also included advertisements directly written on buildings like it was noted for Lira (Reh, 2004, p. 17). However, despite this general dominance of English in these contexts there had been a trend in recent years to use local languages, for instance in advertisements from the communications sector, as companies have tried to expand their reach beyond the urban areas and into the rural regions of the country.

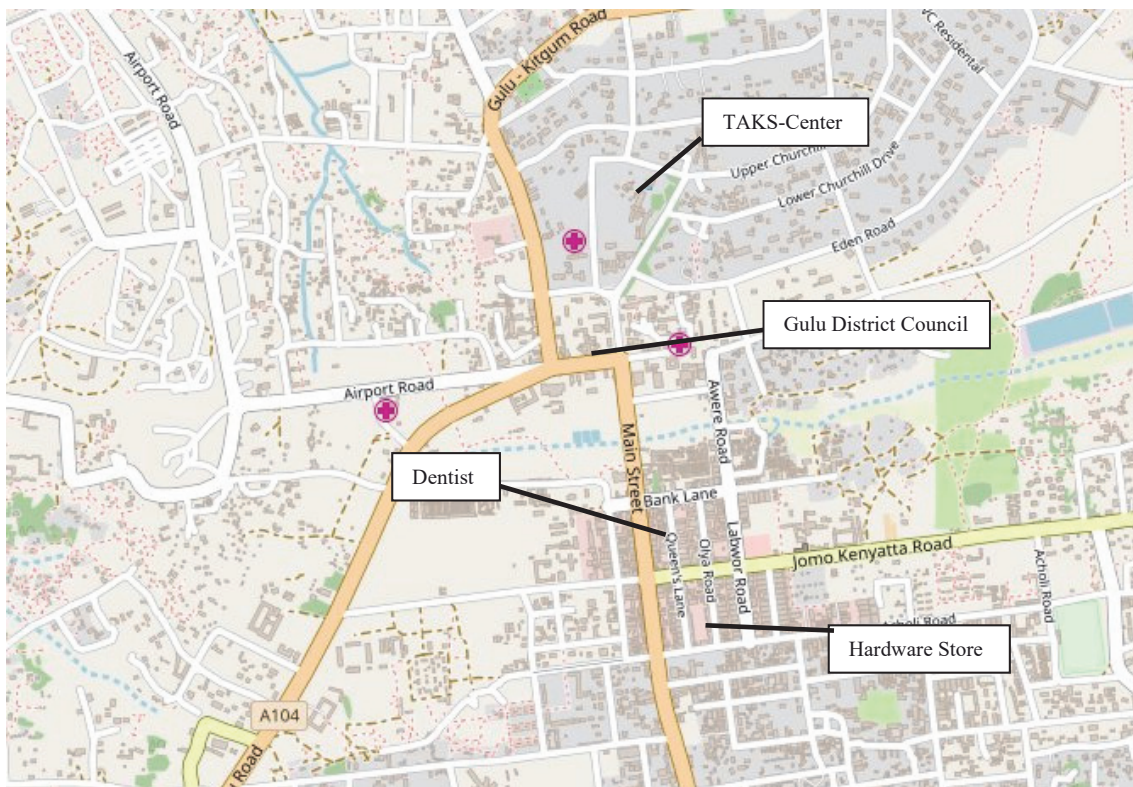
The study explored examples of public writing as individual but significant instances of language in public or social space and not as part of a local typology or countable mass of signs, which appears to have become costume in many LL studies.<sup>29</sup> Of the four examples chosen, two were taken from the commercial centre of Gulu and were connected to local businesses, the third was part of an administrative building and the fourth from a local community centre. The two latter examples both situated slightly outside of the city centre:

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<sup>29</sup> See the critique on current LL approaches by Blommaert (2016)



Map 2. Examples of public writing in Gulu (created using © OpenStreetMap).



### *The Gulu District Council and the TAKS centre*

The main building of the Gulu District Council was part of the local administration and located in the administrative area of the town. Just to the right of it were the offices of the Chief Administrative Officer and other parts of the local government. Right across the street was the regional branch of the Bank of Uganda, as well as the court house and the post office. The image taken contains not only one, but three examples of public writing. Two of those are on sign posts just in front of the building and denote its official function.

As already mentioned, official signs in Uganda denoting public buildings and posted by the administration are in general held in English. That was also the case here. The larger of the two signs reads “GULU DISTRICT COUNCIL HEADQUARTERS” and below listing the offices of the administration that can be found here. The smaller of the two signs shows the crest of the district. However, the focal point here is the writing on the building behind them.



Image 2. Gulu District Council (Lorenz 2014).



The writing on this building was part of an ensemble of various images and symbols. From the outside going in, we first find the Acholi writing ‘*timo kica*’ on the left side and ‘*kelo kuc*’ on the right side. These are supposed to be read together as ‘*timo kica kelo kuc*’, which translates into English as “forgiveness brings peace”. Moving inwards we then first find the depiction of an Acholi man and an Acholi woman performing traditional tasks, followed by the image of two doves holding a branch in their beakers. In the middle of the ensemble we see on top the name of the office “Gulu District Council Headquarters” written in a triangle surrounding the image of an elephant, and in the lower half the colours of Uganda with the nations blazon, the crested crane.

The imagery and writing on this building are highly symbolic, much like the building itself that was used in the peace talks between the Ugandan governments and the LRA rebels. Accordingly, it depicts a peace message that unites global, national and local imagery with Acholi and English writing. The two doves depicted are an internationally understood symbol for peace, as well as a Christian religious symbol for the holy spirit, mentioned in the Bible verses Matthew 3:16 and Luke 3:22.<sup>30</sup> The sign of the Gulu District Council, along with the elephant as the region’s

<sup>30</sup> Matthew 3:16. “As soon as Jesus was baptized, he went up out of the water. At that moment heaven was opened, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove and alighting on him.”;  
Luke 3:22. “and the Holy Spirit descended on him in bodily form like a dove.”

heraldic animal and the two doves to each side are being supported by the colour of the Ugandan nation below, making it a symbol of peace and unity. Lastly, on the outside of the ensemble we see “local” imagery <sup>31</sup>, depicting images of a “traditional” lifestyle of the Acholi, with a dancer in traditional clothing on the left side and a woman carrying a fruit basket on her head with a child on her back to the right. These images, together with the writing ‘*timo kica kelo kuc*’ represent the local element of this art work, depicting local traditions and the local language Acholi. The use of Acholi is somewhat special here, as its prominent placement breaks with the usual policy of using English writing in connection to official government buildings. The wall painting was created by the German artist Julian Vogel as part of a series of wall paintings, currently containing eleven pieces of art in various places across the globe that have in common the depiction of doves as peace symbols and the use of the local language in some form.<sup>32</sup>

The second example of public writing is another combination of writing and images which are painted on the walls of a building. In this case a local community centre called TAKS-Centre. The TAKS-Centre, whose name is an initialism for “Through Art Keep Smiling”, is situated at the edge of Senior Quarters, which is the part of town where most NGO offices can be found, as well as compounds of other larger organisations and multiple hotels with international standards. On the far end of Senior Quarters is also the main campus of Gulu University. The main purpose of the TAKS-Centre is to serve as a host location for local forms of art, housing art exhibition, concerts, movie screenings and offering working space for artists or NGOs engaged in artistic projects.

Like at the district council office there is an official sign post at the entrance to the compound denoting the name of the place in English. However, in this case it is not only the signpost that is solely in English but also the writing on the walls. It writes “*WELCOME TO TAKS CENTRE GULU*”. We can find some other writings on the walls of that building as well, with one being the official address and the others being the names and birthdates of the various people whose portraits are painted on it. The portraits on the walls show Nelson Mandela, Bob Marley, Ray Charles and Okot P’Bitek, the famous Acholi writer and author of the poem “Song of Lawino” (P’Bitek, 1966).

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<sup>31</sup> “local” is here not understood as typical for Gulu or the Acholi region, but in contrast to the other, global images used in the painting.

<sup>32</sup> For more information on this art project and the artist see [http://ju-li-an.com/portfolio\\_category/wpw/](http://ju-li-an.com/portfolio_category/wpw/)

Image 3. TAKS Centre (Lorenz 2015)



The depiction of Nelson Mandela holding his hands to his chin is a rather wide-spread image and can be found in similar style in many other places, often in combination with a quote of his.<sup>33</sup> The inclusion of Okot P'Bitek in this group of famous deceased people of African descent points to the connection of the local to the global in the artistic sphere. However, there is no element of the art work, be it the imagery or the language of the writing, grounding it into the local space and culture. Rather than bringing the global imagery to the local level, it takes an element of the local and transfers it to the global, much like Robertson (1992) envisioned in his idea of the *glocalisation*. The reality of globalisation finds here its manifestation in a place that is both local and global at the same time.

#### *A dental clinic and a hardware store*

The other two examples of public writing belong both to businesses that can be found in the commercial centre of Gulu, only about 250 meters apart from each other. The first one is placed on the fence of a two-story commercial building housing medical facilities. The sign refers to a dental clinic and reads: “*DENTAL CLINIC AND DENTAL X-RAY*” and below that, “*SEVICES AVIALABLE*”, with the words “services” and “available” misspelled. Beyond that, the sign

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<sup>33</sup> See (<http://www.thetomatotart.com/life/nelson-mandela-quotes/>) or (<http://cbie.ca/alt-respond-to-nelson-mandelas-call-to-the-next-generation/>); accessed June 12, 2017.



contains the contact data, the symbol of the AAR insurance company as well as the slogan “Smile for miles”, which can be found with dental clinics in other countries as well<sup>34</sup>. The sign itself is a plastic plate using multiple colours.

*Image 4. Dental clinic (Lorenz 2014).*



The second example is a plate above the door frame of a hardware store in one of the small boxes of the building complex surrounding the main bus park. The plate writes in Acholi “*IKAYO MA ICOYO*” and right below that “*ENTERPRISES*” signifying that this is the name of the business, followed by its address. The Acholi writing *ikayo ma icoyo* is a local proverb that literally translates into ‘you harvest what you sow’, meaning as much as ‘you get what you deserve’. The sign itself is very simple, being a small wooden plate with a white background colour, the name of the business written in blue and the address in red, overall appearing rather old and seasoned.

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<sup>34</sup> Especially in the US; see <http://www.smilesformilesmobile.ca/> or <https://www.dhsv.org.au/oral-health-programs/smiles4miles> as examples.

*Image 5. Small shop at the main bus park (Lorenz 2015)*



The sign for the dental clinic for the most part conveys information to the reader, naming the available services, listing the opening hours, giving the contact data and signifying the insurance company they are in cooperation with. On the other hand, the only factual information to be taken from the second sign is the address of the business. It shows no opening hours or contact data, it does not even tell what type of business can be found here. The most prominent element of this sign is the Acholi proverb serving as the name of the business.

The different choices made by the two businesses regarding the language and the general appearance of the signs they used can be connected to both the type of businesses that are represented, as well the customers they try to appeal to. The hardware store is very much connected to the local sphere, selling tools for farming or other local forms of craftsmanship. The store also extends onto the street, as the goods are not only displayed inside the small box but placed directly on the sidewalk so that everyone passing by can see which products are sold here. Next to the door one can find a pair of plastic chairs. Unless the midday sun is making it too uncomfortable, one could find the people working in the shop here, conducting their business and spending the day talking to the people coming to the shop or passing by. The people working in this store were ethnic Acholi, just like most of their customers. When I approached the store asking for permission to take the picture, I could not do it in English, but instead had to use Acholi. The proverb on the sign, talking of the importance of hard work underlines this connection of the hardware sold and the work that is done with it, while also showing the

common local identity of the business, its owners and their customers. In traditional Acholi culture, proverbs have a very important function. Their main purpose is to educate, as proverbs were traditionally told in the villages among family or clan members, especially towards the younger generations, but also to adults (P'Bitek, 1962). Proverbs are often tied to stories, usually featuring animals as protagonists, that deal with almost every aspect of life in the villages and carry “cultural and spiritual or religious [meaning]” (Banya, 1994, p. 6). In that context, the use of proverbs here is highly emblematic, connecting the building and the business to this traditionally highly important cultural practice.

The dental clinic operates rather differently. Unlike the small hardware store, this business is not located in a small box, only a few square meters big, but housed in a multi storied commercial building. It is additionally fenced off, highlighting its removal from the street. To work in a dental clinic, the employees are required to have secondary or even higher education, with the dentist being an obvious example. Becoming a customer is also not that easy and is generally only open to economically privileged people. Medical procedures are usually paid in cash in Uganda, unless one is insured by a company like AAR. Treatment at a dental clinic is rather expensive, as is being insured, making access to it restricted to the few people who can afford it. In a town like Gulu, this group of people in general consists of those having higher income work or businesses. This group is also more likely to include people with higher levels of education, of whom many originate from outside the Acholi region. With the business offering very specialised and costly services, it is people with such a background that this sign needs to appeal to and not strictly a local customer base. That the small writing it has beyond the address and contact information included two very prominent spelling mistakes is not an uncommon occurrence. In this case it can be assumed that the author of the writing was not a L1 English speaker. This choice of using English despite the possible or even likely orthographic deficits further demonstrates the status of it as the language of the business and premier medium of interethnic communication in this context.<sup>35</sup> Overall it appears that the two signs indicate differences in status and evaluation of the two languages in question. Their indexical frames differ significantly, creating deviating linguistic and stylistic choices by their authors. They represent different people and speak to different audiences. As this, they are representations of the local language ideologies revolving around those two languages in the context of trade and business. However, they are also representation of their respective surroundings, including the businesses adjacent to them. Despite being only a few hundred meters apart, they are part of highly different environments. Whereas the direct neighbourhood of the dental clinic features a

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<sup>35</sup> For more on typographic errors see Templeton and Morris (2000)

Hotel and a pharmacy, is the area around the small hardware shop dominated by similar small shops. Within their respective immediate area their linguistic choices are representative for the general socio-economic conditions of this space. However, when looking at this larger commercial area as a single space, they become markers of a form of diversity that seems typical for many urban settings that give room for multiple smaller spaces with varying conditions and properties that yet remain connected.

### *3.1.2. An ecology of public writing*

These four examples only represent a small section of the many faces of public writing comprising the linguistic landscape of Gulu. On their own they represent different aspects of the complex social, ethnic and linguistic composition of the town and region. They show elements of the past, images of the present and visions of the future. They represent the differences between the various areas of the town and even between different streets in the same area. They belong to buildings with different functions, having different histories and meanings to individuals as well as within the socio-political and socio-cultural discourses in Gulu. However, they are also highly connected with each other. They have similarities just like they have differences; and at times in unsuspected manners. On two occasions we found wall paintings made by foreign artists, on two occasions we find Acholi proverbs, on two occasions we only see English and on two occasions Acholi and English stand together. On two occasions we are dealing with private businesses and on two occasions they are public buildings. Altogether they exemplify the plurality of the local and the trans-local, the regional and the national, of the traditional and the modern; of Acholi and English. All these elements are not in oppositions to each other but tied together in a complex continuum that includes both languages in various spots and combinations. This ecology is also not restricted to only these two languages, but also includes Kiswahili, Luganda, Arabic and many other languages or codes that find their visual representation in Gulu. The present language ideologies assign them different roles and meanings, like in the given examples, where proverbs in Acholi were used to create a connection between buildings and businesses to local traditions and values, and English was used to present an image of modernity. The examples also show the state as an important actor. All images show the address of the building or the contact information written in English and in the cases of the public buildings there were additional official sign posts written in the official language. Due to the relatively large number of public buildings or places with an official function, be it schools, military posts, hospitals or the local administration, this policy has a great effect on Gulu.

Through these sign posts, but also the policy on how to indicate an address, the state heavily influences the shape of the linguistic landscape, not only in towns like Gulu, but across the country. Blommaert (2005) notes that the directives and policy of the state not only determine and influences the choices of language in official writings, but by facilitating a system that through “an education system, media and culture industries” (p. 219) promotes the role and status of certain languages also in other forms of writing. In this context, the choice of English to represent the dentist office can equally be interpreted as an outcome of official language policy by the state. However, global discourses that include issues of language find their imprint into the local language ecology even without the state. Viewing English as the language of education and business is a global phenomenon that reaches not only beyond the limits of individual governments or political constructs, but also beyond the power dynamics of colonialism and imperialism. The global spread of capitalism and capitalist iconography becomes visible in the sign of the dentist office, carrying an advertisement slogan that can equally be seen in the USA or other places. As such they symbolise the membership of Gulu in the global economic machinery that reaches even to former peripheral parts of Uganda. The place that was once deemed too unattractive to enforce the full power of the British colonial apparatus is now fully engrained in the global networks of trade and finance.

On the other hand, the two wall paintings show Gulu’s entanglement with global discourses of art, showing images that are part of a global iconographic repertoire while incorporating local elements and symbols. They are also representations of the engagement and presence of development and non-governmental organisations in Gulu during and following the civil war. These organisations and people that have come and, in some cases, still are there had a visible impact on the shape, the visuals and the linguistic landscape of the town. This development is a direct outcome of the history of conflicts that shaped not only present-day social life in Gulu but its physical appearance as well, as the city grew dramatically in size during that time. Thus, we can draw a direct line between the presence of the two murals discussed and the violence that preceded their creation. They are signifiers of the attempts to overcome the resulting trauma within the political sphere and through social projects. At the same time, they demonstrate that these attempts did not always originate locally but were largely directed by outside forces which were present in the political peace process and in the development and social programs that followed, raising the question of ownership over these spaces.

In the sense of Blommaert (2013), all four signs and their composition function as forms of demarcations that identify the spaces they are attached to for any person or group being confronted with them. These demarcations are bound to questions of ethnic belonging, socio-



economic status, education or normative and ideological factors, as they signify who these spaces are open to, or are possibly not open to. This complex environment of multiple languages in various roles being connected to different spatial spheres and ideas about cultural and social belonging is exemplary for the difficulty to understand the effects of globalisation on the experience of space and environment on the local level, but also the impact of local discourses concerned with identity, power and ownership and their intrinsic connection to social semiotics and iconography.

### 3.2. *The sounds of the city*

The idea of studying the public displays of language was largely founded on the realisation that language is not only something we consciously use for various forms of communication with the people around us, or to attain information from various sources, but is also something that simply surrounds us and thereby influences our perception of language and space. However, language not only surrounds us in the form of text as writings on walls or posters but is also present in the voices and the noises encompassing us. Sounds are equally part of the linguistic environment of a given space, even though their presence is not stable and lasting, but fleeting and ever changing. Just like it is assumed for LL, these audial signals create meaning, representing and creating ideas about language management, language ideologies, language repertoires and identities. Even though linguistic elements were initially not included when Schafer (1977) coined the term *soundscape* to define any field of study concerned with the acoustic elements of the environment, it has recently been introduced into sociolinguistic research. Unlike Backhaus (2016), however, the focus is here less on the questions which languages appear in what frequency, but rather why certain languages are chosen and how languages are discussed as objects in public.

In Gulu the presence of music was nearly impossible to ignore. It emanated from small shops along the road, stands with radios or houses with people sitting outside. Notorious for having very loud music were the stands selling mp3s that had propped up their computers together with some speakers in front of a shop they could use the power from. In the evening hours people would then enter one of the many bars and nightclubs of Gulu and on weekends live bands would perform at hotels and bars in various parts of the town.

The study explored two elements of this linguistic soundscape that were deemed essential to the local environment. One was local radio stations and the other was the local scene of young musicians in Gulu. For both interviews with several local protagonists were conducted. The

radio stations considered were two of the biggest local stations, Mega FM and Radio King. Regarding music, the focus was mainly on the local hip hop scene and a music group that specialised in modern versions of traditional Acholi music.

### *3.2.1. Talking radio*

The biggest radio station in Gulu and the Acholi district was Mega FM, a public radio station opened in 2002 during the civil war, in no small parts to spread important information throughout the district and to engage in the peace process. Originally funded with development aid by the British government it was now mainly financed through advertisement. The radio station was situated in a very prominent street of Gulu right in the centre of town. Olyo road, which by many was only referred to as *Mega street*, lead right into one of the side entrances of the new main market and was in sight of the Holy Rosary church. Even though there were no numbers for the reach of the station, it was widely assumed that Mega FM was the most listened to radio station in Gulu.

Okello presented the morning show on Mega FM, airing from 6:00 am to 10:00 am. Therein, he took on the persona of Muzee Galdino, an elder, respectable Acholi, as signified by using the term *muzee*, meaning ‘elder’ in Kiswahili. To underline this persona, he wore a straw hat in public and would purposely use a variety of Acholi that he perceived as untouched by influence from English or other languages. The concept of his program was that of a talk radio format featuring mainly monologues and conversations. The topics ranged from political events and developments, sports, both globally and locally, to social events and festivities. An important element to the program was the opportunity for listeners to call in and discuss the current topics together with the hosts of the show. Since the radio station was founded as a vehicle to promote social peace in the region and an outlet for open discussion, it also carried a social agenda. That included the promotion of traditional values and culture. Thus, he made a point of reporting on local issues and events not only from Gulu, but also the villages and small towns in the region. Further, language was an important element and topic. People that called in were given the opportunity to speak in whichever language they liked, including Lango or Alur. They also had the option of speaking English. However, everything spoken in a language different to Acholi was translated. He generally did not translate from Acholi into English though. Language was not only a tool for communication, but also a topic of the program. Since it intended to promote “tradition”, a special segment was dedicated to the correction of so called “bad language”. To him, “incorrect” use of Acholi words in the urban linguistic practices were a form of decay that

needed fighting. So, in cooperation with the local Acholi language board, he picked words that they saw as being used wrongly and discussed their proper meanings and application. Speaking the right kind of Acholi and sharing this with the audience was therefore an important part of the shows concept, propagating the connection of language and tradition.

The second radio station I visited was Radio King, a small radio station that had its studio in a small building behind the post office in Gulu. Unlike Mega FM it had not received major outside funding to construct a modern infrastructure with expensive equipment. Its studio consisted of only a small room with two chairs in front of the recording equipment and the office of the radio station in a similarly sized room next door. Besides getting money through advertisement, the channel also got paid by local musicians that wanted their songs played on air. Depending on the reach of the station and the frequency the songs were played, this could cost tens of thousands of shillings, making it an important source of finances especially for smaller, private radio stations like this one. Radio King was highly connected to the scene of local musicians. My contact was built through such a connection as well. I had asked friends of mine that were musicians to help me meeting with someone working for Radio King and through this I met Jose. He previously had worked for a different station called Jalifresh that was sold just one year prior by a competing station and had subsequently disappeared. That was how he came to Radio King. His program did not start early in the morning, like Muzee Galdino's, but in the late afternoon and ran till evening. The show, which also heavily featured monologues and interviews, contained multiple segments. In the first segment he would read the newspapers of the day and discuss them with his audience. In a similar fashion to the talk radio format of Muzee Galdino could listeners call into the show and take part in these discussions. In another segment called "The Love Doctor" they could discuss their personal problems with the host who gave them advice about issues in their relationships or their issues in finding a partner. The final element of the show was the "Request Hour", where people could wish for their favourite songs to be played. The show was constructed to be highly interactive and give room for the audience to take part in it. Consequentially, language was a key element to the shape of the program. Even though about 30 percent of the overall programming of Radio King was estimated to be in Acholi, this program was entirely in English. One reason for this was Jose lacking proficiency in Acholi, as he was an Itesot and knew only little of the language. On the hand, this was also a conscious decision by the radio station. Jose was brought to Radio King specifically to target the urban youths with the station trying to reach a new and larger audience. That did not mean that the show was linguistically uniform though. There were differences in the variety and style of English him and the callers would use. He adapted his style for each segment and to the style

of the callers. During the “Love-Doctor” segment he would try to sound very calm and collected, using a more “standard” variant of English. On the other hand, during the “Request Hour” the language he involved slang terminology from English, or the local Acholi youth language called *Leb pa Bwulu*<sup>36</sup> that is based on Acholi and influenced by various regional or global languages like Kiswahili, English or Luganda.

Table 12. Examples from the *Leb pa Bwulu* lexicon.<sup>37</sup>

<i>Leb pa Bwulu</i>	<i>English</i>
<i>Ajeoo</i>	‘I am going’
<i>Atri ri chappa</i>	‘I am working’
<i>Amakee</i>	‘I am eating’
<i>Viima mot</i>	‘to sit calm’
<i>Doo</i>	‘money’
<i>Sagga</i>	‘chewing mirrah’
<i>Chibebe</i>	‘girl’
<i>Maninga nii</i>	‘that guy’
<i>Cia foll</i>	‘too small’
<i>Kii yaba</i>	‘give me money’
<i>Pot ilalo</i>	‘go away’
<i>Poisar</i>	‘food’
<i>Ziki</i>	‘music’
<i>Amee dege</i>	‘bring a drink’
<i>Ameneo</i>	‘I am going’
<i>Atari</i>	‘hard way of living’
<i>Boli imung</i>	‘having sex’
<i>Vunga</i>	‘stealing’

In contrast to the description of this linguistic practice by Nassenstein and Rüsç (Rüsç & Nassenstein, 2016) it showed clear similarities to other linguistic practices generally grouped under the terms “youth language” or “urban language” (Kießling & Mous, 2004). Even though certain elements of this practice had spread into the wider community, its main speakers were urban, male and of low socio-economic status. It was partially still used as an argot to prepare

<sup>36</sup> For more on youth languages, see for instance Kießling and Mous (2004) or Nassenstein and Hollington (2015)

<sup>37</sup> The examples are not presented using International Phonetic Alphabet as their phonologic properties at times varied significantly between speakers.

and conduct criminal activities but had become a carrier of identity and a form of creative expression also for people outside of this specific social group. This does not differentiate it from other similar linguistic practices that frequently introduce innovations into the linguistic repertoires of their respective larger communities though.

However, there appeared to be factors that led to a more positive attitude towards this practice within the wider community, as creative linguistic practices were a rather common occurrence in this region; in particular play languages. Play languages, language games or ludlings (Laycock 1972, Bagemihl 1995, Frazier and Kirchner 2011, Storch 2011, 2017) are defined as:

“(...) rule-governed systems that are representations of ordinary language, which simply means they use the syntactic, phonological, and morphological systems of rules that govern the matrix language from which they are derived.” (Storch, 2011, p. 20)

Language games do not have a unique vocabulary or morphological system but superimpose their manipulation system on their matrix language. Bagemihl (1995) differentiates between four types of manipulation; infixing or affixing, templatic, replacement and reversing. These manipulations are also not mutually exclusive as multiple types can appear in a single language game (Bagemihl, 1995, p. 698).

There were two language games that some participants in this study were no longer using but had spoken as teenagers in their villages or in school and of which they had retained their knowledge regarding the manipulation strategies employed. The matrix language for both language games was Acholi. Their manipulation strategies however differed, just as the contexts they were used in. The first language game was, and likely still is spoken in many Acholi villages around Gulu and possibly existed for generations. It is called *Leb pa Twol*, or “Snake Language” and the main manipulation strategy was to insert one of the two allomorphs /’lipV/ or /’nipV/ into the phonological word following the first vowel. The vowel /i/ in the middle of the affix is pronounced very short and could in some cases be omitted when it is spoken. The unspecified vowel of the affix copies the vowel preceding it. The most common and unmarked allomorph is /’lipV/, as demonstrated in (1), while in some words that contain the nasal /n/ or /ɲ/ in ultimate position, the initial of the infix is also the nasal /n/, as shown in (2).

(1) -lipV- Infix

<i>Jal</i>	→	<b>jalipal</b>	‘you, friend’
<i>Kwene</i>	→	<b>kwelipene</b>	‘where’
<i>Gweno</i>	→	<b>gwelipeno</b>	‘chicken’

(2) *-nipV-* Infix

<i>Bin</i>	→	<b>binipin</b>	‘come’
<i>kaŋ</i>	→	<b>kanipaŋ</b>	‘here’

One explanation for this allomorph variation was that due to the short length of the words and the large degree of lexical polysemy in Acholi the manipulated word could be unintelligible if only one strategy would be applied. However, it also seems likely that some degree of phonologically conditioned allomorphy is involved. If the root-final nasal is syllabified as part of the infixed element, the latter appears to have a nasal rather than an oral sonorant (1). Compare ‘come’ as against ‘chicken’. This parameter is known to be relevant with respect to ATR harmony in Lango and Acholi. However, due to the small number of examples this cannot be further explored. Both allomorphs can also appear within a single sentence (3).

(3) *-nipV-* and *-lipV-* infixes in a sentence

<i>Jal in bin kaŋ</i>	→	<b>Jalipal inipin binipin kanipaŋ</b>	‘You come over here’
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Since words in Acholi are usually mono- or disyllabic, the manipulation lengthens and significantly distorts the appearance of words and changes the prosody of sentences to the point where uninitiated can no longer follow. The manipulation also creates a rhythmic melody and sentences are supposed to be spoken quickly to underline this effect.

Snake Language was used to have secret conversations among teenagers, for instance to plan dates with a boy or a girl they were interested in. Speaking it was not forbidden, as it could be used in public and was understood to be a part of being adolescent. One informant even told me that when his mother heard him speak Snake Language for the first time, she was relieved. Before, she was worried about him not growing up and being behind in his development. His mother had spoken this language or a version of it during her youth, hinting that this practice might have a long tradition. What supports this, is that this practice was also used in traditional activities, like hunting and wrestling, where young boys would meet people from other clans, but also neighbouring groups like Alur and Langi that could all understand some Acholi. Thus, Snake Language was used there to openly have secret conversations.

The second language game was called *Tension Slang*. A short lived and restricted practice among a small group of speakers. It was spoken in the early 2000s in Gulu’s largest secondary school Layibi College, where it was invented by a group of students. This language game had one main manipulation strategy; to add the suffix */-vu/* to every word and to delete any consonant that is in the syllabic coda position.

(4) -vu replacement

<i>Bin</i>	→	bivu	‘come’
<i>kaj</i>	→	kavu	‘here’

In some mono- or disyllabic words, the /-vu/ replacement was accompanied by the replacement of the initial consonant with /s-/.

(5) Additional s- replacement

<i>Jamo</i>	→	savour	‘eat’
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Besides changing the words within a sentence, the application of this manipulation system forces the uncoupling of contractions, separating them into their individual components.

(6)

<i>Itye</i>	→	ivu tyevu	‘you have’
<i>Amito</i>	→	avu mitivu	‘I want’

(7)

<i>Kopajo</i>	→	Kovu avu novu	‘How are you?’
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While the Snake Language was supposed to be rather easy to pick up and was used for communication among larger groups of people, Tension Slang was originally intended to be used just within a small circle. This group of boys had invented this language game to hold secret conversations among themselves, but also used it as a form of capital, teaching it to other students who had to pay for this knowledge.

The existence, and as visible in the case of the Snake Language also commonality of creative linguistic practices might have functioned as a catalyst to the spread of Leb pa Bwulu vocabulary and benefitted its reconceptualisation in the wider community. Its spread was in large parts fuelled by its common use in popular music, as it was picked up by other young urban Acholi regardless of their social status and gender. Here it became a marker of an urban identity, just like the incorporation of English words in Acholi speech, either in the form of code-switching or loan-words. Thus, it served as an ideal vehicle for the radio station to connect to its target audience.

Even though the use of language was not subject to a conscious agenda to influence linguistic practices of the listeners, it was used to create a connection between the program, the station and its audience. Despite not discussing them openly, the show gave room to uses of language that were perceived as distinctly urban, regardless whether they contained vocabulary from



English, Acholi or any other language, style or code. It did this in a context where topics important to people from this demographic, like dating, sports, contemporary music and politics were discussed, creating a public forum in which specific linguistic practices and repertoires were combined with ideas of being young, modern and urban.

### 3.2.2. *The Gulu music scene*

Portraying music as an essential part of life in an African environment seems almost like a cliché. However, personal experience strongly indicated that it was a factor in the public life in Gulu that must not be ignored. Except for the night hours and the time of power outages, music could be heard throughout the city. There were various types of music on display, depending on the place and time, and of course the people responsible for playing it. That, for instance, included religious music, in church, on the radio or from CD. However, the most prominent forms of music were from national and international pop and hip-hop artists. Ranging from Beyoncé, to Jamaican ragga or Nigerian music by the likes of Iyanya or P-Square, all kinds of R&B, pop, hip hop, dancehall or afrobeat flooded the streets, bars and night clubs of Gulu. In between those international artists many Ugandan acts found their place as well. For instance, Jose Chameleone and his afrobeat music usually sung in Kiswahili had great success all over Eastern Africa, including Gulu, and so had many artists from Kampala like Radio&Weasel, Pallaso, Irene Ntale or Sheebaa who mostly used Luganda in their lyrics.

Besides the music performed by foreign artists or singers from the capital Kampala, there was also a strong and vibrant local music scene. Making music had a long and rich tradition among the Acholi and was considered an important part of their cultural heritage. That included music played with traditional instruments like the *Nanga*, a string instrument, or various types of drums and rattles. This music often accompanies traditional dances like the *Larakaraka*, a courtship dance mainly performed by young women. In present day Gulu, performances of traditional music and dance are mostly performed at cultural festivals or weddings, conferences or other public events, and often separated from their original socio-cultural functions. They are still taught in school or dance groups specialising in these types of performances, but among the urban youth no longer served as a form of courtship. However, remnants of this cultural heritage are still present in the local music scene. Two examples from this local scene shall serve as illustrations of this connection and demonstrate how the traditional and modern fused in the local urbanity of Gulu.

I first encountered the Golden Star Band at the hotel I lived in during my time in Gulu. Their



rehearsal- and storage room was on the ground floor of the hotel and they played a concert on the porch every Saturday, while on other days of the week they performed at other venues in the city and region. For instance, every Sunday they played at a club in the centre of town, whereas on Fridays they would travel to smaller towns and villages in the district. The band featured several permanent members and a few performers that joined their line-up for individual concerts. The band fused traditional styles with modern influences and was successful with it, as their shows were popular with various audiences. When playing on Saturdays at the Golden Gate Hotel, the audience would on average be rather old or older. Their focus here was on more traditional style music with songs in Acholi. Later-on in the evening one could also find audience-members dancing in a typically Acholi way, their backs slightly hunched, feet shuffling to the beat left and right and their arms rocking back and forth to the rhythm of the music. On Sundays, when they played at the Karma club, the scenery was very different. The club usually hosted open-mic nights, various hip-hop artists, comedians or even eating competitions, but every Sunday it belonged to the Golden Star Band. It was made up of three rooms; the main hall with the stage, a small sitting area to the side which also offered some food like chicken and chips, and a bar area with a dance floor. The audience at this club was a lot younger compared to the crowd on Saturdays, having many students from universities and high schools in attendance. The music of the Golden Star Band reflected this difference and featured many popular pop and r&b songs in English. On these nights they would also have different singers to perform these more modern songs. Nonetheless, music with a more traditional sound still had its place though. Even though there were clear differences regarding their set lists for these two very different venues, they did not stand in complete opposition to each other. Both contexts left space for traditional music, sung in Acholi, as well as more contemporary music that was generally sung in English.

To meet people considering themselves to be musicians was not uncommon in Gulu. Throughout the course of the research I encountered many men and women that were in some form engaged in the local music industry. That did not only include those few who were able to become professional performers, but also many who either aspired to become professional musicians as well as those who considered music their hobby. Music as a cultural product and practice was an important aspect in the local cultural environment. The infrastructure around the production of music was testament to that. The town had many recording studios, all of which were usually busy with people recording their newest songs. Instead of recording full albums, most musicians would just go for individual songs; mainly for cost reasons, as recording a song could cost up to 100,000 UGX (about 30€) and sometimes even more than that. Considering the

average monthly income of most people this was very expensive. On top of that, those who could afford would also make a music video to their songs. These songs would then be taken to the different radio stations to be put on air. For the lesser known artists that also included paying the stations for air time. The videos were taken to the many video libraries in town and put on music video compilations to be sold without compensation for the artists themselves. By that the artists tried to gain a following with the goal of being requested by callers at the radio stations and being booked for a show to perform live, which was generally the only way for musicians to earn money. They would also go on tours throughout the district or to other parts of northern Uganda. Some even crossed the border to South Sudan to perform there under at times risky conditions. Especially compared to the popular music from Kampala the music produced in Gulu was unique, as it often-times took inspiration from traditional Acholi music and traditional rhythms and sounds also appeared in contemporary popular songs. For instance, in those of Bosmic Otim, who was known for leaning heavily on traditional elements and had parts of his audience in the more rural parts of the region. However, also musicians like Labert Dickson that were known for a more urban-oriented style incorporated these traditional elements. Naturally, language was a critical part in this local music style. A musician trying to appeal to a more rural audience was more inclined to use a variety of Acholi that excluded the use of loanwords from English or any other external language, while someone wanting to appeal to a younger, urban crowd would manage his use of language differently. Even though the linguistic choices were at times rather based on the language repertoires of the performer, the linguistic choices were often very deliberate and carried attitudes, ideas and identities connected to these specific styles and varieties. In most cases, this meant that Acholi was given an important role in the music, regardless of the specific style or targeted audience.<sup>38</sup>

Blommaert (2010, p. 78) had argued that the dispersal of rap and hip hop as a global cultural practice can function as a powerful vehicle for languages that otherwise might struggle under the dominance of English as the global language and other nationally or regionally dominant languages. Even though rap and hip hop as cultural practices was an import to this region it appeared to have given room for the creation of new practices that were inspired by these “foreign” cultural signs but were nonetheless unique and typical for this space. Instead of Acholi becoming obsolete in this cultural environment it seemed to have opened the opportunity for Acholi or “modernised” forms of Acholi to retain or regain relevance among the local youths. An example for this was an artist by the name of Small Pin Charger. He was part of a group of

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<sup>38</sup> See the songs and accompanying videos “Acholi muru itim” by Bosmic Otim ([https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KgmVku3qP\\_w](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KgmVku3qP_w)) and “Tam Jonyi Nono” by Labert Dickson.

musicians that mixed musical elements from Acholi with elements from Jamaican music and had given it the name *jaleuka*.<sup>39</sup> Besides combining musical elements with these differing roots, he also manipulated the language to fit this combination. ‘Wagwan’, loaned from *Patois*, was featured here just like the newly coined phrase *program angoo*, which took the English word ‘program’ and combined it with the Acholi word for ‘what?’ to create a phrase meaning ‘How is it going?’. The motivation for these manipulations were to be creative and have fun with the language, but also to confuse elders and compete with fellow musicians. Through this he actively took part in local youth language practices like Leb pa Bwulu. As mentioned previously, this practice also functioned as a marker for identity. In some cases, it served not only to identify oneself as someone young and urban, but also as someone from the North, as opposed to someone from Kampala. This also meant that speaking Leb pa Bwulu meant to not speak Luganda or the youth language from Kampala *Luyaaye* (cf. Namyalo 2015). A similar point was made by another musician called Judas, who was well-known rapper. For both, the conflict between the north and the south was performed through the languages. Strengthening music in the local language and creating a youth language that is unique to the north and did not borrow from Luganda was therefore an expression of “Luo Pride”.

Besides being based on the views by the musicians themselves and their perception and construction of their own identities, these linguistic choices also appeared to be highly pragmatic. Since certain linguistic practices functioned as identity markers for parts of the audience, taking part in these practices added value to the artistic performances. It increased their prestige and promised better chances to be on the wish lists of radio stations and to attract larger paying audiences to their concerts. Language functioned as a commodity on this music market. This function and its at times problematic relationship with social structures and dynamics can be exemplified with the case of the previously named rapper Judas. In an interview with members of the core speakers of Leb pa Bwulu, of whom many were homeless or lived in highly precarious conditions, they accused him of stealing their linguistic innovations and using them in his songs without giving them credit for it (see Lorenz 2018). Often-times, the commodification of language is portrayed as something located within conventional structures of power, be it educational institutions, in politics or other various economic contexts. However, in performance arts, language can equally be a valuable product that is traded in a capitalist sense (Heller, 2010, p. 110). In this case, the local youth language had become such a commodity. This not only underlines the importance of specific linguistic practices for the construction of identities in the relation to ethnicity, urbanity or modernity, but further that language possesses

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<sup>39</sup> A portmanteau of Jamaica and Luo

a key position in public discourses in this community in general.

Even though the evaluation of certain linguistic practices like *Leb pa Bwulu* or “urbanised” forms of speaking deviated from a perceived standard, it appeared that Acholi as the local language was in general viewed as very important. However, English was not seen as the antagonist here, despite the complaints of a devolving language among the youths by people like Muzee Galdino. After all, it had also its place in his rather conservative and locally oriented program and their protest was more directed towards the reimagination of Acholi through youth language practices. Instead it was Luganda, or linguistic practices from central Uganda in general, which received considerable negative attention.

### *3.3. Exploring markets and businesses*

Within any city, its markets constitute spaces with unique and specific properties regarding the social interactions taking place in them. They bring together people from different backgrounds, be it ethnic, cultural, social or linguistic (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015; Blackledge, et al., 2015; Hiebert, et al., 2015). While the claim that this diverse nature makes it one of the breeding grounds for “cosmopolitan” identities and attitudes (Hiebert, Rath & Vertovec, 2015: 17) is difficult to assess, it remains true that language attitudes are being challenged by these places and the types of interactions taking place. Duruz, Luckman and Bishop (2011) for instance argue that “(...) the food market becomes a particular beguiling research landscape, representing cosmopolitanism in a microcosm, with hybridity as hallmark of its everyday interactions.” (p. 599). Here, questions of language attitudes, choices and repertoires become tangible assets for every participant in these interactions, making them not only the market place for goods and services, but also for languages. Language hierarchies and power dynamics related to different languages and linguistic codes are on full display as individuals engage in the dealings of trade. Bourdieu calls these dynamics “symbolic domination” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 51) that operate not only on a conscious level but are at the same time *habitual*. Provided that the participants in these dynamics, the vendors and customers, know, understand and accept the values given to these linguistic codes, these attitudes and ideologies carry not only social, but also financial consequences, regardless whether only one or both parties adhere to them. Regarding the specific market space this begs the question, what the relevant attitudes and ideologies are, through which ways they arise, and in what their influence is on the linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour of participants.

While some argue that the market space has lost great parts of its importance as a public space

in the western world (Watson, 2009, p. 1578), they have certainly retained, if not expanded their importance in some other countries. In Uganda, this growing importance of urban market spaces can be seen in the construction of new market buildings in urban centres across the country over the recent years.<sup>40</sup>

*Map 3. The big markets of Gulu (created using © OpenStreetMap).*



In Gulu, markets were spaces of exceptional importance and trading places came in different shapes and sizes. The centre of the city is arranged in the form of a grid with the bus park as the central square that is framed by two storied buildings. Extending from this central square was the commercial hub of Gulu with shops of various sizes, restaurants, office buildings and small hospitals along the rectangularly arranged roads. As customers, vendors, travellers and visitors occupied this space throughout the day it was ever busy and lively. Cars and the many motorbikes created a constant noise that was permeated by the talking of people and the music coming from the vendors in front of small electronic shops or libraries. When the sun set in the

<sup>40</sup> As reported by Oketch and Alaba (2016)



evening and the shops closed their doors, trading did not stop completely. The evening hours belonged to a group of women selling tomatoes, bananas or onions on the streets that they grew around their houses. In 2014 this small informal market had become a political topic, when the municipality tried to remove them from the street because they did not pay market fees like it was customary on the regulated markets. In the end, however, the municipality was forced to reverse their decision following protests by members of the civil society. To the north-eastern edge of this grid the municipality had constructed the new main market as indicated in the map above. This construction housed the biggest market of northern Uganda. It was opened in 2015 and gave commercial space to retailers from various fields. While the food market on the ground level offered vegetables, fruits, fish and all sorts of meat, the customers could also buy shoes, clothing, farming tools or electronics just a few meters away. Overall, it accommodated about 4500 business people in 474 shops and more than one thousand stalls.<sup>41</sup> The main market was usually opened from dawn till dusk, as sunlight was the main determining factor for opening hours in most markets in Gulu. Even though electricity was available in the market building and there were lights on the ceiling, reliability remained an issue as power would disappear unpredictably on some days.

The main market was not the only official market in Gulu. There was a second major market called Cereleno, about a ten-minute walk from the centre along the road leading to Kampala. This market had no buildings. Instead, the vendors offered their products either on wooden stalls or simply arranged on blankets or plastic covers on the ground. One could also find smaller trading centres in various spots across the city, supplying neighbourhoods with basic goods. Beyond these fixed market spaces, vendors would also erect stands along the streets, selling everything from small radios to street food. All these different market and business spaces had unique linguistic characters, determined by their specific locations and functions and attracted different sellers and buyers alike.

### *3.3.1. Shops, private businesses and offices*

The shops in the historic centre of Gulu were mostly occupied by larger businesses often from the service industry like banks, cell phone carriers, or internet providers. They were also home to shops that required a lot of space, like electronic shops or supermarkets. The prices for these business premises were by far the highest among all market spaces in Gulu, drawing in mostly supra-regional companies or businesses trading in more expensive goods. These functions and

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<sup>41</sup> As reported by Red Pepper (2015)

the people operating these businesses determined to a great degree the languages that workers needed to be competent in.

*Table 13. Language requirements in shops in Gulu (Rosendal, 2010, p. 212).*

No requirements	English	L/Acholi	E + L/Acholi	Swahili	Other combinations
299	19	23	16	5	6
81.2%	5.2%	6.3%	4.3%	1.4%	1.6%

Regarding the language skills necessary for employees in shops in Gulu, Rosendal (2010) determined that the majority did not have specific requirements. However, she also noted that proficiency in Acholi and English were usually taken for granted and therefore not stated explicitly. Rosendahl (2010) further argued that knowledge of Acholi would be so essential, that working in a shop without any competence in it would be “practically impossible” (211-212). Since this study did not take a mostly quantitative approach to the assessment of language requirements in businesses or trade from the side of business operation, it is difficult to argue with this statement. However, it must be noted that shops were in general operated by multiple people. In cases where owners, managers or employees of the shops and businesses were not ethnic Acholi and therefore not able to speak the local language to the required level of proficiency, they could leave dealings with customers only capable in conversing in Acholi to staff members with the required language skills. This appeared especially true for members of the Ugandan-Indian minority, who were by many considered reluctant to learn Acholi. However, it seemed that their businesses like electronic shops, small super markets and pharmacies usually attracted customers of higher socio-economic status like, which increased the probability of customers speaking English. Unfortunately, getting access into this community and their businesses proved to be too difficult to achieve during the research. The only information from inside a business owned and run by member of this community came from a former employee in a betting centre. Betting centres differed from most other Ugandan-Indian-run businesses in so far, as they attracted mostly a local customer base, including many with limited knowledge in English. This made it necessary to have employees with the required proficiency in Acholi. In his experience, the managers of Indian origin would communicate in their ethnic language amongst each other and speak in English with the local staff that was responsible for the direct contact with the customers. In some rare cases this communication could also be done using Kiswahili. From his point of view, the languages used in the various interactions in the betting centre were organised in a hierarchical order in which the ethnic Indian language was positioned



at the top, English at the medium level, and Acholi at the bottom. However, this only reflects the perspective of one employee and should not be taken as a standpoint representative of the owners or other employees of this business.

*Table 14. Use and status of language between owners, employees and customers (Peter, personal conversation, 13.03.2015).*

Owner/ Manager	→	Ethnic Indian Language	→	High Prestige
Owner to Employee	→	English (or Kiswahili)	→	Medium Prestige
Employee to Customer	→	Acholi (or English)	→	Low Prestige

Supra-regional, or nationwide operating companies generally required their employees to have some form of higher education exceeding secondary level, decreasing the pool of possible workers and increasing the probability of a multi-ethnic staff. In these circumstances, English became the main language of internal communication and, for those not able to speak Acholi, also the language they used with their customers and other business partners. Rosendal (2010) captured this in her look at the language requirements for private companies and offices.

Table 15. Language requirements for employment in offices in Gulu (Rosendal, 2010, p. 217).

No requirements	English	English + Acholi	English + Lwo	Lwo	Acholi
1	11	10	3	1	1
3.7%	40.8%	37.0%	11.1%	3.7%	3.7%

In contrast to the same question for shops, requirements for language skills were specifically set, and usually included knowledge of English (88.9%), and to a large extent also Acholi (59.2%). These numbers were also to a degree comparable to the results from a questionnaire on language use that was conducted for this study. The questionnaire asked the participants about three different types of interaction in their work place and to list the languages they would use in these situations:

- “What languages do you use at work?”
- “What languages do you use when speaking to your superior?”
- “What languages do you use when speaking to your co-workers?”

Even though these questions were not identical to the questions asked by Rosendahl (2010), they nonetheless touched on the use of language in similar situations. Since the database included the occupation for each participant, it was possible to restrict this question to participants who worked in some form of a shop or in an office. All these participants had in common that they had attended secondary school, with fourteen of those twenty-three having also received tertiary education.

*Table 16. Languages Used at Work (n=23).*

English	English + Acholi/Luo	English + Acholi/Luo. + Kiswahili	English + Acholi/Luo. + Luganda	English + Kiswahili + Luganda
34.8%	47.8%	8.7%	4.3%	4.3%

Of the participants that worked in some form of shop or private business only three listed their estimated monthly income below 80,000 UGX (around 24 €)<sup>42</sup>, putting this group amongst the highest earners within the sample. They all listed English as one of the languages they would use at their work place and more than a third reported that Acholi was not used in their work place. Three of those respondents worked in the ICT sector, indicating a preference for using English, like the more general observations on language use in this sector made by Blommaert (2010). In contrast to Rosendahl (2010), the participants listed also other languages besides English and Acholi. Both Kiswahili and Luganda appeared multiple times, hinting at a potential growth in ethnic and linguistic diversity in Gulu.

For a deeper understanding of the power dynamics related to language use in these work spaces the other two questions appeared to be more crucial. They addressed the communication along hierarchical lines, with the vertical hierarchy of a subordinate-superior relationship opposite the more horizontal relationship between co-workers:

*Table 17. Languages used when speaking to your superior (n=23).*

English	English + Acholi	English + Acholi + Kiswahili	English + Acholi + Luganda	English + Kiswahili + Luganda
43.5%	43.5%	0%	8.7%	4.3%

<sup>42</sup> In two cases, they were beginners in their respective jobs, and for a third one it was assumed that his actual income exceeded the numbers he gave in the questionnaire.

Table 18. Languages used when speaking to your co-workers (n=23).

English	Acholi	English + Acholi	English + Kiswahili	English + Luganda
26.1%	4.3%	56.5%	4.3%	8.7 %

The data revealed a slight difference regarding the languages that were used for communication either amongst co-workers or with a superior. When speaking with superiors, English was listed as the only medium of communication just as frequently as a combination of English and Acholi. For communication amongst co-workers a combination of English and Acholi was the most common response. This is also the only scenario where one of the participants listed only Acholi. Even though the sample size was rather small for a quantitative analysis, it was still possible to identify differences in the perceived communicative practices by the participants regarding the relationships depicted in the different scenarios. English was more likely to be used with superiors and in vertical hierarchical structures, compared to horizontal structures amongst co-workers. This concurred with the findings previously made by Rosendal (2010, p. 217).

### 3.3.2. Visiting the markets

The linguistic situation within the different market spaces was different to the one in the bigger shops, small businesses and offices addressed above. The nature of work and employment at the market was rather marked by its informal character, as formal education was not an important factor and the communicative practices less influenced by the internal power relations of the work place. Many, if not most people working in these spaces were self-employed or worked for family members. The origin of the products and the ethnic background of the vendors varied significantly between vendors. While most foods were produced and sold locally, other products were imported either from other parts of Uganda, or from neighbouring countries like South Sudan or Kenya and therefore required contacts and specific knowledge that exceeded the local sphere.

The informal nature of these markets, as well as the often simple set up of a business allowed for an easy entry and gave room for people from various backgrounds to participate. This was not only apparent in the informal small markets that set up on the sidewalks and curbs in town every evening but also on other markets in Gulu. This mix of locally produced goods and items imported from other places, along with the different types of competences required for the various businesses, created a highly diverse and complex setting.

The other part of the market-equation, the visitors of the markets, were no less diverse. Unfortunately, it was very difficult to assess the ethnic and linguistic diversity of people in Gulu due to the lack official data regarding the ethnic composition. Further, not all people visiting the markets came from within town, but due to its function as a regional centre for business and trade it also attracted many from outside. Some would move there for a short period of time, while others came only for some hours or a single day. It nonetheless can be assumed that the markets were spaces where socio-economic, ethnic and linguistic diversity was highly tangible and interethnic communication a common occurrence.

Unlike the results for language use in businesses, which showed great similarities between the data collected by Rosendal (2010) and the data collected by this study, the market was a context that revealed some differences. Here, Rosendal (2010) took on the perspective of the vendors, asking them what languages they would use in the market when interacting with customers.

*Table 19. Ranking of languages used at markets in Gulu (Rosendal, 2010, p. 207).*

Ach/L	Ach/L > s	Ach/L > e	Ach/L > s > e	Ach/L > g	Ach/L > e > g	Other combinations
127	23	21	8	4	3	16
62.9%	11.4%	10.4%	3.9%	2.0%	1.5%	7.9%

Ach/L = Acholi and Lwo; s = Swahili; e = English; g = Luganda

The responses showed almost two thirds of the salespersons using Acholi as their only medium of communication with their customers. Kiswahili and English were listed only occasionally, and Luganda received little recognition.

This study on the other hand focussed on the people who attended the market as potential customer. Thus, the respondents were asked to name the language they would use when attending the market:

*Table 20. Languages used at the market (n=38).*

Acholi.	Acholi. + English	Acholi + English + Luganda	Acholi + English + Luo/Langi	Acholi + English + Kiswahili	Other combinations
21.1%	47.4%	7.9%	7.9%	5.3%	10.5%

Even though the answers also demonstrated the overwhelming importance of Acholi for communicating on the markets in Gulu, it at the same time showed a strong presence of English as one of the languages used by participants in this context.

### *Differences underneath the surface*

There was an issue that both the data presented by Rosendahl (2010) and the data collected for this study were incapable of capturing; the differences in language use between the individual market spaces of the city. For instance, between the main market and a local neighbourhood market in one of the sub-divisions. The different functions of these markets and the different kinds of spaces they occupied within the urban geography had a significant influence on the interactions taking place there. Consequently, the dynamics of interaction and the linguistic choices varied between each of those marketplaces as well.

The main market with its comparably high fees, bigger stalls and many shops housed many businesses that operated on a regional level and attracted customers that matched this supply. Thus, you were here most likely to find Dinka traders coming from South Sudan or shops selling electronics usually owned by members of the Ugandan-Indian minority. It was also the place where it was most likely to find international visitors, not only from neighbouring countries, but also from Europe, the USA or Asia. Thus, English or Kiswahili were more likely to be used in this place and knowing these languages was an important asset for a business. Exemplifying the sophistication of this market was the fact that this was also the place to find art-work, usually directed at tourists or western customers.

This image looked rather different on the second large market of Gulu. This market called Cereleno was situated right next to the main road leading towards Kampala. Traders here offered also clothing items or small electronics like portable radios or flashlights, but it was mainly known for vendors selling food. Nonetheless, it also was a space for interethnic and multilingual interaction.

### *Back with Mark*

The area this market was situated in was also the place where many migrants from the central and southern regions of Uganda resided, also signified by the night club “Buganda Pub” nearby. Thus, it was the place where it was most likely to find both vendors and customers from these regions frequenting the market; making the sound of languages besides Acholi a common feature. Cereleno was the place where Mark had put up his small business. Right at the corner of Kampala Road and Ring Road he had rented a small square on the ground where he sold second hand shoes for women. He bought all the stock in Kampala at the central market in downtown and brought it up to Gulu with one of the many busses that went between Gulu and

the capital every day. His biggest asset to the business, his linguistic repertoire.

Earlier I had presented Mark as an example for the tumultuous biographies of many Acholi from this region, having spent time in the village, in Gulu, in Jinja and Kenya during his upbringing. The language skills he had acquired during this time became now invaluable. His knowledge of Luganda came very much in hand when he bought stock for his business at the Owino market in Kampala, as the sellers could not discuss the prices among each other without him knowing what they were saying. He told me that the vendors at Owino market called him a “Sudanese”, because of his tall, slender stature, and his dark skin, and assumed he had lots of money and would sell his stock in the South Sudan where prices were generally a lot higher than anywhere in Uganda. Because of that, they would demand higher prices from him, double or triple the normal rate for someone from Kampala. Thus, he would speak in Luganda with them, showing that he was in fact a Ugandan and that he could understand what they were saying about him. To him, this ability to speak Luganda was a key to the success of his business. He often managed to negotiate lower rates for his stock than most of his competitors and even though local customs for the most part prevented him from using this to undercut the prices of his competitors, it enabled him to faster grow his business and increase his profits. His language skills also proved to be of value when dealing with customers in Gulu. While quantitative approaches struggle to properly represent the diversity of the populace, the market offered a tremendous insight into the multitude of ethnic groups and languages. During my time in Gulu, I frequently visited this market and joined Mark, his cousin who worked for him and his fellow vendors who spent seven days a week here from morning till evening. The people working here formed a community despite being competitors. One would find multiple people selling the same articles and products right next to one another. This was no different for the shoes that Mark was selling. In fact, five different vendors offered their goods in a space of just 30 m<sup>2</sup>, often competing for the same customers.

Besides Mark there was Ben, a young Acholi just twenty years old and an elder that everyone only called *Muzee*; both specialised in sandals of all sorts. Right next to them were those selling clothes. For instance, two sisters who came from central Uganda and Judy, an Acholi lady in her thirties. The women were often joined by their small children that were yet too young to attend school. To protect from the sun, especially during midday and in the afternoon, they had erected a parasol where they would take turns hiding underneath. It was this group of people that I joined to observe interactions and conversations on this market. This enabled me to observe in which ways they used language as a tool for their businesses. Among the things observed was how Mark made of his linguistic capabilities to speak to his customers in Acholi,

English, Kiswahili and even Luganda, giving him a distinct edge over his competition. Some customers came to him specifically, including many Baganda women who would even make orders with him for shoes he should bring from his next trip to Kampala. However, due to the community aspect of the market he would also refer customers to one of the other vendors in case he did not have what they were looking for, even helping them with translating. In some cases, a lack in language skills also became an issue for some of the other vendors. The most glaring example happened during one of my last visits to the market, when one of the vendors had let a young boy from Kampala run his business for the day. The boy, not older than eighteen years, barely spoke any English or Acholi and struggled to communicate with potential customers. The others tried to help him as good as possible, but many customers just went to one of the other stands. However, even worse was when he failed to tell the customers the correct price for the article they wanted to buy. Instead of selling it for the proper amount of 10,000 UGX, about three euros, he had agreed to a price of just one thousand, creating a loss he had to cover out of his own pocket. In this multilingual environment miscommunications happened regularly and people working here were aware of this problem. In the case of the young boy this meant that following this event, the others started teaching him the English numbers.

On a very local scale all divisions of towns and many neighbourhoods had their own small markets, sometimes just a hundred square meters big, featuring small stalls where vendors offered mostly food items for the daily needs of the people living close by. The conditions and characteristics of these small and simple markets, including the languages found and needed here, were determined by their respective neighbourhoods. In most cases, this meant that communication was generally in Acholi and the vendors were usually not required to possess additional language skills. This opened these markets up for people with no or just very little formal education or language competences beyond Acholi; in many cases women that grew their products on their own land. The small reach and limited customer base also meant that the turnover for each seller was rather small, making these markets comparably unattractive. Some of the local markets were in ethnically more diverse neighbourhoods, creating a more diverse ecology that extended to the languages regularly spoken there. The area around Gulu Independent Hospital for instance was known for the relatively high number of immigrants from the DR Congo, many of whom did not speak Acholi. Thus, the market adapted to its surroundings by vendors beginning to speak at least some Kiswahili.

On another one of these small markets, Chris was selling rolex. He had lived for some years in Kampala and learned how to make the popular street food made of combining Chapati and Omelette which originated from there. Since coming back, he had opened his own stand at the



corner of a small market near the Bomah Hotel. As this was a very small market the customers generally came from the immediate neighbourhood. Most of them were ethnic Acholi living in one of the small houses and huts in the area behind the market. However, across the street was a large apartment building offering rooms to students from the university. Because most students living there were not ethnic Acholi, only few could speak the local language. For Chris, this became an important advantage. Being the only one speaking also Luganda and Kiswahili, he became the preferred choice for many of those students from across the street.

Stories like these demonstrated the differences between individual market places and how individual people could utilise their personal linguistic capabilities to their benefit within the specific conditions of those individual markets. It further shows that it is highly important to consider and analyse the local conditions and environments that facilitate linguistic choices and carry highly tangible consequences. In these interactions that are typical for the market place, but also for businesses of all shapes and sizes, language was a crucial tool to the successful outcomes of these interactions. However, it must be noted that because these market places were generally inhabited seven days a week from morning till evening, they also offered space for interactions and linguistic practices unrelated to trade. These interactions, which included various forms of conversations between family members, friends and colleagues, further added to their highly diverse and creative character.

### *3.4. The role of language in religious communities in Gulu*

On a superficial level, Uganda can be very much described as a Christian country with a considerable Muslim minority. In the 2014 census, 84.5 percent of the people claimed a Christian affiliation, and 13.7 percent identified as Muslim. The largest Christian denomination was the Catholic Church representing 39.3 percent of the population, followed closely by the Anglican Church with 32 percent. However, compared to the previous census of 2002, both churches had lost in relative importance. Instead, Evangelical churches like the Watoto Church have grown significantly in membership, increasing from 4.7 percent in 2002, to 11.1 percent in 2014 (Uganda, 2016, p. 19).

While the Anglican Church of England in form of the Church of Uganda gained a strong base in the central region through the British colonisers, the Catholic Church was of bigger importance in the northern part of the country. As the Catholic Church formed the building blocks of Christian and western education in this region, it became a central part of the public appearance and consciousness of Gulu. Many people born in or around Gulu went to Catholic

schools. The biggest hospital of the region, Lacor hospital, was likewise operated by the diocese and the Gulu parish had multiple churches across the town. The most notable church building was the Holy Rosary Church right next to the new market. To my personal knowledge, this was also the most frequented church in the municipality. It offered services at four different times on Sundays with each one attended by hundreds of people. Over the past years the capacity of the church was even increased to fit the number of people frequenting these services. Besides the Catholic Church, one could find several other Christian denominations in Gulu. The Church of Uganda had its church near Kaunda grounds, called Christ Church, and many smaller churches and communities often of evangelical denomination were spread throughout the municipality. The biggest of these evangelical churches was the Watoto Church. This Christian community was founded in 1984 in Kampala and like many other evangelical churches that are either inspired or founded by evangelical communities in the US, it had strong connections to North America.

In all these different churches and denominations language played an important role. In their approach to religious practices, but also their relationship to the community. Crystal (1965) noted the importance of language for the relationship between the church and its community, as he noted regarding Catholicism, that “(...) if it cannot communicate its relevance and beliefs clearly to a modern world in modern language, then it has failed its purpose.” (Crystal, 1965, p. 16). His remarks at the time were directed towards the difference between an “archaic” and a “colloquial” form of a single language and the communication he had in mind was the one between members of the Catholic Church and people outside of it, but the issue behind his discussion is very much relevant today and especially in communities like Gulu. The different denominations stood in competition with each other and membership to a specific denomination or church appeared at times a rather fluid concept. The conflict between a central institutional principle and the local adaption of the churches language policies seemed to have an important role in this competition.

In their work on the language choices by the Catholic Church in Cameroon, Kouega (2008) and Kouega and Emalu (2013) took an in-depth look at each individual stage within the mass, from the introductory rites up to the closing song, identifying each language and asking the conductors of the ceremony for the reason. Even though this research revealed how in some of the services the languages would switch between certain elements, they struggled to identify the rationales between language choices with their quantitative approach. Since these rationales for language choices are at the forefront of this study, a different kind of approach was needed.

Instead of relying on a handed-out questionnaire, this study used participatory observation in

specific religious activities and interviews with individual stake holders as its main approaches to this topic. For this, I had attended several services at the main Catholic church, trying to experience the use of language myself. Through these visits I also met with the local parish priest, father Erik, and interviewed him on the position on language by the parish and himself. I also met with one of the many choirs of the catholic community. The choir I chose belonged to the church at the campus of Gulu University. I attended two of their practice sessions and talked to its members about their ethnic and linguistic composition and how they managed language in their internal communication as well as their song choices. In the approach to the Watoto Church, the focus was less on the official services but on meetings of community members outside the church. These congregations called “cell meetings” were a central element of the religious practice in this community and I attended them on three different occasion. I also interviewed one of the administrators of this community to gain a perspective on their official position towards the use of language. The study also included a third community. However, this inclusion was not planned but resulted from a personal invitation. This Church was not part of the larger congregations in Gulu but belonged to a smaller Pentecostal community just across from Gulu Independent Hospital along Airport Road. As this was not planned, I had only a single opportunity to attend a service and speak to individual members of this community. The decision to nonetheless include this community in this section derived from its somewhat unique way of handling language compared to the previously studied examples.

#### *3.4.1. The Catholic Church*

It was the Catholic Church that administered the Christianisation of the Acholi during the early 20th century after the Comboni missionaries reached the region coming from the north. As a result, the Catholic Church still had a strong presence in the community. Part of the parish were several churches, schools and medical facilities. Gulu is also the centre of the Archdiocese Gulu, covering large sections of northern Uganda. Archbishop John Baptiste Odama was seated here in the St. Josephs cathedral near Lacor Hospital, a bit outside of the town centre along Arua Road. The parish priest of the Holy Rosary parish right in the centre of Gulu was Father Justin Eric Uma. His church had over the previous years significantly expanded its capacity, as two side naves were added to the building to fit the local demand. Holy Rosary was located right next to the new main market and the premises included Holy Rosary Primary School, a book store and a radio station, Radio Maria, that broadcasted to the whole district.

### *Going to Sunday mass*

On Sundays, Holy Rosary offered services at four different times, each lasting between 90 and 120 minutes and all usually held by the parish priest. I attended the Sunday services together with friend of mine. This friend always attended the service held in English and so I joined him for the first time on Palm Sunday 2015. As is probably the case in many towns in Uganda, the experience of going to church on Sundays begins way ahead of reaching the actual location. In Uganda, weekends denoted less of a break in the week than in many other places, as only a small part of the population was working in an office job that allowed for having the weekend off. For those working in farming, small businesses or the service industry, a daily routine on Sunday was not that different from any other day in the week. However, the Sundays stood out in relation to religious activities, as attending church for many preceded all other activities.

*Image 6. St. Josephs Cathedral before the extension (by Nicolay Nikdel, 2013)*



The speciality of the occasion began for me with dressing up. I wore a dress shirt, dress pants and dress shoes; an outfit that was not appropriate for my explorations of markets, small businesses or the local music scene. As I walked towards the church it became obvious that my choice in clothing had been correct, as wearing the Sundays best was the proper way of dressing for everyone attending the service. This could mean wearing an attire like I had chosen, or a more traditional form of clothing. Especially among the women attending the service, wearing a traditionally cut dress made from kitenge fabric was a popular choice. The streets were jammed with people going towards Holy Rosary, coming by foot, motorcycle or car, while many

businesses along the road had remained closed. At the entrance of the church some people stood chatting, while others rushed inside to get a good seat. The service was very well attended, so that some late comers were forced to stand between the rows or in the back. The central front section of the church was reserved for the choir, consisting of twenty to thirty men and women. According to parish priest Father Eric, the basic principle of language choice for the masses and services was to accommodate the needs and demands of the community. In practice, the parish used Acholi and English for the masses, while local prayers would occasionally also be done using Kiswahili. The only area where Kiswahili was common was in prison. Many of the inmates of Gulu prison came from other regions of Uganda, as the country's correctional system tended to avoid the imprisonment of people in their home area. With many of the prisoners being from the central, western or eastern parts of the country and often lacking advanced formal education and English language skills, Kiswahili was the most accommodating language choice in this context. However, for services it was not used, as none of the priests had the required proficiency to perform the more complex tasks of a Sunday service appropriately. For some members of the community this meant that they could not attend a Sunday mass they understood, creating a problem for the community and the Church alike. To deal with this issue Father Erik had planned to learn Kiswahili himself, so he could potentially offer this service in the future. To further accommodate the needs of the community, the Catholic parish would also, if possible, have someone translate the mass into sign language. Overall, the parish tried to use all language skills at its disposal to reach out to its members. The most important language however remained Acholi, as it was the first language for most members of the community. On Sundays, three masses were held in Acholi and a fourth one in English. Other churches that were part of the parish also tried to use the language that accommodated the respective communities the best. For more rural churches this was in general Acholi, while the church at the university campus held its Sunday mass in English.

In the service I attended that day, the priest still used Acholi on some occasions, for instance when talking to the altar boys, but these instances remained exceptions. The only occasion that I witnessed to be managed differently was on Easter Sunday. This occasion was additionally made special by being held by the Archbishop Odama instead of the parish priest. On that day, the English mass was the only service the Archbishop held at Holy Rosary, making it an important service for all members of this community. Thus, it was also attended by members who otherwise attended one of the services held in Acholi. To accommodate for this audience, the service used a mix of Acholi and English, with the archbishop himself translating passages spoken in English into Acholi and vice versa.



Notably, the English language service was not only attended by those who were not able speak Acholi but by many who were ethnic Acholi themselves, like the friend I had accompanied. His choice of this mass was very deliberate. He personally preferred English over Acholi in all areas of everyday life, including the contexts of religious practice. Apart from him, there were several others who I met over the course of my research that were ethnic Acholi yet preferred to attend the service held in English. This included many people who had received higher degrees of formal education or worked in occupancies where English played an important role. They also brought their children along, as some considered this an opportunity for them to experience this language from a young age on. That said, it would be premature to deduct from this observation that attending the English mass equalled having higher formal education or that attending the Acholi language mass meant the opposite. Over the course of my visits to the Catholic services I also attended several masses held in Acholi and equally met people of whom I knew they had a background of high formal education.

### *The choir of St. Peter*

One thing that all masses had in common regardless of the used language were the notably multilingual songs sung by the choirs. I had already noticed their linguistic diversity during my first visit to the Catholic service and this impression was confirmed over the course of my entire research. The songs sung by the choirs within a single service would not only employ the languages most likely to be understood with Acholi or English, but also songs in Kiswahili, Luganda or Atesot. Following the mass on Easter Sunday, which I had described above, the community had organised a showcase of all choirs in the parish to perform in front of the Archbishop and other guests and visitors. During these performances, the linguistic diversity was on full display and made me interested in exploring this phenomenon further. Following the performances, I approached members of one of the choirs and was granted the permission to visit their practice sessions.

The choir belonged to the St. Peters church next to Gulu University and was therefore entirely comprised of students. They met right next to St. Peters on Tuesdays and Thursdays in the evening to practice the songs for the next service. The members of this choir had highly diverse ethnic backgrounds, coming from various parts of the country to study at Gulu University. For instance, the first person to arrive after myself came from Tororo and was of Itesot ethnicity. The group nonetheless included several people identifying as ethnic Acholi. The practice session was set up just outside the church, with chairs arranged in a manner that separated the sopranos,

tenors and basses. I myself joined the bass section.

The choir worked with an extensive song book each member had access to on their notebooks (see Appendix I.). Overall, it contained eighty-three songs. Even though most were in Acholi and English, it included songs in a great variety of language. For instance, in Kiswahili there was “Mshukuruni”, in English meaning ‘give thanks’, from Luganda “Ha Ha Mukama”, translating to ‘oh Lord’, or from Atesot “Onaceka”, meaning ‘brother’. The choir had the policy of giving every member the opportunity to introduce new songs to the songbook, provided they could teach them to the other members. On the day of my visit, a choir member who identified himself as an ethnic Itesot and was a student at Gulu University had taken the chance to introduce a song to the group. Coming from the eastern region of the country, he was used to having Kiswahili as a central part of his religious practices and considered “Mshukuruni” to be his favourite song in this context. Because many of the other members could not speak Kiswahili themselves, he taught them the song line by line, so they could nonetheless perform the song together in the next service. This policy extended to all members of the choir.

Much like the general attitude towards language in the Catholic parish, linguistic diversity was welcomed by this community. Including the various languages that the members felt emotionally and spiritually connected to was understood as a key to the expression of their faith. All members agreed to partake in these efforts to accommodate their wishes. Fully understanding the lyrics of the songs was considered less important than the community effort to bring joy to a few or even just one of their members. Nonetheless, the choir had a common language they used during their practices and to teach these various songs; English. Due to their highly diverse backgrounds and their common high level of formal education as students at Gulu University, they considered this the most appropriate language. Such a level of ethnic and linguistic diversity was certainly not very common among the many different choirs within the parish. Performing in multiple languages was nonetheless a common occurrence and underlined the ideas of inclusion and diversity that were presented by the parish priest.

### *3.4.2. With the Watoto Church*

Besides looking at the way the Catholic Church dealt with the multilingual nature of their community, the research directed its attention towards the management of language in another large Christian community in Gulu. The Watoto Church is a fast-growing evangelical Church of Pentecostal denomination, founded in 1984 in Kampala by the US citizen Gary Skinner.<sup>43</sup> In

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<sup>43</sup> [www.watotochurch.com](http://www.watotochurch.com); accessed 02.11.2015



recent years this church had gained international notoriety as it strongly supported the push for legislation discriminating against people of homosexual orientation in Uganda (Russell, 2014). After building a strong platform for itself in Kampala, it has over the last few years expanded to other parts of the country. One of their most important areas in this expansion was Gulu, which was by then considered their second base in the country. This expansion in the largest city of northern Uganda included buying big pieces of land within town to build a new church and to develop a series of social projects in the community. At the time of my research the community still resided in a smaller complex along Jomo Kenyatta Road, only a few hundred meters away from Holy Rosary.

### *Official language policy of the Watoto Church*

In contrast to the Catholic parish of Gulu, the local Watoto church was not headed by a priest but a local administrator. The priests holding the services in the Watoto church were often not assigned to a specific branch of the church but moved between the different branches in the country. The language used in every mass, regardless of the location of each church, was English. “Unity” was one of the key terms that Paul, the church administrator, used to describe the basic principles of his congregation. He called the Watoto Church an “agent of change” and the English language one of its main tools in achieving that. As the language of education and one that was not connected to an individual ethnic group, it was supposed to help in transcending the ethnic boundaries that were in the way of the sought-after unity. He also described English as a language of strength that would negate conflicts and encourage intermarriages. That it was also a language spoken on a global scale was an additional advantage, as the Watoto Church in Uganda was connected to Pentecostal communities in North America and Australia. Every year several travelling groups from these foreign communities visited Watoto church communities in Uganda to partake in charity events and joint prayers. Members of the Watoto church in Uganda also visited communities in other countries in an exchange program called the “Watoto Experience”. This program aimed at expanding the networks of the church and its members and offered the opportunity for fund-raising.

Besides using English as the linguistic expression of their general ideas on identity and social structure, it further served their ideals regarding their own membership. The Watoto Church made a conscious effort to attract people with higher education. They would for instance organise meetings and prayers in the evening hours, or have services limited in their duration, often lasting for only one hour, to make it easier for people with busy schedules to partake.

Success and ambition were central elements of the self-image of the church and its members, with the community at times even serving as a business network. In this context, the Watoto Church made use of the higher perceived prestige carried by the English language in comparison to the other available linguistic choices. That included Kiswahili, which according to Paul was a language of less educated people and therefore disqualified it for the use in this community. The only exceptions to this strict language policy was for activities outside the urban community centres. The church allowed members who qualified themselves through long membership, commitment and seminars organised by the Watoto Church to open their own missionary programs in rural areas and permitted the use of local languages to reach new potential members.

### *The cell*

The Watoto Church to a far higher degree than the Catholic church in Gulu emphasised being a tight and closely connected community in which the members had an active role in all forms of religious practice. Events and practices were not only organised centrally by the parish or branch, but also decentral by the members themselves. One expression of this decentral organisation were the cell groups. The larger community of the Watoto church in Gulu contained several of these cells that met on a weekly basis in someone's home. These meetings were mainly used for bible studies, but also gave each member the opportunity to talk about personal matters or to discuss issues regarding the community.

I joined the meetings of a cell group that someone I knew was a member of.<sup>44</sup> The group consisted of about twenty people and met every Wednesday in the home of one of their members at the central bus park. This group of young adults of both genders included people of various ethnicities and nationalities. The leader of the cell who guided the group through the meeting for instance came from Kampala and identified as a Muganda. Some came from the Southwest, others from the East and two members came from Kenya. Several members were still students, while others worked in office jobs or were looking for a high paying occupancy, with all of them having a rather high level of formal education.

English was the only language used during the evening, as the cell leader used an official script from the church administration to guide the group through the meeting. The meeting included

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<sup>44</sup> Due to the sensitivity of the meeting and the trust extended towards me by the group, I did not record any of the meetings or wrote down any direct quotes that were said here and could be assigned to one individual. The notes that I took afterwards also excluded any information from conversations that did not pertain to the topic of language in their community. However, some members of the group also agreed to take part in the quantitative parts of this study.

the discussion of a specific bible verse, the opportunity for members of the group to bring forwards personal issues and wishes, prayers and discussing matters of the community. I made use of the section discussing internal matters of the community to ask them about their personal opinions on the use of language by the Watoto Church. Their responses supported the church policy and their emphasis on English, as they considered it the best linguistic choice. They agreed on its ability to unite the national community of their church and to connect with partners and networks across the globe. However, there were some minor concerns regarding the strictness of this policy. Even though they considered English to be the ideal language for their group, they felt that it could lead to the exclusion of others. It turned away people lacking a functional knowledge of English from joining their community and hindered its continued growth. Thus, they wished that the official stance on language would soften to further open the church for new members.

### *3.4.3. Making room for Kiswahili*

In the original outline of the research, the exploration of language in religious practices and institutions only included the Catholic community and the local branch of Watoto church. However, during my field research I had met the members of a band that played on a regular basis at the largest hotel in town. Even though the band had formed in Gulu, this group was made up entirely of musicians from the DR Congo and mainly played typical Congolese music with Lingala lyrics. I had previously talked to them about their experience as Congolese living in Gulu and following our conversation some members of the group invited me to attend a service at his church. This church was not situated in the centre of Gulu, but slightly outside near Gulu Independent Hospital. It was a lot smaller than both the Holy Rosary Church and the building used by the Watoto Church at that time. It had a small fenced compound, two small buildings with administrative offices and a simple building where the services were held. The mass was scheduled for 1pm and I arrived about thirty minutes early. Inside the church the previous mass held in Acholi was still going, so I joined the group outside waiting underneath a large tree. The group of about fifty people was separated into two sections. One consisting of women with their small children and a second, smaller one consisting of older men and young adults of both sexes. As I approached this large group, I was offered a chair in the latter section. I took a seat and started conversations with those sitting around me. There I learned that the other section was comprised of women from the Congo and their children that lived around this area. They had come to Gulu with their husbands who were members of the Ugandan Army

stationed in the Army base nearby. Most of them had met their husbands when those were deployed there during one of the several occasions the UPDF was engaged in the neighbouring country. Because many of them were neither proficient in Acholi nor English, they struggled to integrate in this unfamiliar environment. As a result, they formed a tight network that lived near each other. Due to their linguistic limitations they had trouble finding a church that accommodated for their repertoires. The language they all shared was Kiswahili, while most of them also knew French and Lingala. However, none of the churches in Gulu offered a Sunday mass in either of those languages and as discussed above, the Catholic church used Kiswahili only for local prayers and not for masses. The one exception to this in Gulu was this small Pentecostal community that had adjusted their program to fit this Congolese community that lived in the area.

After the Acholi service had ended and the church emptied, I joined the group entering the church for the Kiswahili language mass. At this point I shortly met up with John, who had invited me. He played the guitar in the church band and was therefore busy throughout the day. He briefly showed me inside before leaving again for his musical duties. The hall had a small stage at the front with space for the band to the right and a lectern to the left. The seating area had space for less than one hundred people. When the mass began, not one, but two people entered the stage. A man and a woman that would both lead through the mass. It was this arrangement that enabled the church to offer the mass in Kiswahili. The man was the priest and the woman served as his Kiswahili translator. The priest held the mass in English, meanwhile she translated everything with a short delay. Most of the songs were also in Kiswahili, including John's favourite song "hakuna wa kufanana na yesu", which translates to 'there is no one like Jesus'. However, there were also some songs in English in between them. At times, this arrangement led to staggered reactions by the audience as parts of the community understood the priest immediately while others had to wait for the translation. This had no negative affect on the atmosphere in the church though, as the community celebrated the Sunday mass with great enthusiasm.

Offering a mass on Sundays in Kiswahili had enabled this small church to broaden their appeal to a group with great enthusiasm for religion and commitment to the community. In the competitive marketplace of different religions and denominations in Gulu, linguistic adaptivity was their advantage. On the other side, the more rigorous language policy of the Watoto church was an advantage to them as well. There it appealed specifically to people that were more desirable as members for this community. At the same time, it helped to connect the institution and its community to other likeminded communities in other parts of the world. In some

Christian churches in Gulu, volunteers and missionaries from the USA were always present and marriages between local members of the community and American missionaries or volunteers not uncommon. The Catholic Church displayed values and ideas regarding language similar to the Pentecostal community, with the focus being on the linguistic needs of their members. However, they were not capable of performing the same flexibility in practice. In all three cases, language policy and actual use of language was a tremendous indicator for the self-image of the religious institutions and their members as a religious community, but also as individuals. They were expressions of ideologies regarding religion and religious practices, as well as economy, education, community, relationship, family or politics, as language proved to be one of the absolute key elements.

### *3.5. Capturing regimes of language*

At the beginning of this chapter the quote from Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005) asked how space “does organize regimes of language?” (p. 198). As the presented data showed, there were various ways and multiple levels on which the many languages in Gulu interacted with the spatial environment and the conditions these created. In both the linguistic landscape and the soundscape, space behaved in the form of a medium on which language was performed and interacted with local discourses on urbanity, modernity, social class, ethnic identity and many more. Languages written in highly visible places throughout the city were not only representations of the historical, social, political and sociolinguistic conditions that shaped local ideologies, identities, attitudes and practices, but were themselves participants in the linguistic practices as parts of the visual repertoire of Gulu. As “every sign points backwards to its origins, and forward to its addressees” (Blommaert, 2013, p. 35), these signs functioned as visible demarcations that assigned meaning to their respective spaces. They claimed and assigned ownership and defined the identity of these spaces within the context of their physical and social surroundings.

The spaces described here further revealed a division between centre and periphery on multiple scales (cf. Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck 2005, 202). Such a division was visible between the urban physical and social structure of Gulu and the rural areas surrounding it. Language was here tightly connected to ideas of modernity, urbanity, globalisation, education and economic opportunity. The use of English and urban variants of Acholi were clear indicators of this spatial difference, as highly evident in the local music scene. At the same time, language was also used as an expression of difference on the national level that can equally be viewed as a centre-

periphery relationship. Here it was again Acholi that functioned as a representation of the periphery. However, it was not English that represented the centre but Luganda that stood in opposition to the peripheral position of Gulu and Acholi.

Space was further a key element in the regimes of language management in Gulu. Social domains, like the portrayed religious communities were also defined by the physical attributes and the way space is utilised. The studied communities displayed at times highly different approaches to the use and management of languages within their religious practices and regarding social interactions in general and manifested these differences spatially. The Catholic Church used a large and open facility for their religious practices placed directly in the centre of the town. This was reflected in their understanding of language and how they thought of utilising language in their community and their religious practice. The language was supposed to be determined by the general population and used to facilitate the needs of the community. On the other hand, the Watoto Church had shifted significant parts of their religious activities into private homes and behind closed doors. The focus on English underlined this image of exclusivity and of a community as a tight circle or network of people with rather homogenous socio-economic backgrounds that shared many views regarding politics, socio-economic developments, personal ambitions and attitudes on both a professional and private level, as well as a strong identification with their denomination.

Finally, the chapter showed that space and language are entangled in the capitalist system of the local economy. Most visibly on the many markets of Gulu. Gudeman (2001) writes that the “(...) two realms of market and community complement one another, conjoin, and are separated in acts, institutions, and sectors.” (11) and remarks that language is one of the keys to the interactions within these spaces. In the cases described here, the conjoined nature of community and market was one of their defining characteristics. These many markets of varying sizes were highly intertwined with their immediate spatial surroundings and reflected the socio-economic, ethnic and linguistic composition of their neighbourhoods and communities. This also influenced the transactions performed on these markets, including the use of language. In the case of the Cereleno market, Luganda was more likely than on other markets in the city, whereas English was more common in the main market of Gulu. One of the typical traits of the market, that the individual interest to profit is a key driving motor in interactions, was also visible in the linguistic choices. Displaying flexible linguistic repertoires was a common occurrence and language skills became a commodity in this environment. However, these markets also offered space for not trade-related interactions between family members, friends or acquaintances. The analysis of relationships on markets by Storr (2008) highlights this character of a space that is

communal and economic at the same time and where interactions cross the boundaries of the professional and the private. These interactions were highly visible in the market spaces of Gulu and language was here not less important than in purely economic interactions. It critically influenced the formation of social groups and relationships, as well as flows of information within the market community.



#### *4. Network approaches*

Each time I stayed to Gulu I lived in the same place, a hotel only minutes away from the central bus park and commercial centre of town. The Golden Gate Hotel usually housed customers staying in town for business purposes, while also serving as a congress hotel for small conferences, educational events or private congregations. Over time I became more and more acquainted with this place and the staff working here, getting to know them personally, having talks during breakfast or dinner, witnessing their day to day procedures and even spending time together outside their working hours. This place created a very specific environment that had a direct influence on the linguistic practices occurring inside or around. Besides carrying an English name almost all writing, from advertisements, to menus and information signs was done in this language as well. The hotel attracted customers from all over Uganda and even some customer like me, that had come from farther away. Thus, all staff dealing with customers was required to speak English. The hotel also included a restaurant with a small dining room in the back and a larger bar at the front of the building. During the day, not many visitors and customers would be around here. Usually only a few people using the place for its reliable electricity and Wi-Fi sat in the bar, working on their notebooks. However, in the evening hours the scenery changed. As the people living in the neighbourhood finished their work day, they would come to the Golden Gate and meet in the restaurant, at the bar, at the reception or on the porch of the hotel. Especially on nights that soccer games were on, the place was crowded, as the hotel had bought a Pay-Tv package that enabled them to screen the UEFA Champions League, the English Premier League or other European soccer competitions. Interest in these competitions was incredibly high in Uganda and many identified as fans of Manchester United, Arsenal London or Bayern Munich. When a game was on, most places showing them were packed with people, at times filling them beyond their capacity, watching the English language broadcast.

*Image 7. Golden Gate Hotel (Lorenz, 2015).*



More than the place determining the linguistic practices, it was the people and relationships that had formed between them. The hotel was owned by a professor of Makerere University in Kampala and run by his brother. Another three of the employees had family ties to the owner, being nieces and nephews to him. A lot of the staff had worked there for many years, forming very close relationships amongst them and with working hours extending to ten or sometimes twelve hours a day, the hotel was the place they spent most of their time at. While the married or more senior members of the staff went home in the evening, many of the unmarried employees also spent their nights in the hotel, living in rooms on the first floor. With so much time spent in this work place they formed close networks amongst the staff, but also with the people in the neighbourhood and their customers. Overall, I witnessed very complex social relationships, not only in this hotel, but also at the markets, in my neighbourhood, among friends and family, at peoples' work place or in their homes. The question arising from my experiences and observation was, how to capture and analyse these relationships and the role that language had in them. As it appeared that observations and recordings fell short in trying to capture this complexity, the study chose to explore this complexity through network analysis.

The interest in studying human social relations using a network model seems to have grown tremendously over the past years. The ability of network analysis to transform complex social relations into compact data sets made it a hot commodity in a world of growing capabilities in computer-based analysis. New ways of collecting, formatting, analysing and visualising data of social relationships and the emergence of web-based social network platforms like Facebook, Twitter or Instagram has further fuelled the interest in this approach.

In the previous chapter, the study introduced the concept of space to analyse the physical and institutional environments of social interactions in Gulu. That approach used physical representations of space to anchor its analysis of these conditions and the role of language. Using a strictly physical interpretation of the term space when studying the underlying conditions of social practices, individual behaviour and attitudes is not without issues though. It creates a blind spot for the equally important social interrelations that actors within these spaces are engaged in and that serve as organising mechanisms for the social environment. The concept of *neighbourhoods* for instance is a prime example of spaces that are not mainly defined by their physical limits but are better understood as “geographic units within which certain social relationships exist” (Downs, 1981, p. 15). These social relationships are not visible or necessarily represented in the physical space but are created by the people inhabiting and interacting within it. Thus, recognising social relationships as constitutive structural elements is an integral part for the analysis of social practices. *Social Network Theory* (SNT) offers anthropologists an opportunity to grasp and even visualise these crucial relationships. Using a network-oriented approach further offers the ability to connect the social relationships and other environmental factors, for instance when employing the principles of *Actor Network Theory* (ANT). This approach, often-times associated with the French sociologists Michel Callon and Bruno Latour, uses the term network not only to refer to connections between humans, but as a “set of relations or associations by the means of which the world is built and stratified” (Murdoch, 1998, p. 359). It understands social reality as an ensemble of networks, which social networks between humans are a part of, but not the only element and not the most prominent either (Latour, 1996, pp. 370-371). In relation to space, ANT offers the possibility to connect human relationships and the specific local environmental factors in a spatial form of organisation. Despite networks being abstract models of social reality, they can be understood as a geography. One that is not tied to the restrictions of physical space and time but takes note of the individual perception of social reality. Distance and closeness no longer must be measured in absolute terms, using meters or inches, but becomes relative. Murdoch (1998) describes ANT therefore as a tool or method to bridge the gap between space and social practice:

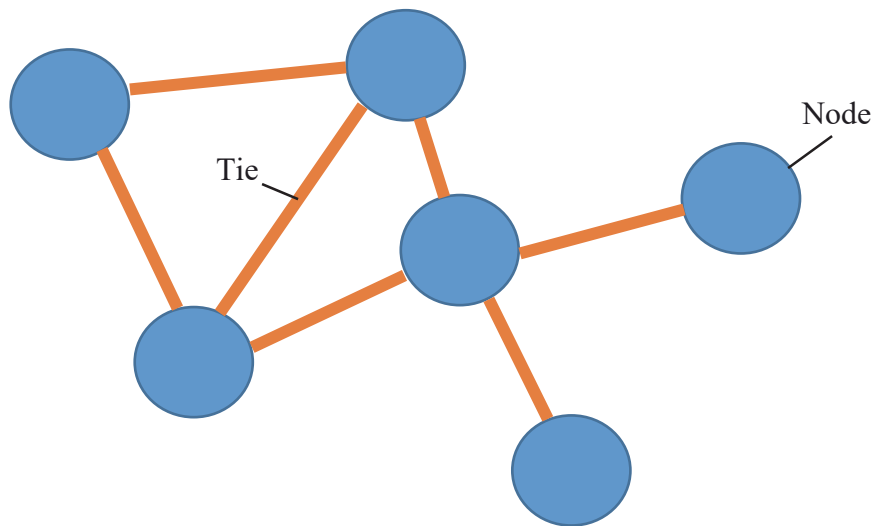
“(Firstly), in the view of many (...) ANT is a useful way of thinking about how spatial relations come to be wrapped up into complex networks. Moreover, the theory is also believed to provide a means of navigating those dualisms, such as nature/society, action/structure and local/global, that have affected so much geographical work to date.” (Murdoch, 1998, p. 357)

While not trying to engage in the intricate discussions around the application of ANT within sociology, this study will make use of its underlying principles that see social reality as a collection of heterogeneous networks that can be understood by looking at the relationships and connections within them. Combining it with elements of social relationships and physical space, this chapter focussed on language as a central element within the networks formed by them.

The conceptualisation of human interaction in the form of networks is not a recent development. It first became popular in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with scholars like Auguste Comte, one of the founders of sociology as a scientific discipline, who acknowledged the systemic nature of human relations (Martineau, 1895). Other important early figures of network theory include Simmel (1908), Wellmann (1926), Blatz and Bott (1928), with Wellmann being credited for the introduction of systematically collected social network data. As time passed by, the understanding of what these networks are and how to analyse them has changed. Freeman (2004) understands network analysis to be defined by four features. First, that social structure is based on ties that link social actors together. Secondly, its foundation in systematic empiric data. Third, the use of graphic visualisation technics and fourth, the use of mathematical and computational methods. In the current, technology-driven scientific environment, this definition represents the most popular approach to network theory and analysis. There are, however, other definitions which put less emphasis on these elements. Wasserman and Faust (1994) for instance shared the same principles of focussing on the structural composition of interaction, but put less emphasis on the analytical and technical side of network analysis, while the Actor-Network Theory proposed by Latour (1996) focusses mainly on the aspect of connectivity.

Network analysis enables the researcher not only to determine the individuals or actors that constitute the group of people in question, but also the connections between them and how they are situated within the social structure. They conceptualise individuals, or depending on the type of network objects, spaces, institutions or ideas, as actors in the form of *nodes* that are connected to each other via *ties*.

Figure 6. Example of a social network.



Taking the example of an online social network like Facebook, each node would represent a person in someone's friends list and each tie is the existing Facebook friendship. This allows the researcher to evaluate the function and position of the individual to other individuals within the structure. For instance, how is an actor connected to other actors and how central is this connection to the whole network structure. Ties can also be specified by determining the nature of each linkage. They can be that of a relation (i.e. kinship), an evaluation (i.e. friendship), a transaction (business relation), an association (i.e. belonging to the same club, party) or a specific action (i.e. talking to each other). It is possible to add a *weight* to a tie, signifying how close two nodes are connected to each other, just like one can assess whether a tie is of positive or negative nature. Social Network Analysis also gives the opportunity to evaluate the structure of the network itself, by assessing its size or how nodes are connected to each other overall.

The first to establish network analysis methods in sociolinguistic research was Lesley Milroy in her work on speech communities in Belfast, Northern Ireland (Milroy, 1980). In her attempt to identify social variables influencing the variation of specific linguistic features she focused mainly on personal network analysis, analysing individuals' connections to their social environment, opposed to looking at the whole networks of a specific social group. A central conclusion from this research was that the closer the ties within a person's network are, the less likely that person is to introduce linguistic innovations into their own language and their networks (Milroy, 1980, p. 179). This is in line with the theory that density and multiplexity of networks influences the flow of information as well as the enforcement of norms within them (Granovetter, 1973). The percentage of existing *ties* between *nodes* in relation to the maximum numbers of ties indicates the capability of a network to maintain social norms. A network that

is very *dense*, because it has a high percentage of *ties*, is therefore strong in their norm-enforcement and relatively closed off to outside influence. Networks that are *weak* because they contain less *ties* are on the other hand less likely to maintain local linguistic registers and their style of speech. Milroy, however, noted that the question of standardised speech varieties is very complex and closely linked to external social circumstances that trigger the development of such a variety (Milroy 1980: 182-183). Since then there have been several other studies using network analysis in the field of linguistics. Scanlon (2007) for instance studied the occurrence of “t, d deletion” among African-American speakers in a Seattle neighbourhood, while others used this method for corpus analysis (Stuart & Botella, 2009). Most of these studies have a very quantitative approach in common, despite the issues noted by Milroy and contrary to the general approach applied here. Their interest is less in the complex overall relations between actors and the general linguistic choices they make but are rather concerned with specific linguistic features. They also make use of electronic based data collections, which were not applicable in the context of Gulu. It was thus necessary to identify methods that fit the general idea of this study and were also executable under the given circumstances. The two methods chosen for that purpose were the following analysis of Core Discussion Networks and of individuals’ personal networks.

#### *4.1. Core Discussion Networks*

Core Discussion Networks (hereafter CDN) were introduced by Peter Marsden in 1984 and applied to the General Social Surveys (hereafter GSS) conducted in the USA in 1985 and 2004 (Marsden, 1988; McPherson, et al., 2006). These types of networks are thought to be of high importance for each persons’ life, as they include the ties with the largest relevance to day-to-day life. They are also thought to be significantly influenced by the specific social environment they exist within, showing the connectedness of individuals to their social surroundings (Small, et al., 2015, p. 90). These ties do not represent the full personal networks of individuals, but rather important and close interrelationships. The data collected through this approach gives an insight into the construction of peoples’ closest relationships and how they relate to factors like age, gender, social context, and in this case also language. The types of relationships were grouped into four categories; family, friends, work and neighbours. They were first asked to list the people that are within their CDN using the following question:

- “From time to time, most people discuss important matters with other people, looking back at the past six months, who are the people with whom you discussed matters important to you?”



Restricting the time frame in the question to the past six months was here intended to create an image reflective of the current state of people networks at the time of their participation. This question tried to elicit the close personal ties that the individual had frequent contact with and shared a strong interpersonal relationship with. They only constitute a small part of one's overall personal network, which can in some cases reach into the thousands of people. In the original GSS, these questionnaires were always conducted in face-to-face interviews, allowing for additional probing about the interpersonal relationships between the people mentioned. As this was not possible for all participants in this study, the analysis of the collected data will remain slightly more superficial. The number of people listed in the answers to this question were restricted to fifteen. As the second step, the participants were supposed to further qualify their answers to the first question. They were asked to name specific personal attributes of the people they listed, as well as the languages they communicated in. The factors were:

- “Age”
- “Gender”
- “Type of connection”
- “Tribe or ethnicity”<sup>45</sup>
- “In what language do you speak with her or him?”

The questions on gender and type of connection gave the participants options to choose from; male, female and family, friends, neighbours or work. For the other three questions the participants were asked to write in the answers themselves without receiving multiple choices. In contrast to other popular methods of network analysis that put emphasis on visualisation, the data generated here is mostly analysed through statistical means.

#### *4.1.1. CDN-data*

Of the forty-one participants that answered the sociolinguistic questionnaire, thirty-one were also willing to participate in this second survey. As ten participants opted to not do this part, the sample differs in some respects. One notable difference was in its ethnic composition as nine of the ten participants that did not answer it were ethnic Acholi.

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<sup>45</sup> The term “tribe” was used because it was frequently used by many people who participated and was more likely to be understood than the term “ethnicity”. It is understood that this term is otherwise problematic due to its connection to racist traditions in science. However, the understandability for the respondents was the main objective of the questionnaire design. Thus, these concerns had to be ignored here.



*Table 21. Ethnic composition of sociolinguistic and CDN questionnaires*

Ethnic Identification	Sociolinguistic Q.	%	CDN Q.	%
Acholi/Luo	32	78	23	72.5
Karamojong	3	7.3	3	10.0
Itesot	2	4.9	2	6.9
Muganda	2	4.9	2	6.9
Lugbara	1	2.4	1	3.7
Nubian	1	2.4	0	0

Further, the disparity between male and female participants grew, as only ten of the thirty-one participants were female. The level of education was on average higher, and so was the average income. The average age of 25.2 was relatively similar compared to 25.9 for the main sociolinguistic questionnaire, with the youngest participant being eighteen years and the oldest forty-five years.

Combined, the participants listed 329 people as part of their personal networks, for an average of 10.6. This number is extraordinarily high compared to the results from the US GSS. One reason for this discrepancy might be that some participants felt compelled to name the maximum number of people possible, as was done by more than half of them. However, even when we deduct all those who listed the maximum fifteen contacts, the average of confidants is still significantly higher. It can also not be ruled out that some participants would have listed even more people than the maximum given here. Even though this discrepancy constitutes an interesting research question, it is not the task of this study to address this phenomenon in further detail. On the positive side, this remarkably high number of listed confidants also meant that the data set included a very high number of data points on language use within these networks. Of the thirty-one participants, only one opted to list not a single confident, despite taking the questionnaire, whereas this appeared to a significantly higher rate in the GSS data set.

*Table 22. Confidants per participants Gulu and GSS.*

	CDN-Gulu	GSS 1985	GSS 2004
# Confidants (C)	329	-	-
C per Participant (P)	10.6	2.94	2.08
% of C per P Max.	51.6	-	-
% of C per P Min.	3.2	10	24.6
C per P w/o Max. answers	5.6	-	-

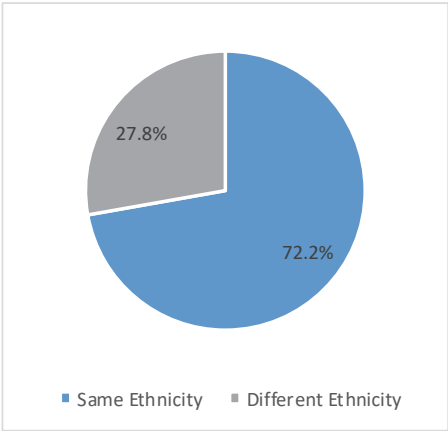
The most common ethnic identifications among the confidants reflected the ethnic composition of the sample, with Acholi, Karamojong and Muganda as the most frequent. Following those was Langi, even though there was no ethnic Langi being among the participants. Since the Lango region directly neighbours Gulu district and family ties between Acholi and Langi are not unusual, this was not unexpected. All ethnicities that were named less than Langi, as well as those cases where the participants did not name a specific ethnicity were listed under the category “other”. Of all 329 confidants, five were identified as Americans, one as English and one as Mexican, making those seven the only people from outside East Africa listed. There were three other confidants identified as not being Ugandan, with one each coming from DR Congo, Kenya and Rwanda. Overall twenty-one different ethnicities were listed.

Table 23. Ethnicity of confidants in CDN

Ethnicity	Acholi	Karamojong	Muganda	Langi	Other	Overall
Confidants	229	24	20	11	55	329
%	69.6	7.3	6.1	3.3	16.7	100

Of the thirty-one respondents, twenty-three had listed confidants with an ethnic identification different from their own. Overall, 236 of the 331 listed confidants were reported as having the same ethnic background as the respondent and ninety-five as having a different one. On average, every respondents’ CDN was to more than a quarter comprised of people with a different ethnicity than their own.

Figure 7. Correspondence of ethnicity.

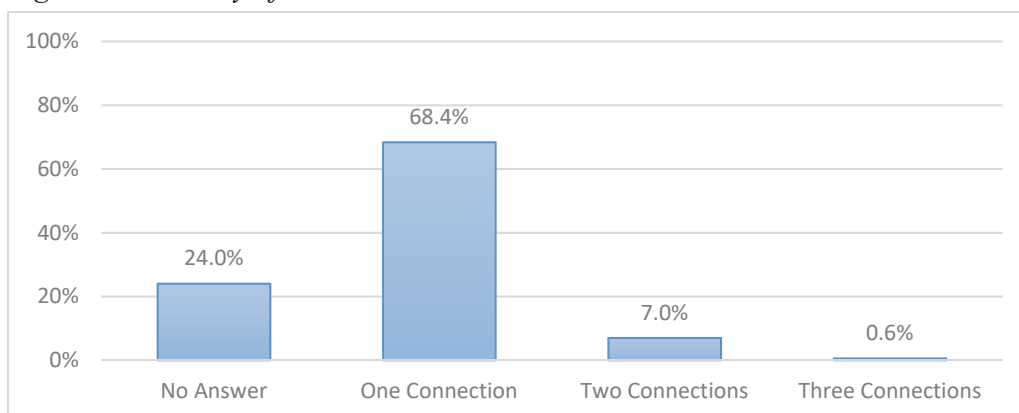


Ethnic diversity in CDNs was a rather common occurrence, oftentimes to a significant degree, making interethnic relationships an integral element for most of the participants networks. When tested for a possible correlation between the presence of multi-ethnic networks and the participants age, the analysis showed no significant differences. However, since the sample was highly skewed towards people between the ages eighteen and thirty, this result should be taken

with caution.

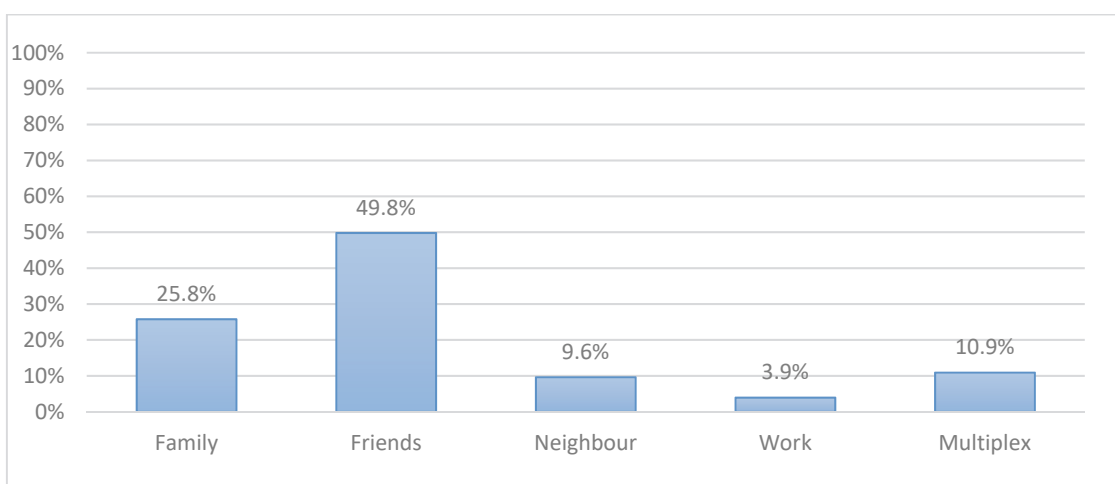
Most of the ties between respondents and their confidants were reported as being of singular connection. Only twenty-five of the 329 ties were reported as belonging to multiple types at the same time, henceforth referred to as *multiplex*. For seventy-nine of the 329 overall ties the respondents did not specify the nature of the connection.

Figure 8. Modality of ties.



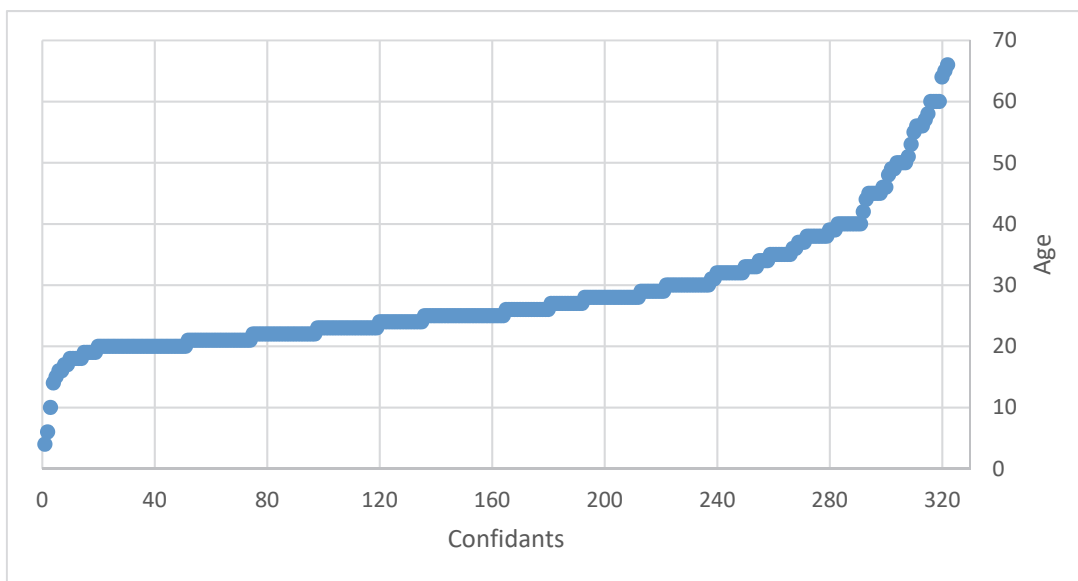
Regarding the nature of the tie, the most commonly named type was friendship, with family coming in second and neighbours in third. Only nineteen of the reported ties were connected to the work place.

Figure 9. Types of ties.



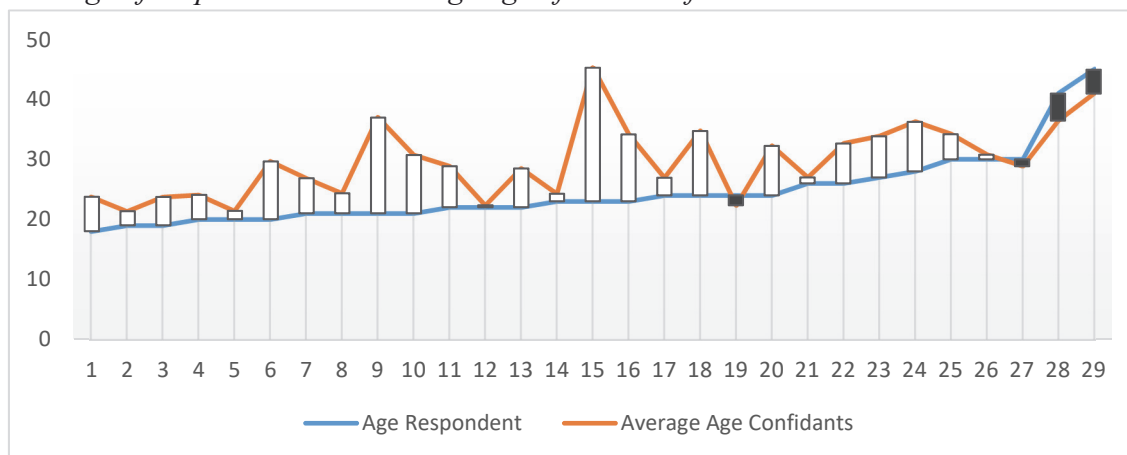
The average age of the confidants listed by the participants was 28.4 years, with the oldest being sixty-six and the youngest four years old. Most reported confidants were between the ages of twenty and forty.

Figure 10. Ages of all confidants.



In general, the confidants were reported to be older on average than the respondents, as only four respondents had a set of confidants that was on average younger than them. The largest difference between the age of a respondent and the average age of its confidants was reported at over twenty years. Especially for the respondents between the ages twenty and twenty-five, having older sets of confidants was the norm. On the other hand, the three oldest respondents were among the four people reporting confidants that were on average younger than them.

Figure 11. Age of respondents and average age of their confidants.



### Languages spoken overall

The languages listed by the respondents did not entirely match the diversity of the listed ethnic backgrounds. Besides the languages that were expected from the ethnic composition of the respondents and the predictable strong presence of English, the list also included Alur, Kiswahili

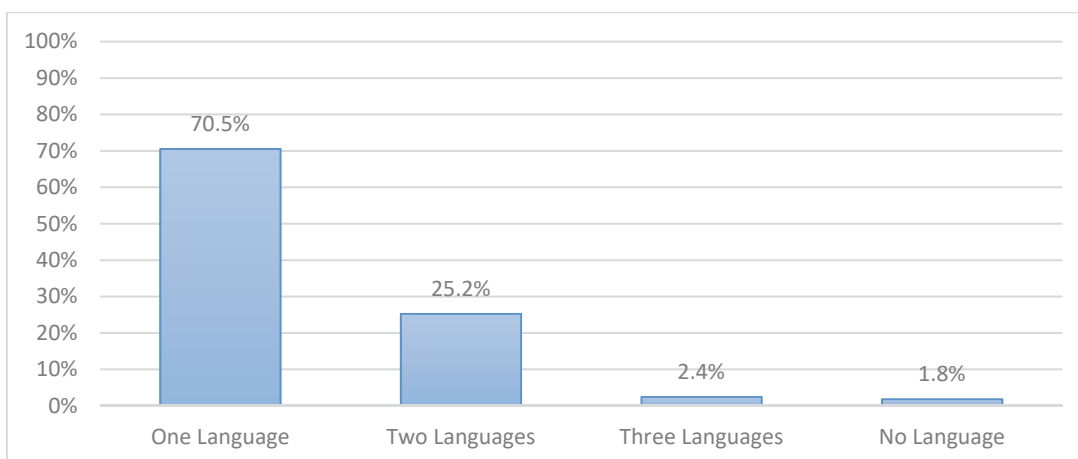
Adhola, French and Latin, of which the last three languages were each named once. Overall ten different languages were named. In total, the participants listed 420 languages for the 229 contacts that were listed with a language.

*Table 24. Languages used between respondents and confidants overall (n=420).*

Language	%
Acholi	47.9
English	37.9
Karimojong	5.2
Luganda	4
Lango	1.9
Alur	1.7
Kiswahili	0.7
Other	0.7

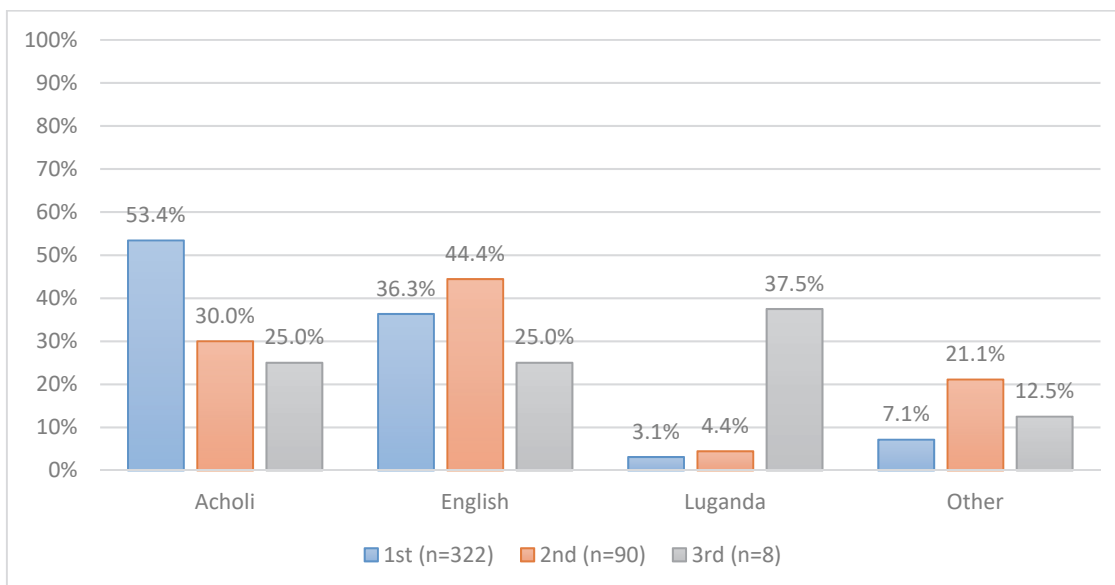
Most ties were reported with only a single language attached to them and for only a quarter of the connections the respondents listed multiple languages.

*Figure 12. Number of languages per tie (n=329).*



In seventy-two percent of cases with more than one language listed, it was either English or Acholi that were listed as second or third language. English was the language listed the most frequently in second position.

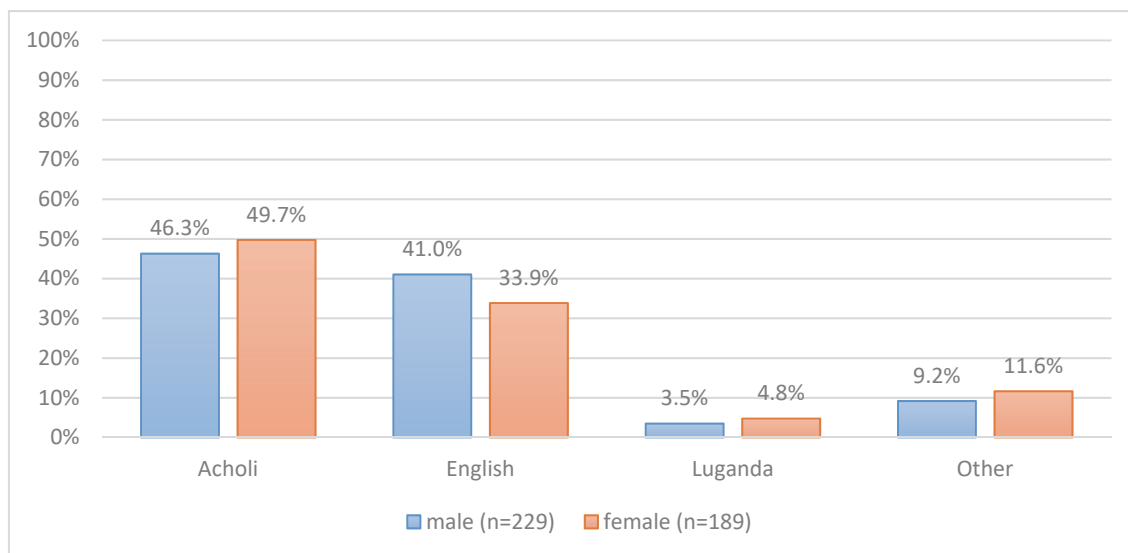
Figure 13. Languages named and positions they were listed in.



Among the other languages listed was Alur, which was named seven times overall, of which it came in second position six times. All those listings came from a single respondent whose father was Acholi and mother Alur. As a result, Alur was the second language behind Acholi used within that family. In the questionnaire this respondent identified as an Acholi without adding the Alur heritage though. Her answers were also remarkable for another reason. Not only was this respondent the only one listing French, but also named Latin as one of the languages used with one of the confidants. While the mentioning of French was easily explained by the corresponding confidant being Rwandan, the listing of Latin seemed rather odd. In rather uncommon fashion, this respondent had also learned Latin in school. According to the answers to a different segment of the questionnaire, they not only had learned Latin as a subject but used it also when talking with each other outside the classroom. In the CDN she listed it as the secondary language used when speaking to a friend.

It was not possible to detect significant differences regarding the gender of the confidants. Participants from both genders listed Acholi as the most frequently used language with their confidants, followed by English. English also consistently appeared as the most frequently named second language. However, the data set showed a stronger role of English in ties with male confidants, whereas female confidants were more likely to be assigned the respective first language of the participant.

Figure 14. Languages assigned by gender of the confidant.



The languages the respondents assigned to CDN-ties showed that besides Acholi as the locally dominant language, English was given an almost equally prominent role as medium for interactions, regardless of the age or gender of the respective confidants. Kiswahili, the second official language of Uganda was barely listed, hinting at its limited importance in close personal relationships. Other listed languages were generally connected to the ethnic background of the respondents and confidants. Only Luganda, which was listed seventeen times overall, was also listed seven times in ties that did not involve an ethnic Muganda. For instance, in four ties between very young Acholi respondents (between the ages nineteen and twenty-one) and their confidants it was listed as the third language behind Acholi and English. The three other cases came with Olivia, a nineteen-year-old ethnic Itesot who had grown up in Gulu. In her notably multilingual network she listed Acholi, English, Lango, Alur and Luganda. While she listed Lango and Alur only in ties with people of the according ethnicity, she listed Luganda as the third language in three with her female friends of the same age.

#### *Languages assigned to different types of connection*

The CDN survey differentiated between four types of ties; family, friendship, neighbour and work-related. Most of the reported ties were qualified as friends, with family in second, neighbours in third and work-related ties in fourth position. I had chosen these four categories for two reasons. First, because of their practicality and self-explanatory nature, making them less prone to misunderstanding or misinterpretation.<sup>46</sup> Secondly, apart from family networks I

<sup>46</sup> Other surveys on CDN would also differentiate among family members, grouping them into father, mother, uncle and so forth. In this environment, such a differentiation was deemed unpractical, as the taxonomy of family

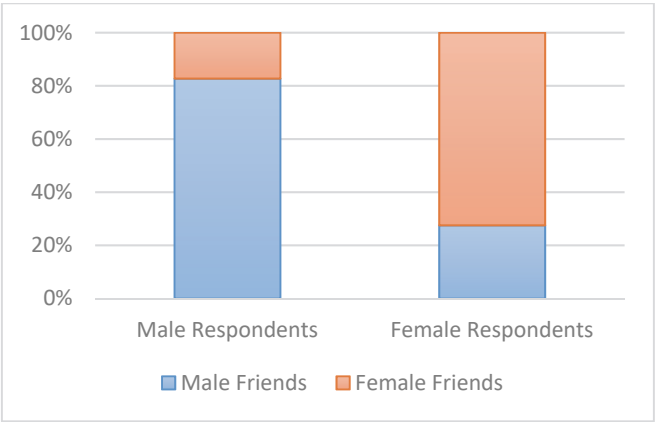


had significant access to three of these four types of social relationships. Not only did I engage in my own networks of friends, I was also a part of the neighbourhood I was living in and had explored various workplace during the research.

*Friendships*

My own experience of language and friendship was largely dominated by me being someone who was male, a foreigner, and not very proficient in Acholi. That meant for instance, that my circle of friends was largely male. This was neither by design, nor was this typical for me. Many of my friends at home were female. However, it appeared rather difficult to develop a closer personal relationship or even friendship with women in Gulu. I had tried doing so with people from my direct neighbourhood, but relations remained distant as I was unable to overcome the general tendency of friendship being more restricted to the same gender. This tendency was also observable within the friendship networks recorded in the CDN. My personal experience was thus in no way unique, but the expected outcome considering the local conditions and social dynamics.

*Figure 15. Gender in friendship ties (n=150).*



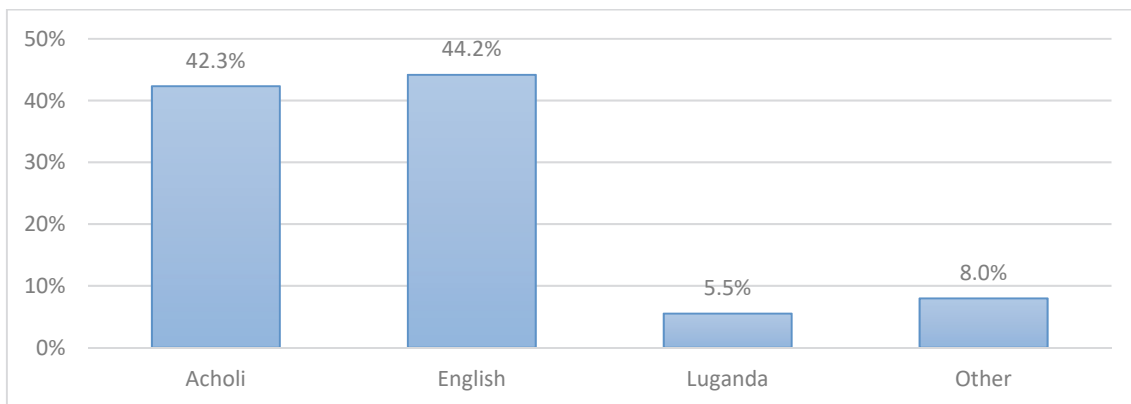
Within my personal circle of friends, conversations were in general held in English as my Acholi did not meet the required proficiency for deeper conversations. Acholi was nonetheless an important element of conversations even with me being around. Apart from continuous attempts by my friends to improve my Acholi language skills, others would also switch to Acholi when I was not involved in the conversation. Switching between those two languages appeared to be in general a seamless transition and could even happen in conversations that only involved ethnic Acholi. The respondents of the CDN survey named Acholi and English as the two most

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members among Acholi can differ from the other conceptualisations.

important languages in conversations between friends, with other languages like Karimojong, Luganda or Alur generally appearing in accordance to the ethnicities represented in the sample.

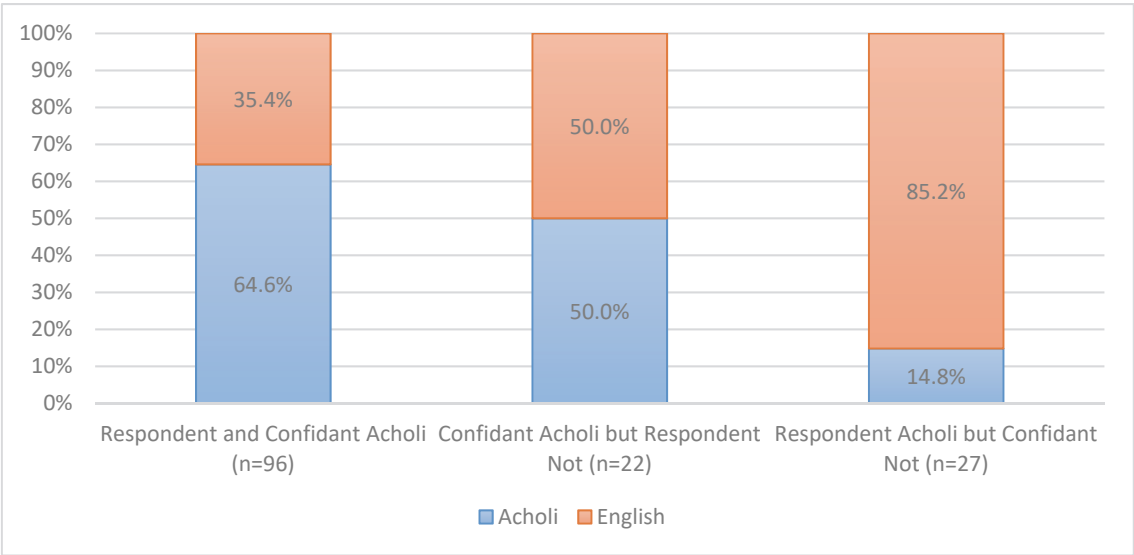
*Figure 16. Languages amongst friends overall (n=163).*



Further differentiating the answers by the position in which the languages were listed in did not show any significant patterns. The percentage of ties that had English listed in first or second position was about the same and Acholi was as expected more likely to be listed in first position (forty-five percent) than in second or third (thirty-two percent).

More revealing than looking at the positions each language was listed in, was the connection between language and ethnic affiliation. Unsurprisingly, the CDN survey showed that ties between two people of Acholi ethnicity were far more likely to be reported with Acholi than English. That changed though when the ties involved people of different ethnicities. The two main possibilities for such a tie are that either the respondent is of a different ethnicity than Acholi, or the listed confidant is. These two options also show different results regarding the use of Acholi and English. In those cases, where the confidant was an ethnic Acholi and respondent was not, the distribution of Acholi and English was about equal. When the respondent was an Acholi, but the confidant not, the ties were far more likely reported to use English. My own relationships with people in Gulu was precisely such a case, making my experience seem rather typical.

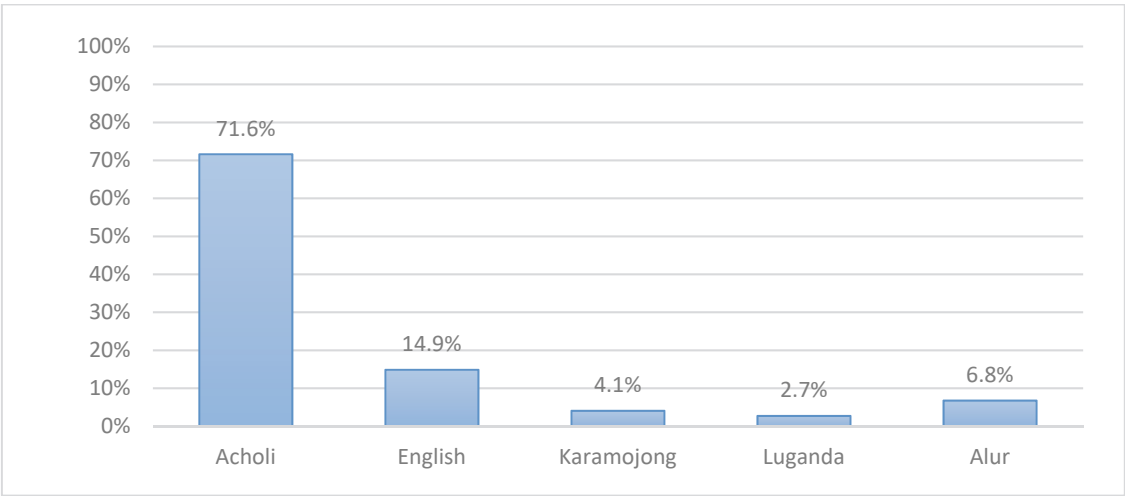
Figure 17. Ethnic difference and assignment of Acholi and English.<sup>47</sup>



*Family ties*

While the data showed the English language as an essential element for networks of friends, the results for family-related networks seemed rather different. The list of languages reported for these ties was dominated by the respondents' corresponding ethnic or first languages. In line with most respondents being Acholi, this was also the most frequently language listed. The importance of English was greatly diminished here.

Figure 18. Language in the family overall (n=64).



Beyond this indirect approach, observing the use of language within a family was generally a difficult task. More than anywhere else was my appearance within such a network a disruptive

<sup>47</sup> In cases where both languages were listed by the respondent, both were also included in the data.

event. When friends brought me home to their parents, be it within Gulu or in their villages, people were prepared for it. They would prepare some food, take care that they had no other obligations to fulfil, making my presence an event, useless for observation of everyday communication. What became visible nonetheless was that among the elder generations of my friends' parents and grandparents, living in the villages around Gulu or farther away, knowledge of English was a lot less common.

There was also a gap between generations that became visible when I made the visit to the village of a friend. This village consisted of only a few dozen huts and houses to each side of the road. In one part of the village his closest family was living, having built their houses around a large mango tree in the centre. Every member of the family had their own house, the size of which depended on each's financial capabilities and needs. Many houses were empty though. Besides some of his cousins and nieces that were still attending the schools nearby, only the older generations still lived here, including his parents and his grandmother. At that time his sister lived there with her baby son, but shortly after my visit she also moved to Gulu. For the villages right around urban centres, these developments were not unusual, leaving the generations of parents and grandparents in these traditional environments while most of the younger people move to the urban areas once they had the opportunity. The group of people left was thus very homogenous, including only people of certain ages. Thus, there was little need and opportunity to learn another language besides their first language. The only form of media available was the radio and they would generally listen to a program using their first language. People from outside would rarely, if ever, come here. The family had a small business selling gas to the motorcyclists using the road passing by their village, but that was run entirely by the children outside of their school hours. During my visit, communication was a difficult task as they spoke little English and I spoke little Acholi. Many from the older generations grew up in times when the opportunities to attend school were limited, especially for women. Thus, in our conversations we always needed a translator.

This difference in linguistic repertoires between generations not only extended to those living in the villages but was also detectable among people living in Gulu. The mother of another friend was such a case. She lived together with her two sons and her brother near Gulu university where she worked as a cleaner. Despite working in an environment where many people did not speak Acholi, her capabilities in speaking English had remained limited, even though she was able to improve her proficiency over the with the help of her children.

These observations largely concur with the data from the CDN study, as Acholi was the predominant language within family networks. Here, English appeared only occasionally.

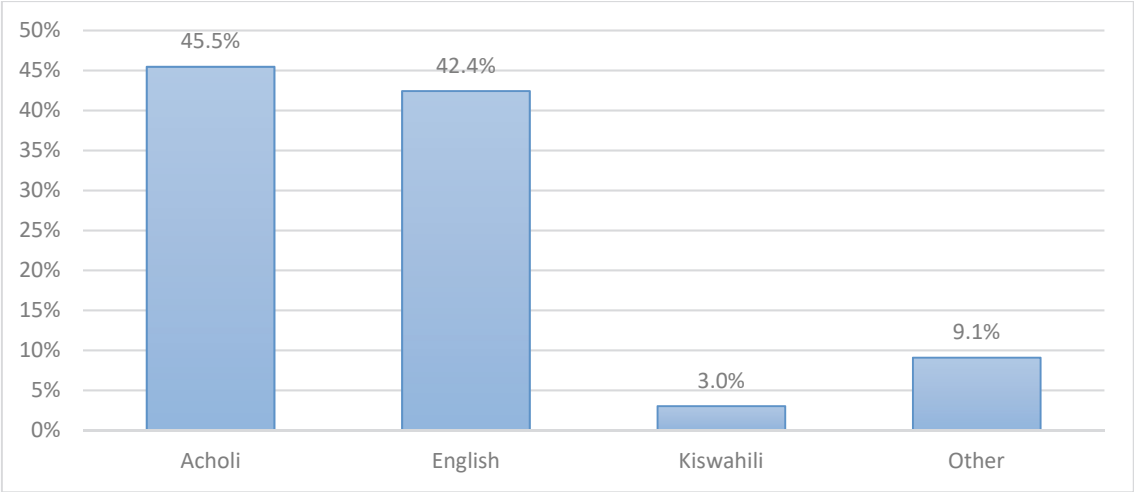
However, it should be noted that among the younger parents it was not unusual to speak English with their children. Especially if those already attended nursery or primary school, signifying changing attitudes and linguistic practices.

*Neighbourhood*

The urban neighbourhood as a form of social network is somewhat unique compared to the other three types of networks included here. Unlike in a village, where those living next to each other are usually part of the same family, the composition of an urban neighbourhood is more arbitrary. There are certain factors that homogenise a neighbourhood to a degree, like local rent or price of land, but these differences were not very pronounced in Gulu. Large houses or modern apartment buildings, where the rent can easily exceed 200,000 or 300,000 UGX (60-90 €) per month could be found in direct neighbourhood to small single room houses costing only 30.000 UGX (9 €). Housing complexes would often offer houses or huts at different price ranges, creating a socially diverse neighbourhood.

Regarding the use of language within these networks, the respondents reported a large section of ties using English. However, the overall lack of listed confidants made it difficult to identify significant trends within the data-set. It appeared that the linguistic situation of these neighbourhood ties closely mirrored the results for friendship ties, but without increasing the sample this remains speculation.

*Figure 19. Languages in neighbourhood ties (n=33).*



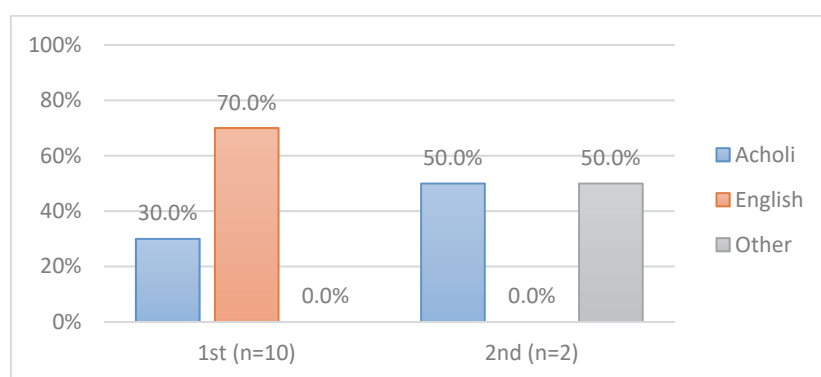
My own experience of being part of a neighbourhood in Gulu largely matched the results of the CDN, even though Acholi was a lot more used in my neighbourhood than the CDN suggests. English came usually into play in multi-ethnic neighbourhood-encounters that appeared not uncommon, as many of the people I knew in Gulu had neighbours of different ethnic

backgrounds.

### *Work*

If it was difficult to identify trends regarding language use for neighbourhood networks, considering the limited size of the sample, this task was rather impossible for work related ties. Only ten of the 321 confidants were reported by respondents as being exclusively connected through work. From these ten ties, seven were reported as using primarily English.

*Figure 20. Languages in work-related ties*

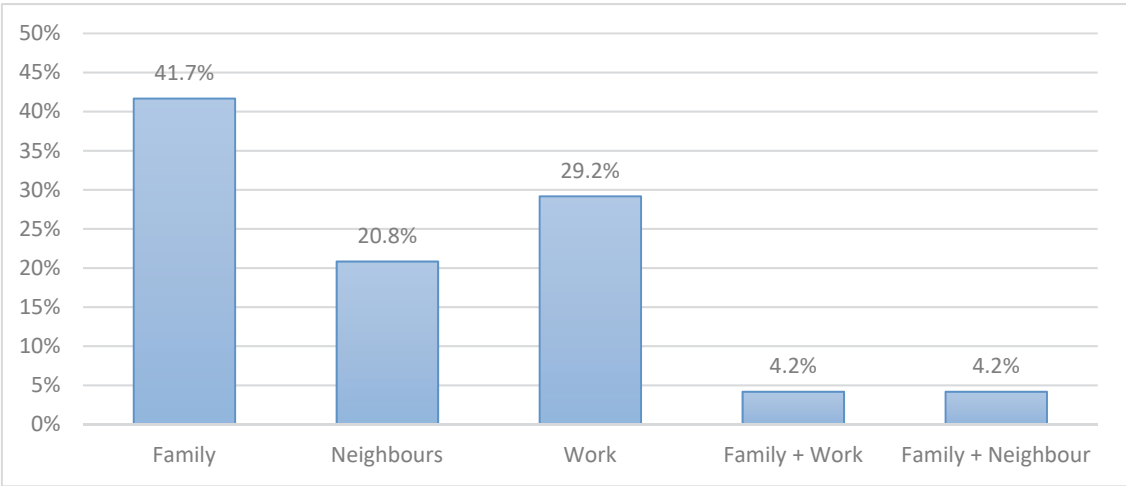


The very small size of the sample made it almost impossible to evaluate this data. However, these numbers concur with the data presented in the previous chapter, regarding the use of language in shops and businesses.

### *Multiplex ties*

Of the 321 ties reported by the respondents, twenty-five were multiplex, in that the connection was based on more than one aspect. These ties had all in common that friendship was one of the two or three aspects they were connected through. The most common combination was of friends and family, with friends and neighbours and friends and work each being listed six times.

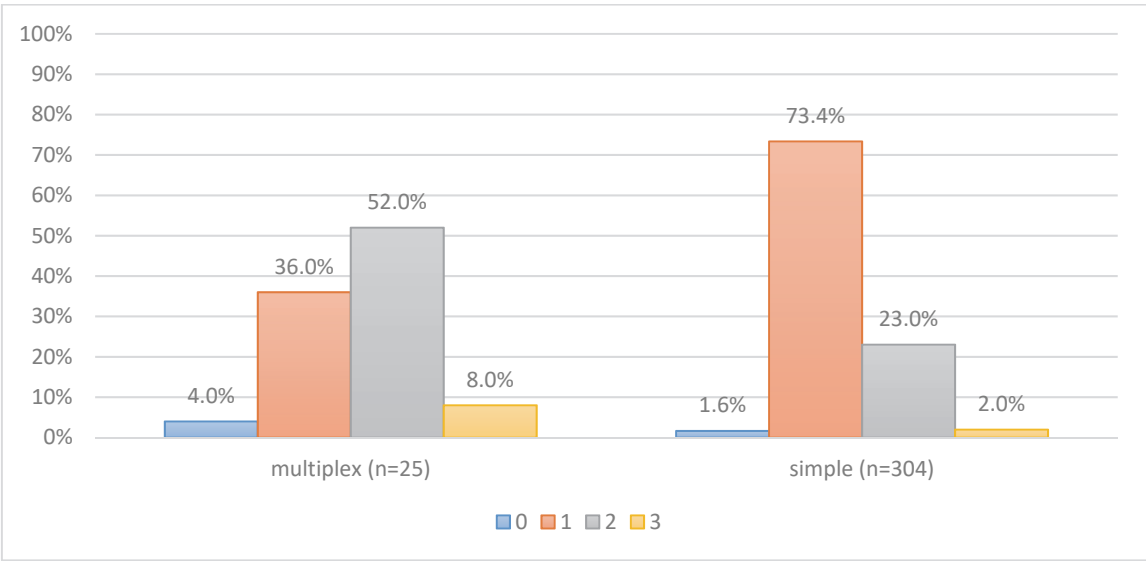
Figure 21. Multiplex ties including friends plus x (n=24)



The comparably frequent appearance of work and neighbourhood related ties (each appearing seven times) in this category demonstrates one of the issues of the CND approach, at least within this community. People considered to be confidants from these two domains are likely to be considered friends as well. This appears especially true among work related ties. Overall seventeen confidants were listed as being connected through work, but only ten of those exclusively. It can be assumed that work, as well as neighbourhood related ties were in many cases primarily understood as friendship. It is therefore very possible that many ties listed among friends would also fit those two categories.

In general, the data showed that the one category overrepresented among ties with multiple languages were multiplex ties. Making up only eleven percent of all the reported ties, they were responsible for twenty-four percent of the ties with multiple languages.

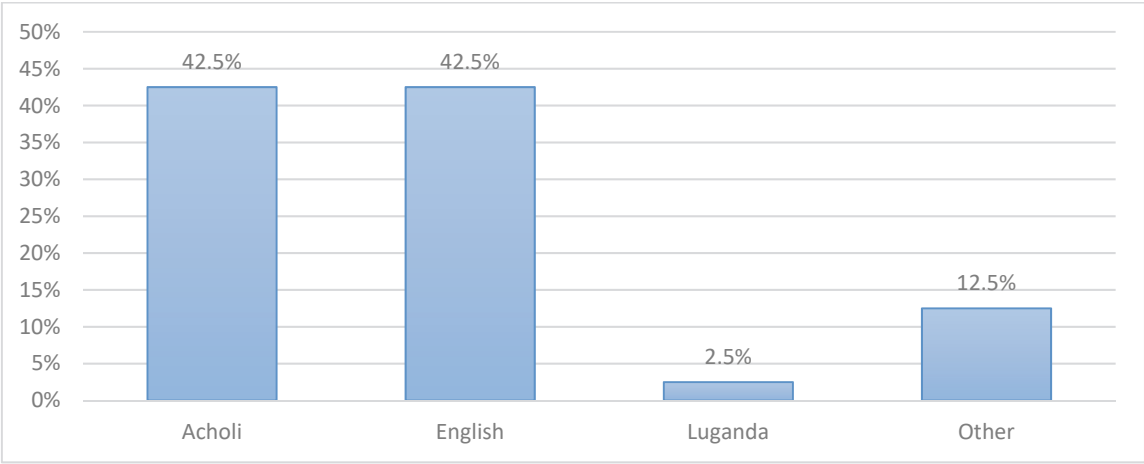
Figure 22. Number of languages reported per tie (multiplex versus simple ties).





With these many ties having more than one language reported, the number of languages listed overall was consequently higher. English and Acholi were listed equally frequent.

Figure 23. Languages in multiplex ties overall (n=40).



Combined, the multiplex ties showed rather similar patterns to the other ties that were based on friendship. However, separated into the three different types of friendship plus either family, neighbour or work, the results became somewhat more like the patterns of these individual types. In ties combining friendship with family, Acholi was more likely to be listed first, with English as the secondary language. For ties combining friendship and work, as well as ties combining friendship and neighbour, English was more likely to be listed and be named as the first language.

4.1.2. CDN results and patterns

The data from the CDN survey highlighted dynamics regarding both the constitution and conceptualisation of social relations by the respondents, as well as the way language related to these relationships. The findings can be separated into three categories. The first category contains the finding regarding the general appearance of CDNs; the second one contains the findings regarding language in general; and the third one those dealing with the way language is used in the different types of relationships that this survey differentiated.

CDNs in general

The **first** remarkable finding from the data set was the very large number of ties that the respondents reported for their CDNs. Compared to the data from the latest US GSS, networks were reported more than five times the size. Even compared to the data from the first CDN survey in 1985, or the similar survey done in 2003 in Japan (Boade & Ikeda, 2004), which both

reported slightly larger network sizes (Japan 2003: 2,64; USA 1985: 2,94), we find by far more confidants for each respondent. This difference was in parts the result of the way this survey was conducted, as the paper form used for the survey offered fifteen as the maximum number of confidants to be listed, thereby likely compelling some of the respondents to fill out the list completely. On the other hand, it might have restricted other respondents who were willing to list even more than fifteen people as part of their CDN. With half of the respondents listing exactly fifteen confidants, it can be assumed that this did have a significant effect on their way of answering this question and for a study focussing on this feature of CDNs, this issue needs to be accounted for. However, regardless of the methodical issue here, it is notable how easy it was for respondents to list people as part of their core networks.

The **second** notable result was that interethnic networks were not uncommon. More than a quarter of confidants listed in the participants' networks were of a different ethnic identification than them. On the other hand, networks of friends tended to be relatively homogenous in terms of gender, which is the **third** observation to be made. **Fourth**, the participants were younger than the collective average age of their networks. One key reason for this trend of respondents having on average younger confidants was found within the family related ties. The younger respondents here usually included their elder generations like their father, mother, uncles, aunts and grandparents. On the other hand, the older participants included their children in their networks, leading to an average age among their confidants younger than they were. **Fifth**, most ties were classified as friendship and just slightly above a quarter of the network ties were of kin. On average, every respondent listed 3.7 friends as part of their core networks and classified 2.2 confidants as part of their family.<sup>48</sup> In contrast to the survey from the USA and Japan however, networks were also less likely to not include any family members. While thirty-eight percent of the reported networks from the GSS 2014 (USA) and twenty-five percent from the Japanese social survey features no family member, only fourteen percent of networks reported in this survey did not include any kin, as family connections appeared to be stronger than in the other surveyed regions. However, this survey did not inquire about the frequency of contact between respondents and their confidants, making it difficult to further explore this topic.

### *Languages in CDNs*

The **first** finding regarding the general role of languages within these networks was the dominant role of Acholi and English. About eighty-six percent of all languages listed by the

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<sup>48</sup> Number for family ties includes those cases where members of the family were also classified as friends.

respondents were either one of those two. While the naming of Acholi as the most frequently listed language was to be expected in the biggest town of the Acholi region, the prominent role of English was somewhat surprising. **Secondly**, most participants connected just a single language to each of their ties. Only about a quarter listed multiple languages. However, only two of the participants listed just one language for all their confidants, showing that having multilingual relationships were not uncommon in these close networks. **Thirdly**, among languages listed in second or third position, English was most common with forty-three percent. It also was the second most common language among languages listed either alone or in first position with thirty-six percent. Kiswahili on the other hand, the second official language of Uganda, was only named three times overall. Of the two official languages, English was the only one having an important role within these networks, as the other languages listed were in general connected to the respondents and confidants ethnic background. **Fourth**, regarding the confidants age and their gender, the survey did not reveal significant tendencies. Due to the lack of participants from older generations and the underrepresentation of women in the survey, this observation should be taken with care. It was rather the case, that people without knowledge in English or a weaker educational background were less likely to participate in such a survey.

#### *Languages in the different types of ties*

Looking at the assignment of languages to the four types of ties, the **first** notable observation is that there was a clear pattern regarding the assignment of local or ethnic languages on one side and English on the other side. Whereas family or kin ties were usually associated with Acholi or another ethnic language, work-related ties were more likely to have English assigned as the language of interaction (fifty-eight percent opposed to seventeen percent in the family). With friendship and neighbourhood-related ties showing an almost even distribution percentage of listing English (forty-four percent and forty-two percent), these two cases certainly stood out. **Secondly**, among friends with different ethnic backgrounds, English was the language most likely to be listed, especially in relationships where the respondent was ethnic Acholi, but not the confidant. When both friends were ethnic Acholi, the tie was almost twice as likely assigned Acholi than English. The **third** observation is that multiplex ties were the most likely to have multiple languages assigned to them, meaning the more complex the social relationship between respondent and confidant, the more complex their mode of interaction was.

#### *4.2. Telling stories with networks*

Beyond gaining a better understanding of the construction of peoples' social networks in Gulu, the CDN approach revealed several patterns regarding the way people in Gulu assign languages to their relationships. However, due to its mathematical and statistical approach to networks, the results often remained rather abstract and failed to unveil the concrete social dynamics behind the participants answers. Using a different type of network approach could, however, allow for it to be more than just a tool for mathematical analysis.

“Contemplating the visual representation of a network, we don’t (always) need to compute its mathematical properties to appreciate its heuristic value – as anyone who has ever used a transportation plan knows well. Networks are extraordinary calculating devices, but they are also maps, instruments of navigation and representation. Not only do they guide our steps through territories that they represent, but they also invite our imagination to see and explore the world in different ways.” (Venturini et.al., 2016: 1)

We can explore the connection of language and social networks by using their visual representation enabled by social network analysis. With the help of network visualisation-software we can enrich information gathered through observation or from interviews and follow the narrative of language as a social practice. Besides these additional, qualitative forms of information, this also requires the collection of a different kind of network data. The CDN-survey did provide us with some noteworthy information on people’s social networks, but it failed to register relationships that do not fall under the specific groups it asked for. To create a deeper and more detailed understanding more information was needed and the perspective towards people’s networks had to be widened.

The methodological frame for this type of SNA is a personal network or ego-network approach. At the centre of this approach is a single individual around which the network revolves. The data collected is on first sight very similar to the one collected for the CDN-survey, having a name-generator as the first step to elicit the sought-after ties, followed by a second step in which these ties are specified and characterised. The difference is the depth to which these two steps are performed. The data was here collected in face-to-face interviews and included further questions regarding the social relationships.

The advantage in this approach lies in the interviewer’s ability to follow up on the answers given by the respondents and identify the stories behind the network formations. The questions to elicit the ties from the participants (Egos) were taken from Marin and Hamptons (2007) proposed version of a name-generator that was created to ease respondents understanding and reduce the

length of the overall questionnaire (Marin & Hampton, 2007, pp. 170-171). To accommodate the local conditions, the questions were slightly adjusted in their wording:

- “From time to time, most people discuss important issues with other people. Who are the people you discuss matters important to you with?”
- “Who from outside your home has recently helped you with tasks around the house, such as cooking, moving furniture, painting, cleaning, major or minor repairs?”
- “Suppose you need to borrow a large sum of money, say 200.000 UGX, who would you ask for help?”
- “If you need to borrow some small thing, like a tool, or some *posho*<sup>49</sup>, who outside your household would you ask to borrow it?”
- “Who are the people you really enjoy socialising with?”
- “Please list anyone who is especially close to you, who you have not listed in one of the previous questions?”

The name-generator questions aimed at identifying members of the social support network, including instrumental support, which entails services and financial aid, companionship, as well as emotional support (Fischer, 1982; Marin & Hampton, 2007; Wellman & Wortley, 1990). The sixth and final question was added to record important and strong ties that would otherwise have failed to show up in the social support networks. In compliance with this method, the respondents were asked to limit their answers to six for each question. They were also able to list people for multiple questions. Following the name-generator, the respondents were asked to further qualify each of the listed people. They were asked to give some standard demographic information, to specify how they knew each other and what language they used in conversations. So far, this segment was very much like the CDN-survey, however, the respondents were asked to add information regarding their relationship to the people listed. Here, the survey wanted to find out about those listed:

1. Age
2. Gender
3. Ethnicity
4. How they are related (family, close friend, acquaintance, neighbour, work, church)
5. Language used in conversation

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<sup>49</sup> *Posho* is the name commonly used in Uganda for a form of cornmeal usually eaten mixed with water, comparable to *ugali* in Kenya

6. Frequency of contact (“How often do speak to this person?”)
7. Trust (“How much do you trust this person?”)
8. Closeness (“How close do you feel to this person?”)

For questions (6) to (8), the respondents were given a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being the lowest score and 5 the highest. These numbers given to each question were then added to determine the weight of a tie and give an estimation to how close the contact between the respondent and his contact were. To additionally obtain an understanding on the construction and density of the collected networks, the respondents were asked to connect the people within their list that knew each other well. This way it was possible to create so called sociomatrices, representing the existence or non-existence of connections between all nodes of a network.

*Table 25. Example of a sociomatrix.*

	Ego	Person 1	Person 2	Person 3
Ego	-	1	1	1
Person 1	1	-	1	0
Person 2	1	1	-	0
Person 3	1	0	0	-

The centre of the network (ego) is connected to everyone. For the others, the matrix shows a connection between person (1) and person (2) but no connection between person (1) and person (3). Using this format, visualisation software can translate the social network into a graphic depiction of nodes and ties. The visualisation tool chosen here was the popular open source software Gephi. This tool also allows to visually demarcate the nodes in relation to their specific properties (like type of connection) as well as the ties regarding their weight and character (like the language used between the two people). The colours of each node denote what type of relationship it is, and the colour of the edge denotes the languages that are used in conversations between the ego and the members of his network. The weight of each tie is marked twice in the graphs, through the length of the edge and by its thickness. The weights of each connections that did not involve the ego were always taken with the value (1).

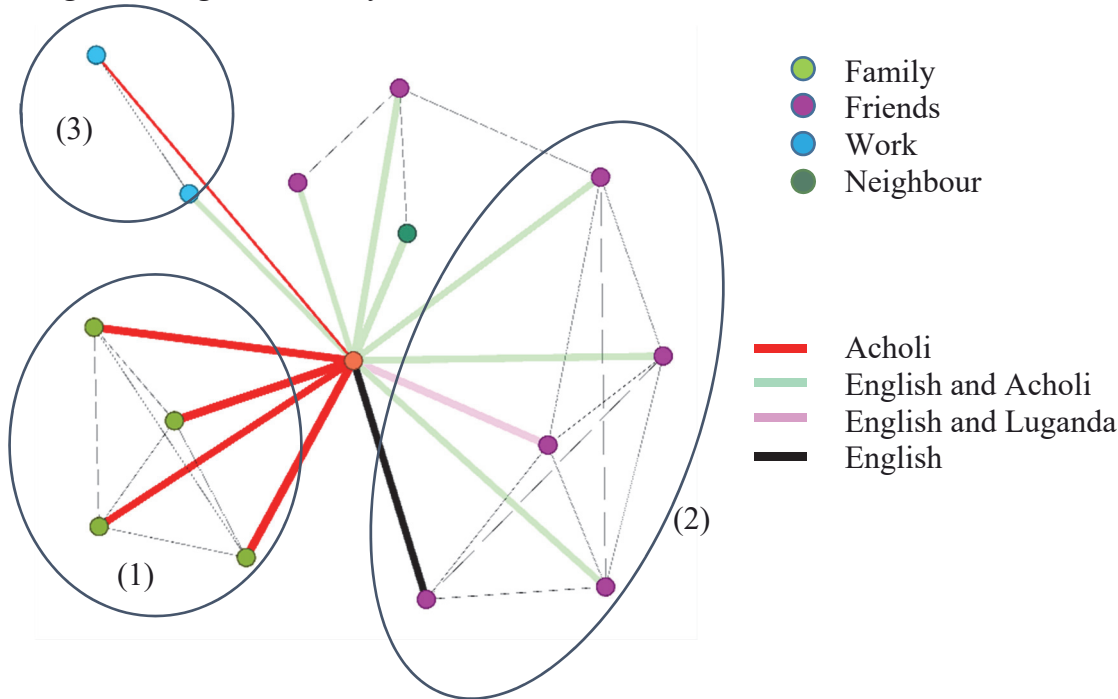
The purpose of this approach was to not only create visual representations of individuals’ social networks and the languages they used in them, but also to understand how these networks came into being and how the respondents interacted within them. For this, the collections of network data were combined with face-to-face interviews lasting 60 to 90 minutes. All participants in this network study had also taken part in the sociolinguistic survey. Since the purpose of this segment of the study was to combine the comparably abstract network data with a narrative approach, the respondents were not chosen randomly. Rather, they were chosen for my personal

familiarity with them and their social circles. The narratives are supposed to qualify some of the observations made in the CDN-survey, but also to look past the results of a quantitative approach and reveal individual stories hidden behind and on the edges of these numbers. These are four cases that demonstrate the role and value of language for people in Gulu.

#### 4.2.1. Four people and four stories

The first story belonged to Nick. Even though both his parents were ethnic Acholi he was not born in northern Uganda but in the Central region. Because his father was a member of the Ugandan military, he lived with his family on an army base in Bombo. Nick grew up speaking Acholi with his family, Luganda with his friends and neighbours, while learning English at school. He first came to Gulu as a teenager to finish his A-levels, after which he studied journalism in Kampala and returned to northern Uganda afterwards. We first met when I studied the Watoto-church community where he was a member of the cell group that I joined in 2015. He worked as a journalist for a local online journal and wrote articles as a freelancer for various other news outlets in Gulu. As a young, educated person, his background was not unusual for his demographic group. And so was the image created by visualising his ego-network. We can find Nick at the centre of the network having three completely distinct groups of people he engaged with as well as three individuals positioned separated from these groups.

Figure 24. Ego-Network of Nick.<sup>50</sup>



<sup>50</sup> Created using the Force-Atlas algorithm. The weight of the edges was calculated with the three factors frequency of contact, trust and closeness.



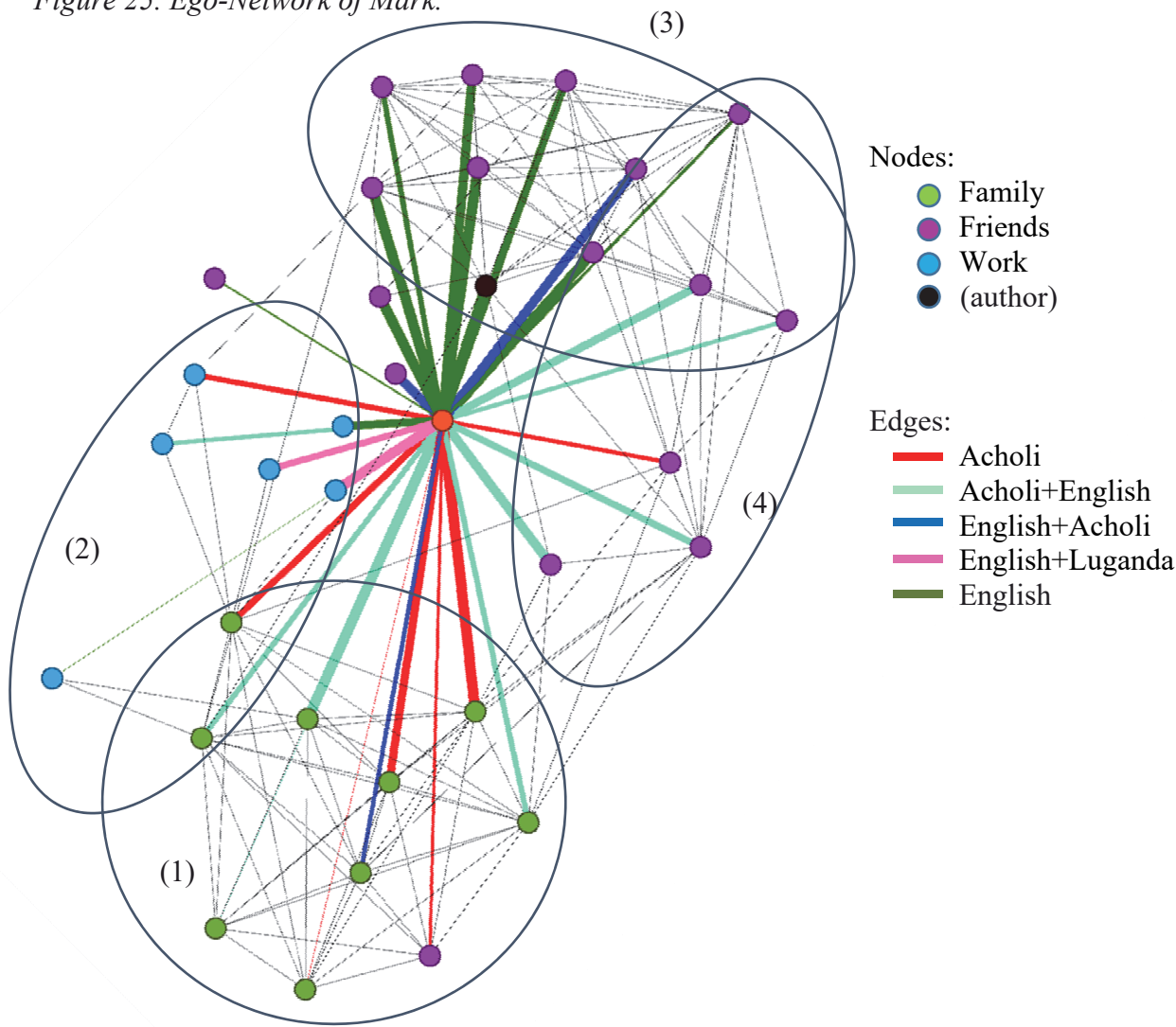
We see that his family network (1) was separate from his friends circle, and so were his work-related contacts (3). We can also see that the assignment of languages within his family was very homogenous, as Acholi was named the only language for communicating with this group. The family network itself appeared very tight and dense, as everyone was connected with each other and the people from this group seemed very close to Nick. His friends circle on the other hand appeared a lot more heterogenous. Looking at the network itself, the image shows one group of friends being rather tight, with many connected amongst each other, whereas three nodes are somewhat isolated. Among these isolated ties is the only neighbourhood tie, which was also the closest tie overall within his network. The network further showed that Nick used both Acholi and English in his most important personal interactions. Outside of his family, Acholi appeared only once exclusively and was otherwise combined with English, including amongst all of his friends. In one case he used only English and in another one English appeared in combination with Luganda. Both were cases with someone who was not an ethnic Acholi. In many ways, Nick showed the same tendencies we already saw in the results of the CDN-survey. For instance, assigning ones first language to family ties. With Nick, this was somewhat special though. He did not grow up in the North and in his home various languages were spoken, not only Acholi. He nonetheless exclusively assigned Acholi to these ties, since he thought it was the only appropriate language there. So, even though he admitted in the interview that he would also speak in English with some of his family members, including his parents, he insisted on Acholi as the only language here. In contrast to this, the languages assigned to the rest of his network were a lot more heterogenous. Here, English took on an important role, especially in interethnic relationships. This multi-ethnic circle of friends (cluster 2) is made up with people from his cell group, which itself has people from various parts of Uganda in it. As demonstrated, English was an integral element in interactions and social practices in this church, which is reflected in the report given by Nick. His participation in this religious community and that communities policy of language management had a direct impact in his close personal networks and linguistic practices. However, even in relationships with other Acholi, English was given a part. It is understandable that English is of importance in network cluster (2), as it includes the two interethnic ties, but it was equally featured in his other friendship connections with fellow ethnic Acholi. Speaking English was not born out of the necessity in interethnic relationships, but a voluntary inclusion in his important personal interactions in general.

*Using extensive language repertoires*

With Nick we saw how his choice for a specific religious community had influenced his personal networks and linguistic practices. However, there were more extreme examples of multi-ethnic and multi-lingual networks. The one that I was most familiar with myself belonged to Mark. I shortly told his story in the introduction, and about his use of multiple languages in various situations and circumstances. This image was also reflected in his personal networks.

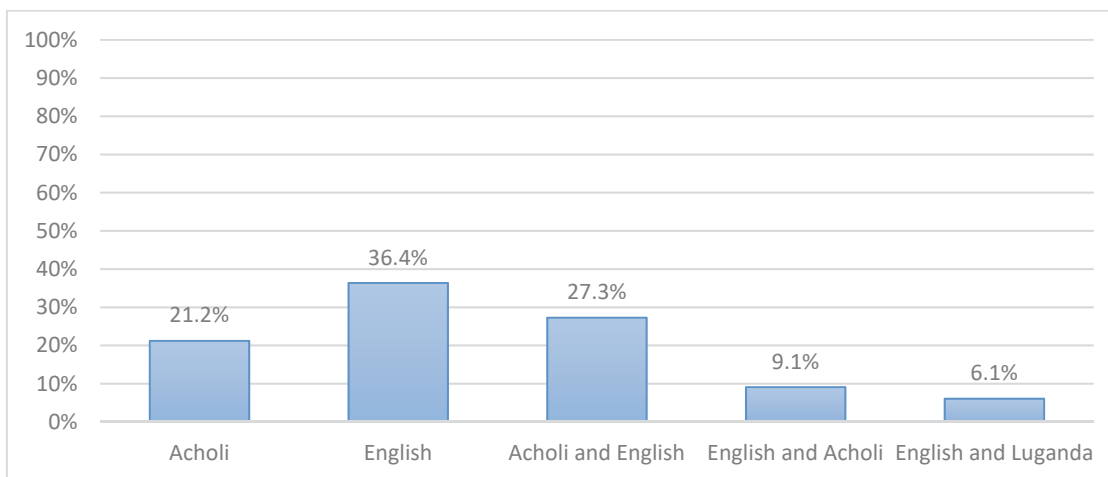
Mark reported thirty-three people as part of his personal network and 156 connections between its members, creating a very large and complex network. This complexity also extended to the use of languages he reported for his network, as it included three languages in five combinations. Unlike Nick, he reported the combination of English and Acholi in two different orders, once with Acholi as the main language and once with English in first position. The network reported by Mark also has a unique special feature, as it included the author of this study represented by the black dot.

Figure 25. Ego-Network of Mark.



The graph created from this personal network was rather larger, and therefore also more difficult to analyse. The various nodes in this network were connected to each other in many ways and across domains. Nonetheless it was possible to identify patterns and trends. First, in contrast to Nick, who had two predominant types of language assignment in his network, the image created for Mark showed a rather different distribution. English was the most assigned language within his network, however ties with only Acholi or Acholi as the main language are combined slightly more common than those with English either exclusively or in first position (17>16).

*Figure 26. Languages and language combinations assigned by Mark (n=33).*



The diversity was not restricted to specific types of connections but extended to all three types he mentioned.<sup>51</sup> Mark assigned multiple languages or language combinations to family, work and friendship ties. However, there are patterns visible in some areas. There are four identifiable clusters within the ego-network, of which one roughly correlated with family-related ties (1) and another one with work-related ties (2). The two remaining clusters were located among friendship ties (3 and 4). There were four ties that were assigned to two clusters at the same time. One belonged to both family and work network and three ties belonged to both friendship clusters. On the other hand, there were two ties standing entirely alone without any connections to other ties.

In two of those four clusters, there was a linguistic preference detectable. The family cluster, which included one friend who Mark grew up with in his village, was clearly dominated by assignments that were either exclusively Acholi (5 times) or had Acholi mentioned first (4 times), whereas cluster (3) was entirely made up of ties that had only English (9 times) or English in first position (once) assigned to them. The case of the family cluster is not very surprising, as it

<sup>51</sup> The lack of neighbours in his network came from him changing houses within Gulu shortly before taking the survey and doing the interview.

perpetuates the trend detected in the CDN-survey and with Alex above. However, the case of cluster (3) required further analysis. On first sight, it may seem unusual that Mark, who was born in the region and at that worked on a local market selling used shoes for women had such a large network of friends he exclusively or mostly spoke in English with. This cluster was largely made up of interethnic relationships and more specifically with people from Europe and North-America. Of the ten people in that cluster, six were from the US and one from Germany (the author). The other three nodes from this cluster were ethnic Acholi but had strong ties outside of Uganda. Two had partners from the US, while the third grew up in England and barely spoke any Acholi at all. Mark became a part of this network while he worked at the coffee shop. Thus, his former employer was also a part of this network cluster. He created close ties to some of his customers and maintained these relationships after starting his own entirely unrelated business. Within this network he had developed tendencies regarding the English he spoke. For instance, he had started to emulate certain features from American English<sup>52</sup>. He would use interjections like *man*, or at times even *fuck* or *fuck it*, which he considered a regular part of American English. He also tried to pronounce words in a perceived “American” way. Similar behaviour to varying degrees was also noticeable among other ethnic Acholi who were part of this network. On the other hand, this network also emphasised the importance of learning Acholi to its non-Acholi members. Knowing at least basic phrases in the local language was considered essential and learning these language skills, just like learning a certain variant of English, and understanding when and how to use them was a part of being a member of this network. Here, the first language Acholi speakers functioned as teachers to the others.

Before moving too far ahead though, there are still two notable network clusters left. Both clusters were rather heterogenous regarding the languages assigned to them. The first is cluster (4), which was entirely comprised of friendship ties. This heterogenous appearance was largely due to the three nodes that are also part of cluster (3). Apart from those, all ties were assigned with either only Acholi or Acholi as the primary and English as the secondary language. This cluster included his long-term friends, some of which he knew from back in school. Due to the length of their connection, some also knew parts of his family, explaining their vicinity to his family cluster in the overall network. That leaves us with cluster (2). This cluster contained the business-related ties of Mark; the people he worked with at the market and those he bought his stock from in Kampala. As the network graph shows, one of these people was a family member. This was a cousin that he had employed in his business. Noteworthy was the linguistic

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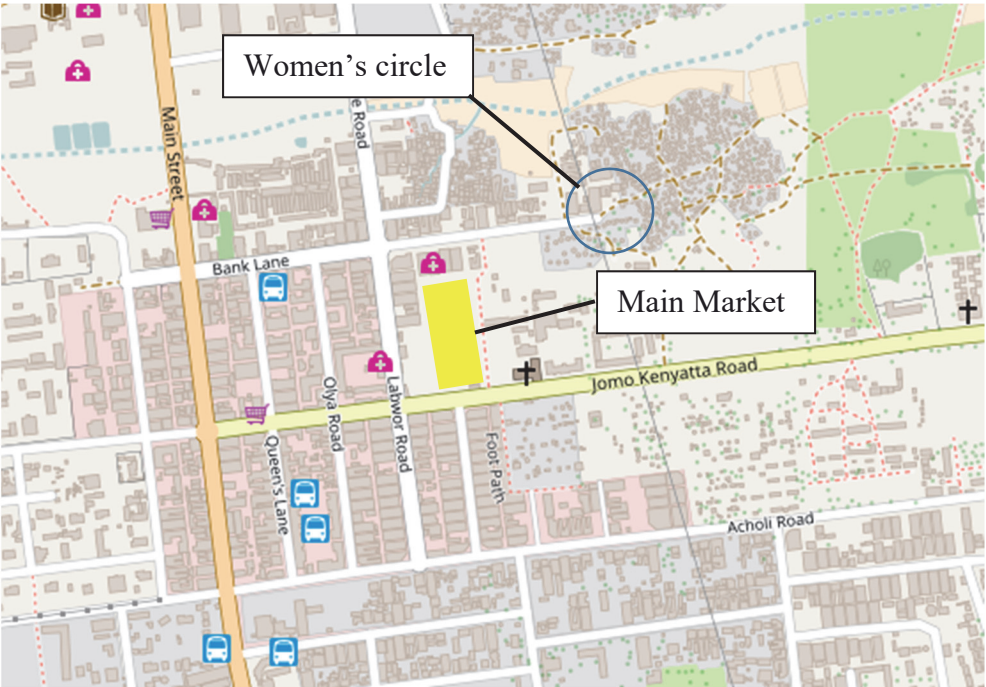
<sup>52</sup> His preference of AE over BE was largely related to the majority of first language English speakers in this group being from the USA.

heterogeneity of this cluster, as the seven ties nearly displayed the networks full linguistic diversity. It also included the only appearance of Luganda, which was assigned as the secondary language to business-related ties Mark had in Kampala. Two other business-related ties that were also located in Kampala were assigned English as the only language for communication. On the other hand, Acholi was the main language for his work-related contacts in Gulu.

### *Social and linguistic homogeneity*

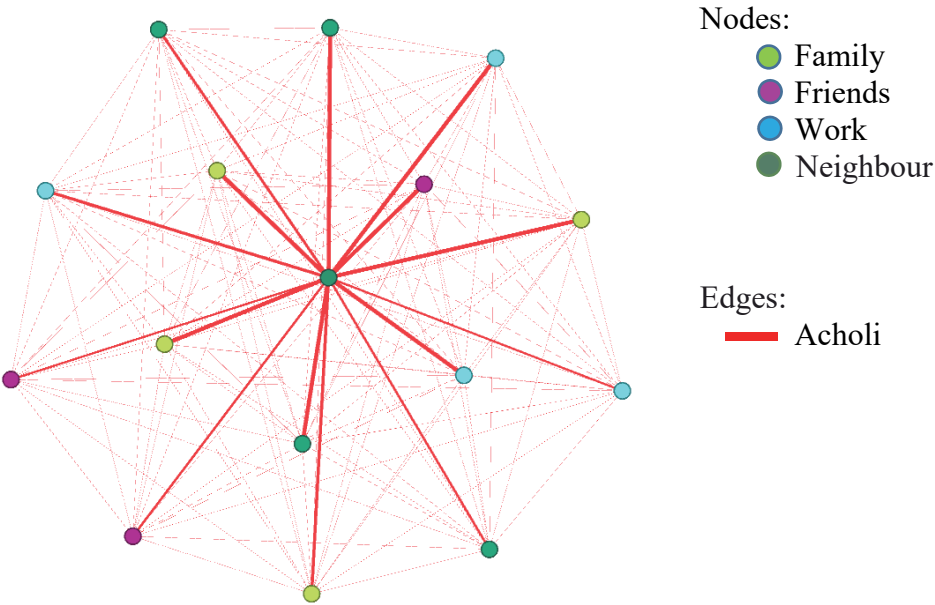
The first two examples of personal networks were showing images of young, educated, multilingual and well-connected individuals. This might lead to the impression that this could be the norm for people in Gulu. However, both were examples of very visible individuals, especially for a researcher looking for participants and partners in a research project on language. I had met Mark when he worked at a coffee shop and Nick in an English language church. Restricting the image to those two examples would therefore create an extremely biased image and leave out many perspectives that differ significantly. One such perspective belonged to Lisa. Lisa, 30-years-old, was part of a group of women that I encountered in 2015. The group consisted of about twenty women between the ages twenty-five and seventy years old that came together in a women's support group following the civil war. They all had in common the fact of being severely affected by the war, some having lost their husbands, others being victims of abduction and rape, and where brought together by an NGO project in 2010. This project had brought them to Gulu and provided them with housing just near the centre of town. This area had been described to me as a local slum or poor area, situated directly next to one of the many swamps in and around Gulu. These conditions made the area unusable for farming. However, it was located just near the main market.

Map 4. Women's circle behind the main market (created using © OpenStreetMap).



Most members had their own small business, either selling goods or performing small services like tailoring. Lisa worked as a tailor at the small market directly next to her home, earning a small income not exceeding 80.000 UGX (around 24 €) per month, that provided for herself and her 9-year-old daughter. The network she described was exemplary for the networks of most women in this circle:

Figure 27. Ego-Network of Lisa.





It differed tremendously from the two discussed before, in that it not only was extremely tight, with every single person within the network connected to each other, but also that only a single language was assigned to all ties. Even though the type of relationships between her and those within her network varied, the language she used did not. Lisa reported not a single person within her network, which included her social and financial support system, that was not part of this tight and rather small circle.

Before Lisa became a member of this group, she had lived in her home village, so when she moved to Gulu the only contacts she had were the other women of that group. Besides her family, her network consisted of people denoted as friends, neighbours and work-related ties, which were all part of the women's circle. The different labels she attached to each tie were based on the way she would primarily define their relationship. She considered some as personal friends, above being neighbours, and viewed others rather as co-workers. Her family members were also familiar with the women circle, due to them all living together and helping each other in their everyday tasks, including raising their children. This network provided her with a very strong support-system in her day to day dealings and almost duplicated the social network of a rural community within the urban setting of Gulu.

The linguistic practices within that network matched this observation. The only language Lisa knew was Acholi. Her English was limited to basic phrases like *Hello, how are you*. Within this tight network this was not a problem as everyone spoke Acholi. However, it created limitations in contexts beyond her immediate social and physical environment. Due to the support of the NGO the women had access to affordable micro loans to help finance their businesses. In the financial climate of Uganda, where bank loans generally had incredibly high interest rates, that created the valuable ability for them to afford needed investments in equipment. However, the people managing these loans did often not speak Acholi. Therefore, any dealings with them had to be done by the only woman in their group who could speak English appropriately. This woman functioned as the de-facto leader of the group, not only towards the banks or the organisation helping them, but also towards me. She was the one that decided that I could visit them and invited me into her house. She also wanted me to interview her first and to receive the opportunity to speak with the others I first needed her permission. Besides having a strong character, it was also her knowledge of English that put her in that position of power. Lisa on the other hand remained dependent on her. Her lack of language skills beyond her first language Acholi limited her ability to seek opportunities and connections outside of her circle. As explored in chapter 4., employers usually expected some knowledge in English and jobs that did not have the same expectations were unlikely to generate the same or more income than her



current profession. She could not speak Kiswahili either, which also might have helped her in that regard. She herself considered this an issue. Asked if she wanted to learn English, she emphatically replied with *Yes* as this would give her the ability to enlarge her social support network and create opportunities to improve her socio-economic situation.

### *The Nubi in Gulu and the perspective of an ethnic minority*

Even though the first three examples depicted very different scenarios, constructions of peoples' networks and roles that language played in these networks, they were all stories of ethnic Acholi in a space dominated by fellow Acholi. However, the complexity of a town like Gulu also lies in its ethnic and linguistic diversity. Including such stories had been an aspiration of this study from the very beginning on. The story finally included in this study is concerned the situation of members of the local Nubi minority.

Aiza was born in Gulu in 1993 into the national indigenous Nubi minority. According to Heine (1982, p. 15), the Nubi community is considered the most multilingual group in East Africa. Besides speaking Nubi, the community is also known for speaking Kiswahili, as well as the respective regional languages of the surrounding communities. As a Muslim group, Arabic is taught in the *madrassa*, while English is learned in school. This general linguistic complexity was also represented in the language biography of Aiza, as well as the linguistic choices in her various networks and activities. Asked for the languages she could speak and how she would rate them, she listed Nubi, Acholi, Kiswahili and English as fully fluent, and even though she did not list Arabic as part of her linguistic repertoire, she said it would be one of the languages she used when praying. She also listed Luganda, as she had attended secondary school in Kampala. Meeting her was the result of an ongoing contact with members from the Nubi community across two years. The idea of exploring the issue of language within this community was formed during the field research and based on the intent to include a minority perspective in the scope of the study. The contact to the community came through the help of people with extensive knowledge of the municipality and the minorities living here. They had referred me to go to one part of Gulu that was generally known to house members from this community and introduced me to Hassan. I knew the area that we met in rather well, as I had been there several times before. However, I had never seen any sign of the Nubi community there. Later Hassan told me that this part of town had been their assigned place of residence after coming back from exile, but when the town started to grow after the end of the conflict, it had become very valuable and new commercial buildings had been constructed where their community once resided. Only

a few small buildings had remained in the hands of the Nubi, as most of them now lived spread out throughout the city. It was in front of these small buildings that I met Hassan for the first time. He used to work as a teacher in a primary school in Gulu, making him one of the few older Nubi able to speak English. He was 62 years old when I interviewed him and had retired from teaching two years prior. Originally born in the Amuru district he came to Gulu when he was still a child. Following the defeat of Idi Amin, he went into exile in Juba, but came back a decade later. I had asked him about the languages that were used in the community, and whether the observation I made with many of my Acholi friends and neighbours was also true for the Nubi, that they would use multiple languages in their everyday life. His response was (Hassan, personal conversation, 02.05.2015):

H.: “There are Nubians, those are not being taught as they used to be. [Yes] Because in the past, the Nubian child was still controlled by the families. By the father and the mother. And [Ehhh] the, the, surrounds. The child belonged; again, they used to consider, a child belongs to the community. [Yes] Today, they say the child only belongs to the father and mother. That is the world of today. So, find that such things has entered. But not so much with English. Only that in the family, you find these days, that most of the family uses Acholi.”

SL.: “Oh yes, so even in the Nubi community, at home they start speaking Acholi instead of using Nubi?”

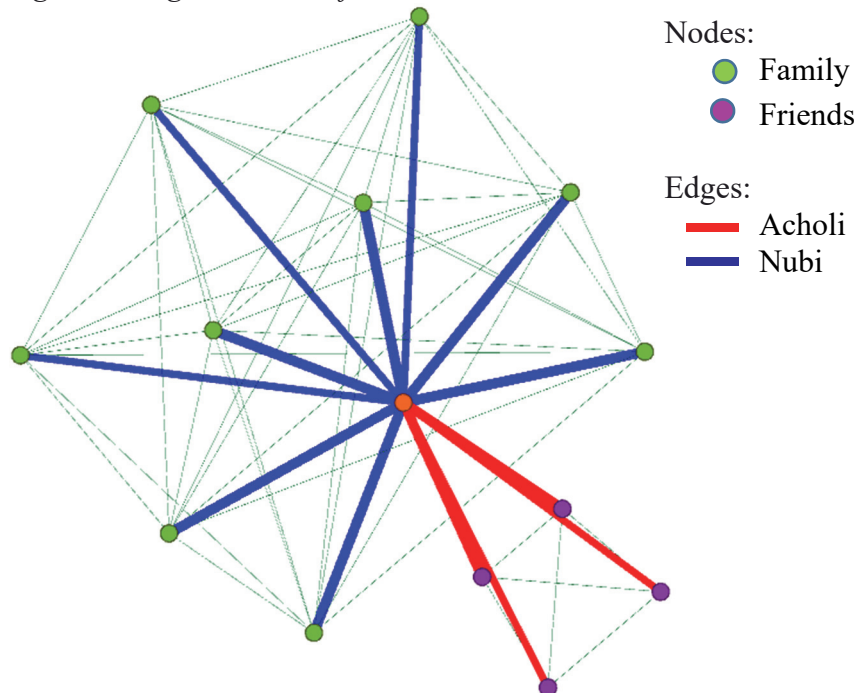
H.: “Ah yes. And that is, with that because of marriage. A lot of them are married, they married Acholi or some others.”

The decimated size of the Nubi community especially in the northern regions has led to increased numbers of intermarriage. When before, languages other than Nubi were only used for communication with people outside the community, Acholi had now become a language for inner-family communication as well.

For Aiza that was not the case, as both her parents were ethnic Nubi. However, the family living in the house where I met with Hassan was such a case of intermarriage. The husband was a Nubi and his wife an ethnic Acholi. Thus, Acholi was the main language spoken within their family. Even within the family of Aiza Nubi was not the only language spoken at home, as they also used English there. She even said that she personally preferred to use English in this context. These changes in the ethnic and linguistic composition of the family were accompanied by other developments in the Nubi community that influenced their linguistic practices and language

attitudes. For a long time, the Nubi were reluctant to send their children to public schools, because most were of Christian denomination. These days, there were public schools that put less emphasis on Christian education, if at all, and schools of Muslim denomination had opened across the country. Acholi and English were the two MoI in schools of this region, with English being the sole MoI after year four. Whereas the children of the Nubi previously had no English language education, that had now become a regular part of their linguistic socialisation. Attending schools also changed the networks of the younger Nubi generations. In the visualisation of Aiza's personal network we can identify two distinct clusters that were not connected to each other. The larger of the two clusters consisted of her family members, while the smaller one included her close friends. Both were highly dense with everybody knowing each other. She also made a very sharp distinction regarding the assignment of languages with solely Nubi assigned to her family network and only Acholi to her circle of friends.

Figure 28. Ego-Network of Aiza.



The use of Nubi was entirely restricted to the family domain. From her answers to the other questions regarding language use within the family we also know that English was used here as well, even though she didn't mention it for her personal network. Thus, it can be assumed that here assignments represent idealised or simplified images of language use and that these are mainly expressions of her attitudes towards the use of language in specific networks. Regarding Nubi, she further claimed that she would use it only in family related or personal contexts, whereas Acholi, English and Luganda found application elsewhere.

This trend, that Nubi was only used in limited domains by the younger generations remained a topic of great emphasis in all my conversations with the elders of this community. They feared for their language to be forgotten and even asked me if I knew what they could do about it, especially since they had observed that in some families the children did barely know Nubi at all. This was perceived as a consequence of the community no longer having power over the education of the Nubi children. Interaction between children and the elders of the community was no longer the norm, leading to a decrease in necessity to speak Nubi. To counter this development, some of the local Nubi community leaders were planning to implement Nubi language courses at the local mosque, where the passing on of the language could be ensured. However, at the time of my last meeting with the leaders of their community, this plan had yet to become more than a proposition.

#### *4.2.2. Finding opportunities and challenges*

These four networks of people living in Gulu, occupying the same or nearby spaces and acting in the same local environment, demonstrated how the language ecologies, language ideologies, historical developments and many external influences more are connected to the personal networks of individuals. The four examples suggested that the ability to speak multiple languages correlated with having a personal network that was ethnically, but also socially heterogenous. Even though English clearly emerged as an important factor, the case of Aiza further showed that knowledge in any language beyond one's ethnic or first language can have that effect. Her ability to speak Acholi allowed her to expand her personal network outside of her family and her immediate environment. Women from previous generations of her communities might have struggled with that, just like Lisa struggled to expand her social network beyond the women's circle. The cases of Mark and Lisa also showed that economic opportunities or the lack thereof can be connected to engaging in such heterogenous networks and the existence of weak ties. While Mark leveraged his language repertoire in his various occupations, Lisa was forced to remain in a state of dependency, despite the additional support she had access to. Additionally, the four networks hinted at a connection between the shape of the networks and the level of education. Mark and Nick had both already received degrees from tertiary education and Aiza was about to attend University where her personal networks undoubtedly would continue to diversify.

Table 26. Possible correlation of economic opportunities, networks and language

	Clusters	Languages	Patterns	Languages at Work	Level of Education	Mobility	Economic Opportunities
Nick	3	3	Family and Friends different	Multilingual	Tertiary	High	High
Mark	4	3	Family and Friends different	Multilingual	Tertiary	High	High
Lisa	1	1	No differences	Monolingual	Primary	Low	Limited
Aiza	2	2	Family and Friends different	/	Tertiary	High	/

Another noteworthy observation from these networks was that there seemed to be no correlation between the weight of a tie and the language that was assigned to it. How close any of the participants felt to another person was not determined by them speaking Acholi, English or Luganda with each other. However, it appeared that ties to friends were on average regarded as closer than ties to family members.

This study revealed that there were several factors influencing both the shape and construction of peoples' personal networks, as well as their linguistic tendencies within them. The individual biographies had immense impact on their repertoires, their choices, their opportunities and their attitudes towards language. Taking the individual perspective into consideration seems therefore essential for any study dealing with linguistic practices and the construction of identities, ideologies and attitudes, as it were the personal stories and individual journeys that led to the images depicted above.

### **Part III. Experiencing Language and Performing Attitudes**

## 5. *Language Biographies*

One of the very first interviews conducted for this study was when I met with Harriet in April 2014. She lived in a two-room house together with her husband, a butcher at the local market, and her two-year-old daughter. When we met, she was 21 years old and studied English and education at Gulu University to become a teacher. Even though her family originated from Kitgum, the second biggest town in the Acholi region, she was born in Kampala. Both her parents worked there at the time, her father as a foreman and her mother as a secretary. With both her parents working and being comparably well educated, her upbringing was relatively privileged. She even attended a private nursery school in Kampala. In her home, both Acholi and English were spoken, as her parents thought it would be important for her to learn English from a young age. When she was four years old the family moved back to their village near Kitgum. When the insurgency hit the Acholi region, she was sent away for one year to distant family members in Malaba, a town near the border to Kenya in the Tororo district. After that one year she left to Gulu where she attended a boarding school. Here she finished her school education with her A-level, building the foundation for her to attend university. Along the way she not only learned Acholi, the language of her family, and English, both at home and in school, but also the languages connected to the places she lived in over the years. Spending the first few years of her life in Kampala she picked up Luganda amongst her friends and neighbours and during the one year in Malaba she learned to speak some Kiswahili. That stories like the one of Gloria, and her experience of having to move away from home during her upbringing and the consequences of it on people's language repertoires were not unusual, became evident in the quantitative analysis of the questionnaire.

The theory of language socialisation, as proposed by Schieffelin and Ochs (1984; 1986) is based on the concept of languages as habitual properties that are acquired through social practices. It built on the concept of *habitus* as it was outlined by Bourdieu (1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), understanding the process of socialisation as the act of internalising the practices, cultural signs and beliefs from their educators, peers and their social environment. In this system of transferring cultural knowledge, language occupies a key position between the individual on one side, and society or culture on the other. Language socialisation is not bound to formal acts of educating, as it is possible for an uneducated or un-socialised person to part-take in acts of communicative practice, without being determined by the present environment and its cultural signs, or by someone that is already socialised. Rather, it is possible for individuals with a perspective outside the common norm, to change the meaning of cultural signs, which in many



ways is the foundation of language change (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012, p. 4).

Even though most studies on language socialisation focus on the acquisition of language by children, either in formal education or within their close personal networks like their families, the process of language socialisation is not confined to this particular time frame within someone's biography but takes place in every interaction and linguistic practice. As cultural norms, meanings and beliefs are not just formed in and connected to large social entities like nations, states, or cities, but also bound to small local networks and groups, or specific spaces. Acts of socialisation are realised in relation to all these different environments and networks.

The acquisition of languages by children has nonetheless been the primary focus of studies on language socialisation. The initial studies that sparked the creation of a theory of language socialisation dealt with the language acquisition of young children in Samoan and Kaluli communities (Ochs, 1982; Schieffelin, 1990) and the focus on children has retained its status as the predominant topic in this field. However, which forms of social interaction can be subsumed under the topic of language socialisation remains contested. While some have opened the field to all forms of interaction, as processes of socialisation are constantly present dynamics (McDermott, et al., 1978), Kulick and Schieffelin (2004) insist on a more restricted application:

“(...) its focus [is] on how particular culturally meaningful practices become acquired (or not) by children and other novices” and to give “(...) a processual account of how individuals come to be particular kinds of culturally intelligible subjects,” (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004, p. 351)

Conducting a study on language socialisation usually requires very meticulous and detail-oriented research on this specific subject; at best in a long-term research setting. This study in its conceptualisation was not able to produce this kind of data. For one, because the primary focus was on the issues of language attitudes and language use, and secondly, because such a research requires resources far exceeding the capabilities of this one. However, the previous chapters and especially the look at the use of language in people's personal networks highlighted that differences between their assignments of languages within their networks seemed connected to elements of their personal background and socialisation. The linguistic repertoires of individuals were obviously the result of a process of socialisation and attitudes held towards language (cf. Duff 2010, Garrett 2010).

This segment very shortly explores how the participants experienced language during their upbringing among their friends and family and in school. It took inspiration from contemporary work on language biographies, which are used to study peoples' history in language learning and is often tied to research in education. Methodologically, this approach is situated between

large-scale quantitative surveys and individual accounts, tying them together by both using questionnaires and interviews.<sup>53</sup> The questions inquiring these language biographies were included in the sociolinguistic questionnaire. It must be noted here that the questionnaire explored the biographies of the participants through self-reporting of events that were generally years in the past. Thus, the answers were especially subject to recall or response biases. As it was not possible to conduct a re-survey of the same participants, this risk had to be accounted for differently. The chosen mechanism in this study was to further qualify the gathered information through interviews, unstructured conversations, observations and other available data. As the study did purposefully not gather information from within educational institutions, it was not possible to compare the self-reported survey with direct observations.

### *5.1. Language in the family*

Besides depicting Harriet's journey through different parts of the country during her upbringing, the story included her growing up in a multilingual household. Despite both her parents being ethnic Acholi, they chose to also speak English with their children. But how common was it for the participants in this study to grow up in a family that spoke more than just one language? To explore this question, the participants were asked:

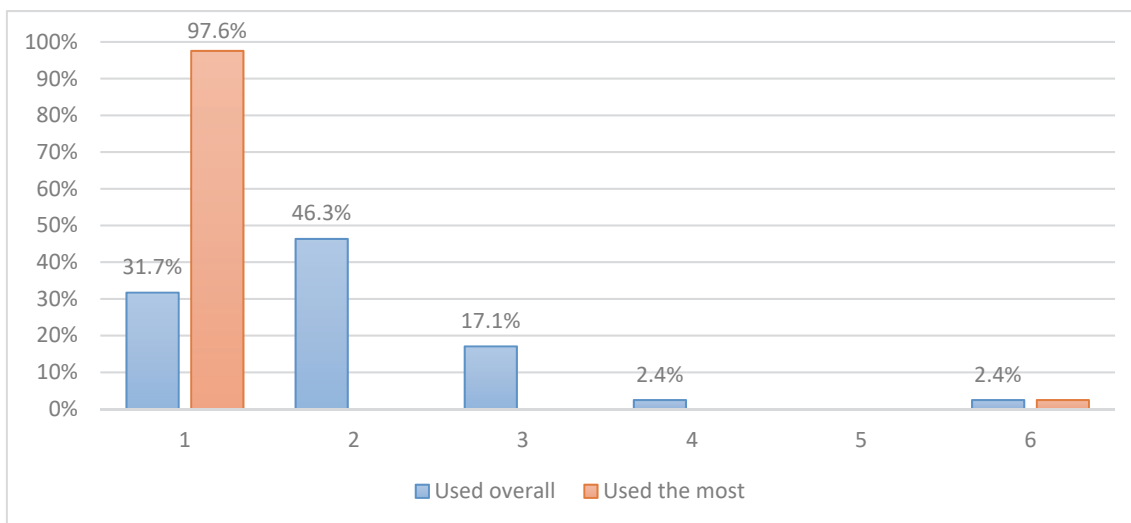
- “What languages did you speak at home with your family?”
- “What language was used the most at home?”

The participants had the opportunity to list as many languages as they liked to the first question. However, the printed form of the questionnaire only offered them space for five languages. Any additional language needed to be added to the side.

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<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of multimodal approaches to language biographies see Busch, Jardine and Tjoutuku (2006)

Figure 29. Number of languages spoken in the family (n=41).



Only about one third of the participants listed just a single language, which in all cases was the respective language of their ethnic affiliation. On the other hand, for more than two thirds of the participants it was common that multiple languages would be spoken within their families. In general, this language was English, with other languages like Luganda or Kiswahili appearing only occasionally. In fact, of all the participants who listed multiple languages only two did not include English. Overall, the former colonial language was spoken in the households of almost two thirds (63.4%) of all participants. When asked, what languages were used predominantly in this context, only two did not name their respective ethnic language. The two exceptions included the youngest participant in this study who named English as the language most used within their family, as well as the child of a former soldier who named Kiswahili as the answer to this question.

One participant listed six different languages in response to this question and insisted that they were all spoken equally in his family. This participant operated a small business in Gulu selling and installing solar systems. He was born in Arua in the north-western corner of Uganda and identified himself as a Lugbara. This region is known for its great linguistic diversity, as it is historically home to speakers of Central Sudanic languages like Ma'di and Lugbara, Nilotic languages like Bari, or Bantu languages like Lingala, Bangala and Kiswahili. Directly to the east of the Arua district is the Neebi district, mostly inhabited by speakers of Alur, and the Amuru district, mostly inhabited by Acholi speakers. Additionally, Arua is not far from the border to DR Congo, where Lingala, Kiswahili and French are commonly spoken, and the South Sudanese border where a variety of Nilo-Saharan languages like Dinka or Nuer, Afroasiatic languages like Arabic and Niger-Congo languages like Zende are found. This regional diversity makes Arua somewhat of a melting pot. That was also reflected in his language repertoire and

the languages that were spoken in his family. The list included Lugbara, Alur, Ma'di, Lingala, Kakwa (Bari) and English, while his overall repertoire also included French, Acholi and Kiswahili.

During the interview I asked him, how these many different languages were used in his family home during his upbringing. He first told me that his mother was from DR Congo and therefore spoke Lingala, while his step-mother was Kakwa. His father was a Lugbara, some of their direct neighbours were Acholi and he had friends who spoke Ma'di. In school they also learned to speak English, making all the languages he listed a regular part of his environment. Asked if one these languages was used more than the others he said (Carl, personal conversation, 04.05.2015):

C.: "We did not have a main language."

SL: "So you were switching?"

C.: "That's all the time. That's the problem. I told you, first we, first we were 20."

SL.: "Yes."

C.: "I mean 18. Now the 18; with each sibling, you choose which language you wanna talk. So, we did not have a definite. Even up to today. If my dad came in, he is either speaking English or speaking Lugbara, whichever he just clicks to start, he is speaking on."

SL.: "So, even English was spoken at home?"

C.: "Yeah."

As the qualitative data from the survey overall demonstrated, this complex situation of six different languages being used within a single family was rather unusual. However, it shows how difficult it is to pin down specific languages to a specific domain, especially if that domain contains so many variables in the form of different people. The many languages were here undoubtedly the result of the diverse ethnic backgrounds within the family but also the great number of siblings he had in combination with the ethnically and linguistically diverse environment in Arua. While large numbers of siblings were not unusual for Acholi either, the linguistic situation of the surrounding area was in general more homogeneous. Since Arua was not part of the areal scope of this study it was not possible to explore this reported extreme linguistic diversity further, but it would constitute an interesting starting point for another study to consider this complexity. Further, even though linguistic diversity to the degree it was reported in this case constituted an outlier within this study, it must be noted that speaking

multiple languages at home appeared to be a rather common experience amongst the participants in general.

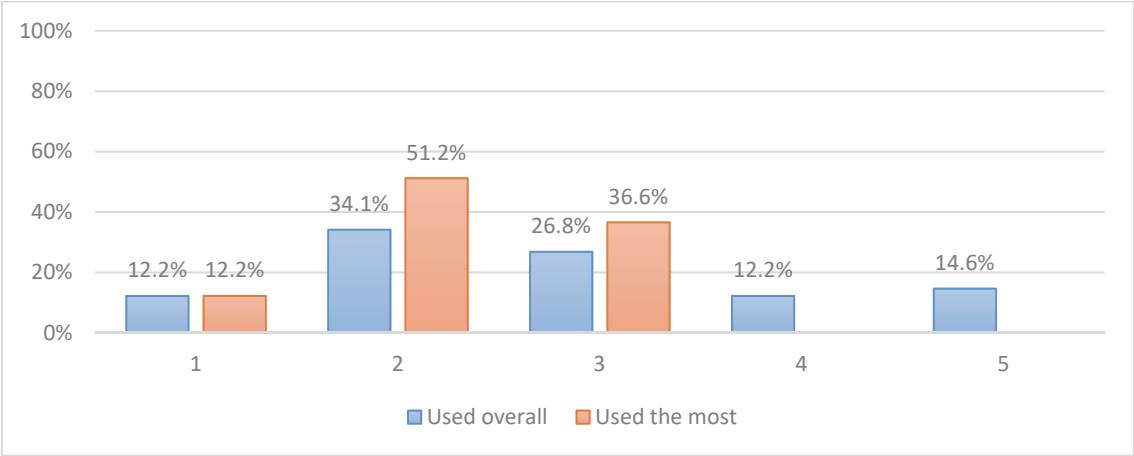
5.2. *Speaking amongst friends*

The participants were also asked about the languages they used with their friends. Different to the question about their families they could name multiple languages as a reply to the second question. The reason for that was that unlike the family, the composition of their circles of friends was considered to be more dynamic, giving place for different languages being used most frequently in different times and situations.

- “When you were with your friends, what languages did you speak?”
- “What languages did you speak the most?”

Participants were again able to write down as many languages as they liked, but as described above, the questionnaire gave only space for five languages to write in directly beneath so that any additional entry needed to be put in the margin. The answers to this question ranged between one and five, showing a significantly different distribution compared to the question regarding the family.

Figure 30. Number of languages spoken among friends (n=41).



The use of multiple languages amongst friends was the norm for the participants in this study. Only five listed just a single language here. In four of those five cases this language was Acholi and in another it was English. The four participants who had only listed Acholi had in common that they had not left the Acholi region during their upbringing and three of them had further only attended primary school. Apart from those four, English was listed by all participants as one of the languages that was used amongst their friends. Other commonly named languages

were Kiswahili and Luganda. In general, it seemed that the languages named by the participants reflected the places they lived in during their upbringing. For those that spent time in Kampala or another part of central Uganda, Luganda was the common language amongst their friends, while participants that lived in eastern Uganda, like Harriet, spoke Kiswahili during that time. Overall, the answers to this question, as well as the information gathered through interviews, showed that growing up in multilingual networks of friends was a very common occurrence for the participants in the sample and was in many cases related to individual mobility. In recent years, a special focus was put on the topic of mobility, as migration has become a major theme in the field of linguistics and social sciences. Many contemporary concepts and theory revolve around these issues and have brought to live terms like *metrolingualism* (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2010; 2015) *polylingualism* (Jørgensen, 2008) or *translanguaging* (Garcia, 2009; Creese & Blackledge, 2010). At the core of these concepts is the idea that in a world of globalisation and permeable borders, people and their languages are less and less restricted to their places of origin. They criticise the fundamental understanding of what language is, often using bi- and multilingualism as their prime witnesses. Heller and Pennycook use the image of “languages (...) floating around in unexpected places” (Heller, 2007, p. 343; Pennycook, 2012, p. 17) to illustrate the dynamics in which languages change in appearance and transcend the restrictions of locality and cultural boundedness. In their attempts to define diversity and contact as the norm of social reality and highlight the discursive nature of human interaction and communication they always turn the attention to the individual speakers as the carriers and practitioners of language. As people move, so does language.

For most of the participants in this study, mobility was a common experience, often the direct result of displacement due to the civil war. The previously presented stories of Mark and Harriet stood witness to this common experience. Trying to capture this also in a quantitative manner, I asked the participants about their experience while growing up. As part of the personal information, I asked them to name the place where they were born, as well as all the places where they spent at least one year at while growing up. Of the forty-one participants, only seven reported only a single place to this question. Besides Mark, who named four places, another nine participants also named at least four places in which they spent over one year in this period of their lives. These lists not only contained places from northern Uganda, but from all over the country. Among the participants born in the Acholi region, many spent significant parts of their upbringing outside the region. Of the thirty-two people born in the Acholi region, nineteen listed at least one place outside of northern Uganda that they spent one year or more in during their upbringing. For fourteen of those participants Kampala was one of the places they spent

significant time in during their upbringing. The insurgency, but also the concentration of institutions for higher education in the capital led to many of them having to engage with the social and linguistic environment in the nation's capital. The experience of migration, dramatic social and political changes and the necessity to adapt to new situations, places and languages in their formative years as children and adolescence was present within almost all individual biographies. This mobility also did not stop once people became adults. Mark for instance continued to venture outside of his home region, as he took on a job in Abu Dhabi which he had applied for online.

On the other side, people that did not move throughout their lives were the overwhelming minority in this sample, as only five of the participants claimed to have remained in the Acholi region for all their lives. Similar experiences could also be found among those not from the Acholi region. Among the three participants from Karamoja for instance, two said they grew up in four different places while the other named three. Kampala was for two of them also one of the places they lived at for some time, underlining the almost magnetic character of this national metropole.

### *5.3. Language in education*

All participants in the survey part of the study attended school in Uganda. The way that languages are used in the Ugandan educational system has a long and controversial history, with conflicting ideologies and principles dating back well into the colonial era. Like in many other African nations, this has remained a hot topic that is being discussed continuously. Here, ideologies about identities, nationality and development find their way directly into the social reality of Ugandans through the countries educational policy.

To explore this topic from an individual perspective the questionnaire focussed on three different aspects. The first aspect was the languages that were used within the classroom and approached with the following questions:

- “In the different schools you attended, what language were you schooled in?”
- “Did you ever have trouble following class, because you could not understand the language of the teacher?”
- “If yes, in what school form did that happen?”



The second aspect was the languages they used with their classmates. The question was here very straight forwards and asked them to write in the languages they remembered to use in these situations:

- “What languages did you speak with your class mates?”

The participants were asked to write down the languages used within or outside the classroom. Only the first question asked them to also specifically differentiate between the school forms. The reason for that was that the first question eludes to their concrete experience of the implementation of LIEPs in their school career, while the purpose of the second question was to further explore the influence of the school as a social space on the linguistic repertoires of the participants. Since many of the participants experienced inconsistencies during their school careers, changes did not necessarily follow the regular steps from one school form to the next. Thus, the specific differentiation between those school forms seemed unpractical. Instead, this question was asked on more general terms.

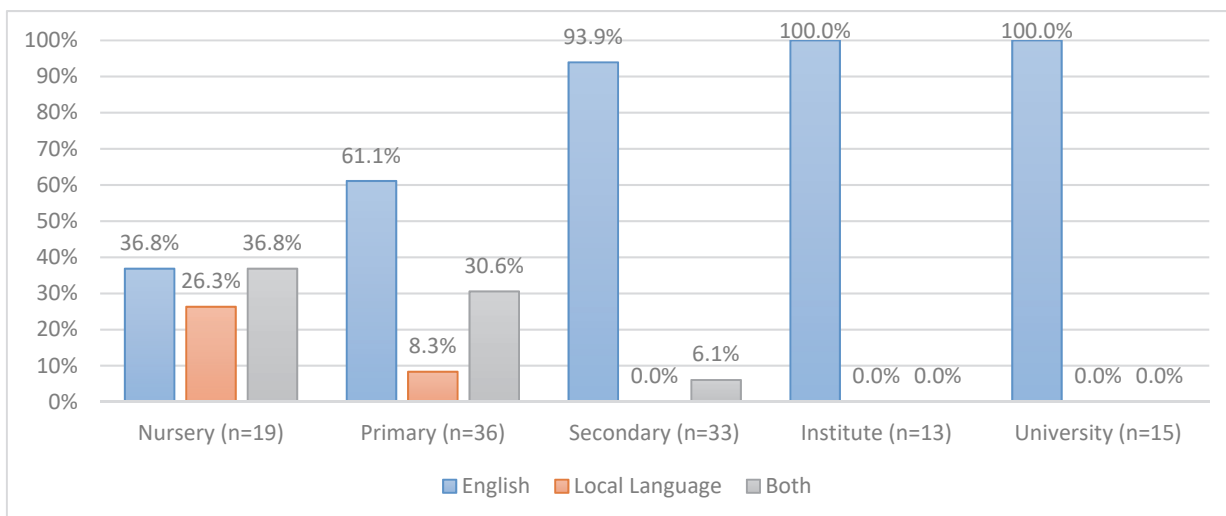
The third was the experience of punishment in connection to language in education. The background for this question was a conversation I had during the first field research. In this conversation, a mother told me that her daughter was beaten in school that day because her English language competence did not meet the expectation of the teacher. As I asked the mother, whether this was a regularly occurring practice, I was told that the same had happened to her when she was a student, and it was very common. To see how the participants were affected by these practices the questionnaire asked them:

- “Did you ever get into trouble for speaking the wrong language in school?”
- “If yes, in what school form did that happen?”
- “If yes, what was the punishment you received for doing so?”

### *Medium of Instruction*

As the participants could write in the specific languages that they experienced in each form of education, the answers varied relative to their region of origin. To illustrate the relationship between local languages and English it appeared more useful to group those various local languages together in a single column.

Figure 31. Use of local languages and English in education.

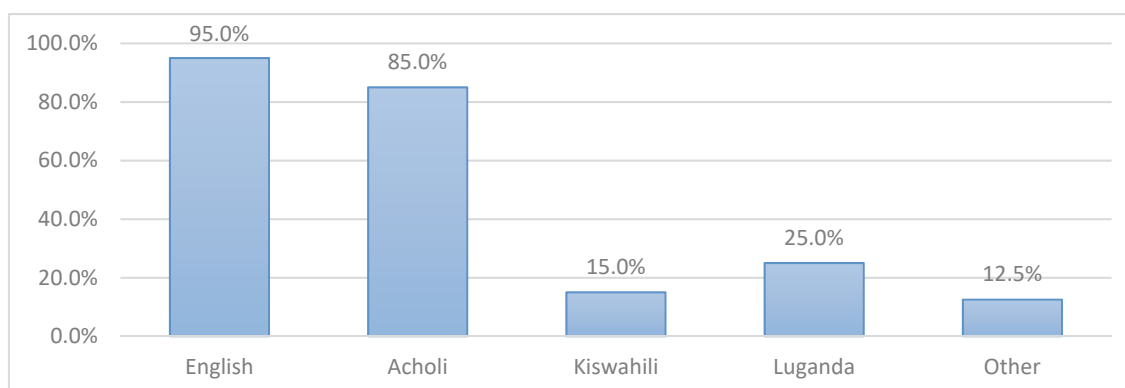


The answers showed a clear trend regarding the languages experienced inside the different class rooms. While the exclusive use of English in the advanced stages of education from secondary level on was absolutely in line with the official policy, it was for more than half of the participants also the exclusive language of instruction in primary school. For almost three quarters of the participants that began their educational career already in nursery school or kindergarten, English was either used exclusively or in combination with the respective local language. These responses illustrate the issues in relation to the inconsistent implementations of LIEPs discussed earlier. Despite that local languages were supposed to be the MoI in the first few years before switching to English, most participants did not experience it that way, as for many English was the only language used throughout their school years. On the other side, there were also some participants who had only experienced their local language in all primary school years, which equally stands against the LIEP. For two of those respondents, primary school also remained their only form of formal education. Both participants were female and spoke exclusively their first language within their families and with their friends while growing up.

### *Speaking with classmates*

While, as expected, the languages reported from within the classrooms showed a strong tendency towards the use of English, the situation outside the classroom appeared more complex. As stated before, this question did not differentiate between the school forms attended but asked them about their use of language in this context in general.

Figure 32. Languages used with classmates in general (n=40).



The most commonly named language was English, which was named by all but two of the respondents. As most of the participants at some point attended school in the Acholi region, the Acholi language was the second most named language. Three of the participants who named Acholi as one of the languages they used with their classmates did not attend school in the Acholi region. All three came from Karamoja, in the north-east. I visited this region in 2015 and found that Acholi was a part of many people's linguistic repertoires. Due to the Acholi and the Karamoja region being situated adjacently, contact between speakers of both languages was not uncommon, especially in somewhat urbanised areas like Kotido where those participants originated from. Accordingly, all three of them listed Acholi as one of the languages in their language repertoires. The influence of the school's locality was also evident among the participants who listed Luganda among the languages used with their classmates. For only two of the ten, Luganda was also their first language. The other eight spend significant time in their upbringing and their school career in Kampala, proving the schoolyard to be a major factor in individuals' language repertoires.

### *Language and discipline*

The focus on English in education, as represented in the participants' experiences discussed above, was often combined with a strict policy to enforce students' compliance, which included the use of corporal punishment. The guideline concerning corporal punishment by UNCRC (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child) defines it as:

“(...) any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light (...). In addition, there are other non-physical forms of punishment, which are also cruel and degrading and thus incompatible with the Convention on the Rights of Children. These include, punishments which belittles,

humiliates, denigrates, scapegoats, threatens, scares or ridicules the children.” (UNCRC, 2006)

The use of corporal punishment in Ugandan schools is well documented and has been the focus of many studies and campaigns over the last couple of years (cf. Damien 2012, MUCU Public Health Newsletter 2015). Until the introduction of the Child Act in March 2016 this practice was entirely legal in Uganda and it is still widespread in schools across the country (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2017).

The questionnaire asked the participants about their personal experience with any form of punishment or violence in school because of the language they spoke. It asked them:

- “Did you ever get into trouble for speaking the wrong language in school?”
- “If yes, in what school forms did that happen?”
- “If yes, what was the punishment you received for doing so?”

Thirty-three of the forty-one participants reported getting into trouble for speaking the “wrong” language in school. For twenty-four these troubles already happened in primary schools. Two reported to have gotten into trouble for using their local language already in nursery school. The punishments for these misdemeanours included additional homework, having to clean the school compound, wearing a bone around the neck, or being expelled from school altogether. Another common answer was being beaten either by hand or with a cane, as thirteen of the participants reported forms of physical abuse as punishment. For one, this demonstrates how common the experience of punishment for speaking a different language than the MoI among the participants was, and secondly, how strict the use of English was enforced. Symbolic for this rejection of local languages in education was the use of a bone that had to be worn around the neck by students that failed to comply with this language policy. The local languages were portrayed as inadequate and “backwards” and the bone symbolised being uneducated, uncivilised and inadequate. This form of punishment by humiliation was not only enforced by the teachers, but also by the students themselves. The students that had to wear the bone could pass it on by catching someone else speaking the local language, thereby further solidifying these negative attitudes towards speaking the local language in school.

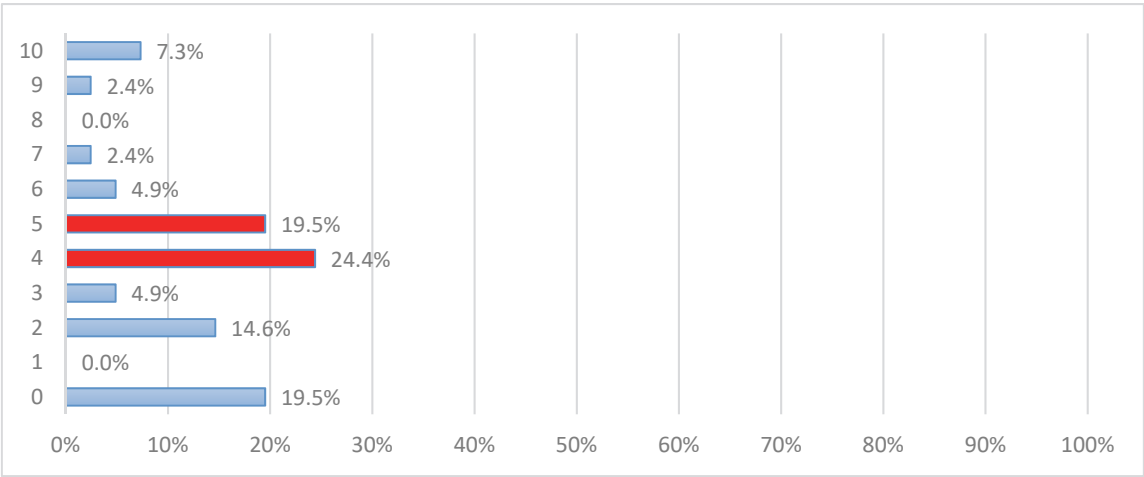
#### *5.4. Language repertoires*

At the beginning of this study, the concept of individual language repertoires was introduced in its modern iterations that moved beyond being representations of someone’s measurable

linguistic competence in a certain named language at a specific point in time. Instead they are understood as representations of individual journeys, present social reality and desires or wishes for the future (Busch 2012, Juffermans and Tavares 2017). They represent the place, time and social context one was born and lived in; ranging from the region and place, one's family, the social environment, but also the networks one was a part of; be it the neighbourhood(s), school(s), workplaces(s) or the friendships they made during these years. All places and networks have left an imprint in the communicational skills one has, and the attitudes connected to them, either consciously or unconsciously. Unfortunately, it is rather difficult to assess the individual linguistic repertoires that result from these interactions, relationships and practices. Not all communicational skills become entries to our mental list of languages, and not all entries to our mental list need to be connected to actual knowledge or proficiency. It is very difficult to circumvent this issue, or to access the brains of people and extract the essence of their knowledge. All our methods are limited to analysing the representations of languages floating on the surface of the linguistic consciousness. However, for that very reason, exploring language repertoires became even more interesting to this study of language attitudes, ideologies and linguistic practices.

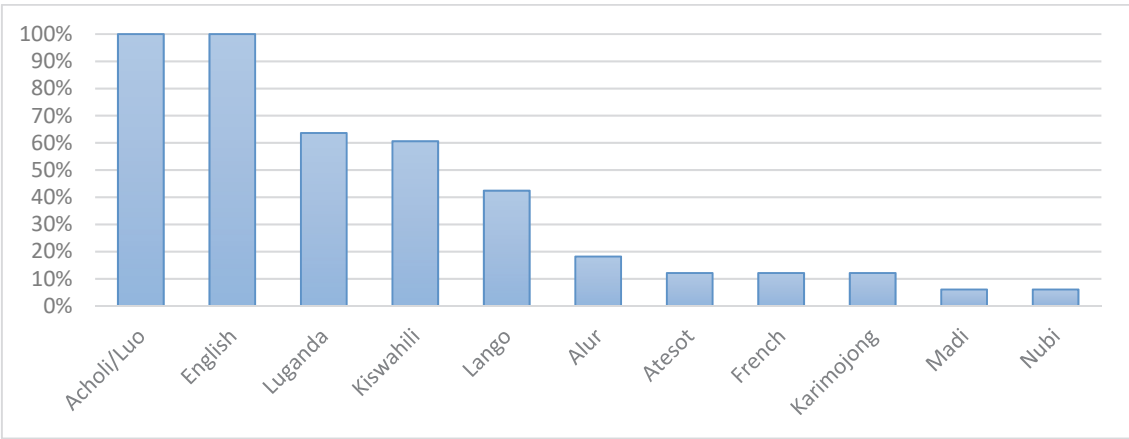
In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to list all the languages they were able to speak or understand. Additionally, they were asked to self-assess their competence by grading them on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 standing for knowing only a few words and 10 standing for their first language or equal to that. The purpose of that additional task was to get an idea of how participants organised their repertoires; or rather the mental image of it, and how they themselves were positioned towards each entry. For practical reasons, the list was capped off at ten languages, but the participants were instructed that they could add more languages if they wanted to. Of the forty-one participants, eight did not list any languages to this question and another three listed the languages of their repertoire but did not give a rating of their self-assessed competence.

Figure 33. Number of Languages per participant (n=41).



On average the participants listed 4.4 languages, showing that multilingual repertoires were the absolute norm for the respondents in this sample. Eighteen of the thirty-three participants who answered this part of the questionnaire named either four or five languages. Not a single participant listed only one entry to their mental lists of languages, as the minimum number of languages named was two

Figure 34. Languages listed multiple times by the respondents (n=33).<sup>54</sup>

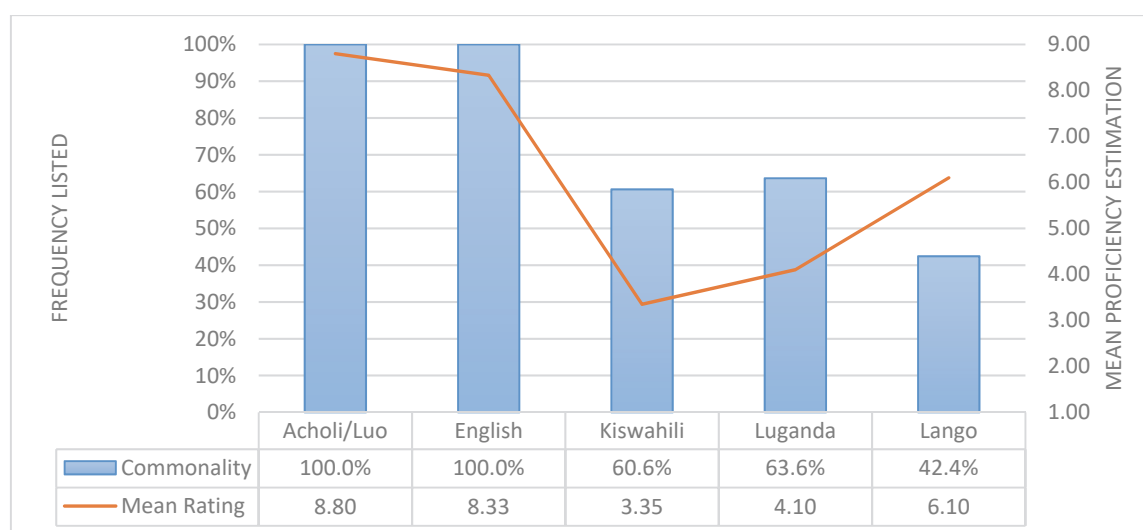


All participants reported Acholi and English as part of their language repertoires, regardless of their ethnic affiliation, place of birth, education or any other possible factor. Luganda was the third most listed language with almost two thirds of the participants naming it as part of their repertoires, just ahead of Kiswahili. Other languages listed multiple times were Alur, French, Karimojong, Atesot, Ma'di and Nubi. Apart from French, all these languages are from regions in Northern Uganda and were listed by participants who also originated from those regions. This

<sup>54</sup> Listed once were Runyankore, Arabic, Latin, Xhosa, Greek, Hike, Kumam, Lugisu. Unfortunately, it was not possible to reconstruct which language the name Hike refers to, as it does not match the name of any known named language or dialect of Acholi.

small sample size displayed eighteen different named languages. Not only were the participants multilingual, they also had or claimed knowledge for a large variety of languages. Of those nineteen languages, eleven can be classified as indigenous to Uganda, most coming from the north. The repertoires also included the regional *linguae francae* English, Kiswahili and Luganda, as well as French, the *lingua franca* of neighbouring DR Congo.

Figure 35. Mean self-assessed proficiency rating per language (1 to 10).



While Kiswahili did not seem to carry a demographic component regarding its appearance in people's listed repertoires, it was noticeable that the average age of speakers who listed Luganda was slightly lower than the average age of all participants at 23.6 years compared to 25.9 overall. It can also be noted that all respondents who listed Luganda had at least attended secondary school and two thirds attended either an institute or university. In fact, three quarters of the participants who either graduated or attended university listed Luganda as part of their linguistic repertoires. Most of them had also listed Kampala as one of the places where they had spent significant time during their upbringing. In combination, these information point to the role that Kampala had in the education sector, where its role as the educational centre in Uganda is underlined. Besides the nations' biggest public university, the Makerere University, a great number of private universities reside in or around the capital, creating a gravitational pull for many seeking higher education. In some cases, this pull already started at secondary or even primary level, as parents that can afford to do so could send their children to boarding schools in Kampala. Thus, competence in Luganda appeared to be rather common amongst people from wealthier family backgrounds and with higher degrees of education. For an example, we can look at Aiza, who was born in Gulu as a member of the Nubi minority and spent most of her school years in Kampala. Despite not being born in Kampala or having Luganda as a language



spoken in her family, she rated her competence in Luganda at nine out of nine, just like Kiswahili and Nubi, the languages used within her family, and higher than Acholi, which she only rated at seven out of nine.

We can identify several trends from these answers. For one, Acholi and English both appeared in all lists and both had the highest perceived proficiency on average. This also included participants that had not listed English as a language they would use in any other part of the questionnaire. Two women from the women's circle that had answered this part of the questionnaire had both listed English as the second language they knew, but one gave her proficiency the rating of one, while the other did not rate it at all. Other women from this group who also participated in this study, opted not to answer this question at all. It is not relevant whether these women knew English or not, however it seems remarkable that the only women who volunteered to list the languages they knew, also listed English. On the other hand, it is also remarkable that everyone who answered this question listed Acholi; including every respondent that was not ethnic Acholi. Luganda also rivalled Kiswahili as the respondent's second *lingua franca* behind English. Excluding the two respondents from central Uganda, nineteen participants included Luganda in their language repertoires, compared to the twenty that listed Kiswahili. Especially among the youngest respondents Luganda seems to have taken a regular place within people's repertoires. The second most listed regional language behind Acholi was Lango, which was named by almost half of the participants. Alur, the third language of the Lwoo language cluster alongside Acholi and Lango was listed by less than twenty percent of the participants. This was possibly due to the relative proximity of Gulu to the Lango region, in contrast to the greater distance to the Alur region to the northwest. Gulu and Lira, the biggest town of the Lango region were well connected with busses going directly between both multiple times a day. Getting from Gulu to the West Nile was more complicated, as it generally included switching busses near Karuma or required private transportation. Overall, four languages seemed to dominate the lists of languages given by the respondents. Those four languages can be divided into two tiers. The first tier with Acholi and English, which both were listed by all respondents and both had a very high perceived proficiency; and the second tier with Luganda and Kiswahili, which were named almost equally and had very similar proficiency ratings on average.

Beyond showing which languages were most likely to be spoken by the respondents in this sample, the listed repertoires also offered an idea of which languages were deemed desirable by the participants. The first obvious case was the already mentioned appearance of English in all respondents lists, regardless how small the respondents assessed their own competence in it. Simply knowing a few words warranted its mentioning. On the other hand, there were several languages that were not mentioned, or only mentioned by a few of the respondents, that most did have competence in; namely Alur and Lango. Even though Acholi speakers were generally able to at the very least understand these languages, most did not mention them in their repertoire lists.

Among linguistic practices not mentioned were also the previously mentioned language games, as well as forms of speech that were viewed as expressions of local ideologies on language, modernity, socio-economic and political power relations. Among those were communicative practices that were more formalised like *Leb pa Bwulu*, but also less formalised speech patterns like the Acholi variant typical for Gulu, which amongst other phonology and vocabulary-related differences featured English loan-words or the frequent use of English terms and phrases.

However, despite them missing from these quantitatively captured language repertoires, these forms of speech, of which some display the poetic patterns that Hanks (1996) considers to be the performative aspects of everyday speech, are critical to understanding the organisation of languages within this specific context, as well as the role that ideologies have in the organisation of languages in the mental repertoires of individuals. Their omission was an expression of a metalinguistic awareness regarding the classification of these practices. In this study, the frequently occurring creative linguistic practices that were prominently present in various fields of public life and in public space were not considered as “languages”, but as part of a separate category. This metalinguistic knowledge concerning the categorisation of these linguistic practices as something different to named languages like *English*, *Acholi* or *Kiswahili* appeared to exist across the participants in this study, regardless of factors like age, gender, ethnic affiliation, education or the individual biographic journey.<sup>55</sup>

Some scholars consider this metalinguistic knowledge the result of a Eurocentric construct of language that was imported into this region through the colonial education system. Wolff (2017),

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<sup>55</sup> It is important to note that the questionnaire up to the point it asked the participants to list the entries to their personal language repertoire did not name any language itself in order to not influence the respondents in their answers.

who himself referred to observations made by Said (1978), noted on this issue that:

“(...) the current Western mind-set view the European *standard languages* of the former colonial powers as being ‘essentially superior’ to the ‘essentially inferior’ indigenous vernaculars, often belittled as ‘dialects’, outside the Western world. Consequently, in this line of thinking, all ‘modernisation’ and ‘development’, in particular (higher) education, can only and must be conducted in these ‘superior’ languages in order to meet the models provided by ‘Western civilisation’.” (p. 2)

In this case, it could be assumed that notions of what constitutes a language was largely informed by these European or Western constructs, leading to the exclusion of dialects and other linguistic practices not confirming with these constructs. However, as noted previously, discussions concerning ‘proper language’ were often held from the perspective of the local language, in this case Acholi, and with tradition and heritage in mind. To argue that these views concerning the shape and use of the local language were mainly the product of Western education and not the consequence of the language playing a key role in the construction of the Acholi identity, as discussed in chapter 3., would be reaching, if not another act of rewriting African history while ignoring local voices and discourses.

## *6. Cognitive approaches to language attitudes*

Even though having preferences for languages in certain domains, situations and activities is by far nothing unique to multilingual speakers, studies regarding patterns of language preferences are often located in the context of bilingualism, with researching the coexistence of a local language and a foreign language like English as a typical example. To understand the relations between the application of language repertoires and speakers' language preferences to questions of language acquisition, language ideologies and sociolinguistic factors has been an important topic from Fishman (1964), over Mackey (1972), Baker (1993) all the way to present studies on multilingualism in the context of globalisation and superdiversity (Jørgensen, et al. 2011, among others). Several methods have been applied and tested over the decades and shown their capabilities of depicting these patterns, including questionnaires, interviews, observations or discourse analysis. The previous explorations of language use within personal networks was also such an attempt to gain first insights into this complex and demonstrated how the shape of personal networks can be connected to patterns of language use. The study further explored the importance of individual characteristics and backgrounds, be they ethnic or social factors or the individual biographic journey, unique to the specific person. The study also showed that the use of questionnaires to evaluate attitudes and patterns of use allowed for a structured access to domains and contexts that were often inaccessible to observation or difficult to observe in general. The respondents were here willing to share information they were unwilling to share even in private conversations. Some of the topics were too sensitive for the individual to discuss openly. However, the distance created by the written form of inquiry helped to overcome issues of taboo and discomfort. To make use of this advantage, the study applied this method to cover three topics that are rather typical for language attitude research. First, it studied language attitudes in specific contexts and domains, then it assessed languages in the form of named psychological objects, and finally it asked the participants about their opinions on several statements concerned with the use and status of languages. These approaches fell under the category of direct approaches (Garrett, et al., 2003, pp. 24-26).

### *6.1. Language preferences in contexts*

Exploring the use of languages, styles or codes in different social situations like domains and activities has been a part of sociolinguistic studies since the time of Goffman (1964) and Fishman (1972). However, as this study recognises the problematic nature of using self-reported

questionnaires to evaluate language use, it did not use this approach to simply assess the use of different languages in certain domains, but rather a way to evaluate the respondents' attitudes towards these languages by looking for their favourite or desired language in each domain or activity. To do so, the questionnaire included an adapted version of a sociolinguistic survey developed by Mann and Pirbhai-Illich (2007) and Borlongan (2009) on language use and language attitudes in Singapore and the Philippines. The domains and activities touched on in the questionnaire ranged from intimate and private situations, to the public and professional sphere, but also included speech acts like apologising, complementing or swearing. Some of the domains were already in some form discussed in prior parts of this study. For instance, it again addresses the spheres of the family, neighbourhood, friends and work place, but this time using a different frame. The questions carried a more specific direction and explicitly focussed on the preferences of the participants within these domains.

#### *6.1.1. Language in contexts data*

The participants were asked to first name all the languages they would use in these different domains and then name the one language they preferred using. The languages were written down by the participants without any pre-determined options, giving them the ability to answer whichever way they liked. Trying to recognise the linguistic diversity in the sample and at the same time preserve some form of clarity, the tables depicting the answers of the respondents show the five most commonly named languages individually and then subsume all remaining answers under "others".

##### *Family contexts*

Previously, the family domain was first explored as part of peoples' personal networks, and then as part of their individual biographies. So far, the data showed clear tendencies towards the use of the respondents first language in this context, over the use of English. Therefore, the results to the questions dealing with this domain did not come as a surprise.

*Table 27. Languages used and preferred in family contexts.*

Domain of use / verbal activity	Language	Used	Preferred
At home	Acholi	30	25
	English	29	8
	Luganda	5	2
	Kiswahili	4	0
	Karimojong	3	3
	Other	5	1
In family matters	Acholi	31	27
	English	21	4
	Luganda	3	2
	Kiswahili	0	0
	Karimojong	3	3
	Other	4	1

For both questions, the respondents showed a clear preference for their first language, be it Acholi, Karimojong or Luganda. However, this preference was noticeably stronger in the specific context of ‘family matters’. This stronger preference is combined with a smaller number of people naming English as a language that would be used there in any form. This signifies a difference within family related acts of communication depending on the topic being specifically about matters concerning the family or more general.

In a third question dealing with this domain, the respondents were asked for the languages used and preferred when they contact family members far away. This question proved to be somewhat controversial, as some respondents decided to split their answers into two; one for contacting via phone and another for writing. Even though most of the respondents did not do this, it shows that this question can be interpreted in different ways and that the answers could differ depending on the interpretation. With respect to those who split up their answer, the contact via phone was done in their first language, whereas writing was mostly done using English, including text messages. This tendency was related to the fact that many of the respondents, as well as other informants and people observed during the research, were not able to write in Acholi despite knowing how to write in English. Thus, in contrast to the two-previous family related contexts, this question showed a preference for English, with twenty-two of the respondents preferring the official language and only eighteen preferring their first language

*Table 28. Contacting family members far away.*

Contacting family members far away	Acholi	31	14
	English	33	22
	Luganda	3	2
	Kiswahili	0	0
	Karimojong	3	2
	Other	2	0

### *Neighbours and friends*

Like the linguistic choices within the family, both the neighbourhood and the circle of friends were already covered previously in this study. However, this approach offered a unique differentiation in the context of neighbourhood that was previously absent. It differentiated between people from the direct neighbourhood and those in the wider community. This differentiation led to significantly different answers by the respondents regarding both the languages they perceived to use in these contexts, as well as the language they preferred there. While Acholi was clearly the most commonly listed language used and preferred by the respondents within their direct neighbourhood, it was English that took the first place for the wider community.

*Table 29. Direct neighbourhood and wider community.*

Domain of use / verbal activity	Language	Used	Preferred
With people from one's direct neighbourhood	Acholi	32	22
	English	27	11
	Luganda	3	3
	Kiswahili	3	0
	Karimojong	3	2
	Other	1	0
In the wider community	Acholi	22	13
	English	31	24
	Luganda	3	1
	Kiswahili	2	0
	Karimojong	1	1
	Other	2	0

Meanwhile, the answers regarding the languages used with friends almost mirrored the previously asked questions about speaking with friends within one's personal networks. However, there was a clear tendency in the responses regarding the preferred language in these scenarios. English was here the by far most common answer, more than doubling all other languages combined.



*Table 30. When speaking with friends.*

When speaking with friends	Acholi	28	8
	English	30	25
	Luganda	11	1
	Kiswahili	6	0
	Karimojong	2	1
	Other	2	1

### *Public contexts*

The study not only included questions about the language use and preference in more private or personal contexts, but also in some contexts that could be considered as public. This included domains that had been in some form discussed earlier, like the market, the work place and the church. In the answers given here, English was more common in the work place, whereas Acholi was more common in the market sphere. However, all these contexts were shown to be multilingual. Not only did both Acholi and English feature prominently, but also other locally and regionally relevant languages like Kiswahili and Luganda.

While the responses regarding language use displayed a very varied image, the preferences depicted rather different tendencies between each context. For all work-related contexts, English was the preferred choice. For both, communicating at work in general, as well as speaking to ones' superior, English was named as the preferred language by almost all participants. Those who answered differently mainly consisted of participants with very limited proficiency in English, including the previously mentioned members of the women's circle. Among the work-related contexts, the difference between English and Acholi was less pronounced regarding the preferences for speaking to their co-workers. At the market on the other hand, the image was the opposite, with a very clear preference for Acholi. Different responses were only given by the youngest participants and those who originated from outside the Acholi region.

*Table 31. Languages used and preferred in public contexts.*

Domain of use / verbal activity	Language	Used	Preferred
At work	Acholi	22	6
	English	30	27
	Luganda	2	0
	Kiswahili	5	0
	Karimojong	2	0
	Other	0	1
Speaking to your superior	Acholi	16	6
	English	32	29
	Luganda	4	1
	Kiswahili	1	0
	Karimojong	1	0
	Other	0	0
Speaking to your co-workers	Acholi	22	12
	English	27	22
	Luganda	3	0
	Kiswahili	1	0
	Karimojong	1	0
	Other	1	0
At the market	Acholi	34	29
	English	28	7
	Luganda	5	1
	Kiswahili	3	0
	Karimojong	1	0
	Other	2	0

Apart from those two familiar contexts, the questionnaire also included a question about the church. Previously it was shown that the church was a place where language took on an important role. That included the language management of religious communities, as well as those attending the churches. Language was also discussed as an important factor for the choice of denomination. Thus, the study was interested in attaining an additional insight into the languages people would use and prefer in their religious practices.

Religious practices not only include the public act of attending a church and being part of a religious community, but also the rather personal and at times private practice of praying. Even though praying does not necessarily fit the scope of public language use, it is closely tied to the church as the place of religious practices and performances which to a degree dictates the choice of language in the private sphere as well. Thus, it was not surprising to see that the answers to both questions were very similar. For both questions, the answers for the languages used showed English as the most listed language, but with Acholi shortly behind and many other languages listed as well. English was also the most common answer regarding the preferred language.

*Table 32. Languages used and preferred when praying.*

Domain of use / verbal activity	Language	Used	Preferred
At the church	Acholi	29	13
	English	32	22
	Luganda	5	2
	Kiswahili	2	0
	Karimojong	1	0
	Other	2	1
When you pray	Acholi	27	15
	English	32	20
	Luganda	2	1
	Kiswahili	0	0
	Karimojong	2	0
	Other	1	1

### *Emotional contexts*

Besides considering certain spatial and social contexts, the questionnaire asked the participants about a series of verbal activities that involve some general form of emotional involvement. The answers given by the respondents showed a very diverse image regarding the assignment of languages to both the languages used and the languages preferred. For complimenting, intimate conversations and swearing the answers showed a clear preference for English, which was also preferred by a slight majority for the act of apologising. The other inquired contexts of arguing, being afraid and being angry had an almost equal preference between English and the respondents' respective first languages. Noteworthy among the lists of languages used in these contexts was the very low number of people naming Acholi as one of the languages used in intimate conversations and to a lesser degree also for swearing.

*Table 33. Languages used and preferred in emotional contexts.*

Domain of use / verbal activity	Language	Used	Preferred
When you apologise	Acholi	30	15
	English	32	20
	Luganda	3	2
	Kiswahili	1	0
	Karimojong	2	0
	Other	1	0
When you compliment someone	Acholi	27	10
	English	32	25
	Luganda	3	1
	Kiswahili	1	0
	Karimojong	1	1
	Other	1	0
Intimate conversations	Acholi	21	6
	English	33	27
	Luganda	2	1
	Kiswahili	3	1
	Karimojong	3	1
	Other	0	1
When you argue with someone	Acholi	29	17
	English	31	18
	Luganda	4	1
	Kiswahili	3	0
	Karimojong	1	0
	Other	1	1
When you are afraid	Acholi	29	17
	English	32	18
	Luganda	2	1
	Kiswahili	2	0
	Karimojong	2	0
	Other	1	1
When you are angry	Acholi	30	18
	English	30	16
	Luganda	4	1
	Kiswahili	1	0
	Karimojong	2	1
	Other	1	1
When you swear	Acholi	24	9
	English	35	27
	Luganda	4	1
	Kiswahili	0	0
	Karimojong	1	0
	Other	3	0

### *Other verbal activities and language preferences*

At last, the questionnaire asked the participants about their use and preferences in various speech acts, modes of speech or activities unrelated to a specific spatial or social context. This included the acts of dreaming, counting, talking about the past and telling time.

*Table 34. Language used and preferred in other contexts.*

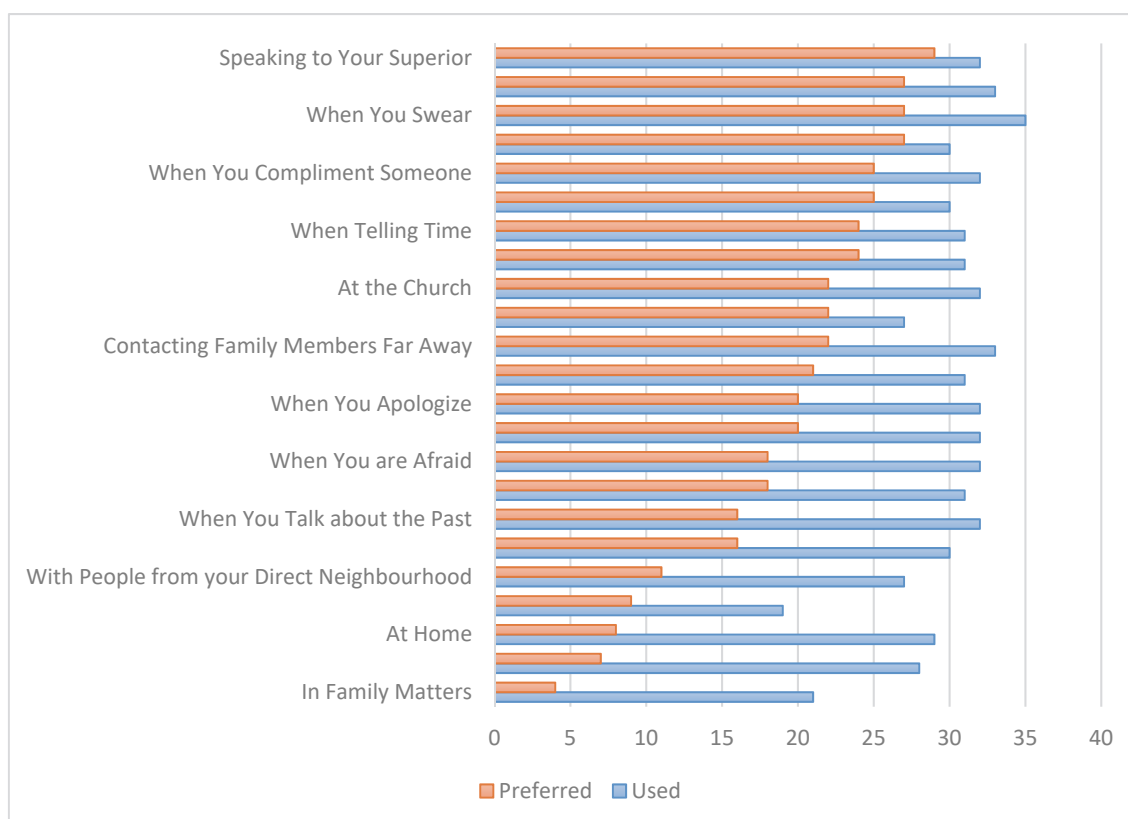
Domain of use / verbal activity	Language	Used	Preferred
When you dream	Acholi	29	24
	English	19	9
	Luganda	2	1
	Kiswahili	0	0
	Karimojong	2	2
	Other	0	0
When you count	Acholi	25	11
	English	31	21
	Luganda	3	1
	Kiswahili	2	0
	Karimojong	2	0
	Other	1	0
When you talk about the past	Acholi	32	17
	English	32	16
	Luganda	3	2
	Kiswahili	1	0
	Karimojong	2	2
	Other	3	0
When telling time	Acholi	27	11
	English	31	24
	Luganda	3	1
	Kiswahili	0	0
	Karimojong	1	0
	Other	1	0

Three different patterns emerged from these four contexts. For both counting and telling time, the preferred language was for most respondents English. For talking about the past, the difference between Acholi and English was minimal and overall the respondents' first languages were slightly preferred over English. For dreaming on the other hand, the first languages were by far the most preferred. This was also the question that had the fewest listings of English among languages used overall.

### *6.1.2. Patterns in contextual preferences*

In review, we can identify clear differences in the assignment of languages between the inquired contexts and practices, highlighting the complex linguistic situation in this distinctly multilingual space. The main identifiable differences were between the assignment of Acholi and English, as other languages were listed only in limited capacity. Kiswahili for instance was only listed by six people for speaking with friends and five for communicating at work. It was also just named once as the preferred language overall in the context of intimate conversations. Noteworthy insights into the different roles that the languages were given can be drawn from the respondents' language preferences in the evaluated contexts. On the one side, contexts considered very private or family related were usually connected to either Acholi or one of the other first languages of the respondents, whereas work-related contexts, as well as communication with friends was more likely to be assigned with English. The market was also among the contexts where Acholi was clearly the more preferred language, underlining the importance of the local language at these local trading places. This tendency could also be explained by politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987) and the use of the local language as a strategy to create positive face and a connection between the buyer and the seller for negotiation purposes. The story of Mark, who used his ability to speak Luganda to mitigate negative attitudes towards him as a northern Ugandan at the second-hand market in Kampala was an example for such a strategy. However, neither in my observations and experiences, nor in private conversations with people working at the markets did such a behaviour also appear in Gulu. Possibly, because haggling and negotiating prices seemed to be a lot less common compared to Kampala or other places in Uganda. Prices were usually fixed, including rides with a Boda Boda, which in Kampala were subject of extensive negotiations. Speaking Acholi was here more a necessity, since especially on local markets one could still find vendors who only spoke the local language. Overall, the answers for those contexts which were already looked at in previous chapters confirmed the observations made there.

Figure 36. *English as the preferred language (with English used).*



Among the contexts inquired, some other patterns occurred. For instance, among verbal activities, dreaming and being angry were more connected to one's first language, whereas English was preferred when swearing and complimenting. It is assumed that emotions and feelings are generally expressed using the native or first language (Javier, et al., 1993). However, studies have also shown that in bi- or multilingual speakers' preferences regarding language, the choice can depend on the topic and content of the expressed emotion. While in positive contexts the preference for using the first language prevails, it is the non-native or second language that is preferred in negative or embarrassing contexts. Especially in instances where the speakers learned the other language later in life, the emotional distance between speaker and language makes it easier to express such negative or embarrassing feelings (Bond & Lai, 1986). These preferences appeared to be likewise manifested in the responses to these questions. Activities and situations that can be considered as embarrassing, such as intimate conversations, complimenting or swearing demonstrated clear preferences for the use of English, opposed to the use of the first language. These answers should, however, not be understood as always truthful depictions of real-life linguistic behaviour. Especially for acts of swearing, personal observations as well as information from conversations outside of formal interview settings indicated that the first language was the by far more common choice. The fact that so many of



the participants claimed to not use their first language here at all and that English was the preferred language for most of the respondents indicated a strong taboo regarding swearing practices. It could also be argued that these answers were a result of the research method and the respondents' intent to uphold an image towards the researcher. However, as contact with most of the participants was limited to the research and not private, this is not a satisfying conclusion considering the commonality of this pattern. It could therefore likewise be argued that these answers constitute a desired behaviour and an image the participants wanted to uphold towards themselves, more so than towards the researcher.

Another context that saw a very high number of participants name their first language as their preferred one was the act of dreaming. Among some respondents, this question, asking for the languages they would dream in, triggered a heated discussion, even though it seems difficult to assess whether we can remember in which language we dream.<sup>56</sup> They considered it unthinkable to dream in a language different to their first language. For example, one participant who came from Karamoja and studied at Gulu University even questioned the inclusion of this in general, as anything but dreaming in the first languages was considered impossible by him. During the discussion, many agreed with his sentiment, as they considered dreaming as something so personal and so closely tied to one's ethnic identity that it could only be done in the language this ethnic identity is connected to. However, others in this discussion disagreed and shared their own experience of starting to dream in Acholi or English, the languages they spoke in university, with many of their fellow students and in their neighbourhoods. Even though the discussion ended without any resolution to the disagreement between the opposing groups, it demonstrated that the perceived presence of a language in the act of dreaming was for some of the respondents considered an integral element to their own identities.

## *6.2. Language and media*

The study had previously introduced the local radio and music scenes as two elements of the local media which appeared to be significant to the sound of Gulu and could be frequently experienced by someone living in or moving through the town. These were mainly discussed from the perspective of the producers and creators, focussing on the relationship with language they either had personally, or that they displayed within their music or programming. The perspectives of the listeners had only been considered peripherally; as recipients of a signal and not as agents making conscious decisions regarding their media consumption. However, for the

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<sup>56</sup> Many studies in psychology do assume that this is possible however (cf. Dascal 1985)

most part media are consumed by choice, a trend accelerated by the rise of mobile devices giving access to various forms of information, communication and entertainment at any time and any place to the liking of the user. To incorporate an individual perspective into this context, the study assigned a section of the questionnaire specifically devoted to the use of various media forms by individuals. Unlike other sections of the questionnaire, which were directly influenced by other studies on language attitudes and language use, this part was created solely within the context of the studied field. It contained only two parts. A first, in which the participants were asked about the types of media they made regular use of, and a second part in which the participants were to specify in what languages they would do so for individual types of media. The first question was formulated as follows:

- “What types of media do you use for communication, information and entertainment?”

The participants were given options and asked to underline the options suiting them. Multiple answers were possible here. The options were:

- “Music”
- “Newspapers or Magazines”
- “Television”
- “Radio”
- “Internet”
- “Social Media (Facebook, Twitter etc.)”

The follow-up question, concerned with the languages people used these different types of media in, was then formulated in a similar fashion:

- “In which languages do you use these media types?”

The respondents were given the options:

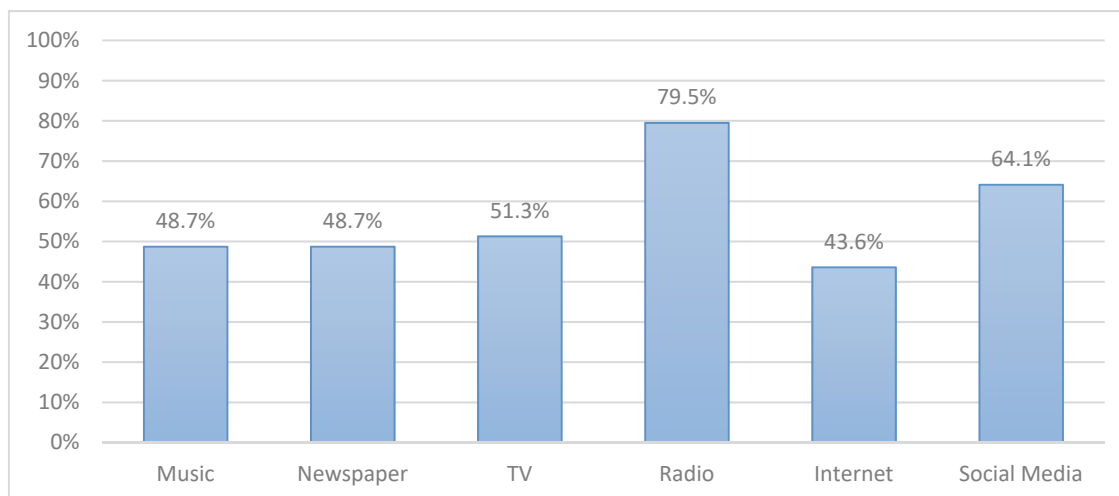
- “Acholi”
- “Lango”
- “English”
- “Luganda”
- “Kiswahili”
- “Other: \_\_\_\_\_”

The respondents were also allowed to list the languages they would use each form of media regardless whether they considered themselves frequent users or not.

### *6.2.1. Commonly used forms of media*

Asking the respondents for their sources of information and entertainment served multiple purposes. For one, it was intended as a starting point before venturing into the question about the languages they connect with these media types. At the same time, it was an attempt to get a better understanding of which types of media function as ideological, as well as linguistic influencers to the participants in this study. At a prior point, the study had talked already about the and music as significant media sources. However, an additional quantitative approach should help in improving the evaluation of their actual importance in this area. Radio for instance is notorious for lacking actual data on their reach, not only in Africa, but in general, as it is not possible to count the number of listeners to the signal. Another issue that could be addressed here was the question how common more expensive forms of media, like television or access to the internet were. Uganda, like many anglophone countries has a TV-market largely built around buying channel packages, which in this country cost upwards of 50.000 UGX (around 15 €); an incredibly high and unaffordable sum for most people. At the same time, communal TV-watching existed, where people would congregate around a TV-set, either with friends or at a bar, especially to watch soccer games from either the English Premier League or the Champions League. As a result, many people watched TV even without owning one themselves. Access to the Internet was equally limited by the high cost of equipment, as well as expensive access through internet providers. Costs of a contract with one of Uganda's internet providers were very high, by far exceeding prices in Europe. There was an increasing number of businesses offering wireless internet to their customers, but usually with a very slow connection. The few businesses that offered comparably fast internet speeds catered to the wealthy people in Gulu, including the expatriate community. As a result, even places offering a slow internet connection were still popular. Also, over the course of the research, various forms of social media appeared to become a growing part of peoples' lives in Gulu, making the inquiry for its popularity and the use of language there a highly topical element for the study.

Figure 37. Media types used (n=39).

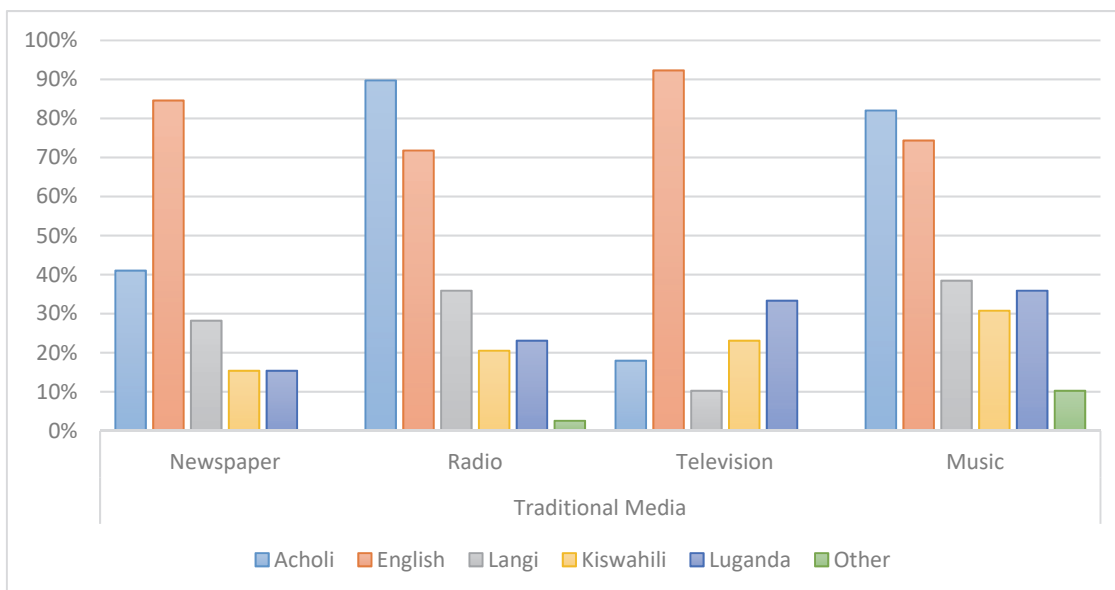


The radio was the media type that was most frequently reported as being used regularly. Considering the previous exploration of the comparably large and varied local radio scene, this was no surprise. Radio was the by far cheapest of the available sources for information and entertainment due to its low acquisition cost. With many people owning a cheap form of solar panel, radios could be operated for free. The radio was also the medium of choice in the rural parts around Gulu and for people living within town that did not have access to the power grid. Newspapers, which also require no access to power were reported to be used a lot less. They were available at various places in Gulu, like the market or at some of the local shops, but among the respondents its attractiveness was limited. One reason for this was the relatively high cost of a newspaper in relation to the low average income in Gulu, but also the fact that radio stations would read out the articles as part of their program, lessening the motivation to buy one. On the other hand, with a surprisingly high number of users, social media came in second position among the regularly used media types. The Internet was however the least listed type of media, hinting at clear differences between these two forms of new media.

### 6.2.2. Language and traditional media types

Understood as traditional types of media are generally non-digital forms of information and entertainment. The consumer is at the receiving end of the message but can make choices on what and how he wants to consume. The answers by the respondents demonstrated considerable differences between the different types of media.

Figure 38. Language and traditional media (n=39).



The most popular language to read the newspaper was English. There were several daily newspapers in Uganda publishing in English, including the *Daily Monitor*, *Red Pepper* or *New Vision*, which could all be found at newspaper stands throughout the town. Following the English language were Acholi and Lango. However, unlike for English, there was only a single newspaper that published in these languages, *Rupiny*. *Rupiny* was the daily newspaper dedicated to northern Uganda, having articles written both in Acholi and in Lango within the same issue. Since people able to read either of those languages were also capable of reading the other, the newspaper included articles written in both languages and had offices in Gulu and Lira respectively. Besides publishing a daily newspaper, *Rupiny* also operated one of the region's most popular radio stations, Radio *Rupiny*. Kiswahili and Luganda were listed only by few of the respondents, even though newspapers in both languages could be purchased in Gulu.

The respondent's answers regarding the languages they consumed radio programming in underlined the complex image of the local radio scene described previously. Acholi was here the most popular choice, but English was not far behind and even programming using Lango appeared to draw a significant share of the respondents. Again, Kiswahili and Luganda were of lesser importance, but were named more frequently compared to the consumption of newspapers or magazines. One of the respondents also listed Karimojong to this question, as he would listen to radio programming in his first language whenever he went to his place of origin in Karamoja. The most one-sided results for one of the four types of traditional media was given for television. English was here the by far most common answer. This should not come as a surprise, as much of the national television programming is done in the nation's official language English. Further, many respondents also watched foreign tv-channels that usually used the same language. This

included football games with English language commentary, but also movies or TV shows from the United Kingdom, the United States as well as Nigeria. Movies from the Nollywood film factory with their stories oftentimes circling around relationships and family, but also the supernatural were rather popular. The second most common language named here was Luganda, followed by Kiswahili.

In the previous years several channels had increasingly included programming in Luganda for their news programs, interviews, political discussions and even some TV series. This development was met with resentment among some people in Gulu. One major critique of this development was a well-known journalist and editor of a news outlet in town. To him, this development was a form of linguistic imperialism and the attempt of central Uganda to impose its national dominance on the media landscape. However, it seemed that most others were not bothered to the same degree, as there were several alternatives available.

Kiswahili, which was also listed by some of the respondents appeared in general only in the news on television. During the time of the research also the first regular TV program using Acholi was started. It was a weekly, one-hour long program on the Urban TV channel directed at young people in northern Uganda. Despite it intending to appeal to all of northern Uganda, the main language spoken was Acholi, as the presenters came from Gulu. Lango or other northern Ugandan languages featured only occasionally. The program focussed on music and fashion from the north, giving some musicians the opportunity to show their videos on national TV. As the results from the questionnaire showed, the audience for this program among the respondents was rather small, but nonetheless present.

The overall most diverse answers to this topic were found for music as a form of entertainment. As previously shown, music in many different languages was popular in Gulu, with a large local music scene using both Acholi and English. Radio channels like Rupiny or Gulu FM would also play music from other northern Ugandan regions, whereas radio stations with an urban orientation would frequently play songs in Luganda which were very popular on a national and even international level. The other languages listed by the respondents were Alur, Karimojong, Lingala and Latin, which was again listed by the previously mentioned respondent.

### *6.2.3. Language and new media*

The rise of new media in Uganda was closely linked to the spread of mobile communications and mobile internet. As of 2017, more than 13 million Ugandans had access to the internet or

social media, almost one third of the country's population.<sup>57</sup> Even though far away from the rate of mobile internet penetration of neighbouring Kenya (77.8%), it has the second highest rate among East African countries and the 15<sup>th</sup> highest of the 55 countries on the continent (K. D. Albert, Diginet.com, 2017).

The importance of social media was underlined during the 2016 presidential election, when the government decided to shut off the access to the largest social media platforms Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp.<sup>58</sup> This nationally much debated and internationally condemned act was done to prevent supporters of the opposition to organise protests, but also to disturb the flow of information in the lead up to the polling (Duggan, 2016).

As much as this decision was an expression of political insecurity, it was also a testament to the perceived power and reach of these non-traditional means of communication. Especially in the urban areas, such as Gulu, access to these services is very common. For many people, the internet had become an important tool in their work places, while social media became part of their everyday life. Especially Facebook seemed a major factor, with some even having an account without owning a smart phone.

As mentioned before, internet and social media displayed great similarities regarding the languages the respondents reported they would be used in. For both types English was the by far most common answer. Especially regarding the use of the internet all other languages were barely of any importance. However, this dominance should not come as a surprise. With the Internet being mostly a tool for work or to provide information and entertainment, its use was bound to the conditions set by the content producers. It can only be used in the languages it makes available and content in Acholi was not very common.

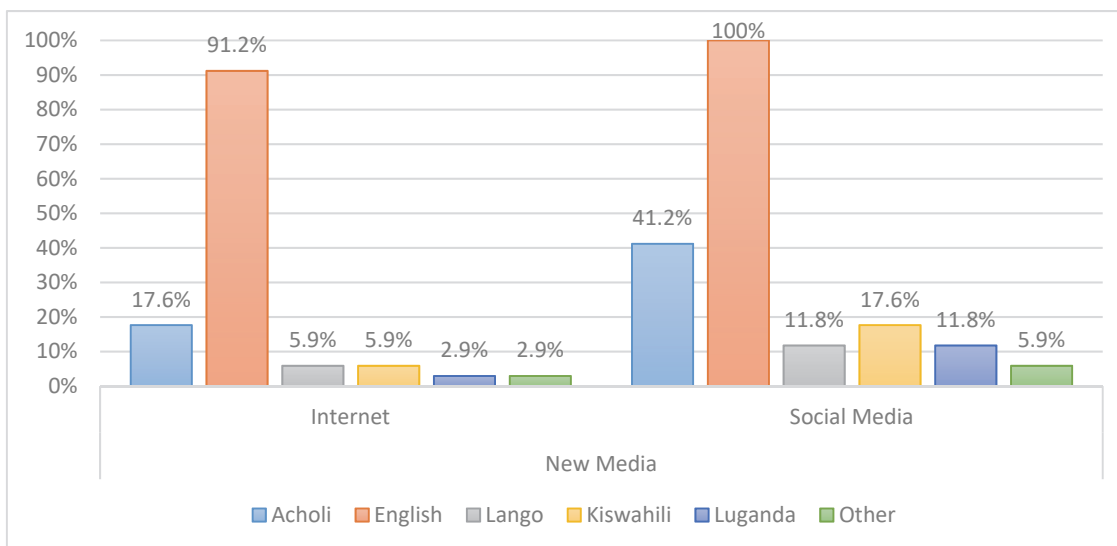
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<sup>57</sup> Other estimations are even as high as 39% (Mamabolo, 2017)

<sup>58</sup> A similar blackout had also occurred during the election of 2011; however, with less of a reaction due to the fewer people being affected at the time.



Figure 39. Languages used in social media (n=34).



The answers for the use of social media showed a clear preference for English but with a more varied general image. Here, English did not stand almost alone, as other languages were mentioned as well. Especially Acholi was mentioned rather frequently, even though to a lesser degree than for most traditional forms of media. The difference can be ascribed to the different ways social media are used. Here, the communication is interactive and involves the participation of many people. Social media are to a degree a reflection of analogue communication, oftentimes replicating social networks existing outside the online sphere. Thus, it was almost surprising that English was listed so frequently; still more than all other listed languages combined (thirty-four against thirty). Producing content on social media is usually connected with little to no costs, creating a rather low threshold for potential content creators. Thus, there would have been great potential for having content in Acholi. However, apart from personal posts, most social media content created in Gulu used English and even though commenters also used Acholi, the image remained rather mixed. This included the social media pages of radio stations that broadcasted almost exclusively in Acholi like Mega FM or Radio Rupiny.

#### 6.2.4. Language preferences in media consumption and interaction

The answers given by the respondents in this segment showed clear differences regarding the languages that were assigned to the types of media. Radio and music were the only two types not having English as the most common answer, and not coincidentally were also the types with the biggest overall linguistic diversity. Both are media types that are rather easy to produce and distribute, as well as being the cheapest to consume. The low cost of listening to the radio was

already discussed, and music is present on the radio as well as in bars, clubs or simply on the street or in a neighbour's house. This is exemplary for the trend that the more complicated and cost intensive the media type is, the more its use geared towards English. Internet was said to be used almost exclusively in English, and so was watching TV; both requiring high investments in equipment as well as being very expensive to access. There are options to access both media types publicly, but the content producers are also restricting the linguistic possibilities. There were very few products in Acholi available, most likely due to the low number of possible consumers. Social media and newspapers to a degree formed the middle ground in this image. Even though both were predominantly connected with English, there was a considerable number of respondents who connected their consumption with their first language. In both cases, the cost of access was higher compared to radio and music, but a lot lower than for internet and television. Mobile phones with social media functions were available for less than 100.000 UGX (around 30 €), while having only limited additional costs, as many accessed their social media platforms using public Wi-Fi connections. Newspapers on the other hand did not require any equipment at all, and the cost for a newspaper was around 2.000 UGX (around 0.60 €) per issue. These costs were still too high for many, but generally more affordable. This increased accessibility was also expressed by the fact that social media was the second most named media type that was used frequently by the respondents, following only the radio. On the other side, newspapers appeared to have had a much harder time finding an audience, even though one could argue that people that listened to the newspapers being read on the radio should be included here. Following the argument about access and availability made above, we find that due to the lower cost of access and the higher number of potential consumers, newspapers could also be produced locally using Acholi. However, while there were multiple radio stations broadcasting in Acholi, there was only a single newspaper writing in Acholi, which at the same also covered the Lango region. For social media, the question of available content is a very different one. It seems possible that the strong position of English was here less a reflection of actual language use, but rather represented an ideologically motivated image of the language one connects with the use of social media. On the other hand, this might indicate that communication on social media platforms induces different linguistic choices than spoken communication, reminiscent of the differences between communication via phone or through writing discussed above.

### *6.3. Rating languages*

Measuring attitudes using some form of rating scale is a part of many studies in social psychology and related fields like market research or studies in education. Over the years, the question what the best way to measure attitudes in this format would be, led to the development of various techniques and approaches. For instance, when originally the wording of questions for these assessments were subject to elaborate tinkering to ensure getting the wanted answers, the focus has now shifted away from trying to produce the desired answers of the researcher towards the perspective of the respondents. Questions are now supposed to be kept rather simple and easy to understand. Another point of development is the way to record these assessments. Besides the long-established Likert scale (Leikert, 1932) ranging from 1 to either 5 or 7, several other methods have been developed, such as sliding scales without predetermined numbers, or fuzzy logic approaches, trying to account for blurredness of attitude assessments mathematically (DeCock, et al., 2000). That said, there is not one definitive method that can safely ensure the collection of reliable data under all circumstances; not in the least because any attempt of assessing attitudes using a rating-scale is inherently flawed. Attitudes towards objects generally do not exist in numbers, grading statements or along a sliding scale, but in the contextual and discursive form that has been in the focus of this study so far. However, there are reasons to nonetheless include such a system. For one, languages as attitude objects are, along with their named representations, part of our identity and ideology-based evaluation of our environment and our self. When we hear the name of a language, dialect or style, it triggers our attitudes connected to them by association. Thus, asking directly for attitudes towards specific named languages is a legitimate method to elicit responses and a rating scale allows to put them in relation; especially in combination with the various forms of contextualisation and indirect approaches this study has already provided. Since adding contextual information to this quantitative approach remained one element of analysis in this part as well, the intention was less about specific technical aspects within the analysis. Instead it was to remain within the thematic frame of the other approaches and perspectives in this study. At the same time, this approach was constructed to concur with the most important requirement; that the interpretations of the questions and the scales are understood in the same manner among all the respondents and that the researcher can understand these interpretations (Krosnick, et al., 2005, p. 35). The question the participants were asked was:

- “How do you personally feel when you think about these languages? Rate them on a scale from 1 to 9, where 1 means you do not like it at all and 9 that you like it very much.”

Using an adapted version of a Likert scale, the odd numbers of the scale were combined with a brief description. The even numbers served the purpose of giving the respondents the opportunity for a more nuanced answer in case they did not feel the given ratings expressed their attitude adequately. Overall, the scale consisted of following grades:

- |     |                  |
|-----|------------------|
| (1) | Strongly Dislike |
| (2) |                  |
| (3) | Rather Dislike   |
| (4) |                  |
| (5) | Neutral          |
| (6) |                  |
| (7) | Rather Like      |
| (8) |                  |
| (9) | Strongly Like    |

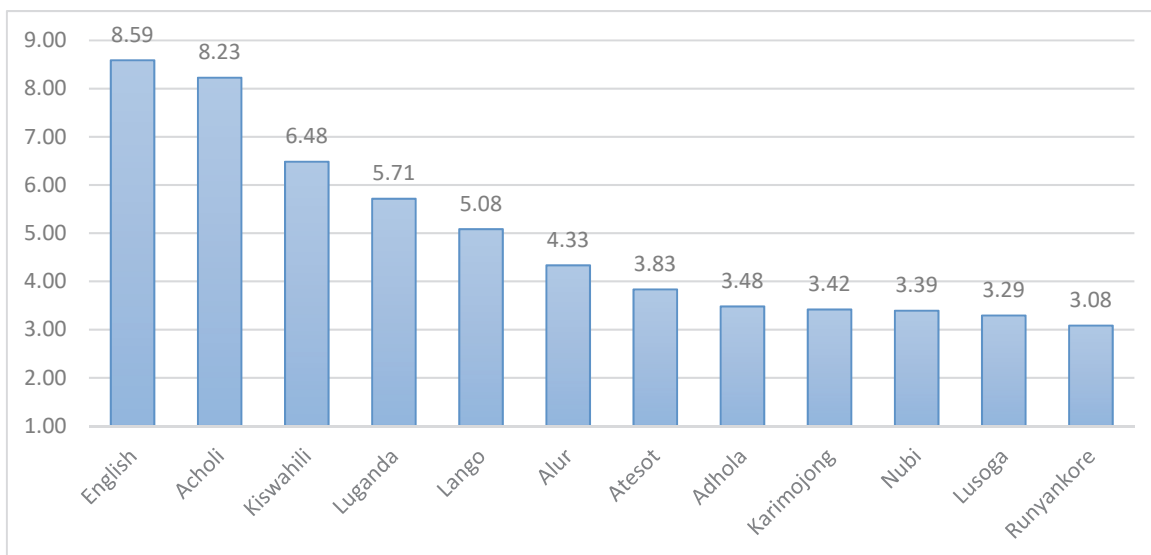
The questionnaire asked for ratings on twelve different languages. The list included the most spoken languages in Uganda with at least two million speakers each in Luganda, Lusoga and Runyankore <sup>59</sup>; languages from northern Uganda, like the closely related Alur, Lango, Acholi, but also Adhola, Karimojong and Atesot; the national *linguae francae* English and Kiswahili, as well as Nubi, which was featured earlier on. It can be argued that other languages deserved to be featured here as well, but the limit of twelve languages was set to preserve some clarity.

Since the study allowed the respondents to answer the questionnaire in their preferred manner, some decided to forego this part, while others decided to only give ratings for the languages, they felt comfortable with rating. Thus, the highest number of ratings any language received was thirty-four of the possible forty-one in the case of English. The lowest number of ratings for a single language was seventeen given to Atesot.

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<sup>59</sup> Runyankore is often grouped together with Rukiga, as both languages can be portrayed in a dialectal relationship (cf. Taylor 2009). However, in the context of this study and its interest in people's attitudes towards languages as named objects, only the term Runyankore was used.

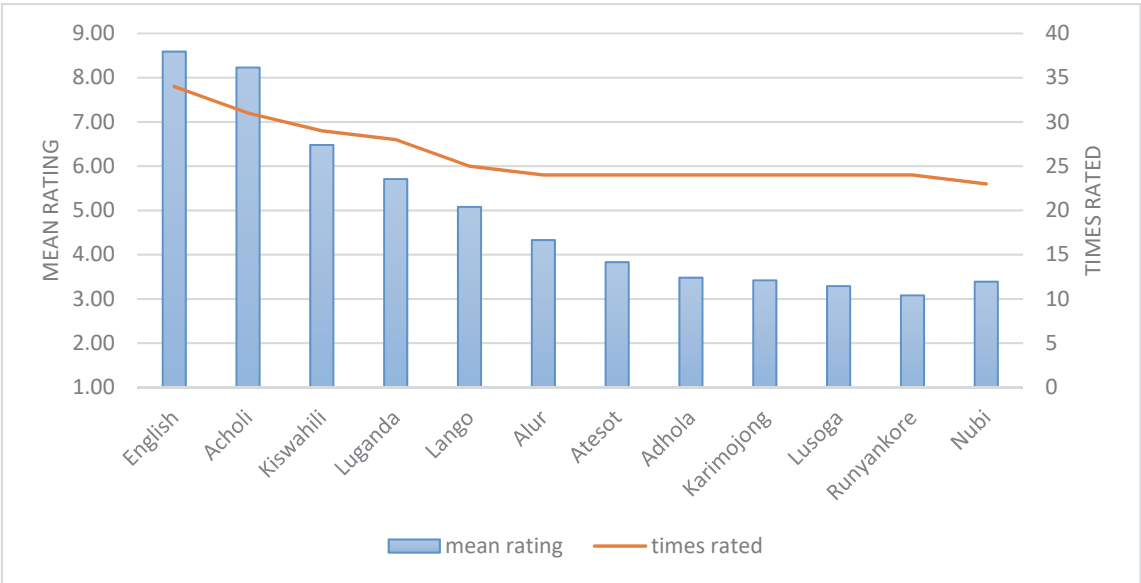
Figure 40. Mean attitude scores by language.



The by far highest average score of all the languages was given to English, as eighty-five percent of ratings were in the highest possible category and only six percent of ratings were ‘neutral’. Even though the rating for Acholi was slightly lower it also received just two ratings of ‘neutral’ as its lowest scores. Kiswahili was the language with the third highest score, displaying generally positive attitudes towards it. However, two of the participants decided to give Kiswahili the worst possible score of 1. Luganda and Lango received rather similar average scores with both being in the range of neutral. The ratings given to Luganda were more spread out between respondents showing that it was the more controversial language of the two. Alur, which is also part of the Luo language-cluster, was on average rated slightly worse than Lango, whereas Adhola scored significantly worse, ranging in the region of “rather dislike”. Atesot, the main language of the region neighbouring the Acholi to the East came in just behind Alur and ahead of five languages that all have average ratings between 3 and 3.5. For all those languages more than half of the received scores were from the lowest possible category “Strongly Dislike”. Runyankore was here the language that received the most ratings of 1 and the lowest score on average. In general, the differences between those languages were rather small, especially considering the small size of the sample and the large amplitude of the rating scale.

There were not only differences between the ratings each language received on average, but also between the numbers of ratings each language received. The combination of both graphs shows that there was a correlation between the average attitude score for a language and the likelihood of the language receiving a score.

Figure 41. Mean score and number of ratings per language.

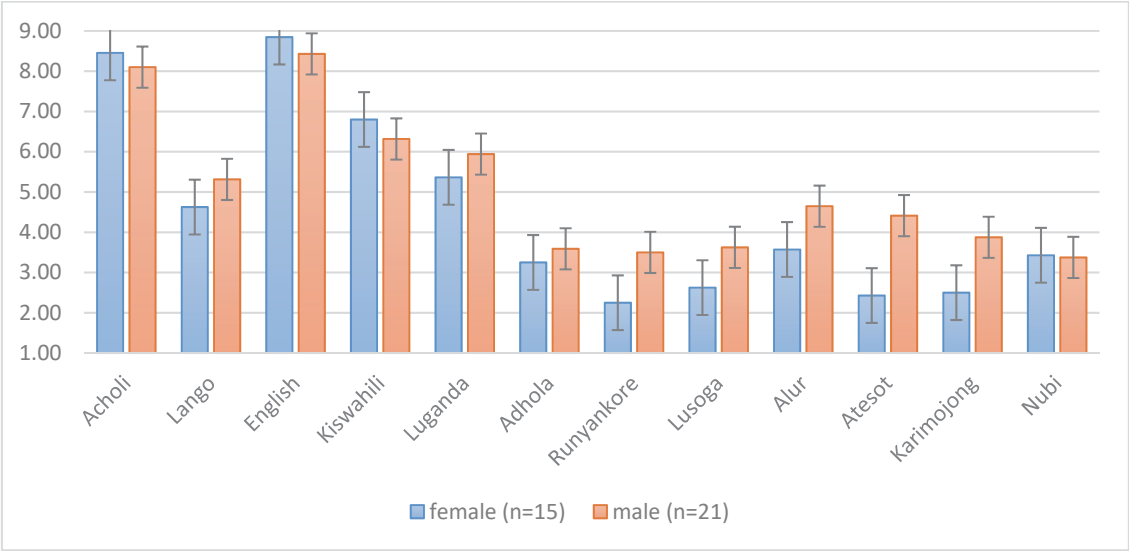


6.3.1. Testing for tendencies

Considering the at times large differences in attitudes held by the participants towards these named languages, the question arises, whether this quantitative perspective allows for a deeper analysis of the data. For instance, if we can identify differences in the given answers with respect to various demographic categories. As the questionnaire also collected information on certain categories, like age, gender, education or monthly income, it was possible to test the attitudes scores against each of those. Even though the size of each group remained too small to draw strong conclusions from this comparison, it opens the possibility to substantiate potentially observed tendency by using additional qualitative evidence.

The strongest category in terms of quantity was gender, as this was a simple binary choice, leading to a comparably higher number of participants present in each category.

Figure 42. Mean ratings by binary gender categories.

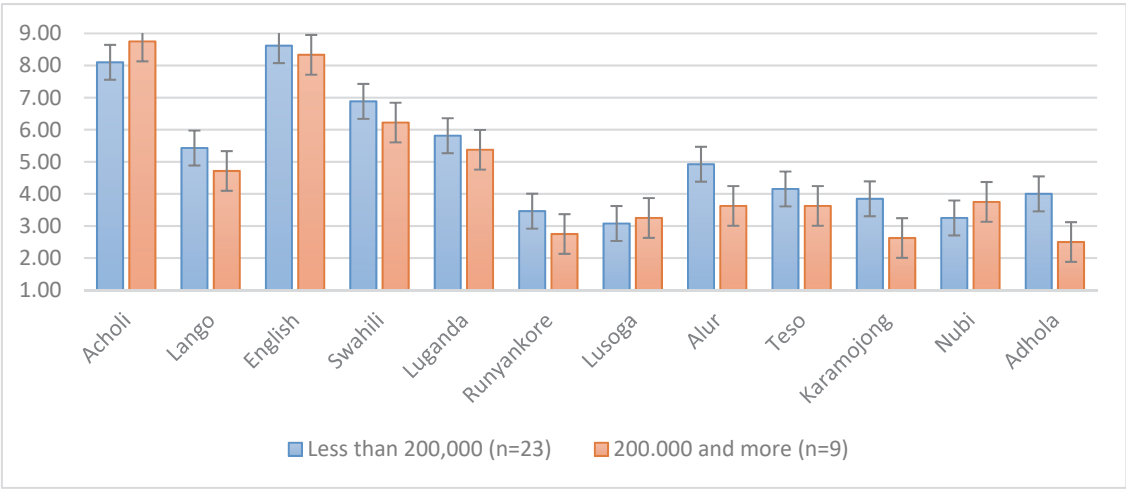


The responses by participants from both genders showed very little differences, which additionally remained within the standard error of the sample. The stronger deviations observable for Nubi and Karamojong were in both cases the result of an overrepresentation of female participants from those ethnic groups in the sample who rated their own first languages higher than members of other ethnic groups.

Somewhat more problematic regarding their statistical value were the tests for potential differences depending on monthly income and highest-level of educational institution attended by the participants. Here, the questionnaire gave the participants multiple choices; four in the case of monthly income and five regarding education. Thus, the number of participants within each faction was too small to allow for a robust statistical analysis. By grouping some of them together and reducing their number to two it was possible to increase the significance though. However, the differences in monthly income were rather small within the sample, which had to be expected considering the economic environment of Gulu, where more specialised occupations requiring higher education and providing higher income were less common than for instance in Kampala. Therefore, most participants were found in the two lowest income brackets, making even those grouped factions unevenly balanced.



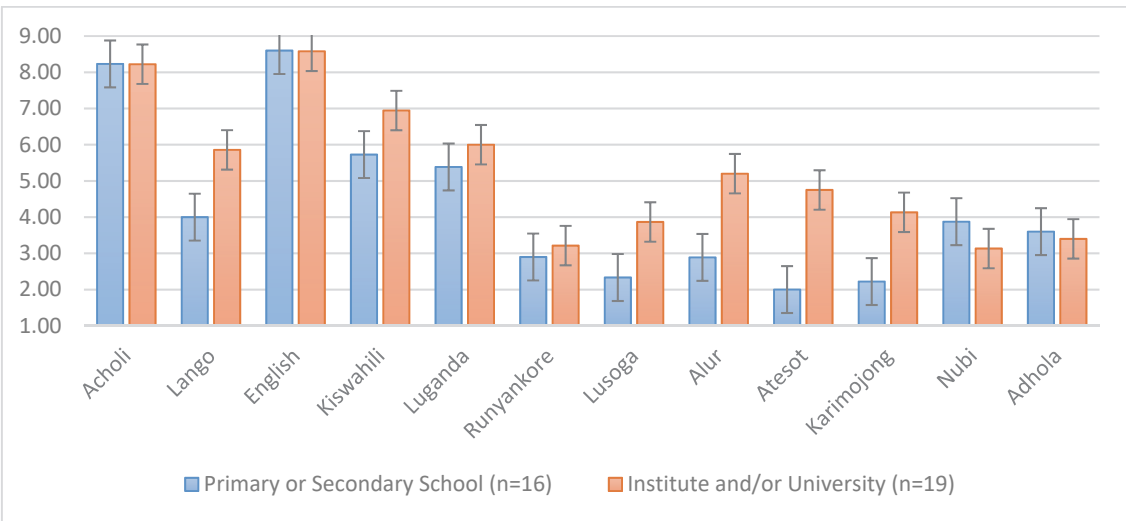
Figure 43. Mean ratings by income groups.



Regardless of the issue of representativeness, the groups compiled from the income groups below 200,000 UGX and the groups above 200,000 UGX of estimated monthly income showed rather small differences. Overall, the participants in the lower income groups rated the languages higher on average than those in the higher income groups with the exceptions of Acholi, Lusoga and Nubi. However, the differences remained within the standard error, leading to the conclusion that the sample did not show significant differences regarding the monthly income of the participants.

For the constructed groupings regarding highest level of formal education that the participants had attended, the distribution was more even compared to the estimated monthly income. In clustering the participants that had attended secondary or primary school as their highest form of education and those that had either attended an institute or university, two groups of comparable sizes were created.

Figure 44. Mean ratings by maximum level of formal education attended.

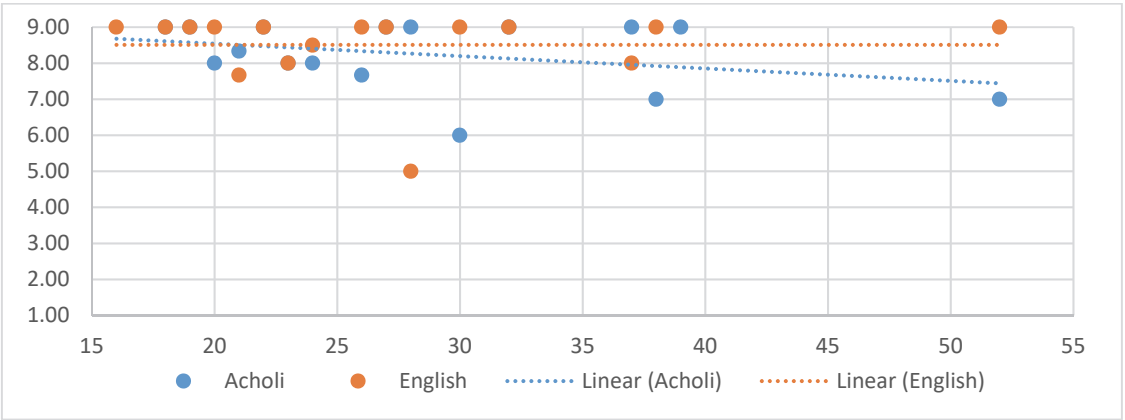


The comparison between those two groups showed that there were some significant differences between the attitude scores for most languages. There appeared a clear tendency for participants who had received some form of tertiary education, be it at an institute or at university, to rate languages almost across the board higher than the participants who had not. At the lower end of the given mean ratings were Karimojong, Alur and Atesot, where the presence of participants with higher levels of formal education from the corresponding ethnic groups directly lead to higher ratings for these languages on average. The opposite effect was visible for Nubi, where the presence of even a single participant of Nubi ethnicity lead to a visibly higher average rating. More significant were the higher ratings for Lango, Kiswahili and Lusoga, as there were no first language speakers of these languages represented in the sample, yet they received higher ratings on average by the participants that had attended institutions of tertiary education. On the other hand, Acholi and English received almost identical ratings from both groups, showing that regardless of educational background the attitudes towards both languages were consistently positive.

The most difficult demographic category to analyse was the factor age. As the creation of age brackets was considered an artificial, unjustified and unnecessary simplification of the differences present in the sample, a linear regression analysis was chosen as the preferred form of analysis. To retain clarity and improve the ability to detect potentially significant tendencies the languages were split into groups in accordance with the mean ratings they had received overall.

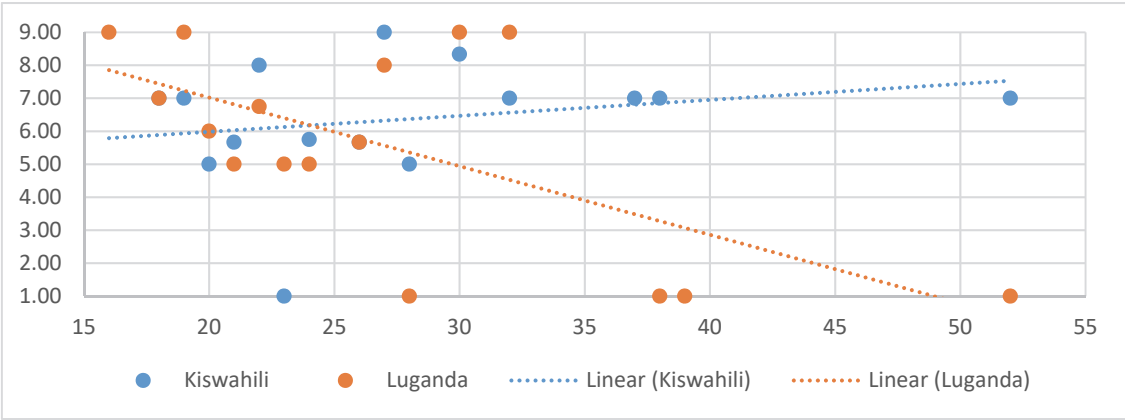
The first set of languages includes Acholi and English, the two languages which not only received the by far highest ratings on average, but also displayed little difference when controlled for the other demographic categories. As in the previous tests, there were no significant differences in the ratings both languages received dependent on the age of the participants. The slight tendency of Acholi receiving lower ratings among the older participant was not considered significant enough, especially considering the rather small size of the overall sample.

Figure 45. Regression by age for attitude scores of Acholi and English.



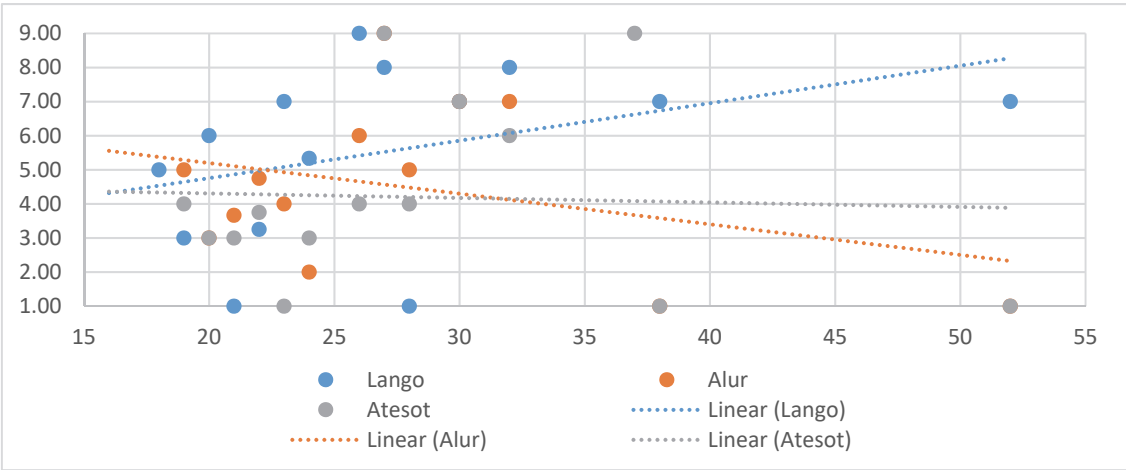
The second group included the two national lingua franca Luganda and Kiswahili which had both received very similar attitude scores. Kiswahili displayed here a rather similar result compared to Acholi and English above, even though it did receive somewhat higher ratings amongst the older participants. More significant was the trend for Luganda. It received its highest scores among the youngest respondents, while receiving very low ratings amongst the older participants.

Figure 46. Regression by age for attitude scores of Kiswahili and Luganda.



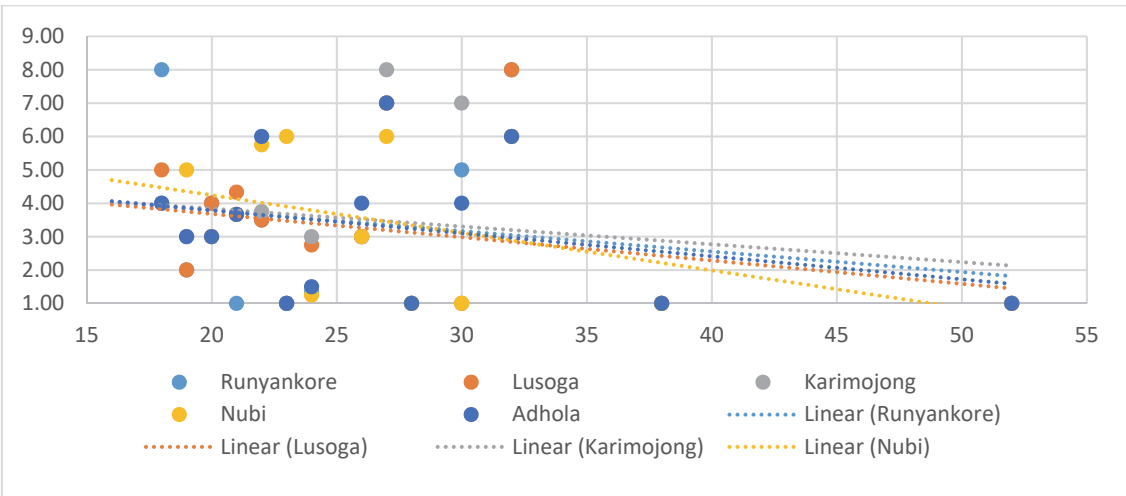
The third group consists of the Alur and Lango, the two languages that are very closely related to Acholi, as well as Atesot, another northern Ugandan language which scored only slightly worse on average. While the attitude scores for Atesot displayed very little variance, there were some tendencies for the other two languages clear detectable. For Lango, the liner regression indicated a higher rating among the older respondents, whereas Alur showed a higher rating among the younger respondents.

Figure 47. Regression by age for attitude scores of neighbouring languages.



The final group is compiled of those languages that received the lowest ratings overall among the participants. Here, the linear regressions were for all very similar with only Nubi displaying a slightly bigger decline in attitude score depending on respondent age. With all languages receiving comparably low numbers of scores, it is however not possible to draw conclusions from this.

Figure 48. Regression by age of low rated languages.



Overall it can be presumed that for some languages the element of age appeared to be a factor. However, for the languages that received rather small numbers of ratings, it was not possible to use the calculated linear regressions as indicators for existing trends, as the answers of only one or two respondents significantly altered its trajectory. For the four languages that received the most scores though, English, Acholi, Kiswahili and Luganda, the results were worth a closer look. While the attitudes towards the first three languages remained rather consistent, there was a clear trend for Luganda. The ratings showed considerably higher attitude scores among the younger respondents. This coincided with observations made in other parts of the study.

Whereas for some of the older members of the community Luganda was connected to the conflict between north and central Uganda and the social and economic dominance of that region, the attitudes among many of younger people were different. Influenced by their own time living in the central region, either during the insurgence or as students in high schools and universities, or by popular music with Luganda lyrics, their experience with the language was very different. Thus, not only was the likelihood of having competence in Luganda higher among the younger respondents, but also their attitudes towards it were far more positive.

### 6.3.2. *Language or ethnic group?*

Since this question was from the beginning considered to be problematic in terms of interpreting the results for their inherent meaning, the questionnaire featured a question directly connected to it that was supposed to address a suspicion that arose early on and that was alluded to at various points previously. In many cases, the language was understood as representative of the group of people it was connected to. For instance, the language Nubi was by many seen negatively specifically because they had negative attitudes towards the Nubi people, as explained earlier. Thus, the respondents were not only asked about their attitudes towards these languages, but also about the people that usually spoke these languages:

- “When you think of those tribes <sup>60</sup> do you have a more positive or a more negative opinion of them?”

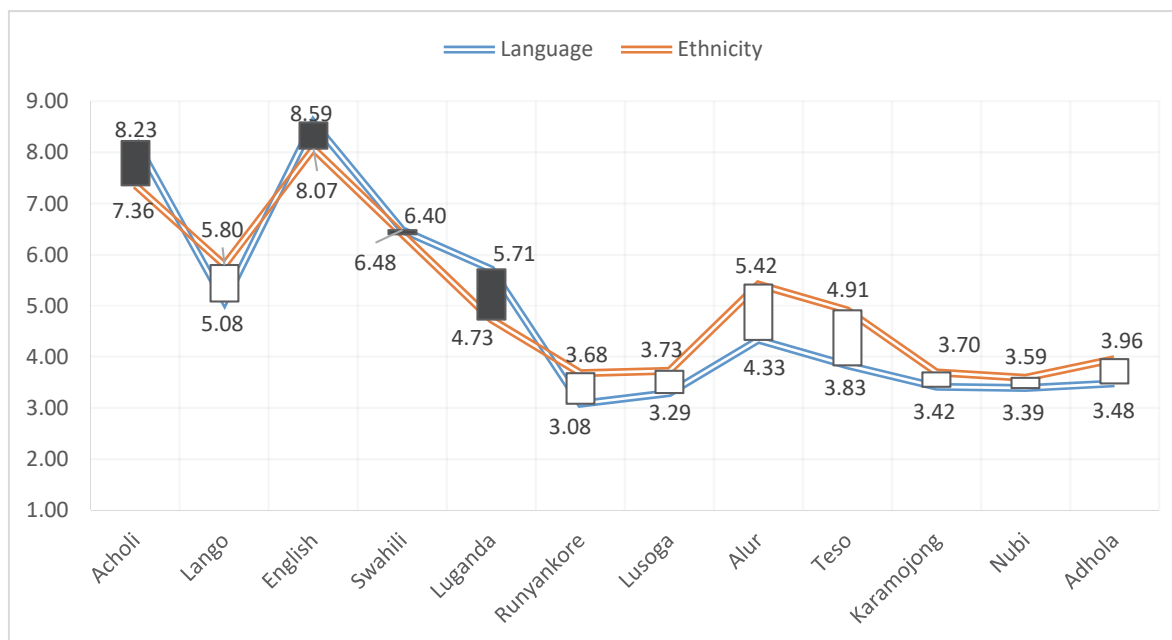
Regarding English and Kiswahili, the respondents were told to think about the people that were first language or native speakers in these languages, or people that would use these languages as their main means of communication. In the case of English, that would include people from the United States or the United Kingdom, and for Kiswahili people from Kenya or the Congo that would mainly speak Kiswahili in Gulu.

Compared to the question about languages, fewer respondents were willing to give an answer here, as many said they were uncomfortable doing so. Thus, the highest number of ratings received was only twenty-seven, compared to thirty-three for the prior question.

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<sup>60</sup> The term “tribe” was used in the questionnaire as it was a more commonly used term than ethnicity or other terms of similar meaning and therefore also more likely to be understood by the participants.

Figure 49. Comparison of attitudes towards ethnicities and languages.



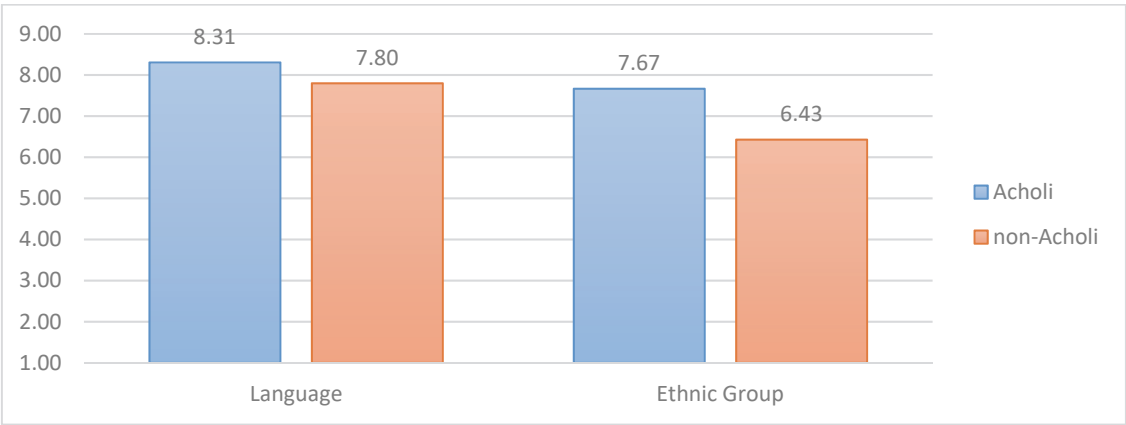
Overall, the answers to this question showed great similarities to the rating of languages, with differences generally remaining within the margin of one point. Compared to the ratings for the languages, the differences between the individual items were less pronounced. The seven ethnic groups whose associated languages received the lowest ratings all received higher ratings in this question. On the other side, of the five ethnic groups whose associated languages received the highest ratings, four received lower scores compared to their language. The only exception to this were the Langi, who received a considerably more favourable rating than their language. Along with the Itesot and the Alur, they were also the groups that had the biggest difference to the positive. Acholi and Baganda had the biggest change to the negative compared to the ratings their associated languages received.

### 6.3.3. Observations on attitude scores

The ratings given by the participants in response to the named languages for the most part tied in with observations made previously. Especially the ratings given to **Acholi** and **English** confirmed the impression of both languages being dominant in the local language ecology. The presence of these languages in the public, in institutions, media and education, but also their perceived importance for personal communication found their continuation in the overwhelmingly positive attitudes mirrored in these ratings, regardless of factors like age, level of education, gender or income. There was, however, a difference between those two languages connected to the ratings given for the connected ethnic groups. While the ratings for English

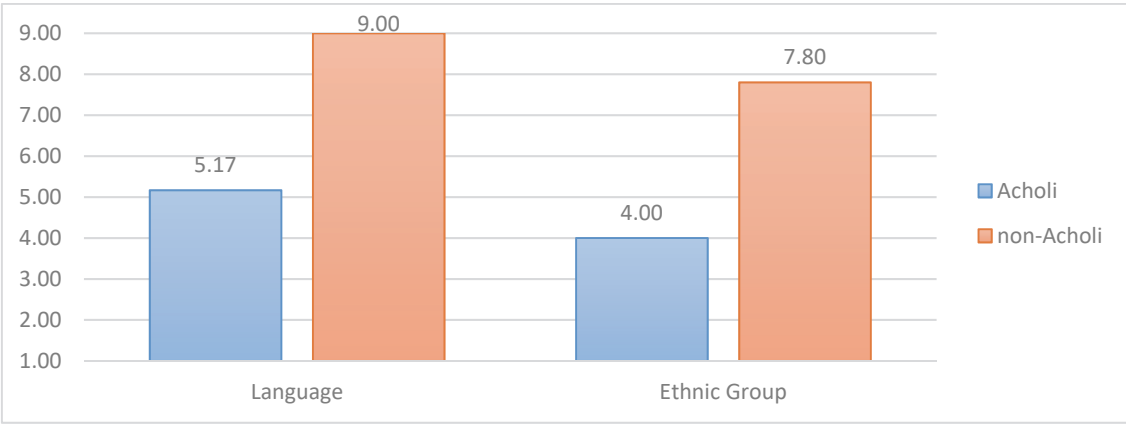
and the people considered as native or mainly English speakers remained rather the same, did the Acholi ethnic group display the biggest difference towards the negative compared to rating the language. The size of this difference was in parts due to the more negative attitudes shown in the answers by the non-Acholi respondents in this survey.

Figure 50. Comparison of mean ratings for Acholi language and ethnic group between Acholi and non-Acholi respondents.



The opposite effect could be observed for **Luganda**, where the ratings given by ethnic Acholi respondents were significantly lower than those given by non-Acholi respondents.

Figure 51. Comparison of mean ratings for Luganda and the Baganda ethnic group between Acholi and non-Acholi respondents.



Due to these lower grades given to Luganda by the Acholi respondents, the overall ratings remained within the range of ‘neutral’. Further, Luganda appeared to be the only of the tested languages where the factor age played a role in the ratings, as the younger respondents had a more favourable opinion towards it than the older respondents. It could be argued that these unfavourable attitudes were connected to a perception of being oppressed by the central government, to which the Luganda language is in some way tied, and which begins to disappear among the younger generations. However, this would require further inquiry into this question to be substantiated.



**Kiswahili** and **Lango**, which received average scores in a similar range, displayed a lot less deviation. Of the two languages in the **Lwoo** language cluster besides Acholi, Lango was the one receiving the highest ratings. This coincides with Lango consistently appearing at other points of this study, being found in the language repertoires of several respondents or in the local media landscape a lot more frequently than **Alur** and **Adhola**, which received the lowest ratings of the Southern Lwoo languages mentioned in the survey. The different evaluations of Lango on one side and Alur and Adhola on the other side coincided with the latter languages being only rarely mentioned in the study in general, including the respondents' repertoires. Lango was, however, mentioned several times and for fourteen of the respondents also part of their language repertoire. These three languages, along with **Atesot**, were also noteworthy in so far as they showed the biggest discrepancy between ratings given to languages and **ethnicities**, with higher ratings given to the ethnic group each time. In general, the ratings for the ethnicities remained close to the ratings for the languages, demonstrating the close connection between the attitudes towards a language and the perception of the ethnic or social group this language, style or register is perceived to be related to. At the end of the ratings spectrum the respondents placed five languages in the range of "rather dislike" and in most cases the negative attitudes were clearly connected to the negative image of that ethnic group, especially among the Acholi respondents. The negative attitudes towards **Nubi** were for many connected to their involvement with the Idi Amin regime. The negative attitudes towards **Runyankore** appeared to have been connected to the perceived political position of the Banyankore in the current government of Yoweri Museveni, a Munyankore himself, and during the civil war following the success of the revolution in 1986. The negative attitudes towards the **Karimojong** language and the Karamojong people were not connected to larger socio-political events and development but were for many born out of negative experiences with them as neighbours in the past. Exemplary for this was the story told by Francis, who remembered guarding his families' cattle as a young boy, when Karamojong raiders came to his village, stealing the cattle while he had to hide in the bushes. These stories were not uncommon, and the Karamojong were for a long time known for cattle rustling in the region (Asimwe, 2017), leading to the attitudes displayed in the answers of the respondents. The appearances of **Adhola** and **Lusoga** among these five languages receiving negative ratings are insofar noteworthy, as on first sight it was difficult to identify a reason for this. For Adhola, which received the lowest ratings of the Lwoo languages, some respondents recalled negative personal experiences with someone from this ethnic group, but group specific reasons were not named. Lusoga on the other hand was by many grouped alongside Luganda, which it is closely related to and many of the respondents that gave negative ratings to Luganda,

did the same for Lusoga. However, while Luganda also received a great number of positive ratings, this did not happen to the same degree for Lusoga, as not a single respondent gave it the highest possible rating, whereas nine of the respondents did for Luganda. The unfavourable ratings on average could therefore have been influenced by missing personal familiarity with the language and common negative attitudes towards the region among many respondents.

On a more general note, the data appeared to indicate that respondents who had attended institutions of higher education gave on average higher ratings to almost all languages. This could be connected to a higher exposure to multiple languages and multilingualism. Especially universities were often located in urban settings that are generally characterised by a more heterogenous population while at the same time attracting students from various parts of the country, leading to a more diverse student body. Thus, people who had attended these institutions were more likely to be exposed to different languages and develop more positive attitudes towards them.

Overall, it seemed that the ratings given by the respondents were related to these factors:

- Personal familiarity with, and proficiency in the language
- Use and appearance of the language in everyday contexts
- Attitudes towards the ethnic group the language was connected to
- Socio-historic and political context
- Personal experiences

There are most likely several more reasons that influenced the perception of these languages as psychological objects, but with the data laid out so far, it would be mere speculation to add to this list.

#### *6.4. Role and use of languages*

Beyond looking for direct evaluations of different languages as fixed psychological objects, the questionnaire contained several questions and statements exploring the perception of languages and the use of languages. These questions and statements fell into four different categories:

1. The position of languages in public
2. English in Gulu and Uganda
3. Language in education
4. Attitude towards personal use of language

The questions and statements to these topics used various attitude scale formats. That included the format of agree or disagreement as well as semantic differentiations. In one case, the respondents were also asked to compile a list as their answer. This variety of formats was used to employ the scale that seemed the most appropriate for each question and that was the easiest to understand for the respondents.

#### *6.4.1. The position of languages in public*

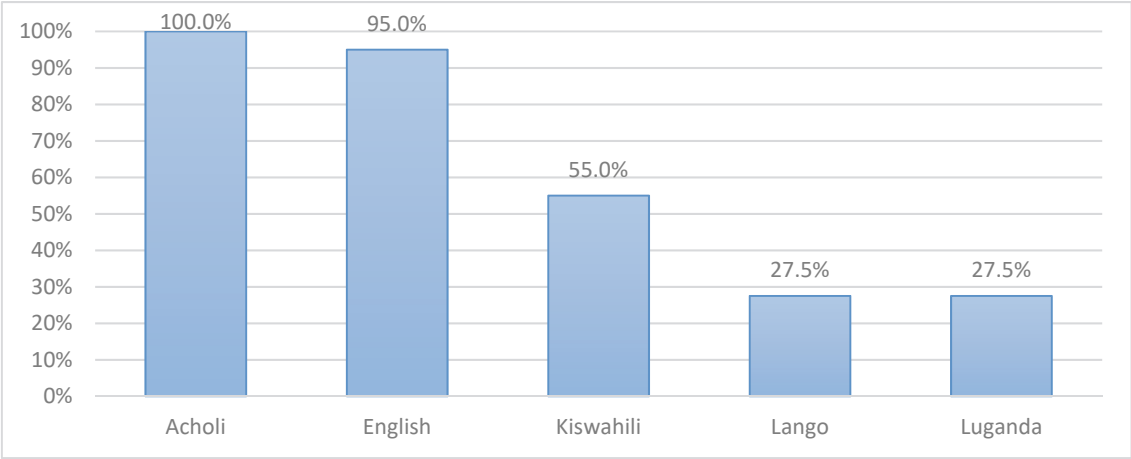
Regarding the role of languages in public, the participants were asked about their opinions on the use of Acholi in Gulu and which languages they think should be among the country's official languages. For the first part they were asked these three questions:

- “What are the most important languages one should be able to speak in Gulu?”
- “Should everyone who lives in Gulu be able to speak Acholi?”
- “Do you think that the importance of Acholi in public communication should be higher?”

While the first question asked the respondents to list all the languages that they considered important on their own, the next two questions gave the options “yes”, “no” and “not sure” in a basic trichotomous format.

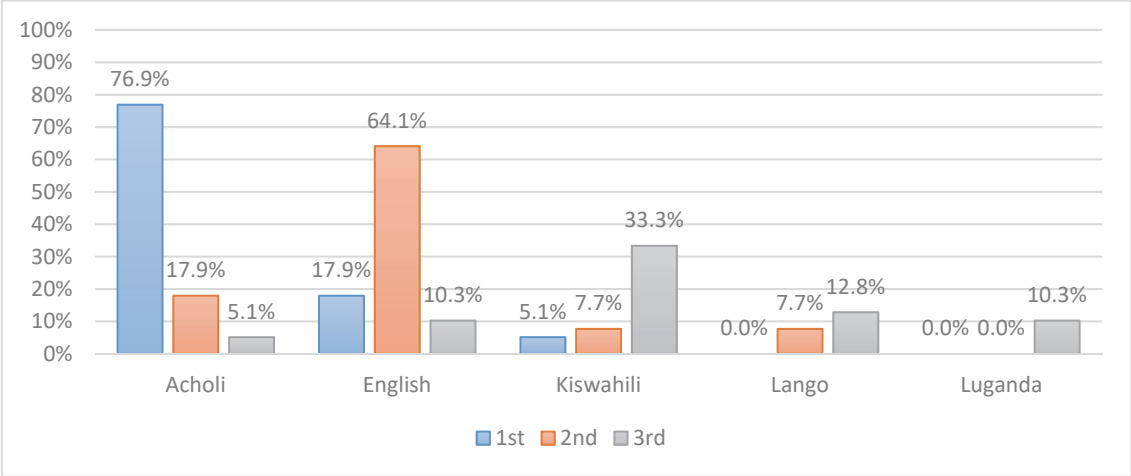
All three questions intended to find out how the respondents felt about the growing multilingualism in Gulu due to people immigrating from parts outside the region who did not speak Acholi or a closely related language. Especially among immigrants from the central or southern region, including students, people working at the market, in office jobs, but also among people from other countries, coming as refugees, traders, migrants or working in development project, knowledge of Acholi was less common. Therefore, the first question asked what languages the respondents' thought was important to be able to speak in Gulu, and how they would rank these languages according to their importance. Of the forty-one participants, forty answered this question and thirty-nine ranked the languages they listed.

Figure 52. Languages one should be able to speak in Gulu (n=40).<sup>61</sup>



All participating respondents listed Acholi as one of the languages that is important and thirty-eight of them also added English to their list. The third most named language, Kiswahili, followed with a considerable distance. Only about a quarter of the respondents also considered Lango or Luganda as important languages.

Figure 53. Ranking the most important languages (n=39).



The rankings given by the respondents painted a rather clear picture of what they thought were the most important languages. Their answers showed that they considered Acholi the most important language, ahead of English and Kiswahili. Lango and Luganda as the only other languages mentioned were given considerations by just a small minority of participants. Following this, the questionnaire tried to find out, how the respondents felt about the role of Acholi; whether they thought that everyone who lived here should know the language, and whether they were satisfied with the role the language had in public communication.

<sup>61</sup> Also named were Alur (twice), Adhola, Ma'di and Atesot (each once)

Figure 54. Should everyone who lives in Gulu be able to speak Acholi? (n=41)

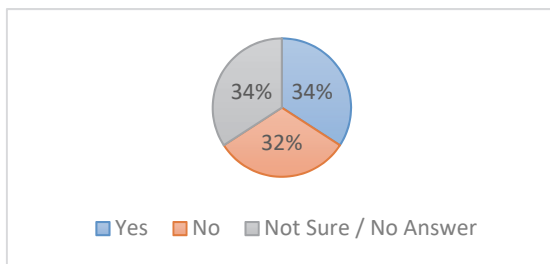
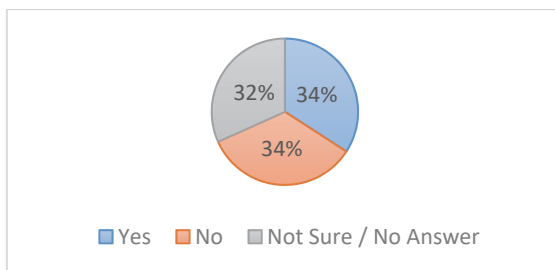


Figure 55. Should Acholi be more important in public communication? (n=41)

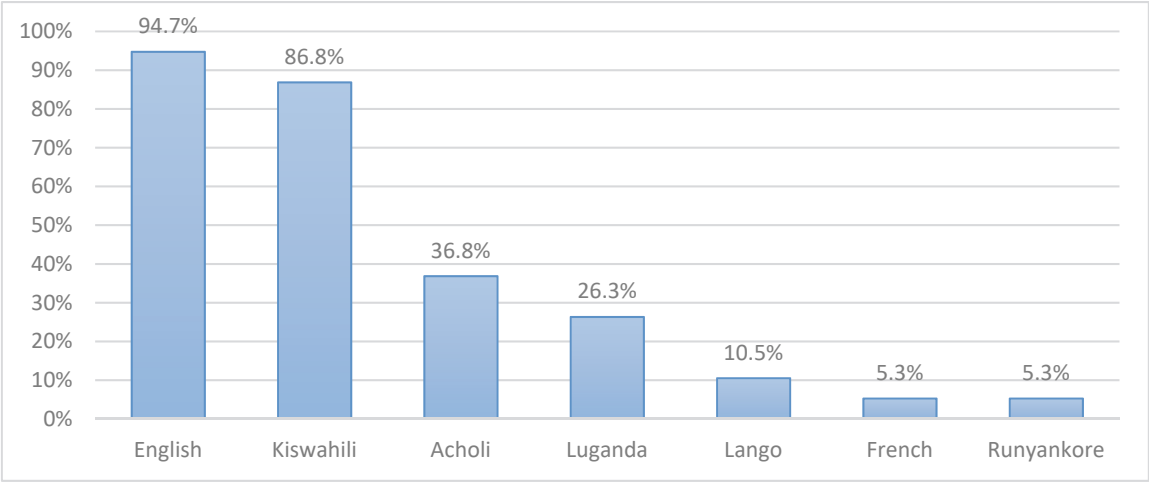


The opinions on this issue were split among the respondents, with almost equal numbers of participants answering with “yes”, “no” or opting to not give an answer to them. Noteworthy for these questions was that only seventeen of the forty-one participants gave the same answer to both questions. Of those seventeen respondents six did not give an answer for either question, six answered both questions with “yes” and five answered with “no”. Of the fourteen people that said that everyone who lived in Gulu should be able to speak Acholi, only seven wished for it to be more important in public communication as well, further emphasising the torn opinions to these two questions. For both questions it wasn’t possible to identify correlations with regards to age or ethnicity.

The fourth question within the topic of language in public was then concerned with the issue of official languages. As addressed earlier, this topic is a rather complicated one, with many contemporary discussions surrounding the possible inclusion of Luganda. Therefore, the study wanted to find out how the people who participated in this study and who were mostly ethnic Acholi thought of this question. The questionnaire asked them:

- “The Constitution of Uganda states, that English and Kiswahili are the official languages of Uganda, while many argue that Luganda should be included among these as well. What languages do you think should be the official languages of Uganda?”

Figure 56. Languages that should be official languages of Uganda (n=38).



Only two of the participants did not include English in their list, with both having Kiswahili as their only choice for the official language. Nonetheless, English remained the most common response, just ahead of Kiswahili. These two languages were the only that were listed by more than half of the participants, as Acholi, the third most common answer, was named by just more than a third. Luganda was named by about twenty-six percent and Lango by only ten percent of participants. With French and Runyankore each receiving two votes the final list included seven different languages. All respondents who listed Acholi were either ethnic Acholi or born in Gulu. The highest number of languages listed by a single participant was six and included besides English also Kiswahili, Acholi, Luganda, Lango and French. The remaining nine mentions of Luganda were all done by respondents that identified as ethnic Acholi, of which seven listed it next to their own first language. It appeared that age might have been a factor regarding the listing of indigenous languages like Luganda and Acholi, as the average age of participants who wished for their inclusion was lower by three years in the case of Luganda and four years in the case of Acholi than among those who did not include them.

The answers to these **four questions** emphasised the importance of three languages for the respondents; Acholi, English and Kiswahili. **Acholi** and **English** were the two languages almost all respondents considered essential for communication in Gulu. This concurs with the answers regarding the languages used in various public activities and observations made at the markets, churches and other public spaces discussed in this study. The role of English as the second most important language in public domains was confirmed and its status as one of Uganda’s official languages agreed upon by almost all respondents. Even though **Kiswahili** was rarely mentioned as one of the languages used in these domains by the respondents, it was indicated to be the third most important language. Furthermore, the status of Kiswahili as one of the country’s official languages was not questioned by most of the respondents either. **Acholi** was clearly considered

the most important language for use in Gulu. Nonetheless, most respondents did not think it should be an official language. Most did also not think that everyone should be able to speak Acholi who lived in Gulu, or that it should have a more important role in public. There was however a sizable minority who wanted it to receive more recognition within Gulu and wished for it to have official language status. Interestingly, about two thirds of those who wished for Acholi to achieve that status, had the same opinion regarding **Luganda**, showing that their wish for including local languages extended beyond their own first language and recognised the national role of Luganda. However, for the local sphere Luganda was generally not considered important, despite the growing number of migrants coming from the central region.

#### *6.4.2. English in Gulu and Uganda*

In various parts of this study it was established that English was the second most important language after Acholi in Gulu. To deepen the understanding of people's perception of this language, the questionnaire included a set of questions specifically dedicated to this topic. The questions chosen for this were:

- “What kind of English do most people in Gulu speak?”
- “What kind of English do you think you speak yourself?”
- “Do you think people in Gulu speak a different English than foreigners (especially American English, British English or Canadian English)?”<sup>62</sup>
- “If the answer is yes, in what ways do they speak differently?”
- “Is it easier or more difficult for you to understand foreigners speaking English compared to people from Gulu?”
- “Which variety of English do you personally like the most?”<sup>63</sup>
- “Do you think the way British and Americans speak English is better than the way people in Gulu speak English?”
- “Do you think it would be an advantage for your professional life, if you spoke English more like a British or American?”

The first two questions in this segment were concerned with the perceived varieties of English that the respondents thought they themselves and the people in the community spoke. For both

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<sup>62</sup> Added here due to the considerable presence of Canadians in missionary and development work following the end of the insurgency.

<sup>63</sup> The questionnaire used the term “variety” as opposed to “variant” to improve the understandability for the respondents. Otherwise, the term variant is preferred to signify that the different versions of English or Acholi are understood as equal and not as one actual “standard” and several deviations.

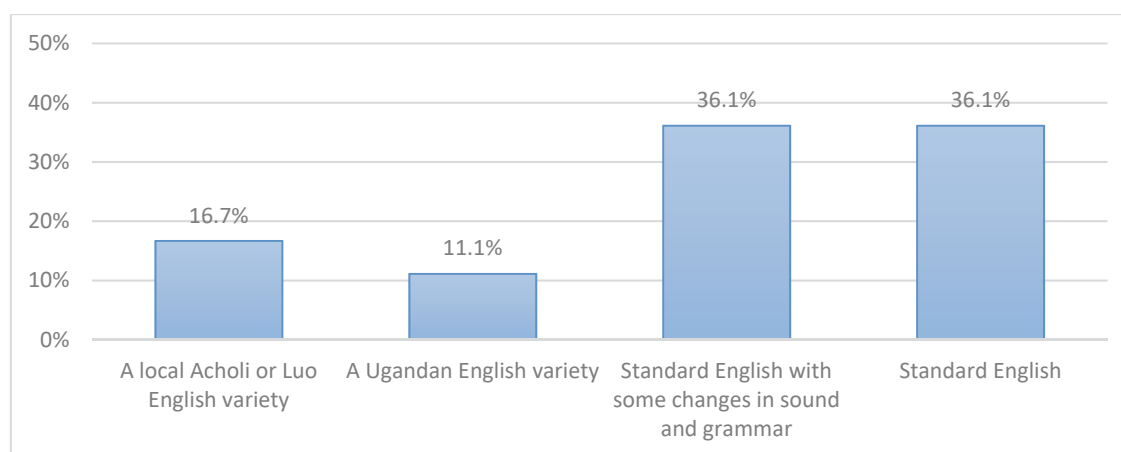


questions the respondents were given the options of:

- “Standard English”
- “Standard English with some changes in sound and grammar”
- “A Ugandan English variety”
- “A local Acholi or Luo English variety”

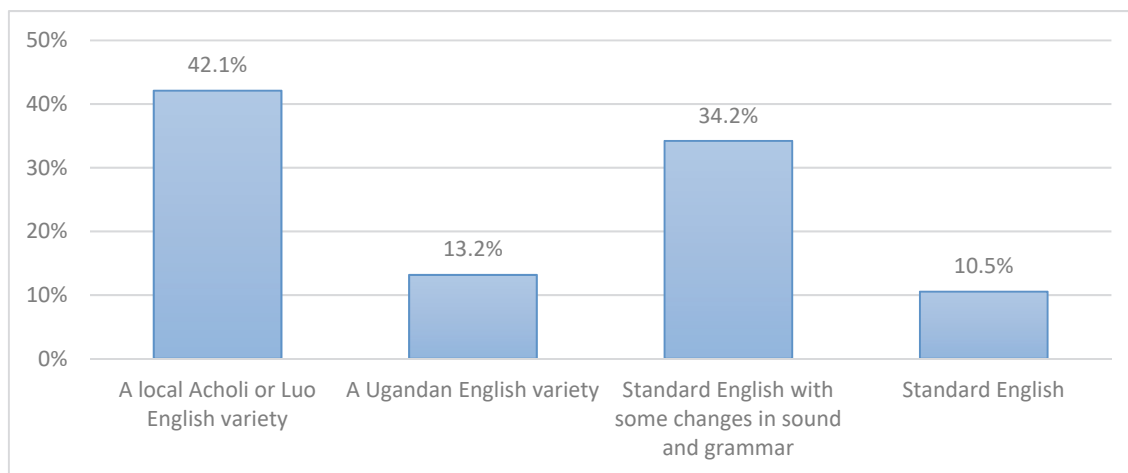
Both questions included the rather controversial term “standard”. What is considered as standard is highly culturally dependent and often different down to the individual level. Especially in an environment like Gulu where individual biographies were shown to be highly diverse and with people being exposed to various forms of English on a daily basis. Potential role models for a perceived standard can be found in families, in schools, amongst friends, in church, on the radio, on television and many other places. The questionnaire also didn’t use any further classification of ‘Standard English’, like British English or American English for this question, as the intend was not to gather information on the actual production of language, but to investigate potential differences in the perception of one’s own performance of English and the performance of others.

*Figure 57. Perceived English variant spoken by respondents themselves (n=39).*



Most of the respondents considered the variant of English they were using as either ‘Standard English’, or ‘Standard English with some changes in the sound and grammar’. Only four considered their variant of English as a Ugandan English, while slightly more, six, considered it to be a local Acholi or Luo variant. The respondents were then given the opportunity to qualify the variant of English they think most others in Gulu would speak.

Figure 58. Perceived English variant of others in Gulu (n=38).



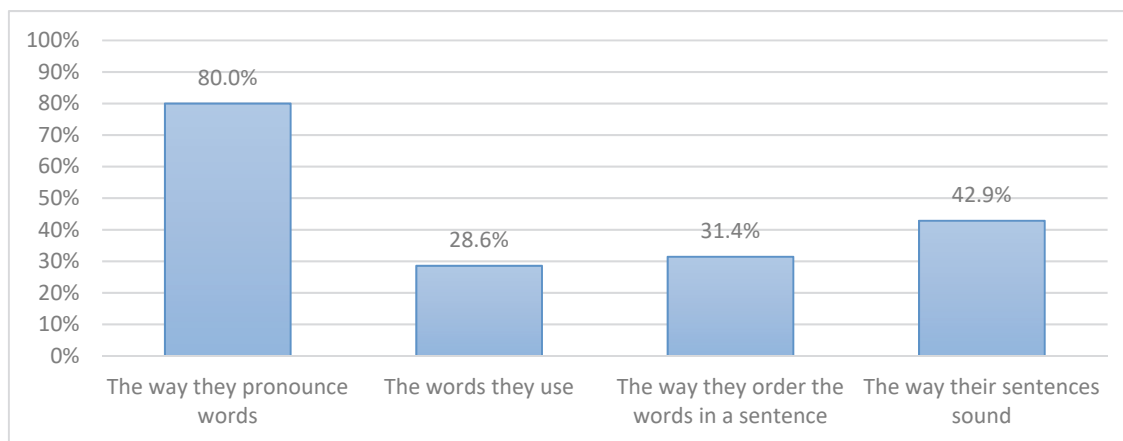
In contrast to the assessment of their own English variant, the most given answer here was that they spoke a local Acholi or Luo variant. While ‘Standard English’ was the joint most answer in this self-assessment, it was the least common answer regarding the perceived English variant of others. The respondents demonstrated largely different assessments regarding English language varieties for themselves, compared to others, given stronger emphasis on the local or Ugandan character of the spoken English for the people around them.

Following up on the perception of the spoken variant, the respondents were asked whether they thought that the English spoken in Gulu would be different than the one spoken by British or Americans. The respondents were given four options and had the opportunity to name a difference on their own. The options were:

- “The way they pronounce words”
- “The words they use”
- “The way they order words in a sentence”
- “The way their sentences sound”

These options were chosen to represent differences in phonology, syntax, lexicon and prosody and attempted to be phrased in a way that the respondents could understand. The respondents could name as many differences as they wanted to this question and were not restricted to only one.

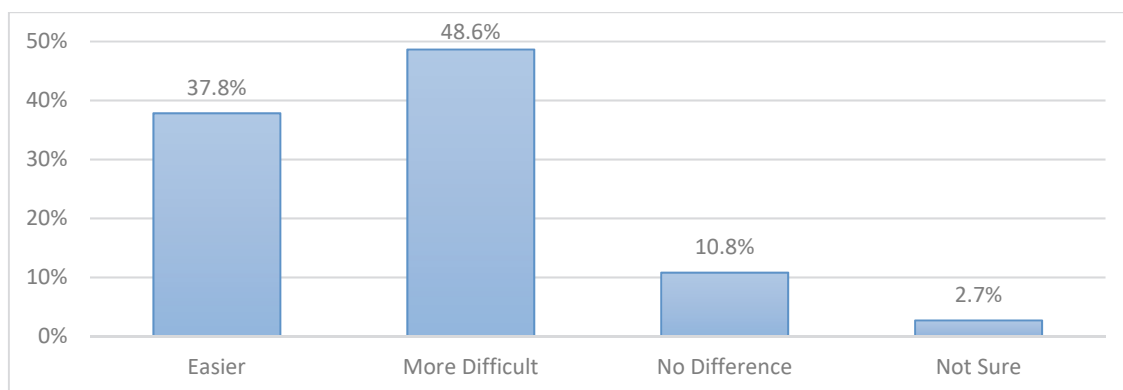
Figure 59. Perceived diff. of local English variants to Standard English (n=35).



The by far most mentioned difference concerned the pronunciation of words, followed by another audible characteristic, the sound of sentences. Differences in the vocabulary or word order were only noted by less than a third of the respondents to this question. The final question on the assessment of local English varieties dealt then with the perceived intelligibility of these variants and varieties, asking the respondents:

- “Is it easier or more difficult for you to understand foreigners speaking English compared to people from Gulu speaking English?”

Figure 60. Difficulty of understanding (n=37).



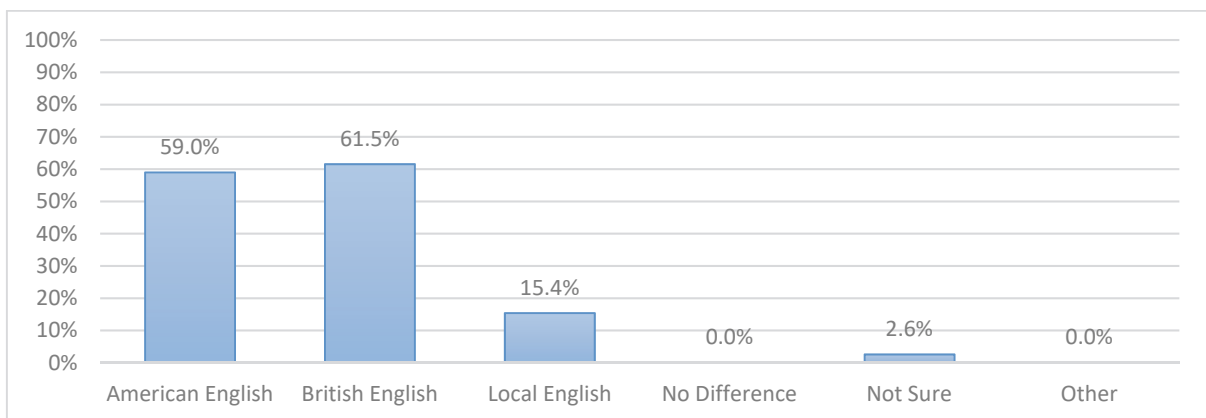
About half of the respondents found the English considered as British or American to be more difficult to understand than the local variant. However, almost the same number of people thought them to be easier or saw no difference between them, creating a rather split image on that issue.

After the questionnaire had asked the respondents about the variant of English people spoke in Gulu, it inquired about their attitudes towards different variants of English. For this, they were asked three questions:

- “Which variety of English do you personally like the most?”
- “Do you think the way British and Americans speak English is better than the way local people speak English?”
- “Do you think it would be an advantage for your professional life, if you spoke English more like a British or American?”

For the first of those three questions, the respondents were given a set of options to choose from as well as the opportunity to write in their preferred variant in case it was not part of the given options.

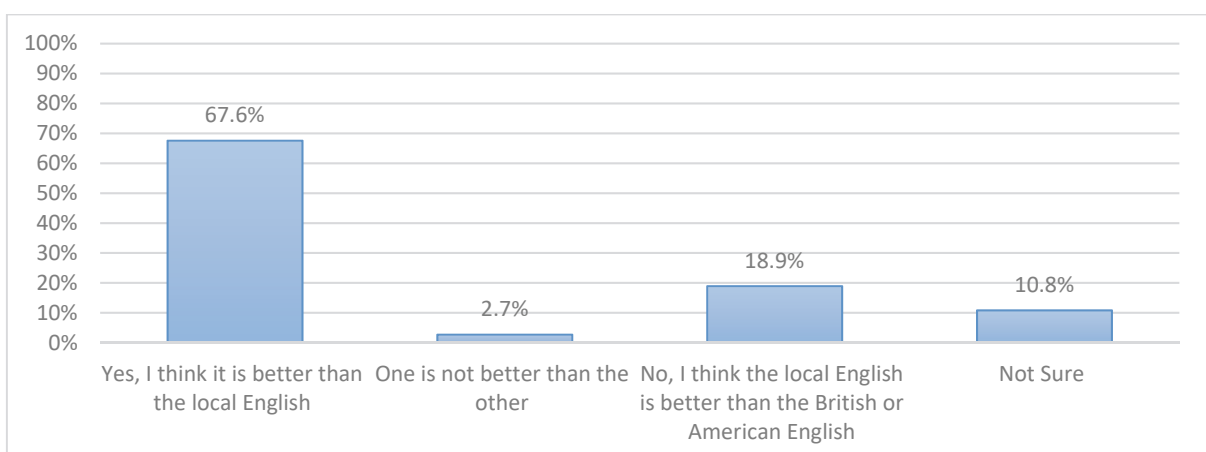
*Figure 61. Preferred varieties of English (n=39).*



The varieties of English that were the most popular among the respondents were clearly British and American English, with eight of the respondents naming both as their personal favourites. The local variant of English was only named by six of the respondents as one of their favourites, including the two that named all three varieties. Of the remaining four, three listed only the local variants as their favourite, while the fourth named it alongside British English.

Aiming in the same direction were the questions which asked the respondents, whether they would prefer the British or American English varieties over the local varieties of English.

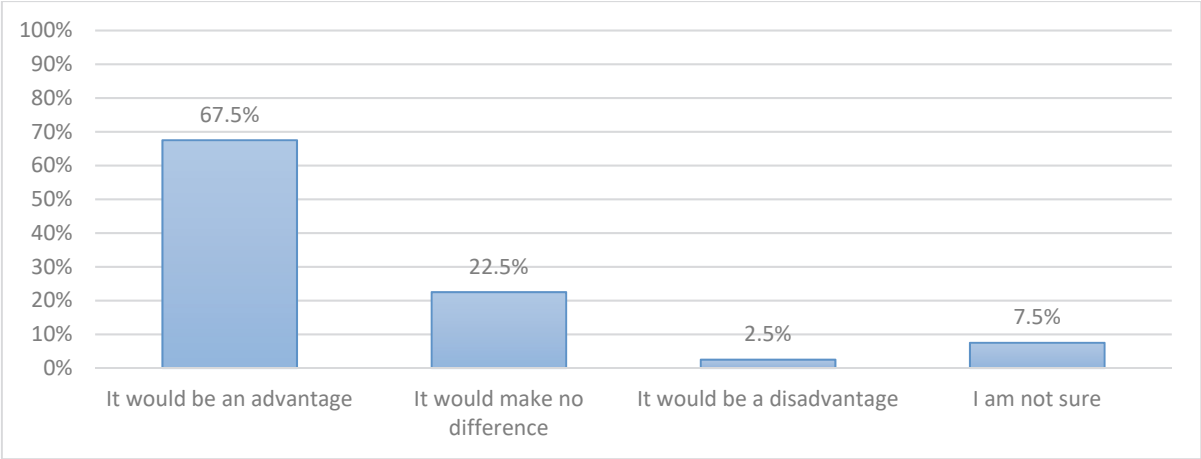
*Figure 62. Preference of British or American English over local varieties (n=37).*



About two thirds of the respondents that answered this question thought the American or British English varieties to be better than the local English varieties. Only seven thought the opposite and just one respondent did not consider one kind to be better than the other.

Finally, to cap of this segment on the assessment of English varieties, the respondents were asked whether they thought it would be advantageous to speak either the British or the American English variant in their professional life.

Figure 63. Benefit of speaking “British English” or “American English” (n=40).



Again, a sizable majority considered the British or American English varieties as advantageous compared to variants perceived as local. Only a quarter of the respondents thought the variant spoken would not make a difference or could even be perceived as an advantage.

The answers to the questions about the use and status of English in Gulu revealed several trends. **First**, the respondents considered the variants of English they spoke themselves to be closer to the perceived “standard” than the variants spoken by the people around them. Almost three quarters of the respondents said they spoke either “Standard English” or “Standard” with only few differences, but less than half expressed that view also for the others in Gulu. With the present sample being compiled largely of people with above average education compared to Gulu in general, their view can likely be resulting from this difference. However, what is perceived to be “Standard” is a different question, as none of the respondents would be considered “Standard British English” or “Standard American English” speakers from my personal experience. A first proper look into structural features and the sociolinguistics of Ugandan English has been compiled by Meierkord, Isingoma and Namyalo (2016), but with little reference to the specifics of the northern Ugandan variants.<sup>64</sup> **Secondly**, there was a distinction regarding the localisation of the spoken English variant. Most identified their local

<sup>64</sup> The also often quoted work by Schmied (2004; 2006) should be ignored here, as it never properly took Uganda into consideration and instead just grouped it together with the better studied Kenyan and Tanzanian varieties.

variant as typical of Luo or Acholi and not as “Ugandan English”. The idea of a “Standard English” represented in the respondents’ answers is also a local one. How this “local” variant of English was perceived can be seen in, **thirdly**, the differences the respondents identified between the English spoken in Gulu and British or American Englishes. These were predominantly of phonological or prosodic nature and less in morphology or lexicon, as the perceived deviations from the global standards or benchmarks only extended towards the way things sounded. That these differences are meaningful can be seen in the fact that, **fourth**, most respondents viewed the local English variants as easier to understand. This was in line with my own experience, as every time I came to Gulu I had to adapt my pronunciations and intonation to the local style. Otherwise, many had trouble understanding what I was saying; something equally experienced by people coming to Gulu for instance from the USA. However, one third of the respondents said they would understand foreigners better, especially among respondents who had a lot of contact with foreigners. Among them was also Mark, who had many friends within the local expatriate community. However, he on several occasions had issues understanding me or other foreigners, contradicting the statement he made in the survey. It is thus likely that his answer was connected to the **fifth** point, that the most liked varieties were British and American English, which were both more popular than the variants spoken by people locally. This preference was likely connected to several factors. As already mentioned, music from the US was highly popular with many of the younger people, and so were movies and television. British English was also very present due its role in the educational system of the former British colony, but also as the result of the popularity of Premier League football. Besides these cultural influences, the preference for these varieties were, **sixth**, also connected to the idea that speaking either of those varieties would constitute an advantage for their professional life. It was difficult to verify whether this claim was true or not, but it became obvious that these varieties were thought to be perceived more positively in a professional context. Among the respondents, British and American English were the high prestige varieties.

#### *6.4.3. Language in education*

The study of language attitudes in the field of education is likely one of the most notable areas of language attitude research in general. Studies on language attitudes, especially in multilingual settings often take place in educational institutions, be it in schools or institutions of higher education. Even though many studies expand their scope slightly beyond these institutions, for instance by including the attitudes of parents or other family members, the focus usually remains.

So far, this study has included the topic of language in education in the form of language policy and language planning, or as part of peoples' individual biographies. However, doing a study on language attitudes in Gulu without addressing attitudes towards language in education would have felt incomplete. For one, all participants had gone through the educational system themselves and were subject to the ideologies and practices of these institutions. Further, some of the respondents were still attending school or university. At the same time, educational institutions were not only part of peoples' biographies as places they spent significant time in during their childhood and youths, but also as places they kept being in contact with throughout all their lives. Some were connected to schools or university through their occupation; as teachers, technicians, custodians, cleaners or accountants. Their everyday linguistic practices were thus influenced by the practices within these institutions. Additionally, most respondents were, or will be connected to the educational system as parents, making the question what languages are used there a personal issue even after they had finished their own formal education. Beyond these direct forms of contact between respondents and educational institutions, they were also connected to them indirectly through shared spaces and spatial proximity. Gulu itself was full of all kinds of educational institutions ranging from nursery schools to universities. Beyond that, language in education and education in general was part of the public discourse and frequently discussed in private or public.

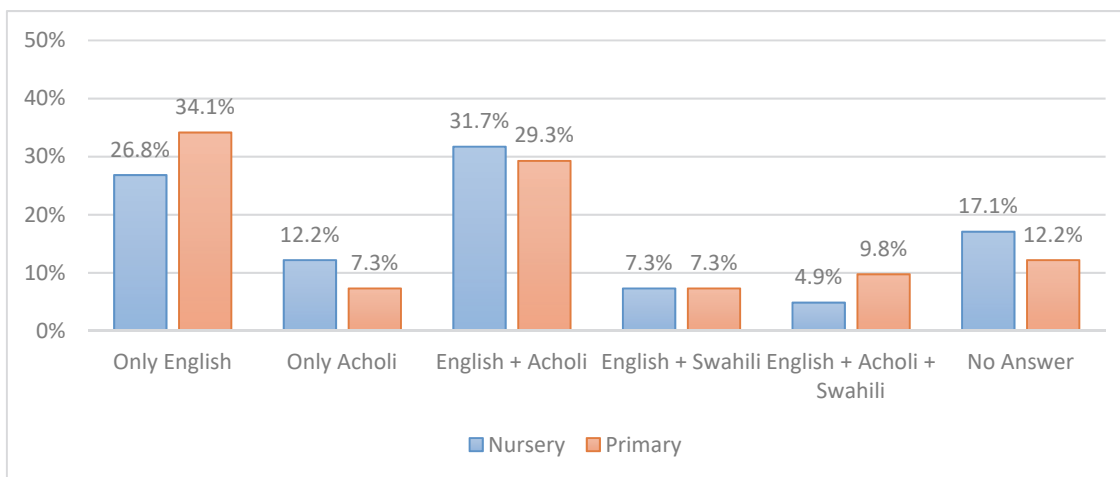
To address some of the issues surrounding language in education, the questionnaire asked the respondents how languages should be used in education in their own opinion. After an introduction, explaining the current LIEP in Uganda they were asked the following four questions:

- “What do you personally think should be the language of education in [school form]”
- “Do you think Acholi should be used longer in school than in the first 3 years?”
- “Is there another language you wish would be used in schools in Gulu? If yes, what language is that?”
- “In some primary schools and nursery schools, education is exclusively in English. Do you think this is a good thing?”

For the first question the participants were given the opportunity to choose between English, Acholi, Luganda and Kiswahili, as well as the ability to write in any other language they wished.



Figure 64. Language preference for nursery and primary school.

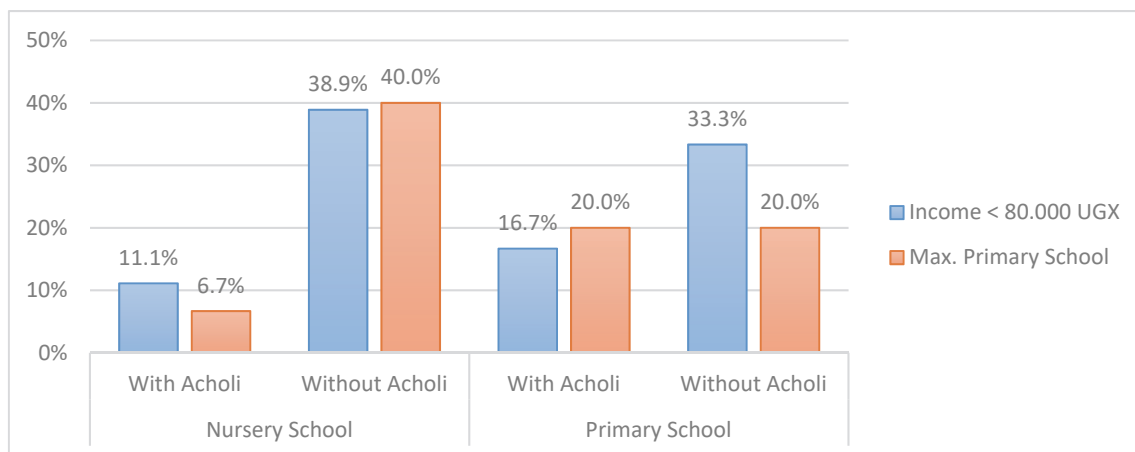


Regarding nursery and primary school, most participants vowed for the use of multiple languages in both school forms, with most of them choosing a combination of English and Acholi as the local language, in line with official LIEP of the district. Susan, one of the women from the women's circle mentioned earlier and a mother herself, was among those who wanted both languages to be used in nursery school, stating practical issues as her reasoning:

“There are some other things, that if explaining in English, a child will not be able to understand. And sometimes, there is need for demonstration in the local language for that person to understand.” (personal conversation, 03.04.2014)

However, there was also a considerable number of participants that did not want the local language to be used in education at all. Most respondents who did not want local languages used in early forms of education were female, with seven of the ten respondents saying so for nursery schools and six of the eight for primary schools. Harriet, who had favoured the use of Acholi together with English in nursery school, preferred English as the exclusive MoI in primary schools. This attitude echoed the observations made by Tembe and Norton (2011), who reported a push back against the use of local languages in education by many of the parents, fuelled by the fear of disadvantages for their children (Tembe & Norton, 2011, pp. 9-11). Among those not wanting the local language to be used in education we found many of the participants with the lowest levels of both education and income.

Figure 65. Acholi as MoI, (low income ( $n=18$ ) or little formal education ( $n=15$ )).



Maria was one these women with low income and little formal education that did not want Acholi to be used in formal education. At the time of our interview she was 52 years old and had four children, three daughters and one boy. Coming from a poor, rural background, the sole language spoken in her village home was Acholi. Since she had lived for some years with members of her family in Tanzania, she had also learned to speak Kiswahili. The only formal education she received was in primary level where she acquired just a basic level of competence in English. She nonetheless wanted to use English in the interview, despite the presence of a translator, as she took great pride in the competence she had and wanted to showcase it. However, her struggles with the language forced her to switch to Acholi several times. Her arguments for the preference of English in education included improving the capability to communicate to a greater range of people or gaining prestige within her own community. She further pointed out that she would try to speak English with her children despite her limitations:

“For me, I am speaking in English; and then they laugh. And then they start speaking English also. And then they say: Oh, my mother, you know English, but you sometime you speak [Ehhh] wrong English; and I also laugh then.” (personal conversation, 16.05.2015)

For her, the English language was a valuable resource that opened opportunities for her children and carried the hope for upward social mobility. She also emphasised the importance of writing in English, as that to her distinguished an educated person from an uneducated. Afterall, speaking English could also be learned outside of formal education. Additionally, she considered this an opportunity for herself to improve her own proficiency in the language, as she illustrated during the interview:

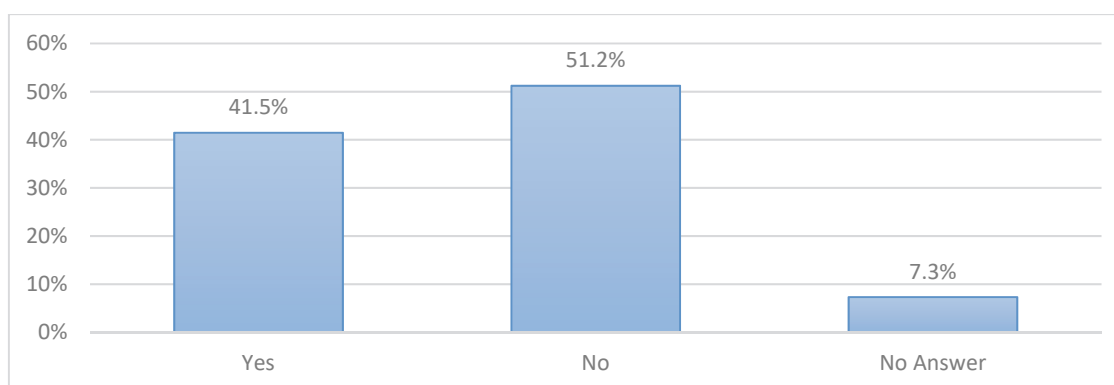
“And I am going to ask him, that, did I [Ehhh] speak a wrong English? [Ehhh] Sometime he correct me [Ehhh] give me correction.” (ibid.)

The education of her children was not only an opportunity for them, but also for herself, as she indirectly used their education to be educated through them. Her attitudes echoed the concerns from other women of this circle, who could not speak English and were consequentially not able to help their children by practising English at home. For parents from well-educated backgrounds this was less of an issue, as they could replace these learning opportunities from school themselves. It was also a common occurrence for parents regardless of their educational background to encourage their children to speak English in public, be it in church or on the market, as it was considered a key ability for their further education and future career opportunities. The attitudes towards language in education appeared to be guided by pragmatic thinking, while maintenance of culture and identity was a task of the family, outside of school. Issues like mobility, even to the level of mobility across national borders, took precedent over questions of identity or cultural maintenance. These attitudes closely mirrored the observations made by Tembe and Norton (2011) for the Banyole in the Butaleja district.

On the other hand, there were five respondents that did not want English to be used in nursery and primary schools. Among these five participants were three of the eight respondents with an income above 200,000 UGX per month (around 60 €), with two of them having estimated their income to be above 500,000 UGX per month (around 150 €). In combination with the previous observation, this could lead to the impression, that one needed to be able to afford putting maintenance of culture and identity first in education.

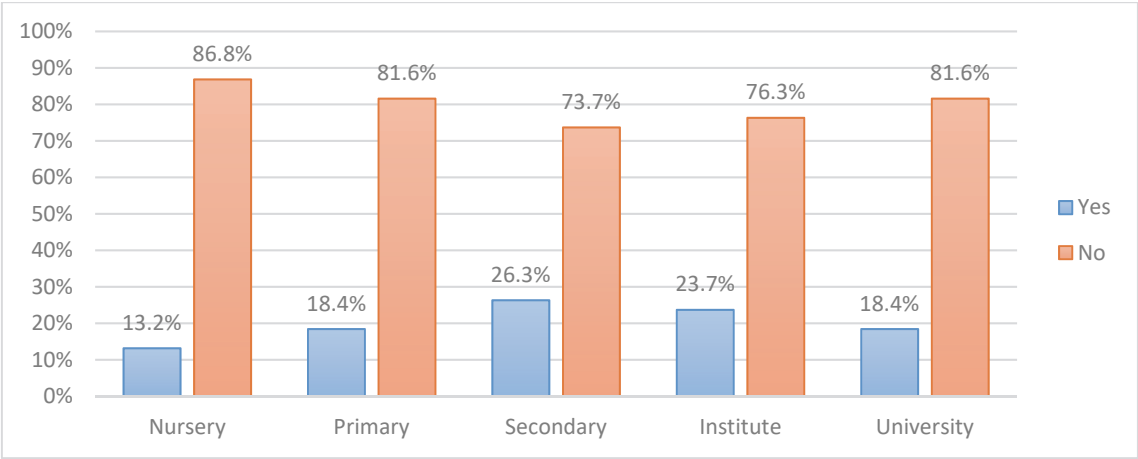
The ambivalence observed in the answers to the first set of questions could also be noted for the other questions. For instance, when the respondents were asked whether Acholi should be used as MoI in primary schools for more than the first three years, as indicated by the current LIEP, the opinions were highly split.

*Figure 66. Local language education for more than the first three years (n=41).*



The current LIEP also includes Kiswahili as a compulsory subject for students of all levels, writing another chapter in the eventful story of Kiswahili in Uganda. The idea behind this decision was to promote the process of Eastern African Integration and further establish the East African Community (EAC), which besides Uganda includes the countries Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and its newest member South Sudan. Because English, the official language of the EAC, is not well established in some member states like Burundi, whose official language is French, or parts of Rwanda and Tanzania, Kiswahili is now being pencilled in to fill the gaps of the current official language policy (East African Legislative Assembly, 2016). One part of this language policy is the widespread introduction of Kiswahili in education across all member states of the EAC.

Figure 67. Should Kiswahili be used as MoI? (n=38)



Compared to the overwhelming preference for using English in education, the inclusion of Kiswahili appeared less important to the participants, as only a small minority of them wanted it to be used in nursery or primary school. The numbers rose for secondary level education and institutes but were then back down for university. There was also no indication for differences in preferences regarding age, education, or income.

Besides stating their preference for Acholi, English or Kiswahili as languages in education the participants also had the opportunity to either vote for Luganda, the widest spread national lingua franca, or to write in any other language of their choosing. These options were however rarely used. Luganda was overall only named twice, once each for both secondary level education and institutes. The only other language that was added by a participant was French on one occasion.

#### *6.4.4. Identification and comfort*

The issue of identity is one of the most addressed topics in linguistic anthropology in general. The two concepts in focus of the second chapter, ideologies and attitudes are both intrinsically connected to the idea of people carrying an image of themselves and their position within their social and cultural environment. Throughout the study, identity has been a point of discussion regarding the linguistic choices that individuals made within their social networks or regarding their preferences in languages used in certain contexts. However, identity is not only something that influences our attitudes and choices, but also something that is a conscious part of our self-image. In that regard, the question arose, whether the respondents would have a conscious connection between their self-identification or self-image and a certain language in the form of a psychological object.

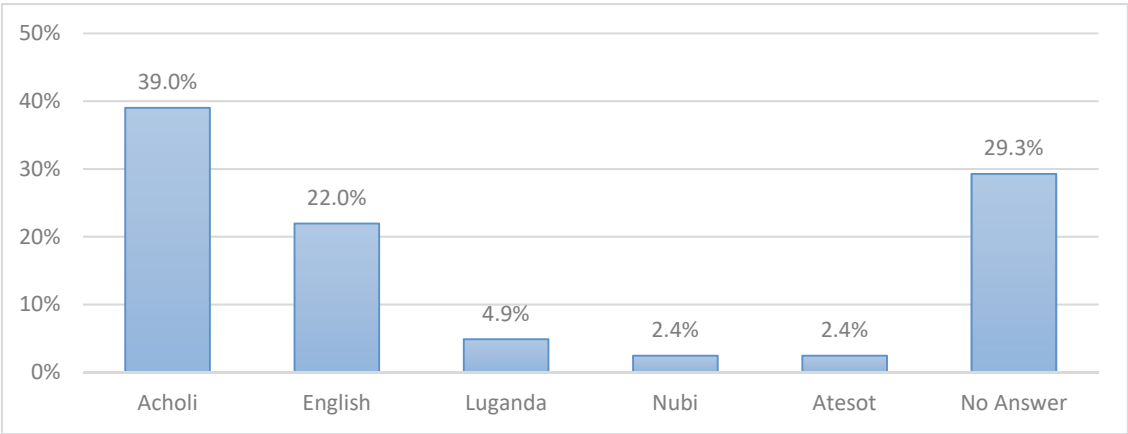
To address this question, the questionnaire asked the respondents at two different points about this connection. However, these two questions were not identical in their wording. While the first asked them directly whether they had a language they identified with, the second used a different phrasing and employed the term “comfort”, which is connected to the perceived capability of performing an identity. In the context of sexual and gender identification this connection has for instance been explored regarding the choice of clothing (Holliday, 1999), based on the ideas of self-care by Foucault (1986). Using this concept of comfort in speaking a language in combination with the rather direct question of identifying with a language should provide a more nuanced image of the way that language contributes to, or is an expression of, the self-image of the participants in this study.

These two questions were positioned apart from each other intentionally, to reduce the possibility of the answer to the first question informing the answer to the second question. The exact wordings of these two questions was:

- “Is there a language that you identify yourself with? If yes, what language is that?”
- “In which language do you feel the most comfortable speaking?”

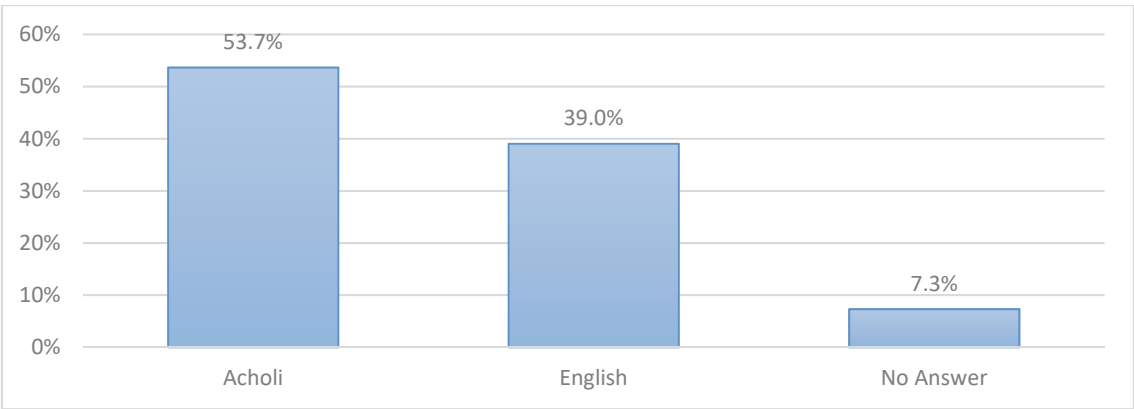
For both questions the respondents were asked to fill in the language that they felt applied for them. While the question about the language one is most comfortable in was answered by almost all the respondents, only about seventy percent also listed a language they identified with.

Figure 68. Language one identifies with (n=41).



The first question saw most respondents naming Acholi as the language they identified with, followed by the respondents that did not name a language to this question. The language that was named the second most frequently here was English, as nine of the respondents listed it as the one, they identified with. The other languages named here were Luganda twice, and once respectively Atesot and Nubi. One of the two respondents that listed Luganda as their choice was ethnic Acholi, but born and raised in central Uganda, whereas one of the two Muganda participants listed English as the language he identified with. On the other hand, one of the Karamojong respondents listed Acholi to this question, despite having been born and grown up in Kotido in Karamoja. Apart from those two examples, the respondents that listed a language here that was not English, named the language connected to their given ethnic affiliation. On average, the respondents that named English were 23.7 years old compared to an average age 27.9 years for all others. Four of those nine naming English had attended University compared to seven of the twenty who did otherwise, showing a higher preference for this language among respondents with higher levels of formal education.

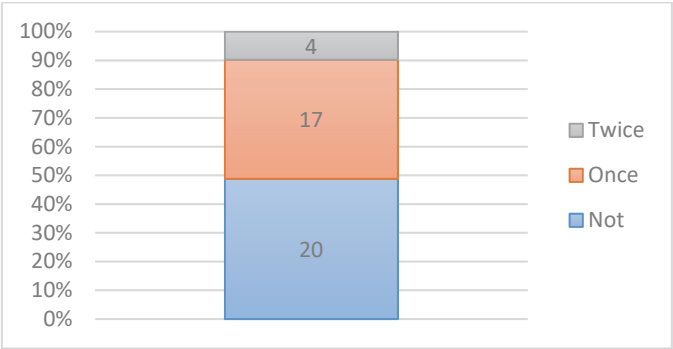
Figure 69. Language one feels most comfortable speaking in (n=41).



To this question, only two different answers were given. Acholi was listed by more than half of the respondents and about forty percent named English as the language they felt most comfortable in. Of the nine respondents that were not ethnic Acholi, five listed English. With about 22.9 years, the average age of respondents that listed English was considerably lower compared to 28.4 years for the respondents that listed Acholi. In this case, nine of the respondents that had attended university named English, compared to seven of the twenty respondents that named Acholi, showing a similar pattern to the previous question.

Noteworthy about the answers to these two questions was that almost half of the respondents chose to give two different answers to these two questions. Only four of the respondents named English to both questions, whereas twenty respondents listed their respective first language to both.

Figure 70. English named as language of identity or comfort (n=41).



The rather frequent appearance of English in the answers to either question should not come as a surprise. Instead, they are a continuation of observations made throughout the study, in which the English language was in certain domains and within discourses that concerned the topics or conceptualisations of modernity, urbanity, education or national unity, considered a key component to the construction of peoples’ identities.

Further, these answers showed that especially among the younger respondents, the language had become relevant beyond official contexts or professional settings. Accordingly, the group of participants who had listed English for either or both questions included several of those individuals that had been discussed earlier and had been used to illustrate the role of English in contexts like businesses, the church or in education.

On the other side, among those listing their first language twice, we found for instance the respondents from the women’s circle. However, this group also included Nick, whose personal network was discussed in chapter 5. Even though his network was linguistically rather diverse and his educational and occupational status indicated a construction of identity that would include English, he listed Acholi as the language he both identified with and felt most



comfortable in. This underlines how difficult it is to approach the issue of identity from a strictly quantitative position. In his case, his personal connection to his first language was stronger despite him being born and having grown up outside the Acholi region, speaking English and Luganda more frequently during that time and therefore even struggling with the tonal elements of the Acholi language. The very complex relationship between language and identity was also underlined by the high number of respondents giving differing answers to the questions on this issue, further demonstrating that for many of them, more than one language was a part of their individual self-image or identity.



## **Part IV. Summary and Conclusion**

## 7. *Language in the social fabric*

This thesis discussed and analysed a series of spaces, linguistic practices, social networks, individual biographies and positions towards language in various domains and topics. All these allocations, preferences, differences and layers presented in this study demonstrated how complex the relationship between language and society in this context were and how elemental their consideration to any understanding of language use is. The environment in which these dynamics and social interactions took place and from which attitudes towards language or perceived linguistic practices arose was also shown to be comprised of a series of factors on macro and micro levels alike. These included historical, social and political factors, the various language ideologies inscribed in the discourses of the corresponding social groups or groupings, but also the social positions and biographies of individuals.

Even though the focus of the empirical analysis in this study rested on the perspectives of the individuals represented in the sample, they nonetheless opened a window into the perception and positioning of languages within the collective social norms of interactions and the power relations arising from diverging capabilities and preferences within these normative frames. As mentioned in the quote by Lefebvre (1991) at the beginning of chapter 4, the social space as a construct is built upon the many products of social structure and interaction. It entails the various ideologies and discourses, the statements and performances these are based on and they at the same time produce, as well as their various material representations. As such, social life is social structure and human practice at the same time. Communicative practices function as the connective tissue that keeps all these parts of social space together while at the same time being a highly valued commodity (Williams, 1983).

Due to this quality of language and linguistic practice as something that is not only critical to the understanding of social structure and social relations but also an artefact of social practice that is produced and appropriated, it seems obvious that it cannot be understood by only using discourse analysis, the examination of linguistic practices through observation or conversation analysis or with only using questionnaires or quantitative approaches, as they by themselves often struggle to capture the positions held by individuals in relation to their larger social environment. Without knowing the personal backgrounds of people, the history of individuals, their attitudes and intentions we are incapable of understanding their practices, their behaviours, social norms and discourses, or the social groups and societies they form, the created images remain insufficient. It is imperative to realise that discourse does not jump up from the ground or materialises out of thin air and that social groups are not cohesive units but rather particles

that assert forces of attraction and repulsion and can be part of multiple units at the same time, each asserting similar forces. However, it is also imperative to understand that attitudes are highly ideological and dependent on social relationships and conditions.

As outlined in the beginning of chapter 2., this study approached this issue by moving from the outside in. It started out with locating the space in focus of the study within its historical, geographical and socio-economic frame with a special focus on the role of language in these areas and ended with the biographies and attitudes of individual members of these communities. In retrospect it could be argued that an approach moving in the opposite direction, which constructs larger groups and their dynamics out of individual perspectives and viewpoints before finally making an argument about relevant discourses and socio-economic factors would have been more appropriate. However, using such an approach would have carried the danger of creating an oversimplified image of cohesiveness and homogeneity by overemphasising individual viewpoints and observing and analysing the social and spatial environment through their eyes. The reality is, human behaviour, interaction and collaboration is messy and murky, and this quality remained visible throughout the data and its analysis. It was nonetheless the intention of this study that a reading of the presented information enables the creation of some form of overview that identifies larger general trends which in turn can be subjected to further interpretation and abstraction.

At various points the study made use of the term *language ecology* to describe the role of languages in specific spaces and social groups. So far without exploring the term and its use here. In the attempt to improve the conceptualisation and analysis of the relationship between language, individuals and society it appeared promising to base it on this already used term. Haugen (1972), who was one of father figures of this concept understood the exploration of language ecologies as the “(...) study of interactions between any given language and its environment.” (p. 57). He further understood them as following five main principles (after Eliasson 2015, 79):

- The true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes.
- Language exists only in the minds of its users, and it only functions in relating these users to one another and to nature, i.e. their social and natural environment.
- Part of its ecology is therefore psychological: its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers.
- Another part of its ecology is sociological: its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication.

- The ecology of a language is determined primarily by the people who learn it, use it, and transmit it to others.

This study largely followed similar principles in its approach, yet there were some differences between the understanding of language ecologies formulated by Haugen (1972) and the one pursued here. One key difference was predicated on the use of the term *society*. This study located language ecologies within specific distinct and definable social groups and not within the larger and rather abstract concept of *society*, leading to a stronger focus on the micro level. Consequently, this study identified a multitude of different language ecologies located in a space that otherwise would likely be portrayed as a singular unit. However, that does not mean that the social construct *society* is not important, as it is part of the indexical field of linguistic practices (Silverstein, 2003; Eckert, 2008).

Apart from the term *society*, an interpretation of language ecologies in the sense of this study disagrees with the general message of the first statement. The claim that the “true” environment of a language is only there where it is spoken misses the role that language has as a part of discourse. A language can also be part of the language ecology of a social group that does not use it as one of its codes, but as a part of discourse or in the form of a psychological object that the members of that social group are aware of. Similar critique can also be directed towards the last statement, which claims that the ecology of a language is primarily determined by the people who in some way make use of it. The ecology of a language is not only determined by its speakers or users, but also by those who, possibly consciously, decide to not learn, speak or teach it. Language management as a key element of a language ecology is not simply predicated on the use of a language, but also entails the conceptualisation and positioning of linguistic practices within social, economic or political discourses, including metalinguistic knowledge of what constitutes a “language” or not.

These differences seem partially related to the different focal points of the concept by Haugen (1972) and the one presented here, as is already indicated in their different wording. Unlike this study, which used the term “language ecology”, Haugen (1972) called this concept the “ecology of language”, viewing the language as the main object of investigation. This focus appears to be a consequence of him finding inspiration in biology, as he, despite recognising that biological concepts can only be applied metaphorically in linguistics, understood the analysis of ecologies as the study of “(...) the life of language” (Haugen, 1972, p. 58). However, the nature of language as social constructs induces that languages cannot be understood as independent objects but only through the lenses of social organisation and social practice. Thus, it is not languages that have an ecology, but social organisations that have an ecology regarding the role

of languages. Even though this study had explored language also in the form of (psychological) objects, it was only possible to investigate the meaning of these perspectives through the context of their applications or positions in discourses.

Other differences were less located within the definition of language ecologies but rather in the focus on quantitative approaches to their analysis that many studies have taken. Quantitative approaches, for instance on language attitudes, can only serve as a tool to overcome some of the difficulties of investigating personal beliefs but are limited in their ability to create an analysis on their own. In this study this became visible in the cases where quantitative results did not fully align with information and data produced in other parts of the study. Further, quantitative information must be viewed in relation to certain indexicalities that require additional data and analysis. Almost ironical in this is that even though language attitudes are investigated with individuals through interviews or questionnaires, their analysis often proceeds to erase their individuality and instead portrays them as part of an anonymous mass. This is less a critique on Haugen (1972), who himself recognised that the ecology is both psychological and social, but rather a critique of the methods at times applied to their exploration.

In this regard, the understanding of language ecologies located within specific social groups and only understandable through the lenses of these social groups and the individuals in them has a big impact on how to approach this topic and what knowledge these approaches produce. Due to the focus shifted towards individuals and social organisation it becomes important to understand the nature of these social organisations and how individuals are related to and positioned within them. The question whether a language ecology is located within a community of practice or a different form of social organisation is for instance relevant to understanding the relationship between individuals within these groups and to people outside of them, and thus for the identification of the meaning of linguistic practices. The study of linguistic practices is further important for understanding language in general, as they are the product of these ecologies and can convey their relation to relevant ideologies and social identities. With many studies of language ecologies and language attitudes also aspiring to address issues of socio-political relevance, the analysis of linguistic practices in combination with an investigation on the forms of social organisation and the produced meanings become even more important, as issues of power and agency can only truly be understood by analysing the impact of socio-economic and political developments through meso- and micro-level perspectives.

Such a critique of disciplines focusing on the study of attitudes is not new though, as it matches the critique by Danziger (1993) on the “naïve empiricism” of quantitative psychological research that often requires the creation of artificial research situations and claim an “underlying



dimensions or ‘variable’.” (Danziger, 1993, p. 39) that allows for generalisations. On the other side, these cognitive approaches remain relevant as even attitudes that are not easily observed in social practices influence future behaviour and decision-making. At the same time, the results of quantitative approaches are themselves also invaluable sources of context that is key to explorations of meaning. Especially in cases where meanings of higher indexical orders are the subject of analysis and theories on socio-economic dynamics with a supposed universal impact are the focal point, research requires the consideration of all these different perspectives. That includes questions of language change, for instance in urban African environments, where truly holistic approaches are necessary to sufficiently understand the relevant processes. In their more recent discussion, Lüpke and Storch (2013) further underlined the importance of capturing this multifaceted nature of language ecologies that critically includes a mentalist perspective to this topic:

“(…), learners do not “acquire” a language, but a complex language ecology, consisting of repertoires and registers and the knowledge of when and with whom to use them. These repertoires may span several “named languages”, or be situated within one recognized code; they may cover a large number of domains, or may have very specialized uses, and this knowledge is part of the speakers’ competence.” (Lüpke and Storch 2013, 308)

### *7.1. Constructing language ecologies*

Following this rather lengthy critique on the more conventional approaches to language ecologies that follow the understanding outlined by Haugen (1972) and having the approach and the underlying principles of this study in mind, we can draft a concept of language ecologies that better suits its understanding by using the data and results presented above. Such a definition or conceptualisation should follow a set of principles:

#### *Language ecologies exist in various forms of social organisation*

Throughout the study it became obvious that there are a series of factors that influence behavioural preferences of people and thereby their linguistic performance. One factor that the study demonstrated to be of instrumental importance was that of social networks or social groups. Depending on the respective social groups, individuals demonstrated different preferences and considered different ideologies as inductive of attitudes influencing their communicative behaviour.

This included social formations like the cell group of the Watoto community. They shared a form of common identity regarding their religious denomination, met regularly for discussions and prayers and had built relationships with each other, sometimes even in the form of romantic relationships. They further shared the goal of strengthening their religious community and tried to help each other in their personal and professional lives. In the terms of SNT they formed a very dense network, to the point they could be declared a community of practice in its narrow sense. This form of social organisation was combined with shared linguistic practices and shared ideas regarding the role and use of language within their community and in society in general. There were also social groups with rather different characteristics that gave rise to a specific language ecology. For instance, the vendors of the Cereleno market. Even though they shared a common space that many of them inhabited on a daily basis and some also shared information, had built relationships with each other and had in some aspects a communal approach to the market place, they formed a rather loose or less dense network. Relationships didn't exist across the whole market but often rather within certain areas of the market space or based on factors unrelated to the market, like family-relations or friendships and acquaintanceship formed in other contexts. This space and the group inhabiting it nonetheless had formed a common understanding regarding the roles and use of language. This was largely based on the multi-ethnic and multilingual realities of the people working and the interactions taking place here. Instead of being governed by global ideas of language as a tool to create national unity or to connect to people from around the world, language was mainly either a tool for conducting business or sharing information. This sense of being pragmatic about language use and less governed by ideology or identity constructions extended to the use of language among the vendors, where the market place even became a place for language education. This language ecology did not arise from taking on a national or global perspective, but resulted from the conditions of the locality and the social formations and interactions it inhabited.

The study also indicated that language ecologies could be attributed to social networks that are not bound to specific spaces or social practices as demonstrated in chapter 5. Here we saw Mark as part of several networks with different rules and expectations on the use of language and different requirements regarding language repertoires. One of his networks of friends included several members of the expatriate community in Gulu and others who were connected to it through interpersonal relationships. Despite the rather heterogeneous character of this network based on their ethnic backgrounds, levels of education, social-economic status and positions, religious or political beliefs, they shared certain linguistic practices and ideas about language when interacting with each other, creating a language ecology specific to this group.

On a more macro-level, the questionnaire showed that common ideas about the use of languages in specific contexts or attitudes towards the position of languages in education and politics existed across its rather diverse sample. Highly positive attitudes towards English were a general occurrence, just like the preference for using ones first language in family related contexts or the support of Kiswahili as an official language of Uganda. Other trends visible on this larger scale included individual multilingualism or the reflection of historical events in the attitudes towards languages like Nubi or Runyankore, showing that macro-scale social formations like societies also carry a form of language ecology.

### *Language ecologies are attitudinal*

Within the complex system or “configuration” of language ecologies (Lüpke and Storch 2013, 310), attitudes take on a central position, as attitudes towards languages and their application determine the acceptance of the system and influence the shape of the system itself. The importance of this connection became for instance evident in peoples attitudes towards using local languages in education. Despite the LIEP demanding the use of local languages, in this case Acholi, in the first years of primary level, the attitudes towards this policy were rather negative as many of the participants preferred having English as the only language used in this context. This preference became even stronger in the attitudes towards language in nursery schools. Since Gulu offered many potential nursery and primary schools to parents, they could make a conscious decision of where to send their children. Especially since all nursery schools and many of the primary schools were also private, meaning the parents had to pay the school extra. Since the study showed that many people preferred English as the only language used at these school levels, it can be assumed that these parents are more likely to send their children to a nursery or primary school that complied with their preference. They thereby help upholding a system of language use in education that stands against the official policy of the state. The position of the individual can here not be underestimated, as the individual and its agency are essential to understanding any question of social structure or social practice (cf. Giddens 1979). On the other side, attitudes are also the product of language ecologies as people engage in linguistic practices and discussions that constitute the discursive aspects of language ecologies. An individual that participates in certain linguistic practices is more likely to hold positive attitudes towards the representation of that linguistic practice in the form of a psychological object. This was visible for instance in people holding more positive attitudes towards languages they themselves were capable of speaking, be it their first languages or any other.

The connection of attitudes towards a certain language or linguistic practice is not only related to people's current linguistic practices but also their past experiences and practices. This became visible among the participants who had moved to Kampala or other places in central or eastern Uganda and had returned to Gulu with different language skills and perceptions about the languages they had learned there. That seemed especially true for speakers of Luganda, as their prior experiences appeared to have informed their current attitudes as well as their everyday practices. The personal history of these individuals had shaped their linguistic capabilities, attitudes and linguistic practices, as they applied their repertoires in interactions and contributed to local language discourses based on their own experience and attitudes.

However, it must be noted that this study was not always capable of demonstrating the depth of these factors. Many times, these biographical influences on repertoires and attitudes remained hidden and inaccessible to the methods applied here, as they could also encompass linguistic practices and features that are not part of the conscious linguistic knowledge. Blommaert & Backus (2011) address this issue when they describe the use of language in the different stages we go through as we progress in our lives:

“Discursive and sociocultural features would typically be temporary and dynamic, in the sense that their language pattern closely follows the biography of the person. When someone is six years old, s/he speaks as a six-year-old. At the age of twelve the age bound aspects of this pragmatic complex of speech practices has disappeared and been replaced by another complex; likewise at the age of eighteen, thirteen and sixty: with each stage of life we learn the modes of communication of that stage of life., and we lose part of the modes characterising other stages; in some cases features will actually have to be unlearned. At the age of forty we cannot speak as a teenager anymore. We can speak like a teenager, i.e. imitate the speech forms we observe in teenagers (or remember from our own teenage years); but we cannot speak as a teenager, deploying the full range of communication resources that define people as teenagers. At the same age, we cannot speak yet as a very old person – learning these resources happens later in life. We can speak as middle-aged person and the resources we deploy identify us as such.” (Blommaert & Backus, 2011, p. 9)

It is notoriously difficult to address such phenomena without making them a main focal point of exploration. An example of such possibly subconscious biographical factors are the play languages explored in chapter four, where it can be hypothesised that the common occurrence

of creative linguistic practices favoured the development of similar linguistic practices within the urban context of Gulu or the ongoing process of language change involving the introduction of English loan words into the local Acholi variant.

It further appeared that creative linguistic practices like the mentioned language games were familiar practices to many within the local community and were part of many peoples' language repertoires at some point in time, be it in their village, in schools or elsewhere. However, these types of linguistic practices are often only transitory, as they are tied to a specific age group or space and quickly forgotten or moved out of awareness once this time has passed or their speakers no longer interact within these contexts. Like dialectal varieties they were not listed as part of a language repertoire, irrespective of the ability to perform them. They must nonetheless be assumed to inform the linguistic practices and attitudes of their former speakers.

#### *Language ecologies are bound to their environment*

Language ecologies, as they were understood and discussed here, are not only tied to the social organisations they belong to, or the individuals that perform and shape them, but are also intrinsically connected to the environment they exist in. The socio-economic reality and the historical context they arise from is constitutive to their shape. They determine the languages that are part of the linguistic repertoires of this ecology, as well as which people belong to the social groups in question and the attitudes that they hold which determine the roles the various entries to the repertoires have. In this study, the history of Gulu was obviously relevant in understanding the background of the local conditions and the languages found here. That includes the history of the Acholi settlement and the development of the Acholi language, the colonial history that critically shaped the role of English, the decades following the independence which highly influenced the role of Kiswahili, as well as many other historical events that shaped the region and people. The study showed that especially the events of the insurgence deeply shaped the language ecologies that were found here. Not only was the experience of displacement almost universal for the people from this region, it was also the reason that Gulu as a bigger urban community existed in the first place.

The socio-economic conditions that resulted from the historic developments had tremendous impact on the development and maintenance of language ecologies and the rise of new ones. This impact was strongly felt within the Nubi community which for a long time had maintained their linguistic practices and the language ecology of their ethno-religious group. However, the social reality of their community that resulted from the historic developments meant that the

underlying conditions of their language ecologies had changed and the position of the Nubi language was considered in danger. Urban centres and the modern dynamics of urbanisation are generally thought to be big factors in scenarios of language endangerment, as migrants to urban areas would drop their rural, ethnic languages in favour of urban registers or other languages of higher prestige (Lüpke and Storch 2013, 302). In this case, it was the integration of the Nubi community into the Ugandan education system, the increase in interethnic marriages and general changes in the organisation of the community that were considered major drivers of this trend. However, urban communities at the same time create space for linguistic diversity and the rise of new linguistic registers, styles and even mechanisms for the preservation of minority languages (Blench, 2007, p. 152). In this case, the possibilities of an urban infrastructure and the increased access to education opened the door for possible language maintenance programs that could ensure the survival of the Nubi language.

Other factors that have shaped the environment of language ecologies include for instance the effects of economic globalisation, advances and spread of technology, the construction of new infrastructure or political decisions made at the various levels of political power. The globalisation of media, especially through television and the internet also proved to be major factors in shaping the language ecology in Gulu, as they made the presence and consumption of information and entertainment in multiple languages a normal part of the local practices. Part of these environments are also the linguistic landscapes and soundscapes, as visible and audible representation of the historical, social, economic, political and cultural conditions. These two elements also show that those conditions are not only of importance to the language ecologies as visible or audible representations, but also as discursive objects.

#### *Language ecologies are discursive and ideological*

History, as the term already tells us, not only encompasses events in the past that shaped the present but also the “stories” of these events. These retellings then become part of peoples consciousness as statements in discourses. The historical reconstruction of the Acholi during the colonial period by Vincent (2012) gave an impressive example of history functioning as a discursive statement that not only listed events but also included judgements about the presence of Arab traders on one side and of Samuel Baker or the Catholic Church on the other. It can be assumed, that the generally positive attitudes towards English were also connected to the remembrance of Samuel Baker’s Fort Patiko and the British ending the Arab slave trade just

north of Gulu that was kept alive in schools and through cultural events.<sup>65</sup> On the other hand, attitudes towards the Nubi community and language were negatively influenced by retellings of history.

Even though the Nubi community did not have a strong presence in public, little economic and political power and their numbers in Gulu were so small that personal experience with Nubi was rather unusual and unlikely, the attitudes held towards their language were highly negative. Here it were the stories about the Nubi cooperating with the Idi Amin regime and participating in the killings of Acholi in the 1970s that were passed on through the generations and thus remained in the consciousness of many. It can also be imagined that these negative attitudes towards the Nubi and their language was a contributing factor in the ongoing process of language shift in their community.

Other discursive elements that shaped the language ecologies in Gulu include concepts of “urbanity” or “modernity” which heavily influenced the variants of Acholi and English spoken in Gulu or the ideas of an eastern African community that contributed to the positive attitudes towards Kiswahili despite being of little importance in people’s linguistic practices. On the other side, language ecologies also contribute to discourse by shaping linguistic practices and the creation of statements on language in discourse (cf. Silverstein 2003, 194)

Another example for this discursive character was found with the Watoto church. This community not only shared certain principles regarding the languages they would use amongst each other, but also an idea of what languages signify on a larger level. They had agreed on English as the linguistic carrier of their common identity and used it in almost all church-related activities to underline their self-image of being a multi-ethnic but monolingual community. This image was connected to their ideas of education and work, but also to their ideas regarding family, as marriages between members of different ethnic origin were encouraged. This focus on being multi-, or rather supra-ethnic was also central to their social practices. The administration of the local branch had a strict language policy of only allowing English to be spoken in their offices, the sermons and prayers were exclusively in English, and so where the cell meetings. They understood this practice as transformative not only for themselves, but for the country. Through the promotion of English, a sense of national unity was supposed to come into existence that also connected Ugandan communities to other parts of the world. Within this language ecology, the idea of English as a *global language* (see Crystal, 1997 or Mair, 2003) was fully embraced and it left little to no space for Acholi, Luganda, Kiswahili or any other language that was considered significant to other language ecologies within the area.

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<sup>65</sup> One of the largest secondary schools in Gulu carries the name of Sir Samuel Baker.



Expressions of this discursive character were present in all aspects addressed throughout the study. That included negotiations of linguistic norms that highlighted ongoing processes of language change, as variants, be they dialectal or stylistic, were constantly discussed publicly and privately. What was considered “proper” or “improper” Acholi, which variants of English are beneficial, or whether it is proper to mix languages. Issues like these were not just academic topics but had a permanent presence in the conceptualisations and realisations of linguistic practices throughout all social groups and with all individuals.

### *Language ecologies are interrelated and constantly evolving*

Finally, the language ecologies that exist on various levels of social organisation are connected to each other and by that influence their shape and the attitudes held towards them. Their connection can for one be discursive, as their relationship is indexical. The adoption of Leb pa Bwulu by a larger part of the young members of the urban community for instance was possibly connected to the presence of Luganda and Luyaye in national discourses, leading to an expansion of its potential applications to an antithesis to a perceived language ecology on a national level, just as the supposed urban variant of Acholi included a reference to perceived rural variants of Acholi. On the other hand, they are also connected through the members of the respective social groups. As people can be members of various social groups with different language ecologies, and their behaviour and attitudes are influenced by their prior experiences and the skills they acquired, every time they contribute to the discourse of a language ecology, these prior experiences made in other social groups impact the statements they make and the behaviours they produce. Due to these dynamics and the various influencing factors, language ecologies are not static entities but in a constant state of evolution. Even though the thesis did not explicitly include an exploration of social groups or networks over time, changes were nonetheless visible and implicitly present. That includes for instance the creation of a Sunday mass in Kiswahili due to the presence of people from the DR Congo or changes in the LIEP leading to new application of languages in schools. Since language ecologies are attitudinal, biographical, bound to their environment and discourse, change is simply an intrinsic part of their nature.

### *7.2. Language ecologies of Gulu*

Trying to follow these principles, we should be capable to project an image of some of the

language ecologies that were present in the networks and spaces discussed in this study. Considering that the multiplicity of language ecologies is one of the main characteristics of the more nuanced approach advocated for in this study, it is first necessary to recognise that all ecologies described hereafter only represent a small number of parallel existing ecologies and that they at the same time only represent projections of language ecologies based on, and limited by the produced information and forms of analysis in this study.

Language ecologies appeared in many different forms of social groups throughout the study. They were found within networks of friends, workplaces, religious communities, families or other forms of social groups and communities. They carried their own sets of rules and understandings regarding language use and attitudes towards relevant linguistic practices and languages. The previous segment already addressed the existence of distinct language ecologies within the Watoto church cell group or the Cereleno market that prominently featured in this study. However, there were many other examples that appeared in the collected, analysed and presented data. These include the circle of women that not only shared many socio-economic, but also linguistic traits and tendency. This social group, which was shown to form a highly dense social network, was identified as rather homogenous regarding their language repertoires and linguistic practices. Besides all of them having Acholi as their first language, they had largely in common that they had no or limited proficiency in English due to having had only restricted access to formal education, with Kiswahili appearing the more likely used lingua franca. They nevertheless shared the very positive attitudes towards the English language observable in the entire sample and regarding the question on language in education they even favoured the use of English over Acholi. For many of these women these attitudes resulted from their personal experience of being themselves deprived of formal education, them having issues to communicate with potential customers working on one of the local markets in Gulu or struggling to gain access to social support. Many of them also had young children and their capabilities to be successful in the changing socio-economic environment appears to have been a strong driver for their attitudes.

A different form of language ecology became visible within the music scene of Gulu. In terms of social networks, this construction of a social group was somewhat special, as it was less based on personal interaction and more on the mutual participation in artistic practices and discourses. Even though in the corresponding chapter of this study, this group was not described with the intent of identifying a language ecology, there on closer look certainly appeared to exist one. Through taking part in mutual practices of producing, performing, distributing and privately or publicly discussing music, including issues regarding linguistic choices, this scene had formed

common sets of rules and understandings that are typical for all forms of language ecologies. These rules and understandings included the idea of speaking an urban variant of Acholi that may or may not stand in opposition to more rural or traditional varieties, but still contains clear differences that are somewhat unique. These urban variants extended to forms of Acholi that showed influence by English, as well as varieties that fall under the label of youth languages like the briefly mentioned Leb pa Bwulu. Further, English had an important role in this scene as well, with many taking inspiration of cultural products from English speaking areas across the globe and English being used in song lyrics, on the radio or in everyday communication. On other side, attitudes towards Luganda appeared to be more diverse within this ecology, as some displayed favourable attitudes and others a less favourable position towards it, often based on personal experience with and proficiency in Luganda. However, the existence of diverse opinions does not contradict the identification of a common language ecology, as it is of higher significance if a certain language exists within the discourse of a group than there being a consensus on the attitude. It should be noted though, that in terms of language use there was no detectable application of Luganda within the contexts of this group.

There are several other language ecologies that were touched upon within this study without the corresponding chapters spelling each of these out individually. Examples include the described neighbourhood around the hotel I resided in, which contained social networks, certain shared cultural and economic practices as well as linguistic practices and discourses. Further it mentioned family structures that reached beyond the physical limits of the municipality, with some members living in Gulu and others in other towns or small villages in the region. Regardless whether people would move between those spaces or interact through mobile communication, they shared an understanding regarding the languages they used during the interactions and which linguistic practices were appropriate in these contexts.

It is through these many smaller language ecologies that we can construct images of language ecologies that encompass ideas and practices from multiple such smaller ecologies. However, these larger language ecologies are in many ways more difficult to properly describe, as they tend to allude the ability to pin them down in specific individual linguistic practices or statements. They are in some ways more discursive, being rather represented in attitudes than in actual practices. They nonetheless inform these individual practices as important factors in decision making processes.

These larger language ecologies existed on multiple levels, including the national level, where they informed political decisions, for instance in education, in national political discourses or the national media, and even on the international level, where global ideas on communication

as well as global communicative practices and discourses are performed on media platforms or in the offices of multinational corporations. The image of a larger language ecology that can be constructed from the many smaller language ecologies explored in this study mainly concerns the area and community of the Gulu municipality. Especially the data gathered through the questionnaires and their analysis enables the construction of an ecology that existed across the many social groups and individual perspectives of people living in this town.

The study showed that Gulu was both ethnically and linguistically highly diverse and had multiple languages appearing in prominent roles. The two named languages that appeared to be dominant were Acholi and English. Acholi was given the by far most important role in private or family related contexts, as for most ethnic Acholi it was the language most commonly used within families. This was not only demonstrated by the answers to the segment on language use and preferences, but also by the two network analysis approaches. Especially in conversations regarding family issues, the first language was by far the preferred choice and even though the role of English was more prominent amongst friends, Acholi still constituted the preferred choice on average. It was also the language of the local economy, including the markets and small businesses, and was dominant in other public contexts and spaces like exemplified by the Catholic Church. However, the study further showed that Acholi had taken on new roles in this community. For many younger people in Gulu, Acholi could also express an urban and modern identity, if it was modified to fit their ideas of a modern language. That included an Acholi with English loan-words or code-switching, as well as variants of the widespread Acholi-based youth language *Leb pa Bwulu* and was evidenced by the strong role that these urbanised variants of Acholi had in youth culture and the local media.

On the other side, English was generally listed as the preferred language in formal contexts, at work or in school. In contrast to the soundscape of Gulu which was linguistically highly diverse, English was the by far most commonly represented language in its linguistic landscape, written on public buildings, on signs and used for advertisements. This presence of English in public writing was also strongly connected to Gulu's status as a regional centre for business, education, administration and development agencies, following its rapid growth during and after the civil war. Many of these institutions and actors operated on a supra-ethnic level and used English as their common language. These institutions and actors further established the status of English in Gulu and perpetuated long-held ideas and attitudes towards it.

At the same time, English was also frequently said to be used in private situations. Many respondents said that they would prefer to use English also with their friends. In the CDN-study many participants claimed to use it about just as much as Acholi and in another part of the

questionnaire many claimed English to be their preferred language in these contexts. However, in the qualitative approach of the Personal Network Study we saw that Acholi was nonetheless the more frequently used language here. This was also confirmed by personal observations, showing a clear difference between the different methods and forms of analysis that appeared to at least partially result from peoples' attitudes towards these languages. Another indicator for this was that all reported language repertoires included English as an entry, including those who did not report it as a language they would use in any context and showed rather limited ability in it. Even knowing only a few words in English warranted its listing in the language repertoire. More than just being a part of many peoples' language repertoires and regular linguistic practices, the use of English was a desired linguistic skill and practice. In continuation to this, respondents showed the ability to differentiate between variants of English and their value in professional situations, as they claimed the so called "standard" variants British and American English to be superior to the "local" variants of English. They also showed that they were aware of differences between the "local" English variants and the alleged standard types, like American or British English, and could point out certain elements they thought to be different. In culmination, the respondents thought that it would be advantageous to speak a variant of English that usually was not spoken in Gulu except for foreigners or people who had lived in either England or the USA. In general, the most important role was given to English in professional or work-related contexts, where it not only was said to provide advantages for those with advanced skills, but also to be detrimental for those lacking them. This view was also mirrored in the attitudes towards language in education, where many prioritised learning English over the use of local languages, especially when they themselves experienced the negative effects of not being sufficiently proficient. In general, however, the preference for English to be used in all domains and contexts increased the higher the level of formal education. In interethnic interactions English was also the clearly preferred choice.

Among the other languages with a significant presence in Gulu, Kiswahili appeared to be a complex case throughout. Its role in personal networks, perceived language use and preferences was minimal. It was nonetheless assigned a prominent role in the assessment of language attitudes. It received the third highest ratings by the respondents and was the clear second choice as one of the country's official languages. It also appeared in the preferences for languages in education and was considered the third most important language in Gulu despite its rare appearance in public. Even more than for English, the perception of Kiswahili seemed less tied to its actual use in everyday communication, but rather its position within the discourse on language and its perceived function as the language of East African integration. The study

showed the importance of Kiswahili for intercultural communication in the example of the immigrants from the DR Congo. For them, the lacking representation of Kiswahili in public institutions was problematic. Even though northern Uganda was once considered to be a hotbed for Kiswahili in Uganda, due to the large number of soldiers from the Acholi region, this study painted a different picture. The prominent role of English, but also the rise of Luganda appeared to have made Kiswahili redundant in many contexts and a high degree of competence was not very common. The Catholic Church, the by far biggest religious community in Gulu was not capable of offering a service in Kiswahili. That their only regular activity using this language was in prison, due to the large number of prisoners from outside northern Uganda underlines this observation. Even the only church community offering a service in Kiswahili had to improvise for that, with the pastor speaking English and having a separate translator who originated from Kenya. Instead of Kiswahili, it was Luganda serving as a secondary lingua franca among the younger population even up north. Considering the growing presence of Luganda in public discourse and the commonality of migration to and from Kampala, especially among younger people, it can be assumed that this trend will continue. With the government trying to improve the status of Kiswahili in Uganda to support the East African integration process, this impression might change in the future though.

In a sense, this study showed that Luganda and Kiswahili remained in the state of competition of the “Luganda-Swahili-controversy”, as both languages appeared to similar rates in the respondents’ language repertoires, received similar attitude scores and appeared in a similar frequency among the languages used in various contexts. However, there appeared to be a generational change regarding people’s attitude towards Luganda. The respondents that had lived in a region where it was spoken had more positive attitudes towards it than those who did not. Some even had no problem with it becoming one of Uganda’s official languages, provided the same status was given to Acholi. The relationship between Luganda and Acholi was very complex in general. Whereas on one side the attitudes towards Luganda appeared to be rather positive, it served on the other side as a counterpart to a confident and emancipated Acholi identity that combined local Acholi variants with ideas of modernity and urbanity. The very strong preference of English over both Luganda and Kiswahili might also be connected to this rather ambiguous relationship. The former colonial language was not perceived as a threat to the position of Acholi but rather viewed as a complimentary medium that provided a high prestige alternative to both Bantu languages in interethnic communication and official contexts. Apart from becoming more important in people’s perception of languages, Luganda also gained importance through immigration from the central region. Besides featuring two people from this



region in the sample, this study also featured first language Luganda speakers on the markets and in the Watoto Church community. With the ongoing development of the urban infrastructure and continuing economic growth, the trend of immigration and consequentially Luganda becoming more important and attitudes towards it improving is unlikely to end.

Apart from those four languages, only Lango received larger consideration among the participants in the study and in public discourse in Gulu, as the only other language originating from northern Uganda besides Acholi. It appeared in people's personal networks, as part of their families or within their friendship networks and could be found on the market as well as in the media. The fact that the same number of participants argued for Luganda and Lango as a language one should know, showed its perceived importance as a regional language. On the other side, Lango was not perceived as a language important on a national level, with only four of the respondents considering it as a potential official language.

Other languages were not of importance on the scale of the municipality or beyond specific social groups and contexts. That included Lingala, Nubi and Karimojong, which were all featured at some points in this study. Despite their absence in public or within most people's networks or social groups, some languages seemed nonetheless to be part of public discourse in the form of psychological objects. Runyankore, which received the lowest attitude scores, and Nubi, which was only rated higher due to one of the respondents being an ethnic Nubi, were exemplary for this. Both languages did not play any role in most of the respondent's personal networks or their general everyday encounters. Nonetheless, many held strong negative attitudes towards them which were not derived from their personal experiences but were instead the result of negative attitudes towards their corresponding ethnic groups.

This construction of a language ecology for the larger community of Gulu is also interesting in relation to other depictions of language ecologies from Uganda. Especially the rather recently published assessment of the position of English in the larger language ecology of Uganda by Namyalo, Isingoma and Meierkord (2016). They concluded regarding English in Uganda that:

"It is the language of the elite; thus, speaking English is equated to prestige, intellectualism, and high-class status as well as economic, social and political prosperity (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998; Nakayiza, this volume). English is widespread and mainly spoken as an L2 especially among the elites. It also serves as a lingua franca between individuals who speak different mother tongues. In brief, English in Uganda fulfils mainly the official, the international/regional, the educational, and the school subject and literacy functions." (43)

This description clearly differs from many of the smaller language ecologies described in the study, as well as the language ecology ascribed to the larger community. Considering that Gulu



is the largest city of northern Uganda and one of the largest cities in the country in general, it should be assumed that it carries some weight regarding an assessment of a language ecology on the national level. Additionally, many of the socio-economic trends observed in Gulu, like the influence of economic and cultural globalisation, changes in educational policies and their outcomes, ongoing urbanisation, as well as ethnic and linguistic diversification can be observed in places across the country. Thus, their outcomes regarding the role of English as the language that generally operates above the level of local or regional languages should be expected to be somewhat similar.

Even though English appeared in both this study and the assessment by Namyalo, Isingoma and Meierkord (2016) as a language of high prestige, education and socio-economic opportunity, it was given a larger role in the language ecology portrayed here. Despite the study featuring not a single participant who could be classified as “elite” by economic standards, it was viewed by most as a regular part of their linguistic practices, even beyond interethnic communication. In the context of Gulu, a city whose population was on average relatively well-educated, regardless of economic status, knowledge of English was so widespread among almost all citizens that competence in it was the normal case. Thus, speaking English was in general not connected to having power, money or higher education. Instead, not being able to speak English was the marked case and could lead to negative attitudes towards a person, as he or she would be perceived as uneducated, unmodern, or, as it was often referred to, as “backwards”, comparable to attitudes involving “standard” and “non-standard” variants. The study also showed that their assessment using a uniform concept of “English”, which lumped all varieties and variants of English spoken in Uganda together was inadequate. It is necessary to differentiate between the varieties and variants that can be found, be they British English, American English, or what could tentatively be labelled as *Acholi English* or *Luganda English*. Most participants understood these as separate entities with different morpho-phonological properties and ascribed different attitudes towards them. Whereas English perceived as coming from the USA, Europe or even Kampala was not seen as “indigenous” to Gulu, the local variant certainly was. In the same way that Acholi was adapted by the people in Gulu to fit their new identities and ideas about language and showed signs of being influenced by English, English became localised, adapted and influenced by Acholi. In that sense, English, or the variant of English typical for Gulu, was a local language in this community, like the phenomena described by Higgins (2009) or Pennycook (2010).

### *7.3. Final thoughts*

Despite the idea of this study to use a GT approach to this topic that tried to avoid the overexposure to scientific theory, being open minded in picking methods and developed its specific questions not at a desk at home or at university but in the field together with the people living there, it ultimately failed in trying to overcome the boundaries of scientific disciplines and perspectives. This failure lied for one in the unavoidable bias of the researcher resulting from his or her attitudes towards scientific methods and theories and the position the researcher holds within the field and in the academic institution. More importantly though, during the process of collecting data, but also while writing this dissertation, it became very clear that scientific methods are highly seductive. They give a sense of security by offering a form of sensemaking machine that plays to our human tendency to create order out of chaos. Their seductive powers come in many different shapes and try to pull the observer and analyst into their specific corner. In this thesis this was for instance visible in the different styles that the chapters assigned to the different methods used here displayed. Especially the statistical analysis of the data collected through questionnaires made this seductiveness apparent. Creating graphs that are visually pleasant is highly satisfying, just as the ability to create a structured summary of the results and to identify patterns within the displayed data. The same was true for the network approaches, where one approach also offered the opportunity for statistical analysis and the other allowed for the creation of network graphs that not only appeared visually pleasant, but also gave a sense of modernity and scientificity. However, even though the ethnographic approach did not offer this form of visual seduction, that approach was equally attractive. Especially the ability to create narratives out of my own perspective and the resulting power was here felt as problematic. At the same time, ethnographic methods are also inclined to create structured knowledge that does not necessarily match the nature of the studied objects. Once a narrative is identified, there is the danger of developing cognitive biases leading to the overemphasis of certain narratives over others. Thus, a critical approach to ethnography is equally as important as a critical approach towards other methods.

These methods are also seductive in that they give security to the researcher by offering orientation in the discourse of knowledge production in their academic institutions. They come with the promise, that if they are followed to the expectation of the respective scientific social group, the reward of positive recognition is assured. This orientation includes the knowledge of prior research done within that tradition and theoretical concepts that fit the data these methods produce. To cross these boundaries of academic traditions can lead to negative consequences.

The methodical and theoretical repertoires of the disciplines are not necessarily meant to be combined with those of others, making any attempt to do so at times seem comparable to the figurative squaring of the circle. This includes the linguistic repertoires of these disciplines, as their lexicon, their rules regarding structuring arguments and even the tone can differ significantly. This was also felt in this study, as the transition between chapters also included a shift in writing style, despite active attempts to mitigate this issue. The problem of combining theoretical considerations from different fields was equally significant, as theories generally require data that is in line with the conceptualisation of social organisation these theories are based on. For this study this meant that it featured short discussions of theoretical questions within the separate chapters that, unfortunately, remained rather disconnected over the arc of the entire thesis. Overcoming this disconnection and identifying alternative ways of addressing these theoretical questions, using principles and perspectives of various methods and conceptualisations will therefore remain an important task going forward.

“Our only hope of establishing the reach of psychological knowledge is not to take its universality for granted at the outset, but to treat each of its products as a historically embedded achievement. Only when we understand something of this historical embeddedness of specific psychological objects and practices are we in a position to formulate intelligent questions about their possible historical transcendence.” (Danziger, 1993, p. 43)

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