

**THE USE OF AN AFRICAN LANGUAGE AS LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION
AT UNIVERSITY LEVEL: THE EXAMPLE OF KISWAHILI DEPARTMENT
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM IN TANZANIA.**

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By

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Introduction

Language is an important tool for daily communication between one individual and another. It plays vital roles in our daily lives, for example, it has played and continues to play an important function in learning and teaching processes (Senkoro 2004b). Since language enables teaching and learning activities to be well accomplished, both teachers and learners should be familiar with the language which is used. If learners and even teachers are incompetent in the language which is used as a medium of instruction, then the learning process cannot take place effectively (Malekela 2004). In this case, language can simultaneously play conflicting roles in the educational sphere. It can be a factor in either providing or withholding access to education.

Although Tanzanian government issued many language policies in the country i.e. 1995 Language Policy, 1997 Cultural Policy etc, the 1995 language policy is the one that has been emphasized more, and it is the one that is currently practiced in the country. According to the policy, Kiswahili should be used from pre-primary up to primary level while English is to be used from secondary up to the university level as media of instruction. However, English has to be taught as a subject from standard one with the aim of making students acquire and develop adequate mastery of the language so that at the end of their primary education, pupils will have acquired enough skills to cope with the English language demands at post-primary levels and the world of work (MOEC 1995).

On the other hand, although the 1995 language policy is supposed to be practiced in the country, unfortunately there is no consistency in its use and implementation. In primary schools, as the policy says, Kiswahili is supposed to be used as the language medium of instruction (henceforth LOI), but a number of private schools and even kindergartens are using English as the medium of instruction.¹

A lot of research conducted in Tanzania about LOI show that students are not competent with English. This linguistic disability makes teaching and learning processes to be difficult. Students are passing from one level to another with linguistic deficiencies (see among others, Mlama and Matteredu 1978; Criper and Dodd 1984; Mochiwa 1991; Roy-Campbell and Qorro 1997; Mkwizu 2002; Vuzo 2002; Brock-Utne et al 2003; Mwinsheikhe 2003; Puja 2003; Qorro 2003; Malekela 2003; Galabawa and Lwaitama 2004, Senkoro 2004b). Basing on their findings suggest that Kiswahili should take over because it is well known in the community and among the students and teachers than English. However, there are some arguments against Kiswahili being the LOI at post-primary level, particularly at the University. For example, Fasold argues that;

“Kiswahili would be the choice of higher education in Tanzania but is prevented by shortages of material written in it and the number of people able to teach in it” (Fasold 1984 quoted in Rubagumya 1990).

Some people take the view that some concepts, particularly in this era of science and technology, cannot be expressed in Kiswahili while English is a global language. They argue that excellent education cannot be archived by using Kiswahili in the sense that the language cannot be employed in advanced academic discourse.² However, with all the arguments above against Kiswahili to be the LOI, there is one department at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, the Kiswahili Department, which offers all of its courses by

¹ See also Rubagumya 2003 who is showing the mushrooming of private primary schools known as **English primary medium schools**.

² See also Qorro (2004) who shows different arguments raised in the country against using Kiswahili as LOI while favoring English to remain as language medium of instruction. She collected about 30 news paper articles on language debate issue in Tanzania.

using Kiswahili language as a medium of instruction. I give a short history of this department hereunder.

Short history of Kiswahili department at the University of Dar-es-Salaam

Before 1970, there was no Kiswahili department at the University College of Dar-es-Salaam. The department that handled linguistic and literature courses at the University was the Department of Language and Linguistics. Every student in this department took linguistics components of the course as compulsory courses and he or she opted either for the French, English or Swahili (UEAC: 1969/70). We are informed that the teaching of Kiswahili began with the first intake of Arts undergraduates when there was a course entitled the “structure of Swahili” in the department of language and linguistics” (UDSM report 1973:25). This was the only Swahili course at that time. It was taught by using Kiswahili language but as an option course.

In 1967/68-1968/69 discussions were made between the University College of Dar-es-Salaam, the Ministry of National Education and other interest parties about the establishment of Kiswahili Department. A conclusion was reached that there was a need to establish a full Kiswahili department to be charged with the teaching of Kiswahili language and literature (UCDSM report 1967/68; UDSM report 1973).

The Department of Kiswahili came in to being on 1st July, 1970 with three members of staff and two on temporary basis. It had 55 first year students and 22 second year students transferred from the Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics (UDSM report 1973). A temporary syllabus was prepared under the objectives of teaching the sound system, usage, history and the structure of Kiswahili language. Many Kiswahili courses were introduced later on. Up to the present, that department offers its courses by using Kiswahili language as LOI. The following are the courses offered by the Kiswahili Department;

Table 2

SECOND YEAR COURSES

CODE	JINA LA KOZI (KISWAHILI)	NAME OF THE COURSE (ENGLISH)
SW 231	Fonolojia ya Kiswahili	Kiswahili Phonology
SW 232	Mofolojia ya Kiswahili	Kiswahili Morphology
SW 233	Nadharia na Uchambuzi wa Sintaksia ya Kiswahili	Syntactic Theory and the analysis of Kiswahili
SW 234	Tamthilia ya Kiswahili	Kiswahili Drama
SW 235	Ushairi wa Kiswahili	Kiswahili Poetry
SW 236	Uandishi wa Kubuni I: Nadharia	Creative Writing 1: Theory
SW 237	Uandishi wa Kubuni II: Utafiti na Tasnifu	Creative Writing 2: Practice
SW 238	Isimu-Tumizi ya Kiswahili	Kiswahili Applied Linguistics
SW 239	Nadharia ya Isimu Jamii Katika Muktadha wa Kiswahili	Socio-linguistics Theory and the context of Kiswahili
SW 240	Nadharia na Uchambuzi wa Tafsiri	Translation Theory and Analysis
SW 241	Isimu-nafsiya	Psycholinguistics
SW 242	Fasihi ya Kiswahili kwa Watoto	Kiswahili Literature for children
SW 243	Elimumitindo ya Kiswahili	Kiswahili Stylistics
SW 244	Aina Mbalimbali za Kiswahili cha Maongezi: I	Varieties of Spoken Swahili. I
SW 245	Kiswahili Ngazi ya Kati. I	Intermediate Kiswahili. I
SW 246	Kiswahili Ngazi ya Kati. II	Intermediate Kiswahili. II

Table 3 **THIRD YEAR COURSES**

CODE	JINA LA KOZI (KISWAHILI)	NAME OF THE COURSE (ENGLISH)
SW 331	Semantiki na Pragamatiki za Kiswahili	Kiswahili Semantics and Pragmatics
SW 332	Mitaala ya Fasihi Simulizi I: Nadharia	Studies in Oral Literature 1: Theory
SW 333	Mitaala ya Fasihi Simulizi II: Utafiti na Tasnifu	Studies in Oral Literature II: Research and Dissertation
SW 334	Isimu Historia na Linganishi	Historical and Comparative Linguistics
SW 335	Leksikografia	Lexicography
SW 336	Nadharia ya Fasihi na Maendeleo ya Fasihi ya Kiswahili	Literary Theory and the Development of Kiswahili Literature
SW 337	Kazi Bora za Fasihi ya Kiswahili	Kiswahili Masterpieces
SW 338	Fasihi Linganishi	Kiswahili Based Comparative Literature
SW 339	Ujumi, Sanaa na Fasihi ya Kiafrika	Aesthetics, African Art and literature
SW 340	Fasihi ya Kiswahili na Jinsia	Kiswahili Literature and Gender
SW 341	Uandishi wa Kiswahili: I	Writing in Kiswahili I
SW 342	Uandishi wa Kiswahili: II	Writing in Kiswahili II
SW 343	Kiswahili Narrative Structure	Kiswahili Narrative Structure
SW 344	Aina za Maandishi ya Kiswahili II	Varieties of Written Kiswahili II
SW 345	Kiswahili Ngazi ya Juu: I	Advanced Kiswahili I
SW 346	Kiswahili Ngazi ya Juu: II	Advanced Kiswahili II
SW 399	Mbinu za Utafiti na Tasnifu Kuhusu Lugha na Fasihi	Research Methods and Dissertation on Language

(Source for the three tables: Senkoro 2004a)

This department has, therefore managed to make Kiswahili a viable and effective medium of academic discourse whereby its courses, both literature and linguistics, are offered in Kiswahili language.

With the above backdrop in mind, the present paper aims at exploring the use of an African language as the LOI at the University level, particularly in the Kiswahili Department at the University of Dar-es-Salaam. In other words, I principally want to

explore the dynamics that operated or can operate when a department changes its medium of instruction from, say, English or any other foreign language, to that of an indigenous language.

Specific objectives in this presentation are as follows;

- ❖ To identify the motives behind the establishment of Kiswahili Department at the University of Dar es Salaam.
- ❖ To explore the strategies used to establish the Kiswahili department and how it managed to use Kiswahili as LOI, for example, accessibility of books, experts, new vocabulary and terminology.
- ❖ To find out how students have been learning and continue to learn using Kiswahili while some people hold the view that the language is not appropriate in high academic discourse.
- ❖ To find out how teachers are either succeeding or facing problems with their teaching activities by using Kiswahili language.

Research questions

Several questions have been asked in the course of the current research on the use of an indigenous language as LOI. Among these are the following;

- ❖ What are the reasons for the establishment of the Kiswahili department at the University of Dar-es-Salaam?
- ❖ What was the nature of the debates and subsequent strategies that led to the accomplishment of the whole process of establishing the department?
- ❖ How are teachers and students at the Department either comfortable or uncomfortable with the use of Kiswahili as a language medium of instruction?
- ❖ What are the lessons accruing from the Kiswahili Department experience that can be used in the efforts to introduce Kiswahili as the medium of instruction at University and tertiary levels of education in Tanzania?

Data collection methods

Two basic instruments were employed for data gathering. These are oral questioning (interviews) and document analysis. Interviews were conducted with a total number of thirteen interviewees. These include four lecturers from the Kiswahili department at the university of Dar-es-Salaam, two lecturers who are not working with Kiswahili Department but they were there during the process of establishing it, and seven students who are undertaking Kiswahili courses as part of their undergraduate studies. Documents used are organizational records such as University Reports for the academic years 1967/68, 1968/69 and 1970/71. The selection of teachers who are teaching at the department of Kiswahili and students who are taking Kiswahili courses at the university was grounded on purposive sampling. Then, two staff members outside the department were found through snowball sampling.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study was guided by two theories namely Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) and Problem-Posing Education (PPE).

Education for Self-Reliance

Julius Nyerere, who was Tanzania's first president, propagated the idea of ESR. He was against the inherited colonial system of education, which was not designed to prepare young people for the service of their own country but for the colonial state. ESR advocated education that would make Tanzanians self-reliant in terms of resources, culture and values. Furthermore, the philosophy advocated the kind of education that would make learners creative and able to face any challenges in their relevant society. As the first step to make Tanzanians independent, immediately after independence (1961) Nyerere declared Kiswahili the national language. At that time Tanzania was the only African country with an official African language (Nyerere 1968).

Problem-Posing Education

Problem-posing education (PPE) is a theory pioneered by a Brazilian philosopher called Paulo Freire. Like Nyerere, Freire advocates the kind of education that will enable learners to solve problems. In this approach dialogue is emphasized in an informal kind of education. Freire differentiates between the banking concept of education and problem-posing education (Freire 1993). The banking concept of education is a method whereby a teacher is active and his or her learners are passive. Students are considered to be empty headed whereby the teacher feeds them ready-made information.

Freire criticized the banking method that lessens the students' creativity. He proposed the use of a dialogue method in which neither teacher nor learners dominate the discussion; a method in which there is a shared and equal participation by all actors in the education system. When dialogue is used it makes learners more creative and confident, and, as a consequence, education becomes a liberation tool as well as a tool for meaningful development. He says that "without dialogue there is no communication and without communication there can be no true education" (Freire 1970:73)

Applicability of ESR and PPE Theories to the Study

When a foreign language is used in teaching and learning activities, there is a possibility of applying memorizing method of learning and banking method of teaching. For instance, in the context of Tanzania where English is used as the medium of instruction in post-primary level, it has been proved that students and even some of their teachers are incompetent in the language (see Mlama and Mattered 1978; Criper and Dodd 1984; Mochiwa 1991; Mkwizu 2002; Vuzo 2002; Brock-Utne et al 2003; Mwinsheikhe 2003; Puja 2003; Qorro 2003; Malekela 2003). How then, can they apply the dialogue method while the language that is used is a barrier to communication? ESR and PPE bear out that the use of a language well-understood by teachers and students, in the teaching and learning processes is very important.

Research findings

Reasons for the establishment of Kiswahili Department

As stated earlier, before 1970, there was no Kiswahili Department at the University of Dar-es-Salaam (at that time the Dar-es-Salaam University College. Instead, there was just a Department of Language and Linguistics. In 1970, two departments; ‘Kiswahili Department’ and ‘Foreign Language and Linguistics’ were established from the Language and Linguistics Department.

Findings show that ‘*national language prestige*’ and ‘*patriotism*’ were the main drive for the establishment of Kiswahili department. The event occurred just three years after the propagation of ESR by Mwalimu³ Nyerere. He criticized colonial kind of education which was not making Tanzanians citizens self-reliant. Also, he condemned the way colonialists made Tanzanians to look down upon their culture as well as themselves. This seems to have been one of the major bases that influenced the decision of establishing Kiswahili department, a department in which all courses were to be taught in Kiswahili as a way of correcting the wrong that had been done with regard to Tanzania culture. One professor had the following to say with regard to this issue;

“Huu pia ndio wakati ambao Chuo Kikuu cha Dar-es-Salaam kilianzishwa. Mojawapo ya majukumu aliyopewa mkuu wa chuo wakati ule ni kukileta chuo karibu na wananchi ili kifuate sera za ujamaa na kujitegemea. Kiswahili kilikuwa ni sehemu mojawapo ya utambulisho wa Mtanzania na kulikuwa na umuhimu wa kukipa hadhi ambayo kilistahili” (Profesa: Idara ya Kiswahili, Chuo Kikuu cha DSM).

“This was also the time when the University of Dar-es-Salaam was established, and among the vice chancellor’s responsibilities, the main one was to bring the university near to the society and to follow the policy of socialism and self-

³ A Swahili word which means teacher

reliance. Kiswahili was the identity of Tanzanians and there was a need to give it the status that it deserved” (Professor: Kiswahili department, UDSM) -My translation.

The establishment of Kiswahili Department was seen as the way of giving the national language (Kiswahili) its deserved prestige. Moreover, at that time there was a consciousness about nationalism in the whole of Africa. Due to this awareness, nationhood was at work here too.

Nature of the discussion

There was a heated debate also against using Kiswahili as LOI. Some members argued that Kiswahili will separate them from the rest of the world and, it will downgrade the status of the university. Others said Kiswahili brings the university nearer to the society and identifying the country. One teacher hinted;

“Hata wakati ule wengine walikipiga sana vita Kiswahili, walisema kitawatenga na watu wengine duniani. Hata hivyo kinakua tu kutokana na hali halisi, hata kama utawala utapiga vita lakini hali halisi ni kwamba Kiswahili kinakua tu kwa sababu kinatuunganisha” (Pfofesa: Idara ya Kiswahili, chuo kikuu cha DSM).

“Even that time some people were against using Kiswahili. They said that it would separate them from the rest of the world. Fortunately, Kiswahili grows due to the real situation in the country. Even if policy makers are against it, the reality is that still the language grows because it is unites us” (Professor: Kiswahili department, UDSM).

Although some members worried about the use of Kiswahili as LOI, after a decision was made, things progressed well. Now the Department offers all of its courses, both literature and linguistics in Kiswahili language.

Strategies used

a) Teachers

After the University Senate members made the decision to establish the Kiswahili department (1969), as the first step they introduced a B.A Swahili course, with the aim of producing Swahili scholars. One document reports as follows;

“Research in language and linguistics has aimed at producing local scholars as soon as possible to allow for progress in Swahili studies. A B.A Swahili and linguistic courses, which begins in July, 1969, is designed to produce such scholars” (UCDSM report: 1968/69:22).

Other strategies used to get teachers were; taking competent Swahili teachers from secondary schools, and recruiting different teachers from other departments. One teacher revealed:

“Mimi mwenyewe nilichagua kusoma History na sio Kiswahili lakini nilichaguliwa kujiunga na idara ya Kiswahili” (Profesa: Idara ya Kiswahili chuo kikuu cha DSM)

“Personally I did History as my optional subject and not Kiswahili but I was recruited as a member of staff in the Kiswahili department” (Professor: Kiswahili department, UDSM) –my translation

Later on the Department produced graduates who did Swahili courses. Final year students who performed well in their Swahili courses; they taught and conducted the first and second year student seminars. Thereafter, they were employed as tutorial Assistants and started teaching in the department.

b) Literatures

At the beginning of Kiswahili Department there were not enough materials written in Kiswahili. Research projects were conducted in order to produce the much-needed publications. The UCDSM report (1968/69) shows that almost no material existed for the course and therefore research had been conducted on a wide front in order to produce publications in a shortest time.

Also materials were collected from different sources. Through conferences people were invited to write papers, and then those papers were published. Language panels contributed materials as well. Messrs, Abdulaziz, Constable, Peytier, Farouki Topan and Whitley contributed a lot of materials through language panels (UCDSM: 1968/69 report).

It was not only staff members who contributed towards the creation of teaching materials and literature. Every student had a file on his own language. Students did assignments in descriptive linguistics concerning their languages under the supervision of their teachers. This work was obligatory to every student for the three years of his/her course. In that instance, students' assignments provided a lot of information about the linguistic situation in Tanzania (UCDSM 1968/69 report).

c) Vocabulary

First of all it was agreed to use the language as the medium of instruction and, to develop the necessary terms as the Department continued to use the language. Students were permitted to use some English words in brackets; later on they tried to look for convenient Swahili terms for those words. Also, different meetings and language panels were conducted in order to decide which terminology can be used in teaching. One lecturer commented:

“Lugha hukua kulingana na matumizi, inapotumiwa ndio uhitaji hutokea na ni rahisi kutafuta suluhisho (yaani misamiati) Hakuna lugha yoyote isiyeweza kuendelezwa, lugha ni watu wenyewe na mwamko walionao (Mhadhiri: Idara ya Kiswahili chuo kikuu cha Dar-es-alaam)

Language growth depends on its use. When it is in use, needs occur and it is easy to find solutions (such as terminologies). There is no single language which cannot be developed. Language development depends on the peoples’ consciousness (Lecturer: Kiswahili Department, UDSM) –My translation

Teachers views regarding Kiswahili as LOI at the Department

All interviewees show that any language can be used for anything. There is no specific language for expressing science and technology. In Europe for example, before industrial revolution Greek was used. At that time, English language that is seen today as an international language was more underdeveloped than the way Kiswahili is. Kiswahili, which is a well known language to students, makes them understand well the concepts entailed in discussions, lectures and seminars. This is so because English, which is a foreign language to them, makes students to struggle with technical terms as well as the language itself. Kiswahili makes them to struggle with technical terms only.

Kiswahili is capable of catering for high academic discourse as the Kiswahili Department at the University of Dar-es-Salaam has aptly proved. However, all this depends on the focus and priorities one gives to one’s nation life. If our focus is to continue asking for support from donors, then there is definitely no need of using Kiswahili in education. Students will understand well all the concepts but thereafter there will be no where to apply them. We will import every thing from outside. To quote one lecturer;

“Kama tunataka kuagiza kila kitu kutoka nje ya nchi hamna haja ya kutumia Kiswahili. Hata walimu wenyewe hawazielewi vizuri dhana. Wanaandaa tu mihutasari ya masomo na kuiwasilisha kwa wanafunzi lakini hawagundui chochote. Matalani Chuo Kikuu cha Dar-es-Salaam, kimeanzishwa 1970 lakini nini kimegunduliwa mpaka sasa? (Mhadhiri: Idara ya Kiswahili Chuo Kikuu cha DSM)

If we want to import everything from abroad, no need of using Kiswahili. Even teachers themselves do not understand well concepts. They just prepare notes and present them to students but they are not discovering anything. For example, the University of Dar-es-Salaam established in 1970, what thing discovered up to present? (Teacher: Kiswahili department, UDSM)-my translation

A Nation's vision and objectives matter in choosing the LOI. As Nyerere and Freire emphasized, a well known language makes students creative and easy for them to discover different methods for solving their problems. However, if a country depends on other people to come and solve her problems, then there is no need of bothering about creative thinkers. Every thing will be imported and we will be given directories for using them.

Students views about Kiswahili as the LOI at the Department

Students' views and ideas regard to the use of Kiswahili as the LOI at the Department of Kiswahili are not different from the teachers' views. All respondents asserted that they understand well Kiswahili courses better than courses which are offered in English. Some revealed that they performed well in Kiswahili courses than in other courses. The reasons given are include the availability enough terminology, the fact that Kiswahili is either first or second language to the majority of them, and also the fact that Kiswahili has a chance to be used outside the classroom since they encountered with it every where i.e. market, home, church etc. One student said,

”Binafsi naona Kiswahili ni rahisi kuliko Kiingereza. Hata matokeo yangu yanadhihirisha hivyo. Kozi nyingi za Kiswahili nilipata “A” na “B+” wakati baadhi ya kozi nilizosoma kwa Kiingereza kama vile ‘History of South Africa’ nilipata “B” (Mwanafunzi: Idara ya Kiswahili Chuo Kikuu cha DSM).

Personally I see Kiswahili to be easier than English. Even my results reveal so since in many Kiswahili courses I scored “A” and “B+” while in some courses which I did in English i.e. History of South Africa, I scored a flat “B” (Student: Kiswahili Department, UDSM) – my translation

Using English as a LOI is not the best way of learning English as others believe so. Some students argued that Kiswahili courses do not prevent them from learning English. Even those students who undertake all of their undergraduate courses in English are incompetent in English. To quote one student;

“Kusoma kwa Kiswahili hakunizuii kusoma lugha zingine kama vile Kiingereza. Kama kutumia Kiingereza kama lugha ya kufundishia ndio njia rahisi ya kufahamu Kiingereza, basi wanafunzi wanaosoma kozi za Kiingereza tu wangekuwa wanakifahamu zaidi kuliko sisi. Ukweli ni kwamba wengine ni wachovu zaidi kuliko hata sisi tusomao Kiswahili” (Mwanafunzi: Idara ya Kiswahili Chuo Kikuu cha DSM).

“Learning in Kiswahili is not preventing me to learn other languages like English. If it is the case that using English as LOI is a good way of knowing English, those who are undertaking undergraduate courses by using English only could understand better English than us. The truth is that others are more mediocre than us” (Student: Kiswahili Department, UDSM) - my translation

Although the real situation is that students understand well when taught in Kiswahili, the reactions that one gets from interviews with such students are sometimes full of contradiction. To them and even some parents, teachers and policy makers, English is seen as a very important language compared to such other languages like Kiswahili. Even at the University, those who undertake Swahili courses are sometimes viewed by their fellow students as inferior. One always encounters such jokes like: “How can you learn a street language at the University? This believes is largely due to the confusion arising from the ever-changing language policy in the country. Since Kiswahili is used as the LOI at lower levels of education where at least the majority of students are able to reach, it makes the language to be seen as the language for commoners. On the other hand, English is assigned to be the LOI in the high academic discourse and only few people manage to reach such levels. This makes English to be seen as a more advanced language for the privileged people.

Tentative Conclusion and Recommendations

This is an on-going research, and I am still processing the data obtained from the field. The above account and the following conclusions and recommendations can, thus, only be considered to be tentative and not conclusive.

From the data above so far, I can recommend that since many research projects and publications about LOI in Tanzania reveal that Kiswahili is the most viable medium of instruction in the country, Kiswahili department at the University of Dar-es-Salaam can be used as a model that can help in introducing Kiswahili as the LOI in all subjects at secondary and tertiary level of education in Tanzania. The dynamics and methods used by the Kiswahili Department at UDSM can be replicated not only in Tanzania but also in any other African country where foreign LOI are poised against local languages that can effectively be introduced as the LOI.

Although the process of changing LOI (in the case of Tanzania from English to Kiswahili) needs a lot of resources- both human and non-human resources, the course of action can be done in phases. It is better to bare high costs so long as students understand what they are learning than waste a lot of money every year producing graduates who are unskilled due to the LOI bottleneck.

Abbreviations

B.A- Bachelor of Arts

DSM-Dar-es-Salaam

ESR- Education for Self-Reliance

LOI- Language of Instruction

LOITASA-Language of instruction in Tanzania and South Africa

PPE- Problem-Posing Education

UEAC- University of East Africa calendar

UCDSM-University College of Dar-es-Salaam

UDSM- University of Dar-es-Salaam

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