

**A SOCIO-PRAGMATIC AND STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF CODE-SWITCHING
AMONG THE LOGOLI SPEECH COMMUNITY OF KANGEMI, NAIROBI, KENYA**

by

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DECLARATION

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I declare that **A Socio-pragmatic and Structural Analysis of Code-switching among the Logoli Speech Community of Kangemi, Nairobi, Kenya** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



Gimode J. K

25 February 2015

Date

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my loving husband, Dr. Edwin Gimode for prayers and exemplary support throughout the research period.

ABSTRACT

The study is an in-depth examination of code-switching in the Logoli speech community in the cosmopolitan Kangemi informal settlement area on the outskirts of the city of Nairobi. The aim of the study is to investigate the sociolinguistic and structural developments that result from urban language contact settings such as Kangemi. The main objective is to identify and illustrate the social motivations that influence the tendency of the Logoli speakers to alternate codes between Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English in the course of their routine conversations as well as the structural patterns that emerge in the process of code-switching. Various methodological techniques were used in the gathering of data, including questionnaire surveys, oral interviews, tape recordings and ethnographic participant-observation techniques are highlighted. Extracts from the corpus were analysed within a theoretical framework based on two models, namely the Markedness Model and the Matrix Language Frame Model, both developed by Myers-Scotton. The study identified and interpreted, within the Markedness Model framework, the key social variables that determine code-switching behaviour among the Logoli speech community. These include age, education, status and the various social domains of interaction. In the light of these factors, the researcher was able to explain the tendency to switch codes in different settings and confirm the study's assumption that urban-based social factors largely determine the motivations for and the patterns of code-switching. This lead to the conclusion that code-switching is not a random phenomenon but a strategy and a negotiation process that aims at maximizing benefits from interaction. Structural features of the corpus were also identified and analysed within the Matrix Language Frame Model. The assumptions of the model were tested and found to be supported by numerous examples from the data. A number of recommendations were made for further research on minority languages in Kenya and the need for language policy in Kenya to be formulated to take these language groups into consideration.

Key words: Code-switching, Kangemi, Kiswahili, Logoli, Markedness Model, Matrix Language Frame Model

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Symbols and abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning	Abbreviation	Meaning
Adv	adverb	Obmrk	object marker
aux	auxiliary	OB	Object
Cl	noun class	∅	no subject/subject ellipted
Cond	conditional	reci	reciprocal
conj	conjunction	part	particle
con-mrk	concord marker	perf	perfective aspect
DEM	demonstrative	pers	personal
CS	Code-switching		
Det	determiner	pl	plural
EL	Embedded Language	poss	possessive
Ettiq	ettiquete marker	prep	preposition
GPS	Geographical Positioning System	Prog	Progressive
Hab	habitual	pro	pronoun
Impers	Impersonal	PST	verb in the past tense
INFIN	infinitve	quan	quantifier
Int	intensifier	QUE	question word
LOI	Language of Instruction	ref	reflexive
ML	Matrix Language	rel	relative pronoun
MLF	Matrix Languege Frame	RO	Rights and Obligations
Mod	modal	sing	singular
MT	Mother Tongue	Smrk	subject marker
MV	main verb	S	subject
N1, 2, 3	number of person (1st, 2nd, 3rd)	t	tense marker
N	noun		
NEG	negation		
Neut	neutral		
NON PST	verb in the present tense		

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Bilingualism is a global phenomenon. Over the years it has been propelled by the active forces of modernization and globalization. According to Milroy and Muysken (1995, 4), the contemporary world has become increasingly multilingual due to these two forces. This view is supported by Romaine (1989, 8), who observes that 'there are about thirty times as many languages as there are countries'. According to Prasad (2010, 195), bilingualism develops as speakers of different languages meet and interact socially and linguistically. In the process of this interaction, languages influence one another, leading to outcomes linguistically described as 'language contact phenomena'. These include code-switching, borrowing, diglossia, interference, and transfer, among others, which Milroy and Muysken (1995, 10) describe as *marque transcodique* (transcoding markers).

Multilingualism is a phenomenon that is especially pervasive in Africa due to the great diversity of ethnic groups and languages. Myers-Scotton (1993b, 36, 37) attests to this observation, following her extensive research in Kenya, Zimbabwe and Nigeria. She identifies the common pattern of bilingualism as being the speaker's own first language, followed by an indigenous *lingua franca*, then the official language. In the case of the city of Nairobi, this trilingual pattern involves the speaker's mother tongue, then Kiswahili and English.

According to Trudell (2009, 1), multilingualism is an interactional resource and a gift which spreads the circle of communication to more people. She observes that in sub-Saharan Africa multilingualism is often a 'pragmatic response' when language communities come into contact. Its significance is, therefore, basically instrumental. Veit-Wild (2009, 683) concurs with this observation when she states that bilingualism in contemporary urban Africa is an agent of popular culture, 'creating a local artistic flavour in a global setting'. This, she states, is manifested in songs where code-switching is predominant. In the same vein, Fasold (1984, 9)

posits that a multilingual society is arguably richer than a nation with only one dominant ethnic group.

This study examines the phenomenon of code-switching among the Logoli speech community of the Kangemi area in Nairobi. The switching behaviour studied involves three language varieties namely; Logoli, Kiswahili and English. The study is subsumed under two theoretical models formulated by Carol Myers-Scotton. Firstly, the Markedness Model which attempts to explain the social motivations (1993b). Secondly, the Matrix Language Frame (MLF), (Myers-Scotton 1993a, 1993c, 1995, 2002, 2005a) attempts to explain the grammatical aspects of code-switching in Kangemi.

The first chapter of the study focuses on the background aspects of bilingualism and the geographical setting of the study area. It includes the statement of the problem, objectives, hypotheses and justification of the study. It gives an overview of the ethnic composition of Kenya and the linguistic profile that emanates from this. It also provides a brief historical overview of the three codes that form the subject of the study, namely Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English (*Logoli* and the indigenous term for the ethnolinguistic group *Lulogoli* can be used interchangeably).

1.2 The aim of the study

The primary aim of the study is to bring to the fore the linguistic configurations that emanate from language contact situations in an urban setting. By focusing on one such language contact situation, namely code-switching, the study aims at demonstrating the impact of urban factors on the linguistic behaviour of different groups that interact in such a cosmopolitan arena. The study subjects the data from the Kangemi study area (the Kangemi corpus) to examination within the theoretical framework of two models of interpretation of code-switching developed by Myers-Scotton, namely the Markedness Model and the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model.

Taking the case of the Logoli migrant ethnolinguistic subgroup into a Nairobi informal settlement area, Kangemi, over the years, the study has aimed at adding to the understanding of the dynamic nature of language which both grows and adjusts in response to the needs of the speech community. It has sought to bring to the fore the social factors that influence code-switching, as well as the emerging trends in linguistic patterns in the process of code-switching among the Logoli speakers of Kangemi.

1.3 Background factors that have shaped the sociolinguistic situation in Kenya

Fasold (1984) and Mesthrie et al. (2000) identify the key historical forces that have shaped the formation of human societies and languages as being migration, imperialism and colonialism, the nation building project in former colonial countries, and the phenomenon of urbanization. These factors have been especially visible in the evolution of modern African societies and languages.

Greenberg (1963) divided the African languages into four major families, namely, the Niger-Congo, Chari-Nile, Afro-Asiatic and Khoisan. Myers-Scotton (1993b, 10-13) provides a comprehensive layout of the main language families spoken across the continent. Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000, 31) observe that the families are based on apparent lexical and structural similarity. According to Sutton (1968, 82), three of these families are represented in Kenya (see Figure 1.1). The Chari-Nile is represented by the Nilotic speakers which include the Maasai, the Kalenjin, the Luo and the Turkana (Cohen, 1968). The Afro-Asiatic family is represented by the Cushitic speakers which include the Galla, Boran and Rendille (Ehret 1968, 195). According to Were (1968), the Niger-Congo family in Kenya is represented by the various Bantu-speaking language groups which include the Kikuyu of Central Kenya, the Mijikenda of Coast Province, and the Abagusii and Abaluyia of Western Kenya. The Logoli speech community who form the subject of this study are an ethnolinguistic subgroup of the Abaluyia, and Lulogoli is an ethnolinguistic subgroup of the Luyia or Oluluyia language.

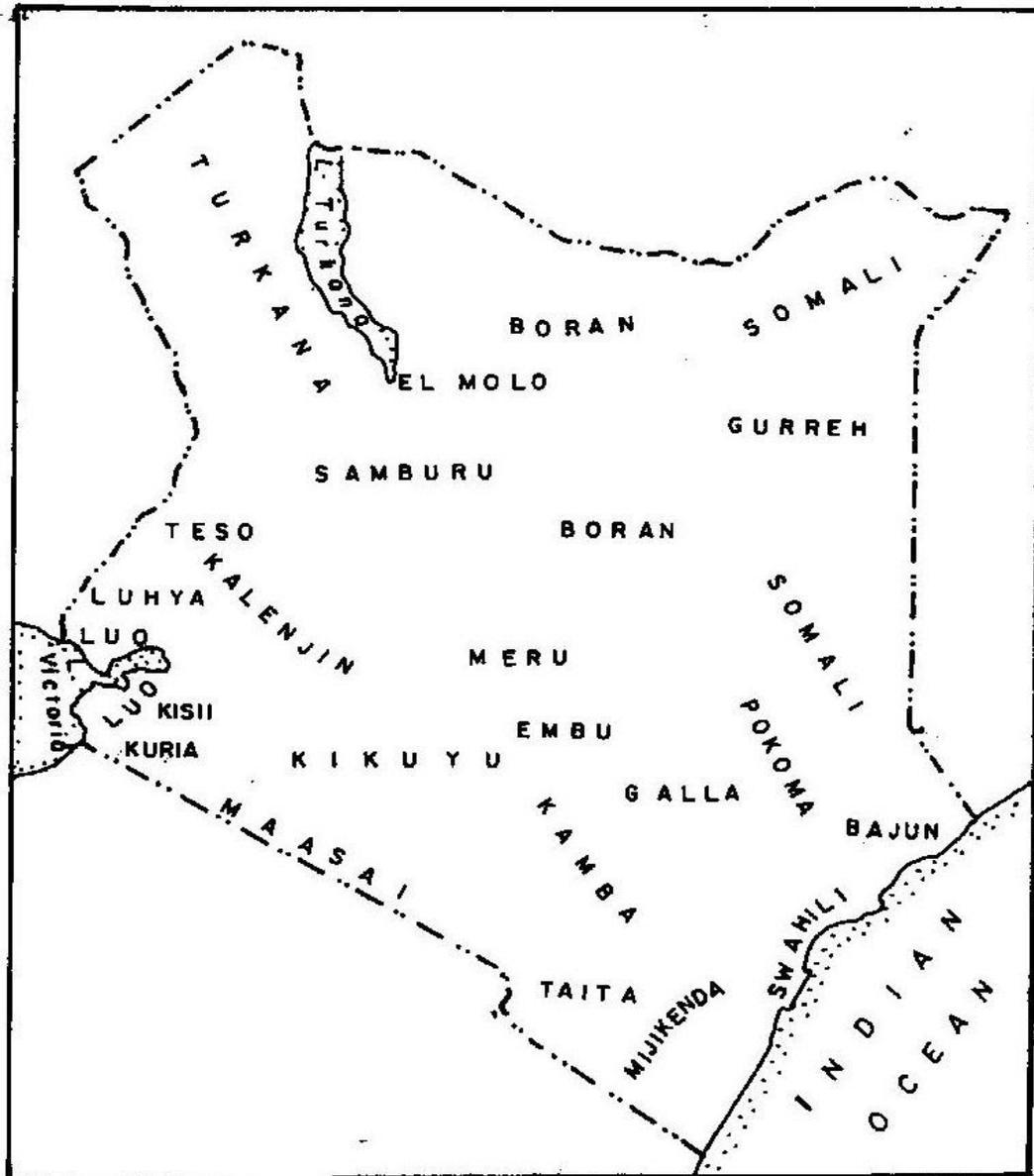


Figure 1.1: Map showing major ethnic groups of Kenya.

(Source: Macmillan Secondary School Atlas 2005, 51)

According to Were (1967), the speakers of the various language families in different areas of settlement in Africa are a product of historical migrations from primary areas of ethnic and linguistic language formation. This process took several centuries, starting around 1200 AD and ending around 1900 AD. In the case of Kenya, this movement of various ethnic groups came to a relative conclusion towards the end of the nineteenth century. This conclusion was dictated by

a new and major factor in the eastern African region, namely, the establishment of the European colonialism and the colonial state, which confined various ethnic groups in the territories they occupied at the time.

With the colonial state came yet two factors which were to impact the subsequent linguistic development in Kenya, namely, western culture and the rise of urbanisation. According to Fischer (1999), a major cause of global linguistic change during the last two centuries of human history has been the dynamic process of urbanization. He argues (1999, 173) that the impact of urbanization has been revolutionary, leading to the 'rise of linguistic innovation as well as demise of languages'.

In the specific case of Kenya, development of urban centres during the colonial period (1895-1963) led to a steady wave of rural-urban migration. Many indigenous Kenyans moved to emerging urban centres in the hope of accessing better social amenities as well as avenues for white-collar employment. This phenomenon was best illustrated by the influx into Nairobi, the capital of the new colonial state.

This study takes the case of the Logoli linguistic sub-group to demonstrate the transformation that languages undergo in a peri-urban setting such as the Kangemi informal settlement area in Nairobi.

1.4 Statement of the problem

According to Cohen (1969 cited in Matsuda 1984, 2), the process of urbanization in Africa, especially after political independence in the 1960s, simultaneously elicited two contradictory but mutually exclusive phenomena. These were what he describes as 'detrribalisation' and 'retribalisation'. He argues that people of different ethnic groups in urban centres tended to identify with the new concept of the 'nation' and, in the process, accommodated other ethnic groups, hence undergoing 'detrribalisation'. On the other hand, there was a tendency to cluster around and identify with one's ethnic group in the towns, hence eliciting retribalisation. Cohen

(ibid) further argues that this was not necessarily reversing the process of detribalization, but rather 'a dynamic change of social relations for adaptation to a completely new social reality in the urban environment'. Like many cities in Africa, Nairobi first emerged as a depot for colonial white settler economy where farm products were marketed. Over the years, the British settlers established Nairobi as the premier urban centre of their activities in the Kenya colony. Gradually the urban centre grew into the city, with Kiswahili spoken as the natural *lingua franca*, English as the official language of government transactions and the school system, while the various ethnic languages were spoken by the different ethnic speech communities resident in the city. In this way, the residents of Nairobi gradually evolved into natural multilingual speakers.

In his sociological study of the emergence of the Logoli 'colony' in Kangemi, Matsuda (1984, 3) argues that 'retribalisation' in urban Africa is one of the most stable and effective processes of reorganizing social relations within a competitive urban environment. Matsuda (ibid) visualizes the city as a social field 'where the heterogeneous, differentiated population in terms of culture, social system and economic status co-exist'.

This study concurs with the views of these researchers (Fischer, Cohen and Matsuda) that urbanization has a revolutionary effect on the development of languages in the urban setting. Such a setting is an ideal arena for manifestation of different language contact phenomena. The study takes one such phenomenon, code-switching, and demonstrates the social factors influencing its manifestation as well as the linguistic features that result from it. The study is based on the Logoli speech community from Western Kenya, resident in the Kangemi informal settlement area on the outskirts of Nairobi city.

1.5 Rationale for the study

The study is justified on a number of grounds. Firstly, it simultaneously undertakes analysis of both sociolinguistic and structural components. This is done by analysing the data within a theoretical framework consisting of two models. These are the Markedness Model and the MLF Model, both developed by Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b). Such interrogation of conceptual

notions and their application to 'live' data constitutes a contribution to scholarship. The study identifies the social factors in an urban setting which influence linguistic transformation. This is done by focusing on the language contact phenomenon of code-switching. It demonstrates how these social factors inform the process of change in language use.

Secondly, there are few studies already undertaken on code-switching in Kenya. These have not been approached from the perspective adopted in this study. Parkin (1974), for instance, studied code-switching behaviour in the Eastlands of Nairobi focusing on the functions of different codes. Muthwii (1986) studied English-Kiswahili-Kalenjin within the functional framework of Gumperz (1982), emphasizing the stylistic functions of code-switching. Gachinu (1996) based her study on the linguistic aspect of code-switching between Gikuyu-English-Kiswahili among the Agikuyu speech community, by searching for the dominant language between rural and urban Agikuyu during the switching of codes.

Thirdly, most studies on code-switching in Kenya focus on rural neighbouring speech communities, limiting their engagement to the territorial boundary between them. This does not afford in-depth interaction to facilitate free bilingual behaviour from which to make concrete conclusions. In contrast, this study is urban-based, involving the linguistic behaviour of the Logoli speech community which is exposed to three language varieties which entail a considerable amount of bilingual activity. According Matsuda (1984, 8), the Logoli speech community in the area is the largest of the Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroup communities, and 'one of the most predominant linguistic group in Kangemi'. Furthermore, Kangemi is host to ethnically heterogeneous communities from all over the country which interact daily. This makes the area (see Figure 1.2) ideal for observing bilingual trends among the Logoli speakers as they network with speakers of other languages.

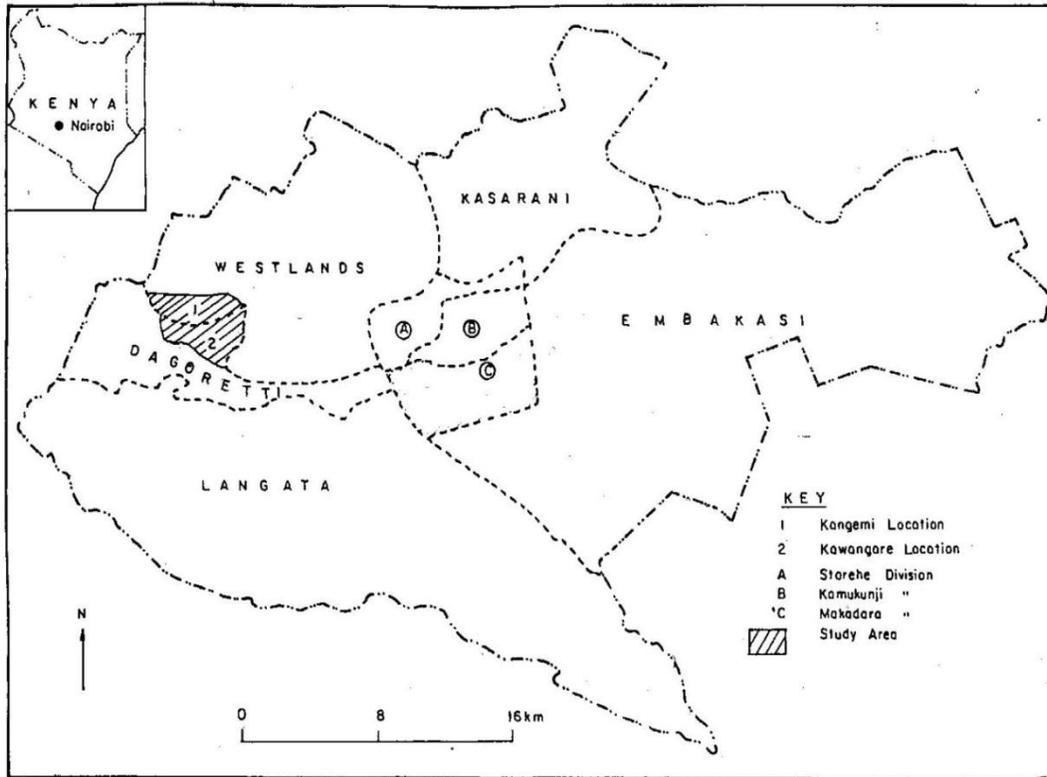


Figure 1.2: Map of Nairobi area
 (Source: Nairobi Parliamentary Constituencies 2001).

1.6 Objectives of the study

The study seeks to achieve four key objectives, namely;

- (i) To establish a sociolinguistic profile of the Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroups, the Logoli included, in the Kangemi informal urban settlement area.
- (ii) To identify the different social variables in the urban setting and to examine the role they play in determining code-switching behaviour among the Logoli speech community of Kangemi.
- (iii) To identify the social motivations that inform code-switching behaviour among the Logoli speech community, and to establish the extent to which these may be adequately explained by the Markedness Model
- (iv) To identify the structural features in code-switched material in the Kangemi corpus and to establish the extent to which these may be explained by the MLF Model.

1.7 Assumptions of the study

The main goal of this research is to highlight the influence of urban forces on the linguistic behaviour of the speech repertoire of the Logoli speakers of Kangemi. The key assumptions informing the study are:

- (i) the Logoli speech community dominates the Luyia linguistic groups resident in the Kangemi informal settlement area.
- (ii) urban-based social factors largely determine reasons for and the patterns of code-switching among the Logoli speech community in Kangemi.
- (iii) the sociolinguistic and the structural aspects of code-switching among the Logoli of Kangemi are adequately explained by the Markedness and the MLF models.

1.8 Scope and limitation of the study

The study is confined to the Kangemi area of Nairobi, although some members of the Logoli speech community live in other areas of the city. Focus on Kangemi gives the study depth in data generation, as contrasted with a wide area of study and yet not covered deeply. Kangemi is ideal for this study since the Logoli constitute a significant ratio of the population in comparison with the presence of other Luyia linguistic groups, as well as with other Kenyan linguistic groups resident in the area.

The study focuses on three language varieties namely: Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English. These have stable grammars and are lexically suitable for switching. English and Kiswahili are national languages. Speakers from most of the ethnic groups in Kenya, particularly those residing in urban areas, are fluent in Kiswahili which is essentially the language of urban Kenya. The respondents in this particular study live in Kangemi, some having migrated to the area while others have been born there. Lulogoli is the mother tongue (MT). However, the younger born in Nairobi are not as good in Lulogoli as in Kiswahili.

Finally, the study on code-switching limits itself to the theme of motivation subsumed under the Markedness Model and structural features analysed under the MLF model.

1.9 Language policy in Kenya: A Historical perspective

1.9.1 Establishment of colonial rule in Kenya

The colonisation of Africa began in earnest in the late 1870s when King Leopold of Belgium sent Sir Henry Morton Stanley to conclude treaties with African chiefs in the Congo Basin on his behalf. The French responded by sending de Brazza to the same region to act on their behalf. This in turn triggered the process known as the 'Scramble for Africa', whereby several European powers sought to lay claims on parts of Africa as their own.

This process threatened to get out of hand because of bitter rivalry and lack of order in the manner European powers sought to acquire colonial spheres. It was in an effort to avert this near-chaotic situation that German Chancellor of the time, Otto Von Bismarck, called the Berlin Conference. According to July (1974, 44), Bismarck was convenor and president of the conference from November 1884 to February 1885. The conference marked the systematic and orderly partition of the African continent among European powers. By the close of the nineteenth century, this process was over. New entities (colonies) were created across the continent. Colonial 'states' were basically forced unions of diverse ethnic groups or nationalities under western colonial powers. This marked the start of a new socio-economic and political order in Africa.

The British were the dominant European power in eastern Africa. According to Ogot (1968, 255), the establishment of the Kenya colony was a process that began in 1895 when the area now known as 'Kenya' was designated the 'East African Protectorate'. This was followed by encouraging British farmers to settle in the highland areas of Central Kenya, the Rift Valley and the environs of Nairobi. By 1904, there was a sizeable population of white settlers from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada. According to Ogot (ibid, 261) an all-white

Legislative Council was introduced in 1906, effectively entrenching colonial authority on the Africans. This era would last until 1963.

1.9.2 The case of Kiswahili in Kenya

The basic challenge of the colonial state in Kenya was how to control, for purposes of economic exploitation, people who had hitherto never been under one political authority. This involved shifting men from their locales to new areas far away to work on 'white farms'. It also involved the emergence and development of urban centres which led to the emergence of a new kind of society where different ethnic groups, speaking different languages, met to work together and live in the same neighbourhoods. The towns that first emerged were Mombasa, Nairobi, Kisumu, Nakuru, and Eldoret, to name a few.

The emerging colonial society had serious implications for the question of the language of communication. There was need to have a medium of communication that would bridge the gap between speakers of different languages, and to facilitate social-economic transactions. Kiswahili in Kenya emerged naturally out of such a need during the colonial period and became the *lingua-franca* not just in Kenya but in the wider Eastern African region. It is an indigenous Bantu language which is genetically related to the other Bantu languages.

Myers-Scotton (1993b, 26-27) puts this in proper perspective. She posits that diverse historical circumstances created serious need for a *lingua-franca* in the East African interior, and that Kiswahili was most suited to meet this need. In the first place, Kiswahili had served as the *lingua-franca* in the nineteenth century between the Swahili-Arab traders and communities of the interior to facilitate trade in ivory and other items. This was followed by the coming of the European Christian missionaries who needed a medium through which to proclaim the Gospel. The first language to be reduced to writing in East Africa was Kiswahili, following the coming of Dr. Ludwig Krapf in the 1840s. Krapf was a missionary sponsored by the Church Missionary Society of London. Apart from evangelisation in the hinterland of Mombasa, Krapf embarked on reducing Kiswahili into writing. He did this by using the Roman script (*ibid*). Pioneer missionary,

Krapf produced the first grammar of Kiswahili in 1850 (July 1974, 561). Apart from the Christian literature, many materials began to be produced in Kiswahili, especially with the onset of British colonial rule at the close of the nineteenth century. This advanced the mobility of the language in the region further.

Consequently, when the British established the colonial state out of disparate ethnic groups speaking different languages, Kiswahili was made to serve as the language of governance as well as the language of communication between Africans themselves. Following the Second World War, Africans began to demand for independence, and Kiswahili conveniently became the language of nationalist mobilization for independence.

Today, Kiswahili is the single, most widely spoken language in Kenya. According to Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000, 43), it is spoken by 65% of the total population. In my view, this figure is extremely conservative, given that today Kiswahili is spoken almost everywhere in the country, though it differs in fluency from region to region. It is robust in the informal sector and in the government offices as a medium of transaction of business. It is the medium of interaction whenever members of different ethnic groups meet, especially in social institutions and urban areas. It serves as a powerful instrument of uniting the many ethnic groups in the country.

Since independence in the early 1960s, and, with the aim of aiding the currency and importance of Kiswahili, the government has consistently given it prominence in the language policies since independence. From 1976, the government made the learning and teaching of Kiswahili compulsory at both primary and secondary levels of education (Republic of Kenya 1976, 1981, 1985, and Mulokozi 2002). The most emphatic policy statement on the status of Kiswahili in Kenya is contained in the revised constitution of Kenya (Republic of Kenya 2010, 14). The constitution simultaneously declares Kiswahili as the national language of the Republic of Kenya as well as the other official language along with English.

1.9.3 The case of English in Kenya

According to Heller (1995, 173), language policy refers to the ways governments contribute to the politics of language practices and statements of preference regarding these practices; it is tied to language politics which involves ways in which language is bound with 'the creation, exercise and maintenance or change and relations of power'. It is in this context that the dominance of English in official circles in Kenya has to be understood. Until the promotion of Kiswahili to status of co-official language in 1910, English had been the sole official language, since inception of the colonial period, the official language in Kenya. According to Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000, 13), the language policy in Kenya has, from the colonial period to the present, always favoured and promoted English at the expense of the other languages, especially the vernacular languages.

From the onset of colonial rule, and even after Kenya became independent, English has been constantly given prominence by the government of the day as the most revered, powerful and prestigious language (Kembo-Sure & Ogechi 2009 153). According to the 1949 *African Education Report*, primary school pupils were to be instructed in their MT during the first three years of schooling. At the same time, Kiswahili was recommended as the Language of Instruction (LOI) for lower primary. Unfortunately, a 1951 *Study of Education Policy in East and Central Africa* recommended the abolition of Kiswahili as LOI in lower primary schools.

In 1953, the report from the Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office recommended MT to be used as LOI in the first four years of primary education. The report was implemented by the government of the day. Kembo-Sure and Ogechi (2009, 153-4) have strongly protested against this preference of English in instruction at the expense of the indigenous languages. They argue that this bias is grounded in myth and stereotype. They reason that English has been elevated to the status of being perceived as education or knowledge itself rather than being an instrument. For them, English is portrayed as a precondition for social, cultural and economic development and the language of mathematics, science and technology. They argue that this is a deliberate attempt to perpetuate the hegemonic status of English around the world. The

elevation of Kiswahili to official status, however, seems to provide a balance of the significance of the two languages

1.10 Sociolinguistic profile of Kenya

Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000, 43) describe the term *sociolinguistic profile* as ‘...the characterization of the language situation in a state, region, or community, or the language world of an individual’, on the basis of contemporary population density and distribution along geographical and linguistic lines.

It has always been hard to state the exact number of languages in African countries because this is always fraught with politics of ethnicity. Mesthrie et al. (2000, 9) observe the difficulties faced by linguists in stating what exactly constitutes a language in relation to overlapping entities like ‘dialects’. They (2000, 145) argue that the distinction between language and dialect tends to be political rather than linguistic. Hence to depoliticize this, some linguists find the term variety neutral and thus more useful (2000, 148).

Bearing this in mind, we can safely state that Kenya is a multi-ethnic state with language as a key criterion defining the ethnic groups. It is a plurilingual state with speakers of diverse linguistic varieties. According to internet sources (Ethnologue-Kenya), the number of individual languages listed for Kenya is 68. However, these include both macro-languages and their dialects. Whiteley (1974, 27) gives the number of indigenous languages in Kenya as thirty-four. However, given the deep-seated issue of politics of language, Kenya has about forty one language varieties (Webb & Kembo-Sure, 2000) which coincide with the number of ethnic and major ethnolinguistic subgroups. These language varieties are in turn traceable to the three major language families, namely Bantu, Nilotic and Cushitic (see Section 1.3).

Myers-Scotton (1993b, 17) has rightly observed that the speakers of Bantu languages dominate the Kenyan population, but occupy a relatively smaller geographical area in terms of territory. According to Were (1968, 177) and McIntosh (1968, 198), the Bantu speakers include the

Kikuyu, Kamba, Meru, Embu, Tharaka and Mbeere of Central and Eastern Kenya; the Luyia, Gusii, Kuria and Suba of Western Kenya; and the Mijikenda, Swahili, Pokomo, TaitaTaveta and Segeju of Coastal Kenya.

Cohen (1968, 142-156) observes that the Nilotic speakers may be categorised in three clusters. The River-lake Nilotes are represented by the Luo of Nyanza Province in Western Kenya. Their cousins include the Acholi and Lango in Uganda, and the Nuer and Shilluk in South Sudan. The Highlands Nilotes consist primarily of Kalenjin speakers, namely the Marakwet, Tugen, Pokot, Keiyo, Kony, Kipsigis and Nandi of the highlands to the west of the Rift Valley. The Plains Nilotes form the Maa-speakers, and include the Maasai who occupy the expansive Rift Valley plains of southern Kenya and northern Tanzania, the Samburu of northern-central Kenya and the Njemps or ilchamus of Lake Baringo area. They also include Turkana of north-Western Kenya, the Elmolo, and the Teso. The latter occupy both sides of the border between Kenya and Uganda. The Cushitic speakers occupy the expansive but arid northern and eastern areas of Kenya (Ehret, 1968, 195). The two major languages spoken here are Somali (spoken in the north eastern province), and Oromo (spoken by the Galla people of Ethiopia, groups of who migrated into and settled in eastern Kenya in the past). Other Oromo-related varieties include Boran, Gabra, Rendille and Orma.

According to the 2009 population census, Kenya had a population of the 38.6 million. Of this, the Kikuyu make up 17%, followed by the Luyia (14%), Kalenjin (13%), Luo (10%), Kamba (10%), Kisii (6%), Mijikenda (5%), Meru (4%), while the rest constitute 21%. For purposes of this study, the national numerical standing of the Luyia linguistic group, of whom the Logoli ethnolinguistic subgroup is a part, lends credence to the justification of studying the community in an urban setting.

1.11 Speakers of the Oluluyia Bantu language of Western Kenya

According to Were (1968, 190), the Abaluyia are the largest Bantu speaking ethnic group in western Kenya, speaking the Oluluyia (Luyia) macro-language. He states that the Abaluyia

traditions indicate that Luyia speakers entered and began occupying their present areas of habitation from eastern Uganda from around 1600 AD. This process went on until the end of the nineteenth century when the various groups had stabilized in their present areas of settlement. This coincided with the arrival of British colonialism in the 1890s which confined the different ethnic groups into their areas at the time along the newly introduced administrative boundaries. The Abaluyia border the Luo to the South, the Kalenjin to the North and East, and the Teso, Basoga and Bagishu of Uganda to the West. The Abaluyia are the major Bantu ethnic group occupying Western Kenya. In terms of national statistics the Luyia people, speaking Oluluyia or Luyia language, are the second single largest ethnic group after the Kikuyu of Central Kenya. The Abaluyia ethnic group is comprised of sixteen ethnolinguistic subgroups namely; the Kisa, Marama, Wanga, Banyala, Batsotso, Isukha, Idakho, Tiriki, Maragoli (Logoli), Nyore, Marachi, Khayo, Samia, Kabras, Tachoni and Bukusu (Were, 1967) (see Figure 1.3).

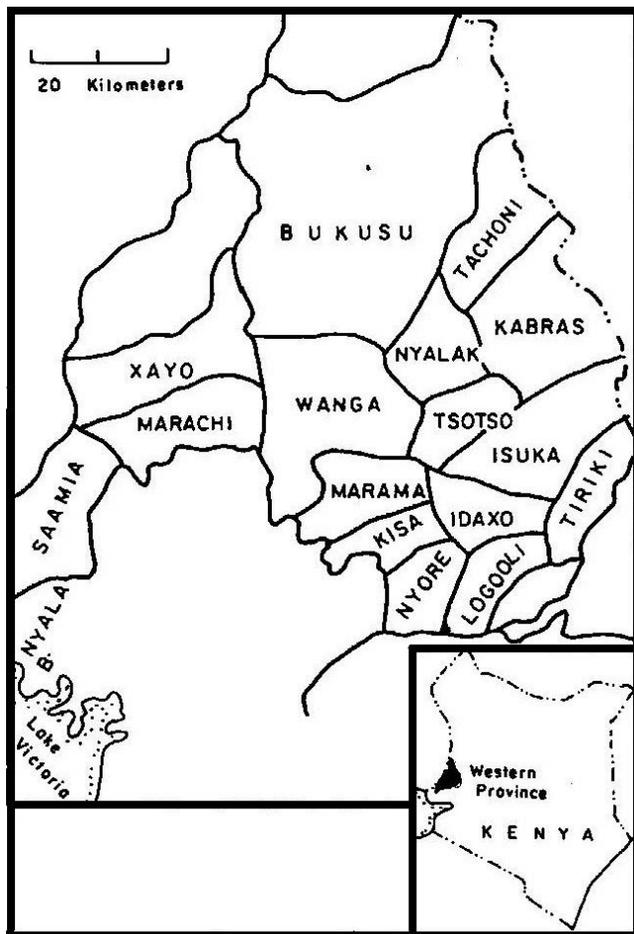


Figure 1.3: The Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroups of Western Kenya.

(Source: Eworld Cat.org 2000-2012)

According to Wagner (1949, 20), the Luyia group emerged from people of diverse origins. They did not originally have a common name. Gradually, however, these heterogeneous groups came to call themselves the *Abaluyia* (meaning the Luyia people). Osogo (1966, 8) supports the view that the term 'Luyia' gained currency in the 1940s following the establishment of Luyia Language Committee by the colonial administration who worked out Luyia orthography.

Itebete (1974, 89) rightly states that Luyia dialects show differing degrees of mutual intelligibility. The extreme southern Luyia (for example the Lulogoli) and the extreme northern Luyia (the Lubukusu) dialects display sharp linguistic differences. On the other hand, the 'central' Luyia dialects namely; Lukisa, Lutsotso, Lumarama, Luwanga, Lwisukha, Lwidakho, which were chosen to form the basis of the standardized orthography, show few differences. Of these, the Luidakha, Luisukha, Lutirichi are extremely close dialects and are clustered together by ethnologue categorisation (*Ethnologue: Languages of the World*). According to Itebete (1974, 89), Lwisukha and Lwidakho are even close, almost to the point of not being distinguishable as separate dialects. He states:

Linguistically, it would be difficult to prove that Lwisukha and Lwidakho are separate dialects, unless one took as criteria small differences in vowel-quality and quantity and some tonal variations.

1.12 The Logoli dialect of the western province used in Nairobi

The Avalogoli are speakers of Lulogoli ethnolinguistic subgroup dialect of the Luyia linguistic group. Lulogoli is a member of the Oluluyia macro-language (Luyia). According to *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, this dialect is alternately referred to as Lulogole, Lulugule, Logooli, Luragoli, Maragoli, Maragooli, Ragoli, Uluragooli. This research has adopted the term Logoli for the ethnolinguistic subgroup under study, and Lulogoli for the dialect. The Logoli speech community inhabit the south-eastern extremity of the Luyia territory. The subjects of this study are the members of this community who are residents of the Kangemi informal settlement area of Nairobi.

According to Gimode (1993, 146), the onset of colonial rule and the missionary work in western Kenya saw the Logoli become the first Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroup to embrace Christianity and western education. The Logoli dialect or ethnolinguistic subgroup variety was quickly reduced to writing by the American Quaker (Friends Society) missionaries. Gudahi (2003, 4), affirms the fact that Lulogoli, like other Bantu languages, is agglutinative. When the Quaker missionaries settled at Kaimosi in 1902, they studied and adopted the five vowels (a, e, i, o, u) from the work done earlier by pioneer missionary Ludwig Krapf. This was in an attempt to reduce Lulogoli to writing. By 1908, Rev. Emory Rees and Rev. Arthur Chilson had printed parts of the New Testament in Lulogoli. Along with missionary texts, many more materials were produced for learning and teaching in schools, and for general communication in Lulogoli.

The Logoli people became evangelists among other Luyia groups, using the different sections of the Bible (Psalms, Proverbs, Gospels and Epistles) that had been translated. The complete Lulogoli Bible was produced in 1951. The Lulogoli Bible and hymn book were printed and used among the many other Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroups well into the late twentieth century when the Bible was translated into their ethnolinguistic subgroup forms. These included the Nyala, Kabras, Tachoni and Bukusu in central and northern Luyia territory.

Of great significance for this study is the fact that right from the first years of contact with the West, most Logoli young people quickly understood and mapped out strategies of how to fit into the new colonial economy. Beginning in the 1920s, the Logoli men began to migrate to 'white settler' farms in the Rift Valley and Central regions of Kenya to work for a salary. Others moved into the emerging urban centres, but especially Nairobi which was fast evolving as the colonial capital, with the view to get jobs, to earn money and to enjoy urban social amenities. According to Matsuda (1984, 5), the Logoli migrants quickly formed 'an urban colony in Kangemi' in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Kangemi was a new low-cost informal residential area on the outskirts of Nairobi city to the west. This was significant in the sense that there were

many such settlements emerging in Nairobi, but Kangemi was convenient for the Logoli because it was the entry point to the city for people coming in from the west of the country.

Kangemi informal settlement began serious expansion in the late 1960s, an expansion that corresponded significantly with the increase in the Logoli population. Matsuda (1984, 5) argues that according to the 1969 Kenya national census, the Maragoli population overall numbered 150,000, which translated to only 1% of the national total. Yet, in the 1970s and early 1980s the Logoli population dominated other Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroups and even the non-Luyia populations in Kangemi. In his research, Matsuda sampled some sixty (60) tenant houses which together generated 745 rooms for rental. Of these, 256 rooms, translating to 34.4%, were occupied by the Logoli migrants into the city (see Table 1.1).

Luyia sub-group	No. of rooms	Percent no. of rooms
Maragoli	256	34.5
Idakho	50	6.7
Isukha	43	5.3
Tiriki	23	3.1
Bunyore	50	6.7
Other Luyia	28	3.8

Table 1.1: Luyia sub-group in Kangemi
(Extracted from Matsuda 1984, 10).

Currently, the Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroups found in Kangemi are the Logoli, Idakho, Isukha, Banyore, Samia, Tachoni, Marachi, Tiriki, Kisa, Wanga, Marama, Kabararas, Bukusu and the Khayo. Of these, the Logoli constitute 45%, the undisputed dominant Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroup in Kangemi peri-urban area of Nairobi. This is a good indicator of the viability of Logoli as a group to study.

1.13 Overview of the study

This research is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 focuses on the background issues of the study, namely, introduction, aims of the study, the geographical setting and the subject of bilingualism. It addresses the key issues of the statement of the problem, objectives,

assumptions and rationale. It also gives an overview of the ethnic composition of Kenya and the linguistic implication of this. Finally, it gives a brief history of the three codes (Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English) featuring in code-switching among the Logoli speakers of Kangemi.

Chapter 2 primarily deals with the review of literature related to code-switching. It examines the literature on both social and structural aspects of code choice in general and the subject of code-switching in particular. It reviews the different theoretical traditions related to code-switching. It ultimately identifies the theoretical framework within which the analysis of data is undertaken.

Chapter 3 is a discussion of the methodology used in undertaking this research. It highlights both the qualitative and quantitative approaches and summarises the procedures used in data gathering.

Chapter 4 is the presentation and analysis of data collected from the administration of the questionnaire. It basically provides findings on the sociolinguistic behaviour and attitudes of the Logoli speech community resident in Kangemi. This presentation is done with the help of tables, bar graphs and a pie chart.

Chapter 5 provides an analysis of the corpus generated from the study area. This analysis is undertaken within two models which constitute the theoretical framework. These are, the Markedness model, which seeks to explain social aspects of code-switching, and the MLF model which addresses the structural aspects of code-switching.

Chapter 6 concludes the study by summarising the research findings, review of the contribution made to the field of knowledge and making recommendations for further studies in the area.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE RELATED TO CODE-SWITCHING

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of literature related to the broad subject of bilingualism in general and to the phenomenon of code-switching in particular. It is divided into several sections which highlight specific aspects. Section 2.2 examines the relationship between bilingualism and code-switching. Section 2.3 reviews literature on the concept of code-switching, and how this relates to other key language contact phenomena such as language mixing, lexical borrowing and diglossia. Section 2.4 provides a historical synopsis of theories on code-switching, followed by Section 2.5, which is an introduction to the two major approaches to the study of code-switching, namely, the sociolinguistic and the structural.

In Sections 2.6 of the chapter the literature on the socio-pragmatic approach to code-switching is reviewed. This includes a review of the paradigms developed by different sociolinguists such as Fishman, Rubin, Hymes, Gumperz, and Auer. The section concludes with an overall statement on the justification for Myers-Scotton's two models, namely, the Markedness Model and the MLF Model. It then goes on to review these models in relation to code-switching in detail before adopting them for analysis of the sociolinguistic and structural aspects of the corpus in this study respectively.

In Section 2.7 literature is reviewed on the structural approach to code-switching. It includes the central question of constraint in grammatical analysis and code-switching, and Myers-Scotton's MLF Model and its key assumptions. The section ends by adopting the MLF Model for the structural aspects of the current study.

In Section 2.8 is a brief review of selected studies undertaken on code-switching in Kenya. The chapter concludes with Section 2.9 which briefly summarises the content of the chapter.

2.2 The place of code-switching in bilingualism studies

The term 'bilingualism' has been used by different scholars to describe the ability of using two languages in contexts such as reading, writing, listening and speaking. Grosjean (1995, 259) describes bilinguals as people who have developed competency in and use of two or more languages or dialects in daily life. He (1995, 261) concludes that a bilingual is a 'unique speaker-hearer using one language, the other language, or both together on the interlocutor, situation, topic, etc'. Some scholars, notably Mesthrie, et al. (2000, 39,148) and Fasold, (1984, 180) tend to use the term 'bilingualism' interchangeably with the term 'multilingualism'. The two terms imply the use of two or more languages or varieties in a society.

The literature on bilingual research seems to point to the centrality of code-switching among other language contact phenomena. Riehl (2005, 1945) argues that most research on bilingualism focuses on code-switching. This view is supported by Milroy and Muysken (1995, 7), who state that code-switching is perhaps 'the central issue' in bilingualism.

Mesthrie et al. (2000, 171) observe that studies carried out on code-switching have been done in bilingual speech communities because bilingualism can be said to be a prerequisite for the production of code-switched speech. In the same vein, Kamwangamalu (2000, 4) argues that ability to engage in code-switching linguistic behaviour presupposes competence in at least two language varieties.

Of all the language contact phenomena associated with bilingual behaviour, code-switching stands out because of the immense attention it has received in research. According to Dabane (1995, 125), code-switching is a sub-field of bilingualism, while Ramat (1995, 45) observes that it is a widespread form of bilingualism. Gardner-Chloros (1995, 68) describes code-switching as a 'broader blanket term' for several inter-lingual phenomena, and it cannot be kept separate from manifestations of other language contact phenomena. For Milroy and Muysken (1995, 7), the central issue of bilingualism research is code-switching, which they describe as a '...general term under which different forms of bilingual behaviour are subsumed'.

2.3 Code-switching and its relationship with other language-contact phenomena

This section gives a review of the concept of code-switching, and examines the relationship between code-switching and selected language-contact phenomena.

2.3.1 Definition of code-switching

There is no one precise definition of the term and concept of code-switching. Rather, there are numerous definitions that emphasise different aspects of the phenomenon by different scholars. Gumperz (1982, 59) defines code-switching in conversational terms, describing it as 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to different grammatical systems or sub-systems'. He observes that in code-switching the speakers communicate fluently, maintaining a smooth flow of talk without hesitation, pause, rhythm, pitch level, or intonation. For Poplack (1995, 200), code-switching is the 'juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological or syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of its lexifier language'.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993b, 4), code-switching is the 'selection of bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation'. Thus, switching to her involves a dominant language and an embedded language. Furthermore, she emphasises the aspect of proficiency in both languages. The same view is held by Rasekh et al. (2008, 552), who state that code-switching occurs when competent bilingual speakers/listeners share knowledge of the two languages well enough to differentiate terms from either language at any moment during the interaction. MacSwan (2004, 284) defines code-switching as the alternate use of two or more languages within the same utterance

2.3.2 Code-switching and code-mixing

Kachru (1978, 107-8) uses the context of the Indian sub-continent to distinguish between code-switching and code-mixing. He attempts to distinguish the two on the basis of motivation or function, arguing that code-switching takes place (in the case of India) from a 'standard' variety

to a dialect, for instance, code-switching may be used to serve the function of expressing 'anger, disapproval, in-group membership, asides and solidarity,' which are better expressed in dialect. In contrast, Kachru (1978, 108) argues, code-mixing is associated with, say a language like English and another code, and is a socially accepted marker of education and what may be termed 'westernisation in India'. It involves transference of linguistic units from one code to another, resulting into a new code of interaction, for instance westernised Hindi. He (1978, 111) further argues that code-mixing is used 'as a device for education and interpretation-to avoid vagueness and ambiguity'.

According to Clyne (1991, 161) there is no hard and fast line distinguishing code-switching and code-mixing because they are one and the same phenomenon of code alternation in conversation. For Romaine (1995, cited in Cardenas-Claros, 2009, 68) code alternation takes place in a continuum at the extremes of which are inter-sentential and intra-sentential types. These divisions may be taken as a first step in understanding the relationship between code-switching and code-mixing.

Perhaps Pieter Muysken ranks among the scholars who have done extensive research and writing on code-switching and related phenomena. Milroy and Muysken (1995, 7) define code-switching as 'alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation' Elsewhere Muysken (1995, 189) defines code-switching as 'the use of two languages in one clause or utterance'. Muysken (2000, 3) introduces the aspect of 'mixing' when he discusses patterns of intra-sentential alternation. In their work of 2005 Rene and Muysken describe code-switching as the overall process of alternation of codes, while code-mixing as the intra-sentential form of code-switching.

Cardeners-Claros (2009, 68) distinguishes between code-switching and code-mixing on the base of the position at which switching takes place. This results into the division between inter-sentential and intra-sentential alternation. According to her (2009, 68), code-switching is inter-sentential alternation and takes place when 'a bilingual speaker uses more than one language in

a single utterance above the clause to appropriately convey his/her intents'. Conversely, code-mixing is intra-sentential alternation which occurs when more than one language is used 'below clause level within one social situation' (2009, 69).

Peter Auer (1995, 116) uses the term 'alternation' rather than 'switching'. For him the latter is a 'cover' term for several other phenomena. Hence code-alternation is a process involving continuous juxtaposition of codes. Elsewhere, Auer (1998, 1) refers to and defines code-switching as 'cases in which the juxtaposition of two codes (languages) is perceived and interpreted as a locally meaningful event to participants'. He places emphasis on 'local meaning'. Auer (1998, 1) defines language-mixing, on the other hand, as 'the juxtaposition of two languages in which the use of two languages is meaningful (to participants) not in a local but only in a more global sense'. Thus, whereas code-switching is 'local' in a sense, language mixing is global. He argues in this work that there is a transition from code-switching to language-mixing. This transition is identified with the level of speakers' perception and uses the two codes in question.

2.3.3 Lexical borrowing and code-switching

The concept of lexical borrowing and its relationship with code-switching has generated heated debate among researchers of the bilingual phenomena. Poplack and Meechan (1995, 200) attest to the fact that the identification and analysis of the two terms is the focus of much controversy. The question has arisen as to whether 'code-switching' and 'borrowing' should be treated as different entities. According to Rasekh et al. (2008, 552), lexical borrowing 'refers to the use of a phonologically and sometimes morphologically adapted words from one language in the other'. There are two categories of borrowing, namely the traditional categories of borrowings which Poplack and Sankoff (1984) describe as having characteristics of being recurrent and widespread. These are also called 'established loan words' which demonstrate full integration and widespread diffusion. In other words, they have become an accepted part of the host language. Grosjean (1982, 127) describes these as elements from one language which are 'integrated phonologically and morphologically into the base language'.

The second category, *nonce borrowing*, was first described by Haugen (1950). The concept has been more recently taken up by Poplack and Sankoff (1984) and Poplack and Meechan (1995). According to Muysken (1995, 190), nonce borrowing constitutes elements ‘borrowed on the spur of the moment’, without as yet having status in the receiving language. Weinrich (1953, 11) describes nonce borrowing as being synonymous with ‘speech borrowing’. According to Riehl (2005, 1947), nonce borrowings may be equated with idiosyncratic loans. These, she posits, are lexical transfers. She agrees with Poplack and Meechan that code-switching and borrowing are different phenomena.

The bone of contention is basically not the ‘traditional’ loans but the concept of ‘nonce borrowing’. Some scholars such Bentahila and Davies (1991 cited in Poplack and Meechan 1995, 200) and Bokamba (1988) reject the concept of nonce borrowing and argue that any single loan word from a donor language that is not an established loan word in the receiving language should be treated as a code-switch. It is in the same vein that Mahootian (1993) and Myers-Scotton (1991, 1993a) question the distinction between borrowing and code-switching, arguing that they are one and the same thing. In fact, Myers-Scotton goes as far as questioning the difference made by other researchers between nonce borrowing and traditional borrowings. For her (1991, 218), borrowing should refer only to the elements that are ‘recurrent in a specific corpus of data and notions that are “new” to the specific community’. According to her, all other elements are switches.

Other researchers like Muysken (1987), Grosjean (1982), Poplack (1990), Sankoff et al. (1990), Poplack and Meechan (1995), argue for the disembedding of the two processes and treating them separately. Grosjean (1982), for instance, argues that in code-switching lexical elements change to the other language, while in borrowing the elements become part and parcel of the receiving language. Scientific or technological English terms such as radio, television, mobile, among others, are typical borrowings integrated into other codes.

Poplack (1993) posits that the mechanisms involved in the switching and borrowings are different. In the case of switching, the integrity of the grammar of both languages in interaction is respected. In the case of borrowing, on the other hand, the grammar of only the recipient language is respected. Poplack and Meechan (1995, 200) emphasise this distinction between the two phenomena. They argue that code-switching involves 'juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments', while borrowing is 'the adaptation of lexical material to the morphological and syntactic (and usually, phonological) patterns of the recipient language'. Prasad (2010) argues that while switching involves alternation of codes within a single discourse or sentence or constituent, borrowing involves an item from one language that has been integrated to fit into another.

2.3.4 Code-switching and diglossia

Fasold (1984, 34) states that the term 'diglossia' was first used in English in the late 1950s by Charles Ferguson, though it had its origin in the word *diglossie* which had been earlier used by French linguist Marçais. According to Ferguson (1972, 232), diglossic communities have one form of the language applied in public, official, written or formal contexts, and designated as 'High', then there is a second form used in ordinary linguistic interactions which is designated as 'Low'. There is accordingly a specification of function for the High and Low varieties, with well-defined situations of appropriateness.

Ervin-Tripp (1972, 240) describes diglossia as a language contact phenomenon where a code that is relatively distinct from the casual vernacular is used in formal situations, as in the case of many American speech communities. Brown and Colin (1979, 47) speak of diglossia as a sub-set of code-switching, describing it as 'a particularly tidy case of a much more general phenomenon, code-switching', and which is dependent on communication situations. These situations include the role of participants and features of the scene.

Perhaps a classic example of diglossic bilingualism is the case of the Hemnesberget speech community in Norway. The community constituted the subject of study for the pioneering work

on code-switching by Blom and Gumperz (1972). The two researchers demonstrated that the speech community recognised two linguistic varieties. The first is *Ranamål*, the local variety used in everyday linguistic interaction and associated with low social language functions. The second is *Bokmål*, the standard Norwegian variety associated with High social functions. Whereas Blom and Gumperz describe this phenomenon as situational code-switching, Fasold (1984, 194) describes it as a case of 'broad diglossia'.

A unique manifestation of diglossia in the African context is described by Mkilifi (1978, 134). He describes a situation in Tanzania which he calls triglossia, a 'situation of intersection between two developing diglossic situations, one involving Kiswahili and some vernacular and the other involving Swahili and English.' In this case Kiswahili is involved in two diglossic systems. On the one hand, it is paired as the high language with various Tanzanian vernaculars as low languages. On the other, it is paired as the low language with English as the high. Mkilifi (1978, 136) observes that vernaculars are used only in very local situations, while English is used for official government business, commerce, legal institutions, higher education, and interaction at global level and in technological applications. Fasold (1984, 45) has described this kind of situation as 'double overlapping glossia'.

Mkilifi's observations seem to find easy parallels with the Kenyan linguistic scene, especially in the urban areas where several codes are in general use. In such settings there is a tendency to separate codes on the basis of function and situation.

2.4 Code-switching: A historical synopsis

According to Iqbal (2011, 188), code-switching has existed in the literature on bilingualism since the early twentieth century when Espinosa (1917) wrote of a 'speech mixture' in the speech of the New Mexicans. He goes on to state that early studies on code-switching focused on Spanish-English in the USA, and on the bilingual situation on the Indian sub-continent. In the case of Spanish and English, Rothman and Rell (2005, 617,618) observe that since the turn of the twentieth century there has been an influx of Mexican immigrants into the USA, thereby creating an unparalleled language contact situation. Uriel Weinrich (1953) was steeped in what

today we call code-switching research, but for lack of a better term referred to it as a 'transfer' of lexical items.

MacSwan (2004, 284) identifies three phases in the more recent history of code-switching since the mid-twentieth century. He argues that the first phase consisted of the pioneering research in code-switching in the late 1960s and early 1970s by Blom and Gumperz. Their research is best identified with the village of Hemnesberget, Norway (1972), and remains a watershed in the study of code-switching. MacSwan points out that the two demonstrated the 'formal and informal' functions played by dialect-switching in various social settings and events, focusing on analysis of conversational events and the role of switching in the speech event or situations.

For MacSwan (2004, 285), the second phase of the history of code-switching took the form of 'interest in the grammatical properties of code-switching', which indicated that code-switching behaviour was 'rule-governed and not haphazard'. This in turn set the stage for the third and contemporary phase which has focused on the search in linguistic analysis for a framework or model that could account for language-specific 'constraints' in code-switched conversations. Milroy and Muysken (1995, 10) observe that code-switching today has developed into a complex field with a flourishing research tradition. The tradition consists of a variety of approaches and analytical techniques under which data from language pairs in different parts of the world is subjected to analysis and interpretation.

2.5 Two broad approaches to code-switching

Researchers on code-switching have tended to employ two basic approaches in the analysis of code-switched data, namely the sociolinguistic or pragmatic approach on the one hand, and the grammatical or structural approach on the other. According to Riehl (2005, 1945), the sociolinguistic approach has basically to do with the use of language, while the grammatical approach has to do with the system or structure. She points out that most researchers have been more concerned with the sociological interpretation and discourse of functions, i.e. the

socio-pragmatic aspects of code-switching. This, she observes, has led many to wrongly appear to assume that code-switching research is solely synonymous with sociolinguistic research.

Koppe and Meisel (1995, 277) express the view that the bilingual code-switching requires both pragmatic and grammatical competence in both languages. They argue that pragmatic competence entails the ability to select the code according to external factors such as the interlocutor, the situational context, the topic of conversation, etc. On the other hand, they argue that grammatical competence involves 'switches within one sentence' while applying specific grammatical 'constraints'. The two writers (1995, 276) observe that since the 1970s, research on language contact phenomena, and especially on code-switching, has been characterised by identification of both grammatical and pragmatic constraints. This complementary approach is significant and is adopted for the present study.

Ramat (1995) observes that the sociolinguistic approach has a sort of priority over the grammatical or structural approach. She (1995, 46) reasons that this is because the choice and alternation between different languages or varieties is 'triggered by social or psychological factors rather than internal linguistic factors of the languages involved'. This view is apparently supported by a number of researchers. For instance, Alfonzetti (2005, 106, 107) argues that most code-switching behaviour is functionally motivated, and that the occurrence of a particular switching strategy is likely to be traced to the influence of factors outside the domain of syntax such as social networks, attitudes, socio-symbolic values, among other variables.

Myers-Scotton (1990) had earlier echoed similar views by arguing that social conditions may, and in fact do, change linguistic behaviour in general and code-switching patterns in particular by most likely determining the preferred permissible patterns. Poplack (1980) argues against this generalisation of the apparent primacy of the sociolinguistic over the grammatical aspects of code-switching. She rather posits the need for an overall pattern of switching instead of overemphasising the importance of function.

The present study, based in Kangemi, Nairobi, has both the grammatical-structural and socio-pragmatic aspects. It does not privilege either approach, but attempts to demonstrate the relevance of each aspect and to interpret the data within the two models adopted, namely the Markedness Model and the MLF Model. The study concurs with Muysken's argument, which emphasises the importance of both aspects in research. He (1995, 178) states, in this respect, that 'the sociolinguistic study of code-switching cannot proceed without a solid theoretically based *structural analysis*'.

The rest of the sections in this chapter consist of a detailed review of literature based on the two broad approaches and the researchers associated with them.

2.6 The socio-pragmatic approach to the study of code-switching

The sociolinguistic or socio-pragmatic approach to the study of code-switching seeks to establish the social variables that influence code-switching among bilinguals. This is in line with the general observation of Mesthrie et al. (2000, 4) on language and society which postulates that there is need to account for 'what can be said in a language, by whom, in whose presence, when and where, in what manner and what circumstances'.

The society-based approach to the study of language is basically functional, according to which structures derive their forms from the functions they perform in a speech community. Halliday (1978, 4) observes that 'language is as it is because of the functions it has evolved to serve'. Proponents of the linkage between society and language argue that language acquisition is not just a cognitive process involving the activation of a predisposition in the human brain, but rather a societal process which can only unfold in social interaction. Mesthrie et al. (2000, 5) observe that as a child acquires a first language, it is sensitive to certain environmental conditions which include 'the social identity of the different people with whom the child interacts'.

According to Fasold (1984, ix), the starting point of the study of language is society, and that language makes sense only because it is both a social resource as well as a problem. Sankoff (1986, xxi) argues along similar lines that society is 'not in the grip of language', and that 'language is more dependent on the social world than the other way round'.

The socio-pragmatic approach to code-switching is trajectory of the above general field of sociolinguistic study. The approach emphasises the role of social factors in the making of code-choice which include specific settings, functions and participants, among others. This approach took definitive shape after the 1960s following an acute need for a society-oriented perspective. The approach centres on a number of paradigms that have been developed to account for motivations for code-switching.

According to Wardhaugh (1986, 87) the term 'code' may be used to refer to 'any kind of system two or more people employ for communication'. He argues that it is suitable to use because it is neutral and less emotive in comparison with related terms such as dialect, language and variety. When analysing languages in contact, linguists talk of 'language choice'. According to Grosjean (1995, 203) 'language choice' is a phrase used for the 'discussion' taken to the base-language to be used. Code-choice may therefore be described as the bilingual's choice for a specific discourse. In the current study, code-choice is the broader perspective in bilingual behaviour within which language contact phenomena such as code-switching and diglossia are analysed. A number of paradigms have, therefore, been developed since the 1960s within which the question of code-choice has been discussed. The researchers associated with these paradigms are reviewed below.

2.6.1 The allocation and the interactionist paradigms

As stated above, since the 1960s a number of paradigms have been developed with a view to examining the question of code-choice. The first to be developed in the 1960s and early 1970s was the 'allocation paradigm'. It was the forerunner of later perspectives that have been since applied to the analysis of code-choice. A significant contribution of the allocation paradigm was

its emphasis on the social context of language, making a clear departure from previous paradigms which were purely linguistic. It took the form of two models: the Domains Model associated with Joshua Fishman (1972) and the Language Tree Model associated with Rubin (1968).

Fishman (1972, 437) focuses on variables which may contribute to an understanding of 'who speaks what language, to whom and when' in multilingual speech communities. He states that language choice in such communities is not random but rather chosen by 'particular classes of interlocutors on particular occasions to discuss particular kinds of topics'. In this way, he came up with the concept of 'domains' of language behaviour in order to explain code-choices. Fishman (1972, 441) defines domains as social settings or contexts within which linguistic interaction occurs. This enables us to understand that language choice and topic are related to widespread sociological norms and explanations.

Fishman (1972, 442) proposes that a 'domain' is a socio-cultural construct that is abstracted from topics of communication and role relationships between communicators. Some of the domains that he identifies include family, religion, school, market, work place and the courtroom. Many studies on the determinants of language choice have been informed by Fishman's work on domains. It was a crucial starting point and an important early contribution in the analysis of the question of 'language choice'. However, the model falls short when treating a phenomenon such as code-switching. This is because the language-domain link is seen in terms of large-scale social, political and economic entities where language choices are predicted by the domains in which they occur, thus undermining the very same idea of choice. According to Fasold (1984, 183), the 'domains' analysis is more relevant to the phenomenon of diglossia which acknowledges formal and informal domains with specific codes to match.

A model similar to that of Fishman was that developed by Rubin (1968), and which has been described as the Decision Tree Model or Binary Choice Model. Rubin used this to analyse language choice in Paraguay between Spanish and Guarani. She (1968, 109) applied the device

of 'tree' to represent language behaviours as 'an outcome of an ordered series of binary choices determined by the social context'. Fasold (1984, 201) describes the 'language tree' as a broad category prediction technique used in analysis of language choice which assumes or relates to a domains analysis. It is characterised by tree diagrams with binary branching at the nodes. He (1984, 202) concludes by treating the two models as proposing certain aspects of social interaction where the concern is the prediction of language choice.

Myers-Scotton (1993b, 49) treats the two models together and argues that their binary nature of code-choice constitutes an 'allocation paradigm' rather than being subsumed under the more relevant 'interactionist paradigm'. For her, the allocation paradigm treats social structure as broadly determining language behaviours, triggering the use of one language or another. Here, she posits, linguistic choice is basically deterministic, where speakers make the choices they do because they are constrained to do so by the social systems (1993b, 92). According to her, the very simple fact of code-switching in itself negates this deterministic mode of the allocation paradigm. She concludes that the two models under the allocation paradigm are not, therefore, suitable in analysing a dynamic phenomenon such as code-switching. Nonetheless, Myers-Scotton (1993b) acknowledges that the allocation paradigm is a foundation stone in her own formulation of the Markedness Model.

The 'interactionist' paradigm was developed after the allocation paradigm. Essentially, it examines small scale encounters in society rather than large social systems as depicted in the functionalist perspective. In line with this view, Mesthrie et al. (2000, 33) have stated that a social encounter is a 'negotiated entity' in which the individual develops the idea of 'self' according to the interactive processes in which she/he participates and is evaluated in them. Interactionism also features functionalist notions like value systems, social norms and social roles. However, such roles are treated as being subject to individual or small-scale human agency as opposed to dictating the life of individuals. According to Mesthrie et al. (2000, 33), by its very nature, the interactionist paradigm and its sub-models operate on the premise that there is 'considerable room for negotiation, improvisation and creative action,' and that

languages are not 'products residing in grammars or dictionaries, but flexible interaction tools' facilitating interpersonal usage of language. Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, which is adopted by this study, is essentially an interactionist model.

A pioneer interactionist in the study of language was Dell Hymes. His views were provoked by Noam Chomsky's formulation of the 'generative ability' in language acquisition. Hymes came up with the principal objection to Chomsky's characterization of what constituted linguistic competence. Hymes strongly opposed Chomsky's formulation as being about non-social, idealized, psycholinguistic competence which focused on generation of structures. In contrast, Hymes firmly grounded the social element in the study of language, and in the process gave prominence to the notion of interaction in the study of linguistic behaviour. According to Mesthrie et al. (2000, 5), it was Hymes who coined the phrase 'communication competence' to denote the appropriate use of language in different social settings.

Hymes (1972, 54) defines the various concepts which are crucial in interactional sociolinguistics. He describes the 'speech community' as the community 'sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety'. He (1972, 55) defines speech network as the specific languages of persons through shared varieties and speaking rules across communities. He (1972, 61) argues that language can be organised into various forms of speech using three criteria: language itself, dialect and code. However, he posits that the term 'varieties' is the best compromise from which to view the terms of speech in a community.

Myers-Scotton (1993b, 57) considers Hymes as the 'ultimate influence' on the development of all small group sociolinguistics studies, including code-switching. Hymes emphasized the need to look at language choice as a social phenomenon, though it could be viewed from different perspectives. Subsequent studies on code-choice and specifically on code-switching were essentially conducted from perspectives or under models emanating from an interactional sociolinguistics informed by the contribution of Hymes. According to Myers-Scotton (1993b,

57), Hymes influenced Gumperz's formulation, namely, that to explain linguistic choices means to describe them in their social-cultural contexts.

2.6.2 The contribution of Gumperz to the study of code-switching

If Dell Hymes is regarded as the pioneer of interactional sociolinguistics, then John Gumperz may be regarded as the uncontested pioneer of the modern sociolinguistic study of code-switching. His pioneering research with Blom (1972) in Norway led to the characterisation of code-switching as strategy and contextualisation in conversation. This research is based on the Hemnesberget community in northern Norway. The two researchers treat their work as a study in meaning of linguistic choice, and the understanding of constraints and linguistic rules as part of a single communicative system. They (1972, 409) formulated the notion of '*situational switching*, where alternation between varieties redefines a situation'. In contrast, they (1972, 409) also formulated the notion of '*metaphorical switching* where alternation enriches a situation, allowing for allusion to more than one social relationship within the situation'.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) observed that the linguistic repertoire in Hemnesberget consisted of two dialects facilitating social interaction: Ranamål and Bokmål. Ranamål was the dialect of prestige and pride in belonging to the community, a symbol of local independence and distinctiveness of the local culture. Bokmål, on the other hand, was the standard variety of formal education, official transaction, religion and mass media. The members of Hemnesberget spoke both dialects in their everyday interaction by selecting between the two according to the demands of the situation. There was therefore, according to Blom and Gumperz (1972, 411), 'a shift between two distinct entities, which are never mixed'. A set of participants spoke one or the other. Situational switching, therefore, involves a change in the participants. They (1972, 411) argued that situational switching was accompanied by a shift in gestures and a switch in code. This constitutes clear change on the participants' definition of each other's expectations in the interaction. The code chosen by the participants is determined by the commonly accepted norms (Blom and Gumperz 1972, 424).

On the other hand, metaphorical switching involves a change only in topical emphasis. Blom and Gumperz (1972, 425) give a demonstration of metaphorical switching by making reference to the linguistic behaviour of the local government administration clerks who interact with members of the community by switching between the two dialects depending on topic or subject matter of discussion. Official matters are transmitted in Bokmål while family or personal matters in Ranamål. There is no change in the social situation. According to Blom and Gumperz, (1972, 425) when Ranamål phrases are inserted metaphorically into a Bokmål conversation, it may add 'a special social meaning of confidentiality or privateness to the conversation'.

Commenting on the research at Hemnesberget, Fasold (1984, 194) makes two important observations. Firstly, that the linguistic situation here is basically a case of 'broad diglossia' between two varieties of linguistic systems where Ranamål is associated with the typical low language, 'L', functions, while Bokmål is reserved for high language 'H', functions. This means that the framework developed by the two scholars in this initial study is extremely limited. It tends towards Fishman's formulation of domains in the study of language choice, and its shortcomings have been demonstrated earlier in this chapter.

According to Fasold (1984, 194), the linguistic choice in metaphorical switching becomes 'a symbol or metaphor for the relationship being enacted regardless of the situation. In other words, since the government officials are friends with the local citizens, they are forced to deal with them at both official and non-official friendship levels. This creates a conflict which is resolved by alternating the codes as the topics change.

Myers-Scotton (1993b) criticises the assumptions and conclusions of Blom and Gumperz. She (1993b, 52) observes that 'situational switching' is never really clearly defined and she argues that what they call 'situational' is really 'CS motivated by changes in factors external to the participant's own motivations when situational CS is meant'. She further finds the equivalence of 'topic' and 'metaphor' rather loose. For her (1993b, 55), metaphorical switching as given is

more of 'presentation of self in relation to the topic, or changes in relationships to other participants, rather than topic'.

Peter Auer (1984b) also criticises this formulation of situational and metaphorical code-switching. Auer (1984b, 91) collapses the divide and argues rather that what emerges is a continuum:

...the distinction between situational and metaphorical code-switching must be criticized from both ends; at the 'situational code-switching' end, the relationship between language choice and situational features is less rigid, more open to re-negotiation, than a one-to-one relationship at 'metaphorical code-switching' end, things are less individualistic, less independent of the situation. The distinction collapses and should be replaced by a continuum.

Subsequent studies by Gumperz, especially his study of 1982, are a departure from the situational-metaphorical divide. They favour an expanded coverage which involves structural constraints, while focusing more on social contextualization of code-switching. He (1982, 59) introduces the term *conversational code-switching* which he defines as the 'juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems'. This sounds more like situational code-switching. Gumperz (1982, 61), emphasises the fact that language usage is related to the social context in a complex manner. The participants are more concerned with communicative effect of what they are saying, and not with grammar for its own sake.

According to Gumperz (1982), code-switching is one of a number of possible contextualisation resources used to construct and interpret meaning in context. For him, communication is a coordinated activity, a negotiation of meanings between participants. He (1982, 66) associates code-switching with functions of expressing values and identity. For example, minority groups will speak *native language* in an urban setting while at home, but use *majority language* when

interacting with wider society. He describes the ethnic minority in-group language as the *we code*, and contrasts it with the formal language of wider communication as the *they code*. He (1982, 66) states:

The tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the 'we code' and become associated with the in-group and informal activities, and for the majority language to serve as the 'they code' associated with more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations.

He comes up with the idea of the *contextualisation cue*, which he (1982, 131) defines as 'any feature of linguistic form that contributes to signalling of contextual presupposition'. He identifies code-switching as one such feature which contextualises conversation, assigning meaning along with the verbal interaction.

Several researchers have built around this 'kernel' by Gumperz. According to Ramat (1995, 51), code-switching has conversational functions such as establishing sequence and point of departure from one sequence to another. It is a resource for interlocutors to interpret utterance in specific contexts. In the same vein, Heller (1995, 161) views code-switching as a resource and a strategy 'for playing the game of social life'. Commenting on Gumperz's conversational code-switching, Milroy and Muysken (1995, 9) emphasise his focus of language choice in the context of social values. They (1995, 10) conclude that, for Gumperz, code-switching is 'an element in a socially agreed matrix of contextualisation cues and conventions used by speakers to alert addressees' in the process of interaction in different social context.

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated that Gumperz has made pioneering contribution to research on code-switching. What he and Blom initially came up with was a model of studying and interpreting data. Myers-Scotton (1993b, 55) describes this as an 'interacting/interpreting model' according to which social meanings are constituted 'locally' and not at the macro societal level. Consequently, small group interactions are ideal for studying conversations.

Accordingly, social meanings arise out of this interaction, and a speaker's linguistic choices make sense only as part of an on-going interaction.

His greatest contribution, however, is his formulation and articulation of conversational code-switching as a contextualisation strategy. Subsequent researchers have agreed with and amplified Gumperz's emphasis on the strategic activities of speakers in using code-switching within an agreed framework of social values. As a result of this articulation, Gumperz is cited more than any other researcher on code-switching. According to Myers-Scotton (1995, 59), Gumperz's emphasis on interaction and interactional meanings provided a framework better suited for studying code-switching at the time than others.

2.6.3 Auer and the sequential analytical framework of code-switching

According to Gafaranga (2007, 280), the research on the bilingual use of language has been undertaken within two broad approaches, namely the grammatical and the socio-functional. He (2007, 280) further states that the foremost researchers of the socio-functional approach to code-alternation are John Gumperz (1972, 1982), Peter Auer (1984, 1995, 1998), and Carol Myers-Scotton (1993b). These three are in agreement on the fact that code-switching is a conversational strategy and not a random occurrence. However, their perspectives on the study of code-switching differs on the basis of what they perceive to be the core focus and process of code-switching. Sebba and Wootton (1998, 262) summarized these perspectives on code-switching as 'identity-related' by Gumperz and Myers-Scotton, on one hand, and 'sequential analysis' for Auer, on the other. This sub-section focuses on Auer's perspective of the notion of sequentiality in code-switching.

According to Auer (1995, 116), 'the meaning of code-alternation depends in essential ways on its sequential environment'. This is constituted in a conversation by the turn preceding and the turn subsequent to a current utterance. The sequence is crucial in the overall understanding of code-alternation. Auer argues that what scholars of code-alternation should look for in a situation where more than one language is used is the meaning of the conversation. He (1995,

116) goes on to work out what he describes as 'a theory of conversational code-alternation', which he believes can explain several conversational aspects such as 'code-switching, language choice, transfer/insertion', among others. Auer (1995, 132) describes this theory as 'the sequential embeddedness of code-alternation in conversation'. This may simply be called the sequential analysis of code-switching.

According to Auer (1984, 12), when participants in an interaction get involved in a code-alternation situation, they interrogate the situation to establish exactly what, between two alternatives, the language alternation points to either 'cues for the organization of the on-going interaction' or 'attributes of participants'. Accordingly, Auer discusses language alternation as generating two types of strategies or functions, namely discourse-related and participant-related. Discourse-related language alternation focuses on the way conversation is organized. In this, he drew heavily from Gumperz (1982). Auer (1995, 123) states that code-alternation is a 'contextualisation cue' or device similar to other conversational devices such as 'intonation, rhythm, gesture or posture', which play a role in the process of language production and interpretation.

According to Auer (1995, 124), the interpretation of code-alternation as a contextualization cue is 'strongly related to sequential patterns of language choices'. He (1998, 2) emphasizes that it is from these 'sequential positions' that code-switching receives its meaning. Following this premise, Auer argues that there are few interpretations of code-alternation. The first of this he calls 'discourse-related'. Here code-alternation is used to contextualize or organize features of the discourse, for instance a shift from one topic to another. The second meaning or function or interpretation assigned to language-alternation by Auer, focuses on the role of the participants in an interaction. Under this Auer discusses the notions of preference and negotiation.

2.6.4 Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model for code-switching

2.6.4.1 Sources drawn upon in formulation of the Markedness Model

Of the key researchers on the language contact phenomenon of code-switching in Africa, none stands out like Carol Myers-Scotton. This observation is well demonstrated in her seminal work (1993b) which is appropriately entitled *Social Motivations for Code-Switching: Evidence from Africa*.

For Myers-Scotton (1993b, 59) the ultimate goal in theorizing is to explain data 'in terms of relations within other sets'. She (1993b, 67) rightly states that a theory should include unifying abstract constructs, sufficiently over-arching to subsume the 'profusion of factors and thereby offer explanatory power'.

Her initial efforts in developing a model to explain code-switching were in collaboration with Ury (1977). At the time the two viewed code-switching as a means to effect redefinition. In her works of 1983 and 1989, Myers-Scotton extensively modified these earlier efforts into the initial Markedness Model. From these cumulative efforts, she came up with the thoroughly revised and refined bench-marking work of 1993, which she herself (1993b, 3) defines as 'a theoretical model to explain the socio-psychological motivations behind CS'.

Myers-Scotton drew from the concept of 'communicative competence' as articulated by Dell Hymes (1972) and John Gumperz. The two developed the concept as a deliberate departure from Noam Chomsky's (1962) celebrated concept of 'linguistic competence'. The main objective of the two was to emphasise the fact that competent speakers of a language go beyond 'grammaticality', and are able to link acceptability of a sentence to the social context. This was well put by Gumperz (1972, 205):

Whereas linguistic competence covers the speaker's ability to produce grammatically correct sentences, communicative competence describes his ability

to select, from a totality of grammatically correct expressions available to him, forms which appropriately reflect the social norms governing behaviour in specific encounters.

These insights are reflected extensively in Myers-Scotton's research. Myers-Scotton then went on to borrow the critical concept of 'markedness' from structural linguistics, specifically from the Prague School of Linguistics (Gafaranga 2007, 289-290). Initially the concept was meant to account for phonological opposites, for instance voiced vs. voiceless. In such pairs, elements with 'features' would be referred to as 'marked' while those without would be said to be 'unmarked'. It was observed that the unmarked member of the pair was the most natural and most frequent.

Myers-Scotton (1993b, 81) extended the concept of markedness to the context of language choice among bilingual speakers, where the concept came to imply the view that 'code choice is a system of oppositions'. In this regard, she (1993b, 82) argues that there is normally a dominant 'unmarked' choice, especially in a relatively 'conventionalized interaction type'. The unmarked choice is safer, conveying no surprises because it indexes an expected interpersonal relationship. Speakers generally make use of this choice. On the other hand, to be 'marked' is to be less expected in a bilingual setting.

Myers-Scotton (1993b, 79) came up with the idea of the 'markedness metric', according to which a competent speaker should know and consider whether, and to what extent, a linguistic choice is 'marked' and how it is to be interpreted in the context in which it occurs. She (1993b, 80) argues that the markedness metric is part of the linguistic competence which is 'part of the innate cognitive faculty of all humans'. This competence 'enables speakers to access all code choices as more or less unmarked or marked for the exchange type in which they occur' (1993b, 80).

Another source drawn on by Myers-Scotton is the Social Exchange Theory in general, and the Gricean pragmatics in particular, from which she built the idea of Rights and Obligations (RO). The Social Exchange Theory (Gafaranga 2007, 289) views social action as 'the result of a balancing act between costs and benefits'. These costs and benefits may be material, but they may also be symbolic. This conceptualization immensely influenced Myers-Scotton's formulation of the linguistic Markedness Model. In her (1993b, 100) own words:

a major motivation using one variety rather than another as a medium of an interaction is the extent to which this choice minimizes costs and maximizes rewards for the speaker.

More specifically, Myers-Scotton drew from Jean Paul Grice (1975, 45), especially in respect to the Co-operative Principle which states:

Make your contribution such as is required at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk in which you are engaged.

Myers-Scotton identified in this principle elements that could be used to enrich and make explicit a markedness perspective on code-switching. Out of the Co-operative Principle she worked out her own, the Negotiation Principle, which she turned into a pillar of the Markedness Model which she formulated. According to this, she (1993b, 113) states,

Choose the form for your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between the speaker and the addressee for the current exchange.

In other words, different interactional types call for different code-choices on the basis of potential costs and rewards. Code-choices are thus understood as indexing Rights and Obligations (RO) sets between participants in a given interaction type. The RO set is an abstract

construct which is derived from situational factors, and standing for the 'attitudes and expectations of participants towards one another' (Myers-Scotton 1993b, 85). In a multilingual setting, speakers have an understanding of the connection between language choice and the RO set that is salient between participants. They engage in negotiation depending on the role a code plays in a specific interaction. Commenting on this, to Gafaranga (2007, 290) notes that when there is congruence between language choice and the RO sets, language choice is said to be unmarked, whereas in the absence of congruence, the language choice is said to be marked.

On the basis of this reasoning, Myers-Scotton (1993b, 85) argues that making any linguistic choice is 'ultimately a negotiation of salience of situational factors' whereby negotiation is 'a dynamic enterprise, but without a foregone conclusion or even a prescribed route to the conclusion'. She posits that all linguistic varieties are 'indexical'. The notion of indexicality in the context of code-switching was first given a platform by Gumperz (1972, 22-23) and refers to the fact that 'the interpretation of communicative acts always without exception depend upon the speaker's background knowledge'. A code that is chosen indexes a specific RO set. Thus conceptualized, the Markedness Model claims that the range of linguistic choices for any specific talk exchange can be explained by motivations of speakers based 'on the readings of markedness and calculations of the consequences of a given choice' (Myers-Scotton 1993b, 110). The model further assumes that speakers who engage in code-switching perceive the interaction as one in which they can best 'maximize their rewards by using two or more linguistics varieties' (1993b, 110).

In the Markedness Model, Myers-Scotton conceptualizes code-switching as a strategy. In the development of this model, she heavily borrows from the paradigm of interactional sociolinguistics. According to Gumperz (1972, 15), a key tenet in the interactionist paradigm is that human beings in everyday life are perceived as having 'considerable freedom in choosing which of the several role relationships to enact'. In this regard, freedom implies making of choices.

Gafaranga (2007, 280) has argued that a common denominator for the three leading researchers on code-switching, namely Gumperz, Auer and Myers-Scotton, is their success in demonstrating that, rather than being a random phenomenon, alternation between two codes in a conversation serves 'specific interactional tasks for the participants'. This means that code-switching is essentially a conversational strategy pursued by participants with knowledge.

In the Markedness Model Myers-Scotton presents code-switching as being rational. For her (1993b, 101), speakers act 'purposefully', and are 'more than vehicles carrying societal values'. She acknowledges that code choice takes place within a normative framework, where the norms index what she calls the unmarked RO set between participants in a given exchange. However, she emphasizes the view that the Markedness Model does not perceive the actual choices themselves as arising from the norms. While norms largely determine the interpretation of choices, it is the speakers, not the norms, that make choices. Thus the model gives a limited role to situational factors, while giving prominence to the aspect of the speaker acting rationally by making informed code choices to accomplish specific targets. Indeed, so important is the notion of human agency in Myers-Scotton's treatment of code choice that later (2001) she and Bolonyai, attempt to recast the Markedness Model into the Rational Choice Model. However, the new model is less detailed compared to her 1993b version, which remains a major watershed in code-switching research especially in reference to Africa.

2.6.4.2 Maxims and types of code-switching that constitutes the Markedness Model

In this sub-section (2.6.4.2) the maxims and types of code-switching formulated by Myers-Scotton are examined. They constitute the key aspects of the Markedness Model. Out of the Principle of Negotiation, Myers-Scotton (1993b) generated a set of general maxims or rules which, according to her, apply to any code-choice situation. These maxims are: the Unmarked Choice Maxim, the Marked Choice Maxim and the Exploratory Choice Maxim. According to her (1993b, 113), these maxims, together with the Negotiation Principle which holds them together, embody the strongest and central claim of the Markedness Model, namely 'that all code choices can ultimately be explained in terms of such speaker motivations.'

Myers-Scotton (1993b) argues that following the three maxims, bilingual speakers engage in four types of code-switching. For her (1993b, 114) the Unmarked Choice Maxim results in two of these types namely, code-switching 'as a sequence of unmarked choice', and code-switching 'itself as the unmarked choice'. The Marked Choice Maxim results in code-switching as a 'marked choice', while the Exploratory Choice Maxim leads to code-switching as 'an exploratory choice'. The Unmarked Choice Maxim (Myers-Scotton 1993b, 114) states:

Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that RO set.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993b, 114), the first type is the sequential unmarked choice which occurs when there is a shift from one unmarked choice to another unmarked choice. In this case, one or more of the situational factors may change within the course of a conversation, leading to a change in the unmarked RO set. For instance Kiswahili is the unmarked code of interaction in Nairobi between 'strangers'. Yet, when the strangers discover that they share ethnic background, their MT becomes the new unmarked code. Sequential code-switching is akin to what Blom and Gumperz (1972) identify as 'situational switching'. Myers-Scotton (1993b, 115) prefers to label it 'sequential' to emphasize agency rather than situation so that no matter what the situational factors are, it 'remains up to the speaker to make the choice to act upon them'.

The second variant of code-switching linked to the Unmarked Choice Maxim is code-switching itself as 'unmarked choice'. According to Gafaranga (2007, 293), this is Myers-Scotton's chief contribution to the theory on code-switching. The latter argues that this type is frequent in multilingual urban Africa where dwellers switch between the alien official language and an indigenous language to facilitate many interaction types. In the process, switching codes continuously becomes the 'normal' way of interacting in the urban setting. It becomes,

according to Myers-Scotton (1993b, 117), 'the overall pattern which carries the communicative intention'.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993b, 131), the Marked Choice Maxim states,

Make a marked code choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set when you wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange.

This maxim leads to 'unmarked choice' type of code-switching. The maxim assumes that conversation takes place in a relatively 'conventionalized interaction,' for which an unmarked code choice to index the unmarked RO set between participants is clear. Yet, rather than follow the unmarked choice maxim of going for the obvious choice, the speaker obeys the Marked Choice Maxim. According to Myers-Scotton (1993b, 131), the speaker simply 'dis-identifies with the expected RO set'. Basically, the 'marked choice' is a negation of unmarked RO set, and a call for the establishment of a totally unexpected RO set.

Myers-Scotton (1993b, 132) enumerates a number of motivations for speakers making marked choice type of code-switching. These include expression of emotions; need to show authority or superior status, and assertion of ethnic identity. However, she (1993b, 132) gives the overarching general motivation as the need 'to negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants, either increasing or decreasing it'. She further makes the observation that marked code-switching takes place in all communities and is applied while interacting in both language and dialect switching.

In concluding her articulation of Marked Choice Maxim, Myers-Scotton (1993b, 141) argues that making a marked choice is 'clearly a gamble preceded, consciously or unconsciously, by some weighing of the relative costs and rewards of making the choice rather than an unmarked choice'. For her, it involves calculation and innovation as to how and where it is used, hence the users may be viewed as entrepreneurs.

The third maxim formulated by Myers-Scotton (1993b, 142) is the Exploratory Choice Maxim, which states:

When an unmarked choice is not clear, use CS to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO set which you favour.

This maxim directs speakers to apply code-switching 'when they themselves are not sure of the expected or optimal communicative intent or at least not sure which one will help achieve their social goals' (1993b, 142). Thus, exploratory code-switching may take place in the event of a 'clash of norms' or lack of clarity as to which norms apply in a particular situation. For instance, if Mr. X meets Mr. Y for the first time, there is hesitation as to which code to employ, given that they do not know each other's identities. What then follows is a trial-and-error code alternation in an effort to 'propose the RO set associated with a particular code as the basis for the interaction' (1993b, 143). If the first code is not reciprocated by the addressee, another code is tried out. Myers-Scotton (1993b, 143) posits that this interactive nature in exploratory code-switching makes the type to be treated as 'a true negotiation'. It is employed as the 'safe choice' in arriving at the code with a costs-rewards balance acceptable to all participants.

The strongest criticism to Myers-Scotton's theoretical formulation seems to emanate from Kamwangamalu (1996, 2010). In addition Kamwangamalu (2010, 124) cites Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994) as major critics of the Markedness Model. According to Kamwangamalu (2010, 124), the Markedness Model is 'too static to account for the social motivations for CS across languages and cultures'. He (1996, 299) argues that the concept of code choice is not precise at all. He gives an example of a classroom interaction at the University of Swaziland, where a lecturer speaking in English (unmarked choice) asks the class to be ready for a test the following week. One of the students, however, reacts by addressing colleagues in siSwati in an effort to persuade them to oppose the taking of the test at such a short notice. According to

Kamwangamalu, this situation initially appears to be 'marked' in order to increase distance between the lecturer and the class. However, the switch mobilises the students by creating solidarity among them. In this case it may be treated as being 'unmarked' for them. Kamwangamalu concludes that a marked choice in code-switching could be viewed as a 'double-edged sword', simultaneously excluding as well as including. It can create both rapprochement and distance among participants, and is capable of reinforcing the 'we-ness' and 'other-ness' among participants at the same time.

Kamwangamalu (1996) argues that a marked choice does not necessarily or always entail creating social distance among participants. He gives formal settings such as political rallies or church services where politicians or preachers go for the marked choice not so much to create distance from the audience or addressees but just to create the 'opposite' effect, or to emphasise a position by creating contrast.

Kamwangamalu's comments on Myers-Scotton's formulation of the 'marked' type of code-switching have some merit, but do not necessarily disapprove her overall arguments. He (1996, 299) argues that this type is not precise, or rather is ambiguous. Yet, Myers-Scotton (1993b, 131) does not deny this. In fact, she categorically states that this type is essentially an entrepreneurial enterprise, where nothing is definite. This is why it is 'marked'. It represents code-switching as a negotiation device *par excellence*, and is found in all multilingual communities across the globe.

Kamwangamalu, further, depicts Myers-Scotton as arguing that marked code-switching increases distance between participants. This is not a correct interpretation of Myers-Scotton. In fact, she (1993b, 132) states that the over-arching motivation for marked code-switching is 'to negotiate a change in the expected distance holding between participants, either increasing or decreasing it'. It can, therefore, go either way depending on the objective of the initiating speaker.

In the specific example that Kamwangamalu (1996, 296) gives, distance is created by the members of the class who switch from English to siSwati. They, however, use this distance to subvert the aim of the professor to give them a test on his terms. In this respect, Kamwangamalu (1996, 299) is correct in observing that 'marked' code-switching could be viewed as a double-edged sword that could lead to inclusion and exclusion in the same breath.

2.6.4.3 Rationale for adoption of the Markedness Model

The present study has adopted the Markedness Model as the conceptual framework within which to analyse the motivations for code-switching by the Logoli speech community of Kangemi. It provides fairly wide latitude within which to treat the corpus from Kangemi. The model bears some of the functionalist notions such as cultural values and norms, and social status and roles. These are useful to the study, enabling interpretation of data especially with reference to motives that generate code-switching.

Secondly, the model has been extensively used by Myers-Scotton, to come up with fairly widely credible research on code-switching in Kenya, Zimbabwe and Nigeria. Her research could be regarded as the leading in Africa in terms of output. This does not in any way demean the contribution of other researchers on the phenomenon.

Thirdly, the Markedness Model has enough latitude to communicate the key aspects of the socio-pragmatic approach to code-switching. It captures well the notions of cultural values and norms, as well as roles and status of participants. It provides a viable framework within which to address the key social questions of 'who, when, why, where and how' in the conversations that include code-switched materials and the participants involved in the interactions. The models developed by Myers-Scotton, namely the Markedness and the MLF, have been applied to the current study, with a view to explaining the two broad aspects of code-switching respectively. There are several reasons for this.

These models were developed from the African research experiences of Myers-Scotton. In a real sense, the models mirror the African linguistic realities. They are, therefore, suitable for the study. Their applications by Myers-Scotton have on the whole proved very productive as evidenced from her publications, some of which have been reviewed in this chapter.

According to Muysken (1995, 188), Myers-Scotton's work is a phenomenal contribution to the study of code-switching in Africa from the twin-approaches of social motivation and structural aspects. He acknowledges the viability of the MLF Model in the study of code-switching.

It should be borne in mind that a study will usually have one or two theoretical perspectives in data interpretation. The current study has used two, while other perspectives have been examined as part of the literature review in the chapter. In addition, the choice of one or two models to guide a study needs to be understood from the broad perspective that there is no one theoretical framework that can provide full explanation of data. Each is likely to have its strengths and weaknesses. This point is well put by Gafaranga (2007, 307) who argues that language alternation is a 'multi-faceted phenomenon', and that the various models that seek to explain it, 'rather than being seen as competitive in terms of being better than the others, should be seen as complementary. No approach can claim to be exhaustive'.

2.7 Structural approach to code-switching

The structural approach to code-switching focuses on the study of structures that emerge in sentences or their fragments when codes are switched. In citing Auer, Riehl (2005, 1945) describes this as 'the grammatical approach to code-switching'. It seeks to establish whether or not code-switching is syntactically speaking random, or if it is constrained or rule-governed. Three decades ago, Sankoff and Poplack (1981), lamented the scant research done with specific reference to the grammatical approach to code-switching in comparison with socio-pragmatic approach. Rothman and Rell (2005, 516) observe that some researchers have tended to discuss code-switching as a haphazard jumble and unstructured phenomenon. This, they state, has been the case especially with some researchers who have written on code-mixing of Spanish

and English in the USA, popularly known as *Spanglish*. They also observe that there are other writers who have strongly defended code-switching as an orderly phenomenon worthy of research. The latter researchers have demonstrated that code-switching is a complex and highly structured occurrence with sociolinguistic strategies as well as a syntactic system with constraints. The sections below focus on reviewing the work of some of these researchers and the review and adoption of Myers-Scotton MLF Model.

2.7.1 Structural constraint in grammatical analysis of code-switching

According to Iqbal (2011, 189), code-switching 'is not a random phenomenon', and it does not connote deficiency in the users, but is rather sophisticated. This is echoed by Dabane (1995, 25) who emphasises the fact that code-switching is 'linguistically constrained, and not haphazard or the result of lack in competence in one, or both, languages'.

Riehl (2005, 1945) argues that 'research on the patterns of code-switching i.e. its grammatical structure', is basically recent in bilingual studies. A central notion in grammatical structure is that of constraints which Riehl (2005, 1945) defines as 'the points within a sentence at which the transition from one language to the other is possible'. For MacSwan (2004, 385), constraints are a system of rules that captures a range of linguistic facts. In the same vein, Ramat (1995, 54) considers the question of constraints as important because these govern the behaviour or occurrence of code-switching. In this regard, constraint in structure implies order rather than random occurrence.

Alfonzetti (2005, 107) identifies three historical phases in the evolution of the debate on grammatical constraints. For her, there was an earlier stage focused on grammatical constraints specific to particular constructions, 'a search for universal constraints'. The third, and present stage accepts the existence of alternative strategies which are 'linked to different language pairs and contact situations' (2005, 107). Muysken (1995) has argued that many studies on models or constraints were not explicit. He (1995, 177) observes the need for comprehensive models to give an account 'of the grammatical notions relevant to code-switching'.

According to MacSwan (2005, 55), Poplack and Sankoff were among the pioneer researchers to 'propose constraints which govern the interaction of two language systems'. These were general constraints which Poplack (1980) hoped would apply in many cases of code-switching, namely, the Equivalence Constraint and the Free Morpheme Constraint. Poplack formulated the Equivalence Constraint and subsequently articulated it together with Sankoff (1981). It has become the most widely discussed constraint in code-switching. According to Sankoff and Poplack (1981, 5), the Equivalence Constraint states that 'the order of sentence constituents immediately adjacent to and on both sides of the switch must be grammatical with respect to both languages involved simultaneously'. According to Muysken (1995, 192) the guiding assumption in the notion of equivalence is that the grammars of two languages facilitate bilingual usage. Commenting on this, MacSwan (2005, 56) states that code-switching 'is allowed within constituents so long as the word order requirements of both languages are met at S-structure'. Thus, the constraint restricts the syntactic boundaries around which the two languages involved have the same order of elements.

The second constraint, the Free Morpheme Constraint, was refined by Sankoff and Poplack (1981). Poplack had proposed this constraint as a potentially universal restriction on code-switching. According to her (1981, 5), a switch 'may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexicon form, unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme'. It rules out switching between a bound morpheme and a free morpheme. MacSwan (2005, 56) interprets this as meaning that 'a switch may occur at any point in the discourse at which it is possible to make a surface cut and still remain a free morpheme'. Poplack (1988, 219) tries to make this explicit by stating: 'free morpheme constraint prohibits mixing of morphologies within the confines of the word'.

There have been responses both for and against the two constraints associated with Poplack. In reference to Equivalence Constraint, Rothman and Rell (2004, 254) have argued that it seems to work, though it has counter-examples which call for further attention. According to MacSwan

(2004, 286), however, the constraint has little support in the circle of scholars because of the counter-examples which fail to validate the constraint. He argues that many examples are ill-formed, contrary to Poplack's prediction. Similarly, MacSwan (2000, 58), posits that the Free Morpheme Constraint is not theoretically satisfactory, and that it blocks structural descriptions without offering explanation. In a similar vein of criticism, Ramat (1995, 56) observes that as formulated, the constraint is 'too powerful', and is disconfirmed by other studies, especially Myers-Scotton (1988, 1990).

In response to this criticism, Poplack (2004, 4) has tried to tone down the claims of universality by introducing a distinction between code-switching and nonce-borrowing. She (2004, 10) has further attempted to distinguish between *smooth* and *flagged* switching. For Rothman and Rell (2005, 524), however, the constraint has 'indeed stood the test of time'. Similarly Hyltenstam (1995, 306) supports Poplack's constraints, arguing that empirical evidence of switching patterns comes from frequency of different kinds of switches observed in the corpus. Hence, the constraints demonstrate the possibility of occurrence of a specific type, and can 'therefore not be falsified by single counter-examples'. Rather, he argues, they may be falsified by corpora in which the tendencies or probabilities on which the constraints were formulated do not hold. In the light of perceived shortcomings in Poplack's formulations, Belazi et al. (1994) proposed a different model for structural code-switching, namely the Functional Head Constraint. According to this model (Belazi et al, 48), 'the language feature of the complement f-selected by a functional head, like all other relevant features, must match the corresponding feature of the functional head'. This means that there may be no switching between a functional head and its complement. The major short-coming of this constraint is the limited area of application, namely only f-selected configurations where a complement is selected by a functional head. Thus, switches between lexical heads and their complement are not constrained.

Another constraint, the Government Constraint, was formulated and articulated by Disciullo et al. (1986). It is based on Government and Binding Theory, which in turn was borrowed from Chomsky (1981) who describes general structural dependence on a syntactic head within a

maximal projection. The authors assign the constraint an absolute all-or-nothing status. They (1986, 21) have attempted to capture the fact that switching mainly occurs at phrase boundaries or between a specifier and the head of a projection. It forbids code-switching between a preposition and the governed NP, and between a verb and the governed object. Ramat (1995, 58) observes that a major short-coming of the constraint is the frequent violation of it.

Another perspective available for analysing grammatical aspects of code-switching is the Minimalist Program (MP). This programme was formulated by Noam Chomsky. According to Chomsky (1995, 215) there is the possibility of realising a vibrant syntactic theory in which parameters defining cross-linguistic variation are limited to the lexicon rather than operating on syntactic rules. The programme discards all but the most essential syntactic principles. It attempts to uncover the most general and indispensable aspects of phrase structure rules, building the syntactic structure from bottom-up via a single operator, namely *merge*.

In the MP there are two central components of the syntax. These are the computational system of human language (CHL) and the Lexicon. The CHL is believed to be invariant across languages. The lexicon explains the idiosyncratic differences that exist across human languages.

According to Neske (2010), the MP constitutes the most radical reformulation of the transformational generative grammar since its beginnings in the 1950s. On the other hand, Wouter-Zwart (1998, 215) argues that the MP is not different from previous versions of generative syntax. However, its uniqueness lies in the claim that it is a clean-up operation that eliminates the notion of government which is perceived as not being very useful. Perhaps the researcher most associated with articulation of the MP in relation to code-switching is MacSwan (2000; 2004), who alternatively calls it the Syntactic Model or the Minimalist Framework. According to him (2004, 397), phrase structure trees are built derivationally by the application of three operations: select, merge and move, which are constrained only by the condition that lexically encoded features match in the course of derivation.

MacSwan (2004, 298) argues that the primary assumption of the MP in this regard is the elimination of all mechanisms that are not necessary or essential. He argues that this assumption is suitable for accounting for code-switching. He (2000, 42) concludes that nothing 'constrains code-switching apart from the requirements of the mixed grammars'. This, he explains, does not mean that there are no unacceptable code-switched sentences. Rather, code-switching may be explained in terms of principles and requirements of the specific grammars used in each specific utterance. The conclusion is that, according to the MP, is that code-switching is the union of two lexically encoded grammars with elements drawn from two or more lexicons.

MacSwan (2004, 296) dismisses the approach of constraints in analysing bilingual code-switching. Instead, he proposes what he describes as 'well-known and independently justified principles of linguistic theory.' For him, code-switching research will benefit from such precisely formulated theories. Thus, MacSwan (2004, 296) considers the MP as the right model for studying bilingual behaviour, code-switching included.

In his contribution to the debate on constraints, Muysken (1995, 186) dismisses the argument of the Government Model as inappropriate and not capable of sustaining the testing of data. He, however, identifies one aspect in the constraint that he considers valuable, namely, that it can predict in a general way the fact that the looser a syntagmatic relation is in a sentence, the easier it is to switch. Muysken (1995, 179) lists what he considers as the three categories of a general set of constraints on code-switching. These are: (i) the structural equivalence as articulated by Poplack and her associates, (ii) government, by Disciullo and his associates, and (iii) the Matrix Language-Embedded Language Symmetry by Myers-Scotton (1993a). Muysken (1995, 184) dismisses the whole idea of absolute or universal constraints as being less appropriate for performance data on the grounds that they are prone to being invalidated by one counter-example. Further, he criticises Poplack's categories, arguing that just by making a

general statement about which type of switch is likely to occur and which type is not misses the point, namely, 'some switches are less frequent than others in a given corpus' (1995, 184).

Muysken demonstrates what he considers to be the similarity between the Government Model of Disciullo et al. (1986) and the MLF Model of Myers-Scotton. He argues that both models share the idea of an asymmetry between a Matrix Language (ML) and an Embedded Language (EL). For him, the ML corresponds to the governing language, the difference being in what counts as governor. Whereas the Government Model specifically excludes functional elements from being relevant governors in terms of code-switching constraints, Myers-Scotton focuses on functional elements as governors of code-switching.

Muysken himself (1995, 184) seems to lean towards what he describes as the emerging 'probabilistic perspective' fronted by Treffers-Daller (1991). According to this, different switching strategies like flagging, constituent insertion, etc., occur but are governed by constraints specific to the strategies. He (1995, 2000) identifies three approaches to intra-sentential code-switching, namely (i) alternation (ii) congruent lexicalization, and (iii) insertion. Muysken (1995, 280) argues that alternation occurs when several constituents in a row are switched, and where stretches of other language materials are longer. Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004, 120) give Poplack's grammatical equivalence constraints as a good example of alternation. The second order, congruent lexicalization, is characterized by languages sharing grammatical structure, but with the vocabulary coming from two or more languages. According to Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004, 121) this type is a product of 'grammatical congruence'. The third type or approach is 'insertion'. This is the type that the current study identifies with in analysing the Kangemi *corpus*. It involves a single language matrix structure into which insertion of a constituent from another language takes place. Muysken (1995, 280) reasons that insertions of constituents occurs when switched elements are single or well-defined constituents, e.g. the prepositional phrases or noun-phrases. He further points out that in insertions a stretched string is preceded and followed by material from another language.

Muysken (1995) states that this type is directly related to the corpus of Myers-Scotton's research in Africa.

2.7.2 The Matrix Language Frame Model and insertion code-switching

Myers-Scotton (1995a, 251) acknowledges that the code-switching of ML + EL constituents are realized through an 'insertion process'. These ML + EL constituents typically consist of singly occurring morphemes embedded in a frame of any number of ML morphemes (Myers-Scotton 1995a, 242). Myers-Scotton's MLF Model has been developed to account for the languages involved in code-switching namely, the ML and the EL. She (1995a 235) observes that the heart of the MLF Model is the claim that two interrelated hierarchies are responsible for directing and structuring sentences that contain code-switching. These are: the Matrix Language versus Embedded Language Hierarchy; and the System versus Content Morphemes Hierarchy.

2.7.2.1 The Matrix Language versus Embedded Language Hierarchy

In articulating the MLF Model, Myers-Scotton (1992, 19) designates ML as the recipient language, while the EL as the donor language. The languages involved in intra-sentential code-switching play unequal roles. Thus, the hierarchy consists of an asymmetry between the two languages. According to Myers-Scotton (1993c, 486), the ML is more activated than the EL. It sets up the sentence frame or morphosyntactic frame of the bilingual clause when code-switching takes place.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993c, 486), code-switching material in ML + EL constituents may appear in two forms. First, as singly occurring lexemes from EL and inserted in any number of ML lexemes. Secondly, as an EL island, which is typically a noun + modifier, in a large ML morphosyntactic frame. The only way an active EL system morpheme may occur in a code-switching utterance is in the form of an EL island. Myers-Scotton (1993c, 491) defines EL islands as 'well-formed constituents made entirely of EL morphemes'. She (1994, 498) is of the opinion that many EL islands occur either in sentence-final or sentence-initial positions. She observes

(1995a, 250) that many EL islands begin with system morphemes, e.g. *throughout the week, check for you, early this week, all the clothing, and my brother.*

The MLF model restricts the role of the EL, especially severely restricting the latter's production of system morphemes, yet giving space for content morphemes. Myers-Scotton (2005a, 16) indicates that the EL participates in code-switching in two ways. Firstly, it supplies content morphemes, i.e. nouns and verb stems, in the bilingual clause. Secondly, they supply the EL islands, which are monolingual EL phrases, that are grammatically well-formed in the EL. She (2005a, 16) further states that ML islands are phrases that are entirely composed of ML elements within the larger bilingual clause. According to Myers-Scotton (1992, 22), these islands consist only of ML morphemes. They are well-formed according to ML grammar.

On the whole, Myers-Scotton (2005a, 27) argues that in a bilingual clause there are more constituents consisting of one or more singly-occurring EL elements, as well as ML elements, than there are constituents consisting of monolingual EL islands and ML islands. She further states that in these mixed constituents, the EL elements are morphosyntactically integrated into the ML frames through what she calls ML outsider morphemes. In the present study, the corpus from the Kangemi study area has demonstrated prevalence of these features (see section 5.4, Chapter 5).

2.7.2.2 The ML hypothesis: system versus content morpheme hierarchy

The second major hierarchy at the heart of the MLF Model is the System versus Content Morpheme Hierarchy, which is still closely linked to the ML. From this hierarchy, she develops the ML Hypothesis.

According to this (Myers-Scotton, 1993c, 487), the ML determines the morphosyntax of the MLF + EL constituents. From this, two testable principles emerge: the System Morpheme Principle (SMP); and the Morpheme Order Principle (MOP). She argues (1993c, 487; 1995a, 238) that the surface morpheme order is that of the ML in the ML + EL constituents, and must not be

violated. In short, according to her (1993c, 488), the ML morpheme order is the ‘unmarked order’.

She gives an example (1993c, 67-8) (Kiswahili is in italics);

<i>Unaweza</i>	<i>kumpata</i>	<i>amevaa</i>	<i>nguo</i>	<i>nyingine</i>
You-can	find-her	she- has worn	clothes	other
<i>bright</i>	<i>kama</i>	<i>colour</i>	<i>red</i>	<i>namna hii...</i>
bright	such-as	colour	red kind	this...

In the above example, the word order in the NP *nguo nyingine* bright follows that of Kiswahili the ML, rather than English, the EL. In addition, construction *colour red* also follows Kiswahili.

In her articulation of the SMP, Myers-Scotton (1993c, 487) states that ‘externally relevant’ system morphemes come only from the ML in ML + EL constituents. A system morpheme is considered ‘externally’ or ‘syntactically’ relevant only if it takes part in agreement relationships external to its own head. Myers-Scotton (2005a, 19) posits that the predictions captured in the SMP constitute the ‘cornerstone of the MLF Model’.

She (1992, 22) describes inflection affixes and articles as system morphemes, similar to ‘closed-class’ items. These are active participants in relationship within the sentence which are external to the head of the morpheme itself. They are classes of individuals or events. Elsewhere, she (1995a, 238) adds that any lexical item belonging to a syntactic category which involves quantification across variables is a system morpheme. She gives examples of specifiers, quantifiers, determiners and possessive adjectives and the various inflections for gender, class, case, or other relationships.

Myers-Scotton (1993c, 485) distinguishes these function words and inflections from the content morphemes because they bear a plus-setting for encoding quantification across variables one

among many alternatives. In contrast (1993c, 487), content morphemes are syntactic and similar to 'open class' items. They are categories with the property (-quantification). These include nouns, pronouns, descriptive adjectives, verb-stems and prepositions.

In her later research, Myers-Scotton (2005a, 19) develops the 4-M Model, which is essentially an attempted revision of the original MLF Model, in which she raises the SMP to a new level in the articulation of what she calls the Uniform Structure Principle (USP). This principle requires uniformity in frame-building. This uniformity is realized through the ML which plays a crucial role in achieving uniform structure in bilingual speech (Myers-Scotton 2005a, 25). In actual fact, uniform structure in code-switching involves identifying the ML through the testable principles of the MLF Model (Myers-Scotton 2005a, 32). It is basically a re-statement of the MLF model.

Myers-Scotton (2005a, 18) argues that the SMP is key in the building and maintenance of uniformity in structure in the bilingual clause. She (2005a, 17) argues that the ML provides all the structures underlying the morphosyntactic frame, and not just morpheme order and outsider morphemes. For her (2005a, 17) it is the only language which 'is the source of the elements that build the morphosyntactic frame' of the bilingual clause, except in the case of the EL islands.

In articulating the USP, Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004, 118) argue that the system morphemes are divided into sub-categories. These categories are supposed to be directly related to and differentially activated during the process of language production. They are products of different processes in the brain. Morphemes differ at the abstract level with regard to when they are accessed.

Myers-Scotton (2005a, 19) divides them into early, bridge and outsider morphemes. She (2005a, 30) goes on to argue that the early system morphemes, like the determiners and derivational affixes, are realized early in the process of language production just like the 'content' morphemes. Bridges are late system morphemes that join constituents. The more

important late morphemes are the 'outsider' morphemes. She (2005a, 21) gives examples of bridges as 'of' and 's' in 'Rivers of Africa' and 'African rivers'.

Myers-Scotton (2005a, 21) categorises affixes and clitics as outsider morphemes. These do not join constituents, but rather co-index relations between elements, across phrasal boundaries. She (2005a, 22) gives the example of her Xhosa-English corpus as follows:

Bana ba-treat-w-e (Children should be treated).

Here *ba* is an outsider morpheme, indicating subject-verb agreement. In this respect, the basic relationships within a clause are built by 'outsiders'. Elsewhere, she (2005b, 11) describes them as 'grammatical elements that signal relations between constituents'. The bridge and outsider system morphemes are together described as late morphemes. They are called 'late' because they do not come into play until a larger constituent is assembled at the level of the 'formulator'.

The System Morpheme Principle restricts the source of the outsider morphemes to only one of the participating languages. Hence, in line with the role of the ML, Myers-Scotton (2005a, 25) posits that outsider morphemes are 'the main bastion for maintaining uniform structure'. They are the builders of the frame and maintainers of uniformity in any language.

2.7.3 Conclusion on models of grammatical analysis in code-switching

Rothman and Rell (2005, 525) observe that, there may not be unanimity on the exact way to account for all acceptable code-switches. For them, the fact that there are constraints which control code-switching suggests that there are formal and structural components of code-switching. What is needed, therefore, is continued improvement on the insights that come from the research on code-switching.

After reviewing the various models of grammatical constraint, Muysken (1995, 188) gives cautious approval to the MLF model for the analysis of grammatical code-switching and states that it is 'fair to say that this latter option (i.e. MLF) must be closer to the truth'.

This study has adopted and used the MLF Model as the framework within which to subsume the analysis of the grammatical aspects of the corpus generated from the study area. The MLF Model was used to complement the Markedness Model because the study is primarily sociolinguistic in nature. This application is demonstrated in the analysis in Section 5.4.

2.8 Review of some studies on code-switching in Kenya

Apart from the phenomenal work done by Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b) on code-switching in East Africa, there are a number of studies that have been conducted which deserve mention. They show that the present study is part of a developing tradition of research on code-switching in Africa. They also serve to show that the research was justified.

Parkin (1974), studied codes-switching among the residents of Kaloleni (Eastlands) area of Nairobi city. Considering ethnicity and socio-economic status as social variables, Parkins observes that switches occur between English, Kiswahili and a mother-tongue. His main focus is on the functions of these codes during an interaction. He also considers wealth, education, occupation and social positions as variables that influence code-switching. In his opinion, when people interact, they try to judge consciously what mode of behaviour best suits the interaction. He also arrives at the conclusion that in any role relationship, there is a constant process of adjustment and counter-adjustment to each other's expectation by the role players. Parkin (1974) consequently suggests two types of conversations; transactional and non-transactional conversations. Triggered off by participants in a to-and-fro way, transactional types are said to be the conversations that progressively unravel repertoires of different languages or codes by each speaker. Non-transactional conversation types, on the other hand, entail language switching occurring between speakers who belong to the same ethnic and language group. He posits the view that people of different ethnic groups switch language as a

reflection of the relations between them as they endeavour to adapt to each other's mother-tongue. This, he posits, connotes solidarity.

Muthwii's (1986) master's dissertation investigates language use in pluri-lingual societies and its social significance for code-switching. Using natural data from casual conversation involving the use of English, Kiswahili and Kalenjin, she observes that code-switching serves various functions. Muthwii uses the Functional Framework Model to demonstrate this. The functions include mimicry and quotation, interjections, reiteration, personalisation and objectivisation, and addressee specification. She also examines some constraints on code-switching and notes that apart from switching that involves the whole structure, only sections of the sentence such as the noun and verb phrase may be switched. The current study differs both in terms of target population and theory.

Muthuri's (2000) master's dissertation examines the functions of code-switching among multilingual students at Kenyatta University. The study describes the choice of codes involving the use of English, Kiswahili and local languages. She uses Social Accommodation Theory to explain shifts in speech styles. The current study differs from this in terms of target population, theoretical framework and objectives.

Ogechi's (2002) doctoral dissertation investigates code-switching involving four codes namely, Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English and Sheng as practised by the Ekegusii speakers of Gusii County in south western Kenya and in Eldoret town in the North Rift Valley of Kenya. It attempts to determine the matrix language and the speech process involved in trilingual code-switching. He uses Myers-Scotton's MLF Model to explain the mechanisms behind various patterns. The current study is different in focus, examining sociolinguistic and linguistic aspects of code-switching. It adopts both Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model and the MLF Model. The latter is applied from a different perspective in comparison to Ogechi's.

Kanana's (2003) masters dissertation investigates the functions and motivations of code-switching among the traders and customers at the Maasai market in Nairobi. The market, being cosmopolitan, brings together speakers of both local linguistic codes and of foreign codes. She uses Speech Accommodation Theory and Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model to explain the functions of code-switching. The current study is different in that it is based on one speech community and involves both social and linguistic aspects as well as a combination of Markedness and the MLF Models in explaining the corpus.

Kebeya's (2008) doctoral dissertation investigates and compares the linguistic behaviour of Luo-Luyia and Luo-Gusii bilinguals resident in Kiboswa and Suneka settlement areas, respectively. She uses three theories namely, the Speech Accommodation Theory, the Markedness Model, and the Variationist Theory. She concludes that speakers in Kiboswa and Suneka converge, diverge and/or code switch in intergroup contexts. The current study differs from Kebeya's study because it focuses on speakers resident in a peri-urban setting. Using the Markedness Model and the MLF Model, this study investigates the linguistic behaviour of migrants resident in a cosmopolitan area. The study is also different because it deals with social as well as linguistic aspects of code-switching.

The Kangemi study deviates from the above studies by being essentially an urban-based study examining bilingual production by speakers of the Logoli speech community whose repertoire features three codes namely Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English. It further differs from these previous studies by applying the theoretical framework based on Myers-Scotton's models. These are the Markedness Model, which addresses the motivation aspects, and the MLF Model, within which structural features are subjected to analysis.

2.9 Summary

This chapter has focused on the review of literature related to bilingualism and code-choice in general, and to the phenomenon of code-switching in particular. After reviewing literature on key terminologies associated with bilingualism and the language contact phenomena related to

it, the chapter sketched the history of code-switching, emphasizing the emergence of the two broad approaches to it, namely, socio-pragmatic and grammatical. The main approach handled in the study is the sociolinguistic, while the structural approach is complementary.

Under the socio-pragmatic approach, a number of paradigms and approaches to the analysis of code-switching were reviewed. These cover the contribution of key scholars such as Dell Hymes, John Gumperz, Peter Auer, and Pieter Muysken. The chapter ultimately focused on reviewing Myers-Scotton's formulation of the markedness framework, which was ultimately adopted for the study in investigating the social motivations for code-switching. This was followed by the structural or grammatical aspects of code-switching, which have been treated as complementary to the sociolinguistic aspects. The chapter also includes a rationale for adopting the MLF Model and its assumptions for purposes of analysing the data from the study area. Examples and details in the application of these models are the subject of Chapter 5 of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a description of methodological approaches used in the study. It discusses specific methods or techniques used in data collection and provides a demographic and physical overview of the research setting. The main tools used during data collection, namely the questionnaire, audio-recording and interview, are discussed in this chapter. The chapter also sets out the procedures of handling the corpora which are analysed in Chapters 4 and 5 of the study. A report of the challenges encountered during the study is also included.

3.2 The research setting: physical and demographic overview

The research study area is Kangemi in Nairobi. Kangemi is an informal settlement or slum in a valley, some six kilometres to the west of the Nairobi Central Business District. According to the report of the National Population Census conducted in 2009, the Kangemi area had, at the time, a total population of 44,564.

The Kangemi area falls within the broader Westlands Constituency, one of the sixteen national parliamentary zones in the Nairobi County. Kangemi is paradoxically an enclave in a middle-class neighbourhood. It borders the suburbs of Loresho and Kibagare suburbs to the north, Westlands to the east, and Mountain View suburb to the west. To the south, however, Kangemi borders and joins up with another sprawling slum, namely Kawangware (see Figure 3.1).

The weather conditions of Kangemi are largely similar to those in the rest of Nairobi. The year-round temperature in Kangemi varies between 10⁰C and 24⁰C. Kangemi experiences wet and dry seasons. There are two rainy seasons. The long rains are experienced from March to October, while short rains are received from October to November. The rest of the months are relatively dry. The average humidity is 83%. The sunniest and warmest period of the year is from early December to the end of February (Wikipedia 2012).

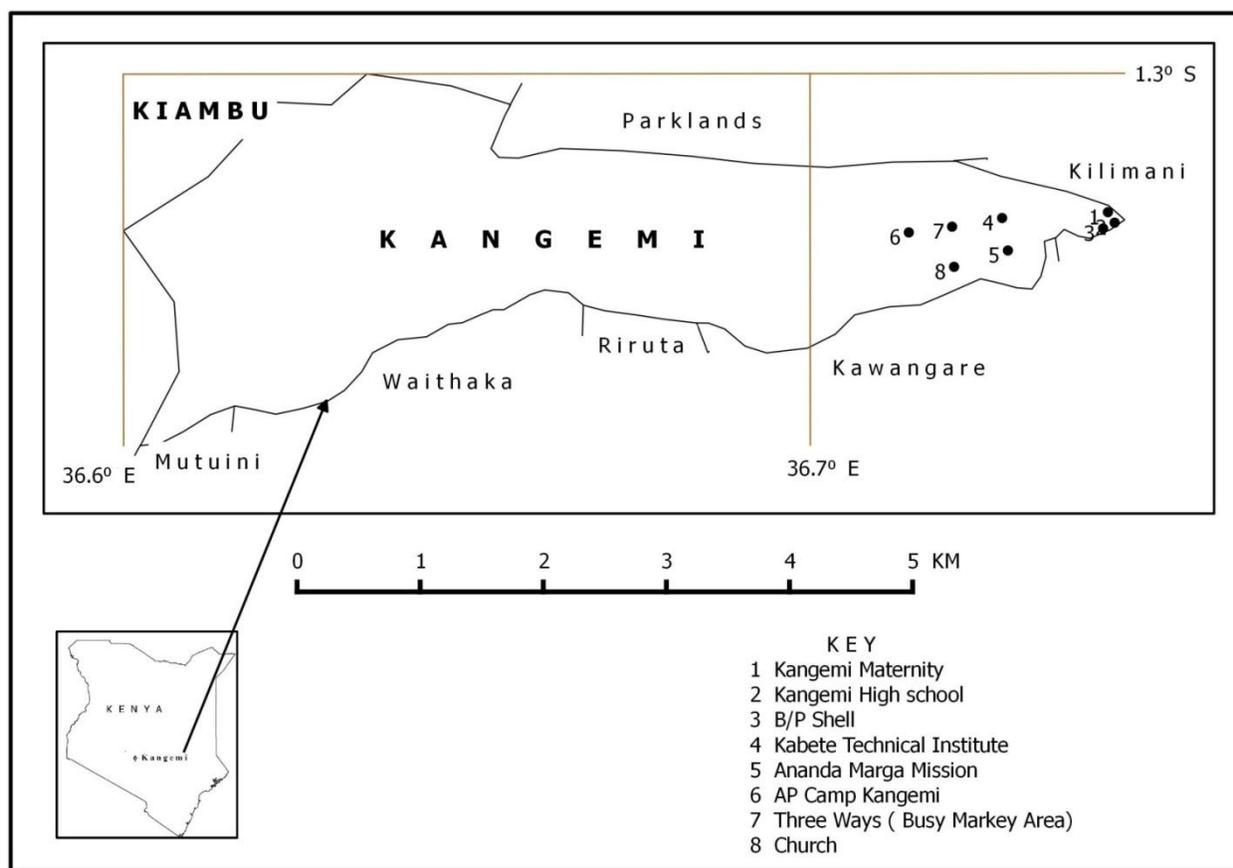


Figure 3.1: Map showing Kangemi area
 (Courtesy of Geography Department, Kenyatta University 2012).

The residents of Kangemi live in specific locales named according to the founders or pioneers of the areas. There are no documents designating such place-names, hence the researcher had to glean this information in the course interviewing some residents who had lived in Kangemi for over 50 years. As a result of consulting these people on different occasions, the researcher compiled a list of names currently in use for the various localities (cf. Chapter 4).

There are a number of social amenities in Kangemi. Some are provided by the government while others by different social groups like the churches. There are health centres, schools and social halls. The *modus operandi* in the provision of social services is based on cost-sharing, whereby the government funding is augmented by groups like churches and welfare associations.

A unique feature about the area is that there are *kiosks* (small temporary wooden business structures) along the earth-beaten lanes. The area is densely populated. This is evident during the weekend, and particularly on Sundays, when most lanes in Kangemi are crowded, impeding both pedestrian and vehicle movement. Sunday is the day when most people are free to engage in social activities. Asked why he considered Sunday to be an important day in his week, one participant responded in Kiswahili: *Jumapili ni siku ya kanisa na chama* (Sunday is the day of worship and welfare association meetings). For the purposes of this study, Sunday proved to be the ideal day for interaction and research, leading to elicitation of most of the data generated for the study.

Kangemi is a multi-ethnic informal settlement whose residents originally came to the area as a result of rural-urban migration from the countryside but many were born and bred there. The migration phenomenon began in the decades before independence, but accelerated after independence in 1963. According to Matsuda (1984, 3), this rural-urban process was accompanied by the phenomenon he describes as 'retribalisation', which is an effective way of reorganization of social relations in the urban environment.

The study focuses on a specific speech community in Kangemi, namely the Lugoli. In reference to this community, Matsuda (1984, 3), describes what he calls the Maragoli 'colonization' of Kangemi. According to Matsuda (1984, 5), the Logoli ethnolinguistic subgroup migrants quickly formed 'an urban colony in Kangemi' in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Kangemi was a new low-cost informal residential area on the western outskirts of Nairobi city. There were many such settlements emerging in Nairobi, but Kangemi was convenient for the migrant group under study because it was the entry point to the city for migrants coming from the Western region of the country.

Kangemi informal settlement experienced considerable expansion in the late 1960s, a phenomenon that corresponded significantly with the increasing number of the Logoli migrants. Matsuda (1984, 5) states that according to the 1969 Kenya National Census, the Maragoli or

Logoli ethnic group numbered 150,000 (1% of the national total population). Yet in the subsequent two decades, the 1970s and early 1980s, the Logoli population became dominant in Kangemi. Matsuda (1984) sampled some sixty (60) tenant houses which together comprised 745 rooms for rental. Of these, 256 rooms (34.4%) were occupied by the Logoli migrants from Western Kenya.

According to Matsuda (1984), by the early 1980s the Logoli speech community had become one of the 'most predominant groups in Kangemi', dominating not only the other Luyia-speaking ethno-linguistic groups from Western Kenya, but also ethno-linguistic groups like the Luo, Kamba and Kalenjin, to name a few. Of these, the Logoli speakers constitute 48% and therefore form the majority among the Luyia linguistic groups in Kangemi in peri-urban Nairobi. Apart from being the dominant Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroup in Kangemi, the Logoli numbers compete favourably against other larger Kenyan linguistic groups in the study area. These include the Gikuyu, Luo, Kisii, to name a few. This demographic significance of the Logoli speech community in Kangemi contributed, in part, to the viability of the study based on the Logoli in Kangemi.

3.3 Qualitative and quantitative approaches to research

Many researchers advocate a mixed research design strategy. These include Green et al. (1989), Patton (1990), Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), Taylor et al. (2008), Creswell (2011), Creswell and Clark (2011). Mixed research is also called triangulation. According to Taylor et al. (2008, 29), triangulation is a 'process of cross-checking whereby data relating to a particular aspect is gathered using more than one method and/or source'. It is then possible to compare, select and analyse such data. To achieve the objectives of this study, the researcher thus used both qualitative and quantitative methods. This is what Taylor et al. (2008, 158) have described as 'methodological pluralism'. One of its strong points is effective validation of data.

According to Creswell (2011, 26), triangulation is viewed by many researchers as the use of 'different paradigms in mixed methods research'. In the same vein Creswell (2009, 204) posits

that 'numerous published research studies have incorporated mixed methods research in social and human sciences in diverse fields'. A key aspect of triangulation is generating data as a result of asking proper research questions. According to Taylor et al. (2008, 9), such 'questions provide a definition of the research focus and are the springboard for the entire research effort'. Such research questions determine the success of strategy and method and ultimately the entire research problem.

This study used different approaches in generating the data from the Logoli speech community resident in Kangemi. The research applied both qualitative and quantitative methods as well as the ethnographic approach. The application of both qualitative and quantitative approaches is justified by the fact that the study entails both social aspects as well as purely linguistic features.

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2012, 263), when the principles and procedures of qualitative methodology are applied, they tend to naturally elicit first-hand information from the phenomena under inquiry. This view is shared by Bogdan and Bilken (1982, 29), who argue that qualitative research takes place in the natural setting, enabling the researcher to study human behaviour through observation and one-on-one interaction. The research undertaken in this study is basically descriptive, involving the use of audio-visual recorders, interviews and questionnaires. In short, the approach was mainly qualitative.

The qualitative approach enabled the researcher to gain an understanding of the ways of life of the community under study, especially understanding their attitudes and interactions in a given setting. In applying the approach the researcher moved systematically by first considering the questions and assumptions, then described, interpreted and analysed the corpus. According to Creswell (2009, 195), qualitative research, ensures that the setting from which data is drawn is natural, descriptive and presented in words and human behaviour.

The study applied semi-structured interviews, as well as participant-observation, to generate data from the respondents. These were coded and categorised according to the emerging themes, while matching them against the hypotheses and objectives of the study. The same approach was used to describe and explain the code-switched elements in the language use of the Logoli speech community in Kangemi.

In spite of the predominance of the qualitative approach, the study also partially applied the quantitative approach to complement, and therefore to fully capture, other key aspects of the study that needed quantification. Leedy and Ormrod (2001, 14) have stated that quantitative methodology involves putting data together so that information can be quantified and subjected to statistical analysis.

In the study, quantification came mainly at the level of analysis of linguistic data. At this level, transcribed data was categorised on the basis of statistical counts, frequencies and percentages. The response to the questionnaire by the participants, especially to the closed-ended questions, was quantified and analysed using the SPSS software programme. Numerical coding of open-ended textual data was done mainly by reading through the text and considering items that were deemed significant. In addition, counting was also done with regard to the respondents on return of the questionnaires. In view of this, regard to factors of gender, age range and other social dimensions, were quantified and presented on bar graphs in percentages (see Figures 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4).

3.4 Ethical considerations

As a first step, before the researcher went to the field a letter was obtained from the Department of English and Linguistics of Kenyatta University. This letter identified the researcher as an employee of Kenyatta University and a member of the department. The letter was duly signed by the chairperson of the department. Permission was sought from the Kenyan National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). Research clearances permit serial No. A00319 was consequently granted.

All these steps were important ethical and logistical measures. According to Creswell (2009, 87), a consent form (permit) is mandatory when a researcher intends to collect information from the respondents. In view of this he posits; 'this form acknowledges that participants' rights will be protected during data collection'. In the same vein David and Sutton (2011, 30), state that a researcher has to bear in mind that every stage of a field study has ethical implications, since the information collected concerns 'human behaviour in their day-to-day activities' (Creswell and Clark 2011, 178).

3.5 Research Assistants

The study adopted a number of approaches to collecting data. These were participant observation, administration of questionnaires, interviews and audio/video tape recordings. These techniques and procedures complemented one another. The main study took place between June 2011 and April 2012.

The researcher lives 20 Kilometres from the study area but has attended church service in one of the churches for the last 10 years. Over this period the researcher developed a network of friends residing in the study area. It was as a result of this networking that she observed code-switching norm during routine linguistic interaction. Following this, the researcher considered the area viable for a sociolinguistic study focusing on code-switching.

From these interactions, the researcher identified two research assistants, one male and the other female, from the Logoli ethno-linguistic group who would assist in identifying people who would be suitable respondents for the data generating questionnaire regarding the use of the Lulogoli dialect in the cosmopolitan setting of Kangemi.

According to Creswell (2011, 179), briefing or training the research assistants is a very important aspect of a field study, because 'if more than one investigator is involved in data collection, training should be provided so that the procedure is administered in a standard way

each time'. The researcher gave the research assistants detailed instructions regarding the study. She took them through the procedures of filling in the questionnaire and other logistical requirements.

The male research assistant aged 35, was born in Maragoli, away in western Kenya, some four hundred kilometres from Nairobi. He is a middle-level college graduate trained in information technology. He has lived in Kangemi for over twenty years and is proficient in Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English. He knows the informal settlement area and the people very well. His female counterpart aged 40, also came to the city from western Kenya in the early 1990s. She is proficient in Lulogoli and Kiswahili, and speaks fairly good English, having completed secondary school level education. She is an 'open-air' dealer in second-hand clothes in Kangemi. This occupation strategically enabled her to frequently interact freely with many residents of Kangemi, especially those who hail from western Kenya. She was thus able to help the researcher identify suitable candidates to serve as respondents.

3.6 Data collection methods

Different methods were used to collect data from respondents of the Kangemi peri-urban area of Nairobi. Some interviewees filled in the questionnaires (usually in the presence of the researcher or one of the assistants) and returned them immediately. Respondents who were not literate or had difficulty filling in the questionnaire were interviewed orally and their responses recorded by the researcher or research assistants. Other data collection methods were participant-observation and audio-recordings. The researcher targeted speakers of the Luyia language in general and the the speakers of Lulogoli in particular. A detailed analysis of the questionnaire and the interview schedule is captured in Chapter 4 of this study.

3.6.1 The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was constructed by the researcher in 2011. It was tested during the pilot study and considered appropriate for the prompting of data generation for the present study. During fieldwork the questionnaire served as a tool to collect quantitative primary data from

carefully identified respondents. It targeted people from the Luyia linguistic group at places such as the market, places of worship, *jua kali* (literally 'hot sun') artisans in their spaces of operation, etc. The research assistants helped the researcher identify suitable respondents who could give answers to questions related to the use of Lulogoli and other codes in the Kangemi area. Among these were some who had the necessary literacy to fill a questionnaire in English and return it. They also identified those to whom the questionnaire could be administered in interview form.

According to Selinger and Shahomy (1982, 172), research questionnaires bear several advantages over other instruments of data elicitation. For instance, being mainly self-administered, copies can be availed to a fairly large group of respondents. They are less expensive and more convenient to administer in comparison with, say, interview and audio-video taping arrangements. They also tend to guarantee standard responses to the same questions. The above advantages were clearly realised in respect to the questionnaire that was used to generate the corpus for the study.

The questionnaire was a 10-Items question. Item 1-6 (see Appendix I, Section A) are designed with a view to generating data on background information of the respondents including age and education. According to Creswell (2011, 626), the rating among other things can be used to measure ordinal levels of variables. He thus posits that, 'variables whose response are in categories can be placed into a rank'. The respondents were therefore required to fill in the blanks with single-word answers or tick against ordinal values on a Likert scale.

Items 6-10 (see Appendix I, Section B) focused on generating data on language use, attitude and opinions of the respondents. This is in line with Taylor et al. (2008, 87) who state that the questionnaire can serve as an effective tool in eliciting 'people's attitudes and opinions'. This was done with a view to establishing trends in code-switching behaviour among members of the speech community.

Copies of the questionnaire were administered every time the researcher or research assistants engaged the respondents or participants. Prior to the administration, the respondents were given a brief introduction to the research project, and the purpose of the research was explained. The respondents then filled in answers to the questions and handed them over to the researcher or the assistants. The same pattern was followed throughout the research period. The research assistants were very helpful in the data collection phase of the study.

3.6.2 Interviews

The interviews usually lasted between 15 and 30 minutes. These supplemented the data generation from the questionnaire. The questions were written in English and translated to Kiswahili by the researcher and the assistants whenever the respondent(s) could not understand the questions. The interviews were carried out by engaging individual respondents. The individuals were carefully selected and represented a category of speakers from different domains among the members of the Logoli speech community in Kangemi.

The interview involved the live administration of the questionnaire to a selected 16 interviewees. This was done with help of the research assistants who had knowledge of residents who knew the area well and were conversant with the place names in general and the way the speech community relates with other people in Kangemi. These respondents could also comment on the linguistic trends in the area. The interviews proved to be one direct way of finding extra details for examples naming of places, related to the speech community and its language use in an urban setting. Each person's answers reflected their perceptions, interest and attitude towards code-switching in particular. This bears out Milroy's (1987, 41) assertion that the role of the participants has to be clearly defined. Both the interviewer and the interviewee have to be consistent. Salinger and Shahomy (1989, 166) support this view. They state:

The purpose of the interview is to obtain information by actually talking to the subject. The interviewer asks questions and the subject responds either in a face to

face situation or by telephone. Interviews are personalized and therefore allow a level of in-depth information gathering, free response, flexibility that cannot be obtained by other procedures. The interviewer can probe for information and obtain data that often have not been foreseen. Much of the information obtained during an open/unstructured interview is incidental and comes out as the interview proceeds.

The interviews included individual respondents comprising both males and females carefully selected to represent a wide range of speakers from the Logoli speech community.

Worth noting is the fact that some of the interviewees went beyond the direct questions, giving strong opinions on the subject, hence greatly enriching research. The researcher's sessions with respondents confirmed these observations. The age-groups of people interviewed ranged between fifteen to sixty years. The interview covered a broad spectrum of aspects related to the language use, but the ultimate focus was code-choice. These included reasons as to why the respondents came to settle at Kangemi, the attitudes they held towards their language, and why they thought competence in more than one language was necessary.

3.6.3 Participant-Observer technique

This is a technique that enabled the researcher to record events as they occurred. Sociolinguistic researchers such as Gumperz and Hymes (1972, 44) and Mesthrie et al. (2000, 125) have commended the effectiveness of the Participant-Observer strategy in the elicitation of data. Ethnographic observation, as it is also called, enables the researcher to be part and parcel of the community under study, being neither an insider nor really an outsider. This double identity, according to Milroy (1980, 56), enables the collection of a variety of natural speech styles in different contexts without violating the community's norms of interaction. According to Daada (2007, 90), the method may be a supplementary technique, yet it provides opportunity to observe first-hand the behaviour in a natural setting.

This field study was made possible following natural participant-observer situations that involved over sixteen years of the researcher identifying with and attending church service in the Kangemi peri-urban area. This led to the habit of mixing freely with church members and residents of Kangemi on Sundays after service. A significant proportion of the residents belong to the Logoli speech community. Whenever the researcher visited the Kangemi market area or freely interacted with congregants outside the church after service, she observed that Luyia-speakers often engaged in switching between two or three codes, namely; Luyia, Kiswahili and to some extent, English. This was the motivation for undertaking such a sociolinguistic study.

The researcher considered herself as belonging to the category described by Milroy et al. (2000, 126), namely of being 'neither an insider nor an outsider'. Frequent interaction with members of the Luyia speech community in Kangemi enabled the researcher to participate in talks, listen to conversations in different contexts, and observe and interpret these conversations in contexts. The researcher visited different social domains and interacted with members of the speech community for a long time. This enabled her to actualise Gal's observation (1979, 151) that when a researcher spends time with a sample group carrying out participant observation, one is sure to collect 'naturally occurring conversation in a wide variety of setting'. This strategy enabled the researcher to collect data within Kangemi effectively. As Johnstone (2006, 86) points out, the participant-observation technique has a number of benefits. These include the amount and quality of data collected, and the fact that the investigator gains a substantial amount of familiarization with community practices.

Eckert (2003, 49) notes that familiarity with the community one is investigating necessitates not only access to the respondents' speech as well as insight, hence enhancing a higher sense of appreciation of the linguistic behaviour being observed. Some situations called upon the researcher to participate in some of the activities under observation. This included attending wedding ceremonies, buying groceries from the respondents and sometimes taking part in social verbal activities (see Appendix iii). Hence taking on the role of a participant-observer enabled the researcher to elicit data from a typically natural situation. With the help of two

research assistants, movement and interaction were made possible including access of settings where relevant conversations were taking place.

3.6.4 Audio-Video recording

This tool was used to collect data on code-switching by recording conversations. The researcher had to seek permission from the event organisers (for instance the Church Administrator) or participants, before the recording could be done. The audio-tape recording took place on different occasions over a period of ten months. During this period the researcher interacted with the participants whose conversations were audio-taped using an ordinary tape recorder. In larger functions such as weddings a video recording of the proceedings was made and parts that were relevant to the current research extracted.

The researcher recorded thirty-five (35) discourse types involving the Logoli speech community in different settings in the study area. This was a period of six months.

According to Bauer and Aarts (2000, 20), corpus construction involves 'selecting some material to characterise the whole'. They rightly observe that not all collected data may be ultimately useful. Hence construction of corpus involves data selection. The two scholars (2000, 35) have gone ahead and proposed guidelines in this process of corpus-construction. They have developed a cyclical corpus-building model which they also describe as 'select-analyse-select again'.

The thirty-five discourses or conversations recorded by the researcher virtually covered the whole social spectrum of the Logoli speech community. Quite a number of the discourses tended to overlap in content and form, and needed to be disaggregated to facilitate meaningful analysis. By severally applying the 'select-analyse-select again' method, the researcher came up with what can be deemed as representative data from the recorded conversations. Out of the 35, 19 discourses were selected for analysis. They covered broad thematic topics that seemed to adequately represent the day to day linguistic behaviour of the

Logoli speech community. Figure 3.2 is the researcher's own impression and expression of the idea of 'select-analyse-select again' corpus construction.

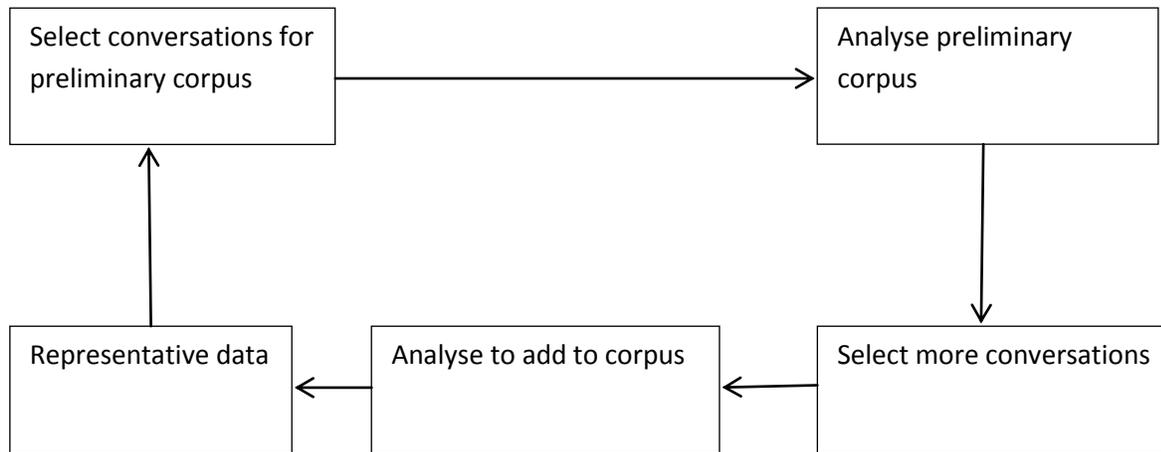


Figure 3.2: Corpus construction flowchart

The two research assistants were careful in identifying areas in Kangemi where different naturally occurring and free-flowing bi-or multi-linguistic behaviour was likely to be found. They were recorded at venues such as the market, *jua kali* (literally 'hot sun'), open-air venues, motor garages, residential places, food kiosks (make-shift eating joints), churches (including church halls), barber shops, pubs and hotels. The assistants, well-known among the members of the speech community, enabled the researcher to gain access into different discourse-settings without raising alarm or making participants feel uncomfortable during taping. Most of the participants were in groups ranging from two to four people.

There were discourses, however, which were both audio and video taped. These included the weddings, the seminars and the church services. In such cases the discourses involved many people, and the interactions were in the form of verbal exchanges by main speakers whose interlocutors were the audience.

3.7 Data categorisation

The data generated from the completed questionnaires were categorised and analysed. The participants' response to the interview questions were also captured and analysed. The SPSS software programme was used to analyse the data. Details of the categorisation and analysis are presented in Chapter 4 of this study.

3.8 Overview of analysis

The interviews were transcribed in their entirety, while the questionnaire responses were tabulated according to the sub-themes of the research.

The tape-recorded texts were transcribed and arranged into nineteen (19) discourses of various types. These constituted the code-switching corpus of 7398 words. Of these 386 words involved code-switched texts at sentence, clause, phrase and word-levels. From the data sample there were 56 singly occurring switched lexical items. The entire corpus had a distribution of roughly 24.4% intersententially switched texts and about 75.6% intrasententially switched utterances. At the sociolinguistic level, the study adopted discourse analysis with a view to establishing the role of the demographic and identity-related factors in code-switching among the Logoli speech community in Kangemi. This study sought to address the 'why, when, where and how' questions relating to the phenomenon of code-switching by applying Myers-Scotton's (1993b) Markedness Model.

At the linguistic level, analysis of code-switched items sought to test the data within the framework of Myers-Scotton's (1993a) MLF Model. The focus was on the identification of the presence of the Matrix Language (ML) and the Embedded Language (EL), in classes, and the applicability of the Morpheme Order Principle and the System Morpheme Principle in the corpus.

The methodology used in this study has close affinity to the methodology used by Myers-Scotton (1993a, b) who conducted her study on code-switching in Africa, and especially in

Nairobi, Kenya. She collected her data from naturally occurring conversations. A total of about 100 persons participated in the conversations which were audio-recorded. Out of 100 conversations, 40 involved code-switched material between Kiswahili and English linguistic codes of participants from different linguistic backgrounds. These were later transcribed and analysed to test the assumptions she had formulated concerning the MLF Model. The difference in the Kangemi study lies in the fact that whereas Myers-Scotton used samples of conversations generated from different linguistic backgrounds, this study centres on one linguistic community, namely the Logoli.

3.9 Challenges encountered during the field research

A number of challenges were encountered during this field-research. Apart from being a student, the researcher is engaged in teaching at Kenyatta University so it was not easy to meet some of the respondents during working days (Monday-Friday). The researcher had usually to wait until Sunday when most respondents are off-duty from their employment. On this day they could therefore be found around markets, churches, and business premises, and other settings.

Secondly, research is an expensive venture. The researcher made many visits to the study area in order to engage the respondents. She had to fund the research herself. This included the visits she made from Kenya to UNISA, South Africa. It was on only one occasion that she was given air-ticket by her employer. Otherwise all other expenses involving equipment, travel, stationery and production of the dissertation were at personal costs.

Thirdly, since some tape-recordings were in open places, the exercise was marred by a lot of noise. So other instruments such as questionnaires, interview schedule and participatory observation needed to be integrated.

One of the major challenges was that 2012 was the year during which the national elections were initially expected in Kenya. Many members of the Kangemi community were suspicious that the study had political undertones. Some were, therefore, initially hesitant to release

useful information to the researcher. Their suspicions emanated from post-election violence witnessed in Kenya in 2008. They thought the interviews were targeting certain ethnic groups for ulterior motives. The researcher had to explain to them that this study had nothing to do with control of political power along ethnic lines in Kangemi. The researcher had to clarify the academic purpose of the study and that it was solely about trends in language use, especially among different cohorts of the Logoli speech community. This generally solved the problem and they agreed to participate because they had observed the linguistic trends under study in their day-to-day life.

3.10 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to discuss the methodology employed to undertake the study. The research design and choice in relation to qualitative as well as quantitative approaches were described, and their application to the research demonstrated. The research methods and sampling techniques used in the study were also explained. Finally, the challenges encountered during the field research were outlined. The researcher explained how she got around some of the challenges.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the data collected following the administration of the questionnaire and through oral interviews is presented and analysed. The questionnaire sought to establish a sociolinguistic profile of the Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroups in Kangemi in general, and of the Logoli speech community among the Kangemi residents in particular. In line with the aim of the study, the questionnaire sought to investigate and establish the sociolinguistic behaviour and language attitudes of the speech community.

A total of three hundred (300) copies of the questionnaire were given out, of which two hundred and sixty three (263) were filled in and returned. The returned included the 16 copies that were administered to selected respondents through oral interviews. The data elicited from the questionnaire are presented and analysed in the subsequent sections of the chapter. The tables and bar graphs presented in this chapter were generated from the data. The questionnaire was designed to broadly cover two areas, namely, biodata of the respondents and language use in different domains.

4.2 Responses to questions

4.2.1 Question 1

Question 1 of the questionnaire sought to find out the time of first arrivals of the respondents in Kangemi. Of those captured the earliest respondents came to Nairobi in 1979, while the latest came in 2011. The largest number of arrivals was between 1996 and 2001. The responses are captured in Table 4.1 below

Year of arrival	Number of arrivals	Percent of total arrivals
1979	1	0.4
1980	3	1.1
1981	7	2.7
1983	3	1.1
1984	3	1.1
1985	7	2.7
1986	3	1.1
1987	5	1.9
1988	8	3.0
1989	8	3.0
1990	6	2.3
1991	6	2.3
1992	7	2.7
1993	5	1.9
1994	8	3.0
1995	6	2.3
1996	10	3.8
1997	10	3.8
1998	12	4.6
1999	15	5.7
2000	13	4.9
2001	11	4.2
2002	7	2.7
2003	6	2.3
2004	13	4.9
2005	10	3.8
2006	11	4.2
2007	8	3.0
2008	11	4.2
2009	19	7.2
2010	14	5.3
2011	7	2.7
Total	263	100

Table 4.1: Time of the respondents' arrival in Nairobi

4.2.2 Question 2

Question 2 required respondents to state the specific Luyia dialect they spoke. The questionnaire was used to establish the sociolinguistic profile of the Luyia speakers by ethno-linguistic sub-group in the Kangemi area. As a linguistic group, the Luyia is made up of 17 linguistic sub-groups (see Section 1.11). However, the respondents came from only 9 of the linguistic sub-groups. These included the Logoli, Idakho, Isukha, Nyore, Tachoni, Samia, Tiriki, Khayo and Marama. The other sub-groups not found in the sample were: Tsotso, Wanga, Nyala (Busia), Nyala (Kakamega), Bukusu, Kisa, Marach and Kabras linguistic sub-groups. The reason for this is that these latter groups are hardly found in Kangemi, or if so, in very small numbers. According to the questionnaire generated data, the Logoli speech community (Maragoli) is the largest of the linguistic sub-group in Kangemi (48%). This is followed by the Nyore (19.3%), the Tiriki (11.5%), the Idakho (9.1%), the Isukha (8.9%), the Khayo (1.2%), the Samia (1.2%), the Marama (0.8%) and the Tachoni (0.4%). This information is captured in figure 4.1.

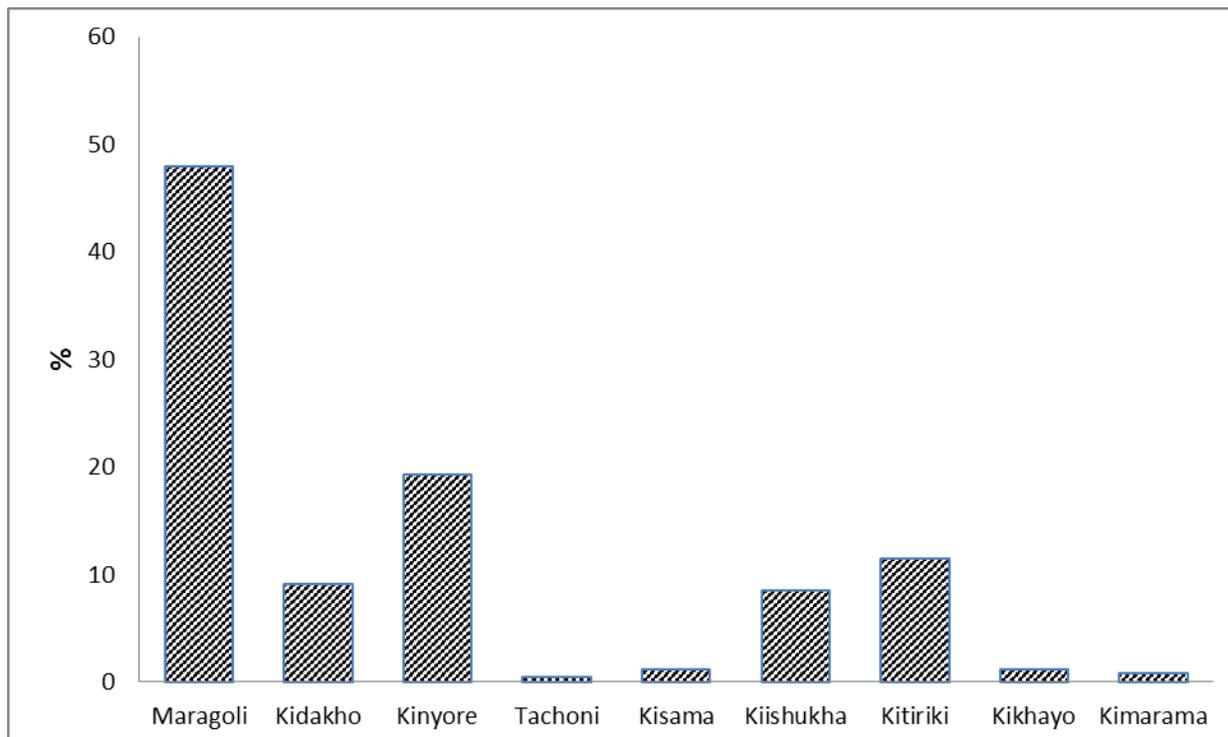


Figure 4.1: Bar graph showing the Luyia ethno-linguistic subgroups in Kangemi.

Kindly note that 'Maragoli' should read 'Lulogoli', while 'Kasima' should read 'Kisamia'.

4.2.3 Question 3

Question 3 asked respondents to state the name of their specific area of residence in Kangemi. This enabled the researcher to find the place-names for the various sectors of Kangemi. A list of names was consequently compiled. These include: Gichagi, Kwa Kinyua, Kasarani, Mukumo, Kibagare, Eighty Four (84), Kitoka, Old Posta, Kihumbuini, Fly-Over, Sodom, Waruku, Shangilia, St. Joseph, Kaptagat, Bottomline, Mau Mau, Ananda Marga, BP, Misiekwe and Shienyu-ni-Shienyu. Where the predominant occupants of a place are Luyia speakers, some names have been altered to suit the Luyia phonology. For example, *Mugumu* has been changed to *Mukumu*; *Mariguini* changed to *Marikuini* and *Mashakwe* changed to *Misiekwe*. Other place names include *Gecagi* changed to *Kishaki* and *Gitonga* change to *Kitoka*. From the interview proceedings, the researcher found out that the adjustment of the names was motivated by the quest for the residents to identify with the name of the places they lived in on ethnic enclaves. There is no official map that captures these nomenclatures; this is a sociolinguistic issue of identity in urban setting and makes sense only to the members of the group. It appears that this is because every other linguistic group has its own system of naming which is not captured officially. The map available for the study area was generated using GPS points, which captured landmarks such as hospitals, schools and the market area, among others (see Figure 3.1).

4.2.4 Question 4

Question 4 aimed at finding out how the age variable influenced the use of different codes during interaction among the Logoli speech community. The research established five age cohorts, ranging from 15 to 55 years and above. Of these, less than one percent (1%) was above age 55. The highest percentage of the respondents was in the 25-35 age cohort, constituting 51.6%. They were followed by 15-25 years with 21.7%, 35-45 years with 20.9% and 45-55 years with 5%. This information is captured in Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3 respectively.

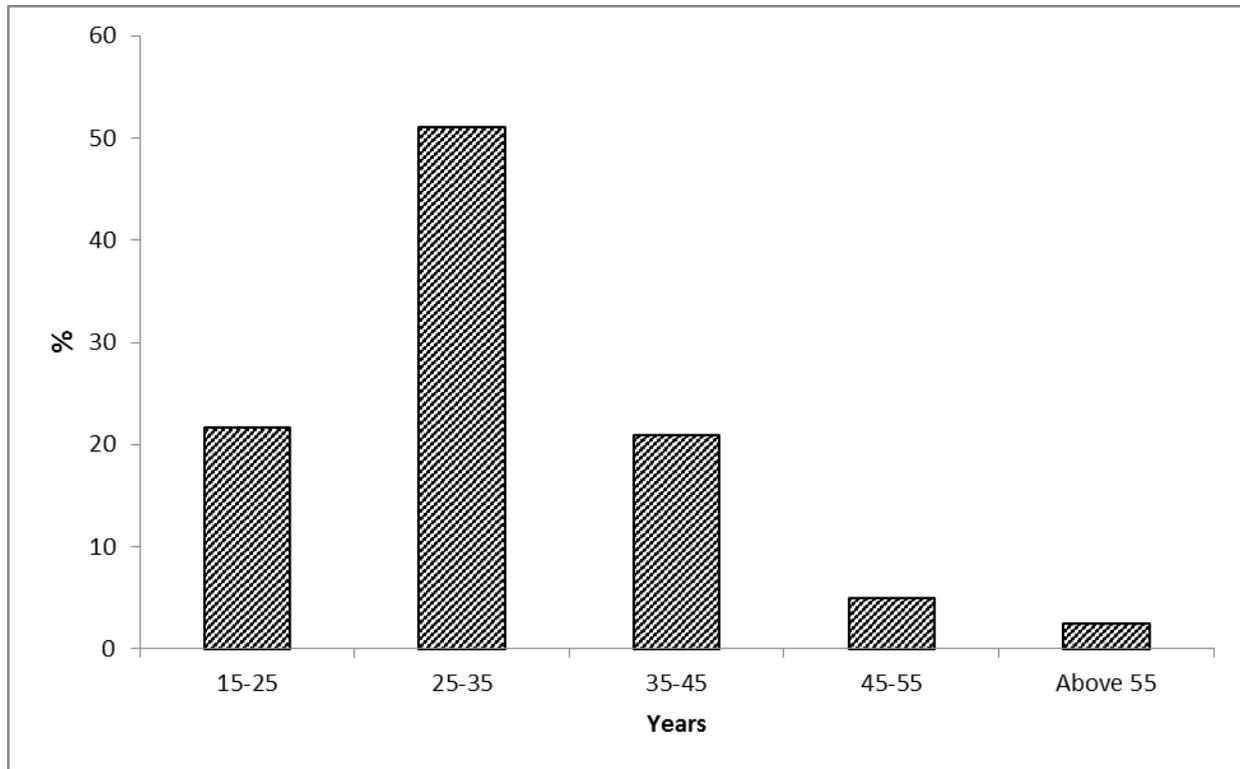


Figure 4.2: Bar graph showing the age differences of respondents

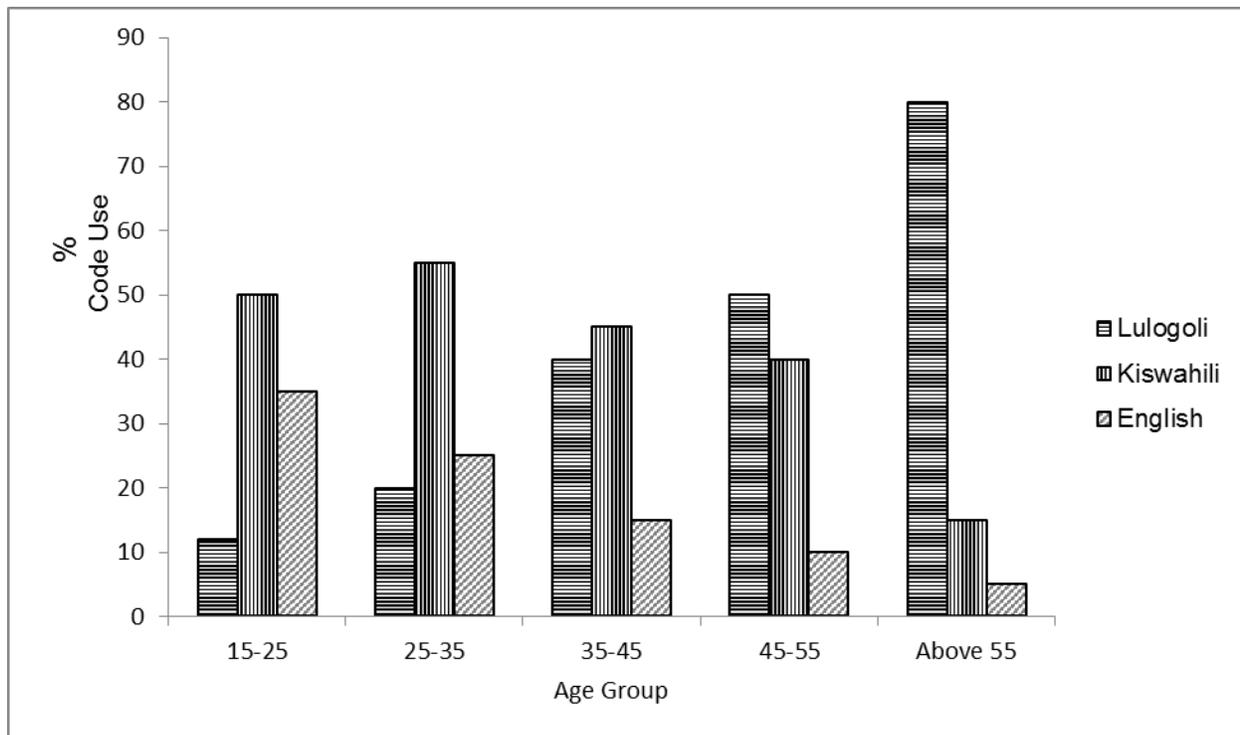


Figure 4.3: Bar graph showing code use and age cohort

Correlating the results of Question 8 with these result, as well as data gathered from interviews, it would appear that the age differential had a clear bearing on use of different codes during interaction. The first two age cohorts, from teenage to mid-thirties, displayed the most frequent switching between the three codes under consideration. The 15-25 cohort spoke more of Kiswahili, followed by English and Lulogoli. These are the urban-born and bred who have been exposed to cosmopolitan linguistic behaviour to the point of virtually struggling to retain their MT. They are either school-going or have been to school, and mainly combine Kiswahili and English. They speak Kiswahili as the dominant code. This was alternated with Logoli, followed by English.

The linguistic behaviour of the 35-45 age cohort showed that Kiswahili remained the dominant code, followed closely by Lulogoli, and English. Most interviewees in this cohort had attained primary education. They worked as domestic servants, drivers, residential security guards, gardeners and cooks. Their employers included diplomats and rich business people resident in the suburbs adjacent to Kangemi. In this cohort English recedes into the background as Kiswahili serves as the main language followed by Lulogoli. The interspersing of English that they exhibit is mainly in an effort to impress their employers.

In the 45-55 age cohort, the pattern of language use seems to shift dramatically. Lulogoli takes over as the dominant code, followed by Kiswahili, and English. Kiswahili is fairly regularly used, while use in English is rare. The dominance of Lulogoli in code-switching behaviour is due to the good command of the language by virtue of their age, despite urban influence. Lulogoli is used mainly in the recognition of a common kindred and cultural heritage. It is basically an identity marker for an older age group.

The cohort above 55 years is unique in the sense that the dominant code is Lulogoli. They may have a good command of Kiswahili but amongst themselves they speak Lulogoli as the main language, followed by English. This cohort represents the much older Logoli migrants, most of who came to the city during the colonial period.

4.2.5 Question 5

Question 5 sought to establish the level of education of the respondents with a view to finding out how it impacted on their use of codes in conversation. Of the respondents, 36% held a minimum primary level certificate only, 46% had attained the secondary certificate in education while 18% had a post-secondary education (see Figure 4.4).

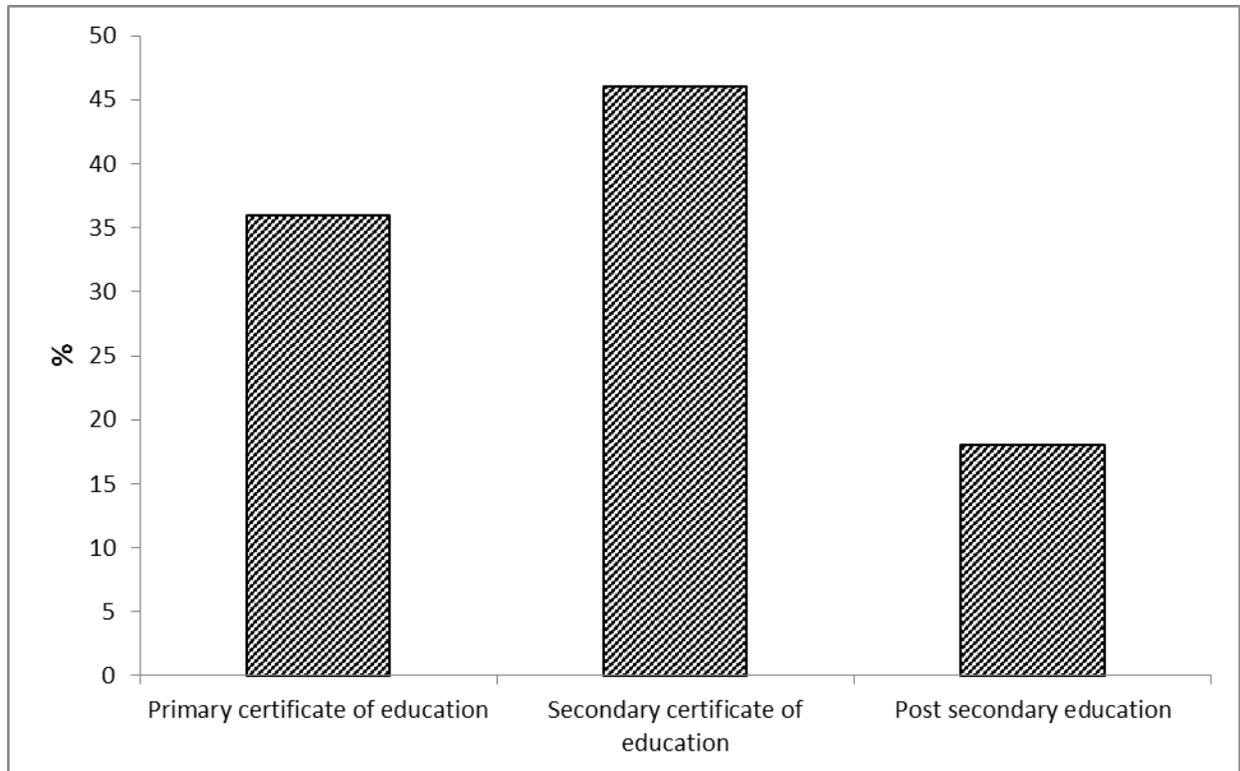


Figure 4.4: Bar graph showing the respondents' level of education

It was apparent that the level of education attained corresponded with age cohort, and by extension use of codes in conversation.

In the age cohort above 55, there was little formal education. The majority had been to school but did not complete the primary level. They were absorbed into manual labour employment that had no need for a certificate of education.

In the age cohort 15-25, majority of the cohort had attained secondary school education, hence the frequency of alternation between Kiswahili and English. In the age cohort 25-35 most of the correspondents had attained at least primary education, though a sizeable number had secondary education. They were conversant with both Kiswahili and English, and like the previous cohort freely switched between the two codes. They found work in Kiosks, barber shops, open-air markets and garages. In the age cohort of 35-45, most interviewees had attained primary education. They worked as domestic servants, drivers, residential security guards, gardeners and cooks where Kiswahili was the dominant code as the urban *lingua franca*. In the 45-55 age cohort, the level of formal education tended to be basic with Kiswahili being alternated with Lulogoli during conversation.

4.2.6 Question 6

Question 6 sought to find out from the respondents the public domains or entities where they had observed alternation of codes in the process of day-to-day conversation. The findings indicated that the respondents were well aware that code mixing took place in most public interactions. They indicated that code-switching took place in; pubs and recreational houses, social eateries and restaurants, church halls, community halls, open-air-markets and grocery stalls, motor vehicle repair garages, public vehicle termini, residential areas and political campaign venues.

4.2.7 Question 7

Question 7 asked the respondents to list in order of dominance the use of the three codes under investigation in different public domains identified in question 6 above. The outcome of the questionnaire data showed the following distribution:

- (i) Pubs and recreational houses; Kiswahili, Lulogoli and English.
- (ii) Eateries and restaurants; Kiswahili, English and Lulogoli.
- (iii) Church halls during services and weddings; Kiswahili, Lulogoli and English.

- (iv) Community halls during discussions of social welfare and development matters; Kiswahili, Lulogoli and English.
- (v) Open-air-market and grocery market stalls; Kiswahili, Lulogoli and English.
- (vi) Motor vehicle repair garages; Kiswahili, English and Lulogoli.
- (vii) Public vehicle termini; Kiswahili, Lulogoli and English.
- (viii) Residential neighbourhoods; Kiswahili, Lulogoli and English.
- (ix) Political campaign venues; Kiswahili, English and Lulogoli.

From the distribution above, Kiswahili is the most dominant code spoken by the Logoli speech community in the various public domains. This is because Kiswahili is the urban *lingua franca* and the national language of Kenya. Furthermore, Kangemi is highly cosmopolitan and host to groups of diverse linguistic backgrounds. Members of these groups gradually take on Kiswahili as the medium of communication even when talking among themselves (because of the urban influence).

The second most widely spoken code by the Logoli speech community in the public domain was found to be Lulogoli. It is spoken particularly in recreational places. This is because participants in this area tend to meet most of their kinsmen and easily drift into Lulogoli as an identity marker. This is especially among the older Logoli speakers of 35 years and above. English is the least spoken code, mainly because it is an exoglossic language, only mastered by those who have attained higher levels of education. This category of Logoli speakers are mainly employed as civil servants, who use English as the medium of official transaction. However, young members of the Logoli speech community (15-25) frequently tend to alternate between English and Kiswahili, especially because most were urban born and bred (in the Kangemi urban setting) with little influence from their Lulogoli background.

4.2.8 Question 8

Question 8 asked the respondents to list, in order of dominance, the use of the three codes under study by the different members of the nuclear family. This question was asked in order to

establish the pattern of code use by family members in the Logoli speech community. The findings indicate that parents, who belong to an older generation, speak more Lulogoli at home amongst themselves. This is followed by Kiswahili, which they often speak with their children, followed by English. In contrast, their children address each other more in Kiswahili, followed by English. They speak Lulogoli very rarely, both amongst themselves and with their parents. This is because the children are urban born and bred; most of these youths have hardly travelled to or stayed in the Logoli homeland of Western Kenya.

Furthermore, the family domain seemed to establish a gender differential regarding the use of codes. The mothers speak more Lulogoli (60%) than Kiswahili (30%) and English (5%) mainly with the children. On the other hand the fathers speak Lulogoli (50%) mainly with the wives and Kiswahili (30%) and English (20%) with the children.

The pattern of code use by the children differs substantively from that of the parents. The male children speak 15% Lulogoli while the female children speak 20% of the same code with their parents. Amongst themselves the children switch more between Kiswahili and English. The female children speak 50% Kiswahili and 30% English, while the male children speak 52% Kiswahili and speak 33% English.

4.2.9 Question 9

Question 9 asked the respondents to give the reasons for switching Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English in their day-to-day conversations. The main reason given was for purposes of communication in multilingual Kangemi, in which people from different linguistic backgrounds live. The second reason given was that switching facilitated better expression of some ideas not well developed in the other languages. Thirdly, switching of codes played the role of identity maker, especially when interacting in a mixed urban setting such as Kangemi. The fourth reason given was that mixed codes enhance one's status especially where one is learned. It is assumed that to be schooled one is expected to be versatile in English in addition to fluency in Kiswahili. The alternation of the codes is seen as a characteristic of a person who is learned. The fifth

reason was that mixed codes are used when one is trying to find the most appropriate code of interaction with a particular person (this is called accommodation). The sixth reason given was that switch of codes is done when one intends to hide one's ethnic identity, was necessary. The last reason given was that switching was used to exclude 'outsiders' when discussing confidential matters.

4.2.10 Question 10

Question 10 sought to find out the opinion of the respondents on mixing of codes and whether they thought Lulogoli has a future or was likely to die. The respondents had to tick their choice on a likert scale requiring them to strongly agree, agree, strongly disagree or disagree. The responses in percentages are presented in Figure 4.5. On the question of whether or not use of vernacular was likely to die, 74% strongly agreed, 4% agreed, 20% disagreed and 2% strongly disagreed. In short, their general view was that the use of vernacular/Lulogoli is limited to a specific linguistic group and that in an urban setting such as Kangemi it faces a bleak future. In response to the question of whether or not they should never mix codes, 2.5% strongly agreed, 4.5% agreed, 46% disagreed and 47% strongly disagreed. On whether they should sometimes mix codes, 72% strongly agreed, 19% agreed, 7% disagreed and 2% strongly disagreed. On whether they should always mix codes, 39% strongly agreed, 30% agreed, 27% disagreed and 4% strongly disagreed. On whether or not they should encourage people to switch codes, 56% strongly agreed, 36% agreed, 6% disagreed and 2% strongly disagreed. On whether or not mixing of codes was useful or not 47% strongly agreed, 46% agreed, 4% disagreed and 3% strongly disagreed.

The general view of the respondents defended the mixing or switching of codes and the overwhelming majority indicated that mixing was useful. The key reason would seem to be that linguistic interaction in an urban cosmopolitan area naturally encourages bilingualism because of the different ethno linguistic groups found in the area.

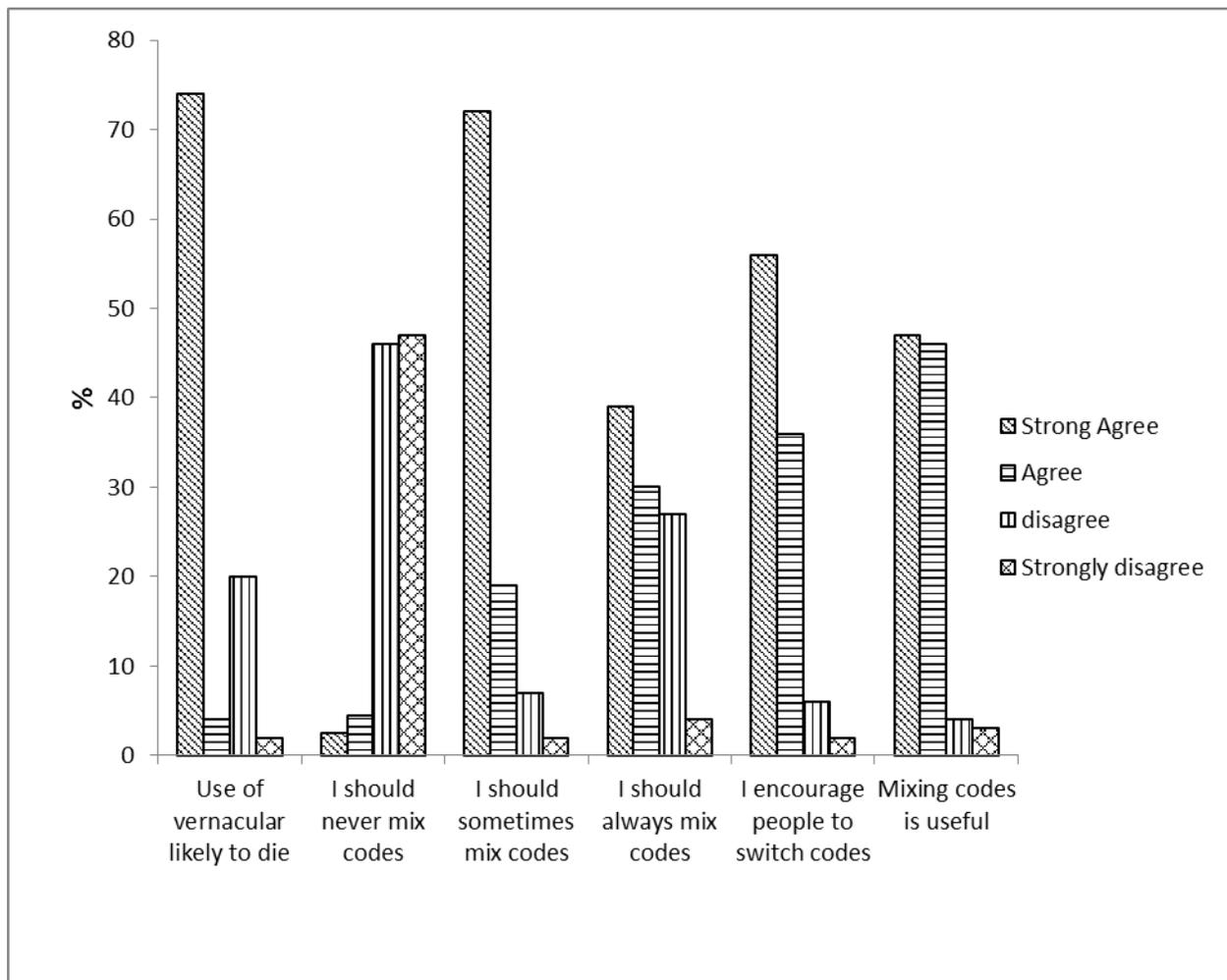


Figure 4.5: Bar graph representing respondents' opinions on mixing languages.

4.3 Conclusion

The findings generated from the data questionnaire seem to correspond closely to the language policy in Kenya from colonial times to the present. During the colonial period (see Section 1.9.2) Kiswahili served as the language of governance as well as of communication between the disparate linguistic groups in the country. According to Kembo-Sure (2000, 43), Kiswahili is spoken by 65% of the total population. Successive governments of Kenya have over decades given it prominence in the language policies that have been developed. In 2010, it was declared co-official language with English as well as the national language of the republic. Consequently,

the dominance of Kiswahili in the Kangemi corpus is explained by this perceived historical advantage which the language has (Republic of Kenya 2010, 14).

This aside, Kiswahili is a Bantu language which resonates easily with most of the Kenyan languages. It is the Kenyan language of mass communication. It is therefore no surprise that the Logoli speech community in Kangemi, just like other linguistic groups, has given prominence to Kiswahili in their linguistic behaviour. It is no surprise that Kiswahili takes prominence among the Logoli speakers in public domains. There is real fear that among the younger generation of the Logoli speakers Lulogoli may be dying, and in its place taken over by Kiswahili followed by English.

It is significant that the case of Kiswahili and English in the same conversation has become the norm among the young members of the Logoli speech community. However, the older speakers seem to prefer Lulogoli, their mother-tongue, followed by Kiswahili the *lingua franca*, then English, the official language. In response to the question as to why the first preference is Lulogoli, the older respondents gave the reason that they wished to identify with their culture, and that use of Lulogoli gave them their cultural identity. They nevertheless needed other languages to interact in an urban setting. In her study in Zimbabwe among the Shona, Veit-Wild (2009, 682) makes reference to such a scenario and argues that mixing a local with another language creates of wider communication 'a local artistic flavour in a global setting'.

The chapter has sketched a sociolinguistic profile of the Logoli speech community based on data generated from the administration of the questionnaire. It has established that, because of the cosmopolitan nature of the Kangemi society, members mainly speak Kiswahili in all the public domains. Those who have been to school tend to switch more between codes depending on their age and level of education. The younger generation tends to switch between Kiswahili and English to larger extent. The older generations, especially in the context of the family domain, tend to speak Lulogoli among themselves and with their kindred.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIO-PRAGMATIC AND STRUCTURAL ANALYSES OF CODE-SWITCHING IN KANGEMI

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of the corpus generated from the study area. The basic aim of the study is to identify the social motivations that inform code-switching among the Logoli speech community in an urban setting, and the factors and trends that determine this. The study also aims at identifying the linguistic features that emerge in the process of code-switching. The analysis is undertaken within two integrated models which constitute the theoretical framework. These are: the Markedness model and the MLF Model. Both were developed by Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b, 1993c, 2005a), and have been adopted because they seem to provide a meaningful explanation of the corpus on the aspects of the study, namely, sociopragmatic and structural (see Section 2.6 and 2.7).

The study focuses on the Logoli speech community in the sprawling slum area of Kangemi in peri-urban Nairobi. The Logoli people form a significant enclave in Kangemi, where they have for decades interacted freely with people of other ethnic groups from different parts of the country. This multi-ethnic composition of the Kangemi population, creates a social environment that encourages multilingualism in which code-switching plays a prominent role.

The chapter begins by providing a summary of nineteen recorded discourses. The discourses form a major part of the corpus for the study, complemented by the data generated by the questionnaire. The chapter is presented in two broad parts. The first focuses on identifying the motivational factors that influence the switching of codes in the recorded discourses, i.e. the socio-pragmatic factors. The second focuses on the main structural (linguistic) aspects of the corpus.

5.2 Summary of the discourses

This section contains the summary of the discourses recorded from different settings.

Discourse Setting (i): The setting is a market where a seller and client interact. Kiswahili and English dominate the interaction.

Discourse setting (ii): The setting is a business premise, or a *Kiosk*. It facilitates a proprietor-client interaction. Three codes Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English are used almost evenly.

Discourse setting (iii): The setting is the central rectangular courtyard of a partitioned low income residential structure. Three women in their early twenties engage in a neighbourly interaction. Kiswahili and Lulogoli are used, but Lulogoli dominates.

Discourse setting (iv): The setting is a market stall overlooking a road. A young man and two women, who could be agetates of his mother, engage in a conversation. Kiswahili and Lulogoli are dominant, with some interspersions of English. Even then, Lulogoli is more dominant than Kiswahili.

Discourse setting (v): The setting is a social premise or a pub. The participants are three Logoli men whiling away the evening. Lulogoli and Kiswahili are the codes used with the latter being more dominant.

Discourse setting (vi): The setting is a wedding reception at the church grounds after the wedding ceremony. Three codes, Kiswahili, Luogoli and English are used. Use of Lulogoli is very minimal, while Kiswahili dominates. This is because the congregation is not purely Logoli-speaking but rather mixed. In the same vein the congregation is not elitist, hence a scattering of English lexis here and there, especially when using technical terms related to intimacy in marriage. These terms are more easily expressed in English than Lulogoli or Kiswahili.

Discourse setting (vii): The setting is a church service in progress. It is the season for national political election campaigns. Kiswahili dominates the discourse because the 'visitor', who is an aspiring politician, is not a Mulogoli, and yet he has to communicate to a largely Logoli congregation.

Discourse setting (viii): The setting is the residence of a woman who has been visited by a friend who recently travelled to the country-side. The two engage in a neighbourly interaction as the latter narrates the events of her journey back to Nairobi. Lulogoli dominates but Kiswahili and English are also used. The two latter codes come into the interaction because of the urban linguistic habit of mixing codes.

Discourse setting (ix): The setting is a 'posh' residence owned by a white man in the prestigious Mountain View Estate. The interaction is between a white man and a Logoli in search of employment. Kiswahili and English are used by the two for different reasons.

Discourse setting (x): The setting is a church premise. The interaction is between church officials and a bereaved member of the congregation who is in need of financial help. Kiswahili is the dominant language although all the participants are Logoli. The minimal use of Lulogoli is due to the fact that the topic is basically businesslike in nature.

Discourse setting (xi): The setting is a small business premise, a *cafe*. A group of eight women wish to use the premises to transact their 'women group' affairs. Kiswahili and Lulogoli are dominant while the use of English is minimal.

Discourse setting (xii): The setting is a church premise during national political elections. A politician who is regarded as an 'outsider', and her two agents, are on a campaign trail, seeking votes from church members who are predominantly Logoli speakers. Kiswahili is dominant at

the initial stage, though eventually Lulogoli is used to exclude the outsider politician from the secrets of the in-group.

Discourse setting (xiii): The setting is a social hall in Kangemi where women have been summoned for civic education by their leaders to attend an awareness campaign on participation of women in development. Three languages, namely Kiswahili, English and Lulogoli, are used, though Lulogoli dominates. This is because the majority of the women come from the Logoli speech community. To make the women understand her subject, she uses Lulogoli.

Discourse setting (xiv): The setting is a vegetable vendor's selling point. Two Logoli women converge to buy supplies and engage in a conversation. Lulogoli is dominant over Kiswahili and English.

Discourse setting (xv): The setting is a path by-passing a residential area. The participants, a young woman in her twenties, and a middle aged woman known to the former's family, engage in a neighbourly verbal interaction. Lulogoli dominates Kiswahili and English because the participants are well known to each other and also share the MT. They also use Kiswahili because it is the urban *lingua franca* that is almost an automatic code. However, having attained same schooling, they use a bit of English.

Discourse setting (xvi): The setting is a barber's shop in a residential area. The barber and his client engage in conversation. The topic of their interaction is based on the challenges of their different jobs. Lulogoli and Kiswahili are used almost evenly, but Kiswahili is dominant because it is the language of business communication.

Discourse setting (xvii): The setting is the residence of a teenage boy who invites his peer to his home. The teenage boy lives with his parents who are in their late forties and early fifties

respectively. Three languages namely, Kiswahili, *Sheng* and Lulogoli are used for different motives. Kiswahili is dominant in this interaction.

Discourse setting (xviii): The setting is a newspaper vendor's stand by the roadside. Two young friends meet and engage in a conversation. Although *Sheng* is also used, Kiswahili is more pronounced.

Discourse setting (xix): The setting is a church social hall, where female members of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Church from all over Kangemi area have congregated for a seminar on the theme of family planning and a better life. The composition of the gathering is largely Logoli women who also dominate the membership of the church. The facilitators are from a government hospital family planning unit. The speaker switches back and forth between two codes, Kiswahili and Lulogoli in order to make the women understand the concepts. However, Kiswahili dominates being the urban *lingua franca*.

5.3 The sociolinguistic analysis of the discourses

The sociolinguistic or sociopragmatic approach to code-switching is essentially functional in nature. The choice of code in an interaction is determined by the functions it performs. This approach emphasizes the role of social factors in the making of a choice between codes. These factors include specific settings, functions and participants.

According to Mesthrie et al. (2000, 4) we account for language by identifying 'what can be said in a language, by whom, in whose presence, when and where, in what manner and what circumstances'. In the case of the Kangemi study area, the idea may be paraphrased to specifically refer to code-switching with a view to answering a few questions: what can be said in which code?, by whom?, in whose presence?, when and where?, in what manner and circumstances.

The sociolinguistic analysis in this section seeks to establish from the corpus the social variables that influence code-switching among bilinguals. The analysis is subsumed within the Markedness Model as formulated by Myers-Scotton (1993b). According to her (1993b, 100), what motivates the choice of a variety or code over the other in an interaction 'is the extent to which this choice minimizes costs and maximizes rewards for the speakers'. She (1993b, 85) argues that choice of code is an index of these RO sets and that there is a fit between code-choice and the RO set that is salient between participants. According to Myers-Scotton (1993b, 85) making of code choice is 'ultimately a *negotiation of salience* of situational factors'. According to Myers-Scotton (1993b, 110), code choice is therefore governed by motivations of speakers on the basis of 'the readings of markedness and calculations of the consequences of a given choice'. Code-switching is therefore a strategy to maximize benefits from a specific interaction.

Myers-Scotton (1993b, 113) generates three maxims (rules or guidelines) which, for her, apply to all possible code-switching situations. The first is the Unmarked Choice Maxim which explains situations of use of unmarked codes. The second is the Marked Choice Maxim which explains code-switching as a marked choice. The third, is the Exploratory Choice Maxim which explains code-switching as an exploratory choice. The analysis of discourses that follows is undertaken within the Markedness Model as the explanatory framework. In the examples presented Lulogoli is in bold typeface, Kiswahili in italics and English in normal typeface.

5.4 Detailed analysis of discourses i-xix

5.4.1 Discourse i

The setting is an open market in Kangemi area of Nairobi. The initial situation is typical of client-seller interaction. This is the unmarked RO set.

The seller handles the buyer like any other client, with the unmarked code being Kiswahili, the *lingua franca* of urban Kenya. Kiswahili is the ML while English is the EL. In this particular

conversation the term 'customer' initially maintains English only when she asks for the price of tomatoes and onions. But later she resorts to Kiswahili as the ML and English as the EL up to this point where the interaction could be described as a case of Myers-Scotton's (1993b, 142) Exploratory Choice Maxim. According to this a speaker tries out codes with the hope of identifying one that will become the unmarked choice and an index of a favourable RO set. However, in turn 7 the client speaks in Lulogoli, asking for typically Luyia green leafy vegetables known as, *mito* and *mutere*. This switch immediately indexes a change in the RO set. The seller realizes that she shares ethnic identity with the client. Hence the content, in relation to ethnicity, shifts from being that of 'unknown' to 'known'. This in turn triggers an instant code-switch from Kiswahili and English to Lulogoli. Lulogoli remains the unmarked code for the rest of the conversation, while the topic changes from buying and selling of groceries to kindred networking. This change represents Myers-Scotton's (1993b) category of sequential unmarked code-switching.

The conversation goes as follows:

(1) Seller:

Sema customer?
S(sing-QUE) be(NON PST)-say customer?
'Hello customer.'

Customer:

How much are tomatoes?

Seller:

Tomatoes *ni mbili kumi*
Tomatoes be two ten
'Tomatoes are two for ten shillings'.

Customer:

What about onions?

Seller:

Ni mbili kumi onions
They two ten onions
'They are two for ten shillings'.

Customer:

Nifungie hizi za ishirini na zile za thirty
Me-tie-for-you-cl₁₀ DEM-tomatoes for twenty and-cl₁₀ DEM-onion for thirty
'Give me these for twenty shillings and those for thirty shillings.'

Customer:

Na zile [points to traditional greens] nizianga
Conj pro-DEM(pl) ones be(NON-PST)pron/QUE con-QUE-adj much.
'And, how much are these ones?'

Seller:

Wenya **mito?**
S(sing)pro(pers,N₂)you want(NON PST) *mito* (veg-type)

Wenyanga **gyanga**
S(sing)pro-ettq-mrk con-how many S(sing)pro(pers,N₁)

ngulombele **vulahi?**
I-make(NON PST)-for you con-nicely?

'You want *mito*? how many sets do you want? I give you discount?'

Customer:

Mbe **mito nende mutere**
S(sing) me give *mito* and *mutere*
'Give me *mito* and *mutere*.'

5.4.2 Discourse ii

The setting is a *Kiosk* in Kangemi area. The owner entertains two clients A and B in succession, but how he relates to them differs linguistically. The owner and the first client both belong to the Logoli ethnic sub-group, while the ethnicity of the second client is unknown.

The turns are carried out in Lulogoli except the noun *bwana* which is an EL. Although client A in these turns is served as any other customer, his talk with the owner is first and foremost an exchange between brethren, and on a wide-range of issues that touch on a common ethnic identity.

When, however, client B and other clients begin arriving, the owner switches to Kiswahili and English as unmarked choices. He welcomes the new customer in English; ‘Welcome customer’ and instructs the waiter in Kiswahili *Shugulikiako mteja haraka* (Serve the customer quickly). This is shown in (2) below:

This discourse, too, represents a typical case of sequential unmarked code-switching according to Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model. It is triggered by a change in the situational factors during a discourse, leading in turn to a change in the unmarked RO set. According to Myers-Scotton (1993b, 115), an unmarked RO set may also change as the participants in the interaction also change, leading to a switch in the code to negotiating a new RO set based on the addressee. It is also an indication of the speaker’s acceptance of the RO set for the rest of the conversation.

(2) Owner:

Uvita **kuliha bwana?**
 S(sing)-be(NON PST) QUE sir?
 ‘How are you Mr?’

Client A:

Mbeye **mulamu,** *labda* *wewe?*
 S(sing)pro(pers,N₁) I-be(NON PST), S-con-fine, May be Ob(sing) pro(pers,N₂) you?
 ‘I am fine, what about you?’

Owner:

Kuhenza **isiasa** **izizagililandi.**
 S(pl) pro(pers,N₁) we-be(-ing) watch con-politics S-con-unfold(NON PST)-how
 ‘We are watching how politics is unfolding’

Client B:

Ni kuombaku **magosa**
 If S(pl)pro(pers,N₁) we-make(NON PST)-ettiq-mrk OB (pl)cl₄-mistake

tupe *mwingine* **kulagenda** **nende amalu**
 S-con-give(NON PST) S(sing)-another S-con-shall-walk with cl₄-knee(pl)

‘If we make mistakes and give the seat to another (tribe), we shall walk on our knees.’

5.4.4 Discourse iv

The setting is a market stall next to a path that goes past a market. The participants are a young man in his twenties and two older women in the age bracket of his mother. The two spot the young man talking to a woman passing by. After a while when she is gone, they engage the young man in conversation.

In this conversation, code-switching is mainly dictated by the nature of the discussion, namely giving advice to a younger man who is in danger of falling prey to a woman perceived to be wayward. The two older women keep the conversation predominantly in Lulogoli which is the unmarked code for them by virtue of their older age and greater familiarity with their ethnic ties. The young man uses the codes as a defence mechanism and as way of trying to get the topic changed. The only item which one of the women uses that is not Lulogoli is the Kiswahili word *sana* for 'very'. In this respect *sana* has both a literal and connotative meaning. It implies that the young man is obviously infatuated and carried by the passer-by.

On the other hand, the young man insists on speaking almost throughout in Kiswahili. The one item in English is the word 'advice'. He perceives the topic as making him uncomfortable, and so chooses Kiswahili and English, which are marked choices for the conversation with older women who are not very conversant in the two codes. In response to them, the young man, uses Kiswahili throughout because according to the Markedness Model, the Marked Choice Maxim directs the speaker not to go for the unmarked choice as the obvious code. In this case, Lulogoli is the unmarked code between the young man and the elderly women. Hence he goes for Kiswahili, the unexpected or opposite code. The aim is to dis-identify with the topic of discussion which puts him in a tight spot. According to Myers-Scotton (1993b, 132), the overarching general motivation for a marked choice is to 'negotiate a change in the distance holding between participants'. In this case, the young man attempts to increase social distance by using Kiswahili.

- (4) Lona:
Umoroma ki nu mukaru ura?

S(sing)-aux(sing)-say-QUE-prep con-cl₁-woman pro(dem)

Ndora nu muhenza sana
S-mrk, pro(pers)you pro(pers)her V(NON PST)look keen(Adv.)

‘What are you discussing with that woman? I can see you are looking at her keenly.’

Young man:

Kwani kuongea na mtu ni vibaya?
Ques to-talk with cl₁-person be(NON PST) Con-wrong S(sing) pro(pers,N₃)?

Yeye hunipa advice ya maisha.
She s-con-t(mrk)-give(NON PST) advice (prep)on cl₆-life.

‘Is it wrong to talk to someone? She gives me advice on life.’

5.4.5 Discourse v

The setting of the discourse is a pub in Kangemi. The interlocutors are three adult Logoli men at a table of their own. They engage in a conversation as they while away the evening. There are other people of different ethnic origins in the pub at different tables.

The subject of discussion by the three is differences between the Kikuyu and other ethnic groups in Kangemi. The general thrust is that the Kikuyu are rich, own property and tend to take advantage of the others and to lord it over them. The focus of the discourse is the question of regular rent increase for residential structures.

The unmarked code for the three men is Lulogoli, which is highly marked for the rest of the patrons in the pub. This is dictated by the highly delicate content of discussion, namely negative ethnicity, which amounts to a bitter criticism of the Kikuyu. In fact, the term *Kikuyu* is not used. Rather, a Luyia nickname, *Vaseve*, is used instead. Thus, though Logoli is the preferred code for the three, it becomes highly marked for anyone else who may be eavesdropping from the neighbouring table.

In such a public place, Kiswahili would have been the most unmarked code if the discussion also involved the out-group. This is because Kiswahili is Kenya's urban *lingua franca*. In contrast, the only Kiswahili item used is the word *sana* (very), used three times. This minimal usage of Kiswahili is deliberate, namely to exclude any other people from getting the drift of the conversation.

In the conversation English is a highly marked choice and serves the function of emphasising the gravity of the subject under discussion. For instance in turn 1 the EL island 'pack and leave' demonstrates the sharpness with which the contempt towards the tenants by the Kikuyu is delivered. The sentence combines all the three codes. However, the words 'disadvantaged' and *sana* (very) uttered in English and Kiswahili, serve to bring out a particular weight of contrast between the Luyia and the Kikuyu in the discussion on negative ethnicity. The three patrons are almost in despair over the plight of the tenants, since nothing else can be done about the situation.

(5) Patron A:

Vaseve babeye very difficult people
S(pl)-Kikuyu S-mrk-be(NON PST-pl) very difficult people

notevaku vakuvoreranga pack and leave.
Adv(con) pers,pro, N₂(sing)ask (Pro,pers)they(Pro,pers)us tell(prog) pack and leave.

'The Kikuyu are very difficult people and when you question anything they tell you to pack and leave'.

Patron B:

Kunyi Valuyia kuveye disadvantaged *sana*.
We (pl) S (pl)-Luyia we-be (NON PST) disadvantaged very.
'We Luyia people are very disadvantaged.'

5.4.6 Discourse vi

The setting is a wedding reception at a church in Kangemi after the wedding ceremony. Tents pitched in the church grounds provide sitting space for the newly-weds, their families, the church leaders and invited guests who are mainly members of the church attended by the

newly-weds. The speeches are in two segments: a radio interview with the bride; and two keynote speakers who offer counsel to the newly-weds.

It needs to be noted that in a typical African wedding, different codes may be used with the objective of addressing the expectations of the gathering, whose overriding feature is joy and merry-making. The general social motivation for the speakers is to sustain an atmosphere of celebration and well-wishing. The use of different codes at different stages of the ceremony reflects the need to sustain this festive atmosphere.

In the radio interview segment outside the church, switching of codes by the bride brings out this element of gaiety and celebration. After the ceremony, she speaks mainly in Kiswahili about her wedding, the unmarked code-choice for a public gathering. Yet, in the same interaction she switches to English, the marked code, several times. The phrase 'this is the happiest moment of my life', is formulaic in the sense that this is what people normally say, globally, on great occasions. It is therefore uttered in English in line with global practice. In this particular case it also enhances the self-esteem of the newly-wed wife to speak a universal code, which is associated with power and prestige.

When she uses the phrase 'nobody will joke with me again', the switch has the impact of emphasis and finality, of the victory over the situation before the wedding. The use of the terms, 'dignity' and 'respect' underly the same same feeling of prestige the speaker senses when communicating in English. When making reference to rumours of threat to the wedding by a rival, she uses the English words and phrases, 'by whom?', 'desperate in life', 'ku-complicate things'. These give a lot of weight to her dismissal of the threats. English sounds more appropriate for expressing her victory as well as contempt for the defeated. Example 6 demonstrates this:

- (6) Presenter:
Habari ya bibi arusi? How do you feel?
Cl₁₆-news prep cl₅(sing) bride How do you feel?

Feel free *usikike* *sawa sawa.*
Feel free S-con be-V(NON PST)hear Adv(manner)-clear,

‘How are the newly-weds? How do you feel? Feel free and fine.’

Bride:

Kwanza namshukuru Mungu wangu
First S(sing)pro(pers, N₁) I-Ob-con-thank(NON PST) Ob(sing) cl₁-God mine

Kwa sababu leo nimepata nyumba. This is the happiest moment of my life...
because cl₆-today S-con-have-get Ob cl₆-house. This... [codeswitch to English]

‘First let me thank my God for because I am now married. This is the happiest moment of my life... nobody will joke with me again.’

Presenter:

What can you tell people *kujihusu wewe mwenyewe?*
What can you tell people Asp-Scon-V(Prog)concern pro-pers you pro(reflexive)yourself?
‘What can you tell people about yourself?’

Bride:

Leo dignity yangu imethibitishwa...
Cl₂-Today dignity mine S(con)-have(perf)-affirm...

Nimepata respect yangu ya kutosha.
pro(pers,N₁)I-have(perf)-earn respect mine of to-enough

‘Today, my dignity has been reaffirmed. I have adequately earned my respect.’

Presenter:

Asante sana, congratulations lakini tuambie
Cl₁₆-thanks very, congratulations, but pro(pers)v(NON PST)tell

there was a rumour *harusi ingepingwa.*
there was a rumour cl₁₆-wedding S-con modal-V(NON PST)

‘Thank you very much. Congratulations. But tell us, there was a rumour that the wedding would be stopped’.

Bride:

By whom? *Watu ambao ni desperate in life watajaribu*
By whom? S(pl)cl₂-person who be(pl,NON PST) desperate in life pro(pl)they v(mod)will try

ku-complicate things za wengine, lakini
to complicate things for OB(pl)cl₂-person pro(pers,pl)other but

hawana lao.
S(pl)pro(pers,N₃) they-NEG-con-theirs.

'By whom? People who are desperate in life will try to complicate other people's life, but they have nothing to show for it.'

The second segment of the discourse is in form of speeches. Here two key personalities speak by way of advising and encouraging the newly-weds. These are the bride's mother and the Women's District Director of the Church.

When she speaks, the bride's mother uses Lulogoli and Kiswahili. Lulogoli is the unmarked code for the large congregation of the Logoli people who have travelled all the way from Western Kenya to the city for the occasion. This indexes the ethnic roots and solidarity of the newly-weds. Yet Kiswahili is the unmarked choice for church business, as well as for the urban mixed population. The double context makes switching between the two codes almost natural, involving what Myers-Scotton calls code-switching itself as an unmarked choice.

She begins her address with the Kiswahili words *bwana asifiwe* (The Lord be praised). This, in the church context, is formulaic, signaling the start of a speech and drawing the attention of the listeners. The response of the congregation is also formulaic, namely *amen*. She then immediately switches to Lulogoli in further thanking God for what He has done for her daughter. She says:

(7) Bride's Mother:

Nyanzi *sana sana,* **kigila**
S(sing)pro(pers,N₁) I-rejoice(NON PST) a lot exceedingly I-S-con-because

aga Nyasaye akoleye umkana wange
what S(sing) cl₁-God S-con-have- do-for con-OB(sing)cl₁-I girl mine

kupata nyumba.
pro(pers,sing) have(NON PST) found cl₁₂ home.

'I am exceedingly glad because of what God has done for my daughter to get married.'

The second speaker is the Women's Director. When (Example 8) she is introduced by the presenter, she begins by using formulaic expressions, first in Kiswahili, then in English; *Bwana asifiwe* and 'God bless you', to which the congregation responds 'Amen'. The formulaic expression in this context of the church, *bwana asifiwe* (Praise God), is used as self-introduction, preparing the congregation for communication. The formulaic response to this is 'Amen'. The other formulaic statement is 'God bless you', which is normally a concluding remark after speaking to members. In this context, however, the 'blessing' comes at the start of the conversation because it has to be pronounced by the women's leader at the start as part of her personal endorsement of the marriage and congratulation to the couple.

In her counsel (Example 8, second turn) to the newly-weds on married life, the Women's Director uses Kiswahili as the unmarked code, but also keeps using English terms especially in reference to the intimacy of a couple. These terms include 'manual', 'husband and wife', 'darling', 'sweetheart' and 'love'. The use of English is marked and deliberate because the counseling on love within marriage is not meant for all the congregation. It is meant for the couple, and those who are already married and understand English. It serves as a strategy and a form of exclusion. English is also particularly convenient because the subject of male-female intimacy is not openly discussed and is almost a taboo in many African cultures and languages, whereas in English such topics may be freely discussed. In contrast, English seems to easily carry these imageries and meanings with ease. In addition, her switch between Kiswahili and English, and not between Kiswahili and Lulogoli, is in line with what is expected of her authority in the church as the top leader of women. The switches maintain her prestigious status and ability to represent the church in national or even international fora.

(8) Presenter:

Kiongozi wa kina mama, peana advice yako
cl₇- leader prep cl₂(pl)woman V(NON PST)give advice pro(poss)-your
'As the womens' leader give your advice.'

Womens Director:

Bwana asifiwe.

First of all congratulations and God bless you.

The Lord cl₁₂- S-con V(PST)-be praised. First... [codeswitch to English].

Ndoa ni kuelewana

na kutumia

maneno

Marriage cl₁₂be part-V-pro(reciprocal)understand conj. Part-V(NON PST)use Cl₆(pl) word

matamu kama

darling, sweetheart and love

cl₁₅ Obj-con adj-sweet like darling, sweetheart and love

na kujua

manual *yaku-* operate

conj. part-V(NON PST)know manual (prep)of operate

‘The Lord be praised. I begin by congratulating the newly-weds. Marriage requires patience and talking to one another using nice words such as darling, sweetheart and also knowing what is required. God bless you.’

5.4.7 Discourse vii

In example 9, the setting of this discourse is in a church during a Sunday service. An aspiring candidate in a forthcoming election in a Nairobi constituency comes to a church in Kangemi. The church is dominated by the Logoli speakers for whom the unmarked codes are Lulogoli and Kiswahili. The politician who is from the Kikuyu ethnic group is accompanied by one of his campaign managers who is a Mulogoli, who also serves to introduce the politician. This context makes Kiswahili unmarked and Lulogoli marked.

This discourse is a typical example of the marked choice in code-switching. According to Myers-Scotton (1993b, 131), the Marked Choice Maxim directs a speaker to make a marked choice when she wishes to establish a new RO set. In short, the speaker goes for rewards that are totally different from the obvious.

In the discourse, it becomes apparent that the campaign manager is not committed to assisting his patron win votes, but rather to undermining his campaign on grounds of ethnic prejudice, while at the same time earning a salary from him. Whereas the unmarked code for the encounter is Kiswahili, the *lingua franca* of urban Kenya and of church services, the campaign

manager keeps slipping into Lulogoli, the marked choice given the presence of a visitor. In a similar fashion the Church Secretary welcomes the politician's presence on the 'surface', but unknown to the latter, he keeps undermining him whenever he slips into Lulogoli, the unmarked code.

It is demonstrated here that the marked choice is an ethnically-based strategy of exclusion, especially in cosmopolitan Nairobi. The Kikuyu politician is excluded in a carefully executed setting. Myers-Scotton (1993b, 136) notes that participants who are normally excluded, are invariably offended. In this case, however, exclusion is strategic, where the politician goes to the extent of making strong promises and feeling reassured when in actual fact he has been terribly undermined. In fact he makes a few statements in Lulogoli which is a marked code for him. He takes this gamble after calculating the weight of the rewards that he is to accrue from the effort. For the politician the switch to Lulogoli is meant to reduce the social distance and to win over the members of the church, but the effort does not pay off, because he does not know that he has been undermined. Ironically, it increases the distance between him and the audience.

(9) Church Secretary:

Karibuni wageni and talk to us
Welcome-S-con cl2-visitors and talk to us.
Translation???

Politician:

Asanteni. We shall talk with your leader *tujue* *la kufanya*
Thank-S-con. We shall talk with your leader S-con know (NON PST) pro(rel) part-do

'Thank you. We shall talk with your leader to discuss what to do'.

Campaign Manager:

Wanataka kusikia kwako
Pro(pers,pl)aux(NON PST)Øwant part-(NON PST)hear prep-pro(pers,sing)you

tell them something.
tell them something.

'They want to hear from you. Tell them something'.

Politician:

Mlembe vosi. *Mimi naomba kura tu*
Greetings pro(pl) pro(pers,sing) S-con(NON PST) ask cl-vote (adj)only

Mkinipa kiti mtaona
Adv(cond) pro(pers,sing,ob)give cl₇-seat pro(pers,pl) be(NON PST) see

a lot of progress *kuanzia kwa bursary ya watoto wenyu na*
a lot of progress starting conj bursary prep cl₂-child your conj

kurekebisha mabarabara na mengine. Nyasaye avagazitze
part-repair cl₁₁-road conj pro-others. God S-con-pro(pers,pl) bless

‘Greetings to you. If you elect me to be your leader, you will see a lot of progress starting with bursary to your children, to repair the roads among others. God bless you’.

Campaign Manager:

‘**...navutswa mwamanya wa- muha indeve’**
...otherwise you(pl)-know who pro(per,N₂,pl)you give (NON PST) cl₇seat.

‘...but you know who you will give the seat/vote for.’

Campaign Manager:

‘**vamanya vavola ndio mzikanisa**
S(pl)pro(pers,N₃)they S-con-say(NON PST) like that in-cl₄-church(pl) then

mavavula kukola kindu, inze mbeye kugasi,
S-con NEG to-do Obcl₇-thing. S(sing)pro(pers,N₁) | S-con-be(NON PST) at-cl₆-work

na mtahana indeve’
and S(sing)pro(pers,N₂)you-NEG-give(NON PST) cl₇seat.

‘They say the same thing to all churches, but they do not honour their promise. Do not give away the seat.’

Politician:

Nyasaye abagasitse
S(sing)God S-con-OB(pl)pro(pers,N₂)you make bless.
‘God bless you.’

5.4.8 Discourse viii

The setting of the discourse is the residence of a woman in Kangemi, who is joined by a friend who has come back from Western Kenya, her rural home. The latter narrates the events of her journey back to Nairobi. It is noted that sometimes unscrupulous shuttle transport operators collect fares from passengers but do not convey them to their destinations. The reported incident is one of such occasions.

The narration is almost entirely in Lulogoli the unmarked code, except when she quotes the words of the shuttle operator and one of the passengers who switched codes to produce both drama and tangible results. The incident may have happened as told, or may have been slightly exaggerated by the narrator. When the shuttle operator is reported to have uttered the words ‘End of the road’ in English, which is the marked word, the effect was devastating on the passengers, generating both anger and desperation. These words give the shuttle operator a sense of power over the passengers who seem to be at his mercy. Yet the drama continues when one of the passengers seems to call a senior government official perhaps a police officer. This is again reported by the narrator as having been uttered in Kiswahili, a marked code at the moment of her narration. The reported switching of codes to English and to Kiswahili constitutes a show of power and control between the conductor and the courageous passenger. The phone call of the latter seems to carry tremendous authority which makes the shuttle operator quickly rethink and renegotiate the terms of engagement with the passengers in order to avoid trouble with the law. It ensures the safe arrival of the passengers in Nairobi.

(10) **Lwa** **kwaduka** **Nakuru** conductor *akasema* end
 Adv(time)when pro(pers,pl)we reach Nakuru conductor ob-con-aux(PST)say end

of the road. **Kwagenya** **muno.** *Kwa madakika*
 of the road. Pro(pers,pl) surprise(PST) Adv(int.)much very prep cl₁₆minute

kwahulila **mundu nakuba** **isimu**
 pro(pers,pl)hear(PST) cl₁one S-con(-ing)make con(sing)phone

na vola tumefika Nakuru
conj. S-con-say pros(pers,pl)aux(PST)reach Nakuru

na tunatupwa, andika hii namba ya gari
conj. abandon you write(NON PST) this number of cl-vehicle

Lwa kondakita yahulila ndio natanga
Adv(time)when conductor S-con(PST)hear pro(rel), S-con(PST)begin

kuhombeliza vandu navola kuna
part(INFIN)beg cl₂people S-con(ing,t)say pro(DEM)be

gari ingine msiwe na wasi wasi.
cl₄vehicle pro(reci)another pro(pro,pers) NEG)have conj. cl₁₃worry.

Valeta mudoga gundi nikwingira
Pro(pers,pl)bring(PST) cl₄vehicle pro(reci)another pro(pers,pl)enter(PST)

kuduka Nairobi.
S-con(PST)arrive Nairobi.

‘When we reached Nakuru the shuttle conductor informed us that the vehicle was not proceeding to Nairobi. We were very surprised. However, at that minute one of the passengers made an anonymous call, giving the number plate of the vehicle to someone. When the conductor heard that, he became worried and called for another shuttle and we arrived in Nairobi safely’

5.4.9 Discourse ix

The setting in Example 11 is a white man’s residence at Mountain View Estate, next to Kangemi slum. A Mulogoli man, Elisha, goes in search of employment. His interview involves a short conversation with the white man. The use of Kiswahili is the unmarked code for the RO set of interviewing a prospective cook. It is assumed that his command of English is not good. In turn 1 the ‘boss’ asks in Kiswahili, but the prospective cook answers in English in turn 2. He goes for marked or unexpected code-choice.

The man fluffs an apparently simple interview because of wrong assessment of RO set and of choice of code. His motivation is that he will be able to negotiate for better terms in English, the code of prestige and the first language of the prospective boss. He also believes that by using

English he is narrowing down the social distance between him and the prospective boss, and expects to reap maximum benefits including confidentiality.

In turn 5, however, the marked choice backfires when the job-seeker's responses increase ambiguity. The boss interprets the motives as being negative and selfish. The switch of the prospective boss to English is an expression of great displeasure and anger at the idea of a cook drinking any kind of available drink in the house. The switch is also an expression of authority in communicating to the prospective employee that he has just failed the interview.

(11) White man:

Karibu. Unaitwa nani?
Øwelcome pro(pers,sing)you be(aux,NON PST)call pro(rel)who?
'Welcome. What is your name?'

Elisha:

Wanita Elisha sir.
Pro(per,pl)be(aux,NON PST)pro(pers,sing)call Elisha(N,proper) sir.
'My name is Elisha, sir'.

White man:

Wewe unakunywa nini?
Pro(pers,sing)you ob-con-tmark(NON PST) drink pro(QUE)what?
'What do you normally take (drink)?'

Elisha:

Anything, anything I take sir.

White man:

Hakuna kazi, you will finish my drinks.
No cl₁₄job you will finish my drinks.
'There is no job for you. You will drink all my liquor.'

5.4.10 Discourse x

The setting in Example 12, is a church office in one of the locations in Kangemi. A family head and member of the church has lost a grandson. He approaches the Church Board for assistance in defraying the funeral expenses.

The normal practice is that the church runs a benevolent scheme whereby members pay an annual subscription fee of five hundred shillings. To be assisted in the event of loss of a family member, one must have kept subscription payments up-to-date. The unfolding situation corresponds to Myers-Scotton's (1993b, 142) Exploratory Maxim Choice. According to this, the speaker tries to use more than one code with the hope of identifying one that will become the favourable and unmarked choice and the index of a favourable RO set. Speakers may opt for code-switching when they are not sure of the code that will help them achieve their social goal. In this particular case, however, the family head had not paid the annual subscription and now requests the Church Board to be allowed to pay the subscription in order to qualify for assistance. The ensuing conversation is extremely fluid. The deacons stick generally to Kiswahili, the unmarked choice for official church matters, while the bereaved family head keeps alternating codes.

The switching from one code to another indexes the exploration of possibilities of ultimately drawing attention of the Church Board to his plight. It is an attempt to win their empathy and to gain financial assistance. His consistency in ultimately returning to Lulogoli is a strategy for inclusivity. It is meant to ignite a sense of cultural solidarity from the brethren. His use of English is for dramatic emphasis of his plight. The overall motivation is to gain sympathy from the Church Board and win them to his side.

(12) Board Member:

Kama mnavyojua Hosea aliomba nafasi kusema na
 As you know Hosea S-con-(PST)request cl₉-chance (part,MV)speak conj

board *mimi na* the rest of the board members *tunasema pole.*
 board pro(pers,sing) conj the rest of the board members S-con-(NON PST)(adj)sorry.

Tell us *tukusaidie namna gani na*
 Tell us S-pro(pers,pl)obj-pro(pers,sing)help Adv(manner)how conj

wewe hujajiandikisha
 pro(pers,sing)you NEG-adv-ref.pro(sing)-verb(NON-PST)subscribe

‘As you already know Hosea requested to talk to the Church Board. On behalf of the board we are sorry for what has happened. How do we help you when you have not subscribed.’

Hosea:

Vana vitu I do not know what to say.
S(sing)cl₂-brethren I do not know what to Say.

Hii ni majaribu kubwa.
S(pl)pro(DEM)these be(NON PST) OB(pl)cl₆-trial con-huge

na nimechanganyikiwa munisaidie
and S(sing)pro(pers,N₁) I-be(NON PST)-Mixed up OB-con-S-con-help(NON PST).

‘My brethren, I do not know what to say. These are huge trials for me, I am mixed up, help me.)

Boardmember:

Tatakusaidia namna gani
Pros(pers,pl)we-aux(mod,NON PST)will help way QUE-what

na wewe huja register kwa benevolent fund.
conj pro(pers,sing) S-con you NEG register prep benevolent fund.

‘How can we help you and yet you have not subscribed to the benevolent fund?’

Hosea:

Please, *mfanye hivi,*
Please S(pl)pro(pers,N₂)you-do(NON PST) this way

first take my five hundred shillings and include me on the register
[Code-switch to English]

Vandu Valuyia valeka vandu vavo dave.
S(pl)cl₂(pers) S-con-Luyia(pl) S-con-leave(NON PST) OB(pl)cl₂person their not.

‘Please do it this way, just take my five hundred shillings and include me on the register. Luyia people don’t forsake their own (kinsmen).’

5.4.11 Discourse xi

In this discourse, the setting is a café where a group of eight women wish to use the premises and other facilities to eat the snacks they have carried rather than buying them from the café.

The unmarked code with the waiter who clearly does not know the women, is Kiswahili, the lingua franca of urban Kenya.

However, when the supervisor of the café, who apparently is known to them by ethnicity, walks in, the unmarked code shifts from Kiswahili to Lulogoli but is interspersed with Kiswahili singly occurring elements and clauses. The unmarked RO set shifts from that of customer-seller to one that indexes shared ethnicity. This now places upon the supervisor the obligation to extend to them the favour of using the premises, even when this is against the regulations which do not permit customers to carry food into the café. Example 13 below demonstrates this.

(13) Waiter:

[Brings the menu and asks]

Mtakula nini customer?

S(pl)pro(pers,N₂)you-will-eat QUE-what customer?

‘What do you wish to eat?’

Andisa:

Ngoja just a little kidogo tutakujulisha.

∅S(sing) wait(NON PST) just a little while S(pl)(pers,N₂) we-will-OB(sing)pro(pers,N₂)you let know.

‘Wait for a while we shall let you know.’

Supervisor:

Lindi hadi ndavaha

∅S(pl) wait(NON PST) a little S(sing)pro(pers,N₁) I-will-OB(pl) pro(pers,N₂)you-give

munwa. Mko sawa.

permission S(pl) prop(pers,N₂) you be(NON PST) OK.

‘Wait until I give you permission. You are OK.’

5.4.12 Discourse xii

The setting is a political campaign situation involving a female candidate from the Kikuyu ethnic group. She is on a campaign trail in a predominantly Luyia-occupied location of Kangemi. She has enlisted two Luyia agents as interpreters who are expected to assist in campaigning for her.

waongee nanyi kwanza.
Ob-con-speak(NON PST) With-Ob(pl)pro(pers,N₂)you first.

‘Let me allow my agents to talk to you first.’

Agent (A):

Tzisendi yizi tsyatula ku mwinye,
S(pl)money these S-con-come(PST) from pro(pl,per,N₂) you,

ku viranya vutsa, mbulila.
so S(pl)pro(pers,N₂)they-return(-ing) just. S(pl)pro(pers,N₂)you-
Ob(sing)pro(pers,N₁)hear.

‘All this money came from you people, and politicians are simply return it. Do you hear me?’

Agent (B):

Bandu bitu, mundu atamugada
S(pl)cl₂-person ours, S(sing)cl₁-person S-con-NEG-Ob (pl)pro(pers,N₂)you-cheat(NON PST)

mba. Mundu sianyala kutula iwavo
not. (S(sing)cl₂-person NEG-S-con-can(NON PST) (prep)come their place

yaze kumutuga mba.
S-con-come(NON PST) to-OB(pl)pro(pers,N₂)you-lord over not.

‘My brothers, let no one deceive you. A person should not come from elsewhere to lord it over you.’

Agent A:

Yeye amekuja ku-scratch your backs
S (sing)pro(pers,N₃)she S-con-have(NON PST)come to-scratch your backs

na nyinyi pia mu-scratch back yake.
and you also S-con-scratch back hers.

‘She has come to scratch your backs, so you also scratch hers.’

Candidate:

Mirembe vosi... nimeleta chumvi kidogo ili
Greetings S(pers,sing) part(adj)all bring(PST) salt(N) adj-little adv(reason)that

munikumbuke
S-con,Ob,con(NON,PST)you-remember-me

siku ya kura. Asanteni sana.
day (prep) cl₁₂.vote. Thank you very much.

'I greet you all. I have brought a small gift so that you can remember me on election day.
Thank you very much'

5.4.13 Discourse xiii

The discourse takes place at a social hall in Kangemi where women have been summoned by their leaders to attend an awareness campaign on the participation of women in development. They are asked by the speakers to change their mind-set of indifference to development matters which they view in terms of ethnicity.

The interaction is basically inter-sentential, with a few intra-sentential instances. The free switching (turn 1) from Lulogoli to Kiswahili, and to English is an example of what Myers-Scotton (1993b, 114) describes as the sequential unmarked choice which arises when there is need to shift from one unmarked choice to another depending on situational factors. In this case, the topic under discussion is educating Logoli women-folk to adjust their outlook of thinking in terms of ethnicity and to embrace people from other ethnic groups so as to pull together in the pursuit of development. Hence the free switching is ideal in emphasizing national cohesion and progress.

What is being manifested is the passion of the speaker, which brings out in equal measure the importance of the need for women to take their place in social development disregarding ethnic identity.

(15) Speaker:

Mundu nayazi kumunyi wacha afanye his campaign
Person-cl₁ Adv(cond-) come part-you leave pro(pers,sing)do his campaign

kwa amani na kenyeka mumanye kuveye mu-level ndala
prep cl₁₆-peace conj need(pro,pers) pro(pers,sing)know pro(pers,pl) be prep level one

in the playing field. *Nafikiri*

in the playing field. S(sing)pro(pers,N₁) I-think (NON PST)

msiangalie *mtu*
S(pl)pro(pers,N₂)you-NEG-look(NON PST)-at OB(sing)cl₁-person

anatoka wapi na kabila lake ni lipi.
OB-con-t-mrk-come(NON PST)where and cl₁₁-tribe con-his/hers con-which.

'I suggest you should not look at a person and judge him/her by his ethnic background.'
** THE FIRST LINE OF SEEMS TO BE MISSING**

Audience:

[*One of the listeners asks*]

Wewe kwa maoni yako, what is your opinion?
Pro(pers,pl) prep cl₁₁- view what(be) poss-you what is your opinion?
'You, in your view, what is your opinion?'

Speaker:

Abe Mukamba, Museve, Muluyia,
S-con-if, be(NON PST) S(sing)a Kamba, S(sing)a Kikuyu, S(sing) a Luyia,

anyala kuvugula uwami na tribalism will end in Kenya.
S-con-can(NON PST) to-take lordship conj tribalism will end in Kenya.

'Whether Kamba, Kikuyu, Luyia, if he/she can take the leadership of the country, tribalism will end in Kenya'

5.4.14 Discourse xiv

The setting is a vegetable vendor's selling point where two women have converged to buy supplies and end up engaging in a conversation. One of the two has been away because of the loss of a sister as a result of violent crime in Western Kenya. The tone of the discourse remains somber throughout, reflecting the subject matter, namely discussing the death of a close person.

Ideally Lulogoli is the unmarked choice for a normal conversation between two Logoli women. However, Kiswahili and English, which are marked, are used to express shock at the news of the passing of the friend's sister. It is almost spontaneous, especially in turn 3 where a series of questions are asked in an effort to come to terms with the reality of the event.

(16) Ayuma:

Madiku ganu ngorora mba
Day-cl₁₉ pro(pers)these pro(pers)V(NON,PST) me you see not

unaishi wapi?
∅ aux(NON PST)-you live Adv(place)-where?

‘I don’t see you nowadays, where do you live?’

Vuguza:

Mbeho lakini ndaveye
Pro(pers)v(NON<PST) am adv(place)around conj pro(pers,sing)-be(PST)

yengo; my sister died
cl-home my sister died.

‘I am around but I had gone home; my sister died.’

Ayuma:

Sasa kindiki chakoleka? Who killed her,
Adv(time) S(sing)pro(rel)what S-con-happen(PST)? Who killed her,

na alikuwa amemaliza tu masomo?
and pro(pers) she-aux(PST)be S-con-(t-mrk)-finish(PST) just Ob-cl-education.

‘Now what happened? Who killed her when she had just completed her studies?’

5.4.15 Discourse xv

The setting is a barber shop in Kangemi. The client usually makes a stop once in a while to get a hair-cut. On this occasion the barber and the client talk about the challenges of their jobs.

In the discourse code-switching is the unmarked choice. The two participants are both of the Logoli ethnolinguistic subgroup, and so easily employ Lulogoli and Kiswahili in almost equal measure, with English coming in here and there.

Turn 1 is strategic in more than one aspect. It initiates the conversation that runs between the two throughout the time of the hair-cutting. More importantly, two words have deeper significance. On the one hand, the Lulogoli word *Bwakila* for ‘Good evening’ is used to index kindred ties and the RO set that goes along with it. Yet at the same time the English term of

address “boss” or “sir” indicates an economic differential which is also the basis of the client/service provider dichotomy. In this turn all the three codes are used.

(17) Barber:

Bwakila boss.
S(sing)pro(pers,N₃)it(sun)-have(NON PST)-set boss.
‘Good evening sir.’

Client:

Ebu niunde fit, **wamanya**
May you pro(pers,sing) make fit, pro(pers,pl)-you-do(NON PST)-know

i-style **yandayanza**
the style pro(rel)-S-con-(NON PST)-like.

‘Make me look nice. You know which style I like?’

Barber:

Sawa boss.
‘Okey boss.’

5.4.16 Discourse xvi

The setting is the home of one of two teenage boys who are friends in a Kangemi area. One Esendi lives with his parents who are in their late forties and early fifties respectively. The parents speak both Lulogoli and Kiswahili fluently, and a little English. The other, Jumba, is an age-mate and a friend who has come to visit. On the one hand, Esendi was born, like his friend Jumba, in Kangemi and grew up speaking Kiswahili and English, and especially the highly complex and marked version of code-switched Kiswahili and English known as *Sheng*. According to Githiora (2000, 159), *Sheng* is a mixed language that has emerged over decades ‘from the complex multilingual situation of city’. *Sheng* is primarily the code spoken by teenage youths of urban Kenya. *Sheng* is used by the speakers ‘mainly as a marker of identity and solidarity’ (ibid, 163). The code is highly marked, and serves in addition the purpose of communication for the in-group members, conferring on them prestige, while excluding and disempowering the ‘outsiders’.

Esendi gives the response *Sina mchoro* (I have no plan). The meaning of *mchoro* in Kiswahili is literally 'plan' or 'drawing'. But is used here to mean 'I have no idea'. So intense, and yet marked, is the conversation that the father of the host boy interjects in Lulogoli and Kiswahili, asking the youths if they are backbiting the older participant. The son's response is to try and reassure the father, while pointing out the age variance and code preference. Example 18 demonstrates this.

(18) Esendi:

Evening *tukuwe* where?
 Adv(time) pers.pro(pl)verb(NON-PST) where(cont.Q)
 'Where should we be this evening?'

Jumba:

Sina mchoro.
 NEG-pers-pro verb(NON-PST) plan(N)
 'I have no plan.'

Parent:

Mumoloma lulimi ki yilwo?
 S(pl)pro(pers,N₂)you-be(-ing)-talk con-tongue(sing) QUE-which con-that?

Mnatusengeny mimi
 S(pl)pro(pers,N₂)you-be(-ing) OB(pl)pro(pers,N₁)us-backbite pro(pers)me

na mama yako?
 conj c₁mother pro(poss)your?

'What language is that you are speaking? Are you backbiting us, me and your mother?'

Esendi:

Buda, sivyo. Hii ni language
 S(sing)father, NEG-like that? S(sing)pro(dem)this be (NON PST) language

ya vijana wa estate. sio ya wazee wamaragoli.
 of OB(pl)cl₈-youth of estate. NEG-cl₂-old cl₂ Mamgoli (from Logoli).

'Daddy, it is not so. This is the language of the youth from this residential area, not for Maragoli old people.'

5.4.17 Discourse xvii

The setting is a newspaper vendor's stand by a roadside in Kangemi. Two young friends, in their early twenties are engaged in a conversation. This characterized by formation of new words, e.g. *Nakugotea* (I greet you), and combination of lexemes from English and Kiswahili e.g. *Nili-come kuku-check-i, sikuku-get* (I came to visit you but I didn't find you). In this particular case the mixing of codes is functional and unmarked. It is the perfect code of the teenagers, when amongst themselves. It also excludes older people whose presence may not be deemed comfortable. This is demonstrated in Example 19 below.

(19) Marko:

Nakugotea maze nilicome
S-con-greet-pro(pers,sing) buddy pro(pers,sing)-aux(PST)come

jana kukucheki lakini sikukuget
adv(time)cl₁₅-yesterday part-pro(pers,sing)check conj NEG-S-con ob-con-you get.

'Greet you friend, I came to look for you yesterday but I didn't find you.'

Elkana:

Hata me nakugotea hata saa zingine hauhold
Conj-even me Pers,pro-you greet adv(time)-sometimes NEG-not pers, pro-you hold

maline up za me
con(pl)-plan mine.

'I also greet you. You do not seem to understand my plans sometimes'

Elkana:

Hata me nakugotea
Conj-even me pers,pro-I mv-greet-pers,pro(OB case)
'I also greet you.'

Marko:

Any news? *Nilicome late kwa*
Any news? per,pro,sing(N₁) I-aux(PST)-come adv(time)late (prep)to

keja maparo wakazusha walitoka shags.
Cage pl-come con,aux,t quarrel pro(pers,pl) come countryside.

'I returned to my home in the countryside late and my parents were not happy.'

Elkana:

Wametoka

ushags

Per,pro(N₂)-they aux(PST)-have mv-come countryside.

'They have come from the countryside.'

5.4.18 Discourse xviii

The setting is a Church Social Hall, where women members of the Pentecostal Assembly of God (PAG) congregation from all over Kangemi, have gathered for a seminar on family planning and better life. The membership of the seminar is largely Logoli women, who are also members of the church. The facilitators are from the Kenyatta National Hospital, Family Planning Wing. They are led by Sister Nancy.

In this discourse three codes are used: Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English. At different stages in the conversation Lulogoli and Kiswahili are the dominant and the unmarked codes. The host, who is the Womens' Director, welcomes the visitors in Kiswahili, the unmarked code to address the visitors. However, while addressing the women under her charge; she uses Lulogoli as the dominant and unmarked code. The motivation is to reach out to them and build a consensus on the need to embrace new ideas related to family life. Lulogoli is used initially to prepare the women to be ready for the talk of the experts. The switch to English, i.e. 'our thinking about life', 'change', 'move on with times' reflects expectations of the forum whose theme is change and development. It gives emphasis to and points to modernity, whose medium is English.

Sr. Nancy requests from the beginning that she may communicate in Kiswahili because she does not understand Lulogoli; to which the audience agrees by shouting *Ndio* (Yes). Her core presentation on family planning is in Kiswahili. This is the unmarked code for transacting the business of the day. However, she uses of English lexemes such as 'message', 'couples', 'cost of living', 'methods' and 'clinic'. These singly occurring elements are essentially borrowed words, what has been described as 'nonce borrowing'. According to Muysken (1995, 190) such words are 'borrowed on the spur of the moment' and do not fall in the traditional category of permanent loan words. These words form the core of the register of the theme of 'family planning', which is a global concern and which has been basically presented in English.

(20) Host:

Wageni wetu kutoka Kenyatta National Hospital, led by Sister Nancy,
S(pl)cl₂-visitor pro(poss)ours from Kenyatta National Hospital, led by Sister Nancy,

mnakaribishwa hapa Kangemi.
S-con-be(NON PST)-welcome here Kangemi.

Wamama mnafurahi kuwapokea?
S(pl)cl₂-woman S-con-be(NON PST)happy to-OB(pl)pro(dem)them-receive?

'Our visitors from Kenyatta National Hospital, you are welcome here (in) Kangemi. Are you happy to receive the visitors?'

Audience:

Ndio!

'Yes!'

Host:

Kuli avakali gadukananga.
As con-S(sing)-cl₂woman(pl) pro(imper,sing)it v(prog)reach

kugirunganye our thinking about life
(sing)S(pl)pro(pers,N₁)we-turn(NON PST) our thinking about life...

Ivindu ivinyingi vya ku-change-a kuduka
con-S(pl)cl₂thing con-many(perf)have (par)change-con S(pl) pro(pers,N₂)we-need(NON PST)

ku-move-e with time. **Mgeni wetu** welcome.
to-move con with times. Cl₁-visitor pro(poss)our welcome.

'As women it is necessary for us to change our view of life. Things have changed and we must adjust to the changing times...'

Sr.Nancy:

Mimi si Maragoli, I will speak in Kiswahili,
(sing)pro(pers,N₁)-I NEG-be(NON PST) Maragoli, I will speak in Kiswahili,

ni sawa? Message yangu nikuhimiza
be(NON PST)QUE- okey? Message (pro,poss)my pro(sing) part-M.V(action)encourage

couples *kwa sababu ya* cost of living. We are here *ili*

couples N(pl) Adv(reason) prep-cost of living. We are here adv(reason)so that

tuwashauri *jinsi* *yaku*-decide the best methods.
Ob-pro(pers,pl)advice Adv(manner) prep-decide the best methods.

'I am not a Logoli speaker. I will therefore speak in Kiswahili. My message is to encourage those in marriage because of the cost of living. We are here to give you advice on the best method.'

5.5 Analysis of structural aspects of code-switching in the Kangemi Corpus

It is notable that in this study the mixed ML + EL constituents are pervasive in the corpus. They are more than monolingual EL islands or ML islands. In this mixed constituents the EL elements are morphosyntactically integrated into the ML frames via the ML outsider morphemes. These morphemes play a major role in the frame-building and maintenance of uniformity. These principles and hypotheses underpin the MLF Model.

Consequently, this section articulates elements of the MLF model as posited by Myers-Scotton's work (1992, 1993a, 1995, 2002, 2005). The section provides an analysis of structural/linguistic aspects of code-switching selected from the corpus. The section presents turns selected from each discourse type and provides a gloss below each type, which is immediately followed by a translation below each gloss. The recurrent use of the Kiswahili word *sana* diffused into Lulogoli is worth noting. The loan word belongs to the category Poplack and Sankoff (1984) describe as 'recurrent and widespread', which are usually incorporated into the ML. The word *sana* gains its meaning from the specific context of use. Examples 21 to 64 from the discourses are used to explain the structural feature of code-switched materials from the Kangemi corpus. Example 21 (Discourse i), the ML is Kiswahili, which also provides the system morphemes that construct the syntactic frame of the turn.

In turns 2 and 5, of the example, the ML is Kiswahili. It provides the morphemes that construct the syntactic frame into which the singly occurring elements 'tomatoes' and 'onions' are used.

In turn 6, the demonstratives *hizi* (these) and *zile* (those) are Kiswahili system morphemes. Kiswahili is the ML. The demonstratives are used to point to what the buyer wishes to buy, and it is within such a morphosyntactic frame that the lexeme ‘thirty’ and an English EL is used as single element.

In turn 7, the syntactic frame is Lulogoli. It bears the singly occurring elements *kumi* and *ishirini* which are Kiswahili words that indicate how much the customer wishes to buy.

(21) Customer: How much are tomatoes?

Seller:

Tomatoes *ni tatu kumi*
Tomato(pl) be(pl) three(quan) for ten(quan).
‘Tomatoes are three for ten.’

Customer:

What about onions?

Seller:

Ni mbili kumi onions...
Pro(neut)be two(quan) ten(quan) onion(pl)
‘Two onions for ten shillings...’

Customer:

Nifungie hizi za ishirini na zile za thirty
Me-tie- DEM conj-twenty(quan) conj DEM conj-thirty.
‘Give me these for twenty shilling and those for thirty shillings.’

Customer:

Mbe mito nende mutere, mito kumi, mutere ishirini
Me-give-*mito* conj. *mutere, mito* ten(quan), *mutere* twenty(quan)
‘Give me *mito* and *mutere, mito* for ten shillings and *mutere* for twenty shillings’

In Example 22 (Discourse ii), the ML is Lulogoli. It has one singly occurring EL element *bwana* (sir/mr), which is also an EL. The lexeme has more than one meaning. It could mean; ‘husband’, ‘buddy or friend’ or ‘Lord’ (when written with capital initial in the context of the church, meaning Jesus Christ). Therefore the context in which the word has been used implies ‘buddy’

or a person well known to the speaker. This also means that the interlocutor and hearer have something in common. Hence, *bwana* in this context is also used to reduce distance.

(22) Owner:

Uvita kuliha *bwana?*
S(sing)-be(NON PST (QUE) mr/sir
'How are you Mr/Sir?'

Waiter:

Ndiyo. Utakunywako *na nini* customer?
Yes. S(sing)-Mod(NON PST)drink ettiq with(conj) what (rel.pro)customer?
'Yes. What will you have [with the soda], customer?'

In Example 23 (Discourse iii) below, the ML is Lulogoli. There are two ELs in turn 1, namely *Niko* 'around', in English and Kiswahili respectively. The turn has two independent clauses. In the first structure Kiswahili is the ML while English is the EL. The switch *Niko* 'around' is a bilingual clause with Kiswahili providing the morphosyntactic frame. The pronominal clitic *ni-* and the copular form *ko-* are both system morphemes from Kiswahili, the ML. The English word 'around' is a content morpheme. The second sentence structure is a Lulogoli ML Island with both content and system morphemes coming from Lulogoli.

In turn 3 the ML is Lulogoli. It has singly occurring element '*sana*', a Kiswahili word used as intensifier to convey emphasis. It emphasises the type of man the speaker's husband is. This implies that the speaker's husband is a constant nuisance in triggering misunderstanding.

In turn 5, the ML is Kiswahili while the EL lexemes are content words from English. They are 'man' (noun), 'like' (verb) 'gossip' (noun) and 'sisters' (noun). To each of them bound morphemes are affixed. The *mu* affixed to the noun 'man' (was a man) and '*a-na*' affixed to the verb 'like' (he likes) carry three elements; person, number and tense. However '*a-na*' carries extra information, it implies a person who does something habitually. '*Ma*' affixed to 'gossip' and *ma* affixed to 'sisters', and carries number and indicates a plural element that indicates

double plural marking for the word sister. The double marking may be explained as a question of proficiency of the speaker in two languages.

In turn 7, the ML is Lulogoli. The EL is Kiswahili, however the singly occurring elements 'like' (verb) and 'plait' (verb) are English lexemes. There are both ML and Kiswahili islands. The second part of the turn has two Islands; Lulogoli and Kiswahili. The ML Island *venya nzikale hango* has both content and system morphemes. The content words are 'want' (verb), 'stay' (verb), and 'home' (noun). The system morphemes are 'they' (pronoun), 'to' (particle) and 'at' (preposition). The Kiswahili Island *kazi ya boma* is embedded. It constitutes only morphemes from the EL which are provided by the EL grammar.

In turn 10 Lulogoli is the ML while English is the EL. The clause is inter-sententially switched with Lulogoli providing the syntactic frame of the structure. The sentence has both ML and EL islands.

In turn 11 Lulogoli is the ML. While the singly occurring lexeme 'accept' (verb) is the EL and also receives the prefix *ku-* (to) indicating capability of remaining firm and the suffix *-a* to indicate concord.

(23) Kageha:

Niko around. **Ndatula** **wa** **ndari**
S(sing)-be(NON-PST)around. S(sing)-leave-PST)where pro(pers)v(PST)had

ndazia **lukari.**
con-have(PST)go marry.

'I am around. I left the place where I had been married.'

Mama Reba:

What happened *nashanga* *sana.*
What happened Pro(pers)v(NON,PST)surprise Adv(into)very
'What happened? I am very surprised'

Kageha:

Musakulu wange yaasumbula sana.
Husband con-my smark-aux(PST)-be con-stubborn INT-very
'My husband used to be very stubborn.'

Mama Reba:

Kindiki chakoleka? I am surprised.
Pro(rel)what (PST)happen? I am surprised.
'What happened? I am surprised.'

Kageha:

Mume wangu alikuwa yule mu-man mwenye
S(sing)-cl₁man pro(poss)my Aux (sing) PST-Cop Pro(rel.) con,(sing)man Pro(rel.)

ana-like kusikiza ma-gossip na maneno
con-smark-Aux-sing NON PST like part-listen con-gossip conj- Con cl₆ words

ya wazazi na ma-sisters zake.
prep cl₂ people, pl-parent conj sister(pl) con- Pro(pos)her.

'My husband was that kind of man who likes to pay attention to gossip by his parents and sisters.'

Mama Reba:

Hiyo tu **venya kindiki?**
Pro(pers,sing) that only(pro) they(NON PST)want pro(rel)what?
'Only that, what do they want?'

Kageha:

...Hawaku-like igasi yange yaku
Neg-S(sing)-do(PST)-like (OB)mark-work con-my con-of(pre)

plait ilisu Iya vandu. Venyanga nzikale hango
plait hair(pl) con-of cl₂ person(pl) S(pl)-want-hab Smark-stay(NON PST) home

ngole kazi ya boma...
that Smark-do(NON PST) work (prep) homestead.

Musatsa wange nava na madharau na roho mbaya...
Cl₁husband pro(pos)mine be(PST) conj cl₁₃contempt conj cl₁₃heart Ob-con-Adj,bad

'...they did not like my job of plaiting people's hair. They wanted me to stay at home...
translation missing husband developed contempt and a negative attitude.'

Mama Reba:

Hiyo ni difficult family.

DEM-be difficult family.

'That is a difficult family.'

Kageha:

Musatsa wange *alikuwa* *mu-stubborn sana...Na wazazi*

Husband con-my Smrk-aux(PST)-be con-stubborn INT-and Smrk cl₂ parent(pl)

wake wakani-hate yakutosha.

con-his pro-aux(PST)OB-hate con-enough.

'My husband was very stubborn...and his parents hated me very much.'

Mama Reba:

Yali **niyenyanga** **akohe** **lilogo**

S(sing)-be(PST) aux(PST)-con-want Smrk-OB-pass over(NON-PST) cl₁₄witchcraft

navutswa nusura, I can guess.

but S(sing)-refuse(PST), I can guess.

'She [the mother-in-law] wanted to pass over to you witchcraft practices but you refused, I can guess.'

Kageha:

Sinyala **ku-accept-a dave!** *Kwetu sisi si warogi.*

S(sing),Neg-can(NON PST) to-accept-con no. In our home we NEG,be(NON PST) witches.

'I cannot accept. My family does not practice witchcraft.'

In example 24 (Discourse iv), the ML in turn 1, is Kiswahili while the EL is the content word 'pass' (verb) which has three affixes *u-*, *na-* and *-tu*. These are used to mark person, number and tense respectively. They are in line with the Bantu grammar which is agglutinative

In turn 2, the ML is Lulogoli, which also provides the morphosyntactic frame of the structure. The word *sana* (very/keenly) is a Kiswahili EL and is as an intensifier to emphasise the glance which is being referred to. The system morphemes *u-* and *ki-* in *u-moroma-ki* (What are saying?) are from Lulogoli.

In turn 3, Lulogoli is the ML with English as the EL. Though the Lulogoli word *umumanyi* appears at face value to be a single lexeme, in actual fact it is made up of more than one linguistic element. As the ML it determines the morphosyntax of the structure with which the EL elements fit.

In turn 3, Lulogoli is the ML. There is a Kiswahili island, and English content lexemes. They are 'divorce' (verb) and 'advice' (noun). The verb 'divorce' receives the prefixes *a-* and *me-* to mark tense and person respectively. The noun 'advice' on the other hand receives the suffix *-ki* to indicate that a question is being posed.

(24) Young man:

Mbona una pass *tu?*
Why S(sing)-aux(NON PST) pass just S(sing)
'Why are you just passing?'

Lona:

Umoromaki na **huyo** *mwanamuke*
S(sing)-aux-(sing)-say-QUE prep-that con-cl,woman

ndora **numuhenza** *sana.*
Smk,(N₁-(sing)-see NON PST Adv.keen

'What are you discussing with that woman? I see you keenly looking at her.'

Vwangu:

Umumanyi very well?
Spro,N₁,(sing)-know NON PST-con very well?

Ame-divorce, *ameacha* *nyumba yake.*
S(MK)aux-(PST)divorce S-(MK)-be (PST)leave home his

'Do you know her very well? Her marriage failed, he left his home'

Lona:

Ku wenya advice-ki **kutula kuye** na *ame-divorce,*
So Smrk-expect advice what to-come from-her yet

ameacha *nyumba yake.*
Smk-be(PST)leave home hers.

‘So what advice do you expect from her divorce, yet she left her home?’

In example 25 (Discourse v), Lulogoli is the ML in turn 1. The system morphemes *ku-* and *-a* in *ku-change-a* (to change); and *mu-* and *-i* in *mu-plot-i* are Lulogoli elements which provide the frame for the English EL elements.

In turn 2, Lulogoli is the ML. The Kiswahili lexeme *sana* (very) is actually a borrowing that has more or less become part of Lulogoli. It is a system morpheme from the class of intensifiers, in this context laying emphasis on the mistreatment of the Logoli at the hands of the Kikuyu landlords, known by the Logoli nickname *Abaseve*.

In turn 3 Lulogoli is the ML, and provides the structure of the frame. It provides the system morphemes. The EL lexeme ‘active’ (verb) is a content word used by the speakers to express the urgency and intensity of the matter. Then there is the Kiswahili EL islands, *ana-ye-jua shida za watu*, is basically made up of system morphemes ‘who’ (pronoun) and content words ‘problem’ (noun), ‘know’ (verb) and ‘people’ (noun). This is meant to give the specification of the qualities of the leader desired.

Turn 4 is a case of double ML namely, Lulogoli and English. English is characterized by a system morpheme ‘very’ (intensifier) and two content morphemes namely an adjective (difficult) and a noun (people). This is meant to describe the type of people the Kikuyu are.

(25) Patron A:

Museve **avola** **ku-change-a** **inyumba mu-plot-i**
Con-Kikuyu(sing) say(NON PST) to-change-con a-house in-plot-con

genyeka **utungu** extra rent.
require(NON PST) one-pay-to extra rent.

‘He says to change a house within the plot requires one to pay extra rent.’

Patron B:

Abaseve vakubiza vandu ikibi sana
con-Kikuyu(pl) be(NON PST) mistreat-ing Ob-cl₂-person(pl) con-badly very.

na notevaku vakovoleranga pack and leave.
conj S(sing)-if-question(NON PST)etti q they-you-tell (NON PST)-ing pack and leave.

‘The Kikuyu (Abaseve) are mistreating people and if you question, they tell you ‘pack and leave’.’

Patron A:

Kwenyanga mundu aveye active and **kandi**
S(pl)-want-ing Ob- cl₁-person(sing) who-be(NON PST) active and conj

anayejua shida za watu.
S(sing)-be(NON PST)who understand problem(pl) of Ob cl₂-person(pl).

‘We want a person who is active and knows people’s problems.’

Patron B:

Abaseve baveye avandu very difficult.
S(pl)-Kikuyu Smrk-be(NON PST,pl) Ob,cl₂person(pl) very difficult.
‘The Abaseve (Kikuyu) are very difficult people’

Patron C:

Kunyi Valuyia kuveye disadvantaged **sana kigira**
We(pl) S(pl)-Luyia we-be(NON PST) disadvantaged very because,

kuvula tsisendi tsyokugula **zi-plot-i nukwumbaka**
We-NEG-have(NON PST) (pl)-money con-for-buy(NON PST) (pl)-plot-con and to build.

‘We Luyias are very disadvantaged, we don’t have money to buy plots(land) and construct our own houses.’

In Examples 26 (Discourse vi), the ML in turn 1 is Kiswahili. The turn has outside morphemes emanating from Kiswahili. The EL is English, as the singly occurring element namely ‘reception’ is content morpheme in the class of nouns. The word is elicited by the speaker’s lack of an equivalent in Kiswahili.

In turn 2, Kiswahili is the ML. The turn has an EL Island ‘feel free’ coming in at the sentence initial position. It is used to express the warm welcome accorded to the guests at the reception. The expression is closely followed by duplication of the word *sawa* (fine) to emphasise the welcome earlier indicated.

(26) Reporter:

...*maharusi wako nje ya kanisa,*
 ...S(pl)cl₁₂-newly-weds con-be(pl, NON PST) outside Of cl-church(sing),

wakielekea reception *uwanjani...*
 con-be(NON PST)-move(prog) Reception cl₇-field(sing)

‘... the newly-weds are outside of the church, moving to the reception at the field...’

Presenter:

...*Unajisikiaje siku ya leo?*
 ...S(sing)pro(pers, N₂)you-be(NON PST, sing) feel(prog)-QUE how on of today?

Feel free *usikike sawa sawa.*
 Feel free S(sing)pro(pers, N₂)you-be(PST)-hear properly.

‘...how are you feeling today? Feel free to be properly heard.’

In Example 27 the ML is Kiswahili. The singly occurring elements ‘dignity’ and ‘respect’ are both content morphemes which are used to express the bride’s satisfaction as far as this memorable occasion is concerned. To her the wedding is a dream come true.

(27) Bride:

...*Leo* dignity *yangu imethibitika.* Nobody will joke with me again,
 ...S(sing)today dignity mine S(con)-have(perf)-affirm. Nobody will joke with me again,

nimepata respect *yangu ya kutosha.*
 S(sing)pro(pers, N₁) I-have(perf)-earn respect mine of enough.
 ‘Today my dignity has been reaffirmed... I have earned my adequate respect’

In Example 28, Kiswahili is the ML. English is the EL. The word ‘complicate’ is prefixed with a Kiswahili infinitive *ku* a system morpheme meaning ‘to’. The word to ‘complicate’ is used here

...Usiwe kama African men.
pro(pers) sing,N₂-NEG-be(NON PST) like African men.

wanaokaa kama statue au kama soldiers kwa nyumba...
Pro(pers.t-MK/NOM/Pro,rel)stay like statue or like soldiers prep cl₁₂house

'...Use English words such as 'darling', 'sweetheart' and love' ...Do not be like African men who sit like statue or like soldiers in the house.'

In Examples 31 (Discourse xi), Kiswahili is the ML. Kiswahili is the dominant language in conducting church matters, especially the church service. System morphemes come from Kiswahili. English is the EL elements constitute an Island. This is used when the interlocutor intends to emphasize the role of the Church Board in handling the matter at hand.

(31) Church Secretary:

...Natoa rambi rambi zangu na
S(sing)pro(pers,N1)-I-give(NON PST) condolence(pl) pro(poss) mine and

ninaamini hata the rest of the board members ni hivyo...
S-con(sing)-be(NON PST)-believe even the rest of the board member be(pl) similar.

'I give my condolences to him and I believe even the rest of the board members do the same...'

In Example 32 (Discourse xi), Lulogoli is the ML. It provides the system morphemes and the morphosyntactic structure. Kiswahili is the EL and appears as an island. Lulogoli is used as a marked code to keep the conversation between the group of women and the supervisor of the restaurant.

(32) Vuyanzi:

Vanyala kuvugilila kunywele vindu vyitu muno,
S(pl)pro(dem)they-can to-allow Ob(pl)pron(pers)us-drink-to S(pl)cl₈-thing ours here,

au itakuwa vigumu?
or pro(impers)it-will-be difficult.

'Can they allow us to drink our stuff from here, or it will be difficult?'

number, person and negation. The ML also includes the conjunction *lakini* (but) to emphasize the fact that doctors tried their best to save the life of the person in vain.

(36) Muhonja:

...Imagine doctors *walishugulika* *lakini haikuwezekana*.
 ...Imagine doctors S-con(pl)-do their best but NEG-pro(impers)-it-be(PST)-possible.
 '...Imagine the doctors did their best, but it was not possible.'

In Example 37, the ML is Lulogoli which also supplies the system morphemes. The EL island occurs at the end of the turn. The turn has English discourse markers 'even' and 'because' to indicate what is anticipated by the interlocutor.

(37) Client:

...**Nyala** **kutula** even **saa mbili vudiku**, because
 ...S(sing)pro(pers,N₁)-I-can(NON PST) to-leave even at eight, because

tsitsa **tsindala** **venyanga**
 (con)-time-(pl) con-some S(sing)pro(dem)they-want

kushilwa somewhere to drink.
 (NON PST) be taken somewhere to drink.

'...I can even leave at eight o'clock at night because sometimes they want to be taken somewhere for a drink'

Examples 38, 39 and 40 come from Discourse xvii. In example 38, the ML is Kiswahili. The system morphemes also come from Kiswahili. The EL is English. It is made up of content words; 'come' (verb), 'check' (verbs) and 'get' (verb) are affixed to mark different grammatical aspects.

(38) Igunza:

Maze *nili-come* *jana*
 Buddy S(sing)pro(pers,N₁) I-(t-mrk)-come(PST) yesterday

ku-ku-check-i *lakini si-ku-ku* get...
 OB(sing)pro(sing)pro(pers,N₂) you-to-check-con but NEG-pro(pers,N₂)-you-do(PST)-get...

'Buddy, I came to check on you yesterday but I did not get you...'

Kiswahili is the ML in example 39. The content words ‘hear’ (verb), ‘place’ and ‘Mounte’ (nouns) are ELs from English. This is a youth in-group code triggered by the need to be exclusive and secretive and that is why the interlocutor has to pick English words here and there and embed them into a Kiswahili frame.

(39) Igunza:

...*Nime*-hear *kuhusu mahali fulani*
 ...S(sing)pro(pers,N₁) I have(PST)-hear about place certain,

uje twende place *huko* Mounte...
 you come(NON PST) S(pl)pro(pers,N₁)we-go(NON PST) place there Mounte...

‘I have heard about a certain place; come let us go to that place, Mountain View...’

In Example 40, the ML is Kiswahili. English which bears the content words ‘language’ and ‘estate’ (noun) as the EL and are words which are typically used or associated with the urban variety. The interlocutor intends to make it clear that the youth have their own code and this should not take the aged by surprise. After all they mean well.

(40) Igunza:

...*Hii* *ni* language *ya vijana*
 S(sing)pro(dem)This be(NON PST) language of Ob-cl₈ youth(pl)

wa estate, sio wazee kama nyinyi.
 In estate, NEG(not) cl₂ elderly like you.

‘This is the language of the youth in the suburbs, not for old people like you.’

In Example 41 (Discourse xviii), the ML in this turn is Kiswahili while the EL consists of the singly occurring element ‘do’ and receives the prefixes *u-* and *ka-* to indicate person, tense and the question (wh-) form, respectively.

- (41) Isazu:
Halafu u-ka-do?
 Adv(result)So S(sing)pro(pers,N₂)you-(t-mrk)-do?
 ‘So what did you do?’

Examples 42 and 43 come from Discourse (xix). In example 42, Lulogoli is the ML. All the inflections on the verb stems ‘change’ and ‘move’ come from Lulogoli. These verbs are content morphemes from English the EL. Additionally; the turn has the verbs that bear the suffix *-a* and *-e* respectively. This is triggered by a need to adapt to the Lulogoli sound pattern, since Lulogoli like most Bantu languages takes the syllable structure of CV or V (consonant vowel or vowel). Therefore, Lulogoli syllables and words by extension end in vowels and not consonants, particularly when the English morpheme precedes a Lulogoli lexeme.

- (42) Host:
Kuli avakali gadukananga
 As con-S(sing)-cl₂woman(pl) pro(imp,sing)it-reach-prog (sing)

kugirunganye our thinking about life... **ivindu**
 S(pl)pro(pers,N₁)we-turn(NON PST) our thinking about Life...con-S(pl)cl₂thing

ivinyingi vya-change-a,
 con-many (perf)have change-con S(pl)

kuduka ku-move-e nende the times...
 Pro(pers,N₂)we-need(NON PST) to-move with the times...

 ‘As women it is necessary for us to change our thinking about life... many things have changed, and we must move [on] with times.’

In Example 43, the ML is Kiswahili which also provides the system morphemes. Verb stem ‘decide’ is preceded by the inflection *ku* (to), an infinitive and a system morpheme. It functions as a directive and an indicator of what is expected from the couples.

- (43) Sr.Nancy:
 Message *yangu kubwa ni kuhimiza* couples *kuwa*
 Message mine main be(NON PST) to-encourage couples to-have (NON PST)

na watoto wachache kwa sababu ya cost of living
with OB(pl)cl₂child con-few because of cost of living

ambayo iko juu sana...
which S-con-be(NON PST)high very

Tunahimiza mume na mke kuja
S(pl)pro(pers,N1)we-t-mrk- encourage OB(sing)cl₁-husband and OB(sing)cl₁-wife to-come

*clinic ili tuwashauri jinsi ya ku-*decide the best method.
clinic so that S(con)-OB-(con)-advice way of to-decide the best method.

'My main message is to encourage couples to have few children because of the cost of living which is very high... we encourage husband and wife to come to the clinic so that we can advise them how to decide on the best method.'

5.6 A note on some linguistic features from the corpus

In addition to the MLF assumptions, the study identifies five frequently occurring features or markers from the corpus in code-switched material. These are basically intra-word and carry out features of linguistic significance. These are the concord markers, final syllable insertions, double question elements, etiquette markers and habit markers.

(a) *Concord markers*

The corpus has demonstrated that Lulogoli grammar incorporates a special feature, namely concord (see Appendix iii). This is a typical feature of Bantu grammar. These concord aspects that do not feature in English are marked by grammatical elements called concord markers (con).

One of the most prominent concord features in Lulogoli is the requirement by the grammar of the language that all elements of the clause must reflect the noun class of the nominal elements within the clause. The nominal elements are usually the subject and the object. The Lulogoli grammar places concord markers on verbs, adjectives, numerals and prepositions.

Speaker:

...na mumanye koveye mu-lev-o ndala
conj(mod)know pro,N₁(pl) be(NON PST) con-level one.
'...you should know we are on the same level.'

(c) *Double question markers*

When the ML is English or Kiswahili, and the speaker intends to pose a content question, it is can be noted that the Logoli speaker usually begins an utterance with the content question '*kwani*' which is a Kiswahili word.

In Example 48 and 49 (Discourse xv) the speaker uses *kwani* in the same environment where a complete question that ends in *ki* will be uttered. *Ki* is a Lulogoli question feature that tends to bring in double element of the interrogative. This element occurs quite frequently among Luyia speakers and the Logoli in particular during their code-switching behaviour.

(48) Kamonya:
Kwani what is happening to her?
QUE-what is happening to her?
'Why, what is happening to her?'

(49) Kamonya:
Kwani yari nu vulwale ki?
QUE-what S(N₂) be(NON PST)sick QUE-what
'What was she suffering from what?'

(d) *Etiquette markers*

Politeness in Logoli grammar is marked by embedding the element *ku* or *ko* in the verbal elements which mostly denote action. As used in example 50 (Discourse i) below, it means 'please':

(50) Customer:
Mbe mito nende mutere, mito kumi mutere
S(sing)give mito(veg-type) and mutere(veg-type), mito(veg-type) ten mutere(veg-type)

ishirini na ongezako please.
twenty conj add v(NON,PST)ettiq please.

'Give me vegetable-1 and vegetable-2, for ten shillings and twenty shillings respectively and some addition please.'

Seller:

Sawa, ayizi ndakumeda ku
(Adj)OK pro(DEM) pro,pers-aux(NON,PST)-add ettiq
'Okey, here they are and I have added in extra.'

To non-Logoli speakers and especially a speaker of Kiswahili, this element seems to suggest an ill-formed sentence as it is the case in the example 51 of Discourse (ii) and 52 of Discourse (iv) below:

(51) Waiter:

Ndio, utakunywako na nini customer.
Yes, S(sing) made(NON,PST) drink-ettiq conj what(rel.pro) customer.
'Yes, with what will you take the *soda*, customer?'

(52) Youngman:

Avula mangana manyingi na
Pro,pers(N₁)NEG have cl₁₉words (con-adj)many conj

lakini siwezi kupuuzako mawaidha yenu.
conj pro(pers)NEG(NON,PST)I cannot part(v)to despise cl₁₃advice pro(poss)your.

'She has no problem but I cannot ignore your advice please.'

Ko in Example 53 (Discourse v) added to the verbal element has various functions such as to make request, show respect and a marker for politeness whenever it is used. As an inflection on the verbal element it expresses courtesy. It is a transfer of etiquette from Luyia and specifically Lulogoli.

(53) Patron A:

Hanu kumenyi mulisubira biashara ni
Adv(place) pro.pers,N₁(pl) NON PST-live prep-cl₂₀faith cl₉ be(aux)

kujaribuko *tu*
part-(NON PST)try-con just

‘We live here by faith and barely managing to do business.’

(e) *Habit markers*

Logoli grammar marks habit in terms of how frequently an action is performed by appending the morpheme ‘-nga’ or ‘-nge’ to the verb. This is expressed in the example below. When the morpheme feature ‘-nga’ or ‘-nge’ is added to a Kiswahili verb, it sounds ill-formed. This is demonstrated in example 54 (Discourse v) and 55 (Discourse xi) respectively. Kiswahili marks habit either through tone or by use of adverbs such as ‘*mara kwa mara*’ or ‘*kila wakati*’. Both these phrases imply ‘all the time’ or ‘always’.

‘Nga’ and ‘nge’ may sound ill-formed to non-Luyias, but to the Logoli speakers it indicates something that happens again and again. Thus when they are speaking Kiswahili they tend to transfer these grammatical elements from their mother-tongue to other Bantu languages.

(54) Patron B:

Noteva **ku** **vakovoleranga** pack and leave.
S(sing)if-QUE-per pro,N₂(sing) NON PST-ask just pro,pers(pl) tell(NON PST) pack and leave.
‘If you question them they keep telling you to pack and leave.’

Patron B:

Huko juu zinyumba zimedangwa...
Adv(place)up cl₁₄house CON-NON PST-aux-aspect-increase.
‘They keep increasing rent on the other side.’

(55) Woman A:

...usikuwange...
Pro(pers) NEG,v(prog,hab)be not
‘...do not be routinely...’

(f) ‘Sana’ as a singly occurring feature

The Kiswahili word *sana* is an element used repeatedly in the corpus. Its equivalent in Lulogoli is *muno*. A Logoli speaker often finds it easier and clearer to use the word *sana* than *muno* in

speech. The Kiswahili word *sana* is a loan word diffused into Lulogoli and easily carries the meaning of high degrees of things. It quantifies and gives strong emphasis depending on the context of use. As a singly occurring morpheme it embeds in the frame of the ML morphemes. The meaning of the word is derived from the context in which it is used by the speakers. A number of examples of the use of the morpheme are provided based on different contexts.

In Example 56 (Discourse v), the word '*sana*' is an adverb used as intensifier. It emphasizes the appalling condition of the Luyias in Nairobi.

- (56) Seller A:
 ...**Valuyia** **kuveye** disadvantaged *sana*...
 ...S-con-Luyia(pl) S(pl)-mark-be(NON SPT) disadvantage very
 '...we Luyia are very disadvantaged...'

In Example 57 (Discourse vi) the word *sana* is an intensifier, expressing gratitude. A speaker can just say *asante* meaning 'thank you' and it is easily conveyed. However, when *sana* is added, the speaker intends to really emphasise how thankful he or she is.

- (57) Presenter:
Asante sana
 thanks a lot(int)
 'Thank you very much.'

In Example 58 (Discourse x) *sana* gains a different meaning. The literal meaning would be that the church member in question is asking the church officials not to delve into the matter at hand. However, the word *sana* is hereby used figuratively to request the church board not to expose the church member's weaknesses and embarrass him.

- (58) Hosea:
Kutazia **weneyo** *sana*....
 Pro(pers,pl)mod-NEG (NON PST)go Adv(place) a lot(int)...
 'Let us not go too much in that direction...'

Sana in Example 59 (Discourse xiv) is a word used to show how sorry the speaker feels about this misfortune that befell her friend. It is an expression of deep sympathy.

- (59) Ayuma:
Mwodi *sana*.
S(sing)sorry very(int)
'I am very sorry.'

In Example 60 (Discourse vi), the word *sana* is used to express seriousness and intensity of the sickness of the person in question. It shows that the patient's condition is critical.

- (60) Muhonja:
...**yalimulwale** *sana*.
...pers pro(sing) be(PST)sick (adv)very
'...she was very sick.'

In Example 62 (Discourse xvi), *sana* describes a lengthy duration and is therefore used as an adverb of time. It may also express the fact that the barber is surprised that his client is so late. He is probably used to seeing him earlier.

- (61) Barber:
Leo umekawia sana, utuli late
Adv(time) pro(pers) have(PST)delay really(int) pro,per,v(PST)leave late.
'You have really delayed you left late.'

In Example 62 (Discourse xix) the word *sana* literally means too high to be reached. The word is used here to indicate the cost of living among the Logoli residents in Kangemi. *Sana* therefore intensifies the situation.

- (62) Sr. Nancy:
...cost of living *ambayo iko juu sana*.
...cost of living (rel,pro) s-can-be(NON PST) high Adv(int)very.
'...cost of living which is very high.'

5.7 The use of Sheng

In two of the discourses analysed in this study, *Sheng* featured as a code. According to Githiora (2000, 159), *Sheng* is a mixed language originating from the intricate Multilanguage setting of Nairobi city and is basically spoken by young people of up to 25 years. Githiora (2000, 163) further observes that Kiswahili is the substrate language for *Sheng*. It draws its syntax from Kiswahili and English as well as other Kenyan languages especially in the urban areas. In this research, the use of *Sheng* has been demonstrated in Discourses (xvii) and (xviii). It has been treated as a form of code-switching (see Sections 4.5.14 and 4.5.18). Example 64 (Discourse xviii) demonstrates some of the features evident in the language. Strictly speaking, however, *Sheng* is code-switching which has developed into a new variety. It involves derivation of new words (neologism). For instance when a youth says *maparo wangu* he means 'my parents' and in proper intra-sentential code-switching it should be *maparents wangu* with 'ma' signifying number and a plural marker. However in *Sheng* there is a change to the intra-word switching where parents become *paro* with an English word initial element and a new formation 'o' where 'o' stands for neither Kiswahili nor English. It leads to a new word formation completely, known only to the youth to mean 'parents'.

However, words such as 'maze' (friend) 'kugotea' (greetings) 'keja' (house), in example 64 of Discourse (xviii) are *Sheng* words commonly used by the youth. Such words are creations whose origins and grammar is hard to subject to scrutiny since they do not fall under structured language. Suffice it to say that this new linguistic behaviour has been developed to facilitate communication among the youth, especially in the presence of older people whom they wish to alienate from their conversation.

5.8 Conclusion

The chapter has focused on analysing the corpus within the theoretical framework adopted in Chapter 2. Analysis of the sociopragmatic aspects of code-switching is the main part of the chapter. Specific examples of code switched materials involving three codes, Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English were examined. Analysis of each example has sought to show the

motivations or reasons for code-switching. The analysis has demonstrated Myers-Scotton's argument that code-switching is a strategy and a negotiation process that aims at maximizing the benefits of switching codes, as discourses analysed fell within her scheme of the three maxims that govern code-choice in a bilingual situation and the types of patterns that emerge.

The chapter has further demonstrated the suitability of the MLF Model in explaining the structural features of the study. In the corpus it appears that Lulogoli and Kiswahili have prominently served the role of being the ML in the study. As both are Bantu languages, they are agglutinative in nature. Their grammar incorporates elements into single lexical items, and each of the elements either carries or serves a particular function. Content words will usually carry meaning, while lexical items usually function as tense markers, number case etc. This is what Myers-Scotton (1992, 22: 2005, 19-21) refers to as system morphemes and /or 'outsiders'. The chapter has also shown how code-switched material in ML + EL constituents feature both as clauses and as singly occurring lexemes from EL. It has demonstrated that in most cases the EL has to fit into the morphosyntactic frame of the ML.

A prominent feature in the corpora for this study identified as concord marker (con-) which does not carry meaning but is within the grammar of the language to mark agreement, this relates to the noun class category. The concord marker is usually embedded in the verbal element, adjectives and the demonstratives. The subject concord marker (t-mrk) and the object concord marker (OB-con) have the appearance of pronouns, but they simply reflect the noun class of the subject or the object they represent respectively.

The grammar of Kiswahili and Lulogoli do not accommodate a single main verb without an accompanying auxiliary. Some of these auxiliaries do not have an equivalent auxiliary verb in English, hence the study has analysed them as tense markers. For example, *li-* in some cases directly translates into a form of 'be' but in other contexts it can only be categorized as a tense marker.

One of the word formation processes for adverbs in Kiswahili and Lulogoli is duplication. Duplicated words will mostly stand as an adverb. For example, the Kiswahili phrase *sawa sawa* (Example 26) means 'properly' while *sawa*, a single lexical item would mean 'proper'. And *sana sana* would mean 'frequently' while *sana* means 'a lot', 'intense' or 'very' depending on the context.

Chapter six of this study provides a further discussion of the findings presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 is the final chapter of the thesis. It provides a summary of the first five chapters. It also discusses the findings and the contributions the study makes to the field of linguistic knowledge, specifically to the study of code-switching. Finally, it presents recommendations for further research in the area.

6.2 Summary of the study

The first chapter anchors the study in the sociolinguistic context of Kenya, bringing to the fore core concerns which constitute the focus of the rest of the study. The aim of the study is presented as bringing to the fore the role of urban-based social factors that influence the motivation for code-switching, and the linguistic features that accompany it. The statement of the problem localizes these global trends in the Logoli speech community that forms part of the population of the informal peri-urban settlement of Kangemi, on the outskirts of the city of Nairobi.

The objectives of the study were to (i) establish a sociolinguistic profile of the Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroups, the Logoli included, in the Kangemi informal urban settlement area, (ii) identify the different social variables in the urban setting and to examine the role they play in determining code-switching behaviour among the Logoli speech community of Kangemi, (iii) identify the social motivations that inform code-switching behaviour among the Logoli speech community, and to establish the extent to which these may be adequately explained by the Markedness Model and to (iv) identify the structural features in code-switched material in the Kangemi corpus and to establish the extent to which these may be explained by the MLF Model.

To attain the objectives, the study was based on assumptions that touch on the apparent dominance of the Logoli speech community in Kangemi, the dynamic urban social life of Kangemi, and the suitability of the related models for analysis of corpus.

The scope and limitation stated why a specific informal settlement, and not the whole of Nairobi, was chosen for study of the Logoli speech community. It further explained why the Logoli and not the rest of the Luyia ethno-linguistic group; and why the three languages were chosen for the study.

The chapter also demonstrated how the key historical forces of migration, colonialism and urbanization have over the centuries influenced movement of different linguistic groups across the African continent. It gives the sociolinguistic profile of Kenya, indicating the three major language families from which the Kenyan linguistic groups derive. These are the Bantu-speakers, the Nilotic-speakers and the Cushitic-speakers. The focus of the study is the Logoli speech community which speaks Lulogoli, and who are part of the Luyia Bantu linguistic group from Western Kenya. The chapter also gives a summary of the language policy in Kenya, demonstrating the historical context within which English and Kiswahili attained official and national status respectively, and how the MTs have fared in the face of this. One such response to the resultant contact situation has been the emergence of the phenomenon of code-switching which is the subject of the study.

Chapter 2 focuses on a review of literature related to bilingualism in general, and to code-switching in particular. The various publications reviewed help to locate or place the study in a tradition of scholarship on bilingualism. Various language contact phenomena are described by different authors. These phenomena include borrowing, code-switching and diglossia. The disagreement in description or interpretation is a healthy indicator of the dynamism in the scholarship on the subject of bilingualism.

The main theories regarding the socio-pragmatic and structural aspects of code-switching are reviewed. Some researchers are shown to give primacy to the socio-pragmatic concerns of code-switching over grammatical concerns. In his later formulations, Gumperz (1975, 1976 and 1982) departs from the situational-metaphorical dichotomy of code-switching and comes up with the notion of the 'contextualization cue'. This treats communication as a co-ordinated activity of negotiated meanings by the participants. This has a bearing on the thesis. Auer (1984, 1995) borrows the concept of 'contextualisation cue' from Gumperz and recasts it. He also comes up with what he calls 'discourse-related' and 'participant-related' code-switching. His notion of 'sequentiality' is a unique contribution to the research on code-switching.

A significant part of the chapter is devoted to the contribution of Myers-Scotton to the study of code-switching. In her seminal work (1993b) on social motivations for code-switching, Myers-Scotton formulates the Markedness Model, which she posits, explains the socio-pragmatics of code-switching. According to this (1993b), language choice is 'a system of opposition' where there is normally a dominant 'unmarked' choice which is safer and without surprises because it indexes an expected interpersonal relationship. On the other hand, to be 'marked' is to be less expected in a setting. According to this, different interactional types call for different code-choices on the basis of costs and benefits or rewards. Code-choices index rights and obligations (RO) sets between participants in a given interaction type. Out of what she calls the 'Principle of Negotiation', Myers-Scotton develops a set of general maxims or rules which, she argues, are applicable to all code-choice structures. These are three: The Unmarked Choice Maxim, the Marked Choice Maxim, and the Exploratory Choice Maxim. These maxims constitute the Markedness Model which is used for the sociopragmatic analysis of the data in this study.

The second theoretical aspect in the study relates to the structural or grammatical approach to code-switching. The form of code-switching considered here is code-switching as 'insertion'. It involves a single language matrix structure into which constituents from another language are inserted. Myers-Scotton's MLF Model is basically 'insertion' code-switching. It characterizes the corpus she has studied in Africa. She (1995a) states that the heart of the MLF Model is the claim

that two interrelated hierarchies are responsible for directing and structuring sentences involved in code-switching. These are: the Matrix Language versus Embedded Language Hierarchy; and the System versus Content Morphemes Hierarchy. The MLF Model was adopted by the study to provide the framework for analysis of the structural aspects.

Chapter 3 of the study starts with a physical and demographic overview of the research area, namely Kangemi informal settlement area. Kangemi is located on the western outskirts of the city of Nairobi. Kangemi is a multi-ethnic informal settlement with residents originally coming from different parts of the country over many decades. The study focuses on a specific speech community in Kangemi area, namely the Logoli, who are depicted as having developed into a sizeable 'colony'.

The chapter describes techniques used in the generation of two corpora. The first corpus formed the basis of a sociolinguistic survey of the Logoli speech community in Kangemi using questionnaires. This provided a background within which the data in the main corpus could be interpreted. The second corpus which also formed the main part of the research was based on transcriptions of tape recorded material. This provided the examples of code-switching which were analysed. These two corpora supplemented each other and provided the data for two chapters namely Chapter 4 and 5.

The field questionnaire was a 10-item set of questions geared towards generating the corpus on different aspects of the research. These aspects included profiles of the respondents including background, age and level of education; and language use and attitude of the respondents to code-switching. The fieldwork was made possible by engaging two research assistants belonging to the speech community under study and resident in Kangemi. The researchers distributed copies of the questionnaire to selected respondents who filled them in and returned them. In addition to the self-administered questionnaire, the researcher carried out interviews with individual respondents who responded to the questionnaire items orally.

The researcher also used the participant-observer technique (ethnographic observation). This enabled her to observe first-hand the social and linguistic behaviour of the community under study in a natural setting.

Finally the researcher used audio and video recordings to generate data on code-switching trends. This included large social functions (such as weddings and church services) as well as small groups involved in linguistic interactions. These recorded discourses or conversations formed the core of the data that was subjected to analysis in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4 is based on the survey corpus that was generated from the questionnaire. This corpus specifically answers to the objectives of the study related to social motivation for code-switching and the urban social factors that have influenced code-alternation among the Logoli speakers. The chapter presents the findings of this sociolinguistic survey among the Logoli speech community. The corpus analysed was generated from the questionnaire.

The biodata responses to the questionnaire were used to generate a survey corpus that was analysed to profile the Luyia linguistic sub-groups, of which the Logoli were found to be the most prominent in Kangemi. The corpus established that given the multi-ethnic composition of the residents of Kangemi, there was a pattern of communities tending to settle in specific enclaves. These areas have been generally given place-names by the dominating community in the specific locale.

The data indicates that among the Logoli speakers, the age differential and level of formal education had a clear bearing on the use of different codes in the process of linguistic interaction.

From the data gathered in response to the questions on language use, it is clear that respondents are aware code-switching takes place in most public settings. These include markets, recreational facilities, and social eateries, among others. It has been further

established that Kiswahili is the most dominant code spoken by the Logoli in the various public domains. The second most widely spoken code in these domains is Lulogoli.

When it comes to the home or family domain it was shown that the parents belonging to the older generation speak more Lulogoli amongst themselves, followed by Kiswahili which they speak to their children. The younger generation when amongst themselves, mostly speak and switch between Kiswahili and English.

The data also shows that respondents have sociolinguistic reasons as to why they switch codes. These include need to communicate with people from other linguistic backgrounds, better expression of certain ideas in a specific language, marking identity, enhancing one's status, linguistic accommodation, and where necessary, camouflage of one's identity.

It was demonstrated that the older generation of Logoli speakers are afraid that Lulogoli code faces a bleak future because of the preference by the young people to speak English. The multi-ethnic composition of Kangemi tends to make the younger Logoli speakers make friends from other ethnic groups. In the process more and more Kiswahili and English are spoken in comparison with Lulogoli, indicating a possible shift away from Logoli.

Chapter 5 presents the analysis of the main corpus and the main findings of the study. The thrust of the analysis is to identify the social motivations that influence code-switching, the factors that determine these motivations, and to identify and analyse other main structural features of conversations studied. The chapter is presented in two broad parts, (a) analysis of corpus related to the socio-pragmatic aspects, and then (b) analysis of structural aspects of code-switching. Three different codes namely Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English appeared in the data.

The analysis is subsumed within two models developed by Myers-Scotton and which constitute the theoretical framework for the study. These are the Markedness Model and the MLF Model which address the sociolinguistic and structural aspects of code-switching respectively.

The core corpus for analysis is generated from nineteen (19) selected conversational discourses recorded in different settings in the area of study. A summary of all the discourses is given at the start of the chapter. In the summary each discourse setting, the participants and the theme of the conversations are highlighted. The discourses are roughly clustered into four main domains, namely home, social, political and business.

Selected examples are extrapolated from the corpus. Explanation of the content in the turns is undertaken by applying the Markedness Model and the MLF Model respectively. This is followed by the specific examples of turns which back the explanation.

6.3 Discussion of results

Examples selected from corpus of discourses were analysed within the theoretical framework selected for the study, namely the Markedness and the MLF Models. For the socio-pragmatic aspects of the study, the Markedness Model appears to have provided adequate analytical and explanatory framework.

The study identified, within the Markedness Model framework, the key social variables that influence or determine code-switching behaviour among the Logoli speech community in Kangemi. These include age, education, status and the various social domains of interaction. In the light of these factors, the research was able to provide an explanation for the tendency to switch codes in different settings. In this respect, the model confirmed the study's assumption that urban-based social factors largely determine the motivations for and the patterns of code-switching between Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English.

The structural or linguistic analysis of the corpus was done within Myers-Scotton's MLF Model. Structural features were identified and analysed within this model which has also been characterized by Muysken (1995, 2000) as 'insertion' code-switching. In this there is a single language matrix structure into which constituents are inserted. This broad pattern was the core pattern witnessed in the switching of various linguistic features in the corpus.

In essence it tested the MLF Model's assumptions using the Kangemi corpus. One of the assumptions of the model is that a Matrix Language (ML) structure accommodates constituents from another language or languages (EL constituents), which is known as the ML versus EL hierarchy. The two languages constitute an asymmetry, because they play unequal roles in the sense that the ML is more activated than the EL, and that the ML provides the sentence frame or morphosyntactic frame of the bilingual clause. In Chapter 5, many examples were provided that demonstrated this hierarchy in switching between Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English.

The second major assumption of the MLF Model is the System versus the Content Morpheme Hierarchy, out of which develops two principles. These are System Morpheme Principle, and the Morpheme Order Principle. Accordingly, the EL elements are morphosyntactically integrated into the ML frame through the ML system morphemes. These morphemes are the frame-builders, and the grammatical elements directing relations between constituents. This principle was also demonstrated as being pervasive in the corpus.

According to the Morpheme Order Principle of the MLF Model, the surface morpheme order is that of the ML and should not be violated. This order is the 'unmarked' order. Again, the examples selected from the corpus demonstrated the prevalence of this principle at work.

In addition to the MLF assumptions, the study identified and described five frequently occurring 'markers' in the code-switched material of the corpus. These are basically intra-word markers and carry out functions of linguistic significance, namely concord markers, final syllable insertions, double question elements, etiquette markers and habit markers.

Further, the study makes special note of the Kiswahili lexeme *sana* (which generally indicates intensity) which has diffused into Lulogoli. It is argued that the loan word gains its meaning from specific contexts of use. It is widely used in the Kangemi corpus.

Finally, the study touched on the growing use of Sheng as a variant of Kiswahili-English code-switching in Nairobi. In two of the discourses analysed in this study, Sheng features as a form of linguistic behaviour in urban Kenya. It is prevalent among the youth of up to 25 years and is a recent linguistic development, beginning in the nineties. According to Githiora (2002, 163), Sheng is a mixed language originating from an intricate Multilanguage setting of Nairobi city and basically spoken by young people. This new linguistic behaviour has developed apparently to facilitate highly coded communication among the youth. It is sometimes spoken in the presence of older people as a means to completely isolate them from their conversation.

It could be regarded as code-switching with a difference, a type of mixed-dialect, or may even be treated as corruption of code-switching. For instance when a youth says *maparo wangu* he means 'my parents' and in normal intra-sentential code-switching it would be *maparents wangu* with '*ma*' signifying number and a plural marker. However in Sheng there is a change to the intra-word switching where *parents* become *paro* with an English word initial element and a new formation '*o*' where '*o*' stands for neither Kiswahili nor English. It leads to a completely new word formation understood only by the in-group youth as 'parents'.

However, words such as *maze* (friend), *kugotea* (salutation), *keja* (house), etc, are unmarked Sheng words commonly used by the youth. Such words are creations whose origins and grammar seem to defy scrutiny. For instance individual speakers freely pick the words they prefer, consider other words archaic, and/or even modify others without any adherence to conventional word-formation processes.

6.4 Contribution of the study to the field of linguistics

The main value of this study is that it examines the Logoli speech community which has not been the focus of any detailed sociolinguistic studies. It has identified the Logoli community as forming a significant enclave in the Kangemi informal urban settlement area. Switching of codes is demonstrated to be indexical or symbolic among participants with multiple identities in peri-urban settings, especially in an area of mixed residence. This is particularly the case when migrants from the countryside use their native language to enable them maintain firm kindred ties, yet maintaining a national outlook by speaking Kiswahili. Additionally, participants who have the knowledge of English are able to verbalise it, as a generally accepted index or status of prestige that most would like to associate with.

It could be argued that the study, in a sense, disproves Whiteley's (1974, 319) blanket assertion that ethnic languages or mother-tongues are generally restricted to the home area. It has demonstrated that an ethnic language can still be used and maintained away from the native land or home area. In support of this, Fishman (1974) posits that it is possible to find monolinguals in the city, particularly among the elderly, who in actual sense may be passive bilinguals. And for those who have multilingual comprehension, they may not possess adequate production. The study has presented some evidence to confirm this assertion.

In this research, Sheng has been captured in two discourses, 17 and 18, and treated as a form of code-switching. The examples captured in this study still illustrate a still on-going process of linguistic mutation. For instance the word 'mase' has different synonymous with 'mse' and 'mtu wangu', (my man), and is used among friends, particularly young males.

6.5 Recommendations for education and directions for future research

This study brought to the fore the social factors that motivate the switching of codes by the members of the Logoli speech community in an urban setting. In addition, the study examined the structural patterns that emerge in the process of such code-switching. The analysis of

corpus has led to a number of observations and findings, which in turn have (i) implications for language policy, and (ii) indicate need for further research.

6.5.1 Recommendations

A major issue of concern is the evident attrition of the MTs in the face of Kiswahili and English. This is especially the case with the urban-based speech communities, for instance the case of the Logoli speech community which is the subject of the current study. From the evidence in the interviews and questionnaire survey, parents have expressed the wish that Lulogoli be taught to and learnt by their children. This is because as the young members speak less and less of their MT, their proficiency is deteriorating. Some have gradually, out of this frustration of inability to speak fluently, tended to develop a sense of shame towards their ethno-linguistic background.

The urban-based communities, however, are not the only ones complaining about the unfair dominance of English and Kiswahili to detriment of the MTs. These same sentiments have been expressed by elders and leaders of another ethno-linguistic group in south-western Kenya, namely the Abagusii, speakers of Ekegusii, at their annual cultural festival. According to the Governor of the County (*The Standard*, February 2, 2015, 31), the Ekegusii language could be extinct in another fifty years 'unless urgent measures to promote its use are established', and he lamented that at home children were encouraged to speak Kiswahili and English, while at school they were 'punished for speaking their mother tongue'.

This situation is attributed to the historically privileged position granted by the language policy in Kenya to Kiswahili and English as the national and official languages respectively. There is therefore need to reconsider the place of the MTs in the curriculum of both urban-based and rural-based primary schools with a view to accommodating them. This researcher therefore, proposes that the government of Kenya puts in place special programmes that will enhance teaching and learning of MTs. Regarding language planning, UNESCO (2003a) suggests that the language spoken by the single largest group within the target population should be considered

in the education system of a country. This however, may not be a solution, because it will only create a new ethno-linguistic hegemony in the face of which other codes will fade out. What is needed is the strong will and proper planning to stem attrition of endangered codes, such as Logoli and Ekegusii. The effort that has been put by the government in encouraging the learning of foreign languages such as French and Chinese in Kenya today should be equally directed towards encouraging the MTs in Kenya.

It is therefore suggested that firstly, the specialists in the various languages need to be encouraged to write books in these MTs. These books can be used in the lower primary level of the school system. Secondly, steps should be taken by the government to encourage establishment of FM radio stations in these various languages. This could encourage effective participation, of mother-tongue speakers of the various languages, in various programmes such as entertainment, news, and suitable educational and language awareness programmes.

6.5.2 Direction for further research

The study on the Logoli speech community has demonstrated clear trends that emerge when languages are in contact. It is here observed that not many other languages in Kenya, have been the focus of this kind of in-depth study. There is therefore, the need for such research to be undertaken among other ethno-linguistic groups in Kenya. These studies need not necessarily be only on code-switching, but should include other issues relating to language contact and change, such as speech accommodation, ethno-linguistic vitality, and language shift and maintenance, among others. A question that could be explored is why it is easy for some speech communities to tend to lose their language while others seem to retain theirs, yet all the communities face more or less the same social factors.

The case of the emergence of Sheng demands deeper study than has so far been done. According to some educators, Sheng is posing a serious threat to learning both Kiswahili and English. In both primary and secondary schools complaints have emerged to the effect that the learners are fluent neither in English or Kiswahili, and that this is affecting not just the spoken

but also the written English and Kiswahili. The alleged negative effects of this development with respect to fluency of the two are acknowledged by the Kenya National Examination Council. There is need for in-depth research on the structural features of Sheng and its impact on the other two languages as that informed decision can be made by education authorities.

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APPENDIX I

Questionnaire

My name is J.K. Gimode. I am a member of staff of the Department of English and Linguistics at Kenyatta University. I am a researcher interested in conducting a Ph.D study on code-switching among the Logoli speech community in Kangemi informal settlement area of Nairobi. I therefore wish to get the opinion of these speakers. Your response will be used for the purposes of this study only.

Please return the questionnaire between November 30th, 2011 and April 30th, 2012.

Tick in the bracket or fill in the spaces whichever is appropriate.

QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION A

Background Information

1. When did you first come to Nairobi?.....
2. State the Luyia dialect you speak ?.....
3. State the name of the place where you live in Kangemi.....
4. What is your age?
(i) 15-25 years () (ii) 25-35 years ()
(iii) 35-45 years () (iv) 45-55 years ()
(v) Above 55 years ()
5. Tick against your level of education from the options below.
(i) KCPE () (ii) KCSE () (iii) Certificate () (iv) Diploma () (v) Degree () (vi) Any other ()

SECTION B

6. In which public domain have you observed alternation of codes taking place in the process of day-to-day conversations?

.....

.....

.....

7. List in order of dominance the use of the three codes (Lulogoli, Kiswahili, and English) in the public domain(s) mentioned in question 6 above.

(i) Most dominant.....

(ii) Dominant.....

(iii) Less dominant.....

8. Using the scale; (i) *always* (ii) *sometimes* and (iii) *rarely*, indicate in the table below the use of the three codes by the different members of the nucleus family.

Nucleus family members	Code use		
	Lulogoli	Kiswahili	English
Mother			
Father			
Sister(s)			
Brother(s)			

9. What in your opinion is the reason given for switching Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English in day-to-day conversations?

.....

.....

.....

10. Use the following scale to indicate your opinion about the mixing of different codes when interacting with other people.

Opinion on mixing of codes	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Mixing codes is useful to me				
I will encourage people to mix codes				
I should always mix codes				
I should sometimes mix codes				
I should never mix codes				
Use of Lulogoli is likely to die because of code mixing				

APPENDIX II

Noun Classes in Kiswahili

Noun Classes in Kiswahili		
number	Class	Object/description
1	mu-	m-tu (person)
2	wa-	wa-tu (people)
3	m-	m-ti (tree)
4	mi-	mi-ti (trees)
5	Ji-	Ji-cho (eye)
6	Ma-	Ma-cho (eyes)
7	Ki-	Ki-ti (chair)
8	vi-	vi-ti (chairs)
9	n-n	n-jia (path)
10	n-n	n-jia (paths)
11	u-u	u-limi (tongue)
12	n-	n-dimi (tongues)
13	-	Habari,kura,furaha(abstract nouns)
14	-	Nyumba(may retain original form)
15	ku-	ku-cha (nail)
16	pa-	pa-(definite place, position)
17	Ku-	Ku- (indefinite place, direction)
18	mu-	mu-(area, within, -ness)

Source: Amidu 1997 and Cammenga 2002

APPENDIX III

Noun Classes in Lulogoli

Noun Classes in Lulogoli		
number	class	Object/description
1	mu-	mu-undu (a person)
2	va-	va-andu (people)
3	mu-	mu-sala (a tree)
4	mi-	mi-sala (trees)
5	i-	i-moni (an eye)
6	zi-	zi-moni (eyes)
7	ki-	ki-rato (a shoe)
8	vi-	vi-rato (shoes)
9	i-	i-njira (path)
10	zi-	zi-njira (paths)
11	lu-	lu-limi (tongue)
12	zi-	zi-ndimi (tongues)
13	-	-
14	bu-	bu-yanzi (love, happiness)
15	lu-	lu-gendo (walk, journey)
16	lu-	lu-swi (hair)
17	a-ma-	a-ma-swi (hair/pl)
18	li-	li-gondi (sheep/sing)
19	ma-	ma-gondi (sheep/pl)
20	li-	li-suvira (belief)

Source: Own generation in comparison with Kiswahili noun classes, 2012.