

**INTER-DIALECT MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT IN THE  
CONTACT OF LUBUKUSU AND LUTACHONI**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES  
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## DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university or any other award.

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## **DEDICATION**

To my mum Emelda Nyalisi Wanjala: you fought a heart complication boldly.

That aside, you taught me and ensured that I maintained mother tongue.

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## OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

- i. **Dialect contact**                    **The interaction of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in different domains giving rise to dialect maintenance/shift**
  
- ii. **Dialect maintenance**            The choice and use of Lubukusu or Lutachoni dialects by the Bukusu and Tachoni speakers.
  
- iii. **Dialect shift**                    The replacement or displacement of Lubukusu by Lutachoni or Lutachoni by Lubukusu, in different domains by interlocutors. It is either the Bukusu speakers have been observed to replace their dialect with Lutachoni upon contact or Tachoni speakers have been observed to replace their dialect with Lubukusu upon contact in different domains.
  
- vi. **Language dominance**            The ability of a dialect having greater importance over another dialect by being in use in more domains and having more societal institution support.
  
- v. **Language variety**                Dialect(s) of a language, in this case Lubukusu and Lutachoni are dialects of Luhya language. The term will be used interchangeably with the

term dialect.

- vi. **Speech community** A group of people who speak a common dialect.  
Also called language group
- vii. **Vernacular/L1/Mother tongue** An individual's first language in this case  
Lubukusu or Lutachoni.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CCK	.....	<b>Communications Commission of Kenya</b>
CEL	.....	Centre for Endangered Languages
CIPL	.....	Permanent International Committee of Linguistics
DLR	.....	Draft Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights
EV	.....	Ethnolinguistic Vitality
GIDS/EGIDS	.....	Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale
MoI	.....	Medium of Instruction
ICCPR	.....	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICHEL	.....	International Clearinghouse for Endangered Languages
KBC	.....	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KIE	.....	Kenya Institute of Education
L1	.....	First language
L2	.....	Second language
M.O.E	.....	Ministry of Education

MRG	.....	Minority Rights Group International.
SA	.....	Salvation Army Church
SDA	.....	Seventh Day Adventist Church
UN	.....	United Nations
UNESCO	.....	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

## **ABSTRACT**

Despite efforts by the UNESCO and CIPL in devoting attention to language endangerment and introducing the ‘Red Books’ that monitor the status of threatened languages, other nongovernmental organizations like the US based Terralingua focused on promoting linguistic diversity through biodiversity, CEL for identifying endangered languages in Kenya, the Kenyan government through MoE in promoting the use of L1s at lower primary and linguists like Joshua Fishman coming up with language revitalization models, there still exists cases of minority languages being threatened by shift due to pressure from dominant languages. The purpose of this study was therefore to investigate the effect of inter-dialect contact between Lubukusu and Lutachoni in Tongaren Constituency of Bungoma North District, Bungoma County. The specific study objectives were to find out dominant dialect in the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni, investigate effects of institutional control factors in promotion of dialects and finally investigate the influence of age on language maintenance and shift. The study was guided by two theories: Ethnolinguistic vitality theory which reasons that maintenance/shift of a language is based on a group’s vitality to act collectively in intergroup situations; and Domain theory which explains the dominance of languages in domains based on the choice of interlocutors and the language they maintain in different environments for different purposes. Purposive, sampling was used to select the Bukusu and the Tachoni while stratified sampling was used to get proportions of three age groups. Simple random sampling was used to identify 33 respondents in every age group for both the Bukusu and the Tachoni. A sample size of 198 respondents was obtained. Data were collected using a closed ended questionnaire because the researcher wanted to limit the responses to the two dialects, while interview schedule was used to collect data from respondents in societal institutions. The study used mixed methods research design. Qualitative data were analyzed by content analysis to get information on institutional promotion of the dialects. Quantitative data were analyzed using frequency and percentage tables. Line and bar graphs were used to present information on the maintenance/shift patterns in the two dialects. Chart analysis tools were used to show the maintenance/shift trend of the two dialects across the different domains arranged from the less public to more public. The study found out that in the contact of the two dialects, Lubukusu is dominantly maintained in the domains used in the study. There is a significant co-relation between the dominant dialect and institutional support. These findings imply that there should be more institutional support of dialects because it does contribute to maintenance. In line with this, the study recommends that the government should reconsider licensing societal institutions that promote dialects especially in mass media and education. This will not only be significant in promoting the world’s linguistic diversity but also safeguard linguistic and cultural identity of the Tachoni. The study contributes to further research into Luhya inter-language competition phenomena focusing on Lubukusu and Lutachoni.

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the background information, review of the Luhya Language and its speakers, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research assumptions and questions, rationale, justification of the study, and finally the scope and limitations of the study.

### **1.1 Background to the study**

The terms language and dialect are not particularly easy to define because of the overlapping characteristics that keep on changing in the two terms (Trudgill, 1986). Macmillan Vol. 11 (1986) defines a dialect in terms of region and group of people. It is noted, “A dialect is a variation of a language spoken in a particular region or by a particular group of people.”(p. 593). Furthermore, dialects can also display differences in grammar, pronunciation, spelling and vocabulary. Petyt (1980) defines dialects basing on the mutual intelligibility approach. In 1980, Petyt’s study, defined dialects as varieties of a language that are different but mutually intelligible.

Based on Petyt (1980) approach, there are two key terms that are used; these are dialect continuum and mutual intelligibility. A dialect continuum is a “succession

of geographically adjacent dialects”, (Petyt 1980:P.14), while mutual intelligibility is the degree of understanding between two speakers of two different dialects when they speak, for example dialect A and B or G.

Petyt (1980) further notes that although the definition based on the above two terms can pose a challenge of distinguishing a virtually infinite number of forms of any language depending on just what linguistic features are focused on and in what detail we can have a criterion for deciding on which linguistic differences should count as differences of a dialect, and differences of a language. That is why many scholars have held essential the criterion of mutual intelligibility; dialects are different but mutually intelligible forms of a language (Petyt, 1980).

Elaborating on the same point, Petyt (1980) asserts that if two speakers, in spite of some observable differences in speech, can understand each other, then they are held to be using different dialects but of the same language. On the same note, studies by Trudgill (1986), agrees that if the speakers cannot understand each other, then they are speaking different languages. In this case, Trudgill (1986) further notes, the degree of mutual intelligibility that exists between or among the dialects on the dialect continuum is an important factor. The greater the degree above 25%, the higher the mutual intelligibility.

A dialect continuum is a “succession of geographically adjacent dialects, say A-B-C-D-E-F-G., each mutually intelligible with its neighbors.”(Petyt 1980: 14) In this case, dialect A has greater mutual intelligibility with dialect B, B has greater mutual intelligibility with dialect C, and so on, but dialect A and dialect G may have very low mutual intelligibility even if they are in the same dialect continuum. Petyt (1980) adds: “while each dialect can be understood by speakers of adjacent dialects, say D by C and E and perhaps by B and F too, the extremes (A and G) are not mutually intelligible” (P.14) This implies that it is possible to have dialects that belong to the same language group yet they are not mutually intelligible. What is obvious about this definition is that dialects close together in the dialect continuum have higher mutual intelligibility than those dialects that are further apart. If distance between dialects affects mutual intelligibility, then this can explain why Lulogooli and Lubukusu have very low mutual intelligibility. It follows that since the speakers of the two dialects are further apart and hence have limited or no interaction, the mutual intelligibility is low. At the same time, since Bukusu and the Tachoni people live in the same geographical area and are in constant interaction, the mutual intelligibility between the two dialects is high.

Information on interaction of dialects in a bilingual setting addresses not only the behavior of dialects in contact, but the characteristics of the speakers. (Myers-Scotton, 2002). Myers-Scotton (2002) further says it is impossible to address dialect contact without addressing bilingualism because characteristics of dialects

that are in contact arise from two or more speakers of two or more different dialects. The speakers of the two dialects are also in contact, hence bilingualism. She notes: “Of course what language contact typically involves is that speakers of one language meet speakers of another language and, then (for various reasons) one group may learn the other’s language.” (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 5). This means that depending on various reasons and interactive situations, speakers of one dialect can learn the dialect of other speakers. Looking at the effects of the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni meant looking at the choice that speakers of Lubukusu and the speakers of Lutachoni make to maintain or shift as they interact in different interaction places.

As noted by Fishman (1977), there are different interactive situations in which speakers make a choice on what dialect to maintain when they come in contact. These interactive situations technically called domains of language use (Fishman, 1977) are the different places in which speakers use their language or dialect. Thus there are 9 domains of language use arranged from the less public to more public. These are: home, cultural, social, worship, education, business, road/street, government administration and mass media. This study sought to find out how the speakers of Lubukusu and Lutachoni maintain or shift in their dialects upon contact in different domains.

According to Giles et al (1977), dialect maintenance and shift occur when dialects in the same region come in contact. Dialect maintenance is the protection of the first language in an individual or within a speech community (Baker and Jones, 1998), while dialect shift is the process whereby a speech community shifts from using its dialect to speak another dialect hence their dialect is replaced with the new dialect. This is in line with Scotton's (2002) observation, that when one group (speech community) learns the dialect of another group, it means that one dialect is being maintained while at the same time another dialect is shifting or being abandoned by its speakers. Using Fishman's (1977) question, we can find out how speakers maintain or shift in the use of their dialects in different domains as shown below.

In this study, Fishman's (1977) question *who speaks what, when to whom and where* was important. (The italics are mine). For the purposes of this research, the researcher subjected the statement to further modification. Only three questions were used, thus *who speaks what, and where?* This was aimed at capturing data on *who* the speakers are in terms of ethnicity and age, *what* dialect they maintain in terms of Lubukusu and Lutachoni and finally, *where* are the speakers maintaining the dialect in terms of domains.

When speakers of a dialect maintain or shift from their dialect to another dominant dialect in the region, Myers-Scotton (2002) it is motivated by factors of

Ethnolinguistic Vitality, Giles et al., (1977). These factors are demographic factors, societal institutional support and status. The presence of these factors means that the vitality of a speech community is high, thus their dialect will be maintained. On the other hand, the absence of the factors is an indicator that the vitality of the group is low, thus a speech community will shift from their dialect to another dominantly used dialect in the region. Appel and Muysken (1987) notes that high vitality impresses on the maintenance of a dialect, while low vitality impacts negatively on its existence, hence dialect shift or loss: “the more vitality a group is, the more likely it will survive” (p.33)

The above explanation suggests that in a region there is a possibility of the maintained dialect by speakers being the dominant dialect, thus the concept of dialect dominance, as suggested by Fishman (1977). This is characteristic of bilingual societies where one or more dialects in the region dominate others. In addition to this, different domains in which a dialect is used as noted by Fishman (1972) indicate the dominant status of a dialect depending on how many domains a dialect is maintained by speakers. Speakers may maintain one dialect in one domain and shift to another dialect in another domain depending on a variety of factors, for example, a dialect may be dominantly used in a societal institution like mass media and have an impact on speakers of other dialects to look at it with prestige. They can shift to the dialect whenever they want to communicate in the domain.

Some of the societal institutions that promote the maintenance of a language are education, religion and mass media, Giles et al., (1977). In Fishman (1977) it is noted that the use of a language in education institutions can promote maintenance or shift of a language when children learn reading and comprehension in that particular language. Giles et al., (1987) add that this contributes to the vitality of the speech community that speaks the dialect as its L1. Maffi (1997) states that education is one of the most important sectors that can promote and give children an “..opportunity to learn their parents’ idiom fully and properly so that they become at least proficient as the parents..”. (p.49). The school has an important role to play in providing pupils with cultural identity and contributing to greater self-confidence by teaching them about the history and literature of their language, Crystal (2000). Maffi, (1997) adds that as more children around the world get access to education, much of the learning that took place in the community must happen in schools. This is in line with the UN Charter, Art.13; of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), in Maffi (1997). The article reiterates on equal opportunities of all languages in the world to be promoted in education.

The use of a dialect in the education of a child cannot be overlooked or even be based on any reason (whether minor or major). A child should not be denied the right to learn in the first language or mother tongue. This view has even been documented in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National

or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (adopted in 1992) as noted in Maffi (1997). Articles 1.1, 1.2, and 4.3, emphasizes on the fact that states should protect and put in place legislations that ensure people from minority communities have adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue and even have instruction in their mother tongue. Similar opinion is also echoed by the Draft Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (DLR), where Linguistic rights of individuals are given an emphasis.

The Koech Education Report (1999), recommendation 15.7 (as cited in Githinji and Wanjohi, 2010) notes that the first language of a child should be used in the transmission of knowledge skills and attitudes in the children's early years in school. This means that the language of instruction for children in their early years of learning should be their L1. This recommendation, although has a lot of limitations in its application, attributes to the use of the L1 in the education domain as a language of instruction at lower primary (STD 1-3). Furthermore, various education commissions namely, Ominde (1964), Gachathi (1976) and Kamunge (1988), have recognized and recommended the use of L1 in children's language development in school (as cited in Githinji and Wanjohi 2010).

However, all along before even independence, the promotion of indigenous Kenyan languages in education has not been holistic. The Beecher report 1949 recommended only 20 Kenyan mother tongues in primary schools. (Githinji and

Wanjohi, 2010) Considering that there are over forty indigenous Kenyan languages, there are still more indigenous languages that are yet to be promoted in the education institution and have even lacked teaching materials. By 1976, only fifteen indigenous Kenyan languages had literacy materials including Lubukusu. Later, there was an addition of seven languages as noted by Githinji and Wanjohi (2010), but Lutachoni is not on the list.

From the foregoing discussions, it is evident that the role of societal institutional support in the promotion of a dialect and the maintenance of a dialect in different domains has far reaching effects in the maintenance of a dialect. Societal institutions namely, education, mass media, religion just to mention a few, can contribute to the maintenance of a dialect if they promote the use of a dialect.

This study sought to look at the promotion of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in societal institutions like education to find out how the two dialects are supported because (as noted above) promotion of a language in education is a factor in language maintenance and shift.

Mass media is a societal institution that can have an influence on the maintenance of a language because it can “..reach and influence large numbers of people.” (Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary 2010: 913) The use of a language in the mass media promotes the maintenance of that particular language because of the

fact that people access information and other related services in the language being used, thus they maintain the language. The use of a language on radio for example, contributes to its maintenance because when listeners listen to broadcasts, they will always listen to the broadcasts in the language being used. Even if the language being used is not the L1 of the listeners, they will learn the language being used on radio so that they have the privilege of getting broadcasts. Fishman (1977) notes that the introduction and use of Spanish on radio broadcasts made Nahuatl speakers to shift to Spanish. Nahuatl speakers found Spanish a better option when they wanted to listen to radio broadcasts. Thus they shifted to Spanish.

Fishman (1977) identifies age is an important variable of language use. On this, both Appel and Muysken (1987) and Fishman (1977), identify three age groups, namely the Young age, The Middle age, and The Old age. It is noted by Fishman 1977 that a language which is spoken only by a few old aged members of society is in danger of shift when all the old aged die. This means that there will be no members of the language group who will speak the language. An example is given of the last speaker of Cornish Language, Dolly Pentreath, who died in 1777, being the last speaker of Cornish. Appel and Muysken, (1987) notes: “when Dolly Pentreath died in December 1777 the last speaker of Cornish passed away” (p.32). The same fate befell two of Celtic languages, namely Cornish and Manx, Musk (2002). Musk (2002), notes that the power differential between the majority and

minority language groups, in regard to a language group's access to economic, political, legislative, cultural or educational resources, can lead to death of minority language in favour of the dominant language. Musk (2002) notes:

This is the fate (language death) that befell two of the Celtic languages, Cornish and Manx, which died out as native languages with the death of the last native speakers in 1777 and 1974 respectively. (p.67)

This section ends by looking at the term minority. The Minority Rights Group International MRG (2005), defines the term minority in three perspectives namely, religious, ethnic, linguistic and indigenous minorities. MRG (2005) goes ahead to say that recognizing these groups in any state contributes to the preservation of their identities hence enables them to obtain equality with other groups (majority) in that state including political recognition and participation in development matters. This is one of the core principles of UNESCO, and Council of Europe.

Linguistic minority is similar to ethnic minority because basically every ethnic group speaks its own language, MRG (2005). But to be more precise, the Kenyan constitution recognizes only two languages, English and Kiswahili, MRG (2005). Institutions like education, legislature, and judiciary dominantly use the above two languages although English has an official status and is also language of instruction in education institutions (Muaka, 2011) and Kiswahili is the national language, (MRG, 2005). This makes all other languages in Kenya carry the minority status which are increasingly becoming endangered, MRG (2005).

MRG (2005) states:

The Kenyan constitution recognizes only two languages: English and Kiswahili. Kiswahili is the national language and English is the official language. Other languages are not officially recognized as national or official, save as 'mother tongues' (or 'first languages'). This makes all the African languages spoken in Kenya, apart from Kiswahili, carry the minority status. These minority languages are increasingly becoming endangered and yet more have become extinct including Malakote and Terik. (p.10)

Based on the Constitution of Kenya review commission report on culture of August (2003) and MRG (2005), and assuming that ethnic groups invariably speak their own language, (MRG (2005), MRG (2005) lists 52 main ethnolinguistic minorities in Kenya (See appendix 6), which can be thought of as the indigenous Kenyan languages.

Kebeya (1997) notes that Lubukusu and Lutachoni are dialects of Luhya Language spoken in Western of Province. It follows that if Luhya is under threat, it means even its dialects are under threat. The constant interaction of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in the region of study is worth investigating to establish if the allegations of MRG (2005) hold any water.

Given the above background, this study sought to find out dialect maintenance and shift affecting two varieties of Luhya Language namely Lubukusu and Lutachoni and the factors behind the maintained and shifted dialect in the course of their interaction. This is in view of the fact that factors of ethnolinguistic vitality may influence maintenance or shift of dialects. In addition, a mismatch in the

power relations between majority and minority dialect, Musk (2002) can activate maintenance or shift of a dialect.

## **1.2 Luhya Language and its speakers**

The Luhya Language has 17 dialects, Kebeya (1997). These dialects are mutually intelligible forming a dialect continuum. Lubukusu and Lutachoni dialects are majorly spoken in Bungoma County. The Tachoni are mainly concentrated in areas around Ndivisi, Lutacho, Lutacho Luguusi and its neighborhood and partly Tongaren. The Bukusu are spread out in the entire Bungoma County and even parts of Trans-Nzoia County and Lugari district.

The Baluhya or Abaluhya people who occupy majorly Western Province of Kenya migrated from eastern Uganda, Ogot (1965). This is because of their linguistic and cultural orientation that is similar to the Banyole, Basamia, Bagisu and Basoga of Eastern Uganda, Were (1967).

According to the traditions of Baluhya, Bagisu, Bamasaba and Babukusu, they were originally a united community in a country identified as “Misri” from where they all migrated southwards through Ethiopia. Were, (1967). One group moved to settle at a place called Esamoya (Jinja). After some time a few of them migrated northwards to new lands. This group that migrated and settled in New lands are The Babukusu, while the group that remained behind are Bamasaba and Bagisu,

(Were 1967). Were continues to note that it is evident the history of Bagisu is linked to the Luhya sub group of Babukusu with whom they share a similar language.

The Tachoni sub group of Luhya, also called Abatachoni was staying in Mt Elgon with Abang'oma and that they lost their identity in the Kalenjin tribe of Mt Elgon. (Were, 1967) He adds that the Tachoni moved southern from Mt Elgon and finally settled at Ndivisi where they were neighbours with Bukusu and got assimilated into the Luhya community. In Were (1967) it is noted:

The Abatachoni and Abang'oma were formerly one people and they were also neighbours. They were also one people with the Abalako (BOK) and Konyi (Kony). However, they were not related to the Nandi and the Uasin Gishu Maasai. (p.63)

### **1.3 Statement of the problem.**

Despite efforts by international bodies like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in collaboration with other organizations like Permanent International Committee of Linguists (CIPL), International Clearinghouse for Endangered Languages (ICHEL), UNESCO's International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (CIPSH), developing the Red Books that monitor the status of threatened languages by continent or region; several committees and NGOs like the Foundation for endangered Languages (UK) that works towards the global awareness on language endangerment situation, nongovernmental organizations like US based Terralingua

that is uniquely devoted to promoting world linguistic diversity and exploring links between linguistic and biological diversity, Maffi (2000), MRG working in partnership with CEMIRIDE to secure the rights of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities and indigenous peoples in Kenya and worldwide, individual linguists like Joshua Fishman who have developed models for language revitalization and promotion, the government of Kenya through the Ministry of Education introducing the use of indigenous Kenyan languages to be used at school in lower primary as languages of instruction, and the Centre for Endangered Languages (CEL) in Kenya aimed at documenting and promoting vitalities of indigenous Kenyan languages, there still abounds cases of minority languages being threatened by extinction due to ever increasing pressure from dominant languages and there is not much research on the linguistic diversities in Africa Nettle and Romaine (2001). This creates gaps in ascertaining some needed facts about the linguistic situation of indigenous languages in Africa, Muaka (2011), and the pressure exerted by a dominant language can make a dominated language to undergo a reduction in the number of contexts (domains) that it was initially the choice of its speakers, including the once fluent adults Maffi (1997). Appel and Muysken (1987) notes that this pressure is a characteristic of bilingual societies, where language competition is created making some languages to emerge dominant, Fishman (1977) and thus exert pressure on the less dominated languages to shift, Baker and Jones (1998).

Myers-Scotton (2002) notes that contact linguistics is a little studied area of linguistics and many cases of how language contact affects languages seem to pass unnoticed for most linguistic research is done in one language at a time. Furthermore, indigenous languages of Kenya are in themselves never the same in vitality and relatively smaller ones have continued to experience greater pressure from neighbouring languages when they come in contact (Mgambi, 2002). Since language contact situations characterize maintenance and shift, (Winford, 2003), it is also possible that the different vitalities above can unnoticeably activate gradual language loss/shift of a minor language and at the same time contribute to maintenance of the dominant language when they come in contact. This scenario could finally lead to members of a language group losing their linguistic and cultural identity; yet language identity is one of the key aspects of recognizing rights of the indigenous peoples that enables them to obtain equality with other groups in a state and participating in political as well as in development matters, MRG, (2005). It is with this in mind that this study sought to investigate the effects of contact between Lubukusu and Lutachoni, dialects of Luhya Language spoken in Tongaren constituency of Bungoma North District, Western Province of Kenya.

#### **1.4 Objectives of the study**

- (i) To find out dominant dialect in the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni.
- (ii) Investigate relationship between societal institutional support of Lubukusu and Lutachoni and their dominance.
- (iii) Investigate relationship between age and maintenance/shift of Lubukusu and Lutachoni contact.

#### **1.5 Research questions**

- (i) What is the dominantly maintained dialect in the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni?
- (ii) What relationship holds between societal institutional support of Lubukusu and Lutachoni and their dominance?
- (iii) What is the relationship between age and maintenance /shift of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in their contact?

#### **1.6 Research assumptions**

- (i) There is a likelihood of dialect dominance in Lubukusu/Lutachoni contact.
- (ii) There is likelihood of a relationship between societal institutional support of Lubukusu and Lutachoni and their dominance.
- (iii) There is a possibility of a relationship between age and the maintenance/shift in the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni.

## **1.7 Justification of the study**

With an exception of the languages used by the deaf people, Africa has one of the highest linguistic diversity in the world with more than 30% of the worlds 5000-7000 oral languages spoken today, Maffi (2000). However, there is not much research on the linguistic diversities in Africa (Nettle and Romaine, 2001). Muaka (2011) notes that this creates gaps in ascertaining some needed facts about the linguistic situation of indigenous languages in Africa. Hence, this study attempts to fill the gap of ascertaining some facts about the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni dialects of Luhya Language found in Kenya, Bungoma County. This research sought to add new knowledge on the list of studies on language maintenance and shift of two indigenous dialects of Africa, based in Kenya.

Kenya is a multilingual country both at societal and individual level, Muaka (2011). Most Kenyans have an option of three languages at their disposal: the official languages English and Kiswahili, National Language, Kiswahili and the different indigenous mother tongues of Kenya. Adams (2012) notes:

.. in Kenya, as in other African countries, indigenous languages suffer the disadvantage of existing alongside English, Kiswahili or a mixture of both (known as Sheng in Kenya) which may be attributed to the difficult choices based on the politics of policy in a multilingual set-up. (p.99) ([http://www.ijhssnet.com/journals/Vol\\_2\\_No\\_4\\_Special\\_Issue\\_February\\_2012/13.pdf](http://www.ijhssnet.com/journals/Vol_2_No_4_Special_Issue_February_2012/13.pdf))

Mugambi (2002) concurs that English and Kiswahili dominate because they are given official recognition while indigenous languages are not. Since the

indigenous languages are themselves never the same in vitality, relatively smaller languages have experienced greater pressure, sometimes from neighboring languages in addition to English and Kiswahili. This research acknowledges the fact that there have been researches that have shown the dominance of English and Kiswahili because they have been given official recognition, Mugambi (2002). Researches on dominance statuses of the different indigenous Kenyan languages and their influence upon the neighboring languages are limited. This study addresses the limitations realized in the interaction of Kenyan indigenous languages in which some emerge dominant exerting their dominance pressure on the less dominated; in this regard focusing on the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni.

Reports abound of some minor Kenyan dialects that are under the threat of shift or death; some considered to be dialects of other dominant languages, when they are actually full languages. This Kenyan scenario is not different from other parts of the world inhabited by diverse linguistic families living in varied social and economic structures that in themselves become sources of their dialect abandonment towards the dominant languages. In a UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group document on Endangered Languages, it is noted that many indigenous peoples, associating their disadvantaged social position with their culture, have come to believe that their languages are not worth retaining, hence they abandon their languages and cultures in the hope of overcoming discrimination, to secure a

livelihood, and enhance social mobility, or to assimilate to the global marketplace UNESCO (2003). Information on the linguistic diversity of indigenous Kenyan languages and dialects and their vitalities is an area that has a knowledge gap. In this regard, I wish to note that this research endeavored to present to the world information on how some ethnolinguistic factors are at play in the maintenance and shift affecting interaction two Kenyan indigenous languages found in Bungoma County, Tongaren Constituency.

That aside, there lacks definite documentary evidence on the exact number of languages or dialects spoken in Kenya. Some put the figure at 42 in line with the 42 ethnic groups in Kenya while others put the figure at 40, Mugambi (2002). Muaka, (2011) identifies 61 languages while Batibo (2005) asserts that there are 56 indigenous languages in Kenya of which 13 are highly endangered, Adams, (2012). With this contradictory statistics, it is evident that much has not been done to document the linguistic diversity of Kenyan dialects from the grassroots. Since the approach of this study is from the grassroots, it is hoped this will in the long run add to the final tally of the linguistic diversity in Kenya.

Most literature on Lubukusu concentrates on the historical and structural concerns of the dialect. On the other hand, Lutachoni is a dialect that has missed the eyes of researchers for a long time and even been thought to be a dialect of Lubukusu. Makila (1967) looks at an in-depth discussion on the history of the Babukusu.

Were (1967) and Ogot (1965) looked at the history of the Abaluhya in which the Bukusu sub group of Bungoma County is also dealt with. Other pioneer studies by Mutonyi (1986) looks at the morphosyntactic and formal styles of Lubukusu among other studies. This study is a move away from the historical and structural concerns of Lubukusu. The study looked at the characteristics of contact between Lubukusu and Lutachoni hence putting Lutachoni in limelight of researchers.

Kebeya (1997) looks at linguistic accommodation between two related Luhya dialects: Logooli and Lwitakho. Indeed this study acknowledges the fact that Kebeya's research was one of the most informative on how Logooli and Lwitakho dialects interact. My study furthers information on two more dialects of Luhya Language namely Lubukusu and Lutachoni.

### **1.8 Scope and limitations of the study**

Interactional sociolinguistics examines how speakers use language with others. Speakers vary their use of accents, dialects or language to communicate by telling stories, making jokes, teasing one another or arguing. As speakers interact, their languages will also come in contact (Myers-Scotton, 2002), and for various reasons, one group may learn the others language, and shift. In this case, in language contact situation, two types of bilingualism can be distinguished: individual and societal, Essowe, (2009). Societal bilingualism occurs when in a given society two or more languages are spoken, Appel and Muysken (1987), and

that societal bilingualism often leads to language shift, Lieberson (1980) This study was concerned with societal bilingualism occurring between Lubukusu and Lutachoni to establish how it arises and if there are any patterns of shift and maintenance in relation to age. The study did not look at the structural aspects of language namely, grammar, syntax, morphology and phonology because of the theoretical framework in use and the fact that there are pioneer studies that have already looked at the same aspects in Lubukusu.

Lubukusu and Lutachoni are among the 17 dialects of Luhya Language, Kebeya (1997) found majorly in Bungoma County. Tongaren Constituency (formerly Tongaren Division) happens to be dominated by speakers of Lubukusu and Lutachoni. Since this study was based on the contact and outcome of the two dialects, it means that the region of study provides the best interaction environment between Lubukusu and Lutachoni.

Finally, this study did not look at language in those aged five years and below because language learning in children has varied views (Johnstone, 2002; Blondin et. al, 1998). The question of when to start teaching a child the second language in addition to the child's L1, is still a topic of investigation. In addition, results from pilot studies showed that the language situation in those aged five years and below had a lot of discrepancies in terms of shift. Most respondents below five years were inclined to maintenance of their L1 and the responses were limited in (at

most) two domains: Home and cultural. Thus this study did not include those aged five years and below.

### **1.9 Summary of chapter one**

The above section has looked at the background information, a brief history of the Luhya Language and its speakers, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, and assumptions, justification of the study and finally scope and limitations.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This section discusses different studies on dialect maintenance and shift, dialect dominance, domains of language use, relationship between domains and societal institutional support, age and language use and theoretical framework that guided this study

#### **2.1 Language maintenance and shift**

The terms language maintenance (LM) and language shift (LS) are two topics that frequently emerge in discussions about the status of language in bilingual societies (Kadrebeogo, 1998). Winford (2003) notes that language contact situations can display three characteristics: language shift, language maintenance or creation of a new language.

Although there lacks a universal and clear definition on the two terms, Knooihuizen (2011) outlines three broad areas that encompass the phenomenon of language shift. First is the changing pattern of language use based on Fishman's (1972) domain analysis approach. Gradual replacement of L1 by a dominant language in a particular domain will indicate a change in the pattern of language use. The second issue is the idea that language shift happens in a speech

community and that it can be studied at the individual level (psycholinguistically) or at societal level (societal bilingualism). The third and final issue has to do with language shift that happens in contact situations where two or more speakers come in contact and for various reasons, one learns the others language (Myers-Scotton, 2002).

Winford (2003) notes that language shift can be the result of extensive language contact, borrowing and code switching, while language maintenance on the other hand can arise from the mechanisms of borrowing and code switching. Kadrebeogo (1998) adds that several terms can be used to describe the same phenomena, for example on language shift terms like: language loss, language attrition, and language death or language obsolescence are used. Other terms that are used include language transfer, language replacement or assimilation (<http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-a-language-shift.htm>)

On the other hand, Baker and Jones (2008) define language maintenance as the promotion or protection of the native language in an individual or within a speech community. Maintenance of a language is when a language maintains its vitality even under pressure, Batibo (2005). Aswegen (2008) further notes that language maintenance is the resistance that a language shows to being replaced by another language. The replacement in this case may imply that the domains in which L1 is used by a speech community remain largely the same and the transmission of the

language to the children is active and as perfect as possible and the number of speakers remains relatively stable and they maintain a strong allegiance to their language (Batibo, 2005).

Language maintenance can also be referred to by different terms. Kadrebeogo (1998) notes that different terms are used to talk about language status, alternatively referring to the number of speakers of a language, prestige of the language, its economic power, legal status, use or functionality. It is also stated that the terms used for the majority language or language of the majority can vary from scholar to scholar, namely, mostly used language, dominant language, big language or strong language, Kadrebeogo (1998). He further notes that using any of the synonyms above refers to one and the same thing: language maintenance. Khan (2008) agrees that all terms are used to explain events which refer to language maintenance and that other areas of research that often overlap with language maintenance and shift are code-switching, code mixing and inter-language variation.

LS phenomena can be attributed to Haugen's (1953) work, when he documented the decline of Norwegian in the United States as recorded in Essowe (2009). As noted in Essowe (2009), Haugen's study showed evidence that the maintenance of Norwegian was gradually declining, hence indicating a gradual shift that was being experienced. Consequently, when people or a speech community change

their first language of communication (L1), or when indigenous language of a people is replaced with regional or global language, or language of immigrant populations is replaced with the dominant language of the host country, it means that the community is shifting from their own L1. (<http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-a-language-shift.htm>).

Investigation on interaction of languages and people, take place in bilingual setting where information on languages in contact does also address the speakers of the dialects. In this case, we have LM on one side and LS on another side. As put by Tsitsipis (1998) the phenomena of LM and LS concerns aspects of language dynamics where shift is a processual outcome of inside and outside forces stemming from regional, national and global conditions as well as locally determined agencies.

For the purpose of this study, Aswegen's (2008), Paulston, (1985) and Stoessel (2002) definitions were adopted. In the definitions, Aswegen notes that language shift is a situation in which one language in contact with a more dominant language, within a nation, or a region over a period of time, "is partially or completely replaced by the dominant language" (p. 29). Paulston (1985), Stoessel (2002) add that this can happen in some or all of the domains in which the L1 was used.

The appropriateness of the above definition for this research was based on the fact that they mention shift and maintenance in relation to domains, dominance and contact; aspects that were the concern of this study. This is also in line with Fishman's (1964) domain theory that focuses on the maintenance of a language in different domains and that a language that dominates in a domain becomes the choice of interlocutors.

Studies on language maintenance and shift have continued to receive attention from scholars since Fishman (1966) work which looked at the maintenance of ethnic mother tongues of the American immigrants in the US. In his work, Fishman observed that the use of a language in societal institutions like the church, education and mass media plays an important role in the maintenance of a dialect.

Fishman (1972) gives an example of Germanic immigrants who maintained their ethnic language because of using it as a language of the Lutheran church and that the use of ethnic mother tongues in schools in the U S, reinforced comprehension, reading, and speaking. From the above two studies, it is evident that the promotion of a language in societal institutions like education and worship has far reaching effects on its maintenance. It was the aim of this study to investigate the promotion of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in different societal institutions like education, worship, and mass media, to find out how the two dialects are promoted and if the promotion has any relationship with dominance of the two dialects under study

## **2.2 Factors in language maintenance and shift.**

This sub-section looks at factors that affect the maintenance, or shift of a language in a speech community. Milroy and Milroy (1985) used an approach called “social network” or “friend of a friend” to study language variation. Using the above approach, Milroy and Milroy established that variation in a language is brought about by factors of outside influence or when members of a speech community go out of their social network and interact with other communities, hence bringing into their language new ideas, concepts, vocabularies and even lifestyles. It is further pointed out that this becomes a source of variation in a language hence with time; a variety (dialect) of a language can emerge marking the beginning of language shift in a speech community (Milroy and Milroy, 1985).

The above findings concur with the findings at <http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-a-language-shift.htm>, which notes that isolation, distribution and population of speakers of a language contributes to maintenance or shift of a language in the sense that if a group of people are isolated on an island or deep in the forest, “they may have a better chance of maintaining their language since they have less interaction with others” (<http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-a-language-shift.htm>) Moreover, if the population of speakers is concentrated in the same places, there are high chances of maintenance of their language because there is stronger cultural ties between speakers of a language which lessen the likelihood that a complete shift will occur (Crystal, 2000). An example can make this clear:

Tamil speakers in Malaysia, for instance, have largely retained their own language as a result of cultural and religious differences with their Malay-speaking neighbors. Native Tamil speakers may learn either Malay or English in schools, but generally are unlikely to intermarry or culturally assimilate with the larger Malay cultural group. (<http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-a-language-shift.htm>).

In Myers Scotton, (2002) we find that in bilingual encounters, speakers of one language meet the speakers of another language, and then for various reasons, one group learns the other groups' language. Myers Scotton (2002) notes: "Of course what language contact typically involves is that speakers of one language meet speakers of another language and, then -for various reasons- one group may learn the other's language" (p. 5).

What the foregoing studies imply is that in bilingual societies, the development of a new *variety* of a language in a group can involve the assimilation and adaptation (borrowing) of words from the dominant dialect that is in contact with the dialect of the minority speakers. It can also involve members of a speech community bringing new terms from elsewhere because of their interaction with members of other language groups. The dominated dialect undergoes gradual shift as more and more of its members continue to assimilate and use new terms and concepts of the dominant dialect.

In line with the above maintenance and shift factors, is the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality, Giles et al. (1977), Giles and Johnson (1987), Bourhis

et al. (1981) and Appel and Muysken (1987). This is a group's commitment which drives the tendency for people to behave in terms of their group membership, Ehala (2010). The group's commitment, also called *boundedsolidarity*, Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) is the feeling of unity that often arises from real or perceived threats to the group (Ehala, 2010). The concept contains three socialcultural factors namely, status, demographic and institutional support which may combine to permit an ethnolinguistic minority to survive as a distinctive group (Muaka 2011). Giles et al (1977) define ethnolinguistic vitality as what "makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations." (p.308)

### **2.3 Dialect dominance**

In linguistics, dominance is a phenomenon introduced by Weinrich (1951), where among other factors he mentioned the relative proficiency of an individual in a language as an indicator of how dominantly one uses a language. Fishman (1977) adds that speakers choose which language to use when and where depending on what they want to say. The more the domains in which a particular language is used by speakers determines how dominantly the language is maintained by the speakers (Fishman 1977)

As noted by Appel and Muysken (1987), cultural values are another important factor because cultural similarity and dissimilarity are important indicators of

dialect maintenance and shift in bilingual societies where two or more languages are in contact. Baker and Jones (1998), stress on the bilingual nature of society where we find the use of the term dominance. They note that in most cases studies on dominance of languages, look at bilingual societies where two or several languages are in contact. They further note: “In the majority of bilinguals one language is more dominant than the others.” (p.12). On the same note, Fishman’s (1977) approach based on domains argues that if a dialect is used by a speech community in more domains as compared to other dialects within the region, then it follows that the dialect in question is the dominantly used by interlocutors.

#### **2.4 Domains of language use**

The concept of domain was first used by Schimidt Rohr (1952) as cited in Fishman (1966) and later popularized by Fishman. Fishman (1972) defines a domain as a social-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationship between communicators and locales of communication in accord with the institutions of society and spheres of speech community. Landweer (1991) says that speakers choose which language to use every time they interact, and cumulative choices then suggest which of the languages in the community’s repertoire, is the language of choice for each domain. ([http://www.sil.org/sociolx/ndg\\_indicators.html](http://www.sil.org/sociolx/ndg_indicators.html).) Domains attempt to designate major clusters of interaction situations that are common in multilingual settings, the different roles that different languages play for example, is it a national or

official language of the people in the region, Fishman (1977). The domains are arranged from the less public to more public in terms of language maintenance namely home/family, cultural, social, worship/religion, education, business/ trade, government services, road/street, mass media.

The most important domain of language use, and the last to be lost in any language use characteristic, is the home or family domain and parents have an important role to play. (Landweer 1991, 2008; Fishman 1977) It is an ‘anchor’ domain and usually the last to be replaced (Adams, 2012). The home or family domain is depended on by a multilingual society; it is common and the fact that it has family subdivisions into role relations of family members where family members have to use their L1 to communicate (Fishman, 1972, 1977). It is the most private (or less public) domain where the maintained language is in most cases the L1 and (Veltman, 1983), reasons that the language used by parents has a lot of impact on the choice of language by their children, thus if the parents decide to use a specific language with their children, the proceeding generation may also use the same language with their children.

The more the domains in which the vernacular or indigenous language is used the more vital a language is, Adams et al., (2012). In a study by Giddens (1989), the Puerto Rican Society in New York used Spanish regularly in family discourse but would shift to English in education and employment domains. The use of domain

in language maintenance and shift studies is thus important in capturing information on language status in different interactive situations in a speech community because it describes which code or codes are usually selected for use or maintained in different situations.

The next two domains are also fundamental. These are cultural and social domains. Landweer (1991) identifies marriage, funerals, births, naming ceremonies, harvesting, circumcision ceremonies and public functions as activities of cultural domain in which language choice is important. In these different situations, members of a speech community will choose and use a language that will serve them better. Second, there are other cultural functions that demand the use of the particular dialect of a speech community, for example in administering oaths to the initiates, it is important that L1 is used.

In the social domain, the language used in political campaigns, work parties, sports and adjudication is important (Landweer, 2008), although Fishman (1977) identifies courts as a domain on its own, just like public functions or government, is under cultural domain in Fishman's category. Adams (2012) states that domains are constellations of other factors such as topic, location and participants. Because of the nature of participants, Muaka (2012) notes:

Although political leaders and government officers operate in domains where the use of English is predominant they realize that ordinary people do not necessarily have a good command of English language. It is not

surprising therefore, that during political campaign seasons politicians use the local languages or Kiswahili to present their agenda. (p. 228)

Education is a powerful language maintenance institution as identified by Fishman (1972) study in America. The establishment of ethnic group schools in which indigenous ethnic mother tongues were used, helped in reinforcing comprehension, reading and speaking in addition to making learners develop loyalty in the language.

Language policies in Kenya are more pronounced in institutions like education, legislature, mass media and the judiciary where specific languages have been earmarked for specific roles, Muaka (2011). In the Kenyan education system, Muaka (2011) continues to note that the policy recognizes English as a medium of instruction in urban areas at all levels of education, while in rural areas where linguistic homogeneity exists, the policy identifies indigenous languages as languages of instruction at lower primary (STD 1-3).

Within the domain of business, we have the sub domains of unemployment, private business and marketing. In transport domain, we have transport owned by relatives and that owned by members who are not of the speech community in question, and public transport. The dialect used when people are doing business is important because it is used in the transactions, and facilitates exchange of goods and services.

The domain of government administration brings people together for a certain purpose (Fishman 1977). In this case language is a tool of communication, for example when local leaders meet and talk to their people in the villages. The question is: what language is used by whom and for what purpose. If a leader decides to use a local dialect to address his or her people it does influence speakers whose dialect is not the L1 used by the local leaders, thus they shift.

### **2.5 Relationship between societal institutions and domains.**

The terms, institutional support (Giles et al 1977) and domains of language use (Fishman, 1972) are two terms that are similar in their use, although identified and used by different authors at different times. Giles et al. (1977), identifies institutional support as one of the three factors of ethnolinguistic vitality.(see Figure 1) The proponents identify four institutions, namely, religion, government, education and mass media, as institutions of society that can promote the use of a language or dialect.

The common thing between the two terms is that both refer to situations of language use or promotion. Second, the four institutions that promote the use of a language are, practically speaking, some of the domains of language use.

## **2.6 Age and language**

In Queen and Cheshire's (2013) paper on age and generation specific use of language, they note that the analysis of age and language has been done from two major perspectives: the variation of language used in an individual's lifespan and language of different cohorts of individuals living within a speech community. In the first case, individuals tend to preserve their speech patterns as they grow older (Labov, 1994). This means that there is bound to be different patterns of language use in different individuals as per their age groups. Going by Fishman's (1977) three generation rule, it means that we expect three patterns of language use as per the three generations or age groups, for example the children or young age, parents and the grand parents. If Queen and Cheshire's 2013 research is anything to go by, then we expect a variation of language in interlocutors at different age groups as identified by Fishman (1977) and Appel and Muysken (1987). Indeed, Russel (1982) notes that age can influence an individual's choice and use of language.

In the second case of cohorts, Queen and Chesire (2013) further says that different groups of people within a speech community can have different varieties of a language (Milroy and Milroy 1985) or dialects. In this case different groups of people can vary in their use of language depending on factors like social status (Labov, 2001) economic status and education status.

Eckert (1997) in Queen and Cheshire, (2013) distinguishes between chronological age, biological age and social age. These age categories are tied to life events such as family status for example marriage, birth, initiation. On this note, one can look at language in relation to gender or sex, different age categories like teenagers, adolescents, youth adults and children. In addition, one can also look at language in relation to social age groups like particular age sets, married and unmarried, initiates, elders and custodians of society. What should be noted here is that women and men cannot be categorized in the same age groups because we have in some people gender and social variables interact with age variable (Queen and Cheshire, 2013). It is important to note here that in some communities, women are considered children. The middle age (age 31-52 years) has the highest ethnolinguistic vitality than young or old age. Giles et al (2000). Older speakers are also more tolerant to changes and maintain or stick to their language than the young age.

This section has looked at literature review under the following topics: language maintenance and shift, factors in language maintenance and shift, language dominance, domains of language use, relationship between domains and societal institutions and finally age and language.

## **2.7.0 Theoretical framework**

This sub-section looks at the theoretical framework that guided this study. This study was guided by two theories, namely the theory of Ethnolinguistic Vitality developed by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) and Domain theory (Fishman 1964, 1991).

### **2.7.1 Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory**

Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) were the first proponents of ethnolinguistic vitality theory. In their approach to the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality Giles et al. (1977) defines ethnolinguistic vitality as ‘what makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations’ (p. 308). The manifestation of vitality is seen in a groups’ solidarity to participate in collective action and this readiness is created by a shared understanding of the world of the group and of one’s relation to both, Ehala (2010). They proposed three socio-cultural factors, Muaka (2012), that are used to account for language maintenance and shift in a ‘speech group’ or ‘speech community’ Gumperz, (1982); Fishman (1977). In their typological approach, Giles et al., (1977) proposed three variables which may combine to permit an ethnolinguistic minority to survive as a distinctive group (Muaka 2012, Aswegen 2008). These three variables are status, demographic and institutional support. A speech community that has the above three factors present has a high vitality (Appel and Muysken, 1987), thus it will

maintain its dialect. On the other hand, if a speech community has low vitality it means none of the above factors are present or are minimal.

Bourdieu (1991) in Ehala (2009) calls vitality as the power of making people see and believe, conform and transform the vision of the world by virtue of the effect of mobilization (Ehala, 2009). Ehala (2009) explains that the state of mobilization is based on shared perception of intergroup setting in which the group is involved and that the vitality perceptions between the dominant and minority groups are explained by vitality profiles that exist between the dominant and dominated group. (Ehala, 2009)

Each of the factors of ethnolinguistic vitality consists of a subset of variables. For example demographic variables reflect numbers of group members and population distribution; status factors are the factors that relate to the speech community's prestige, this includes economic status, social status, sociohistorical status and prestige of its language and culture within its territory and outside its territory; and institutional support factors refer to the formal and informal representations of the group in the various institutions of a nation, region and community (Aswegan 2008).

Furthermore, in order to study the socio-psychological process that act upon the

three factors of ethnolinguistic vitality, Giles et al (1977) proposed integration of two more theories that they integrate with the structural factors that affect ethnolinguistic vitality of a group. The two theories are Tajfel's (1979) theory of intergroup relations, and Gile's (1991) theory of speech accommodation. Aswegan (2008) notes: "This is an attempt on their side to provide a theoretical framework for better understanding *of* the interrelationship between language, ethnicity and intergroup relations" (p .32)

#### **2.7.1.1 Demographic factors.**

Demographic variables of ethnolinguistic vitality are those factors that have to do with absolute number of speakers of a language and their distribution or spread in a region (Appel and Muysken 1987, Aswegan 2008). Giles et al., (1977) note that demographic vitality are factors that relate to the sheer numbers of group members and their distribution or spread in a regional or national territory. This does also include rates of migration, emigration, endogamy and birthrate (Sachdev, 1995). The distribution of speakers of a particular language can be concentrated in one region or spread out among speakers of other language(s). If speakers are scattered among the speakers of the dominant dialect, it impacts negatively on the maintenance of their dialect. On the other hand, if they are concentrated in one place, they possess strong social network and hence their language has little outside or external influence (Milroy, 1980) that can compromise the groups vitality.

This factor will be important in this study and will help the researcher to comparatively look at the population of the two ethnic groups whose dialects are in contact and if the population volume in the region influences maintenance and shift characteristics of the dialects under study.

Although the number of speakers of a language (critical mass) cannot be exactly established to guarantee the security of a language (Crystal, 2000) the population size of a speech community is an immediate indicator of the safety of a language. Nettle & Romaine, (2000) have put the critical mass figure at 100,000 while Maffi, et al. (2003) note that languages with 10,000 speakers and less are threatened. Crystal (2000) points out that the figures given out of context are useless. The point is that it is possible to have 500 speakers of a language isolated in a rural setting who maintain their language, yet if the same were spread out in a large city the speakers will not sustain their language. This is in line with the observation that language maintenance can also be promoted if the “group is especially isolated, such as on a small cluster of islands or deep in the rainforest; they may have a better chance of maintaining their language since they have less interaction with others.”(<http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-a-language-shift.htm>). In this case the distribution of the speakers of a language in an area or region is important (Peyer, 2004). This study looked at the dominantly distributed group in the region of study as a factor contributing to maintenance and shift characteristics.

Furthermore people cannot be forced to cling to small languages that are not useful when they want to shift to more useful and big languages that can serve them better like English (Maffi, et al., 2003). Maffi et al. (2003) note:

..you cannot make people cling to small languages which are not useful, they want to shift...it is sufficient to know a big language like English or if it is important enough and has been written in another language, it will be translated into English. (p. 48).

In this case, minority speakers can shift to the big language as their “regular vehicle of communication” (Appel and Muysken 1987:32), because they believe that it can serve them better, it can help them access important society services or it is big. This is in line with Sachdev’s observation that an ethnolinguistic group that has control of various institutions of society namely education, religion, mass media, among others contributes to the groups’ institutional vitality which yields to a groups’ enjoyment of high social status relative to minority group. This study sought to establish the above demographic variables in the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni

#### **2.7.1.2 Status factors**

There are different categories of status factors; these include economic status, social status, sociohistorical status and prestige of language and culture within its territory and outside its territory (Aswegen 2008). These categories impact on a speech community on how they make use of their dialect and where. If members of a minority group have a low social economic status, low education standards

and a stigmatized history, they feel low about themselves and their language; hence they shift towards the language of the host community, whose dialect is associated with the high end of the above factors. It is also noted that the speech community which shifts will do so because they believe the dialect of the host community will provide them with opportunities and that it can help them access other important society services like education, and general social mobility for example employment opportunities. (Appel & Muysken, 1987)

In support of the above, is a similar study which was carried out in Brittany France. Woodak and Dressler (1977) note that to acquire positions in the government, it was important that individuals present themselves as members of the national majority. “it is necessary to present oneself as member of the national majority to acquire positions (like jobs, official functions and education facilities.” (p.35). The fact that one can speak a particular language can help them access important services in society in addition to communication.

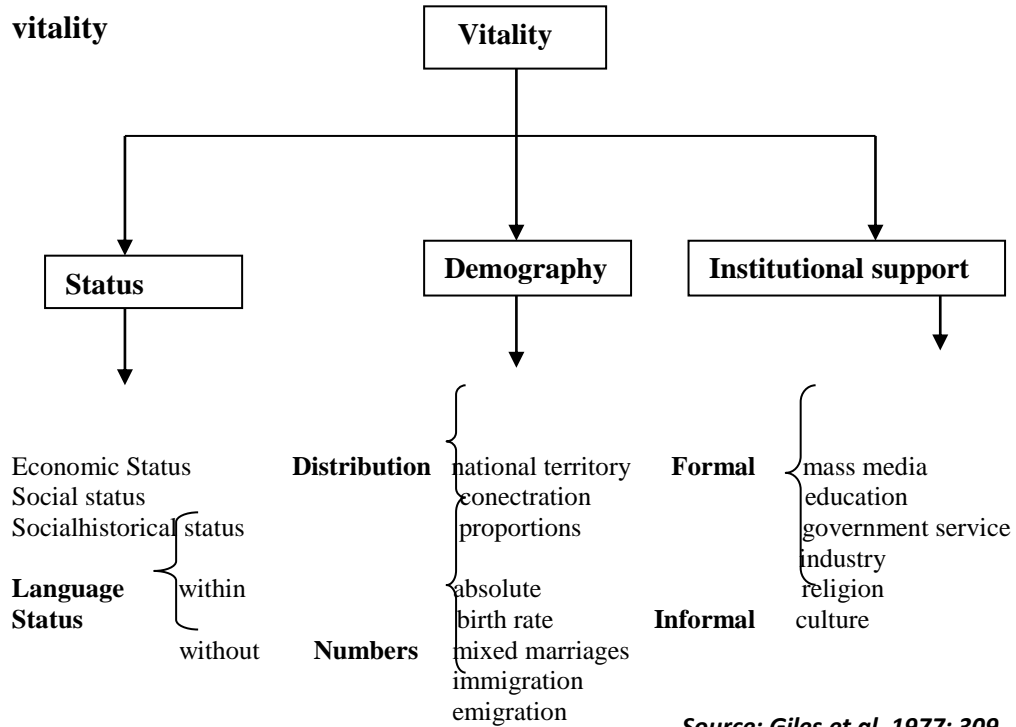
It is a fact that language policies do impact on language practices (Muaka 2012). The functions of a language in society like official functions, education functions or national language, makes the status of a language more important than other languages in the region. In Kenya the education policy recognizes English as main medium of instruction in urban areas at all levels of education while in rural areas

where linguistic homogeneity exists, indigenous languages are used for instruction in standard one to three, Muaka (2010); Wambiri and Muthee (2010), while English is taught as a subject but changes to be a medium of instruction after standard three. In multi ethnic settings, Kiswahili is used up to standard three, and then thereafter it is taught as a subject. In situations where minority groups happen to be found among the dominant group, members of the minority will look at the dialect used in education in their region as a privileged dialect, as compared to their own L1. Second, children of the minority who are receiving instructions in the dialect of the dominant speech community will develop “language loyalty” (Fishman 1977) to the dialect of the dominant speech community. This is because comprehension and other attributes of the dominant dialect are learnt.

### **2.7.1.3 Institutional support**

Also called institutional vitality, it refers to the extent at which language of the minority group is represented in the various institutions of society and enjoys control in various institutions of the society in a region or nation Giles et al., (1977). If an ethnolinguistic group has the control of various institutions of society like education, religion, mass media, political and cultural contexts, it contributes to the group’s institutional vitality, Sachdev (1995). Sachdev (1995) continues to say that groups that have high institutional support of their language and high demographic strength are likely to enjoy considerable social status relative to less dominant minority group

**Figure 1: Taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality**



*Source: Giles et al. 1977: 309*

### 2.7.2 Domain theory

This study used domain theory, Fishman (1964, 1968) as second its theory. The main proponent of domain theory is Fishman Joshua. Fishman (1968) notes that one language may be more appropriate than another in certain domains hence be the choice of speakers. Fishman (1964) further says that in most cases the language that is the choice of speakers in that particular domain is the standard language, dominant or prestigious language. This language is used by interlocutors in high domains, while the vernaculars are selected and used in low domains or fewer domains.

Fishman (1964) used the concept to study language choices in multilingual societies. Domains are societal level constructs under which a cluster of specific interactions take place. Nishimura (1997) notes: “In an interaction, the place where it occurs, the interlocutors, the roles they play, and the topics they talk about are all congruent.” (p.5). The theory is based on Fishman’s question: who speaks what language, to whom is he/she speaking to, when is this person speaking and where? Fishman also asserted, that proper usage indicates that only one of the available languages or varieties will be chosen by particular classes of people or interlocutors to talk about particular topics on particular occasions.

In simple terms, The Domain Analysis Theory (Fishman, 1964, 1968) is the view that when one language gets an expanded domain for use there is a possibility for bilingual speakers in the region to shift to the dialect that is used in more domains. Second, the speakers will shift to the language that is standard or dominant in the domains. As noted by Baker and Jones (1998), in a bilingual society one language dominates others.

In line with domain theory is Fishman,s (1991,1964,1977) question: who speaks what when and where. For the purposes of this study, the *who* premise in the question was used to identify the interlocutors in terms of their ethnicity (Bukusu or Tachoni speakers). The next question of *What* was used to refer to the two dialects under study, (Lubukusu and Lutachoni). The final part of this study used

the *Where* question to address the locales of interaction or what is commonly called domains of language use Fishman (1977).

As noted by Matiki (1997), the theory is important to analyze the informants' report on language use in different domains. I used this theory in this study to find out, analyze and report on the informants 'language use characteristics in different domains. The fact that this study looked at the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in different domains, the researcher found domain theory important in describing the dialect that was dominantly maintained by speakers and in which domain.

Ethnolinguistic groups that have high institutional support/control and high demographic strength are likely to enjoy considerable social status relative to the less dominant or minority groups (Sachdev 1995). In this study, the ethnolinguistic vitalities in terms of demographic factors, status factors and institutional control factors of the dominant and minority group were based on shared perceptions of the intergroup, Ehala (2009) and how their shared perceptions (as a group) would influence maintenance and shift in the contact of their dialects. In line with this was the fact that the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni was studied in different domains. This was aimed at finding out the dominantly maintained and shifted dialect in each domain. Domain theory (Fishman 1964, 1968) was thus appropriate in directing this research on who, what, and where, parameters (Fishman, 1964, 1977) of dialects choices in the two speech communities.

## **2.9 Summary of chapter two**

The above section has looked at two broad areas: the literature review and theoretical framework that guided the study. Under literature review, different sections that concern this study have been reviewed. Two theories that guided the study have been explained and how they were used in the study. The following section looks at the methodology.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter describes the research design and methodology. The main sections discussed include: research design, the geographical location of the study, target population, sample size and sampling techniques, research instruments, piloting, validity and reliability of the instruments, data collection procedures ethical concerns and data analysis techniques.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

This research employed both qualitative and quantitative research designs. This is because of their complementary nature (Mugenda and Mugenda 1992). A qualitative research design provides a description of trends, attitudes, or opinions of a population by studying a sample of that population at one given point in time. From the sample results the researcher generalizes claims of the respondents about the population, Creswell (2003). The design enabled the researcher to find out the most maintained and most shifted dialect by respondents in different domains based on their opinions, attitudes and practices and it allowed for quick data collection as noted by Grinnel, (1993). Second, studies in interactional sociolinguistics frequently adopt a qualitative design where observation and interview methods in data collection are used. In this study, an interview schedule was used to collect data on the views, opinions, attitudes and practices of

respondents in the two dialects in relation to institutional control factors of the two dialects. In this case, qualitative design was thus appropriate in getting information and practices of respondents on how they maintain/shift in the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni. Orodho (2003) and Fraenkel and Wallen (1993) note that qualitative design is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering a questionnaire to a sample of individuals and (Wambiri and Muthee 2010) adds, this is done to find out the interlocutors views, opinions, and practices on a research topic.

Quantitative design looked at numeric data on the number of respondents who maintain or shift in different domains, number of domains in which each of the two dialects are used and how frequent respondents use *what* dialect upon contact. In this case, quantitative design, involved analyzing data to get information on the number of respondents who had similar responses in the questionnaire. The design was appropriate in helping the researcher tally all the responses done in the nine domains to get the most frequently maintained and shifted dialect upon contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni. This was also done in the different age groups. Information on the most maintained and shifted dialect (based on how many of the respondents maintain or shift in their contact) was then used to categorize the two dialects into dominant and dominated dialect as per the first objective.

Furthermore, the researcher quantitatively used structured questions which were presented in the same order to respondents. Similar questions in each domain were presented to respondents to find out how many of the total respondents had similar responses, i.e. how many of the total respondents maintain or shift from Lubukusu to Lutachoni upon contact of the two dialects and vice versa. The number of respondents with similar responses (based on their practices, beliefs and opinions on how they maintain/shift when using the two dialects) was tabulated into frequency tables in each domain. The numeric data was then analyzed in three groups based on the three age groups of the respondents. As indicated by Fishman (1977) in the concept “who speaks what to whom when and where,” it was important that the researcher interacts with the respondents in their natural environments (domains) of dialect use, to collect subjective in-depth data (Wambiri and Muthee 2010), on *who*, *what*, and *where* questions. Sometimes respondents were unable to explain why they were shifting.

In the administration of questions the researcher administered similar questions to different respondents. Two methods were used: self administered and researcher administered. In the self administered approach, the respondents were hand-delivered questionnaires by the researcher. The respondents responded on spot (before the researcher) and handed in the completed questionnaire. In the second approach, the researcher used the questionnaire to interview respondents especially the old age (above 56 years), and the young age (below 10 years) who could not

interpret the questions and write properly. By looking at the frequency of use of the two dialects in different domains, the researcher was able to find out the frequently maintained and shifted dialect in different domains.

### **3.2 Geographical location of the study**

This study was carried out in Tongaren constituency of Bungoma North District in Bungoma County. Bungoma County, one of the forty-seven counties created under the new constitution of Kenya 2010, is located in the Western region of Kenya along the border with Uganda. Bungoma County covers an area of three thousand and thirty two square kilometers (3,032km<sup>2</sup>). It lies between latitude 0025.3' and 0053.2' north and longitude 34021.3' and 35004.4' east. Its altitude rises from 1200 meters above sea level in the west to over 2000 meters above sea level in the north and its north eastern, where Tongaren Constituency is located. The temperatures range from a minimum of 15-20°C to a maximum of 22-30°C. It has two rainy seasons with an average of 1200mm to 1800mm annually. As per the 2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census Report (Republic of Kenya, 2009). About 53% of inhabitants are Bukusu speakers (759,389). 8.6% of the population is Tachoni. This means that 38.4% of the population is comprised of other tribes including Teso, Sabaots, Nyala and Kabras.

There are nine constituencies; Sirisia, Kanduyi, Bumula, Mt. Elgon, Webuye east, Webuye West, Kimilili, Tongaren and Kabuchai. Tongaren Constituency is one of

the two constituencies of Bungoma North district, the other being Kimilili. It is located on the eastern side of Bungoma North district. It borders Lugari district on its southern, Uasin Gishu district on its eastern side and Trans-nzoia district on its northern. Being a region of mixed ethnicity, Tongaren Constituency is a home of several ethnic groups, but the Bukusu and the Tachoni are the dominant. It should also be noted that when this study started, the current Tongaren Constituency was by then called Tongaren Division.

I was convinced the dominant state of the Bukusu and the Tachoni speech communities in the region of study would provide the best contact situations for the purposes of this study. This is because in any bilingual society (Appel and Muysken 1987) there is created competition within between or among languages making some languages or dialects to emerge dominant (Fishman, 1977) and thus exert pressure on the less dominated languages to shift (Baker and Jones, 1998).

As a researcher, I got interested in the linguistic competition that can result in one dialect becoming dominant and motivating a shift in the second dialect to undergo shift hence making the speakers of the second dialect to gradually lose linguistic and cultural identity.

The constituency was also chosen because of its accessibility and cost factors. In support, Best and Kahn (1993) note that research requires careful thought about a number of factors; accessibility and cost factors become legitimate considerations. For purposes of this study, the region of study was selected based on research location findings that promote accessibility, familiarity, economy and immediate rapport with the respondents. Finally, the region was also chosen to control on some extraneous factors that could have arisen because of the researcher's unfamiliarity with the region of study and challenges of language barrier.

### **3.3 Target population**

The target population for this research was the Bukusu and the Tachoni speech communities. The two speech communities belong to Abaluhya people found majorly in Western Province of Kenya.

### **3.4 Sample size and Sampling procedure**

A sample is a smaller part of a population carefully selected to represent all the main characteristics of the whole population, Borg and Gall (1989). This means that the characteristics of the target population have to be represented in the sample selected. In sociolinguistics, Sebba (1974) defines a sample as a quantity used for description depending on the issue being described and that the researcher decides what sample size to aim from; a subsample of a sample frame that is much smaller than the sample frame, but large enough that you can have confidence in it.

This is because of the homogenous language behavior that is unlike other kinds of behaviour and so allows for smaller samples.

Labov (1966) recommends 25 subjects for every 100,000 speakers. The sample size for this study was obtained from a sample frame of 99,363 Bukusu speech community and 26, 123 Tachoni speech community. This was calculated from the percentage ratio of the population of Bukusu and population of Tachoni in the entire Bungoma County. Based on this, purposive, stratified and simple random sampling techniques were used to get a sample of 198 respondents.

Purposive sampling was used to select the respondents based on their ethnicity and age. Based on Labov (1966) recommendation, this study had 25 Bukusu respondents and 5Tachoni respondents making a total of 30 respondents. However, Gay (1992) notes that the larger the sample, the smaller the sampling error. From a population of 99,363 Bukusu and 26,123 Tachoni, I purposely sampled 400 Bukusu and 400 Tachoni respondents who have been resident in the region of study for at least 10 years. I then subjected the two samples to stratified sampling to select respondents based on three age categories, these are the young age (below 18years), middle age (18-55 years), and then the old age (56 years and above). I obtained a sample of 600 respondents: 300 Bukusu and 300 Tachoni. I then used simple random sampling to obtain a sample of 198 respondents distributed equally

by 33 respondents in each age category, thus there were 99 respondents for the Bukusu and 99 for the Tachoni.

My sensitivity with the age categories was because age is an important variable of language use (Trudgill, 1974; Fishman, 1977) and the age of a speaker does influence an individual's choice of a language. (Russell 1982), I used the three Generation Rule of language shift, Fishman (1977); Appel and Muysken (1987) that takes into account the degeneration and shift of a language across three generations. I had confidence in this sample size and I was convinced it represented the characteristics I was studying. (see appendix 10). Each of the six locations had at least 10 respondents in each age category.

Using purposive, stratified and simple random sampling ensured and guaranteed desired representation of the entire population thus as noted by Gay, (1992) it increased the efficiency of the estimate. It also gave an assurance that the sample accurately reflected the numerical composition of the sub-groups and accounted for the differences in the sample to achieve desired representation from the various sub-groups (strata) in the population.

### **3.5 Research Instruments**

This research used the following research instruments: questionnaire and interview schedule.

### **3.6 Data collection methods**

#### **3.6.1 Procedure**

Kombo and Tromp (2006) note that data collection procedure involves the researcher seeking permit before embarking on the study, and then administer research instruments but, Bell (1987) notes, after doing a pilot study to ascertain the reliability and validity of the instruments. The researcher was approved by the graduate school Kenyatta University, after which I sought permission from the MoE's National Commission for Science and Technology (NACOST) before embarking on the research in Tongaren constituency. In addition, the researcher informed the local leaders in the region of the intended research.

#### **3.6.2 Data collection**

Data collection is the gathering of information to serve or prove some facts, Kombo and Tromp (2006). It is done to further a researcher's understanding of a puzzling issue and clarify the facts by collecting views, perceptions, observations, practices and habits for analysis (Kombo and Tromp, 2006). The researcher must have a clear vision of the instruments to be used, the respondents and the study region.

Data was collected using questionnaire, and interview schedule instruments.

Questionnaire was preferred for this study because it enabled the researcher to reach a large sample within limited time, ensured confidentiality and gathering of

more candid and objective replies from respondents. (Wambiri and Muthee, 2010). The questionnaire was in three parts. Part A and B looked at the social demographic data of the respondents. Part C looked at dialects' maintenance/shift in different domains. Information on how the respondents maintain and shift upon contact of the two dialects was captured. Interview schedule was used to collect information on institutional control factors of the two dialects.

### **3.6.3 Ethical considerations**

The researcher first introduced himself to the respondents and assured them of confidentiality of the information being collected. The researcher gave respondents an opportunity to ask questions or clarification where they had any doubts. For those aged below 18 years, the researcher first got an informed consent from the parents or guardians of the minor before collecting data from such respondents. Church leaders of the churches which the researcher visited were also informed

The researcher did also brief and debrief the respondents on the nature of the research by giving full explanations on the research to gain informed consent, and also explained the importance of the results.

### **3.7 Piloting**

A pilot study was carried out to test the validity and reliability of the instruments, and shape the nature of the items in the questionnaire. It also gave direction on

which particular areas of the research instruments were to be corrected appropriately as per the objectives of the study; for example items that were either unclear or open to misinterpretation were rephrased in order for them to elicit desired information during the main study. Bell (1987) notes that piloting gives information about how long it takes the respondents to answer questions and to ensure that items are stated clearly and have the same meaning to all respondents. From the responses given, language and content validity of the instruments was checked and adjusted appropriately to cater for the three different age groups that were used in this study. The instruments were piloted in the neighboring Kimilili constituency.

### **3.8 Validity and reliability of instruments**

Validity ensures that the test items represent the content that the test intends to measure (Borg and Gall, 1989). It ensures that the instruments cover all the areas that concern the focus of the study as identified in the objectives. In this case, information on the dominant status of the dialects under study, societal institutional support of the two dialects and how the three age groups maintain/shift upon contact of the two dialects was gathered. Two supervisors from the department of English and Linguistics and two overseers from the same department scrutinized the instruments and made necessary observations that guided the study so that instruments elicited adequate data.

Reliability is an index of the degree to which an instrument measures the same attribute or gives consistent results after every test. It is the preciseness of the measuring instrument. A reliable instrument measures the same reading on different occasions provided that the attribute being measured does not vary in value (Vernon, 1974). Grinnel (1993) adds that to remove possible errors every instrument should undergo a test before it is formally administered in the field.

This research ascertained reliability of the instruments by administering two pre-tests on a sample of 66 respondents who were split in two groups of 33 respondents in each group. This was done at an interval of two weeks. The first group was tested two weeks before the second group. Scores from the first group were correlated with scores from the second group using spearman's correlation coefficient. A reliability coefficient of 0.79 was obtained. According to Mertens (2009), a coefficient of 0.75 is acceptable. This meant that results of the first and the second tests were consistent, thus the instruments were reliable.

### **3.9 Data analysis and presentation**

Kombo (2006) notes that data analysis is the examination of what has been collected in a survey or experiment with a view of making deductions and inferences. Data collected from the questionnaires was coded and analyzed by the use of descriptive statistic (frequencies and percentage) using the Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (S.P.S.S). The descriptive analysis was appropriate for this study because

it involved the describing, analyzing and interpreting dialect contact circumstances that were prevailing at the time of the study. This study used frequency and percentages in tables and charts because as noted by Gay, (1992) they easily communicate the research findings to majority of readers. Chart analysis tools like the trend line and its equation were used to interpret data in the chart (fig 4.2).

### **3.10 Summary of chapter three**

This chapter has looked at the methodology used in the study. Areas looked at include: research design, geographical location of the study, target population, sample size and sampling procedure, research instruments and data collection methods, piloting, validity and reliability of the instruments of my research, data analysis and presentation and finally summary.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter is the presentation, analysis and interpretation of collected data to establish the maintained and shifted dialect upon contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in Tongaren constituency of Bungoma County. Data analysis was done in line with the three objectives in section 1.3 namely: find out dominant dialect in the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni, establish relationship between societal institutional support of Lubukusu and Lutachoni and their dominance in different domains and finally investigate relationship between age and maintenance/shift in the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni contact.

Quantitative data in the questionnaire was analyzed using SPSS programme version 20 while qualitative data was analyzed by content analysis. The questionnaire had three parts as explained in section 3.6.2 above.

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) notes that data obtained from the field in raw form is difficult to interpret, until it is cleaned, coded, and key punched into a computer and then analysed, In the same vein, collected data has to be systematically organized into a manner that facilitates analysis so that the researcher can make sense out of it and describe (Mugenda Mugenda 2003). Analyzed data was presented in tables in which figures indicated frequencies (f) and percentages

(%). Presentation and analysis of data was divided into the following sections: dominantly maintained dialect in domains, dialect dominance and societal institutional support and finally dialect maintenance and shift in relation to age.

#### **4.1 Dominant dialect**

The contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni was studied in the following 9 domains: Home, cultural, social, worship, education, business, government services, road/street and mass media. In each domain, the researcher looked at *who* speaks *what* in terms of ethnicity and dialect of choice upon contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni.

##### **4.1.1 Home domain**

In the home domain, this research looked at the most frequently maintained dialect by respondents at home. The research focused on situations like talking to family members, and visitors (Bukusu and Tachoni). In this domain the guiding question was, what is the most frequently used dialect at home? The results were tabulated in the table 4.1 below.

**Table 4.1 Maintained/shifted dialect in the home domain**

Dialects	Respondents			
	<b>Bukusu</b>	<b>Tachoni</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Lubukusu	97	17	114	58
Lutachoni	2	82	84	42
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>100</b>

The figures in Table 4.1 above show that Lubukusu is the dominantly maintained dialect in the home domain. 114 (58%) of respondents indicated they maintain Lubukusu while 84 (42%) maintain Lutachoni. Out of the group that maintain Lubukusu, 97 (98%) are The Bukusu while 17 (18%) are The Tachoni.

At the same time, out of the 42% who maintain Lutachoni 82 (83%) are the Tachoni while 2 (2%) are the Bukusu. This indicates that in the contact of the two dialects in the home domain, more Tachoni 17 (18%) shift to Lubukusu as compared to 2 (2%) of The Bukusu who shift to Lutachoni. Demographic information of the 17 (18%) Tachoni respondents who shift to Lubukusu indicated 15 (16%) were Tachoni women married to Bukusu husbands, while the remaining 2 (2%) are Tachoni men whose mothers are the Bukusu.

As explained by the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality Giles et al. (1977), marriage is an important demographic factor that can influence the maintenance of a

language (Figure 2). In this case, the mixed marriages between the Bukusu and Tachoni are in favour of Lubukusu. The 15 (16%) Tachoni women who shift to Lubukusu do so because of the influence of their Bukusu husbands in the home domain, and the fact being that children speak the dialect of the father which in this case is Lubukusu, makes Lubukusu dominantly maintained when the Tachoni mother comes in contact with her Lubukusu speaking children and husband. In addition, as per the domain theory, Fishman (1968, 1964) the dominant status of a dialect in a domain makes speakers to maintain it. In this case the dominant status of Lubukusu in the home domain motivates the non Bukusu women to shift to Lubukusu. This is in line with Fishman (1968) explanation that if a language has an expanded use in a domain it becomes the dominant language of choice in the particular domain. In addition, Appel & Muysken (1987) adds that when individuals realize that a particular language can serve them better, they shift to that language. Gal (1979) notes that when people migrate to a new area where their language can no longer serve them they shift to the socially and economically viable language. In the case of the Tachoni women, they shift to Lubukusu partly because it is socially viable and serves them better when they interact with their husbands and children at home.

#### **4.1.2 Cultural domain**

In the cultural domain, the respondents were asked to indicate the most maintained dialect in cultural activities like marriage ceremonies, circumcision,

naming ceremonies, and funeral rituals. The results were tabulated in Table 4.2 below.

**Table 4.2 Lubukusu/ Lutachoni maintenance and shift in the cultural domain**

Dialects	Respondents			
	<b>Bukusu</b>	<b>Tachoni</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Lubukusu	89	30	119	60
Lutachoni	8	65	73	37
Total	97	95	192	97

In table 4.2 above, 119 (60%) of respondents maintain Lubukusu while 73 (37%) maintain Lutachoni. In addition, out of the 60% of the respondents that maintain Lubukusu, 89 (75%) are the Bukusu while 30 (25%) are the Tachoni.

This implies that in the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni, 25% of The Tachoni shift to Lubukusu. At the same time, out of the 73 (37%) of the respondents who maintain Lutachoni, 65 (66%) are the Tachoni while 8 (11%) are the Bukusu who shift to Lutachoni. This implies that a few Bukusu shift to Lutachoni in the cultural domain (11%) as compared to 25% of the Tachoni who shift to Lubukusu. These figures show that in the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni, Lubukusu is the dominantly maintained dialect by respondents in the cultural domain.

As per the theory of Ethnolinguistic vitality, Giles et al. (1977), a language that has cultural support in a speech community (Fishman 1977) is maintained, while a

language that has less or no support in cultural institution can shift. The same views are echoed by Appel and Muysken (1987) who note that the presence of factors of ethnolinguistic vitality indicate maintenance of a language. Appel and Muysken (1987) add an important point that was evident in this study; this has to do with cultural similarity and dissimilarity of speech communities.

As per the Republic of Kenya Census report (2009) the Bukusu and the Tachoni are people who stay in the same geographical region in Bungoma. The two speech groups have a lot of linguistic and cultural interaction. This study notes that there is cultural similarity in terms of circumcision ceremonies, naming ceremonies and funerals which have enhanced the interaction of the two speech groups. Circumcision rituals, names and naming activities and funeral practices have a lot of similarity in the Bukusu and the Tachoni of this region. In circumcision, the age sets that are in the Bukusu are the same ones that are in the Tachoni namely, “Kolongolo”, “Kikwamet” “Kinyikeu”, “Nyange”, “Maina”, “Juma” and “Sawa”. At the same time, some of the songs that are used during circumcision are similar in both speech communities. That aside, The Bukusu and Tachoni share a common naming ritual where their names are either inherited, or identified as per the season of birth of a child or place of birth.

As explained by Appel and Muysken (1987) this similarity contributes to the maintenance of both dialects but in favour of Lubukusu which is dominant. At the

same time, as per the domain theory (Fishman 1964) when a language is dominantly used in a domain, it becomes the choice of speakers in the domain; hence it is dominantly maintained by the speakers because as noted by Woodak and Dressler (1977) it can serve them better. In this study, more Tachoni respondents, (25%) shift to Lubukusu because they believe it can serve them better. This study notes that this was observed in the naming rituals, circumcision and funeral rituals for example during a funeral ritual called “Khusena Kumuse” where a special orator is invited to talk about the traditions, customs and history of the community and the family of the bereaved. The two speech communities seem to have a lot of cultural similarities that translate to their harmonious living and contribute to Lutachoni shift to Lubukusu.

However, the cultural similarity of the two speech communities, though in favour of Lubukusu, is one that both groups share common practices. The Tachoni have integrated most of Bukusu cultural practices like “khusena Kumuse” circumcision age sets, names and naming ceremonies into their cultural orientation. This kind of orientation called integration, is where a group adopts the core elements of the host culture but maintaining their heritage culture, Berry (1974, 1997) in Bourhis et al. (1997). Bourhis et al. (1977) summarizes this kind of relationship into one model called Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM). In this model, Bourhis explains that through intercultural contact, dominant host majority members do influence the

acculturation strategies of minority group members who in turn may also affect the orientations of the host majority, Bourhis et al., (1977).

The reason why this study notes that Lutachoni and Lubukusu have integrated relational outcomes of acculturation is because of the fact that among the three major generalizations of IAM (Bourhis et al. 1977), the third generalization talks about the vitality of the minority group influencing the relational outcome. Groups with low vitality tend to assimilate, while medium vitality groups become integrated (Bourhis et al. 1977). Looking at the figures in table 4.2, there is 37% maintenance of Lutachoni in the cultural domain. This is a moderate or medium vitality. As per Bourhis et al. (1977) third generalization it follows that Lutachoni is not totally assimilated into Lubukusu but has integrated some Lubukusu practices which happen to be dominant. In addition, the fact that there is an 8% of the Bukusu who shift to Lutachoni is an indication that the vitality of Lutachoni, though minor, has an influence on the dominant Lubukusu dialect in the region and that the dominant Bukusu people perceive a smaller cultural and linguistic intergroup distance between them and the Tachoni. Bourhis et al. (1977) note that the intergroup distance between the dominant and minority group in terms of their attitudes towards their languages can indeed favor the language identity shift of the minority if the dominant group is ready to accept the shifting minority, Bourhis et al. (1977). In addition, the more utilitarian the value system of the dominant group,

the more open it will be to admit or accommodate new members linguistically and culturally (Ehala 2010).

One notable observation to support this claim was made when I attended a special funeral ritual in the Bukusu called “Khusena Kumuse.” The invited orator in this ceremony was a Tachoni orator. In the course of addressing the submissive funeral gathering he noted

*“When the Bukusu moved into their present habitation, they came in from the west, while the Tachoni came in from Elgon (Mount Elgon: pointing it side and they (the Bukusu) are like a big fish in this river (pointing at River Nzoia) it swallows small ones. The Bukusu have swallowed clans from Tachoni, Nyala even the Tesos who stay here are also the Bukusu....”*

This observation made by the Tachoni orator shows that there is a lot of cultural similarity between the Bukusu and the Tachoni, and that the Bukusu are dominant in the region of study, it is acceptable and understood. I can say the Tachoni have been accommodated in the Bukusu culture, and have integrated some Bukusu cultural practices which happen to be activating gradual Lutachoni shift towards Lubukusu.

#### **4.1.3 Social domain**

Language use in the social domain entailed looking at the most maintained/shifted dialect in social activities like partying, beer drinking, sporting among others. Respondent indicated the most maintained and shifted dialect upon contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni. The results were tabulated in the Table 4.3 below.

**Table 4.3 Lubukusu/Lutachoni maintenance and shift in the social domain.**

Dialects	Respondents			
	<b>Bukusu</b>	<b>Tachoni</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>% total</b>
Lubukusu	90	40	130	66
Lutachoni	9	59	68	34
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>100</b>

In table 4.3 above, 130 (66%) of the respondents maintain Lubukusu while 68 (34%) maintain Lutachoni. At the same time, out of the 66% that maintain Lubukusu, 90 (69%) are the Bukusu while 40 (31%) are the Tachoni. In addition, out of the 34% that maintain Lutachoni, 59 (86%) are the Tachoni while 9 (14%) are The Bukusu.

Comparatively, more Tachoni 40 (31%) shift to Lubukusu in their contact with the Bukusu as compared to the Bukusu 9 (14%) who shifts to Lutachoni in the social domain. These figures show that Lubukusu is the dominantly maintained dialect upon contact with Lutachoni in the Social domain.

As per the domain theory, Fishman (1964, 1968) one language may be more appropriate in its use in a domain and become the choice of interlocutors. The dominant status of Lubukusu in the social domain impacts on the Tachoni respondents to shift to Lubukusu. Additionally, the demographic characteristic of

the respondents collected by this study showed that the 9 (14%) Bukusu respondents who shift to Lutachoni are Bukusu women married to Tachoni husbands, thus they have the influence of their husbands. This is in line with Paulston (1994) observation that language shift begins with women in their choice of marriage partner, code and languages they use to raise up their children Gal, (1979); Eckert, (1983); Paulston (1994).

Giles et al. (1977) note that the status of a language is an important factor of maintenance and shift of a language. There are several attributes of status factor of language namely, economic status, social status, socialhistorical status and prestige of a language within its territory and outside its territory, Aswegen (2008). Maintenance of Lubukusu by the respondents is high because they see its maintenance as a social resource by which access to goods; services and interaction in social events take place. The majority Bukusu respondents (69%) who maintain Lubukusu show loyalty as a group and transmit the same to their children. As noted by Paulston (2010) in Aswegen (2008) language maintenance in a group is seen as a resource by which groups access goods and services.

#### **4.1.4 Religion/Worship domain**

In the worship domain, the researcher looked at the most frequently maintained dialect by respondents in activities like worshipping, offerings, prayer, scripture reading and announcements. The results were tabulated in table 4.4

**Table 4.4 Lubukusu/Lutachoni maintenance and shift in the religion/worship domain**

Dialect	Respondents			
	Bukusu	Tachoni	Total	%
Lubukusu	91	52	143	72
Lutachoni	8	47	55	28
Total	<b>99</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>100</b>

In the above table (Table 4.4), 143 (72%) of the respondents maintain Lubukusu in the religion domain. At the same time, there is 55 (28%) maintenance of Lutachoni. Out of the 72% maintenance of Lubukusu, (61%) are the Bukusu while 52 (38%) are the Tachoni. In addition, the results show that Lubukusu is dominantly maintained by the respondents in the religion domain. In table 4.4 above, 53% of the Tachoni respondents shift to Lubukusu in the worship domain while, 42% maintain Lutachoni. This indicates that more of The Tachoni shift to Lubukusu than maintain Lutachoni in this domain. This could suggest that Lubukusu is the dominantly maintained dialect in worship activities.

Fishman (1964) talks of the choice of a language by speakers in a domain depending on the appropriateness of the language in the domain. One language may be more appropriate in a domain and usually it is the standard or prestigious

language Fishman (1968). Gal (1979) notes that if a language enjoys higher prestige, speakers of other languages can abandon their L1 and shift to the prestigious language. The prestige of Lubukusu in this case lies in its appropriateness as a dialect of the dominant community (the Bukusu) and that most of the religious activities are better done in Lubukusu than Lutachoni. This study established that there is Lubukusu Bible by the Kenya Bible society entitled: “Ebibilia Endakatifu: elimo endakaano ekhaale nembia”. Although faithfuls in the region of study are yet to obtain the Bukusu bible, there was no any documentary evidence of Tachoni church literature. The fact that there is a Bukusu bible is an indication that Lubukusu is prestigious and hence as Fishman (1964) observes, it becomes the choice of interlocutors in the domain when they want to talk about particular topics in the domain, in this case reading the Bible in Lubukusu, singing, making announcements, praying and discussing church issues. Myers Scotton (2000) points out that in religious organizations that have African origins or the founders got broken from the mainstream religious organizations associated with the West, singing is done in their indigenous tongues. This study established that the indigenous tongue dominantly used as per this study in religious activities is Lubukusu

As per the theory of Ethnolinguistic Vitality (Giles et al. 1977), societal institutional support is one of the factors that can indicate dialect maintenance and shift. Religion (Figure 1) is one of the societal institutions that can promote the use

of a dialect; thus an increased use of Lubukusu dialect in this domain has significant effects on its maintenance. The figures presented in table 4.4 indicate a higher maintenance of Lubukusu (69%) in the worship domain as compared to Lutachoni at (25%).

All respondents in this study were of Christian faith; thus the responses were limited to Christian based worship activities. As compared to other domains, the maintenance of Lutachoni in the worship domain is low. This implies that more Tachoni respondents Shift to Lubukusu (38%, table 4.4). This finding could suggest that Lutachoni shifts to Lubukusu in this domain or (as noted by Myers-Scotton (2000) on tribal vernaculars or indigenous Kenyan dialects), seems to be becoming less and less important and (like other indigenous Kenyan languages), Myerrs-Scotton (2000) notes: “they could in some respects be said to be dying out.”(p.245)

Finally, foreign based religious organizations like the Anglican Church, The Catholic, SDA, SA, have well prepared church manuals, prayer books and hymnal books that are used during church services. In addition, some of these churches like the S A, SDA and Catholic, have their pastors, priests or captains send from other regions and ethnic communities to administrate and manage affairs of the churches where their mother tongues or L1 is not Lubukusu or Lutachoni. In this case they use non Lubukusu or Lutachoni in some of the activities of worship.

This accounted for the 6% of the respondents who wanted to give other maintained codes like Kiswahili or English in the worship domain.(see appendix vii)

#### 4.1.5. Education domain

In the education domain, the study looked at the dialect of instruction at lower primary (STD 1-3) as per the education act (1964, revised 1969).The respondents were required to indicate the most frequently used dialect to give instructions at lower primary.

**Table 4.5 Lubukusu/Lutachoni maintained and shifted dialect in the education domain**

Dialect	Respondents			
	Bukusu	Tachoni	Total	%
Lubukusu	90	58	148	75
Lutachoni	9	41	50	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>100</b>

In the table 4.5 above, 148 (75%) of respondents received instructions in Lubukusu at lower primary while 50 (25%) received instructions in Lutachoni. Of those who received instructions in Lubukusu, 70 (55%) were of Bukusu ethnicity while 58 (45%) were of Tachoni ethnicity. In addition, out of the 22% that received instructions in Lutachoni, 35 (35%) were the Tachoni 9 (9%) were the Bukusu.

From the figures in table 4.5 above, Lubukusu was dominantly used as a language of instruction at lower primary (65%) as compared to those who received instruction in Lutachoni (22%). These results imply that both dialects were maintained, although Lubukusu was dominantly maintained in this domain. This also means that there are more (45%) of the Tachoni who received instruction at lower primary in Lubukusu. Evidence collected by this study showed that learning/teaching materials were prepared in Lubukusu. So far, there are 22 indigenous Kenyan languages that have teaching/learning materials prepared by the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) Githinji and Wanjohi (2010). On the list, Lutachoni is not mentioned. (see Mbaabu 1996). This could suggest that in the region of study, Tachoni were and may still be receiving instructions in Lubukusu.

Githinji and Wanjohi note:

So far there are only 22 languages with vernacular materials. The additional languages are Elma, Pokot, Sabaot, Turkana, Somali, Tiriki and Embu. This means that several communities in Kenya still are learning in other communities' languages. (p.86)

Githinji and Wanjohi add that learning another language may be the only means of obtaining access to knowledge. This can mark gradual language shift because schooling is one of the most active and powerful language maintenance/shift institution Fishman (1972). The use of ethnic mother tongues in the US helped in reinforcing comprehension, reading and speaking (Fishman 1972). When children learn in mother tongue, it makes them develop loyalty in the language they are

receiving instruction in (Fishman 1977). This can be interpreted to mean that the Tachoni children who receive instruction in Lubukusu develop loyalty in Lubukusu because they learn how to speak and comprehend Lubukusu. This explains why 45% of Tachoni shift to Lubukusu (Table 4.5). The implication is that education as a societal institution identified by Giles et al., (1977) Appel and Muysken (1987) has partly contributed to the dominance of Lubukusu in this domain and has also influenced Lutachoni shift to Lubukusu. Matiki (1997) observes that in language shift situations, much as the young generation may be exposed to their L1 by their parents, they are also exposed (from a young age) to another fashionable and socially useful or prestigious language either at school or in the community. In such a case, speakers of the old language will continue to speak it but will gradually import forms and constructions from the socially dominant language (Aitchson, 1991).

A study by Jaffe (1999) shows how young people were influenced by schooling to abandon their Corsican language in favour of French for a better career and future. Jaffe continues to say that the teaching of French was seen as a way of elevating the learners culturally. It is possible that the promotion of Lubukusu in the education domain influences the Tachoni to shift. This could mean that the minimal maintenance of Lutachoni (22%) is an indication that Lutachoni is gradually shifting to the dominant Lubukusu and it is possible that the Tachoni could be looking at Lubukusu as a prestigious dialect.

#### 4.1.6 Business domain

Business domain, also called trade domain (Myers–scotton 2000, Whiteley 1974) covered a wide range of exchanges involving buying and selling in different environments. Whiteley (1974) notes:

“I use the term trade cover a wide range of exchanges: from buying and selling in the market, through buying, selling and working in ‘dukas’, to buying stamps at the post office or ordering a dress from the local tailor. The term also covers a wide range of informal exchanges which are characteristic of daily life in the rural areas.” (p.332)

Activities of business that were looked at by this study included transport, shops, kiosks and trade on market days. The respondents of both ethnic groups were asked to indicate the most dominantly maintained dialect in business activities when in contact with traders of Bukusu/ Tachoni. Results were tabulated as shown in table 4.6 below.

**Table 4.6 Lubukusu/Lutachoni maintenance/shift in the business domain**  
Dialect Respondents

	<b>Bukusu</b>	<b>Tachoni</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Lubukusu	84	52	136	69
Lutachoni	6	42	48	24
No Response	6	8	14	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>100</b>

In Table 4.6, 136 (69% of respondents in both ethnic groups maintain Lubukusu in business domain while 48 (24%) maintain Lutachoni. Out of the 69% that

maintain Lubukusu in this domain, 84 (62%) were the Bukusu while 52 (38%) were the Tachoni. At the same time, out of the 48 (24%) that maintain Lutachoni, there were 42 (88%) were the Tachoni while 6 (12%) were the Bukusu.

These data show that Lubukusu is the dominantly maintained dialect in its contact with Lutachoni in the business domain (69%), while Lutachoni is the most shifted from by the respondents having 24%. This is also evident in the number of the Tachoni who maintain Lutachoni 42 (42%) as compared to the number of the same Tachoni respondents who shift to Lubukusu 52 (53%).

These results are not in line with Whiteley (1974) in which it is noted that centers of trade are likely to be heterogenous because most traders are likely to be of mixed ethnicity hence a national language, in this case Kiswahili, would be the choice of traders. Whiteley's study looked at language use in trade where respondents from various ethnic backgrounds had an option of their L1 in addition to National and Official language of Kenya. Because of the heterogeneity of the sample in Whiteley's study, where several ethnic groups were looked at, there was a strong correlation between Kiswahili and trade in the respondents as opposed to their L1. However, there was a 21% use of Lubukusu in the traders, in a Luhya (Bukusu dominant region), (See Whiteley 1974, p. 333).The slight difference

between this study and Whiteley (1974) is that this study looked at the contact of only two varieties of Luhya language: Lubukusu and Lutachoni.

First as per the domain theory (Fishman 1964, 1991), the dominance of a language (or dialect for this matter) in a domain, can impact on speakers of other speech communities to shift to it when they want to express themselves in the particular domain. In this case, the Tachoni speakers shift to Lubukusu, because it is the dialect used by most speakers in the region in the business domain. Although there are Tachoni business people, the impact of their being in business to have any influence on the maintenance of their dialect in the domain is minimal.

#### **4.1.7 Government services domain**

This section presents and analyses data on how the Bukusu and the Tachoni maintain/shift in the use of their dialects when they come in contact in government services domain.

I focused on the dialect that local or village leaders use in their meet the people tours, when they have village meetings and when the locals visit them in their offices to report different incidents. The respondents were asked to state the most

maintained/shifted dialect in government domain. Data was tabulated and presented as in table 4.7.below.

**Table 4.7: Lubukusu/Lutachoni maintenance/shift in government domain**

Dialect	Respondents			
	Bukusu	Tachoni	Total	%
<b>Lubukusu</b>	65	31	96	49
<b>Lutachoni</b>	14	44	58	29
<b>No Response</b>	20	24	44	22
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>100</b>

In table 4.7 above there is 49% maintenance of Lubukusu and 29% maintenance of Lutachoni in the government domain. Out of the 49% of respondents that maintain Lubukusu, 68% are the Bukusu while 32% are the Tachoni. On the side of Lutachoni maintenance, 24% of the Bukusu while 76% are the Tachoni. Comparatively, more Tachoni (32%) shift to Lubukusu than the Bukusu (24%) who shift to Lutachoni in this domain.

As noted by Mwaka (2012), language policies in Kenya are more pronounced in institutions such as education, legislature, mass media and the judiciary where specific languages have specific roles. The above institutions are government

controlled institutions and the status of language in this domain should have official or national function. Kenya's official languages are Kiswahili and English, so it is expected that when individuals visit government offices in Kenya, they either use English or Kiswahili. But in rural areas where people use their indigenous languages for their daily interactions (Muaka 2012), it is not strange to find in a chief's or sub-chief's office individuals freely using their indigenous languages. In addition, at the local level, Mwaka notes:

At the local level, local languages facilitate administrative work which is carried out by local leaders such as the village headmen, the sub chief and the chief. It is important to note that without Kenya's indigenous languages official policies would not be implemented. (p.220)

The findings of this study show that there is 49% maintenance of Lubukusu and 29% maintenance of Lutachoni. In as much as Lubukusu is dominantly maintained in this domain as compared to Lutachoni, the choice of the two dialects in this domain is still low and dependent on the language policy. This fact accounts for the minimal use of the two dialects. However, in situations where the local leaders speak the dominant indigenous language of the region, there is a comparatively high maintenance of Lubukusu than Lutachoni in the respondents because they want to identify themselves with their leaders

My observation in this study showed that some people could temporarily shift to Kiswahili when addressing issues that were not sensitive, but when they felt they

had sensitive matters with a local leader and they would not wish to make it public, they would shift to Lubukusu or Lutachoni at 49% and 29% respectively. The Tachoni speakers showed a higher percentage of shifts towards Lubukusu (31%), than any other language (24%).

#### **4.1.8 Road/Street domain.**

In this domain, respondents were asked to indicate the dominantly maintained dialect or most frequently used while on the road or street when they meet people especially those of the Bukusu and Tachoni ethnicity. As shown in table 4.8 below, Lubukusu had 71% maintenance in the respondents while Lutachoni had 23%. In the 71% Lubukusu maintenance, there is 88(62%) of the Bukusu respondents who maintain Lubukusu while there is a 53(38%) of the Tachoni who shift to Lubukusu.

**Table 4.8 Lubukusu and Lutachoni maintenance on the road/street domain**

Dialect	Respondents			
	<b>Bukusu</b>	<b>Tachoni</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Lubukusu	<b>88</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>71</b>
Lutachoni	<b>3</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>23</b>
No Response	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>100</b>

On the side of Lutachoni, out of the 23% that maintain Lutachoni on the

road/street, 93% are the Tachoni while 7% are the Bukusu who shift to Lutachoni.

Comparatively, there are more of the Bukusu 88 (89%) respondents who maintain Lubukusu than the Tachoni respondents 43 (43%) who maintain Lutachoni. In addition, majority of the Tachoni 54% (53) shift to Lubukusu in this domain as compared to 3% of the Bukusu who shift to Lutachoni.

Bradley (2002) describes a hierarchy of identities where languages are allocated specific roles and they are used in different contexts depending on their status. The status of a language for example, is it official or national language Muaka (2012), dominant or minority; can contribute to the language being the choice of speakers in different domains because they view it as prestigious and it can serve them better (Appel and Muiyken 1987).

Fishman (1964) notes that when a language becomes dominant in a domain, it becomes the choice of speakers in the particular domain. The minority language will generally be restricted to the home and in-group interaction, whereas the dominant language of the environment becomes the language of communication. The findings of this study show that Lubukusu is the choice of speakers in the

road/street domain. This can be attributed to its status as a dominant dialect spoken by majority Bukusu people, thus when the Tachoni are on the streets they find use of Lubukusu more appropriate for communication. As explained in the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality, demographic characteristics of a speech community are important factor in the maintenance of a language. The findings of this study show that there is a minimal maintenance of Lutachoni in the road/street domain, even by the Tachoni themselves (38%). This implies that the Tachoni lose their demographic vitality as domains become more public. In this case Lutachoni ceases to act as their identity in the public, but instead they shift to identify themselves with Lubukusu because of Lubukusu's dominating status.

This study established that demographically, the population and distribution of the Bukusu in the region of study is higher than that of the Tachoni. The presence of this factor has impacted positively on the maintenance of Lubukusu (71%).

According to the domain theory (Fishman 1964, 1991), a language with expanded use in a domain is shifted to by interlocutors of other languages because of its dominating role. This study has established that Lubukusu is the dominantly used dialect in the region as compared to Lutachoni.

#### **4.1.9 Mass Media domain.**

There are two types of mass media: print and non print media. This study did not establish the use of either dialect in the print media, for example newspapers, magazines and journals. As such, this study focused on the non print media, namely television and radio.

In the pre- administration of the questionnaire, it was discovered that not all the categories of the non print media were relevant in this study. This is because things like computer were not available in most respondents and that most of them had not interacted with the computer. Because of this, the researcher decided not to collect information based on computer. Second, it was also realized that in as much as the use of mobile phone was spread in the region and the respondents, the young age group of respondents had little interaction with the mobile phone. The researcher felt this could compromise the validity of the data collected, hence the researcher did not look at the most promoted of the two dialects on the mobile phone.

I used the FM Radio to represent the Mass Media because they were the most available, accessible and at the reach of most respondents who were used in the study. Second, as per the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK) there are

several FM Stations that broadcast in local languages in the region of study, including West FM, Radio Mambo, Sulwe FM, Sayare Radio Mlembe FM and Radio Ingo.

**Table 4.9 Preferred Fm Radio stations by respondents**

FM RADIO	Preference	Respondents	
		Frequency	percentage
Sulwe FM	1	95	48
West FM	2	79	40
Radio Mambo	3	20	10
Radio Ingo FM	4	4	2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>100</b>

As per the table 4.9 above, the most preferred FM Radio station in the region of study is Sulwe FM with a 48% preference among the respondents. This is followed by West FM with 40% preference Radio Mambo, 10% and Radio Ingo 2%. From the information in Table 4.9 above, the researcher decided to focus on the promotion of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in the first 3 FM Stations, thus Sulwe FM, West FM and Radio Mambo FM. Table 4.10 below is a presentation on the promoted dialect between Lubukusu and Lutachoni on FM Stations

**Table 4.10 the dominantly supported language variety in FM Stations**

Dialect	Respondents			
	<b>Bukusu</b>	<b>Tachoni</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Lubukusu	90	86	176	89
Lutachoni	6	12	18	9
No Response	3	1	4	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>100</b>

The results in table 4.10 show that there is an 89% support of Lubukusu in FM Stations and a 9% support for Lutachoni. In addition, 51% of the respondents that claimed Lubukusu is the most promoted dialect on FM Stations are the Bukusu while 49% are the Tachoni.

As shown in the table 4.10 above, Lubukusu is the dominantly supported dialect on FM Stations (89%) as compared to Lutachoni (9%). It is evident in both groups of respondents that Lubukusu is dominantly supported.

The mass media is an information dissemination tool and has an influence on the people (Muaka 2011). The national broadcaster Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) has in addition to National and Official languages of Kenya been promoting indigenous Kenyan languages (Kiarie 2004). The government through KBC had established about three regions across Kenya, namely: Central station,

Eastern station and western station broadcasting in the following languages: Kikuyu, Kikamba, Kimasaai, Kimeru and Kiambu; Somali, Rendille, Boran, Burji and Turkana and Dholuo, Kisii, Kalenjin, Kuria, Teso, and Luhya (Kiarie 2004). From the above list, it is evident that Lutachoni and Lubukusu are not represented. This study established that there is no FM Radio Station that purely broadcasts in Lutachoni. This may account for the minimal promotion of Lutachoni (9%). In addition, since the 1992, the airwaves were liberalized ushering a season that has seen the mushrooming of FM Stations broadcasting in indigenous Kenyan languages (Muaka 2012). Muaka continues to note that the impetus to have indigenous Kenyan languages in the public media especially FM Stations, comes from private enterprises. This study established that FM Stations in Kenya are majorly a private investment business run and managed by private entrepreneurs where the numbers of listeners is critical. Comparing the population of the Bukusu (about 800,000) in the entire Bungoma County where Tongaren Constituency is located, and the population of the Tachoni (about 180,000) it is possible that entrepreneurs in FM Stations in this region concentrate on Lubukusu than Lutachoni which has few speakers. This may explain why FM Stations broadcasting in the region concentrate on broadcasting in Lubukusu (89%) than Lutachoni (9%).

What the above imply is that the investors in Fm Stations make an assumption that

by broadcasting majorly in Lubukusu, they also reach the Tachoni. This assumption is wrong because the more they broadcast in Lubukusu; the more they promote the dominancy of Lubukusu. Fishman (1991) notes that when a language becomes the choice of speakers in a domain, it becomes dominantly used by speakers when discussing different topics. Although Fishman (1991) is doubtful of using media to implant mother tongue use in the young, he still believes that local media in the minority language can be useful in shaping the adult identity and language use. The creation of a local radio station or newspaper can have a positive effect on a speech community because newspaper and radio are excellent media for introducing new vocabulary to a language and use of media is part of a speech community's daily language use (Fishman, 1991). Peyer (2004) notes that the use of a community's language on radio, TV and newspapers does increase the prestige of a language in the eyes of its speakers, if they can hear their language daily on the radio or on TV. This implies that introducing programs that make promote the use of a minority language of a group can impact on the group to maintain their language on radio, other than shifting to listen to radio in a dominant language because their language is not promoted. On the other hand, the frequent use of a language on radio can impact on the minority to see the dominantly used language more prestigious than their own L1. This study notes that the frequent use of Lubukusu dialect on the local FM Stations in the region of study could have contributed to its dominancy and impacted on the Lutachoni to shift to Lubukusu in this domain.

The different maintenance/shift statuses of the two dialects in different domains as presented above can better be interpreted by giving a summarized presentation as in table 4.11 and figure 2 below.

The following is a summary of the most maintained/shifted dialect in the 9 domains studied.

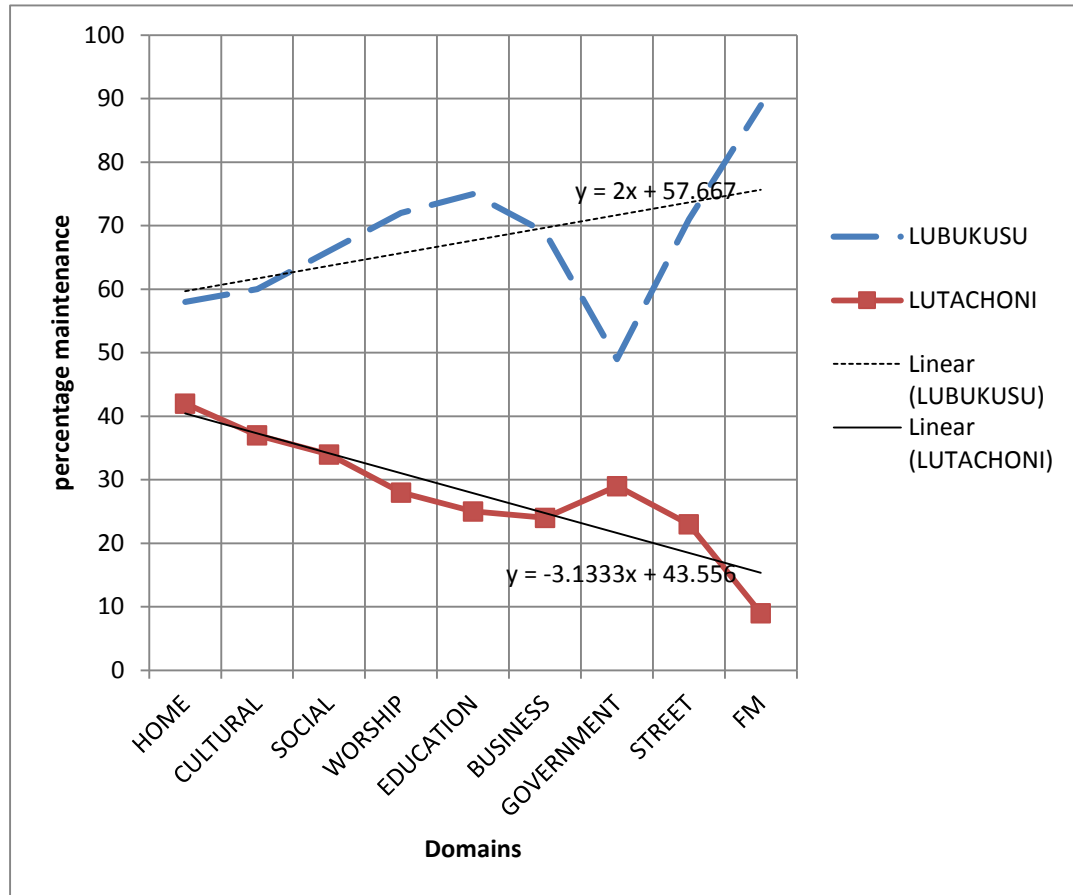
**Table 4.11: Summary of the most maintained/shifted dialect across domain**

Domains	Dialects' (%) maintenance	
	Lubukusu	Lutachoni
Home	58	42
Cultural	60	37
Social	66	34
Worship	72	28
Education	75	25
Business	69	24
Government	49	29
Road/street	71	23
Fm stations	89	9
Mean	67.66	27.88

In table 4.11 above, the maintenance of Lubukusu dominates all the 9 domains. FM Stations have the highest promotion of Lubukusu at 89% maintenance. Maintenance of Lubukusu in education is the second highest with 75% followed by worship at 72%. As shown in table 4.11 above, Lubukusu dominates in all the domains studied. This means that most activities in these domains are done majorly in Lubukusu and that when the Tachoni come in contact with the Bukusu there is a higher possibility of the Tachoni shifting to Lubukusu than maintaining Lutachoni. At the same time, there is possibility there are high chances that the Bukusu will maintain Lubukusu than shift to Lutachoni. (See analysis in figure 2 for actual probability of maintenance and shift in the two dialects)

To observe and interpret maintenance trend of the two dialects in the different domains, the information in the table 4.11 above can be presented as in figure 2 below. Chart analysis tools like the trend line can help us determine the maintenance trend of the two dialects. At the same time, the trend equation can help us to determine the rate or probability at which the Tachoni shift to Lubukusu and vice versa. As shown in figure 2 below, the data points for the maintenance of Lubukusu are above the data points for maintenance of Lutachoni.

**Figure 2: Maintenance trend of Lubukusu and Lutachoni across domains**



This could also suggest that the vitality of Lutachoni is low, thus in the course of interaction, they shift to Lubukusu. The worst domain in which there is an almost complete shift of Lutachoni to Lubukusu is in the FM. This is attributed to the fact that in the region of study, there is a minimal promotion of Lutachoni on FM Radio, thus the Tachoni shift to Lubukusu FM Radio broadcasts.

In figure 2 above, the trend for maintenance of Lubukusu has a positive gradient. This means that maintenance of Lubukusu increases as domains become more

public. In simple terms, Lubukusu gains speakers as the domains become more public. But since this study looked at the contact of only two dialects, Lubukusu and Lutachoni, then we can say that as the domains become more public, Lubukusu gains speakers from Lutachoni. At the same time, as domains become more public, Lutachoni maintenance becomes more unpopular in the region of study. It loses speakers to Lubukusu. In simple terms, this could imply that Lutachoni shifts to Lubukusu as the domains become more public. The rate at which Lubukusu gains speakers and Lutachoni loses speakers per each preceding domain is explained below.

The trend line equations for Lubukusu and Lutachoni in figure 4.1 above are based on the trend line equation  $y = mx + c$ , where  $m$  is the gradient of the line which defines the rate of change on the y-axis against the x-axis;  $x$  is the value on the x-axis at different points; and  $c$  is the y-intercept point on the y-axis.

The trend line equation for Lubukusu maintenance is  $y = 2x + 57.667\%$ . If  $c$  is the y-intercept for the values of  $y$  (% maintenance), then this is in the home domain bar. (see figure 2). This means that the percentage maintenance for Lubukusu in the home domain is 57.66% in the respondents. If we round off this figure 57.66% it gives us 58% maintenance of Lubukusu. 58% is in line with the results on the

maintenance of Lubukusu in the home domain in table 4.1. (See table 4.1).

Still referring back to the trend line equation  $y = mx + c$ ,  $m$  is the gradient of the line defining the rate of change in  $y$ - values against  $x$ - values. It means that in the equation  $y = 2x + c$ , 2 is the gradient; the rate of change in percentages on  $y$ - axis against domains on  $x$ - axis. The  $x$ - values in our case are norminals. We can interpret the percentage rate of change in Lubukusu maintenance against each proceeding domain. What the gradient signifies here is that as the domains proceed from less to more public (Fishman, 1977) or more private to less private, Lubukusu gains speakers at the rate of 2% per each proceeding domain. In other words, there is a probability of Lubukusu gaining 2% of speakers in the public as domains become more public. Since this study limited its findings to the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni only, it signifies that Lubukusu gains 2% of Tachoni speakers from the public in each proceeding domain as the domains become more public.

On the other hand, Lutachoni trend line equation,  $y = -3.1333x + 43.556$ , can be interpreted in a similar manner. In this case,  $c$  is 43.556, the  $y$ - intercept. This is the percentage maintenance of Lutachoni in the home domain in the respondents. This figure is consistent with the results of table 4.1, where the maintenance of

Lutachoni was 42% (see table 4.1). This confirms my research findings in table 4.1 that indeed Lubukusu is dominantly maintained in the home domain in the respondents. Whether the Tachoni speaker has gone to a Bukusu home or it is the Bukusu who has visited the Tachoni in their home, chances are that there is 42-43% maintenance of Lutachoni and 58% maintenance of Lubukusu.

At the same time, the gradient of Lutachoni maintenance on the trend line is -3.133% (negative). This is a negative gradient that shows a reducing trend of percentage maintenance of Lutachoni as domains become more public. What this signifies is that as domains become more public, in each proceeding domain Lutachoni loses speakers. Since this study focused on the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni, it follows that Lutachoni shifts to Lubukusu at the rate of 3.133% percent per each proceeding domain.

The above sub section (section 4.1) has looked at the first objective. The section has established that Lubukusu is the dominantly maintained dialect upon contact with Lutachoni. The following section looks at the second objective on relationship between institutional control factors and dialect dominance in the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni.

## **4.2 Relationship between the dominance of language varieties and societal institutional support**

This subsection explored the second objective. It focused on the relationship between societal institutional support and dialects' dominance. The purpose was to establish if there existed any relationship between the dominantly supported dialect in societal institutions and dominantly maintained dialect in domains. This section used the qualitative design to analyze the respondents' views on the maintenance of Lubukusu and Lutachoni and the promotion of the same dialects societal institutions

In section 4.1, this study has established that Lubukusu is the dominantly maintained dialect in the domains with over 65% maintenance. To begin with, the researcher sampled 3 societal institutions at random, namely worship, education and FM stations to represent mass media. The analysis of the respondent's views on the support of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in various social institutions was qualitatively analyzed in different content areas as per each societal institution. In worship or religion, the researcher interviewed respondents to give their views on the most promoted dialect between Lubukusu and Lutachoni in various worship activities.

#### **4.2.1 Religion/Worship societal institution**

Activities that were mentioned by most Bukusu and the Tachoni respondents concerning worship were as follows: prayer, reading the scripture, announcements, reading the Bible, singing, and giving offerings.

On overall, concerning the above activities, most of the respondents indicated that they maintain Lubukusu, while a minority indicated they shift to Lutachoni. Most of the Bukusu respondents asserted they maintain Lubukusu while a relatively low number of the Tachoni respondents claimed they maintain Lutachoni. Comparatively, fewer Bukusu respondents said they shift to Lutachoni, while a majority of the Tachoni respondents said they shift to Lubukusu.

The above observations show that Lubukusu is the most supported dialect in worship activities. Additionally, more Tachoni shift to Lubukusu as compared to the few of the Bukusu who shift to Lutachoni.

Compared to the quantitative results in section 4.1.4, this results show that there is a significant relation between the promoted dialect in worship as a societal institution and the dominant dialect in the worship domain.

Commenting on the maintenance of a language for religious purposes, Appel and Muysken (1987) observe that the use of a language for religious purposes can contribute to its vitality among or in other language groups. Appel and (1987) give an example of the Germanic language in the US that has led a strong position in the US against other immigrant languages like the Dutch and Swedish because it is used as a religious language of the Lutheran church. On the same note, the old Amish and Mennonites of German descent living in Pennsylvania, maintains their dialect to exclude worldly influence because they believe in the use of their dialect as a form of religious loyalty and to change or use another language is sinful. (Appel and Muysken, 1987). On the same note, Fishman (1977) notes that for a long time The Roman Catholic Church has rendered Latin holy and do not just use it for communication but to perform religious rituals, and that religious loyalty was viewed through the language of their religion.

The maintenance of Lubukusu in the above analysis, could have religious attachments. The respondents in both ethnic groups have shown maintenance of their dialect although Lubukusu has a higher promotion. This could also imply that there are still some religious functions in both ethnic groups where the use of their own L1 is recommended for example when performing religious rituals of

administering oaths to the initiates and giving offerings in traditional worship circumstances. As per the domain theory (Fishman, 1991,1968), the dominant use of a dialect because of being the choice of speakers for particular purposes can contribute to the dominant status of the language in the particular domain. In this regard, the promotion of Lubukusu in worship activities has contributed to its dominant status. At the same time, as per the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality, worship as a societal institution can contribute to the vitality of a group's linguistic orientation such that a language group is able to identify itself as a collective and distinct entity in intergroup situations.

#### **4.2.2 Education societal institution**

Although there is much discussion and the need to promote the use of indigenous languages, sometimes it is hard to convince parents to accept the use of local languages in education rather than English (Bodomo,1996). Bodomo (1996) research in Ghana showed that given the important role that education plays in the maintenance of a language in Ghana, there was need to educate the society and policy makers on the advantages of using local languages as Medium Of Instruction (MOI) for this would go a long way in promoting the use of Ghanaian indigenous languages.

In education as a social institution, the following areas were looked at:

- the dialect in which the respondents received instructions at lower primary

- availability of teaching/learning materials in the dialect promoted
- type of learning materials that were available
- availability of teachers in the promoted dialect

On the dialect of instruction at lower primary, most of the Bukusu respondents agreed that they received instruction in Lubukusu. Few of the Bukusu noted to have received instruction in Lutachoni at lower primary. At the same time, most of the Tachoni respondents received instruction in Lubukusu.

Studies by Fishman (1977) indicate that when children learn in mother tongue, it reinforces comprehension and reading skills. This in turn makes children to develop loyalty in the language of instruction because they become competent and fluent. Applied to this study, this could mean that the promotion of Lubukusu at school has contributed to its dominant status. This has impacted on the Tachoni to shift to Lubukusu when they receive instructions in Lubukusu. Indeed the list of Kenyan indigenous languages that were approved by the MoE to be used at lower primary as Medium of Instruction (MoI) does not contain Lutachoni, likewise to the list that instructional materials was prepared, see Wanjohi and Wanjohi (2009), Mbaabu, (1996). This could contribute to the Tachoni looking at Lubukusu with prestige.

Moreover, Lewis, Paul, Gary, Simons and Fenning (eds.) (2014), identify

Lubukusu with a 30% literacy rate, taught in primary, having radio programs and Bible in Lubukusu. Lubukusu is also used as an L2 by Sabaots. Lutachoni, despite being mentioned by Lewis et al. (2014) as being used in all domains including education, has no identified literacy rate among the speakers. This could imply that the maintenance status of Lutachoni is unstable and that the Tachoni look at Lubukusu with prestige for its promotion in societal institutions like education and worship. The observation by Lewis et al. (2014) is in line with the results in figure 2, where there is maintenance of Lutachoni in all domains. However, Lewis's observation does not take into account the extent of maintenance of Lutachoni in each individual domain as does this study.

Concerning the availability of teaching/learning materials, 30% of the Bukusu respondents noted that there were books prepared by the 'government' in Lubukusu, and they used to read them in class. No respondent identified any teaching/learning material in Lutachoni although there were three Tachoni respondents who noted that they received instructions at lower primary in Lutachoni. This could suggest that sometimes teachers could shift to teach in Lutachoni

Books written in mother tongue were mentioned as some of the teaching/learning

materials that were used for teaching. Titles like TKK (Tujifunze Kikwetu). Other materials included wood and clay sculptures imitating images of human beings, animals and birds.

Most of the respondents said that the teachers who taught them were of Bukusu tribe, although there was some from Tachoni tribe but spoke Lubukusu fluently. This could suggest that the training of teachers did not take into account the ethnicity of the teacher.

Some respondents said that in as much as they learned in L1, they cannot write in L1 because they have not been writing in their L1.

The observations above indicate that Lubukusu is the most promoted dialect in education institution, and this has contributed to its dominant status in education domain as noted in section. This implies that the promotion of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in Education has indeed contributed to their maintenance though in favour of Lubukusu.

#### **4.2.3 Mass Media societal institution**

In the Mass Media, this study focused on the FM stations because of their availability in the region of study and the fact that majority of respondents were in possession of radio receivers as compared to other forms of Mass Media like newspapers, magazines and journals, television and mobile and computer.

#### **Question: Do you listen to Radio in Lubukusu or Lutachoni?**

As concerns the above question, most of the respondents noted that they listen to FM Radio in Lubukusu. Some of the FM radio stations they mentioned were Sulwe, West FM, Radio Mambo, Radio Ingo Mlembe FM, Nyota FM and Sayare Radio. Sulwe FM was mentioned as the choice of most respondents who noted that Sulwe FM broadcasts most of its programs in Lubukusu. The following programs were mentioned, “Kololosia okokopilo”, “Busia bwasia nako”, “Endekhelo”, “Kemumilimo”, “Ke mubisuli” and “Buli mundu no mundu wewe.”

The list of the above programs is all in Lubukusu. This confirms the claim above that Sulwe FM broadcasts most of its programs in Lubukusu. Another radio station that has some of its programs in Lubukusu is West FM. Most respondents said that they listen to a program called “Simachamacha” on West FM. This program is broadcast in Lubukusu although it is liked by both ethnic groups. Other FM Stations like, Radio Mambo, Sayare FM, Nyota FM, and Ingo FM. broadcast in locally in the area but not purely in Lubukusu or Lutachoni.

The responses above show that there is minimal support of Lutachoni on FM Radio. All the programs mentioned above are in Lubukusu, yet they are favourites of Tachoni listeners.

**Question: Say why you listen to broadcasts in the above stations?**

All respondents indicated that they listen to the above stations because they entertain inform and enable them to talk on phone and be heard over radio by other listeners. Although most programs on their favorite stations like Sulwe and West FM are in Lubukusu, The respondents did not show any concern that the programs are in Lubukusu dialect but not Lutachoni. One respondent said:

*There is nothing you can do because the radios broadcast in Lubukusu, so you just have to listen to Lubukusu. But there is no problem because they entertain us well especially there is a program on West FM "Simachamacha" where listeners are allowed to ask questions about their traditional customs... whether you are a Tachoni or a Bukusu you can ask a question...and that is good."*

The above speech implies that there is minimal promotion of Lutachoni dialect on FM radio in the region of Study. This has impacted on the Tachoni ethnolinguistic group to shift to Lubukusu. This testimony is consistent with the findings in section 4.1 subsection 4.1.9, where there was 89% maintenance of Lubukusu in the respondents on FM radio in the region of study. In addition, there seem to be some incidents on FM radio in the region of study where the presenters do also shift to Lutachoni because one respondent claimed that there are some presenters who can

speak Lutachoni and if you answer on phone in Lutachoni, the presenter will also shift to Lutachoni, and that it makes the listener feel good.

The above sub section has looked at the relationship between societal institutional support of Lubukusu and Lutachoni and their dominance in different domains as presented in section 4.1. The qualitative results show that there is a significant relationship between the dominantly maintained dialect in domains and societal institutional support. The dominantly maintained dialect between Lubukusu and Lutachoni is also the most supported or promoted dialect in societal institutions.

The following sub section looks at the pattern of maintenance /shift in relation to different age groups.

#### **4.3 Relationship between age and the maintenance/shift of Lubukusu and Lutachoni contact.**

This subsection looks at the third objective. The researcher investigated how different age groups maintained and shifted in their speeches upon the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni. The research centered on the home and education domains. The researcher sampled a most private domain and a public domain.

There are three age groups that were used in this study: the young age group, middle age group and finally the old age group. The order of presentation was important in understanding the different patterns. The study in this subsection was presented based on the age groups and the domains under study in the two ethnic groups.

#### 4.3.1 The young age in the home domain.

This age category consisted of respondents below 18 years of age, but equal or more than five years. Those respondents who could not respond to the questionnaire by themselves were assisted by the researcher in filling the questionnaire. The researcher investigated the most maintained or shifted language variety in the home domain. Table 4.33 below is a presentation of responses on the most maintained and shifted language variety.

**Table 4.12: Maintained/shifted dialect in the home domain by young respondents**

Dialect	Respondents			%
	<b>Bukusu</b>	<b>Tachoni</b>	<b>Total</b>	
Lubukusu	32	6	38	58
Lutachoni	1	27	28	42
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>100</b>

In the home domain, 58% of the young respondents maintain Lubukusu, of which 6 (16%) are Tachoni children and 32 (84%) are Bukusu children. At the same

time, 28 (42%) of the young respondents maintain Lutachoni. In this category, 27 (96%) are Tachoni children while 1(4%) is a Bukusu.

Demographic characteristics of the above respondents showed that among the 6 (16%) Tachoni children who shift to Lubukusu, 3 (8%) have Bukusu mothers. The influence of their mothers (who sometimes speak Lubukusu with them at home) makes them to shift to Lubukusu. Jagodic (2011) notes that one of the factors that encourage language shift is female gender. Women or mothers have more influence on the language of the children. Only 1 (4%) young Bukusu respondent shifts to Lutachoni because of being an orphan growing up in a Tachoni home. The environment in which the one Bukusu boy is growing does not favor learning of L1. As noted by Jagodic (2011), the environment in which one is situated can motivate language shift if it does not favor the use of an individual's L1. The fact that family members in the home in which the one Bukusu boy is raised are Tachoni, implies that the members maintain Lutachoni. This impact on the one of the Bukusu respondents above to shift to Lutachoni most of the time.

The above observation confirms that demographic factors are an indicator of dialect maintenance and shift in a speech community. (Giles et al., 1977). Some of the demographic factors like the population of the Bukusu in the region of study

do influence the maintenance and shift of the two language varieties upon their contact. If in any gathering there are more than five people of the Bukusu ethnic community against a single Tachoni, chances are high that the Tachoni will shift.

#### **4.3.2 The middle age group (18-55 years) in the home domain.**

This subsection looks at those aged 18 years and above, but below 56 years. The respondents were asked to indicate the most maintained dialect upon contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in the home domain. Those respondents who were unable to fill the questionnaire on their own were assisted by the researcher to fill the questionnaire. The following table contains information on the most maintained/shifted language variety in the home domain.

**Table 4.13: Maintained/shifted dialect in the middle age in the home domain**

Dialect	Respondents			
	<b>Bukusu</b>	<b>Tachoni</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Lubukusu	32	8	40	61
Lutachoni	1	25	26	39
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>100</b>

In table 4.12 above, 40(61%) of respondents maintain Lubukusu. Of this, there are 8(20%) of the Tachoni and 32 (80%) of the Bukusu. On the other hand, 26(39%) of the respondents maintain Lutachoni whereby 25(96%) are Tachoni while 1(4) is a Bukusu respondent.

This implies that majority of the Tachoni 8 (32%) shift to Lubukusu as compared to the Bukusu who shift to Lutachoni, 1 (4%).

The pattern of maintenance in this age group category is similar to the pattern in the young age category although this age group has more Tachoni respondents who shift to Lubukusu and also more Bukusu respondents who maintain Lubukusu.

In section 4.1, this study established that Lubukusu is the most maintained dialect in the home domain. Because of this, the status of Lubukusu in the domain is higher as compared to Lutachoni. At the same time, domain theory, (Fishman, 1991) talks of the idea that when a dialect has a dominant use in a domain, it impacts on the speakers of other dialects to shift. In this case, the dominant status of Lubukusu in the home domain impacts on the Tachoni interlocutors to shift.

### **4.3.3 The Old age (56 years and above) in the home domain.**

This age group comprised of respondents of 56 years and above. They also responded to the same question as the young and middle age. The following table (Table 4.14) is a presentation of the data.

In table 4.14 below, 38 (58%) of the respondents in the old age group maintain Lubukusu, while 28 (42%) maintain Lutachoni in the home domain. At the same time, out of those who maintain Lubukusu, 30 (79%) are the Bukusu while 8 (32%) are the Tachoni. This indicates the dominant status of Lubukusu in the old age respondents in the home domain. Keeping in mind that majority of interlocutors in the home domain are family members, whether nuclear or extended family, it means that the maintenance of Lubukusu by the old age respondents of Bukusu ethnicity influences the Tachoni to shift when they come in contact, or the Tachoni want to identify themselves with the Bukusu in contact.

**Table 4.14 Maintained/shifted dialect in the old age in home domain**

Dialect	Respondents			
	<b>Bukusu</b>	<b>Tachoni</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Lubukusu	30	8	38	58
Lutachoni	3	25	28	42
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>100</b>

On the side of Lutachoni, out of the 42% that maintain Lutachoni, 25 (89%) are The Tachoni while 3 (11%) are the Bukusu. It seems the maintenance of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in both ethnic groups is competitive although Lubukusu is slightly higher 58% as compared to Lutachoni 42%. This could suggest that the old age respondents (56 years and above) in both ethnic groups preserve their L1s.

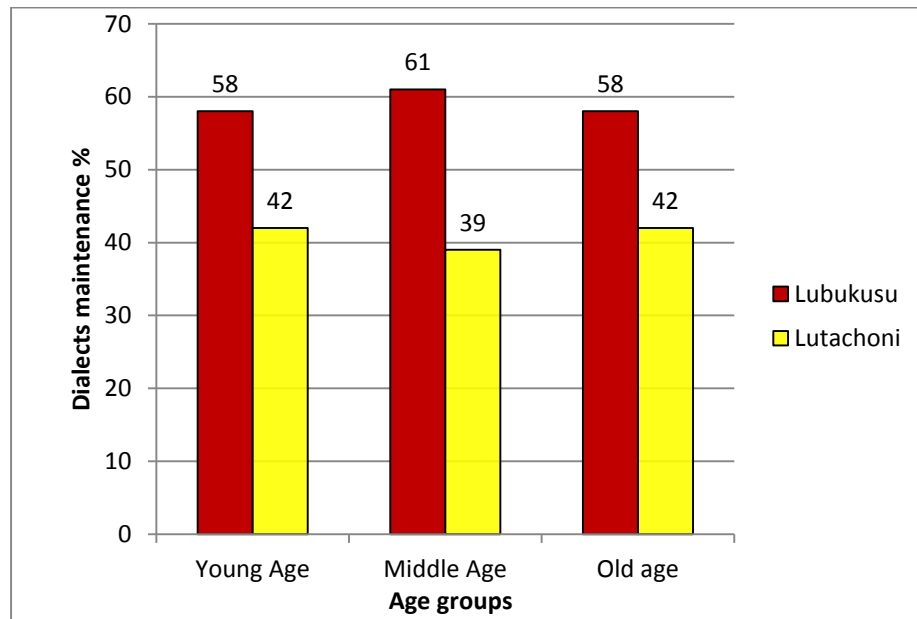
In the home domain, information in Tables 4.11 through 4.14 can be summarized in one table to show how the three age groups (the young age below 18 years, middle age 18 years and above but below 56 years and old age 56 years and above) maintain/shift in the home domain.

**Table 4.15 Lubukusu and Lutachoni maintenance/shift in the three age groups.**

Dialect	Age groups (%) maintenance		
	Young	Middle	Old
Lubukusu	58	61	58
Lutachoni	42	39	42
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Information in the above table can also be represented as in Figure 3 below.

**Fig. 3 Lubukusu and Lutachoni maintenance/shift in home domain in the three age groups**



In figure 3 above, the maintenance of Lubukusu in the three age groups is higher

than Lutachoni. This could suggest that more of the Tachoni shift to maintain Lubukusu. This is in line with the results in figure 2 above where it was established that there is a higher probability of Lutachoni shift to Lubukusu in the respondents than it is for Lubukusu shift to Lutachoni in the respondents. As shown in figure 3 above, the patterns of maintenance and shift shown in figure 3 have been broken down into categories of the three age groups used in the study so that I can explain how exactly the patterns of maintenance and shift shown in figure 2 are realized in three age groups. I did this so that I can account for how the two ethnolinguistic groups, the Bukusu and the Tachoni have varying patterns of maintenance and shift in their dialects in the course of their interaction in the home domain when they come in contact.

The middle age Bukusu respondents have the highest maintenance of Lubukusu (61%) followed by the old age and the young age at par (58%). This is in line with the findings of Giles et al. (2000), where the middle age (31-52 years) have the highest ethnolinguistic vitality than young or old age.

This could imply that there are slightly higher chances of Lubukusu maintenance in the middle age of the Bukusu people than it is in the young and old age of the same group. This pattern could suggest that the middle age Bukusu find value in

maintenance of Lubukusu in the home domain than the young and old age respondents.

In figure 3 above, Lutachoni maintenance, the young age and old age respondents maintain Lutachoni at 42% and then the middle age at 39%. The maintenance pattern in the Tachoni respondents is the exact opposite of what is in the Bukusu respondents. This pattern can be explained as follows, that as more middle age Bukusu maintain Lubukusu, it influences their counterparts (the middle age Tachoni) in Lutachoni to shift to Lubukusu.

This could imply that the middle age Tachoni interact more with their Bukusu counterparts in the same age group and they find more pressure when the Bukusu middle age have higher chances of maintaining Lubukusu than shift to Lutachoni; so the Tachoni middle age have more probability to shift to Lubukusu as compared to the old and young age of the Tachoni. In the same vein, the young and old age of the Tachoni have a higher probability of maintaining Lutachoni as compared to the middle age of the Tachoni. These two patterns could imply that there is a higher probability of the young and middle age of the Tachoni maintaining Lutachoni when they come in contact with their counterparts (the Bukusu) in the same age groups.

As noted in the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality, (Giles et al., 1977) a speech community that is low in vitality of their language can shift. The results in table 4.15 and figure 3 show a comparatively low maintenance of Lutachoni in all the three age groups as compared to Lubukusu. This could suggest that the Tachoni have a weak identification or vitality with their dialect when they come in contact with the Bukusu. This may signal a gradual diminishing vitality (although at different patterns as per the different age groups) of the Tachoni in their dialect, a factor that could impact on the Tachoni speech community to finally abandon their dialect in favour of the dominant Lubukusu. Brezigar (2009), in Jagodic (2011) notes that a linguistic minority faces decline if its goal is only to retain its members and their future generations.

The analysis of dialect maintenance and shift patterns shown in figure 2 and section 4.1 shows a slow and progressive advancing shift of Lutachoni towards Lubukusu, although the current status of both dialects seem to suggest a competitive sharing of dominance in the private domains like home and cultural set –ups by the interlocutors. If information in figure 2 on the patterns of maintenance and shift in the three different age groups of Lutachoni holds water, it is possible to project that Lutachoni loses speakers as domains become more public (figure 2), but the most vulnerable age group is the middle age (figure 3) and that the goal of the three Tachoni age groups could be to retain membership

and not promote their dialect beyond the home domain.

#### 4.3.4 The young age (below 18 years) in the education domain

As indicated in section 4.1, activities of the education domain included language of instruction at lower primary; language used in school meetings with parents and if there are any educational materials prepared in the two dialects under study. The responses on the most maintained language variety in the education domain by the young age group as in table 4.16 below.

**Table 4.16: Lubukusu/Lutachoni maintenance/shift in the education domain in the young age**

Dialect	Respondents			
	<b>Bukusu</b>	<b>Tachoni</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Lubukusu	20	19	39	59
Lutachoni	1	13	14	21
No response	12	1	13	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>100</b>

As shown in table 4.16 above, 39 (59%) of the young age noted that Lubukusu is maintained in the education domain. Out of this, there are 20 (51%) Bukusu children who claimed Lubukusu is used at school more than Lutachoni.

19 (49%) of Tachoni children who noted that they have used or heard the use of Lubukusu at school. The main reason for this has to do with the status of Lubukusu in the education domain and as a societal institution. The fact that there is only 51% and 49% maintenance implies that there is Lutachoni shift in education institution. This is in line with the results in section 4.1 which shows that Lubukusu is the dominantly maintained dialect in education domain. Results in section 4.2 also show that Lubukusu is the most promoted dialect in societal institutions like education, worship and FM stations. This could suggest that in the region of study, Lutachoni is considered a dialect of minority speakers hence it has minimal education support. It implies Tachoni children learn in Lubukusu or receive instructions in Lubukusu. When children learn in mother tongue, it makes them develop loyalty in the language they are receiving instruction in (Fishman 1977).

#### **4.3.5 The middle age group in education domain**

Information on the most maintained and shifted dialect between Lubukusu and Lutachoni in education domain if presented in table 4.17 below.

**Table 4.17: Lubukusu/Lutachoni maintenance in the middle age**

Dialect	Respondents			%
	Bukusu	Tachoni	Total	
Lubukusu	31	21	52	79
Lutachoni	2	12	14	21
Total	<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>100</b>

As presented in Table 4.17 above, there is 52 (79%) of the respondents who noted Lubukusu is the most maintained dialect in the education institution while 14 (21%) noted maintenance of Lutachoni. These results are similar to the results in section 4.1 which showed that Lubukusu is the dominantly maintained dialect in the education domain. This implies that education has contributed to maintenance of Lubukusu. Comparatively, maintenance of both dialects is higher in the middle age (18-55years) as compared to the young age (below 18 years.) This implies that the middle age group use L1 more than the Young age group.

#### **4.3.6 Lubukusu and Lutachoni maintenance in the old age (56 years and above) in education domain**

Table 4.18 below is a presentation of the data on the most maintained language variety in the education domain by the old age respondents. These are respondents aged 56 years and above.

**Table 4.18: The most maintained language variety in the old age**

Dialect	Respondents			
	<b>Bukusu</b>	<b>Tachoni</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Lubukusu	29	17	46	70
Lutachoni	4	16	20	30
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>100</b>

In table 4.18 above, 46 (70%) of those aged 56 years and above indicated maintenance of Lubukusu in Education, while 20 (30%) of the respondents indicated maintenance of Lutachoni in education. This figures show that Lubukusu is the dominantly maintained dialect in the education. At the same time, these figures imply that more of the Tachoni ethnic minority shift to Lubukusu. At the same time, 29 (89%) of the Bukusu ethnic respondents maintain Lubukusu, while 4 (11%) shift to Lutachoni. On the other hand 17 (52%) of the Tachoni ethnic respondents maintain Lutachoni while 16 (48%) shift to Lubukusu. Comparatively, more Bukusu respondents maintain Lubukusu, while more of the Tachoni respondents shift to Lubukusu. Lubukusu is the dominantly maintained dialect in education in the old aged respondents.

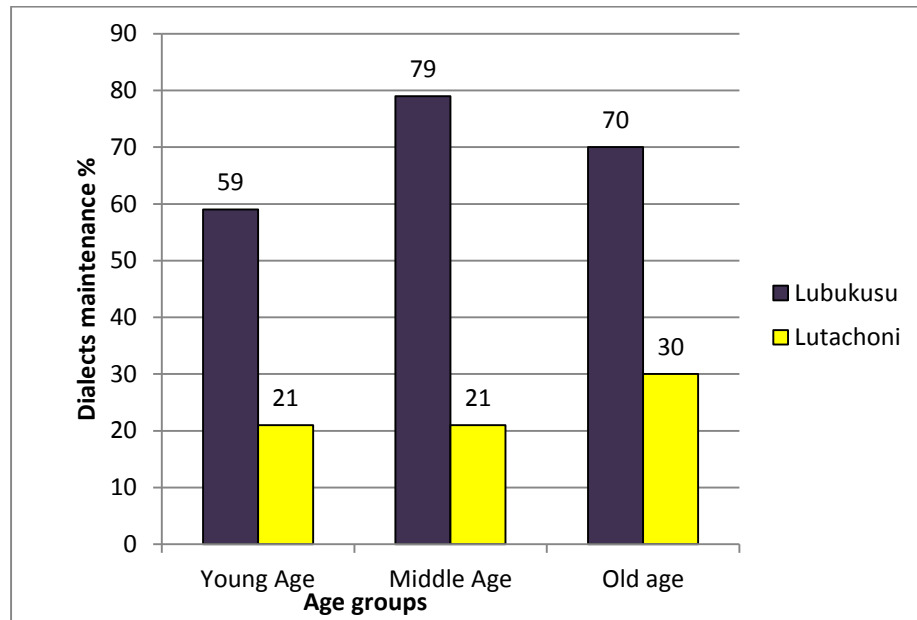
Table 4.19 below presents summary of information from tables 4.16- 4.18 on the maintenance/ shift patterns in the three age groups

**Table 4.19 Patterns of maintenance and shift in the three age groups.**

Dialect	Age groups		
	Young (below 18 years)	Middle (18-55 years)	Old (56 years and above)
Lubukusu	59	79	70
Lutachoni	21	21	30

The data in table 4.19 above shows average percentage maintenance of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in three different age groups. It is evident from the table (4.19), that there are different patterns of maintenance as per the three age groups used in this study. The information in table 4.19 above can also be represented as in figure 4 below.

**Fig. 4: Lubukusu/Lutachoni maintenance in three age groups in Education domain**



In figure 4 above the maintenance of Lubukusu in all the age groups is dominant. The middle and old age Bukusu respondents show a higher maintenance of Lubukusu than the young age respondents. This could imply that the promotion of Lubukusu in education was more, in more than 18years ago. This is if we assume that the youngest middle age respondent in the two age groups (18 years and above) is 18 years.

In figure 4, it can be said from the results that in about 18 years ago, the promotion of Lubukusu in education in the region of study was more than it is now. The fact that the old age respondents (56 years and above) indicated a lesser promotion of Lubukusu could imply that in about 56 years ago and more, or before

independence, the promotion of Lubukusu in the region of study was not as high as it has been in less than 56 years ago.

In addition, the results in the young respondents show that the promotion of Lubukusu in education is the lowest. This is in line with the results in table 4.16 where 20% of the young age respondents wished to give another code that is used in education or at school, different from Lubukusu or Lutachoni. (See appendix 7)

These results reflect the government of Kenya's efforts before and after independence in ensuring the promotion of indigenous Kenyan languages in education. About 65 years ago, (in 1949), The Beecher education report in Kenya recommended the use of 20 indigenous Kenyan languages in Kenya. (Githinji and Wanjohi, 2010). At this time, only the old age respondents of 56 years and above could give an account of how Lubukusu and Lutachoni were promoted in the education sector. The fact that only 20 indigenous Kenyan languages were considered for use at primary school, could explain the comparatively lower indication of Lubukusu use in education (70%) compared to (79%) indicated in the middle age (18-55 years). At the same time, after The Beecher report in 1949, there followed other education reports like The Ominde education report of 1964 that put more emphasis on the promotion of indigenous Kenyan languages. This is

about 50 years ago. Within the period of 50 years, the middle age respondents (18-56 years had been born). This age group was influenced by the education policy at that time. Githinji and Wanjohi (2010) note:

“Reports on education inquiries since independence have recognized the importance of the first language in a child’s development (Ominde, 1964;Gachathi, 1976;Kamunge, 1988; and Koech 1999).The Koech Report, (1999) observed that children were being introduced to foreign languages too early, even before they had properly mastered their first language.”(p.85-86)

The fact that since independence there has been recognition of Kenyan children’s L1, which in this case is assumed to be the indigenous Kenyan languages that children of Kenya learn first, points to the emphasis that the government of Kenya has placed on the promotion of the L1 of Kenyan children at school. Most of the commissions mentioned above are between 18-55 years old except The Koech education report and the Beecher educational report of 1949. This emphasis could be the reason for the higher indication of promotion of Lubukusu in the middle age category as shown in figure 4 above.

This part (section 4.3) has looked at the presentation, analysis and interpretation of data on patterns of maintenance and shift in different age groups in education. Section 4.2 investigated relationship between societal institutional control factors and dialect maintenance. In section 4.1, the study looked at dominant dialect in the

contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in different interaction places. The following section looks at the findings and discussion.

#### **4.4 Findings and discussion**

As per MRG, (2005) and Kebeya (1997), Lubukusu and Lutachoni are dialects of Luhya language spoken in Western Province of Kenya, specifically in Bungoma County. Lutachoni has a population of about 187,000 speakers (Republic of Kenya 2009) although this figure does not agree with the web edition of the ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2014), that puts the figure at 253,000, it could be possible that in the six years that have passed since the last census, the population of the Tachoni people has increased to 253,000. At the same time, the population of the Bukusu as per the web edition of ethnologue is 1.4 million people. This means that the population of the Bukusu people far much outnumbers that of the Tachoni people. This brings in the idea of the demographic characteristics of the two ethnic communities and how the findings of this study have been influenced by this factor among other factors of ethnolinguistic vitality.

Giles et al. (1977) constructed a model to systematize the many factors that combine to influence language characteristics of an ethnolinguistic group. They combined the factors into a model called 'ethnolinguistic vitality', Appel & Muysken (1987). These factors are demographic, institutional support and

status.(See figure 1) Each of the above factors is a conglomeration of other factors. The presence of all or some of the factors above contributes to high vitality of an ethnolinguistic group, hence their language is maintained, while lack of the above factors in an ethnolinguistic group can lead to shift of their language. (Aswegen, 2008) Some of the factors above influenced the findings of this study as discussed below.

#### **4.4.1 Demographic vitality**

According to Giles et al. (1977) demographic vitality factors relate to the population of a speech community, their distribution throughout a particular region, rates of immigration, emigration, endogamy, exogamy and birthrate and marriage patterns. In this study, the demographic vitality of the Bukusu people in the region of study in terms of population size surpasses that of Tachoni. The population of the Bukusu (Republic of Kenya , 2009) show that there are about 1.4 million Bukusu people in Bungoma County as compared to only 187,000 of Tachoni people. Although the Tachoni population is within the critical mass range for safety of a language (Nettle and Romaine, 2000), the population size of Bukusu to Tachoni is still high. By population, Bukusu is the dominant ethnic speech community in the region. Second, the population distribution of the Tachoni ethnic people in the region of study is low as compared to the Bukusu. In all the domains studied, Lubukusu is the dominantly maintained dialect by

respondents. Although both dialects show high maintenance in the respondents in the home domain (Fig. 2), the maintenance of Lubukusu is high. About 67.6% of the interlocutors maintain Lubukusu. At the same time, about 27.8% of the respondents maintain Lutachoni. This means that more Tachoni interlocutors shift to Lubukusu upon contact with Bukusu. As shown in figure 2, Lutachoni maintenance gradually reduces across the domains. However, the use of the term “more” in reference to the figures above may not be meaningful unless I interpret them to give a practical meaning.

Studies on language vitality assessment by the UNESCO Ad hoc Expert Group on Language vitality and endangerment identify 6 factors that are used to determine language status in a bilingual society. These are 1) Intergenerational Language Transmission; 2) Absolute Number of Speakers; 3) Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population; 4) Trends in Existing Language Domains; 5) Response to New Domains and Media; and 6) Materials for Language Education and Literacy. (UNESCO Doc, 2003: 7). For the purpose of demographic characteristics of population size between the two ethnic groups, I wish to focus on two aspects: proportion of speakers within the total population (population of the Tachoni within the population of the Bukusu) and two, absolute number of speakers (population of the Bukusu and the Tachoni).

The proportion of Tachoni speakers within the Bukusu ethnic group is an issue. Going by the republic of Kenya (2009) statistics, there are about 10 Bukusu people to every one Tachoni speaker. Let us assume that if all respondents maintained one dialect there would be 100% maintenance of dialect 1 while if all did not maintained any dialect, there would be 0% maintenance of dialect 2 and vice versa. In this case, if 67.6% of the interlocutors maintain Lubukusu, we can merge this percent with the UNESCO 2003 Table of rating the language vitality and endangerment based on proportion of speakers within the total population. The Table has scales ranging from 0-5 where 0 means none of the people speak a dialect (extinct), while five is the highest degree of maintenance where all the people speak their dialect (safe). If we merge 100% (absolute maintenance of a dialect by all respondents) by UNESCO's 2003, scale of five levels/intervals or degrees, (i.e. 0-6), then each interval/level will be equal to approximately 20%. Thus 20% multiply by 5 intervals equals 100%. In this case, any dialect at scale five is safe (all people speak a dialect or language, 100%). The following table, Table 4.20 below shows the rating of vitality on UNESCO's scale rating and the corresponding percentage for the purpose of this interpretation.

On absolute number of speakers, it is noted that a small speech community is always at risk. A small population is much more vulnerable to decimation (by disease, warfare, or natural disaster), than a larger one, (UNESCO, 2003).

**Table 4.20: Language vitality and endangerment: merging UNESCO’s Scale on a 100% scale.**

<b>Endangerment (A)</b>	<b>Grade/ Level (B)</b>	<b>100% scale (population of speakers of a language) (C)</b>	<b>Proportion of Speakers Within the Total Reference Population (D)</b>
<i>safe</i>	5	<b>100%</b>	All speak the language.
<i>unsafe</i>	4	<b>80%</b>	Nearly all speak the language.
<i>definitively endangered</i>	3	<b>60%</b>	A majority speak the language.
<i>severely endangered</i>	2	<b>40%</b>	A minority speak the language.
<i>critically endangered</i>	1	<b>20%</b>	Very few speak the language.
<i>extinct</i>	0	<b>0%</b>	None speak the language.

**Note: Naming of columns and column (C) is mine**

*Source: UNESCO Ad hoc Expert Group on Language vitality and endangerment, (2003)*

The paper continues to say: “A small language group may also merge with a neighbouring group, losing its own language and culture. (p. 8). A small number in this case is a population below the critical mass of between 10,000-100,000 (see Maffi, Skutnabb, and Harmon, 2003; Nettle & Romaine, 2000)

If we look at the absolute number of the Bukusu against the Tachoni, the Bukusu population far much surpasses that of the Tachoni by more than 5 times. This could influence Lubukusu to dominate Lutachoni. In addition, intermarriage between the Bukusu and the Tachoni is another demographic factor. Tachoni women married to the Bukusu were found to shift to Lubukusu even in the home

domain because of entertaining majority Bukusu visitors who come to the home. At the same time, Tachoni men who have married Bukusu women are influenced by their women to shift hence the maintenance of Lutachoni across the domains is also low. As per the definition of the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group: “distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations” (Appel and Muysken, 1987), the Tachoni group have a low demographic vitality, their collective entity within the Bukusu community is low. In this case this compromises maintenance of Lutachoni when the Tachonis come in contact with the dominant Bukusu. As explained by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) low demographic vitality of a group can influence the maintenance of their dialect.

In section 4.1, table 4.11 I found out that the mean percent maintenance for Lubukusu and Lutachoni was 67.66% for Lubukusu and 27.88% for Lutachoni. Looking at table 4.20 above, it means Lubukusu falls at scale 3: a definitely endangered dialect having a majority of people speaking it, while Lutachoni falls in scale1: critically endangered dialect having very few people that speak the dialect. As per the scale on table 4.20, both Lubukusu and Lutachoni are endangered dialects though Lubukusu is dominant in the region of study. This information seems to agree with MRG (2005) observation that apart from English and Kiswahili, all indigenous Kenyan languages are considered minority languages. The online edition of the ethnologue identifies both Lubukusu and

Lutachoni in language status 4: educational. (Lewis, M. et al., (eds), 2014). This means that the two dialects are still vibrant in their speech communities although unlike Lutachoni, Lubukusu has a literacy rate of 30%, it is growing and it is used by all age groups having a positive attitude in the Bukusu speech community. (Lewis, et al., (eds) (2014). Furthermore, Lewis et al. (eds) (2014) clarify that any indigenous Kenyan language at scale 4(EGIDS scale) means the language has been developed to the point that it is used and sustained by institutions beyond the home and community.

This explanation concurs with the results in figure 2; where the status of both dialects show that they are used beyond the home domain and even some societal institutions promote them. However, the above findings are too general and do not reflect the true picture on the ground as per the findings of this study where Lubukusu is evidently dominant and has more societal institutional support than Lutachoni. Peterson, (1997) notes that the GIDS and EGIDS are keys to revitalizing language shift, although they are limited and static because they do not take account of unique local conditions and they do not predict or describe the events of the past or future.

In this case I note that the vitalities of Lubukusu and Lutachoni are not on the

same scale as indicated in the ethnologue. The demographic and institutional vitality of Lubukusu in the region of study is higher than Lutachoni as this study has established. In addition, institutional control factors of the two dialects seem to favour Lubukusu than Lutachoni, although both dialects fall in the same category as per the (2014) ethnologue. The results based on the UNESCO (2003) scale of language endangerment and this study show that Lutachoni is more threatened than Lubukusu (Table 20)

#### **4.4.2 Institutional support/control factors**

This is the extent to which an ethnolinguistic group's language enjoys representation in societal institutions in a region or nation. In Giles et al. (1977) it is noted that all forms of formal and informal representation in societal institutions and control over political, educational cultural and media contribute to a group's institutional vitality. (Sachdev, 1995). The more the representation of a group's language in the above institutions, the better for the maintenance of their language. <http://www.londoncanadianstudies.org/journal/11/11-3.pdf>). Ethnolinguistic groups that have high institutional support and control are in a better position to dominate those groups that have low societal institutional support.

The most notable institutions that were indicated as having control over the two dialects were media, education, and religion and government services locally. In

the mass media, FM radio promotes the use of Lubukusu more than Lutachoni (Figure 2). On overall, Lubukusu has an 89% support of on FM stations that broadcast in the region. This means that Tachonis shift to Lubukusu when they want to listen to radio in a local language in this region. This study established that there is minimal promotion of Lutachoni on FM radio. There are some minor programs on radio Mambo and Sulwe Fm where some radio presenters sometimes use Lutachoni. This research notes that FM radio stations that broadcast in the local languages in the region of study could have contributed to higher Lubukusu vitality by having most programs prepared and broadcast in Lubukusu, though, most Lubukusu programs prepared have proven to be very popular with Tachoni listeners because they address the cultural concerns of both ethnic groups, for example “Simachamacha” on West FM that is normally broadcast on weekends in the afternoon. This is in line with the qualitative results in section (4.3) where one respondent noted:

*There is nothing you can do because the radios broadcast in Lubukusu, so you just have to listen to Lubukusu. But there is no problem because they entertain us well especially there is a program on West FM “Simachamacha” where listeners are allowed to ask questions about their traditional customs... whether you are a Tachoni or a Bukusu you can ask a question...and that is good.”*

Broadcasting in minority languages can boost maintenance of these languages, just like publishing of newspapers and books can have the same influence. (Appel and Muysken, 1987). Efforts should be made to increase the support of Lutachoni on

FM stations because as noted by Peyer, (2004), radio has an added advantage of reaching even those that are unable to read and write in the minority language.

As regards print media, there is no any print source that this study established other than a Bukusu Bible by the Kenya Bible Society. This is an indication that in religion as a societal institution, there is the promotion of Lubukusu more than Lutachoni and that most religious activities would better be done in Lubukusu than Lutachoni because of the popularity of Lubukusu. Although this is a domain where language policy may not have a lot of influence, there was evidence that Kiswahili was the next best alternative in this domain than even Lutachoni (See appendix 7 for information on the No Response category in worship domain). Thee situation is not any better in education domain for Lutachoni. MoE Education Commissions have not documented the use of Lutachoni as a dialect of instruction at lower primary. This means that Tachoni children all along learn in Lubukusu at lower primary. It is high time that Lutachoni was given the necessary support in schooling.

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that Lubukusu has control over societal institutions. It goes without doubt that the dominant status of Lubukusu is also as a result of having control over societal institutions. There is a correlation between dialect dominance and societal institutional support of the language

dialects that were studied. The dominant dialect is also the most supported dialect in societal institutions.

In the analysis of the maintenance and shift patterns of the respondent in different domains, most respondents indicated they maintain Lubukusu in all the domains than Lutachoni. As explained by the Domain theory (Fishman, 1964, 1991), when a language gets an expanded domain in its use, it becomes the choice of interlocutors. The interlocutors choose what to speak when where and with whom. In this regard other factors like demography and status come into play to influence the choice of speakers in the language they want to use and where.

Finally, the three different age groups used in this study have different maintenance patterns as discussed in section 4.3. The Bukusu young age had the lowest maintenance of Lubukusu, while the middle age and old ages have the highest maintenance of Lubukusu.

This research did also establish that the maintenance of Lubukusu in all the age groups dominates Lutachoni. These confirms our research assumption that there is a relationship between age and the maintenance/shift of the language varieties,

where each age group has a pattern based on the dialect, but Lubukusu is dominantly maintained as indicated in figure 2.

To end this part it should be understood, however, that dialect shift or and maintenance are long-term, collective results of choice of language among speakers (Fasold 1984). This means for example, that speakers of a given dialect (for example, Lutachoni) collectively begin to choose another dialect (for example Lubukusu) in domains that were initially reserved for the old one (in this case Lutachoni): this is an indication that language shift is in progress (Matiki 1997).

The trend of maintenance observed by this study where Lutachoni maintenance reduces across domains arranged from the less public to more public, is an indication that Lutachoni is not only loosing speakers but domains. The trend is such that as domains become more public Lutachoni gradually becomes unpopular. This is worsened by the fact that in all the domains studied, Lubukusu remains the dominant dialect and its trend gains value in the more public domains. Lutachoni is not a dialect of Lubukusu; it is gradually loosing domains and speakers. However, the status of Lutachoni in the home domain is encouraging though. Many studies have indeed shown that the language used with children in the home is an indicator of future language proficiency. (Aipolo and Holmes

1990, Essowe, 2009).

#### **4.5 Summary of chapter four**

This chapter has looked at inter-dialect maintenance and shift in three areas as per the three objectives that guided the study. The study presented data on the dominantly maintained dialect in the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni, the relationship between dialect dominance and societal institutional support and finally how three age groups maintain and shift in the two dialects in their contact.

In the first section of the chapter (section 4.1), the study presented and analysed data on the interaction of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in different interaction situations called domains. The results have shown that Lubukusu is the dominantly maintained dialect in the respondents in all the domains studied. In addition, there is a significant relation between the dominantly maintained dialect in the respondents and societal institutional support of the dialects. Finally, there emerged different patterns of maintenance and shift in Lubukusu and Lutachoni in the different age groups used in the study. Thus this chapter has presented and analysed data in the three research objectives that concerned this study.

**CHAPTER FIVE**  
**SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND**  
**RECOMMENDATIONS**

**5.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the summary, findings, conclusion and recommendations. The chapter begins by giving a summary of the thesis, findings of the study, conclusions made from the study and finally recommendations.

**5.1 Summary of findings**

The study looked at inter-dialect maintenance and shift upon contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in Tongaren Constituency. The major concerns of the study were to find out dominant dialect in the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in different domains, investigate the relationship between dialect dominance and societal institutional support of the dialects and finally study looked at how different age groups maintain and shift upon contact of the two dialects in different domains.

In all the nine domains studied, Lubukusu is the dominantly maintained dialect. In the 9 domains studied, there is 65.8% maintenance of Lubukusu and 27.1% maintenance of Lutachoni. This could imply that more of the Tachoni people shift to Lubukusu. The findings indicate that as the domains become more public, more of the Tachoni shift to use Lubukusu and Lutachoni becomes more unpopular especially in the FM Radio where the study established very minimal promotion of

Lutachoni on FM Radio. It could be said that FM Radio has contributed to Lubukusu dominance. On the same note and in addition to the promotion of Lubukusu in other societal institutions like education and worship, there is a significant correlation between the dominant dialect (Lubukusu) and societal institutional promotion of the two dialects. The maintenance/shift of the two dialects in the three age groups that were used namely, young age (below 18yrs), middle age (18-55 years) and old age (56 years and above), all showed different patterns of maintenance. The middle and old age respondents of Lubukusu showed a higher maintenance of Lubukusu as compared to the young age Bukusu respondents. At the same time, there is a diminished maintenance of Lutachoni in the young and middle age Tachoni respondents especially in the education domain. The old age Tachoni respondents have a higher maintenance of Lutachoni especially in home, cultural and education domains.

## **5.2 Limitations of the study**

This study had several limitations. I found out that only one questionnaire was held per respondent per time. After conducting and analyzing the data it is when some contradicting information was drawn between the results and the ethnic orientation of the respondent. This was witnessed majorly in the Tachoni ethnic respondents who entered wrong ethnicity. It was not clear whether it was conscious or unconscious. It would have been more appropriate to administer a second questionnaire after a number of conclusions were drawn in order ask

further questions specifically with regards to the fact that institutional control factors do contribute to the prestige of an ethnolinguistic group's dialect. This would have enhanced the findings and allowed a deeper study based solely on the influence or role of institutional control factors on Lutachoni shift.

The study shows there is dialect competition in Luhya language affecting Lubukusu and Lutachoni in the region of study. This is a process that has been going on for some time and may still continue in favour of the dominant Lubukusu. This study was limited by the time factor in terms of the span of collecting the two speech communities' practices in the course of interaction to establish patterns of maintenance and shift. This could best be done through ethnographic approach. The researcher dealt with this challenge by trying to interview three age groups: the young age (below 18 years), the middle age (18-55 years) and the old age (56 years and above). The young age were used to give information on the current status of the contact of the two dialects, keeping in mind that maintenance of the dialects in the young age would indicate future survival. The middle age were used because they are the most active age group at the peak of language use characteristics, and to give information on how they see the maintenance/ shift of the two dialects in the young and old age respondents. They were also used to give information on the language status in a time span extending to a 50 year period. The old age were used to give information on the status of the two dialects more

than five decades ago. This approach ensured that what this study would have otherwise been limited to establish on grounds of having a shorter span of observing language maintenance and shift characteristics in the two speech communities, is kept at its minimum.

Another limitation was in the area of the influence of other codes other than Lubukusu and Lutachoni. I am very much aware that if I had not defined my parameters of the codes to investigate, the influence of other codes would have derailed the purpose of this study on the influence of the dominant status of Lubukusu on Lutachoni. To deal with this challenge, I endeavored to purposely sample native ethnic Bukusu and Tachoni respondents by first identifying native Tachoni and Bukusu clans.

The results of this study were based in Tongaren Constituency. These results may not be generalized to other areas of Bungoma that are Tachoni dominated like Ndivisi, Lutacho and its neighbourhoods. As such, a study covering the entire Bungoma County would give a better picture of Lubukusu dominance and its influence in the entire region where the two dialects are in constant interaction.

This study would have been more informative and its findings generalized to different religious faiths, were it that it was possible to have information from a

broad religious spectrum in religion domain.. However, because there was a limitation of variety in different religious faiths in the region of study, the study thus limited its findings to Christian based faith activities. In this case, the findings of this study cannot be generalized to other non Christian faiths like Muslim, and Hindu.

Finally, all respondents in this research are limited to the region of study. Perhaps if this research was done in the entire Bungoma County, it would give a better picture of Lubukusu dominance. This can become a topic for another similar research.

### **5.3 Implications**

The findings of this study have several implications. First, efforts should be made to increase the promotion of Lutachoni on FM stations because as noted by Peyer, (2004), radio has added advantage of reaching those that are unable to read and write in the minority language. On the same note, as noted by Appel and Muysken, (1987, broadcasting in minority dialect can boost its maintenance. This means that institutional support in the promotion of the two dialects in the region of study has a challenge of balancing promotion of Lubukusu and Lutachoni by recognizing the cultural and linguistic identities of the two ethnolinguistic groups. At the same time, the diminishing maintenance of Lutachoni in the domains as you move from the private (or less public) home/family; to the less private (or more public) mass

media (represented as FM station in this case) implies that the value of Lutachoni in the speakers decreases with location of use, while the value of Lubukusu increases with location of use. The more public the place or location of use is, the higher the chances that the Tachoni speakers will shift to Lubukusu. This study may benefit the government of Kenya by informing the MoE to prepare educational materials in Lutachoni to enhance the teaching in Lutachoni at lower primary for the benefit of Tachoni children. Other interested parties in linguistic diversity and promotion like investors in FM stations can benefit from this research by preparing programs in Lutachoni and establishing Lutachoni broadcasting FM stations in the region of study. Finally, this study is important to researchers: there are more research opportunities in Lutachoni in developing literacy materials, dictionaries, orthographies and grammars.

#### **5.4 Conclusions**

The study concludes that in the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in Tongaren Constituency, Lubukusu is the dominantly maintained dialect and the choice of respondents in all the nine domains studied namely, home, cultural, social, worship/religion, education, business/trade, government, road/street, and mass media. It is evident that the different vitalities of Lubukusu and Lutachoni have created inter-dialect competition in favour of Lubukusu to dominate Lutachoni and there is a mismatch in the power relations between majority Bukusu (in terms of numbers) and minority Tachoni in the region of study.

The dominance of Lubukusu influences Lutachoni to gradually shift to Lubukusu as domains become more public. In addition, there is a significant correlation between societal institutional control factors of Lubukusu and the dominance of Lubukusu in the region of study. Demographic vitality factors like marriage, population size, density and distribution of the Tachoni in the region of study favour Lubukusu hence contributing to the dominance of Lubukusu. There is also a minimal promotion of Lutachoni in societal institutions as compared to Lubukusu. Finally, there is a low maintenance of Lutachoni in the young and middle age respondents as compared to the old age respondents. This study concludes by saying that although there are indications of Lutachoni shift towards Lubukusu especially in the more public domains like the mass media, qualitative results of this study revealed a vibrant maintenance of both dialects in the respondents. As noted by Mwaka (2011), the only undoing agent could be Kenyan official position which continuously attempts to curtail the vitality that indigenous Kenyan languages enjoy among their speakers.

### **5.5 Recommendations**

Much intervention from researchers in terms of further studies in minority ethnolinguistic groups, conferences and seminars on the relevance of preserving the cultural and linguistic identity of the ethnolinguistic minorities; policy makers in terms of coming up with policies that promote and sustain cultural and linguistic

practices of the minority groups within their regions, government in providing conducive atmosphere in terms funding linguistic and cultural identity efforts, enacting legislations that promote and sustain cultural and linguistic diversity of the minorities including but not limited to ensuring that members of minority ethnolinguistic groups are given priority to establish cultural organizations and centres where their cultural and linguistic identities are promoted. These suggestions can have an effect on the intergroup relations of the Tachoni in the region of study and contribute towards developing the vitality of Lutachoni.

This is because promotion of the vitalities of minority ethnolinguistic group can contribute to the maintenance of their dialect by developing loyalty of the speakers in their L1s and securing prestige of their L1 in all the age groups.

### **5.6 Areas for further study**

A study should be done on institutional control factors affecting maintenance of Lutachoni

A similar study can be done in the entire Bungoma County looking at the maintenance of Lubukusu and other languages in the County.

A study can also be carried out on the maintenance of Lubukusu and Lutachoni targeting specific age groups. This will be important in establishing facts on the patterns of maintenance and shift of the two dialects.

There should be a study on the maintenance of the two dialects in different domains targeting each particular domain at a time.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix i: Questionnaire

#### A. Introductory letter

*Dear Respondent,*

*I am Master of Arts student from Kenyatta University pursuing a course in Applied Linguistics, department of English and linguistics. I am carrying out a study on the effects of the contact of Lubukusu and Lutachoni in Tongaren Constituency of Bungoma County. I kindly request you to fill this form. Your response will be strictly confidential.*

*Thank you.*

#### B. Social Demographic data

**Instructions:** 1. Please do not write your name anywhere on this paper.

2. Use a biro pen to answer the questions by putting any mark in the appropriate box, or by writing on the line.

1. Ethnicity : Bukusu

Tachoni

2. Age : Below 18years

18-55 years

Above 55years 185

**C. Language use Data in different domains.**

**1. Home domain**

(i) Indicate the language you **most frequently use** at home.

(a) Lubukusu [ ] (b) Lutachoni [ ]

**2. Cultural domain. Functions like: circumcision, marriage ceremonies, and funerals.**

Indicate the language you **most frequently use** in the above functions.

(a) Lubukusu [ ] Lutachoni [ ]

**3. Social domain. Functions like: beer drinking, sports, parties, and political campaigns**

Indicate the dialect you most frequently use in the above events

(a) Lubukusu [ ] (b) Lutachoni [ ]

**4. Worship domain (preaching, church literature and announcements)**

Indicate the dialect that is **most frequently used** during church/mosque service.

(a) Lubukusu [ ] Lutachoni [ ]

**5. Education/Schooling domain**

Indicate the dialect in which you were **most frequently** taught at lower primary.

(a) Lubukusu [ ] (b) Lutachoni [ ]

**6. Business domain**

(i) Which dialect do you **frequently use** while doing business on the market?

(a) Lubukusu [ ] (b) Lutachoni [ ]

## **7. Government domain**

(i) Indicate the dialect you **most frequently use in** your local leaders office e.g. Chief, sub chief or village headman/woman.

(a) Lubukusu [ ] (b) Lutachoni [ ]

## **8. Road/Street**

(i) Which dialect do you frequently use on the road/street?

(a)Lubukusu [ ] (b) Lutachoni [ ]

## **9. Mass Media (FM Radio)**

(iii) Which dialect is **frequently used** on local FM Stations?

(a)Lubukusu [ ] (b) Lutachoni [ ]

## Appendix ii: Interview Schedule

To be used in the following societal institutions: worship, education, and FM Stations.

### Worship

1. Tell me, if given a chance to pray during worship what dialect would you use between Lubukusu and Lutachoni.

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2. Tell me if people use the above dialect frequently in worship activities.

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3. In what dialect do you read or observe the reading of the Bible is done?

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4. Tell me something about the dialect in which announcements are done.

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5. Can you tell me in which dialect do you sing during worship?

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6. What about when giving offerings, what dialect is frequently used?

2. Tell me whether there were teaching/learning materials

3. If yes, ask the respondent to mention learning materials that were used, and if no ask them to say how they were learning without the materials.

4. Say if the teachers you had were the Bukusu or Tachoni.

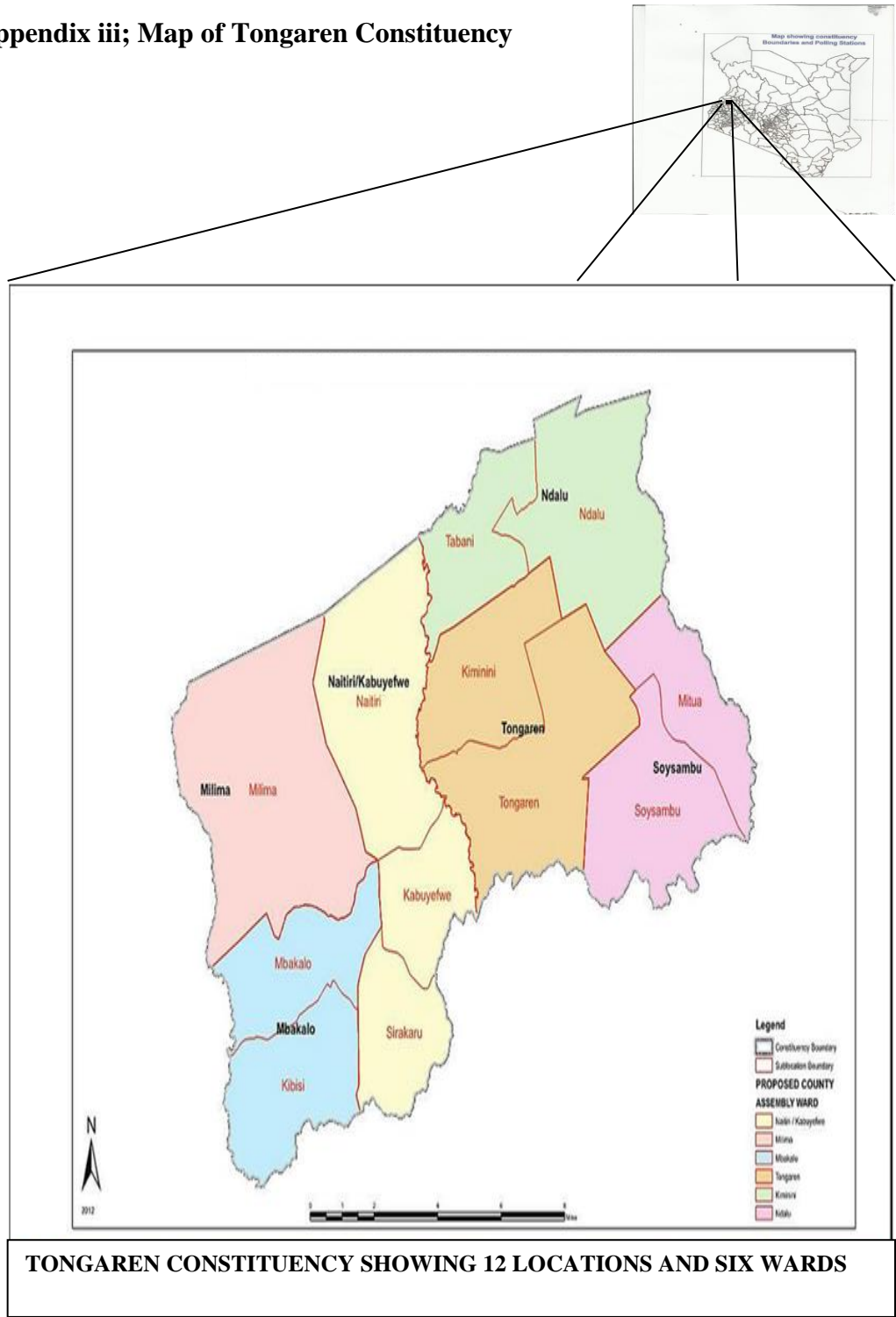
### **C. FM Radio**

1. Tell me, do you listen to radio in Lubukusu or Lutachoni?

2. Say why you listen to broadcasts in the above stations?

3. Are there any favourite stations you listen to on radio? If yes say why you like them.

**Appendix iii; Map of Tongaren Constituency**



**TONGAREN CONSTITUENCY SHOWING 12 LOCATIONS AND SIX WARDS**

Source: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/albertkenyaniinima/7152614407/in/photostream/lightbox/>

## **Appendix iv: Population by ethnic affiliations**

### BUNGOMA COUNTY

DENSITY:	454
AREA:	3592.8 SQ KM
BGM NORTH DISTRICT:	320,300
<b>BUNGOMA POPULATION:</b>	<b>1,375,063</b>
<b>BUKUSU POPULATION:</b>	<b>742,534</b>
<b>TACHONI POPULATION:</b>	<b>118,363</b>

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#### POPULATION BY AGE IN BUNGOMA

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56YRS ABOVE	56,481
MIDDLE AGE	402,268
YOUNG AGE:	565,696 (exclusive of those aged below 5years)

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#### POPULATION IN TONGARERN

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TOTAL POPULATION: 187,478

*(Source: KNBS KPHC VOLII 2010)*

## **Appendix v: Tongaren constituency in details**

Tongaren Constituency is an electoral constituency in Kenya. It is one of the constituencies in Bungoma County

*Tongaren Constituency Details:*

**Constituency Number: 224**

**Constituency Name: Tongaren**

**Constituency Population: 187,478**

**Constituency Area In Sq. Km (Approx.): 378.30**

*County Assembly Wards, Locations and Sub-Locations in Tongaren Constituency:*

**1. Mbakalo Ward**

County Assembly Ward No.: 1115

County Assembly Ward Name: Mbakalo

County Assembly Ward Population (Approx.): 32,229

County Assembly Ward Area In Sq. Km (Approx.): 50.20

County Assembly Ward Description: Comprises Kibisi and Mbakalo sub-Locations of Bungoma County

**2. Naitiri/Kabuyefwe Ward**

County Assembly Ward No.: 1116

County Assembly Ward Name: Naitiri/Kabuyefwe

County Assembly Ward Population (Approx.): 38,023

County Assembly Ward Area In Sq. Km (Approx.): 42.10

County Assembly Ward Description: Comprises Kabuyefwe, Sirakaru and Naitiri Sub-Locations of Bungoma County

**3. Milima Ward**

County Assembly Ward No.: 1117

County Assembly Ward Name: Milima

County Assembly Ward Population (Approx.): 33,352

County Assembly Ward Area In Sq. Km (Approx.): 64.60

County Assembly Ward Description: Comprises Milima sub–Location of Bungoma County

#### **4. Ndalul Ward**

County Assembly Ward No.: 1118

County Assembly Ward Name: Ndalul

County Assembly Ward Population (Approx.): 21,148

County Assembly Ward Area In Sq. Km (Approx.): 58.90

County Assembly Ward Description: Comprises Ndalul and Tabani Sub–Locations of Bungoma County

#### **5. Tongaren Ward**

County Assembly Ward No.: 1119

County Assembly Ward Name: Tongaren

County Assembly Ward Population (Approx.): 33,907

County Assembly Ward Area In Sq. Km (Approx.): 74.10

County Assembly Ward Description: Comprises Tongaren and Kiminini Sub–Locations of Bungoma County

#### **6. Soysambu/Mitua Ward**

County Assembly Ward No.:1120

County Assembly Ward Name: Soysambu/Mitua

County Assembly Ward Population (Approx.): 28,819

County Assembly Ward Area In Sq. Km (Approx.): 53.10

County Assembly Ward Description: Comprises Mitua and Soysambu Sub–Locations  
of Bungoma County

**Appendix vi: Main ethno-linguistic minorities**

Bantu speaking peoples	Nilotic speaking peoples	Cushitic speaking peoples
<b>Western Bantu</b>	Plain Nilotes	Boni, Borana, Burji, D
<b>1. Abaluhya(Bakhayo, Banyala, Banyole</b>	Elmolo, Dorobo, Ilchamus, Maasai, Sakweri, Samb	ushnek, Gabra, Munyoyaya
<b>Bukusu, Idakho,</b>	uru, Teso, Turkana	Oromo, Rendile, Seku

<b>Isukha, Kabras, Kisa, Marachi, Maragoli, Marama, Samia Tachoni, Tiriki, Wangani)</b> <b>2. Abagusii</b> <b>3. Abakuria</b>	ye, Somali, Waata
Central Bantu <b>Aembu, Agikuyu, Akamba, Ambeere, Ameru (Achuka, Aigembe, Aimentu, Amuthambi, Amwimbi, Atharaka, Atigania)</b>	<b>Highland Nilotes</b> Elgeyo, Elkony, Kipsigis, Lembus, Mandi, Marakwet, Nandi, Ogiek, Pokot, Sabots, Sengwer, Terek, Turgen.
Coastal (Eastern Bantu) <b>Adawida; Amalita; Ataita; Ataveta; Kenda (Chonyi, Digo, Duruma, Girima, Jibana, Kambe, Kauma, Rabai, Ribe); Miji; Pokomo; Segēju; Waswahili (Amu, Bajun, Fundi, Mvita, Ozi, Pate, Shela, Siyu, Vumba)</b>	<b>River-Lake Nilotes</b> Luo, Nubians

SOURCE: CONSTITUTION OF KENYA REVIEW COMMISSION REPORT ON CULTURE, AUGUST 2003 in MRG (2005)

### Appendix vii: Information on No Response categories

Domain	Respondents			Total	%
	Bukusu	Tachoni			
Business					
1 Kiswahili	4	7	11	5	
2 English	2	1	3	2	
3 Others	0	0	0	0	

Total	6	8	14	<b>7</b>
Education				
1 Kiswahili	15	6	21	11
2 English	5	0	5	2
3 Others	0	0	0	0
Total	20	6	26	<b>13</b>
Worship				
1 Kiswahili	6	5	11	5
2 English	1	0	1	1
3 Others	0	0	0	0
Total	7	5	12	<b>6</b>
Road/Street				
1 Kiswahili	6	3	9	5
2 English	2	0	2	1
3 Others	0	0	0	0
Total	8	3	11	<b>6</b>
Government				
1 Kiswahili	16	22	38	20
2 English	4	2	6	2
3 Others	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>22</b>

### **Appendix viii: Language attributes in the region of study and their practical applications**

Language attribute

Language/dialect

**Language in which current curriculum is taught** English

<b>Name of language</b>	<b>Alternate name</b>	<b>Vitality</b>	<b>Number of speakers</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Location</b>
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**Language of official communication in school** English, Kiswahili

**Language of instruction at lower primary** Lubukusu

**Informally used language for communication at school** Lubukusu, partly Lutachoni

## **Appendix ix: endangered languages of Kenya and their vitalities**

<b>Omotik</b>	Laamoot	Critically endangered	50	1992	Rift Valley
<b>Elmolo</b>		Extinct	-	1992	Rift Valley
<b>Bong'om</b>		Definitely endangered	1000	2007	Somali/Kenyan boarder
<b>Boni</b>	Aweera, Waata	Definitely endangered	3000	1990	North Eastern
<b>Burji</b>		Vulnerable	7000	1994	North Eastern
<b>Dahalo</b>		Severely endangered	400	1992	Mouth of Tana River
<b>Kinare</b>		Extinct	-	1992	Makuyu region
<b>Kore</b>		Extinct	-	1992	Coastal region
<b>Lorkoti</b>		Extinct	-	1992	Eastern (Embu)
<b>Ongamo</b>	Ngasa/Nadza	Critically Endangered	200	1992	Kenya/Tanzania boarder-Kilimanjaro
<b>Sogoo</b>		Extinct	-	1992	-
<b>Suba</b>		Vulnerable	100000	1992	Kenya/Tanzania
<b>Yaaku</b>		Extinct	-	1990	-

*Adapted from: Moseley, C. (2010)*

## Appendix x: Sampling Matrix

<b>Description size</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Sample</b>
<b>Bukusu</b>	99,363	99
<b>Tachoni</b>	26,123	99
<b>Total</b>	<b>125,486</b>	<b>198</b>

## Appendix xi: Research authorization



### NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

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Ref. No.

Date:

6<sup>th</sup> August, 2014

**NACOSTI/P/14/0050/2002**

William Barasa Wanjala  
Kenyatta University  
P.O.Box 43844-00100  
NAIROBI.

#### RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Language maintenance and shift during Lubukusu/Lutachoni Contact*," I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Bungoma County** for a period ending **30<sup>th</sup> December, 2014**.

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Bungoma County** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

  
SAID HUSSEIN  
FOR: SECRETARY/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner  
The County Director of Education  
Bungoma County.