

**A MORPHOSYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF A REGIONAL VARIETY OF  
KISWAHILI SPOKEN IN KAKAMEGA COUNTY: A VARIATIONIST  
SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH.**

**By**

**LIKUYANI ERICK MUHATI**

**C50/23823/2011**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND  
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF  
ARTS IN ENGLISH AND LINGUISTICS OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY.**

**MAY 2015**

## DECLARATION

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

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**Erick Likuyani Muhati (C50 / 23823 / 2011)**

Department of English and Linguistics

## SUPERVISORS

We confirm that the work reported in this thesis was carried out by the candidate under our supervision

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**Dr. Hilda Udali Kebeya**

Department of English and Linguistics

Kenyatta University.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**Ms. Florence Owili**

Department of English and Linguistics

Kenyatta University.

## DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to the following people for their unique contribution to my life. First, my deepest gratitude goes to my dear wife Salome Peggy for supporting me both materially and morally, and for taking good charge of the family during my absence. I also dedicate this project to my children, Melinda and Sylvia, who have been my source of inspiration.

I also dedicate this work to my dear mother Teresa, whose courage in 1979 was the foundation for my education. Finally, I dedicate this research project to the treasured memories of two dear souls: my late father, Peter Mmboyi, who called from his death-bed to encourage me to pursue academic excellence; and my late foster father, Alphoncies Muhati, whose bold decision in 1979 was the genesis of all the good things in my life.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to register my appreciation to Kenyatta University for according me the opportunity to pursue my master's studies in this great institution. I equally salute my supervisors, Dr. Hilda Kebeya and Ms. Florence Owili. Working with my supervisors was a great learning expedition. I am indebted to them both for their moral and intellectual contribution to this research project.

I am further grateful to Dr. Phyllis Mwangi and Dr. Eunice Nyamasyo for their critical readings and informed comments. I also salute Professor Chege Githiora for his invaluable advice on data collection. I pay special tribute to Dr. Caleb Shivachi, my mentor since I joined Kenyatta University in September, 2011. His lectures in language variation opened my eyes to variationist sociolinguistics and inspired the idea for the current study.

I commend all my graduate classmates at Kenyatta University for the stimulating intellectual experiences we shared together. I may not mention them by name but they were all a blessing to my intellectual life.

I also acknowledge all the sixteen respondents from Khayega location of Kakamega East district who provided the speech data for the current study. They generously shared with me their intimate stories and readily opened up to whatever personal questions I asked.

However, I am solely responsible for all the shortcomings in this research project.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration .....	ii
Abstract .....	iii
Dedication .....	v
Acknowledgements .....	vi
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms .....	vii
List of Tables .....	x
List of Figures .....	xii
Operational Definition of Terms .....	xiii
Table of Contents .....	xv
<b>CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.0 Introduction .....	1
1.1 Background to the Study .....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem .....	8
1.3 Objectives of the Study .....	8
1.4 Research Assumptions .....	9
1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study .....	9
1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study .....	12
1.7 Summary of Chapter .....	13
<b>CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE .....</b>	<b>14</b>
2.0 Introduction.....	14

2.1	Language and Language Variety.....	14
2.2	The Study Variables .....	16
2.2.1	The Variable in Variationist Sociolinguistics .....	17
2.2.2	The Sociolinguistic Variables .....	19
2.2.2.1	The Social Value of the Linguistic Variable .....	22
2.2.3	The Social Variables .....	23
2.2.3.1	Gender .....	24
2.2.3.2	Age .....	25
2.2.3.3	Educational Level as an Indicator of Social Class .....	29
2.3	Variation Studies in Asia .....	31
2.4	Variation Studies in Europe .....	32
2.5	Variation Studies from other Parts of Africa.....	33
2.6	Variation Studies in Kenya .....	34
2.7	The Place of Kiswahili in Kenya .....	40
2.8	Language Contact and Language Variation .....	42
2.9	Bantu Verbal Morphology .....	44
2.10	The Basic Morphological Structure of the Kiswahili Verb .....	45
2.11	Kenyan Non-standard Kiswahili .....	54
2.12	Theoretical Framework .....	59
2.12.1	The Language Variation Theory (Labov, 1972) .....	59
2.12.2	Generative Morphological Theory (Katamba, 1993).....	62
2.13	Summary of Chapter .....	64
	<b>CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>65</b>

3.0	Introduction .....	65
3.1	Research Design .....	65
3.2	Description of the Study Variables .....	68
3.3	The Site of the Study .....	69
3.4	The Study Population .....	71
3.5	Sampling Size and Sampling Techniques .....	73
3.6	Research Instruments .....	76
3.6.1	The Semi-structured Interview Schedule .....	77
3.6.2	The Unstructured Interview Schedule .....	77
3.7	Data Collection Procedures .....	78
3.8	Data Management and Ethical Issues .....	82
3.9	Summary of chapter .....	83
	<b>CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION .....</b>	<b>85</b>
4.1	Qualitative Analysis .....	85
4.1.1	Transcription.....	86
4.1.2	Description of Forms and Functions of Luhya Kiswahili	
	Variants .....	87
4.1.2.1	Identification of the Salient Morphosyntactic Feature [-ANGA] ....	87
4.1.2.1.1	The Variant [-ANGA] in the Indicative Mood .....	96
4.1.2.1.1.1	The Present Habitual Aspect Marker Variant [-ANGA] .....	96
4.1.2.1.1.2	The Past Habitual Aspect Marker Variant [-ANGA] .....	102
4.1.2.1.1.3	The Allomorph [-INGI] as a Variant of [-ANGA] .....	107

4.1.2.1.2	The Variant [- <b>ANGA</b> ] in the Subjunctive Mood.....	113
4.1.2.1.2.1	The Subjunctive Variant [- <b>ANGE</b> ] .....	113
4.1.2.1.2.2	The Subjunctive Allomorph Variant [- <b>ENGE</b> ] .....	119
4.1.2.1.2.3	The Subjunctive Allomorph Variant [- <b>INGI</b> ] .....	124
4.1.2.1.3	The Variant [- <b>ANGA</b> ] in the Negative Mood .....	129
4.1.2.1.3.1	The Negative Variant [- <b>ANGI</b> ] .....	129
4.1.2.1.3.2	The Negative Allomorph Variant [- <b>INGI</b> ] .....	134
4.1.2.1.4	Discussion .....	140
4.1.2.2	Identification of the Salient Morphosyntactic Feature [- <b>KO</b> ]...141	
4.1.2.2.1	The Variable [- <b>KO</b> ] as a Marker for Politeness .....	145
4.1.2.2.1.1	The Variant [- <b>KO</b> ] as a Marker for Polite Imperative .....	145
4.1.2.2.1.2	The Variant [- <b>KO</b> ] as a Marker for Polite Imperative Emphasis .....	151
4.1.2.2.2	The Variable [- <b>KO</b> ] as a Marker for the Diminutive .....	157
4.1.2.2.3	Discussion .....	163
4.2	Quantitative Analysis .....	164
4.2.1	Statistical Analyses .....	165
4.2.2	The Analysis Report .....	166
4.2.2.1	Correlation of Luhya Kiswahili Variants against Educational Level .....	171
4.2.2.1.1	Explaining the T-Test for the Habitual Marker Variants .....	173

4.2.2. 1.2	Explaining the T-Test for the Politeness & Diminutive Marker Variants .....	174
4.2.2.1.3	Summary of T-test for the Education Variable .....	175
4.2.2.2	Correlation of Luhya Kiswahili Variants against Gender .....	175
4.2.2.2.1	Explaining the T-Test for the Habitual Marker Variants .....	177
4.2.2.2.2	Explaining the T-Test for the Politeness & Diminutive Marker Variants .....	178
4.2.2.2.3	Summary of T-test for the Gender Variable .....	179
4.2.2.3	Correlation of Luhya Kiswahili Variants against Age .....	179
4.2.2.3.1	Explaining the T-Test for the Habitual Marker Variants .....	181
4.2.2.3.2	Explaining the T-Test for the Politeness & Diminutive Marker Variants .....	183
4.2.2.3.3	Summary of T-test for the Age Variable .....	184
4.2.3.4	Discussion .....	184
4.3	Summary of Chapter .....	185
 <b>CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>		
<b>189</b>		
5.0	Introduction .....	189
5.1	The Study Objectives .....	189
5.2	Summary of Findings .....	190
5.3	Conclusions .....	193

5.4	Implications of the Study .....	194
5.5	Recommendations .....	196
5.6	Suggestions for Further Research .....	198
	<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>199</b>
	<b>Appendices .....</b>	<b>216</b>
A1	Semi-structured Interview Schedule .....	216
A2	Unstructured Interview Schedule .....	220
A3	Sample Parental Consent .....	224
A4	Map of the Study Area .....	227
A5	Research Permit .....	228
A6	Budget .....	229

## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<b>1, 2, 3:</b>	First, Second, Third Person/Noun Class
<b>1sg, 2pl:</b>	Person + Number (Singular and Plural)
<b>ADV:</b>	Adverbial Marker
<b>APPL:</b>	Applicative Suffix
<b>AUX:</b>	Auxiliary
<b>CAUS:</b>	Causative Suffix
<b>COND:</b>	Conditional Marker
<b>COP:</b>	Copula
<b>CPx:</b>	Class Prefix
<b>DEM:</b>	Demonstrative Marker
<b>DSuf:</b>	Derivational Suffix
<b>EMPH:</b>	Emphasis marker
<b>FUT:</b>	Future
<b>FV:</b>	Final Vowel
<b>HAB:</b>	Habitual Marker
<b>HYP:</b>	Hypothetical Marker
<b>IMP:</b>	Imperative
<b>IMPF:</b>	Imperfective
<b>INFL-S:</b>	Inflectional Suffix
<b>KICD:</b>	Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development
<b>LK:</b>	Luhya Kiswahili

<b>NARR:</b>	Narrative Marker
<b>NC:</b>	Noun Class
<b>NEG:</b>	Negative Marker
<b>NEUT:</b>	Neuter
<b>NK:</b>	Non-standard Kiswahili
<b>OM:</b>	Object Marker
<b>PASS:</b>	Passive Suffix
<b>PERF:</b>	Perfective
<b>POSS:</b>	Possessive Marker
<b>PRES:</b>	Present
<b>PROG:</b>	Progressive
<b>PST:</b>	Past
<b>RECIP:</b>	Reciprocal Suffix
<b>REF:</b>	Reflexive Suffix
<b>REL:</b>	Relative Stem
<b>RM:</b>	Relative Marker
<b>SC:</b>	Subject Concord
<b>SK:</b>	Standard Kiswahili
<b>SM:</b>	Subject Marker
<b>SPSS:</b>	Statistical Package of Social Sciences
<b>TAM:</b>	Tense and Aspect Marker

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Sample Luhya Kiswahili Linguistics Variables [-ANGA] .....	5
Table 1.2: Sample Luhya Kiswahili Linguistics Variables [-KO] .....	6
Table 2.1: Kiswahili Verbal Morpheme Slot Matrix .....	46
Table 2.2: Summary of Kiswahili Mood Marking.....	53
Table 3.1: Number of Respondents According to Gender, Educational Level and age.....	75
Table 4.1: A Sample Data of Present Habitual Marker [-ANGA] in the Indicative Mood .....	88
Table 4.2: A Sample Data of Past Habitual Marker [-ANGA] in the Indicative Mood .....	89
Table 4.3: A Sample Data of the Allomorph Variant [-INGI] in the Indicative Mood .....	90
Table 4.4: A Sample Data of the Habitual Marker {-ANGA} in the Subjunctive Mood .....	91
Table 4.5: A Sample Data of the Allomorph Variant [-ENGE] in the Subjunctive Mood .....	92
Table 4.6: A Sample Data of the Allomorph Variant [-INGI] in the Subjunctive mood.....	93
Table 4.7: A Sample Data of the Habitual Marker {-ANGA} in the Negative Mood .....	94
Table 4.8: A Sample Data of the Allomorph Variant [-INGI] in the Negative	

Mood .....	95
Table 4.9: A Sample Data of the Polite Imperative Marker <b>[-KO]</b> .....	142
Table 4.10: A Sample Data of the Polite Imperative Emphasis Marker <b>[-KO]</b> .....	143
Table 4.11: A Sample Data of the Diminutive Marker <b>[-KO]</b> .....	144
Table 4.12: Results of Data on Variables from the Interview Schedules ...	169
Table 4.13: T-Test for Standard Kiswahili and Luhya Kiswahili Variants against Education Level.....	173
Table 4.14: T-Test for Standard Kiswahili and Luhya Kiswahili Variants against Gender .....	178
Table 4.15: T-Test for Standard Kiswahili and Luhya Kiswahili Variants against Age .....	182

### LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Correlation of Luhya Kiswahili Variants against Education Level .....	171
Figure 4.2: Correlation of Luhya Kiswahili Variants against Gender .....	176
Figure 4.3: Correlation of Luhya Kiswahili Variants against Age .....	180

## OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

**Educated Speakers:** The term refers to speakers who have secondary level education. It includes those speakers who were form four (grade twelve) students at the time of the study.

**Free Education:** In line with the international vision to achieve Education for All (EFA), the Kenya government launched the Free Primary Education (FPE) and Free Secondary Education (FSE) policy in 2003, in which fees and levies for tuition in public schools were abolished (Njoroge & Ole Kerei, 2012).

**Luhya Kiswahili:** The term is used to refer to the non-standard variety of Kiswahili used by the Luhya speakers in the western region of Kenya.

**Non-standard Kiswahili:** It is also called up-country Kiswahili. These are the widespread colloquial and less prestigious regional varieties used as trade lingua francae (Hinnebusch, 1996; Kebeya, 2008).

**Standard Kiswahili:** This is the theoretical standard variety recommended by KICD, written in text books and taught in Kenyan schools (Njoroge, 2006; Momanyi, 2009).

**Uneducated Speakers:** The term includes speakers who may have dropped out of primary school before attaining the completion certificate.

## ABSTRACT

### **A MORPHOSYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF A REGIONAL VARIETY OF KISWAHILI SPOKEN IN KAKAMEGA COUNTY: A VARIATIONIST SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH.**

By

LIKUYANI ERICK MUHATI

Kiswahili has historically been used as a lingua franca since pre-colonial times in Kenya. The attainment of independence over fifty one years ago saw the political recognition of Kiswahili as a national language. This has resulted in the progressive enhancement in status of Kiswahili, both as a compulsory examinable subject and lately, as an official language. As a result of its checkered past, and also as a consequence of language contact, Kiswahili is represented in two broad varieties in Kenya: the theoretical standard variety and the regional non-standard varieties which are a stark reality in the present day Kenya. It is from this background that the current study examined morphosyntactic variability in a regional variety of Kiswahili spoken in Kakamega County. The study was guided by the Labovian Language Variation Theory (Labov, 1972) and the Generative Morphological Theory (Katamba, 1993). This was a variationist sociolinguistic study that employed combined quantitative and qualitative methods. Qualitative linguistic descriptions were employed to examine variations in the use of verbal affixes in Luhya Kiswahili. This was complemented by quantitative analyses of the patterns of morphological variations which were correlated with social variables. The study targeted natives of Kakamega County who were first language speakers of Luhya and second language speakers of Kiswahili. They were rural men and women of ages ranging between 14 and 59 years old. Data were collected in sociolinguistic interviews from a sample of sixteen speakers who were identified using judgmental procedures from Khayega location in Kakamega East district. Three morphosyntactic variables were correlated with the social variables of age, gender and educational level. Findings show that the three linguistic variables exhibit clear and consistent differences between Luhya Kiswahili and standard Kiswahili. Variations in three linguistic variables suggest the possibility of substratum interference whereby Luhya linguistic structures seem to influence the Kiswahili linguistic structures. A principal claim of the study is that the verbal suffixes [-ANGA] and [-KO] represent stereotypes of Luhya Kiswahili. As regards the effect of the three social variables on the three linguistic variables, this study established that educational level was highly significant, while gender was shown to be minimally significant. Age, on the other hand, was not significant at all. A major implication of this study is that regional Kiswahili varieties like Luhya Kiswahili mark ethnicity.

# CHAPTER ONE

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Introduction

This chapter illuminates Kenya's linguistic profile and then zeroes in on Kiswahili and the various varieties of Kiswahili in Kenya. There is also a highlight of aspects of the other research findings that have motivated this study, leading to the statement of the problem and the objectives that the current study attempts to address. The chapter then provides an explanation as to why this study was undertaken, and ends with the scope and limitations of this study.

### 1.1 Background to the Study

Kenya is both politically and legally a multilingual nation. According to the Kenya Constitution (2010), English and Kiswahili are the joint official languages. Kiswahili has the additional legal recognition as the national language meant to foster national unity. Although English attracts more prestige as a symbol of colonial power (Njoroge, 2006), Standard Kiswahili also enjoys covert pride because it is generally considered foreign (that is, coastal or Tanzanian). Although both languages are lingua francae in the country, it is Kiswahili which seems to enjoy the widest use in most language use situations in Kenya.

In addition to English and Kiswahili, Kenya has over forty native languages that are spoken by the indigenous Africans (Kebeya, 2008). This figure is conservative because there are some language groups like the Luhya and the Kalenjin which have dialects which may easily be seen as sister languages leading some scholars, like Muaka (2011), to place the figure above sixty (also Githiora, 2002). Many scholars recognize that foreign languages are spoken and some taught in Kenya. They include Arabic, French, German, Chinese and Hindi. Foreign languages are important for contact with speakers from other countries as well as providing an added advantage in search of economic opportunities.

The Kakamega County linguistic profile can easily be said to be a microcosm of the general Kenyan nation. Although the county is home to nine of the seventeen Luhya dialects (see below), many other language groups have settled within its borders. The most notable language groups include the Kalenjin, the Luo, the Kikuyu, the Somali, Hindis, Arabs and, lately, the Chinese. There is also a smattering of the Maasai, the Turkana, as well as some Ugandans.

There are two distinct varieties of Kiswahili spoken in Kakamega County: standard Kiswahili and non-standard Kiswahili. The former is generally used in education and, to a limited extent, in administration and public offices. The dominant variety for day-to-day interaction is non-standard Kiswahili. It is this non-standard variety which is the concern of the current study.

The current study identifies non-standard up-country (hereafter referred to as regional) Kiswahili varieties according to their corresponding indigenous languages such as Luhya Kiswahili, Kikuyu Kiswahili, Kalenjin Kiswahili, Somali Kiswahili, Luo Kiswahili, Maasai Kiswahili and so on. The focus of the current study is Luhya Kiswahili which is the variety typically spoken by speakers of the seventeen dialects of the Luhya language.

Luhya is a branch of the Bantu languages spoken in the western region of Kenya (Guthrie, 1967). The Luhya language is made up of a minimum of seventeen dialects which include Lubukusu (spoken in Bungoma County); Lukhayo, Lumarachi, Lusaamia, Lunyala-B, Lutura (spoken in Busia County); Luloogoli, Lutirichi, Lunyore (spoken in Vihiga County); Lwisukha, Lwitakho, Luwanga, Lumarama, Lutsotso, Lunyala-K, Lukisa, Lukabarasi, Lutachoni (spoken in Kakamega County, the latter also spoken in Bungoma County). Muandike (2011) identifies Lutura spoken in Busia, while Kebeya (2008) splits Lunyala into B (Busia) and K (Kakamega). This suggests that the dialects may be more than seventeen. These details are, however, not our focus as the current study concerns itself with Kiswahili language matters rather than Luhya language dialectal ones.

The Luhya language structures may influence the Kiswahili variety spoken by Luhya language speakers. Shinagawa (2007) observes that vernacular Bantu language morphemes are categorized into regional Kiswahili verbal clusters. She identifies Proto Bantu suffix morphemes [-AG] and [-NGO] that have their corresponding forms [-ANGA] and [-KO] in present vernacular Bantu

languages to denote functions such as habitual aspect, imperfective aspect, and emphatic modality varying from language to language.

The vernacular Bantu habitual marker [-**ANGA**] and the politeness marker [-**KO**] cited in Roberts and Bresnan (2008), are the focus of the current study. Indeed, it is not uncommon to hear popular phrases like '*feelanga free*' (I feel free) being used by Kenyan speakers as a pointer to the influence of Luhya linguistic structure on the linguistic structure of the standardized languages in contact, in this case English. With regard to the use of Kiswahili in Kakamega County, the relationship between standard Kiswahili and Luhya Kiswahili may perhaps echo a parallel with the relationship between Standard British English (the Received Pronunciation) and Scottish English or the Cockney London Variety. Standard Kiswahili could be said to correspond to Standard British English while Luhya Kiswahili corresponds to Scottish English or the Cockney London Variety.

**Tables 1.1 and 1.2 below** show the projected influence of Luhya language affixes on the Kiswahili linguistic structure. The data for the tables were collected during a pilot study among the Isukha dialect speakers of Khayega location in Kakamega East district (**cf. section 3.3**). In all subsequent discussions, the current study will adopt the term Luhya to include all references to the Isukha dialect speakers or their language variety.

**Table 1.1: Sample Luhyanised Kiswahili Linguistic Variable [-ANGA]****Data for Habitual Aspect Marker.**

<b>Variable Name</b>	<b>Standard Kiswahili Variant</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili Variant</b>	<b>Luhya Variant</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
Habitual marker	[ <b>hu-</b> ]	[ <b>-anga</b> ]	[ <b>-anga</b> ]	
	Yeye <b>hula</b>	Yeye anakul <b>anga</b>	Anyany <b>anga</b>	s/he eats
	Mie <b>huona</b>	Mimi ninaon <b>anga</b>	Manyandol <b>anga</b>	I normally see
	<b>Huwa</b> sipendi	Mimi sipend <b>angi</b>	Shinyanz <b>anga</b> ta	I don't normally like

According to **Table 1.1**, it is apparent from these data that the habitual suffix variant marker [-ANGA] in Luhya Kiswahili co-varies with the prefix variant marker [HU-] in Standard Kiswahili. The standard Kiswahili *yeye hula* (s/he eats) corresponds to the Luhyanised Kiswahili *yeye anakulanga* (s/he eats). The standard Kiswahili negative construction *huwa sipendi* (I usually don't like)

corresponds to the Luhyanised Kiswahili *mimi sipendangi* (I usually don't like). In both cases, the Luhyanised Kiswahili constructions show similarities with their corresponding Luhya language versions *anyanyanga* (s/he eats) and *shinyanzanga ta* (I usually don't like).

**Table 1.2: Sample Luhyanised Kiswahili linguistic variable [-KO] Data for Politeness Marker.**

<b>Variable Name</b>	<b>Standard Kiswahili Variant</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili Variant</b>	<b>Luhya Variant</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
Politeness marker	[Ø]	[-ko]	[-khu]	
	(tafadhali)Kula	Kulako	Lyakhu	Please eat
	(tafadhali)Kuja	Kujako	Hambakhu	Please come
	(tafadhali) Angalia	Angaliako	Henzakhu	please look

It is equally apparent from **table 1.2** that the Luhya Kiswahili politeness suffix marker [-KO] co-varies with the standard Kiswahili zero variant [Ø]. The

standard Kiswahili constructions *skula* (eat), *kuja* (come) and *angalia* (look) seem rather rude and therefore need to be qualified by the polite term *tafadhali* to correspond to the Luhyanised Kiswahili *kulako* (please eat) *kujako* (please come) and *angaliako* (please look). All the three Luhyanised Kiswahili constructions show similarities with their corresponding Luhya language versions *liakhu* (please eat), *hambakhu* (please come) and *henzakhu* (please look).

It seems like letter ‘**h**’ is dropped from the Luhya language velar consonant cluster ‘**kh**’ resulting in the consonant ‘**k**’ in Luhyanised Kiswahili. The voiceless velar fricative [x] (**kh** in orthography), is replaced by the voiceless velar stop [k] (**k** in orthography). This could be because the latter is the closest to [x] in terms of articulation. Kiswahili does not seem to frequently use the voiceless velar fricative [x] which is also found in the Luhya language. It is for that reason that it is substituted with the voiceless velar stop. The Luhya language vowel sound [u] is substituted by [o] in Luhya Kiswahili.

The data in **tables 1.1 and 1.2**, therefore, seem to suggest that both the Luhya Kiswahili affix morphemes [-ANGA] and [KO] may be a consequence of substratum interference whereby features from the Luhya linguistic structure could influence the linguistic structure of the standardized second language, in this case Kiswahili. The current study attempted to analyze this linguistic phenomenon in detail.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Kenyan Kiswahili exhibits significant regional variations. This diversity partly entails contact between Kiswahili and the indigenous languages. Kiswahili has, therefore, acquired local language structures at all linguistic levels. It has been nativized and adapted to the regional sociolinguistic conditions of the catchment areas (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Shinagawa, 2007). However, Myers-Scotton and others simply note this phenomenon but fail to provide sufficient evidence. This is a gap that this study hopes to fill. By analyzing spoken data from Luhya speakers of Kiswahili in Kakamega County, this study sought to investigate and identify the salient linguistic variables of one of the regional varieties of Kiswahili in Kenya. Unlike earlier studies (Russell, 1981; MacKenzie & Sankoff, 2010; Atkinson, 2011; Makokha, 2013) which have limited themselves to phonological variation, this study focused on morphosyntactic features of Luhya Kiswahili. In addition, the study sought to determine how age, gender and educational level of speakers co-varied with the identified morphosyntactic variables.

## **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The study was based on the following objectives:

1. To identify and describe the salient morphosyntactic features of Luhya Kiswahili.
2. To analyze how age and gender of the speaker affect the salient morphosyntactic features of Luhya Kiswahili.

3. To establish the correlation between the level of education and the salient morphosyntactic features of Luhya Kiswahili.

#### **1.4 Research Assumptions**

To get reliable answers to these questions, the following assumptions were formulated:

- a) There are salient morphosyntactic features that characterize Luhya Kiswahili.
- b) Male speakers will display a higher usage of Luhya Kiswahili than female speakers.
- c) Younger speakers will display a higher usage of Luhya Kiswahili than middle-aged speakers.
- d) Speakers with lower educational level exhibit higher usage of Luhya Kiswahili than their highly educated counterparts.

#### **1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study**

According to Wardhaugh (2010), very little is known about the effects of the indigenous languages on Kiswahili. This study hopes to offer clues to the kinds of changes that have occurred in the Kiswahili linguistic structure as a consequence of language contact. According to Romaine (2003) and Arimi (2006), most variation studies have targeted phonological variables because, as Hudson (1980) notes, they are the most frequent. The current study, therefore,

adopted the alternative morphosyntactic variation study targeting morphosyntactic variables (**cf. Section 3.2.2**).

Waithera (2007) and Kimathi (2008) observe that there has been little variation research on African languages. Indeed, except for the Sheng variety, there is hardly any literature on variation studies of regional Kiswahili varieties. Equally, there is hardly any literature on general variation studies on the morphosyntactic structures of regional Kiswahili varieties. There is little research on the sociolinguistic aspects of Kiswahili dialects yet many recent researches have tended to concentrate on Sheng, (Githiora, 2002; Kang'ethe, 2004; Shinagawa, 2007; Nabea, 2009 being just a few of them). The current study, therefore, adds to the literature on the morphosyntactic aspects of regional Kiswahili varieties.

Kiswahili has many social benefits. According to Kebeya (2008), it enables communication between speakers of the over forty different language groups in Kenya. It has been promoted into both national and official language (Kenya Constitution, 2010). However, regional Kiswahili varieties also mark ethnic solidarity and may, therefore, fail to foster national unity. This is unlike bad English which generally marks only lack of education (Eckert, 2004). Paradoxically, regional Kiswahili varieties are the Kiswahili varieties that are accessible to, and used by, a majority of Kenyans (Jahn & Kiebling, 2006). There is, therefore, need to understand their dynamics. Such an understanding, it is hoped, could enlighten teachers of Kiswahili on the causes of syntactic variation that students make in Kiswahili (Mocho, 2012). This would enable

teachers to come up with remedial strategies on the teaching of Kiswahili syntax. The findings of this study may also help various other stake holders like curriculum developers, language policy makers and even authors of Kiswahili books who may put in place appropriate instructional designs that would mitigate the effects of indigenous languages on the learning of Kiswahili as a unifying national language.

In a highly multilingual society like Kenya, effective administration can be achieved through a mass language. That kind of mass language is not likely to be standard Kiswahili which is bookish (Jahn and Kiebling, 2006). In fact, standard Kiswahili is also generally considered 'Tanzanian', that is, foreign (Githiora, 2002). Regional varieties of Kiswahili therefore offer the best of both worlds to Kenyans: they can communicate with outsiders and with one another, while still being able to express their own unique Kenyan identity through their own naturalized national language. Undue emphasis on standard Kiswahili has caused regional varieties to be frowned upon (Jahn & Kiebling, 2006), an attitude that ignores their socio-economic value which also includes regional Kiswahili as the preferred varieties of artistic expression, especially in media comedy. Therefore, while coastal Kiswahili, also known as Mombasa Kiswahili (Russell, 1981) continues to enjoy prestige in Kenya today, the regional varieties of Kiswahili are stigmatized hence very little academic studies have been conducted on them. This is a gap which the present study hopes to fill.

### **1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The current study combined qualitative and quantitative methods to evaluate and analyze the social and linguistic aspects of a regional variety of Kiswahili spoken in Kakamega County. The research was guided by a modified framework of the Labovian Variationist Theory (Labov, 1972). This modified framework targets a rural variety of a language in a multilingual situation, an approach employed by, among others, Kebeya (2008), Njoroge (2008) and Atkinson (2011).

The current study was limited to identifying and describing the salient morphosyntactic features of the Luhya Kiswahili verbal complex, as well as analyzing how age, gender and educational level of the speaker may affect the morphosyntactic features identified by the study. I did not deal with aspects of phonological structure, lexical structure and other areas of grammar in this study due to limitations of time and resources.

The data set for the current study was limited to the Luhya Kiswahili spoken by the Luhya speakers in Kakamega East district. I did not include Luhya Kiswahili varieties spoken in other parts of Kakamega County. Neither did I include varieties spoken in Bungoma, Vihiga and Busia counties because the scope would have been too wide given the time and resource constraints.

The current study targeted speakers who are currently resident in Kakamega County and have been for the past ten years. The subjects were first language speakers of the Luhya language who speak Kiswahili as their second language.

They were rural, both males and females between 14 and 59 years of age. The current study did not include the following people: those who speak Luhya Kiswahili but stay outside Kakamega County; trained and practicing teachers of Kiswahili language; and those who were either below 14 or above 59 years of age at the time of the research.

### **1.7 Summary of the Chapter**

This introductory chapter has highlighted the background to variation in the Kiswahili language. In addition, the chapter has presented the statement of the problem, objectives and assumptions of the research, the scope, limitations and justification of the study. The next chapter will deal with the review of literature related to the current study. The chapter, therefore, briefly examines researches undertaken by other scholars in the field of language variation and on different aspects of the Kiswahili language.

## CHAPTER TWO

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter briefly examines studies undertaken by other scholars that are pertinent to the current research. According to Kasomo (2006), literature review shows what others have said about the topic. This chapter, therefore, covers background information regarding the notions of language and language variety as well as previous studies related to language variation in diverse settings and different languages. These studies are reviewed by region starting with Asia, followed by Europe, other parts of Africa and then Kenya. The chapter then reviews various aspects of the Kiswahili language which have a bearing on the linguistic variables for the current study. Finally, a review of the Labovian Language Variationist Theory (Labov, 1972) and the Generative Morphological Theory (Katamba, 1993), is undertaken. The current research hopes to add to what others have already done, as well as apply what others have written on the various topics reviewed in this chapter. An explanation of how other researchers' literature has assisted this study is also given in this chapter.

#### 2.1 Language and Language Variety

A variety is a form of language used by speakers of that language (Hocini, 2011). This may include dialects, registers, styles and accents as well as the standard language itself. This study will use the term *variety* to refer to instances of the same language where speakers of two forms understand each

other. This neutral term will be used in order to avoid positive or negative connotations often associated with the terms *language* and *dialect* (Hudson, 1980).

Ordinary people often associate the term language only with the standard form while dialect is usually associated with non-standard varieties, which are thought of as 'less prestigious and less correct' than the standard form. Typically, language varieties which are not written are viewed as dialects. We have interacted with many Kenyans who consider standard Kiswahili as the 'more prestigious and more correct' variety, while the colloquial and regional varieties are regarded as backward dialects.

Most languages have a standard form, which is the variety selected and promoted either by political decisions or social institutions such as schools or the media (Eckert, 2004; Tonkin, 2005). Since the standard variety is given such status, it is therefore considered correct and prestigious and is highly valued by the society that uses it. In the current study, the term *language* will be used as a theoretical umbrella concept: that is, neither a standard form nor a dialect subordinate to the standard language. According to this view, therefore, there is no real distinction between language and dialect except with reference to prestige, in which case; then, we talk of standard language rather than just language.

There is also need to distinguish between geographical and social dialects. Geographical dialects, also called regional, show differences based on region of origin and ethnicity. Social dialects, also called sociolects, are spoken by

people who belong to different social groups such as social class, gender, age, and so on. According to Hudson (1980), social differences take precedence over ethnicity and geography as determinants of speech. According to this view, there seems to be far more regional (ethnic) variation among rural people of lower educational level than there is among urban people with higher educational levels. The current study, therefore, projected that people who have passed through the school system will typically have fewer regional features in their Kiswahili variety.

## **2.2 The Study Variables**

It is generally accepted that all varieties of language are variable (Wolfram, 1997, 2004; Haddican, 2005; Meyerhoff, 2007). Hocini (2011) observes that variation is a characteristic of all 'living languages' which also ensures creativity in language and communication. According to Milroy & Milroy (1997), language is inherently variable at a number of structural levels. In morphology and syntax, there are many alternative ways of saying the same thing, especially in non-standard forms of language. Linguistic structures also vary in specific social contexts and are subject to variability based on social variables (Kebeya, 2008).

Sufficient research continues to be done by the KIE on Standard Kiswahili. It is non-standard Kenyan Kiswahili that was investigated in the current study because it is subject to regional, social and individual speaker variations. Milroy (1980, 1987) asserts that it is the vernacular variety of the language which is ideal for variation studies (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992, 1995).

The regional spoken (vernacular) variety that was targeted by this study is the Luhya Kiswahili variety spoken in Kakamega East district (cf. Map **Appendix 4**). The focus was on morphosyntactic variables in the form of the salient Luhya language features borrowed into the Luhya Kiswahili variety. These linguistic variables were correlated with the social variables of age, gender and educational level in the speech data from the sampled speakers.

Varieties of language, which basically form any language, are subject to variation. In the case of Kiswahili spoken in Kenya, variation is as much a function of the languages in contact as it is of the individual speaker's social factors. As mentioned, non-standard Kiswahili varieties are distributed according to the local languages in Kenya (cf. **section 1.1**). Each ethnic language variety of Kiswahili is characterized by some specific linguistic features that may not be found in another ethnic language variety. Such linguistic features of regional non-standard Kiswahili varieties are unique and due consideration must be taken to account for them according to the type of language in contact. Luhya Kiswahili is characterized by a lot of morphological features that distinguish this variety from the other nonstandard varieties of Kiswahili spoken by other language groups in Kenya. Some of these language groups include the Kalenjin and the Luo, both of whom are also in contact with the Luhya speakers.

### **2.2.1 The Variable in Variationist Sociolinguistics**

According to Hocini (2011), variationist sociolinguistics is a subfield of sociolinguistics which tries to explain the paradox between structured language

and language change. Variationists observe and explain language change in terms of synchronic variation. The current study, therefore, should be considered a variationist sociolinguistic approach seeking to examine language variation leading to change in Kiswahili varieties spoken by the numerous indigenous language groups in Kenya.

Pioneered by Labov, variationists have tackled and developed issues of reliability and validity to the study of language. Variationists advocate for empirical studies of language samples recorded in natural settings in which linguistic variation is correlated with social factors (Poplack, 1993). This theory involves a combination of techniques to scientifically investigate language use and structure as manifested in naturalistic contexts.

Thus, an important aspect of the variationist framework involves entry into the language group, where observation of the language use in its socio-cultural setting is carried out. A specific goal of this procedure is to gain access to the vernacular which is the spontaneous speech reserved for intimate or casual situations. In order to account for the variant that was actually selected in a given situation, the variationist must determine why, where, and when it was used as well as by whom (Poplack, 1993).

The answers to these questions are necessarily variable. The variationist therefore adopts quantitative techniques to uncover the systematic differences between speakers, often associated to some extent with one or more factors like age, gender, ethnicity, educational level, and so on. Milroy & Milroy (1997) argue that the use of quantification represents an advance in descriptive

techniques as it enables investigators to make accurate statements about fine-grained differences between groups of speakers in a community. Formerly, such statements used to be categorical yet in practice, such uses of language are seldom categorical for any group of speakers.

The key to this approach is the introduction of statistics. According to this approach, statistical data on the occurrence of certain linguistic variables used by different speakers is gathered and analyzed in quantitative terms. Correlations with non-linguistic variables are then looked for in the quantified occurrences of the linguistic variables. This treatment therefore calls for the understanding of the notion of 'linguistic variable' which is the basic methodological tool in the variationist paradigm investigation of language variation.

### **2.2.2 The Sociolinguistic Variable**

Sociolinguists distinguish between two types of variables: the dependent and the independent variables. The dependent variable is a linguistic one, whereas the independent variable refers to other characteristics that are assumed to be related to or influence the dependent variable (Hocini, 2011). The independent variables are the social factors such as age and gender of the speaker, social class or status, regional background, ethnicity, and other related factors.

The dependent variable is attributable to the independent variable because the correlation of linguistic and social variation is one of the pillars within the field of variationist sociolinguistics. The linguistic variable is, therefore,

fundamental to the variationist methodology. It is a basic sociolinguistic concept which was initially developed by William Labov in the early 1960s. It is a linguistic element that has alternatives or variants which can be substituted for one another without changing the meaning of the word. A typical sociolinguistic variable has variants which can all be recognized and counted (Chambers & Trudgill, 1980; Romaine, 2003).

Watt and Smith (2005:104) define the linguistic variable as ‘a set of at least two distinguishable variants which have equivalent linguistic meaning but may carry different social meanings’. A linguistic variable is, therefore, seen as a socially different way of saying the same thing (Njoroge, 2006). According to Milroy (1987), the variant realizations of a linguistic variable do not encode different referential meanings. The linguistic variable co-varies not only with other linguistic elements but also with a number of extra-linguistic independent variables like age, social class, gender, ethnic group, and so on. These variants simply co-vary with other units in the linguistic system and/or with a range of speaker variables.

The linguistic variable is, therefore, a structured unit that includes alternative realizations. As one speaker realizes it one way another does it in a different way; or the same speaker may realize it differently on different occasions. The concept of the linguistic variable is considered key to direct analysis and systematic comparison in very large amounts of data. The linguistic variable allows quantitative statements to be made about language use so that a given speaker is said to use more or less of a given variant when compared to another

speaker. Alternatively, the same speaker may be said to use more of a given variant in a specified situation than in a different situation (Milroy, 1987). This means that variants of a variable are not used categorically by given speakers or in given situations. Use of variants is, therefore, relative.

Variables may be lexical and morphological, but are most often phonological. Labov (1972, 2008) suggests three steps in analyzing the linguistic variable in any sociolinguistic investigation:

- Enumerating the range of contexts in which the variable occurs;
- Distinguishing as many variants as is reasonably possible; and
- Assigning each variant a quantitative index.

In the current study, the above steps are followed in analyzing variations in the occurrence of the linguistic variable (the salient morphosyntactic features) in the Luhya Kiswahili verbal complex. These steps are equally followed in correlating the three morphosyntactic variables under investigation with the extra-linguistic factors of age, gender and educational level.

Sociolinguistics is also committed to the principle of accountability (Poplack, 1993; Meyerhoff, 2006; Atkinson, 2011). A sociolinguistic analysis must take into account not only the most frequent tokens, or the ones with the most straightforward interpretation, but all the tokens of a variable. Citing Milroy & Gordon (2003), Atkinson contends that the analyst should not select from a text those variables which tend to confirm their argument, and ignore others that do not. Poplack discusses two analytical principles underlying a variationist

analysis that are relevant to the study of language contact phenomena. The first is the principle of accountable reporting. This requires not only that **all** the relevant examples of a phenomenon in some data set be incorporated into the analysis, but also, all of the contexts in which it could have appeared, but didn't. Therefore, the sum total of occurrences and non-occurrences of variant realizations in a given context together constituted the linguistic variable.

It is usual to symbolize variables by enclosing them in parenthesis. The current study adopts the conventional sociolinguistic system of using round brackets ( ) to enclose linguistic variables and square brackets [ ] to enclose the variants of a specific variable (Njoroge, 2006). The 'Zero variant' [Ø] is used to indicate where a variant of a variable could potentially occur but does not (Watt and Smith, 2005).

### **2.2.2.1 The Social Value of the Linguistic Variable**

Linguistic variables have been proved to behave in different ways in relation to social variables. This is because linguistic variables carry different social values correlated with them in addition to their formal value as variationist basic tool for the study of language groups. Labov (1972) distinguishes between different linguistic variables carrying different social values: stereotypes, markers and indicators.

According to Meyerhoff (2006), stereotypes are those linguistic features about which even lay people sometimes have very clear perceptions with regard to their ability to differentiate linguistic varieties. They are those things that

people can comment on and discuss, often with very strong positive or negative opinions. A stereotype is, therefore, a linguistic feature that is widely recognized and is very often the subject of dialect performance and impersonations. Meyerhoff is quick to point out that such public evaluations may not always be strictly accurate though.

An indicator, on the other hand, shows no evidence that speakers consistently favour one variant over another regardless of who they are talking to or where. However, the frequency of one variant rather than another may differentiate groups of speakers as a whole (Eckert, 2008). When indicators become popular among people they are called stereotypes because they are viewed as linguistic variables which consciously characterize the speech of a particular group of speakers (Labov, 1972). Accordingly, the present research was based on the investigation of linguistic variables in Luhya Kiswahili that are dependent on social constraints, that is, age, gender and educational level.

### **2.2.3 The Social Variables**

A social variable is fundamentally any non-linguistic feature that has a correlation with the use of a particular linguistic variable (Hocini, 2011). It is, therefore, a social factor that determines variation in language. Milroy (1987) describes social variables as speaker variables which she also gives the alternative name of social characteristics of speakers. It is social differentiation of language based on the relationship between language and social characteristics like social class or status, ethnicity, age, sex, educational level, and rural or urban residency. Generally speaking, there is a relationship

between the linguistic variables and the social characteristics. We shall now consider the social variables that are the focus of the current study.

### **2.2.3.1 Gender**

Many sociolinguistic studies seem to point to the fact that variation according to gender may be universal (Hocini, 2011; Atkinson, 2011). Many studies that investigated the relationship between gender and linguistic variation show that men and women differ in their speech mainly in the sense that women's speech contains more formal forms than men's (Eckert, 2005; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Maclagan, 2005).

Another closely related issue that is involved within language and variation and change is that men tend to use more localized forms specific to their language variety than women who tend to favour supra-local forms in speech (Milroy, 1980; Hocini, 2011). This factor is said to have a relation with identity because men show their identity and belongingness to their language group through their use of local variants (Milroy & Milroy, 1997). The current study investigated the relationship between gender and morphosyntactic variation in the Luhya Kiswahili verbal complex. The study sought to show that men and women differ in their speech through the study assumption that women's speech contains more formal forms than men's (**cf. section 1.4 (b)**).

Hudson (1980) observed that women, unlike men, from all social classes and ages are likely to use variants of the Standard English /**ing**/ rather than the non-standard /**in**/. He concluded that women use prestigious forms to gain a

remarkable position in society. Hudson (1980) further argues that men from the working-class tend to use non-standard forms showing low prestige. He further explains that the use of non-standard structures serves as a marker of masculinity and away of indicating membership in a given language group. Hocini (2011), therefore, concludes that men have a higher frequency of non-standard forms than women. He also observes that women are generally the innovators in linguistic change (also Labov, 1972; Eckert, 2005).

According to Hocini (2011), when the social variables of gender, age and social class are included and considered together, gender is seen to be the one factor which is foremost in driving language to variation and change. According to Milroy & Milroy (1997), these gender differences in speech are not necessarily evident to the casual observer when men and women interact. Normally, both sexes use the same variants, but in different quantities, and the differences are fine-grained. This calls for their demonstration only by means of quantitative analysis. The current study employed the t-test analysis of the frequency of the Luhya Kiswahili salient features to either confirm or reject the study assumption.

### **2.2.3.2 Age**

According to Eckert (1997), age correlates with variation by virtue of its social, not biological status. The use of age as a sociolinguistic variable, therefore, requires that we focus on the nature and social status of age and aging. Age determines the choices that we make in relation to our linguistic behavior

because age is a determiner in the individual's life activities. The current study attempted to integrate aspects of both biological and social ages.

According to Eckert (2003, 2004), it is the younger speakers who spear-head linguistic change within their communities. The current study, therefore, sought to investigate if the age of the speaker affects the frequency of occurrence of the salient morphosyntactic features of Luhya Kiswahili. The respondents were sampled from speakers of ages between 14 and 59 years old. The study sought to show that the younger speakers differ from the middle-aged speakers in their speech through the study assumption that adult speech contains more formal forms than youth speech. The study employed the t-test analysis of the frequency of the Luhya Kiswahili salient features to either confirm or reject this study assumption.

Among the social variables used to investigate language variation, age is the less examined variable (Hocini, 2011; Atkinson, 2011). Early sociolinguistic studies tended to include this variable within other variables. Cheshire (2002a) laments that there has been more research on the language of childhood and adolescence than on the language of the middle years. Yet, Mackenzie & Sankoff (2010) observe that one's linguistic system does not strictly crystallize after puberty. They argue that changes later in life in the direction of the community are possible, particularly when speakers experience a change in social status.

As a result of this bias towards the language of childhood and adolescence that exists in the work on language and age-specific use of language, more is

known about language used at some life stages than at others (Cheshire, 2002a). However, Eckert (1997:156) points out that ‘only the middle-age are seen as engaging in mature use, as “doing” language rather than learning it or losing it’. It needs to be recognized that adult language, as well as youth language, develops in response to important life events that affect the social relations and social attitudes of individuals (Cheshire, 2002a; Sankoff, 2004). Some age-exclusive features may be due to maturational factors, reflecting, in other words, biological age. Research on youth language has, for example, led to the significant recognition of the important role of adolescents in language change, especially in the grammaticalisation of features (Cheshire, 2002a).

Although both the younger and older stages of the life span are beginning to be explored in detail, detailed research on the important period of middle-age remains to be done (Cheshire, 2002a). Downes (1998) as cited in Cheshire (2002a) shows that the less prestigious variants were used more frequently by younger speakers (Eckert, 2003, 2005) and also by older speakers, with the prestigious variants used relatively more frequently by middle-aged speakers. Explanations for these recurrent findings have been offered in terms of the social pressures at different stages of people’s lives (Sankoff, 2004). It is suggested that when speakers are younger, the influence of the overt norms is likely to be relatively weak; peer pressure on the other hand will be strong (Cheshire, 2002a). In their middle years, people’s lives tend to become more public, and they have to adapt to the norms and values of the mainstream

society. For older retired people, on the other hand, the pressures to conform to societal norms may weaken once more.

In regard to the present study, the methodology adopted corresponds to an 'apparent-time' framework, that is, change which can be observed in progress (Kallel, 2002; Sankoff, 2006; Atkinson, 2011). This methodology is an isolated instance of inquiry of a linguistic variable within age groups of a linguistic community which is not re-investigated at a later point in time. If correlation with age is seen, it is assumed that a change in progress is under way and that the variant most characteristic of older speakers' speech represents the earlier stage and the variant more typical of younger speakers' speech shows what it is changing to (Atkinson, 2011).

In apparent time framework, speakers are stratified into a range of suitable age groups. According to Eckert (1997), grossly combined age figures can mask specific age group effects thereby limiting statistical significance. This necessitates the groupings of speakers into fairly narrow age ranges or cohorts. Cohorts are categorized as being either emic or etic. Etically categorized speakers are placed into equal age span groups such as 20-30 and 40-50. Speakers are emically categorized according to some shared experience of time. According to Eckert (1997), emically defined age cohorts fall into four separate periods of life, that is: childhood, adolescence, adult and old age. Eckert adds that these periods of life are governed by different constraints which include school, work and retirement, respectively. However, these groups may seem controversial especially with regard to the work experience.

For example, it is not clear when people stop working; nor indeed whether the working referred to is in the formal or the informal sector.

Atkinson (2011) advocates for and used only adult cohorts in apparent time studies. However, Eckert (1997, 2004) views adolescence as a ‘very interesting’ life stage and sees adolescents as the ‘movers and shakers’ of language change. The present study, therefore, adopted the emic view of age stages whereby two contrasting groups were chosen: younger speakers and middle-aged speakers. According to (Kallel, 2002), while middle-aged speakers show stabilization, young people (the ‘innovators’) are more likely to implement linguistic changes (also Wagner, 2008). The choice of two emically defined age cohorts including the younger speakers and middle-aged speakers was, therefore, seen to be suited to the study.

For the current study therefore, the proposed age sampling is composed of:

- An apparent time study
- Two age sample groups
- Generational age groups inspired by the Kenyan Constitution (2010)

### **2.2.3.3 Educational Level as an Indicator of Social Class**

According to Atkinson (2011), the speaker variable of social class is the most problematic to define. This is mainly because the assessment of social class within sociolinguistic research involves both objective measures (ranging from level of education, level of income) and more subjective ones (for example, life-style and house type). Noting that a range of different social class

methodologies have been implemented over the past, Atkinson concedes that there is no sociolinguistic ‘blue-print’ available to researchers: what works in one area may not work in another.

In the current study, speakers were sampled from the relatively rural Kakamega East district. The respondents differ in regard to their level of educational completion (**cf. section 3.5**). Romaine (2003) observes that education accords people higher social class associated with prestige. She views the refinements of grammar as a sign of emergent status of the educated person. Education therefore grants social status to people who hitherto did not have it. Romaine considers social status as a term of ‘social approval and moral approbation’. This view echoes Milroy (1987) who sees status as evaluative: it is a consequence of the inclination to attach positive or negative values to human attributes; to distribute respect and honour, and contempt or derogation accordingly.

Milroy observes that the concept of social class is used in linguistic studies merely as a means of imposing order on complex linguistic data. The current study, therefore, used educational level as a mark of social status. The educational level of different speakers creates social statuses whose members share similar social prestige, lifestyle, or social networks (Milroy & Milroy, 1985, 1992). Jahangiri & Hudson (1982) used education as an indicator of social class. Labov in the New York City and Trudgill in the Norwich studies as cited in Hudson (1980) used education as one of the indicators of social

class. Kebeya (2008) also observes that language use correlates with educational status. Njoroge (2006:43) argues that ‘variation in language use depends upon the quality and quantity of exposure to the language’.

The current study sought to establish the correlation between the level of education of speakers and the salient morphosyntactic features of the Luhya Kiswahili verbal complex. The study sought to show that educated speakers and uneducated speakers differ in their speech through the study assumption that the speech of educated speakers contains more formal forms than that of uneducated speakers. The study employed the t-test analysis of the frequency of the Luhya Kiswahili salient features to either confirm or reject this study assumption.

### **2.3 Variation Studies in Asia**

Liao (2010) did a sociolinguistic study of Mandarin in Central Taiwan. The design combined both qualitative and quantitative methods to examine how linguistic behavior is conditioned by external factors such as gender and age. The current study borrowed this design but included education as a social variable. We also borrowed sociolinguistic interview procedures as means of data collection from participants recruited by social network approaches (**cf. sections 3.6 to 3.7**).

Liao focused only on the younger speakers to suggest that both external factors and internal constraints play a role in the choice of linguistic variables. The

current study therefore included the language of middle-aged speakers, that is, speakers aged 35 to 59 years old.

Botha (2011) investigated variation in initial and final segments, as well as sentence final particles in Cantonese in Macau Special Administrative Region (SAR). The study aimed to prove the hypothesis that Cantonese speaking Macanese vary their use of the above linguistic variables according to speaker variables such as age and gender.

Interviews were used to collect data from a sample selected using stratified judgment approaches, a procedure that was borrowed in the current study. Results indicate that the external constraint categories play a role in the realization of the linguistic variables studied. The current study sought to confirm if speaker variables correlate with verbal affixes in a regional language variety like Luhya Kiswahili.

## **2.4 Variation Studies in Europe**

Kallel (2002) used an apparent-time quantitative design to study the age variable in the rise of the periphrastic ‘do’ in English in the Sixteenth Century England. He tested the hypotheses that the younger generation will display more frequent use of a new variant in their speech. The current study borrowed this research assumption but expanded it to include female speakers (**cf. section 1.4 (b)**).

Kallel employed a collection of private letters as a source of data with the correspondents as representatives of their society but we tested this assumption

on recorded language data from real respondents. Kallel suggests that change was led by the younger generation and women. Apart from age as an intervening factor in the differences observed between the two generations, gender also seems significant. We therefore included gender as a social variable in the current study.

Atkinson (2011) employed a combined qualitative and quantitative apparent-time framework in examining phonological variability in Darlington English, spoken in north-eastern England. Phonological variables were correlated with the social variables of gender, age and social class. The current study employed the same design but examined morphosyntactic variability in a regional variety of Kiswahili. Atkinson emically stratified the speakers into two contrasting adult age cohorts separated by one generation.

The current study contrasts the adult age cohort with the younger age cohort. In the Darlington study, speakers were selected by judgmental snowball techniques and then categorized into age, gender and social class groupings, a procedure also borrowed in the current study. Darlington English shows variable use of [h] which is highly influenced by social class. Age was significant for use of [t] while gender showed significance for word initial [h] only. In the current study social class was represented by educational level.

## **2.5 Variation Studies from Other Parts of Africa**

Hocini (2011) used both qualitative and quantitative methods to test the hypotheses that age and gender of the speaker are the ultimate social variables

stimulating variation among speakers of Ghazaouet Arabic in Algerian. He also hypothesizes that educational background can shape the causes of speech differences in a language variety. This design and assumptions were borrowed and modified for the current study.

Whereas Arabic is a first language in Ghazaouet, the current study investigated Kiswahili which is a second language in Kakamega East district. Hocini's sample included both male and female respondents whose age ranged from 6 to 75 years, and education from illiterates to university graduates. The current study adopted that procedure but excluded speakers below 14 years and those above 59 years. Hocini's findings show that factors influencing change include language contact. We therefore investigated how contact with Luhya language affects Kiswahili structure.

## **2.6 Variation Studies in Kenya**

Mulinge (2006) employed a quantitative design to examine phonological variability in the spoken English of secondary school students in a co-educational Kenyan school in Machakos district. He employed statistical operations to correlate social data with data on phonological variables. The current study borrowed this statistical approach to investigate morphosyntactic variables which were correlated with the social variables of age, gender and educational level. Mulinge used judgmental social network sampling to select 24 students based on denominational affiliation and gender.

Mulinge advocates for a smaller sample because, as Milroy and Gordon (2003) observe, large samples for variationist studies tend to be counter-productive because linguistic data are repetitive in nature. The current study therefore used a sample of sixteen (**cf. section 3.5**). Mulinge shows that girls approximated the standard variant more than the boys did. They also hyper-corrected more than the boys did. Girls were found to favour prestige variants while boys seemed to favour those that carry social stigma. The current study sought to examine if gender similarly influences variation in the morphosyntactic structure of Luhya Kiswahili.

Arimi (2006) employed a combined qualitative and quantitative design to correlate syntactic variables with the social variables of gender and rural-urban dichotomy. The study was based on decontextualized written English of secondary school students in Kenyan schools in Meru South district while the current study is based on contextualized spoken language. Written compositions from forty students were used for analysis. Statistical tests of mean, standard deviation and ANOVA were used to establish correlations between social variables and syntactic variables.

Similar statistical tests were borrowed for the current study. Arimi's findings show the existence of variation in some features while in others the variation that was observed was not statistically significant. The current study sought to establish to what extent the observed variation in the salient Luhya Kiswahili morphosyntactic features was statistically significant for the linguistic variables under study.

Waithera (2007) combined both qualitative and quantitative methods to examine phonological variation in Gikuyu spoken by Kamba traders in Thika district. The focus was on variation on articulation of consonants, pitch patterns, and whether the variations observed are influenced by gender and age. The current study borrowed this design but added the social variable of educational level. Waithera selected a sample of twenty respondents through judgmental social network procedures. She advocated for smaller samples because large samples in language studies tend to be repetitive. This informed the current study in selecting a sample of sixteen.

Karia (2007) investigated phonemic variation in spoken English used by children with cleft lip and/or palate in Kenyatta National Hospital. Objectives included investigating the phonemic variants in the spoken English used by children with cleft lip/palate, and the effects of surgery on these children's articulation of specific English consonants. A sample size of three children aged 4-7 years was chosen through judgment procedures. The current study borrowed judgmental procedures but excluded very young children while expanding the sample to include youth and middle-aged speakers. Karia's findings include the observation that certain consonants are affected more than others, and that the type of cleft has an effect on the frequency of variation.

Kimathi (2008) adopted a combined qualitative and quantitative design to study variation in register in six social network groups in the Meru speech community. Objectives included determining the relationship between age, sex and register in the Meru speech community. The current study borrowed this

design (**cf. section 3.1**) but, whereas Kimathi examined lexical variation in a first language, I investigated the influence of age and gender on the morphosyntactic structure of Kiswahili as a second language. Kimathi selected a sample of eighteen respondents by judgment sampling.

The data were collected using interviews and analyzed by statistical evaluations. The current study borrowed the sampling technique, data collection and analysis methods. Kimathi found that the Meru language varied according to social network groups with the Nchuri Ncheke (council of elders) scoring the highest percentage of lexical items, while uncircumcised boys and women scored the lowest and the other groups were in between. The current study sought to investigate if age and gender also influence variation in a second language like Kiswahili.

Njoroge (2006, 2008) identified and described both phonological and grammatical variations in English spoken by primary school teachers in Kenya. He also sought to determine how these variations depart from the British standard variety, and correlated the linguistic variation observed with the social variables which included gender and educational level. Njoroge's design combined both qualitative and quantitative methods while judgment sampling and the social network approaches were used to choose the sample.

The current study adopted this design but included the social variable of age. This was a classroom research but the current study targeted variations in a regional Kiswahili variety outside the school setup. Njoroge's results show that English spoken by primary school teachers in Kenya varies from the British

standard variety – the model expected to be used for education in Kenya. This variation was found to cut across all social variables investigated except gender.

The current study therefore attempted to establish if gender influences variations in Kiswahili. Education was found to influence the variations whereby the spoken English of graduate teachers had fewer variations. We sought to investigate if form four leavers exhibit fewer variations in Kiswahili (**cf. section 1.4 (c)**). Njoroge argues for the adoption of a local variety of English to maintain the Kenyan identity. The current study also argues for the acceptance of nonstandard Kiswahili as the embodiment of the Kenyan Kiswahili language identity.

Kebeya (2008) and Omondi (2012) investigated linguistic accommodation and code switching during Luo/Luhya and Luo/Gusii contact. The current study borrowed Kebeya's design which incorporated both qualitative and quantitative approaches to investigate the linguistic behaviour of bilingual speakers in rural speech communities in Kenya. The sample was obtained through judgmental procedures that were borrowed for the current study (**cf. section 3.5**). Kebeya's results show that the linguistic strategies used by speakers in intergroup interaction appeared to be influenced by among other factors, extra-linguistic factors like gender and age. The current study included educational level and investigated how the extra-linguistic factors influence variability in a regional Kiswahili variety.

Muandike (2011) studied linguistic borrowing and language vitality in Lubukusu, a Luhya dialect. She analyzed, among other things, morphological assimilation of nominals borrowed into Lubukusu from English. Muandike demonstrates that when languages come into contact, transfer of material from one language to another takes place.

The current study used generative morphological theory (Katamba, 1993) to analyze the variations which are a consequence of language contact. Muandike employed purposive sampling to select 24 bilingual respondents. She argues for smaller samples of respondents while emphasizing the need for sufficient rather than enormous data, as well as detailed analysis. This informed the sample of sixteen respondents for the current study. Muandike reveals that Lubukusu has borrowed cultural lexical nominals which are assimilated into the Lubukusu morphological system hence increasing its expressive power. The current study sought to establish if Luhya morphosyntactic features have been borrowed into the Kiswahili morphosyntactic structure.

Wahu (2011) adopted a survey design to examine sociolinguistic differences in the use of polite forms by standard seven pupils in Machakos Municipality. She sought, among other objectives, to establish whether boys and girls use polite forms differently. The study was guided by politeness theories and language and gender theories. The current study adopted a correlational design guided by language variationist and morphological theories. Her findings include the argument that there are differences in the way boys and girls use polite formulas, with girls considered to be more disciplined than boys. The current

study sought to establish if such gender differences apply to the morphosyntactic variation in regional Kiswahili varieties.

## **2.7 The Place of Kiswahili in Kenya**

According to Goyvaerts (2007), Kiswahili originated at the coast but spread as a lingua franca across East Africa. It is widely spoken in many parts of eastern, central and southern Africa and Arabia. Kiswahili is also taught in many institutions in Europe, Asia and America. Kiswahili is a Bantu language with loan words from Arabia, Europe and other local sources. Momanyi (2009) observes that Kiswahili is spoken by over 80 percent of Kenyans for whom it is also the national language by virtue of its neutrality.

Kiswahili in Kenya is represented under two main forms: Standard Kiswahili and non-standard Kiswahili. Standard Kiswahili (popularly known as coastal Kiswahili) was originally standardized in the late 1920s from the Zanzibar dialect by the Inter-language Committee (Whiteley, 1971). A modern variety has been developed by the Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development (hereafter KICD) which also incorporates the Kimvita (also called Mombasa) dialect for use in book publication and is taught in schools (Njoroge, 2006; Momanyi, 2009). This variety is a result of careful selection and preparation so that even popular regional forms are excluded making Standard Kiswahili rather theoretical. This model is theoretically regarded as the standard norm and people who graduate from schools are expected to use this variety of Kiswahili but most end up regressing into their regional varieties of Kiswahili.

Kiswahili, like all standardized languages, has many different geographically distributed spoken varieties in Kenya, all of which are mutually intelligible. This diverse spread of Kiswahili entails contact with other languages. What is easily noticeable in regard to Kenya is the variation among the spoken Kiswahili varieties developed for day-to-day interactions among different communities. These regional non-standard forms of the language are a result of imperfect acquisition, with the morphology of indigenous languages incorporated into the Kiswahili structure. As already pointed out, these regional varieties of Kiswahili can be identified according to the corresponding indigenous languages.

Non-standard Kiswahili, which is the oldest Kenyan variety, was spread inland by Arab traders from the coast (Hinnebusch, 1996). It is used as a trade lingua franca by the many language groups. This is the form of Kiswahili that is widespread, otherwise called up-country Kiswahili. Up-country Kiswahili constitutes varieties which show differences in phonology, lexicon and grammar. This seems to be the variety that is accessible to almost all Kenyans; even the illiterates in remote areas have a degree of communicative competence in it, even if only receptive competence (Jahn & Kiebling, 2006). The focus of the current study was non-standard Kiswahili variety spoken by Luhya speakers and other language groups resident in Kakamega County.

## 2.8 Language Contact and Language Variation

Language contact occurs when two or more languages or varieties of language interact (Milroy, 2002). When speakers of different languages interact closely, it is typical for their languages to influence each other (Meyerhoff, 2006; Hocini, 2011). According to Poplack (1993), language contact involves the linguistic processes by which forms from two or more languages may be combined as a result of their common use (also Thomason, 2001; Poplack & Levey, 2010). Poplack considers the bilingual bona fide individual member of a language group as the locus of language contact.

Language contact can occur between Bantu sister languages like Luhya and Kiswahili with the intrusive language acting as either a superstrate or substratum. Consequences of sustained contact between two languages may be manifested in a variety of phenomena which include grammatical convergence and interference. The outcomes of language contact can be noticeable in all linguistic levels. According to Thomason (2001), convergence also involves the process of borrowing or transfer of grammatical structure from one language to another (also Poplack & Levey, 2010). Lindfors (2003) identifies grammatical morphemes among the structures that may be borrowed.

Atkinson (2011) observes that language contact involves face-to-face interaction between speakers. This view is echoed by Meyerhoff (2006) who adds that a sociolinguistic perspective entails how the study of variation informs our understanding of the processes implicated in language contact. This concerns the interplay between linguistic, social and interactional

constraints. Sankoff (2001) identifies two scenarios that may unfold when a common second language is learned and used by a group of people: the first scenario is borrowing whereby the speakers often find themselves introducing second language linguistic items into conversation with fellow bilingual speakers in their original first language; the second scenario is substratum interference whereby native language structures influence the second language structure.

The second scenario can be observed in Luhya Kiswahili whereby the bilingual speakers tend to introduce Luhya linguistic items into the Kiswahili linguistic structure (**cf. sections 4.1.2.1 to 4.1.2.2.2**). This introduction of foreign linguistic material into another language system may often carry with it morphological and syntactic baggage (Sankoff, 2001; Hocini, 2011). Lexical items from the Luhya language are introduced into Kiswahili which has tended to vary the Kiswahili morphosyntax to approximate that of the dominant Luhya language. There is evidence that the Luhya language affects the variety of Kiswahili spoken. Mocho (2012) observes that an Idakho student who is starting to learn Kiswahili will have a lot of Idakho linguistic features being reflected in his or her Kiswahili. The Idakho variety of Luhya is very closely related to the Luhya variety whose speakers were sampled for the current study. According to Mocho, this borrowing of linguistic features from the Idakho linguistic system into the Kiswahili linguistic system will keep on reducing as the opportunities for learning Kiswahili increase.

While contending that standard Kiswahili is free from the influence of any regional language spoken by any group of people, Mocho (2012) concedes that this may only be possible in urban areas where there is more exposure to situations that call for more use of Kiswahili. She adds that in the rural areas, which are mostly homogenous, students have limited exposure to Kiswahili. This hinders students from attaining high levels of proficiency in Kiswahili. She further argues that even after learning Kiswahili for close to twelve years in both primary and secondary school, the student will still exhibit variations from the standard Kiswahili norms. The current study, therefore, examined the influence of Luhya language features on the Kiswahili linguistic system. The study also attempted to validate the assertion by Mocho (2012) that more exposure to Kiswahili learning in school may increase proficiency in standard Kiswahili (**cf. sections 1.4 (c)**).

## **2.9 Bantu Verbal Morphology**

As already pointed out in **section 1.1**, Kiswahili is one of the Bantu languages with the largest pool of speakers (Malatesta, 2002). The current study sought to identify and describe the salient morphosyntactic features that reveal variation within the Luhya Kiswahili verbal complex (**cf. section 1.4 (a)**). To better understand the Kiswahili verbal complex, it is important to contextualize the verbal morphology of both the Luhya and Kiswahili languages within the broader Bantu verbal morphology.

According to Gahutu (2012), Bantu languages in the Benue-Congo sub-group, to which both Luhya and Kiswahili belong, add prefixes and suffixes to a verb

stem. Luhya and Kiswahili are both agglutinating languages in which the different morphemes are ‘glued together.’ According to Deen (2002), Kiswahili has independent morphemes for tense, agreement, mood and other semantic categories. This view is echoed by Rieger (2011) who observes that it is typical for a strongly agglutinating language like Kiswahili to have a clear correlation of a single function with a single morpheme. This means that most words consist of a root and one or more affixes.

Mochiwa (2007) observes that the agglutinating characteristic of Bantu languages affects verbs more significantly than they do other categories. This is because verbs change morphologically as they receive affixes. This is echoed by Waweru (2011) who states that the derivational affixes alter the argument structure and change the meaning of the host verbs. The current study sought to examine effects of mixed affixes from two Bantu languages in contact, in this case, Luhya and Kiswahili.

### **2.10 The Basic Morphological Structure of the Kiswahili Verb**

The Kiswahili finite verb is built around a verbal root with a fixed number of slots preceding and following the verbal root. Rieger (2011) observes that these slots may be filled by morphemes which are defined by their syntactic functions.

As shown in **Table 2.1 below**, only one morpheme may be inserted in a slot at any given time, with the exception of the slot for derivations. According to Edelsten, Kula & Marten (2010), not all slots need to be filled at the same time;

minimally, positions 6 and 7 are filled. Goyvaerts (2007) distinguishes at least ten basic positions which are occupied by affix markers.

**Table 2.1: Kiswahili Verbal Morpheme Slot Matrix**

<b>Initial</b>	<b>Subjec</b>	<b>Negative</b>	<b>T(A)</b>	<b>Infix</b>	<b>Root</b>	<b>Extensio</b>	<b>Final</b>	<b>Suffix</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>t</b> <b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>ns</b> <b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>
Negative 1 (indicative mood)	Pronouns (person or class)	Negative 2 (conjunctive /subjunctive mood)	Tense (aspect, mood)	Object / Relative pronoun	Verbal Root	Verbal Derivations	Mood (indicative, subjunctive, negative of the present)	Reserved For suffix <b>-ni</b> of the plural imperative

(Adapted from Rieger, 2011)

### **The Pre-initial Position (1)**

This is typically indicated by the prefix 'ha-' which is a marker for the negator.

Example 2.1:

**H**wakunisemea.

{**Ha**- wa- ku- ni- sem- e- a }

1 2 4 6 7 8 9

‘They did not speak on my behalf’

### **The Initial Position (2)**

This affix typically indicates the subject marker.

Example 2.2:

**A**siyeniona.

{**a**- si- ye- ni- on- a }

2 3 5 6 7 9

‘S/he who doesn’t see me’

### **Post-initial Position (3)**

This is an alternative affix which is a marker for the negator.

Example 2.3:

Was**i**pigane.

{ wa-**si**- pig- an- e }

2 3 7 8 9

‘They should not beat one another’

#### **The Marker Position (4)**

This affix typically indicates tense and aspect marking.

Example 2.4:

**Unaitwaje?**

{u-**na**- it- w- a- je }

2 4 7 8 9 10

‘You are called who?’ (What is your name?)

#### **Post-marker position (5)**

This is the affix that indicates the relative marker.

Example 2.5:

**Atakayeniona.**

{a- taka- **ye**- ni- on-a }

2 4 5 6 7 9

‘S/he who will see me’

#### **Pre-root Position (6)**

This is the affix that indicates the object marker.

Example 2.6:

Atakay**ni**ona.

{a- taka- ye- **ni**- on-a}

2 4 5 6 7 9

‘S/he who will see me’

### **Root Position (7)**

This is the affix that indicates the marker for the verb root.

Example 2.7:

Wasip**ig**ane.

{wa- si- **ig**- an- e}

2 3 7 8 9

‘Do not let them beat one another’

### **Pre-final position (8)**

This is the affix that indicates the marker for verbal derivations. It is a blanket term for the various verbal extensions.

Example 2.8:

Walipatan**ish**wa.

{wa- li- patan- **ish**- w- a}

2 4 7 8 8 9

‘They were forced to agree with one another’

### **Final Position (9)**

This is the affix, also called the final vowel, which is the marker for mood.

Example 2.9:

Wasipigane.

{wa- si- pig- an- **e**}

2 3 7 8 9

‘Do not let them beat one another’

### **Post-final position (10)**

This is the affix that indicates the marker for clitics.

Example 2.10:

Unaitwaj**e**?

{u- na- it- w- a- **je**}

2 4 7 8 9 10

‘How are you called?’ (What is your name?)

Mochiwa (2007) refers to this affix as the extension suffixes which according to him include the mood vowel. Mochiwa discusses eleven extension suffixes in Kiswahili. The Kiswahili verbal complex typically takes extensions whereby, for instance, the causative, the applicative and the stative are formed.

Example 2.11:

A-li-m-rud-**ish**-a

‘S/he returned him/her’

Example 2.12:

Ha-wa-ku-pit-**an**-a

‘They did not pass each other’

The basic Kiswahili word order is SVO in which the verb occurs in a verbal complex that minimally contains inflectional material such as subject agreement, tense, the verb root and a final mood vowel (Deen, 2004; Deen & Hyams, 2006). According to Ashton (1947) and Deen (2002), the typical basic morphosyntactic structure of the Kiswahili verbal complex can be expressed as:

**AgrS (SM) – Tense /Aspect – AgrO (OM) - Verb Root (Base) - Derivational Suffixes – Mood (FV)**

The subject marker (SM), the verbal root (Base) and the final vowel (FV) are the obligatory morphemes in the finite verb.

Mood is specified by the final vowel (FV) in the verbal complex. According to Shinagawa (2007), there are basically two morphemes classified as FV, namely, the indicative (INDC) {-A}, and the subjunctive (SUBJ) {-E}. However, Deen & Hyams (2006) see FV as an alternation between three variants: the unmarked indicative, the subjunctive, and the negative (NEG) {-I}.

Example 2.13 (Adapted from Ashton, 1947:15):

Juma alimfuata Mariam. (Indicative, past)

Juma {a- li- m- fuat- a} Mariam.

Juma {SA3sg-Past-OA3sg-follow-IND} Mariam.

‘Juma followed Mariam’

Example 2.14:

Tafadhali nipatie kalamu. (Subjunctive, request)

Tafadhali ni- pat- i- e kalamu.

Please OA1sg-give-applic-SUBJ pen.

‘Please give me a pen’.

**Table 2.2 below** gives a summary of the Kiswahili mood marking. The indicative mood constitutes the unmarked forms which occur with on-going

actions/states, present habitual actions, past actions/states, future actions/states and imperatives (Deen, 2002).

**Table 2.2: Summary of Kiswahili Mood Marking**

<b>Indicative</b>	<b>Subjunctive</b>
Past	Desire
Present	Suggestion
Imperative	Necessity
Future	Request
Intentional	Permission
	Possibility

(Adapted from Deen & Hyams, 2006:92)

This analysis of the typical basic morphosyntactic structure of standard Kiswahili verbal complex provides the basis of comparison with the varying forms in Luhya Kiswahili (cf. sections 4.1.2.1 to 4.1.2.2.2). The three linguistic variables under examination in the current study call for an evaluation of how their perceived prevalence in Luhya Kiswahili may be due to the influence of the Luhya linguistic structure. Therefore, the Luhya language system was compared to the standard Kiswahili linguistic system. Finally, the current study attempted to establish the statistical degree of variation from the standard Kiswahili norms, in both individual speakers and groups of speakers,

as a consequence of the social variables under study (cf. sections 4.2.2 to 4.2.2.3.3).

### 2.11 Kenyan Non-standard Kiswahili

A basic varietal distinction that cuts across the entire linguistic geography of the Kiswahili-speaking world is the dichotomy between standard and non-standard varieties (cf. section 1.1). The situation for non-standard varieties in the rural areas seems to be more complicated because these varieties are, first and foremost, based on the numerous ethnic languages spoken in Kenya. Shinagawa (2007) describes the linguistic phenomenon of borrowing local language structures into the Kiswahili verbal cluster as the mixed verbal complex. She illustrates this linguistic phenomenon in examples 2.15 to 2.18.

Example 2.15:

**Unasemengeko** fitu singine tu chamani. (NK)

{u- na- sem- eng- eko fi- tu si- ngine tu chamani}

(2sgS- PRES- say- NEUT- EMPH CPx.8- being CPx10- other just INTERJ)

**Unasema** vitu vingine tu jamani! (SK)

‘You’re just talking about other things, man!’

According to Shinagawa, the verbal suffix {-EKO} indicates a kind of emphatic modality. She adds that this feature is not traceable back to any Kiswahili variety, although the rest of the grammatical morphemes are provided for from Kiswahili (with regular phonetic distortion and simplified

concord). She further splits the morpheme {-EKO} into {-EK} and {-O}, the origin of the former she attributes to Luhya language speakers. The latter (ending {-O}) she attributes to the Luo language speakers, a major Nilotic language group.

According to Shinagawa (2007), there are some elements of non-standard Kiswahili which cannot be traced back to standard Kiswahili. She identifies the verbal suffix {-ANGA}, where {-AG} is the Pref affix while {-A} is the FV, as typical of such morphemes in the verbal constituents of non-standard Kiswahili. This element has been observed to appear frequently in the Luhya Kiswahili data corpus (cf. **Tables 4.1 to 4.11**). This element is used constantly in various syntactic environments such as with a copulative verb, with a general verb and in relative constructions (Adapted from Shinagawa, 2007):

Example 2.16:

With a copula verb

Alikuwaanga huko. (NK)

{a- li- ku- w- anga huko}

(3sgS- PST- INFL- be- EMPH DEM (middle))

(Kweli) Alikuwa huko. (SK)

‘He really was there’.

Example 2.17:

With a general verb

Na Mugithi ilikuwa siku hizo zinachezanga sana? (NK)

Na (kuhusu nyimbo za) Mugithi, zilikuwa zinachezwa sana siku hizo? (SK)

‘And (about) Mugithi, were they (songs) played very much in those days?’

{zi- na- chez- **anga**}

(10S- PRES- play- EMPH)

Example 2.18:

In a relative construction

Ni vile unasiki**anga** uvumi. (NK)

Ndivyo kama unavyosikia uvumi. (SK)

‘(It is exactly) like how you listen to rumours’.

{u- na- ski- **anga**}

(2sgS- PRES- listen to- EMPH)

In standard Kiswahili, the {**HU-**} prefix marker represents the verbal process as habitual or recurrent (Polome, 1967). The prefix {**HU-**} constructions would typically correspond to the English notions such as ‘generally’, ‘usually’, ‘always’, ‘often’ and are frequently used in proverbs. The prefix {**HU-**} is not bound to any particular time as it suggests generality and extension of time,

hence repetition (Goyvaerts, 2007). The {**HU-**} morpheme is always the first morpheme of the verbal construction. It therefore comprises or acts as a substitute for both the SM and the TAM. It can also be used with the OM. Consider examples 2.19 and 2.20 (Adapted from Goyvaerts, 2007:12).

Example 2.19:

Vidonda vile **hu**jiponea.

‘Those sores usually heal by themselves’

Example 2.20:

Paka akiondoka, panya **hu**tawala.

‘If the cat is away, the rats rule’

To express negation in the habitual constructions, standard Kiswahili may use one of the two possible alternatives. First, it is possible to make use of ‘huwa’ (meaning, ‘usually/ habitually’) as in the example 2.21 (Adapted from Goyvaerts, 2007:13):

Example 2.21:

Baba yangu **huwa** halali saa hii.

‘My father is usually not asleep at this hour’

Second, and perhaps more common, the negation of the prefix {**HU-**} form is generally carried out by the simple present negative construction as shown in examples 2.22 and 2.23.

Example 2.22:

**Sisomi.**

‘I do not often read’

The construction ‘Sisomi’ can also mean ‘I do not read’. It may, therefore, be a little ambiguous. The ideal habitual construction would be ‘**Huwa** sisomi’

Example 2.23:

**Hawasafiri.**

‘They do not often travel’

Shinagawa (2007) sees Kenyan Pidgin Swahili (also Kenyan Upcountry Kiswahili) as a cover term for local non-standard varieties of Kiswahili created by mixing of coastal Kiswahili and local vernaculars for inter-ethnic communication (see Roberts & Bresnan 2008; Wardhaugh, 2010 for similar views). She contends that these varieties are basically grounded on the location and differ from region to region having supposedly emerged in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century when Kiswahili started to spread to the interior (upcountry).

It has already been implied that the current study was based on the assumption that the differences in the ethnicity of speakers can identify the origin of Kiswahili speakers in Kenya. Equally, differences in ability to speak Standard Kiswahili by speakers within the same language group may reveal the speaker’s linguistic competence which in turn may indicate their educational level (**cf. section 1.4 (c)**). Morphological variation in Luhya Kiswahili is

significant because it exhibits distinct use of some vernacular Bantu variables that are typical to the Luhya language group.

The current study, therefore, examines the perceived prevalence of the salient morphosyntactic features {-ANGA} and {-KO} in the Luhya Kiswahili verbal complex. The study attempted to establish if the structure of the Luhya language may provide clues to the perceived prevalence of these salient features in Luhya Kiswahili. Finally, the study analyzed if the social variables under study had any significance in the usage of these salient morphosyntactic features in the different speaker groups.

## **2.12 Theoretical Framework**

This section lays out the theoretical foundations for this study. The current study adopted an eclectic approach in its attempt to examine language variation. Here, an overview of the major tenets of the Labovian Language Variation Theory (Labov, 1972) is given. To supplement the Labovian paradigm, the principles of the Generative Morphological Theory (Katamba, 1993) were used in explaining the affix morpheme variations in the Luhya Kiswahili verbal complex. This section outlines those principles.

### **2.12.1 The Labovian Language Variation Theory (Labov, 1972)**

The collection of data on Luhya Kiswahili, the quantitative analysis, interpretation, and the explanation of the findings was guided by the principles laid down in the Labovian Language Variation Paradigm (Labov, 1972, 1984, 2008, 2009, and 2011).

The basic assumption of the theory is that variation is intrinsic to human language. The theory is concerned with societal variation whereby linguistic factors cause languages to mutually influence each other. In the social differentiation of language, individual speakers are grouped into social dimensions such as gender, age, education and so on. The use of given linguistic features by each group is then analyzed. The theory entails the view that differences among social dialects are quantitative. Therefore, emphasis is on statistical tests to show correlations between the variations observed in language use and the social factors. Language is also viewed as a structured but variable system, whose use is rule-governed. Another major assumption of the theory is that variation in language is observable through the notion of the linguistic variable. The theory seeks to determine how variants of the linguistic variables correlate with independent social variables such as age, gender and educational level.

Although Labov (1972) originally designed this approach for urban monolingual communities, it has been extended to rural multilingual settings (Njoroge, 2006; Kebeya, 2008). It was considered appropriate for the current study because it deals with how language is used by human beings and explains variation in language groups. The study adopted all the major tenets of the theory at all the stages of the study. The theory helped in the identification of the linguistic features to be studied by focusing on morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili.

Example 2.24

Unatamaningi **kufanyako** nini maishani? (NK)

‘What do you desire to do in life?’

[**ku-**            **fany-** **a**            **-ko**]

{TAM [INF]- do-    FV [IND] –INFL-S }

Wewe hutamani kufanya nini maishani? (SK)

The question in example 2.24 above may be deliberately designed to elicit the production of the verbal suffix {-**KO**} in the Luhya Kiswahili speech data as in example 2.25 below.

Example 2.25:

Nikue mchezaji niende huko America **nichezeko** huko mpira. (NK)

‘I become a footballer, go to America, and play football there’

[**ni-**            **chez-** **e**            **-ko**]

{SM1sg- play-    FV [SUBJ] -INFL-S }

Niwe mchezaji niende huko America nicheze huko mpira. (SK)

The utterance in example 2.25 above is made up of three imperative clauses: *nikue mchezaji*, *niende America*, and *nicheze mpira*. All the three verbal clusters *nikue*, *niende* and *nicheze*, can potentially take the suffix [-**KO**]. However, only the last verbal cluster *nicheze* took on the verbal extension [-**KO**] to become *nichezeko*. In the analysis, therefore, all the three potential

environments for the occurrence of [-KO] are accounted for (cf. section 2.2.2). Where the suffix {-KO} actually occurs in *nichezeko*, it is counted as the Luhya Kiswahili [-KO] variant. In the other two cases of the verbal clusters *nikue* and *niende* where [-KO] could have occurred but does not, they are assigned the [Ø] (zero) variant and counted as variants of standard Kiswahili.

The theory also helped in explaining why Luhya Kiswahili varies from Standard Kiswahili. Basically, the current study attempted to show that variation can occur because of the speaker's age, gender and level of education. These correlations were used to draw conclusions about morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili.

### **2.12.2 Generative Morphological Theory**

The current study adopted the tenets of the theory as outlined in Katamba (1993). The theory has been used by Hyman (2002), Hyman & Katamba (2005) and Hyman (2007). The current study adopted the morpheme-based morphology that makes use of the item-and arrangement approach in the identification, description and analysis of Luhya Kiswahili verbal affixes. Words in agglutinative languages have many morphemes which are easily separable. The item-and-arrangement approach, therefore, fits very naturally with an agglutinative language like Kiswahili.

A morpheme is the smallest grammatical unit of a language. A morpheme is not identical to a word because a morpheme may or may not stand alone,

whereas a word can occur independently. A word may, therefore, comprise one or more morphemes. Morphemes are classified as either free or bound.

Free morphemes can function independently as words, for example, the Kiswahili word *kuja* (come). Free morphemes (words) may also occur with other Kiswahili words.

Example 2.26:

*wewe kuja*

(You come).

Bound morphemes appear only as parts of words, either with roots or with other bound morphemes. Consider the Luhya Kiswahili construction below:

Example 2.27:

*nakujangako*

(I usually come briefly).

This construction has the root **{KUJA}** and three bound morphemes **{NA-}**, **{-ANGA}** and **{-KO}**. Most bound morphemes in Kiswahili are affixes, typically prefixes and suffixes. In the example above, **{NA-}** is a prefix while **(-ANGA)** and **(-KO)** are suffixes.

Bound morphemes can further be classified as derivational or inflectional. Derivational morphemes combine with the root to change the semantic meaning or part of speech of the affected word. For example, the prefix **{KI-}** changes the meaning of the Kiswahili word *barua* (letter) to *kibarua* (casual labour). Inflectional morphemes on the other hand, modify a word in terms of

tense (verbs) or number (nouns) without affecting the meaning or changing class. For example, the prefix {**MA-**} changes the Kiswahili singular noun *gari* (car) into plural *magari* (cars).

Inflection is relevant to syntax because it is the part of morphology that covers the relationship between syntax and morphology, and it therefore concerns itself with inflections and paradigms. For the current study, the inflected forms of verbs were organized into linguistic paradigms to describe the conjugations of verbs in Luhya Kiswahili. The verb forms were arranged by classifying them according to shared inflectional categories such as tense, aspect, mood, and number. The inflectional categories used to group word forms were defined by requirements of syntactic rules of Standard Kiswahili (Goyvaerts, 2007 and Rieger, 2011).

### **2.13 Summary of the Chapter**

This chapter has handled research issues related to language variation and change. An overview of the Luhya morphosyntactic structure is given within the broad verbal complex of the Bantu languages. The Kiswahili verbal morphosyntactic structure in particular has also been reviewed. The chapter ends with a review of studies related to the linguistic variables under investigation in the current study. Contributions of other researchers have been outlined. Some of these ideas were borrowed for the current research and were useful in the succeeding chapters.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter describes the materials and methods used in eliciting data for the present study. The study variables which are targeted by the current study are also outlined. According to Kasomo (2006), research methods are the general strategies to be followed in collecting and analyzing data. This chapter, therefore, presents details on the research design, the study variables, the site of the study, description of the study population, sampling size and sampling techniques, the research instruments, and procedures of data collection. It is following this background that the data are then analyzed. This chapter ends with a discussion of how the data were managed as guided by research ethics.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

A research design is a plan of why, how, when, and where the investigations are going to be carried out. This involves the people who will participate in the study, how many and where they will be found in relation to the kind of information to be collected. It also requires selecting appropriate tools of data collection (Kasomo, 2006). There are generally two broad ways of collecting data: qualitative and quantitative methods.

The current study adopted a sociolinguistic approach which combines both qualitative and quantitative methods. The research used both qualitative and

quantitative methods in order to obtain valid and reliable results. This approach was also necessary in the collection and manipulation of data because different methods were needed at different stages of the research.

Kelle & Erzberger (2004) refer to this integration of qualitative and quantitative methods as triangulation. They aver that this approach enables the methods to complement each other to facilitate ‘an enlargement of perspectives that permit a fuller treatment, description and explanation of the subject area’ (p. 174). Flick (2004) notes that triangulation refers to the observation of the research issue from at least two different points by means of applying different methodological approaches. Nkosi (2008) explains that triangulation enables the researcher to use the strengths of each method to overcome the deficiencies of the other method.

The qualitative methodology is also known as the contextualized approach (Hocini, 2011). It is a method of enquiry whose aim is to reach an in-depth understanding of human behavior and the factors governing such behavior. In sociolinguistic research, therefore, it is an explanatory and descriptive approach to language variation. Such a qualitative approach typically focuses on the study of small numbers of speakers. An abundance of data is not necessary while statistical tests are considered secondary in revealing the social meanings which speakers attach to their linguistic activities (Romaine, 1982; Eckert & McConnel-Ginet, 1992). The qualitative approach is non-numerical.

The present study attempted a qualitative linguistic description as set out in Romaine (1982) of the basic morphosyntactic structure of the Luhya Kiswahili

verbal complex. According to Kasomo (2006), in qualitative methods the study problem lends itself to data that is essentially described using words. This study employed the qualitative approach which entailed linguistic descriptions of variations in the Luhya Kiswahili verbal complex (cf. sections 4.1.2.1 to 4.1.2.2.2).

In the quantitative approach, the concern is mainly on measurements to answer the questions “how much” or “how many”. This approach emphasizes on objectivity and yields numerical data. The quantitative methodology is a technique used to gather statistical, measurable and numerical data that is used in investigating language variation. According to Hocini (2011), this method is considered central to variationist sociolinguistics. Language data are gathered and statistically tested on the number of occurrences of linguistic forms that are subject to variation. These linguistic forms are then correlated with social factors. Statistics, tables, pie charts and graphs are often used to present this method clearly.

In the current study, the quantitative Labovian paradigm (Labov, 2008) was used to correlate linguistic variables in Luhya Kiswahili with the social variables of age, gender and educational level. The statistical tool of the t-test (MacKenzie & Sankoff, 2010) was used to correlate the frequencies of the linguistic variables {-ANGA} and {-KO} in the Luhya Kiswahili verbal complex with the social variables of age, gender and educational level. According to Romaine (1982), a sociolinguistic analysis can show why two

samples of a language are different. It shows measurable differences in the samples and reveals patterns in the choices made by respective speakers.

Hocini (2011) views the qualitative and quantitative approaches as complementing each other rather than opposing each other. He implies that the qualitative methods are employed to observe while the quantitative methods are employed to test; the former methods describe while the latter methods count. Whereas both methods use observation of speakers, in qualitative research, the linguistic behavior of speakers is essentially observed to state the factors that underline language use. In quantitative research, however, observation is employed only in the earlier stages of the study before statistical tests are then applied to the study.

### **3.2 Description of the Study Variables**

The interest of the present study was to assess the distribution of specific variants within the morphosyntactic variables of the Luhya Kiswahili verbal affixes. This was to be done while noting in particular which social groups prefer which variants.

The aim of the current study was to examine some aspects of sociolinguistic variation in Luhya Kiswahili. It was, therefore, assumed that some linguistic characteristics of this Kiswahili variety will be represented in the form of morphosyntactic variables. Three linguistic variables, the vernacular Bantu habitual marker (**-ANGA**), the politeness marker (**-KO**) and the diminutive marker (**-KO**) were included in the study.

All the occurrences of variant tokens were accounted for in the analysis (**cf. section 2.2.2** for explanation and illustration). Thus, in examining variability in the politeness & the diminutive marker {-**KO**} in Luhya Kiswahili (hereafter identified as LK), for example, the variationist data base for the current study is constituted not only of all the examples in which the variant [-**KO**] surfaced but also of those in which it could have occurred but was absent.

As already pointed out, the current study also examined the relationship between age, gender and educational level (social status), and the linguistic variables (verbal affixes) exhibited by Luhya Kiswahili speakers. The study attempted to validate, among others, the assertion by Maclagan (2005) that the higher up the social class one goes, the less regional variation there is.

### **3.3 Site of Study**

Kenya is a country in East Africa bordering Tanzania to the south, Uganda to the west, South Sudan to the north-west, Ethiopia to the north, Somalia to the north-east and the Indian Ocean to the south-east. It is divided into 47 semi-autonomous counties. Kakamega County is located in the western region bordering Bungoma, Trans Nzoia, Uasin Gishu, Nandi, Vihiga, Siaya, and Busia counties.

Kakamega County is divided into twelve sub-counties, namely: Lugari, Likuyani, Navakholo, Mumias, Mumias East, Matungu, Lurambi, Kakamega East, Kakamega South, Malava, Butere, and Khwisero. The county covers an area of approximately 3,224.9 Square Kilometres with a population of

approximately 1.6 million (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics 2011). It is predominantly cosmopolitan with an agriculture-based economy and some tourist activities connected to Kakamega Forest which is the largest tropical forest in Kenya.

The current study was carried out in Khayega location in Kakamega East District. Khayega location was considered suitable for the study as, first, it is basically rural and so the variety of Kiswahili spoken is relatively free from Sheng, a Kiswahili variety which Nabea (2009) and Momanyi (2009) describe as urban. The local inhabitants predominantly speak the Luhya language which is accessible to the researcher hence time and financial constraints were minimized. According to (Hudson, 1980), a native speaker of the study location will have a good deal of 'insider' knowledge about the social structure and its languages (also Milroy, 1980; Poplack, 1993; Devitt, 2006). The researcher, therefore, a native of Khayega, was able to draw on his native speaker intuition to generate and analyze data from the Luhya language.

Secondly, education is relatively well developed in Kakamega County as a whole. Njoroge (2006) avers that education represents the level of exposure to a language that speakers have had in school. According to the 2011 statistics, the county had 460 pre-school and primary school centers with enrolment at 885,104. There were 145 secondary schools with enrolment at 167, 191, while the public schools teacher-to-pupil ratio was at 1:51 and 1:26 at both primary and secondary levels respectively. Adult literacy enrolment was at over 312 with the county boasting more than 12 tertiary institutions. With

regard to higher education, there is one public university and campuses for all major public and private universities. These entire factors mean that the Kakamega County site reflects a truly generalized character of how education influences the Luhya Kiswahili that is spoken in the western region of Kenya.

### **3.4 The Study Population**

Mugenda (2008) views a target population as comprising all the individuals, objects or things to which generalizations of the results of an investigation can be made. The target population for the current study was all the people who use Luhya Kiswahili in Kakamega East district. Although the dominant Luhya Kiswahili speakers are mainly the first language speakers of the Luhya language, the population of Luhya Kiswahili speakers also includes speakers from other language groups who have settled in Kakamega County such as the Gikuyu, the Kalenjin, the Luo and the Somali.

The sample for the current study was drawn from first language speakers of the Luhya language who are all second language speakers of the Kiswahili language. Those targeted by the current study were rural males and females born, bred, and have majorly lived in Kakamega County, especially in the last ten years. This was meant to minimize influences from the urban Sheng variety. The respondents were between 14 and 59 years of age so as to maximize the influence of education as a social variable.

The age range of between 14 and 59 years was inspired by the assumption that this is the period when knowledge acquired in formal education is actively

engaged in the labour market. Speakers below 14 years and those over 59 years were excluded because it was assumed that fourteen is the youngest age for primary school completion whereas upon retirement at sixty, people are under less pressure to use knowledge acquired in school and may, therefore, use the non-standard varieties of Kiswahili more. Such a scenario, it was felt, would distort the true effects of the level of education on the Luhya Kiswahili.

Linguistic heterogeneity is evident in Kakamega East district because different varieties of spoken Kiswahili co-exist. There is Standard Kiswahili which is taught in schools and also promoted by the electronic media, that is radio and television broadcasts. There is also widespread use of non-standard Kiswahili both by the native Luhya speakers as well as by speakers of other ethnic languages, most of whom use Kiswahili as a trade lingua franca. Due to the economic importance of some market centres in this district, which may rightly be viewed as regional centres of business, Kakamega East district tends to attract a huge number of new traders seeking opportunities for business and market for their products. The district is home to important regional markets like Khayega and Lubao (the latter probably the largest dog market in Eastern Africa).

The presence of Kakamega Forest in this district also attracts local and foreign tourists all of whom use mainly Kiswahili as a language of contact. All these are factors which have resulted in language and dialect contact situations which in turn have led to the development of new speech forms in the Kiswahili

variety spoken in the district. As a consequence, therefore, language variation in Luhya Kiswahili seems a distinct possibility.

### **3.5 Sampling Size and Sampling Techniques**

It is not possible to study the whole Kakamega East district population due to many constraints of time, resources and manpower (Kasomo, 2006). The current study, therefore, sampled the residents of Khayega location. The sample was obtained through judgmental procedures to ensure systematic representation (Kebeya, 2008) of the three categories of the social variables of age, gender and educational level in the Luhya Kiswahili sample. Selection combined stratified sampling and social network techniques (Milroy, 1980; 1987) where speakers who fit each category were sought through contact persons. Prior interaction with the selected speakers was arranged to check if the speakers' language was at the expected level.

With regard to data collection, the biggest challenge for sociolinguistic research is normally how much data to be collected. The earlier variationist studies recommend large samples of up to eighty speakers or more (Hocini, 2011). However, latter day studies point out that very large samples of language tend to be counter-productive because linguistic behaviour is more homogeneous than other types of behaviour (Romaine, 1982; Milroy, 1987).

According to Hudson (1980), determining the appropriate subset of the population and selection of the linguistic variables to be studied should be guided by the objectives of the study. Milroy (1987) asserts that good data for

studies on language variation entails provision of sufficient types and quantities of language which accounts for the social context in which language is gathered.

Labov (1972, 2009) observes that language varies according to age, gender and social class. Representativeness in the current study was, therefore, broadened to include different Luhya Kiswahili varieties used by speakers of both sexes, speakers in the two age groups, and speakers at two levels of education. The sample was fixed at sixteen respondents who were stratified into the two educational level classes, the two gender groups, and the two age cohorts as shown in **table 3.1**.

Respondents in the two age groups were stratified thus:

- a) From 14 to 34 years, **Younger speakers**
- b) From 35 to 59 years, **Middle-aged speakers**

This stratification was inspired by the Kenyan Constitution (2010) which categorizes people of age 35 years and below as the youth hence younger speakers in the current study. Those speakers over 35 years to age 59 were treated as middle-aged speakers. The division for these age groups was further informed by Eckert (1997) and Atkinson (2011) based on the lifespan of the person which is commonly divided into four stages.

**Table 3.1: Number of Respondents According to Sex, Educational Status  
and Age Group**

<b>Age Group</b>	<b>Gender</b>		<b>Education Level</b>	
Youth Speakers	Female	4	Educated	2
			uneducated	2
	Male	4	Educated	2
			Uneducated	2
Adult Speakers	Female	4	Educated	2
			Uneducated	2
	male	4	Educated	2
			Uneducated	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>		<b>16</b>	

As shown in **Table 3.1**, representativeness in the sample was further achieved through inclusion of two speakers of both genders and the two age groups at both levels of education.

Speakers that were sampled to represent uneducated speakers included speakers who may have dropped out of primary school before attaining the primary school completion certificate. Those selected ranged from speakers who have never been to school to those who had dropped out in class six. The data collected from these speakers was used to represent the lower status

uneducated Luhya Kiswahili variety. The Luhya Kiswahili of the higher educated status sample targeted informants with minimum form four educational level. The sample also included data from respondents who at the time of data collection were form four candidates. This is in line with requirements of the KIE (2002) syllabus as cited in Mocho (2012) whereby students in form two and form three are expected to have been adequately exposed to syntactic structures of the Kiswahili sentence together with its noun classification.

### **3.6 Research Instruments**

It is not possible for a researcher to collect data without appropriate tools. A tool, also called an instrument, is a technique of data collection. An instrument makes it easy to collect information (Kasomo, 2006). The tools of data collection translate the research objectives into specific questions/items, the responses to which provide the data required to achieve the research objectives. Information gathered through the tools provides data from the various variables under study. The variables and their interrelationships are analyzed to confirm or reject the research assumptions or for exploring the content areas set by the research objectives.

The current research employed the interview method to collect primary data from all the sixteen respondents. Primary data in the form of recorded spoken language was collected directly from first-hand experience with the respondents. An interview is a direct face-to-face questioning technique or

discussion leading to verbal responses from one or more respondents. In the current study, responses from all the sixteen interviewees were tape-recorded for analysis. The research instruments that were used to collect data for the current study included: semi-structured interview schedules and unstructured interview schedules. Kasomo (2006) suggests that it is most useful when forms of questions from both the semi-structured interview schedules and unstructured interview schedules are combined.

### **3.6.1 The Semi-structured Interview Schedule**

The semi-structured interview guide contains open-ended questions that allow for individual responses from the respondents. For the current study, a written guide was developed in which the questions, their wording and sequence are fixed and identical for all the sixteen respondents. The semi-structured interview schedule (**Appendix 1**) was used to get the informants' bio data on age, gender, educational level and languages spoken. The semi-structured interview schedule was translated into Luhya Kiswahili.

### **3.6.2 The Unstructured Interview Schedule**

The unstructured interview schedule enables the researcher to ask broad questions which are followed by supplementary probing questions that seek clarification. For the current study, the unstructured interview schedule (**Appendix 2**) was comprised of fourteen open-ended questions on preselected topics. These topical questions were used to generate long stretches of Luhya

Kiswahili narrative speech data containing the targeted salient morphosyntactic features.

In compliance with the consent from parents (**cf. Appendix 3**), speakers who were eighteen years and below were restricted only to questions 1 to 11 in the unstructured interview schedule. This was not only because of the limited experiences of these minors but also due to the sensitive nature of information sought by questions 12 to 14. Consequently, questions 12 to 14 were only used with speakers of over eighteen years. These data were tape-recorded for transcription and analysis. The unstructured interview schedule was also translated into Luhya Kiswahili.

### **3.7 Data Collection Procedures**

Data collection is a term used to describe a process of preparing and obtaining information. The purpose of data collection is to obtain information to keep on record, to make decisions about important issues and to pass information to others. Sociolinguistics focuses upon language in use within a given language group. Any sociolinguistic data should therefore ideally be drawn from language as it is used by speakers communicating naturally with one another (Milroy, 1997; Cheshire, 2005; Meyerhoff, 2006). The data which were used in the current study were exclusively primary.

The current study employed snowball purposeful sampling to identify some of the unfamiliar respondents. The data were collected from relatives and friends of the researcher and their friends and acquaintances. Such respondents were

introduced to the researcher by contact persons who were familiar with the researcher before the actual interviews and recording.

The respondents were visited at their own homes where they were requested to participate in the study (in line with suggestions by Poplack, 1993). All speakers were requested to allow the researcher to interview and tape record their use of Kiswahili. The respondents agreed with the contact persons to assemble at two selected homes for purposes of the interviews and recording.

A briefing meeting was held with the respondents one week before the interviews in order to clarify pertinent issues. They were informed that the interviews were to be conducted in Kiswahili by the researcher in individual sessions lasting a maximum of twenty minutes.

In order to control the attitude of speakers as a variable which could have influenced their responses, the speakers were not informed about the objectives of the study. They were simply informed that the researcher was interested in individual people's ways of life. This was meant to limit the possibility of respondents doctoring their speech to 'help the researcher out'. The respondents were from different educational backgrounds, different ages and of both sexes. The initial few respondents were sent to get their friends who invariably turned out to possess similar characteristics.

As a consequence of this strategy, not only were enough respondents found but so many people turned up that some were courteously turned away after vetting to settle on those with the most appropriate language and the right social

attributes. The result of this huge turn-out was diversity in the data that was obtained. Focus was not so much on the topics discussed (which were pre-selected) as on the speech form itself as an end. Oral data was collected over a period of one week during the month of July, 2013.

The approaches to data collection were based on sociolinguistic techniques (Labov, 1972, 1984; Poplack, 1993; Milroy, 1997; Starks & McRobbie-Utasi, 2001; Polkinghorne, 2005). The researcher used *Luhya Kiswahili* to get the respondents to utter the desired linguistic variables without raising any doubts about his intentions. *Luhya Kiswahili* was used in order to encourage speakers to speak more naturally than they might do if standard Kiswahili were used. This involved the researcher in discussions during individual face-to-face interactions with each of the sixteen respondents.

The semi-structured interview guides allowed for individual responses from the respondents regarding their bio data. The unstructured interview guides used broad questioning using selected topics to stimulate conversation and personal narratives that yielded sufficient quantities of speech data containing the targeted salient morphosyntactic features. Flexibility was allowed whereby the respondents were encouraged to introduce and pursue their own topics for narratives.

The goal of the sociolinguistic interviews was to gain access to the vernacular speech (Milroy, 1980; Cheshire, 2005). Since the primary interest of this study was to elicit natural conversational speech, questions that would involve the respondents emotionally were included. According to Liao (2010), when

interviewees are emotionally engaged in the conversation, they are more concerned with the content than with the linguistic features. Therefore, a list of topics that might engage the respondents in free conversation and allow them to bring about their emotional reactions had been prepared (**Appendix 2**). For example, some of the respondents were asked about how they met their first lovers and how they split up.

To overcome the Observers' Paradox, a brief rehearsal with the respondents was undertaken whereby they were shown the tape-recorder and given a chance to be tape-recorded. The recording was played back to them so that they may become familiar with the gadget, a strategy used by Njoroge (2006). Respondents were also encouraged to be accompanied by friends or relatives during the interviews in order to make the respondents to relax (in line with Milroy, 1980). However, none of them took up this option. They seemed to prefer the confidentiality of individual interviews, which was just as well considering the delicate and personal details which emerged in the personal narratives. To build trust, the researcher socialized freely with the informants and talked with them for long periods on topics initiated by them (Labov, 1984; Cheshire, 2005).

Spoken Luhya Kiswahili language data from each of the speakers was recorded in well labelled tapes. After every session with respondents, the recordings were played back to check the quality of the tape-recorded data for clarity and sufficiency. As a result of such checks, four respondents were deemed to be too

consistently inaudible. Data from these respondents were set aside and alternate respondents were interviewed to collect better quality data.

More data was also generated by the researcher using native speaker intuition (Devitt, 2006; Wasow & Arnold, 2005), especially the Luhya language data, for comparative purposes. I consulted Kiswahili experts for the standard Kiswahili versions.

### **3.8 Data Management and Ethical Issues**

Respondents were introduced to the researcher by contact persons who were residents of Khayega location. The researcher was identified as a friend of the contact persons to ensure ‘a high degree of informality’ (Kimathi, 2008:54). Respondents were assured that information from the research was strictly to be used for academic purposes only. As already pointed out, respondents were informed and their permission sought to tape-record the interviews. A Written consent (**Appendix 3**, and verbal consent for illiterate parents/guardians) was sought from parents and / or guards to interview speakers who were below eighteen years at the time of the study.

Data collection was undertaken during the day. This is a crucial time when the peasants, who formed the sample, would otherwise be busy engaged in casual labour. It was therefore agreed that each respondent was to be compensated with Ksh. 200, which is the payment for a day’s casual labour, for skipping work to participate in the interviews.

Serials, codes and, where necessary, pseudonyms were used to identify each of the respondents in order to preserve confidentiality. During analysis, all the data collected from the interviews were secured to ensure safety while access was restricted to guarantee confidentiality. After analysis was completed, all the transcribed records of language data were digitized to ensure permanency of storage and ease of future reference. Although access to both audio and digitized data is restricted, the participants in the current study are allowed access should they ever wish to access their own individual data..

### **3.9 Summary of Chapter**

Chapter three has presented the methods that were used during the research. The current study was approached by using the triangulation method, which is a combination of different methods. The two different methods which were used are the qualitative and the quantitative methods of research. The sample size and the use of the snowball purposeful sampling techniques employed in identifying respondents have been explained. This research followed certain procedures of collecting and analyzing data. Data were collected by interviewing respondents using the both the semi-structured interview schedules and the unstructured interview schedules. The use of speaker intuition to collect supplementary data has also been outlined. The control of speaker attitude as a variable and the control of the related Observers' Paradox has equally been outlined. The description of the study population of Khayega location, which was used throughout the research, is explained in this chapter. Ethics of research, which are extremely important in regulating the researchers'

general behavior during any research, are also discussed. The following two chapters present the empirical findings that emerged from the research that was conducted. An explanation of how data were manipulated and then analyzed is also given.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

While the previous chapter has outlined the major methodological steps and principles that have guided the current study, the present one illustrates how data was qualitatively and quantitatively analyzed. It also discusses the findings of the investigation into linguistic variation at the morphosyntactic level in Luhya Kiswahili.

#### **4.1 Qualitative Analysis of Data and Discussions**

This section addresses the first objective of the current study, that is:

- To identify and describe the salient morphosyntactic features of Luhya Kiswahili.

It has been shown by Labov (1972), Njoroge (2008), Hocini (2011) and Atkinson (2011) that all varieties of language are orderly heterogeneous systems with unique characteristics in individual varieties (see also Hudson, 1980; Poplack, 1993; Njoroge, 2006; Atkinson, 2011). Variationists study how languages vary along regional or social lines. The current study, therefore, sought to identify and describe the salient morphosyntactic features that characterize Luhya Kiswahili as a unique and individual linguistic system.

#### **4.1.1 Transcription**

An orthographic transcription (Labov, 2011; Kioko et al., 2012) of the spoken language data from the entire sociolinguistic interviews with all the sixteen respondents was undertaken. According to Kowal & O'Connell (2004), transcription is the graphic representation of selected aspects of behavior of individuals engaged in conversation. Its aim is to represent on paper as accurately as possible the strings of words uttered, but frequently also their acoustic form (pitch, loudness etc.) and any accompanying non-linguistic behavior such as laughing, throat-clearing, gestures, and eye movement. It must be noted, however, that transcripts are complementary to, rather than as a substitute for electronic recordings.

In the current study, a representation in standard Kiswahili orthography was based on the norms of the written language. This type of orthography was chosen because, first, it makes the work of transcription easier. Secondly, and more crucially, in a morphosyntactic examination of language, a phonetic transcription is seldom used because it contains too much information which is both difficult to use and read (Kowal & O'Connell, 2004; Wray & Bloomer, 2006). According to Wray & Bloomer (2006), for an analysis to be valid, the transcription of data must be accurate. Transcription is a time-consuming activity which in the current study sometimes entailed listening to the same stretch of tape many times. It was, therefore, important not to be over-ambitious about the quantity of data to be transcribed.

Therefore, only what was needed was transcribed, and no details that were not relevant were put in. Details that were deemed not necessary included phonetic details of the speakers' accents. In order to maintain confidentiality (**cf. section 3.8**), transcripts for all the sixteen respondents were identified using numerals ranging from 1 to 16.

#### **4.1.2 Description of Forms and Functions of Luhya Kiswahili Variants**

Efforts were also made to describe and analyze these salient features of Luhya Kiswahili according to their grammatical functions. In order to be systematic, one feature is presented at a time. In all cases the Luhya Kiswahili variants are analyzed from the point of view of their corresponding standard Kiswahili versions. The corresponding Luhya language versions are also included for a complete comparative perspective.

##### **4.1.2.1 Identification of the Salient Morphosyntactic Feature {-ANGA}**

This section presents the first salient morphosyntactic feature of Luhya Kiswahili that was identified from the transcribed tape-recordings that were obtained during field work in Kakamega East district. After sifting through the transcribed Luhya language data from the respondents, I was able to identify the verbal suffix {-ANGA}. The variants of this salient morphosyntactic feature are presented in **Tables 4.1 to 4.8**.

**Table 4.1: A Sample Data of Present Habitual Marker {-ANGA} in the Indicative Mood**

<b>Standard Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
Mimi <b>huuza</b> miwa	Nauz <b>anga</b> miwa	Ngulits <b>anga</b> mikhonye	I usually sell sugar cane
Mimi <b>husikia</b> tu hivyo	Mi nasiki <b>anga</b> tu hivyo	Inzi mbulil <b>anga</b> butsa ndio.	I normally just hear that
Sisi <b>hunyamaza</b> tu	Tunanyamaz <b>anga</b> tu	Khuhunjel <b>anga</b> butswa	We normally just keep quiet

**Table 4.1** presents the variants of the Luhya Kiswahili verbal suffix {-ANGA} in the the present habitual aspect, indicative mood. It is apparent that the verbal suffix is represented as variant [-ANGA] for the present habitual aspect. This corresponds to the Luhya language versions which also have the suffix [-ANGA]. However, it seems that the same habitual aspect indicative mood in standard Kiswahili is indicated by the prefix [HU-].

**Table 4.2: A Sample Data of Past Habitual Marker {-ANGA} in the Indicative Mood**

<b>Standard Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
Alikuwa akilewa tu	Alilew <b>anga</b> tu	Yatand <b>anga</b> butswa	He used to just get drunk
Alikuwa akija usiku	Alikuj <b>anga</b> usiku	Yits <b>anga</b> butukhu	He used to come at night
Nilikuwa nikinywa sana	Nilikunyw <b>anga</b> sana	Nang'wets <b>anga</b> muno	I used to drink a lot

**Table 4.2** presents the variants of the Luhya Kiswahili verbal suffix {-ANGA} in the past habitual aspect, indicative mood. It is apparent that the verbal suffix is also represented as variant [-ANGA] for the past habitual aspect. This corresponds to the Luhya language versions which also have the suffix [-ANGA]. However, the habitual aspect indicative mood in standard Kiswahili is indicated by the prefix [HU-].

**Table 4.3: A Sample Data of the Allomorph Variant {-INGI} in the Indicative Mood**

<b>Standard Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
Huwa natamani kwenda Uganda	Natamaningi kwenda Uganda	Nikombanga khutsia Ibukanda	I usually desire to go to Uganda
Mungu hubariki watu wote	Mungu anabarikingi watu wote	Nyasaye akasitsanga bandu bosi	God blesses all people
Wao huthamini pesa kuliko maisha	Wanathaminingi pesa kuliko maisha	Bayanzanga tsisendi khubira bulamu	They value money more than life

**Table 4.3** presents the allomorph variant [-INGI] of the Luhya Kiswahili verbal suffix {-ANGA} in the indicative mood. This allomorphic variant is realized in present habitual aspect in Luhya Kiswahili which corresponds to the Luhya language version suffix [-ANGA]. However, the habitual aspect indicative mood in standard Kiswahili is still indicated by the prefix [HU-].

**Table 4.4: A Sample Data of the Habitual Marker {-ANGA} in the Subjunctive Mood**

<b>Standard Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
Niwe nikikaa huko Uganda	Nika <b>ange</b> huko Uganda	Menyen <b>je</b> Ibukanda	I be staying in Uganda
Unataka uwe ukijiona mwenyewe	unataka ujion <b>ange</b> mwenyewe	Wenya wilol <b>enje</b> mwene	You be seeing yourself
Mimi nataka niwe nikisoma mbali	Mimi nataka nisom <b>ange</b> mbali	Nenya somen <b>je</b> ihale	I want to be learning far [from home]

**Table 4.4** presents the variants of the Luhya Kiswahili verbal suffix {-ANGA} in the subjunctive mood. It is apparent that the verbal suffix is represented as variant [-ANGE] which closely corresponds to the Luhya language suffix [-ENJE]. However, the subjunctive mood in corresponding standard Kiswahili constructions is indicated by the suffix [-WE].

**Table 4.5: A Sample Data of the Allomorph Variant {-ENGE} in the****Subjunctive Mood**

<b>Standard Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
Paka wawe wakikaa jikoni	Mapaka zika <b>enge</b> jikoni	Mapusi kikhale <b>nje</b> muchikoni	Cats be staying in the kitchen
ng'ombe wawe wakipigana kila siku	Mang'ombe zipigan <b>enge</b> kila siku	Tsing'ombe tsikwan <b>enje</b> shia litukhu	Cattle [bulls] to be fighting everyday
Nataka niwe nikiionea karibu	Nataka niione <b>enge</b> karibu	Nenya chilole <b>enje</b> himbi	I want to be seeing it nearby

**Table 4.5** presents the allomorph variant [-ENGE] of the Luhya Kiswahili verbal suffix {-ANGE} in the subjunctive mood. It is apparent that this allomorph variant [-ENGE] bears the closest correspondence to the Luhya language suffix [-ENJE]. However, the subjunctive mood in corresponding standard Kiswahili constructions is indicated by the suffix [-WE].

**Table 4.6: A Sample Data of the Allomorph Variant {-INGI} in the****Subjunctive Mood**

<b>Standard Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
Nataka niwe nikiishi mjini	Nataka niishingi mjini	Nenya menyenje mulukulu	I wish to be staying in town
Niwe nikitabiri ukweli	Nitabiringi ukweli	Nilwatsenje bwatoto	I be prophesying the truth
Wawe wakifikiri kila mara	Wafikiringi kila mara	Baparenje khali khatsotos	They be thinking at all times

**Table 4.6** presents the allomorph variant [-INGI] of the Luhya Kiswahili verbal suffix {-ANGE} in the subjunctive mood. This allomorph variants {-ANGE}, {-ENGE} and [-INGI] seem to correspond to the Luhya language suffix [-ENJE]. However, the subjunctive mood in corresponding standard Kiswahili constructions is indicated by the suffix [-WE].

**Table 4.7: A Sample Data of the Habitual Marker {-ANGA} in the Negative Mood**

<b>Standard Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
Huwa sina sadaka	Siku <b>wangi</b> na sadaka	Shimbets <b>anga</b> ni sataka ta	I usually don't have offering
Huwa huvuti sigara	Hautumi <b>angi</b> sigara	Shuhung <b>anga</b> indama ta	You never smoke
[Mbunge]huwa hatengenezi barabara	[Mbunge] hatengenez <b>angi</b> manjia	Muchumbe Shialomb <b>anga</b> tsinjila ta	S/he [MP] never constructs roads [in the constituency]

**Table 4.7** presents the variants of the Luhya Kiswahili verbal suffix {-ANGA} in the negative mood. It is apparent that the verbal suffix is represented as variant [-ANGI] while the corresponding Luhya language constructions retain the verbal suffix [-ANGA] in the negative mood. However, the negative mood in corresponding standard Kiswahili constructions is indicated by the prefix [HU-].

**Table 4.8: A Sample Data of the Allomorph Variant {-INGI} in the Negative Mood**

<b>Standard Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<b>Huwa</b> hatupigani sana	Hatupigan <b>ingi</b> sana	Shikhukwan <b>anga</b> muno ta	We usually don't fight a lot
<b>Huwa</b> sikosi kusafiri Mombasa	Sikosi <b>ingi</b> kusafiri Mombasa	Shisub <b>anga</b> khutsia imbasa ta	I never fail to travel to Mombasa
<b>Huwasitaki</b> ugomvi	Sitaki <b>ingi</b> ugomvi	Shinzeny <b>anga</b> bulembani ta	I usually do not like quarrels

**Table 4.8** presents the allomorph variant [-INGI] of the Luhya Kiswahili verbal suffix {-ANGI} in the negative mood. This allomorph variant [-INGI] corresponds to the Luhya language constructions which retain the suffix [-ANGA] in the negative mood. However, the negative mood in corresponding standard Kiswahili constructions is indicated by the prefix [HU-].

On average, over sixty percent of all the utterances by the Luhya Kiswahili respondents contained verbal clusters with the suffix {-ANGA}. This seems to

be the habitual aspect marker which is represented in three different forms in the Luhya Kiswahili data set whose functions are discussed in the sections that follow.

#### **4.1.2.1.1 The Variant [-ANGA] in the Indicative mood**

The suffix [-ANGA] seems to be a habitual aspect marker in the indicative mood. In the Luhya Kiswahili data set, this suffix marker has two allomorphs: the default [-ANGA] and the marked [-INGI], both of whose occurrence is determined by different phonological environments. The two allomorphs of the suffix are used to indicate both the present habitual aspect and the past habitual aspect (the notion ‘used to’).

##### **4.1.2.1.1.1 The Present Habitual Aspect marker Variant [-ANGA]**

The indicative mood variant [-ANGA] is typically used in Luhya Kiswahili to indicate the present habitual aspect. The suffix [-ANGA] is realized with verbs ending in the vowel sound [a]. The examples below illustrate this use of the suffix variant.

Example 4.1:

a) Nau**z**ang**a** miwa. (LK)

‘I usually sell sugar cane’

[Na- uz- ang- a]

{SM1sg- sell- INFL-S FV [IND]}

- b) Mimi **huuza** miwa. (SK)
- c) Inzi manyangulits**anga** mikhonye (Luhya)

In example 4.1 above, the indicative mood suffix [-**ANGA**] is used as a present habitual aspect marker in Luhya Kiswahili. It is used in reference to the speaker habitually selling sugarcane.

Example 4.2:

- a) Tunanyamaz**anga** tu. (LK)

‘We normally just keep quiet’

[Tu-        na-                    nyam- az-    **ang-**    **a**]

{SM1pl- TAM [PRES]- quiet- DSuf- INFL-S FV[IND]}

- b) Sisi **hunyamaza** tu. (SK)
- c) Khutsi khuhunjel**anga** butswa (Luhya).

In example 4.2 above, the indicative mood suffix [-**ANGA**] is used to mark the present habitual aspect in Luhya Kiswahili. It is used in reference to the speaker habitually persevering without complaining.

Example 4.3:

- a) Mi ninasiki**anga** tu hivyo. (LK)

‘I just hear that way’

[ni- na- siki- ang- a]

{SC1sg- TAM [PRES]- hear- INFL-S FV [IND]}

- b) Mimi **husikia** tu hivyo. (SK)
- c) Inzi mbulil**anga** butsa ndyo. (Luhya)

In example 4.3 above, the suffix [-ANGA] is also used to mark the present habitual aspect in the indicative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker refers to habitually hearing things which he does not fully comprehend.

Example 4.4:

- a) Usiku duka inafunguk**anga** wapi? (LK)

‘Where does a shop open at night?’

[i- na- fung- uk- ang- a]

{SC3sg- TAM [PRES]- open- DSuf [PASS]- INFL-S- FV [IND]}

- b) Usiku duka **hufunguka** wapi? (SK)
- c) Butukhu lituka likuk**hanga** hena? (Luhya)

Example 4.4 above, the suffix [-ANGA] is used to mark the present habitual aspect in the interrogative construction in Luhya Kiswahili. Specifically, it is a rhetorical question in which the speaker wonders where in their neighbourhood shops are ever open at night.

Example 4.5:

- a) Unasiki**anga** tu nyama (ikipikwa) ikinuka. (LK)

‘You (singular) normally smell the aroma of (cooking) meat’

[U-        na-                    siki-    **ang-**    **a]**

{SM2sg- TAM [PRES]- hear- INFL-S FV [IND]}

- b) Nyama ikipikwa **hunukia**. (SK)

- c) Uhulil**anga** butswa inyama (itekhwangwa) nihunya (Luhya)

In example 4.5 above, the suffix [-**ANGA**] is also a present habitual aspect marker in Luhya Kiswahili. It is used in reference to meat which is cooking to habitually give an aroma when it is fully cooked.

Example 4.6:

- a) Munapik**anga** mchana. (LK)

‘You (plural) usually cook during the day’

[Mu-        na-                    pik-    **ang-**    **a]**

{SM2pl- TAM [PRES]- cook- INFL-S FV [IND]}

- b) **Huwa** mnapika mchana. (SK)

- c) Mumanya mutekh**anga** mbasu (Luhya).

In example 4.6 above, the suffix [-**ANGA**] is a present habitual aspect marker in the unmarked indicative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. It is used in reference to the speaker asserting that cooking is habitually done during day time.

Example 4.7:

- a) Anasaidi**anga** saa zingine. (LK)

‘S/he sometimes helps’

[A-        na-                    saidi- **ang- a**]

{**SM3sg- TAM [PRES]- help- INFL-S FV [IND]**}

- b) Yeye **husaidia** saa zingine. (SK)

- c) Amanyanya khonyan**anga** tsisa tsindi (Luhya)

In example 4.7 above, the suffix [-**ANGA**] is a present habitual aspect marker in the indicative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. It is used in reference to the person being referred to by the speaker being habitually willing to sometimes assist other people.

Example 4.8:

- a) Wanadangany**anga** tu. (LK)

‘They usually just lie’

[Wa-        na-                    dangany- **ang- a**]

{**SM3pl- TAM [PRES]- cheat- INFL-S FV [IND]**}

- b) Wao **hudanganyatu**. (SK)
- c) Bakaat**anga** butswa (Luhya).

In example 4.8 above, the suffix [-**ANGA**] is a present habitual aspect marker in the indicative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. It is used in reference to the people being referred to by the speaker being given to habitually telling lies.

In examples 4.1 to 4.8 above, it is evident that the suffix [-**ANGA**] is present in the Luhya Kiswahili verbs *nauzanga*, *tunanyamazanga*, *unasikianga*, *munapikanga*, *anasaidianga* and *wanadanganyanga* as well as in the Luhya verbs *manyangulitsanga*, *khuhunjelanga*, *uhulilanga*, *mutekhanga*, *akhonyananga* and *bakaatanga*, respectively. However, the suffix [-**ANGA**] is absent from the corresponding standard Kiswahili verbs *huuza*, *hunyamaza*, *hunukia*, *mnapika*, *husaidia* and *hudanganyain* which the habitual aspect is marked by the prefix [**HU-**]. This prefix [**HU-**] is missing from both the Luhya Kiswahili and the Luhya forms. In examples 3 and 4 above, the verbal clusters have an almost identical matching of morphemes both in the Luhya Kiswahili versions and in the corresponding Luhya language versions.

It is, therefore, evident that the suffix [-**ANGA**] is used in Luhya Kiswahili as a marker for the habitual aspect in the indicative mood. From the corresponding Luhya language versions of all the examples above, it is equally evident that the suffix [-**ANGA**] is a borrowed feature from the Luhya language into Kiswahili. The respondents in our study seemed to drop the standard Kiswahili prefix [**HU-**] and adopt the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-**ANGA**] as a marker for habitual aspect in the indicative mood. This confirms that when speakers of

different languages interact closely, it is typical for their languages to influence each other (Meyerhoff, 2006; Hocini, 2011).

#### 4.1.2.1.1.2 The Past Habitual Aspect Marker Variant [-ANGA]

Apart from the straightforward use of the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-ANGA] in the indicative mood as a marker of present habitual aspect, there is the subtle usage of the suffix to mark the notion ‘used to’ or the past habitual aspect.

Examples 4.9:

- a) Alilew**anga** tu. (LK)

‘He used to just get drunk’

[a-        li-                lew-        **ang-**        a]

{SM3sg- TAM [PST]- drunk- INFL-S FV [IND]}

- b) Aliku**wa**kilewa tu. (SK)

- c) Yataand**anga** butswa (Luhya).

In example 4.9 above, the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-ANGA] in the unmarked indicative mood is a marker for habitual aspect in the past, that is, the notion ‘used to’. It is used in reference to the person being referred to by the speaker having habitually been used to drinking much in the past.

Example 4.10:

- a) Aliku**j**anga usiku. (LK)

‘He used to come at night’

[A- li- kuj- **ang-** a]

{SM3sg- TAM [PST]- come- INFL-S FV [IND]}

- b) Alikuwa anakuja usiku. (SK)
- c) Yitsa**anga** butswa butukhu (Luhya)

In example 4.10 above, the Luhya Kiswahili indicative mood suffix [-**ANGA**] is a marker for the past habitual aspect. It is used in reference to the person being referred to by the speaker having habitually been used to returning home late at night in the past.

Example 4.11:

- a) Nilikunyw**ang**asana. (LK)

‘I used to drink a lot’

[Ni- li- kunyw- **ang-** a]

{SM1sg- TAM [PST]- drink- INFL-S FV [IND]}

- b) Nilikuwa nikinywa sana (SK)
- c) Nang’wets**anga** muno (Luhya).

In example 4.11 above, the Luhya Kiswahili indicative mood suffix [-**ANGA**] is a marker for the notion ‘used to’. It is used in reference to the speaker having habitually been used to too much drinking in the past.

Example 4.12:

- a) Tuligomban**anga** kila mara (LK)

‘We just used to be quarreling all the time’

[Tu- li- gomban- **ang-** **a**]

{SM1pl- TAM [PST]- quarrel- INFL-S FV[IND]}

- b) Tuli**ku**watukigombana kila mara (SK)

- c) Khwalemban**anga** khase (Luhya)

In example 4.12 above, the Luhya Kiswahili indicative mood suffix [-**ANGA**] is a marker for the past habitual aspect. It is used in reference to the speakers having habitually been used to quarrelling in the past.

Example 4.13:

- a) Niliend**anga** Kisumu (LK)

‘I used to go to Kisumu’

[Ni- li- end- **ang-** **a**]

{SM1sg- TAM [PST]- go- INFL-S FV[IND]}

- b) Niliku**wa** nikienda Kisumu (SK)

- c) Natsits**anga** Ishisumu (Luhya)

In example 4.13 above, the Luhya Kiswahili indicative mood suffix [-**ANGA**] is a marker for the past habitual aspect. It is used in reference to the speaker having habitually been used to going to Kisumu in the past.

Example 4.14:

- a) Sasa hapo ndio ilianzi**anga** (LK)

‘Now that is where it used to start’

[I- li- anz- i- **ang- a**]

{SM3sg- TAM [PST]- begin- DSuf [APPL]- INFL-S FV[IND]}

- b) Sasa hapo ndipo iliku**wa** ikianza (SK)

- c) Sasa henaho naho hayaranjil**anga** (Luhya)

In example 4.14 above, the Luhya Kiswahili indicative mood suffix [-**ANGA**] is a marker for the past habitual aspect. It is used in reference to the speaker identifying the particular point in time when something habitually used to begin in the past.

Example 4.15:

- a) Huko kwenye alika**anga** (LK)

‘There where he used to stay’

[A- li- ka- **ang- a**]

{SM3sg- TAM [PST]- stay- INF-S FV[IND]}

- b) Huko aliko**kuwa** akikaa (SK)
- c) Yeyo wayameny**anga** (Luhya)

In example 4.15 above, the Luhya Kiswahili indicative mood suffix [-**ANGA**] is a marker for the past habitual aspect. It is used in reference to the speaker indicating where the person being referred to habitually used to stay in the past.

Example 4.16:

- a) Kwa sababu nilikuw**anga** mdogo (LK)

‘Because I used to be young’

[Ni- li- kuw- **ang-** a]

{SM1sg- TAM [PST]- be- INFL-S FV[IND]}

- b) Kwa sababu nili**kuwa** bado mdogo (SK)
- c) Shichila nali nishilen**je** muti (Luhya)

In example 4.16 above, the Luhya Kiswahili indicative mood suffix [-**ANGA**] is a marker for the past habitual aspect. It is used in reference to the speaker stating that s/he used to be young those days in the past.

In examples 4.9 to 4.16 above, the suffix (-**ANGA**) is used to express the notion ‘used to’ in the Luhya Kiswahili verbs *alilewanga*, *alikuwanga*, *alikuwanga*, *tuligombananga*, *niliendanga*, *ilianzianga*, *alikaanga* and *nilikuwanga*, as well as in the Luhya verbs *yatandanga*, *yitsanga*, *nang’wetsanga*, *khwalembananga*, *natsitsanga*, *hayaranjilanga*, and

*wayamenyanga*, respectively. However, in the corresponding standard Kiswahili verbs, the notion ‘used to’ is expressed by the suffix [-**KUWA**].

It is therefore evident that the suffix [-**ANGA**] is used in Luhya Kiswahili to mark the habitual aspect in the past, that is, the notion ‘used to’. From the corresponding Luhya language versions of all the examples above, it is equally evident that the suffix [-**ANGA**] is a borrowed feature from the Luhya language into Kiswahili. The respondents in the current study seemed to drop the standard Kiswahili suffix marker [-**KUWA**] for the habitual aspect in the past and adopt the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-**ANGA**]. This confirms the observation by Poplack (1993) that language contact involves the linguistic processes by which forms from two or more languages may be combined as a result of their common use (also Thomason, 2001; Poplack & Levey, 2010).

#### **4.1.2.1.1.3 The Allomorph [-INGI] as a Variant of [-ANGA]**

The occurrence of the suffix [-**INGI**] does not entail change of meaning from the habitual aspect in the indicative mood. Rather, it is phonologically conditioned by the final vowel sound of the Luhya Kiswahili verb. If the final vowel sound of the verb is [i], then the habitual aspect will be marked by the suffix [-**INGI**] in place of the unmarked indicative suffix [-**ANGA**]. The examples below illustrate the use of this allomorph.

Example 4.17:

- a) Ninataman**ingi** kwenda Uganda (LK)

‘I usually desire to go to Uganda’

[Ni-        na-                taman- **ing-**        **i**]

{SM1sg- TAM [PRES]- **desire-** INFL-S FV[NEG]}

- b) **Hu**wa natamani kwenda Uganda (SK)
- c) Nikomb**anga** khutsia Ibukanda (Luhya)

In example 4.17 above, although the suffix [-INGI] is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sound [i] in the preceding verb, it is a marker for the habitual aspect in the indicative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker states his/her habitual desire to visit Uganda.

Example 4.18:

- a) Mungu anabarik**ingi** watu wote (LK)

‘God usually blesses all people’

[A-        na-                barik- **ing-**        **i**]

{SM3sg- TAM [PRES]- **bless-** INFL-S FV[IND]}

- b) Mungu **hu**bariki watu wote (SK)
- c) Nyasaye akasits**anga** bandu bosu (Luhya)

In example 4.18 above, the suffix [-INGI] is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sound [i] in the preceding verb but it is a marker for the habitual aspect in the indicative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker states that God habitually blesses all people.

Example 4.19:

- a) Wanathamini**ingi** pesa kuliko maisha (LK)

‘They usually value money more than life’

[Wa-        na-                    thamin- **ing-**    **i**]

{SM3pl- TAM [PRES]- value- INFL-S FV[NEG]}

- b) Wao **h**uthamini pesa kuliko maisha (SK)

- c) Bayanz**anga** tsisendi khubira bulamu (Luhya)

In example 4.19 above, the Luhya Kiswahili habitual aspect suffix [-INGI] in the indicative mood is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sound [i] in the preceding verb. The speaker states that those being referred to habitually value money more than life.

Example 4.20:

- a) Wanawake wanafitini**ingi** wenzao (LK)

‘Women usually malign others’

[Wa-        na-                    fitin-    **ing-**    **i**]

{SM3pl- TAM [PRES]- malign- INFL-S FV[NEG]}

- b) Wanawake **h**uwa wanafitini wenzao (SK)

- c) Bakhali bononyinyil**anga** bashiabo (Luhya)

In example 4.20 above, the suffix [-INGI] is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sound [i] in the preceding verb but it is a marker for the habitual aspect in the indicative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker states that women habitually malign other women.

Example 4.21:

- a) Ninasafiringi usiku (LK)

‘I usually travel at night’

[Ni- na- safir- ing- i]

{SM1sg- TAM [PRES]- travel- INFL-S FV[NEG]}

- b) Mimi husafiri usiku (SK)

- c) Nyanzanga khutsia luchendo butukhu (Luhya)

In example 4.21 above, the suffix [-INGI] is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sound [i] in the preceding verb but it is a marker for the habitual aspect in the indicative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker states s/he habitually travels at night.

Example 4.22:

- a) Sisi tunaamingi tu Mungu (LK)

‘We usually just believe in God’

[Tu- n- amin- ing- i]

{SM1pl- TAM [PRES]- believe- INFL-S FV[NEG]}

- b) Sisi **hu**wa tunaamini tu Mungu (SK)
- c) Khutsi khusubil**anga** butswa mu Nyasaye (Luhya)

In example 4.22 above, the suffix [-INGI] is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sound [i] in the preceding verb but it is a marker for the habitual aspect in the indicative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker states that they just habitually believe in God.

Example 4.23:

- a) Baba anarud**ingi** usiku (LK)

‘Father usually returns (home) at night’

[A-        na-                rud-        **ing-**        **i**]

{SM3sg- TAM [PRES]- return- INFL-S FV[NEG]}

- b) Baba **hur**udi (nyumbani) usiku (SK)
- c) Tata akalukh**anga** butukhu (Luhya)

In example 4.23 above, the suffix [-INGI] is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sound [i] in the preceding verb but it is a marker for the habitual aspect in the indicative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker states his/her father habitually returns home at night.

Example 4.24:

- a) Wanatabir**ingi** vitu za uongo (LK)

‘They usually prophesy lies’

[Wa- na- tabir- **ing-** i]

{SM3pl- TAM [PRES]- prophesy- INFL-S FV[NEG]}

- b) Wao **hutabiri** vitu za uongo (SK)
- c) Bilwats**anga** bindu biu bubei (Luhya)

In example 4.24 above, the suffix [-INGI] is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sound [i] in the preceding verb but it is a marker for the habitual aspect in the indicative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker makes reference to preachers who habitually make false prophecies.

In examples 4.17 to 4.24 above, it is evident that the suffix [-INGI] is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sounds [i] in the preceding Luhya Kiswahili verbs *ninatamani*, *anabariki*, *wanathamini*, *wanafitini*, *nasafiri*, *tunaamini*, *anarudi* and *wanatabiri*. However, and perhaps as proof that the suffix [-INGI] is used as a marker for the indicative mood, the corresponding Luhya language verbs *nikombanga*, *akhonyanga*, *bayanzanga*, *bononyinyilanga*, *nyanzanga*, *khusubilanga*, *akalukhanga* and *bilwatsanga* retain the indicative variant suffix [-ANGA].

It needs to be noted that both the suffixes [-INGI] and [-ANGA] are absent from the corresponding standard Kiswahili verbs *hutamani*, *hubariki*, *huthamini*, *hufitini*, *husafiri*, *huamini*, *hurudi*, and *hutabiri* in which the habitual aspect is marked by the prefix [HU-]. This prefix [HU-] is missing from both the Luhya Kiswahili and the Luhya forms. It is therefore evident that the suffix [-INGI] is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of the suffix [-

**ANGA]**. The variant suffix **[-INGI]** may therefore also be used in Luhya Kiswahili as a marker for the habitual aspect in the indicative mood.

From the corresponding Luhya language versions of all the examples above, it is equally evident that both suffixes **[-INGI]** and **[-ANGA]** are borrowed features from the Luhya language into Kiswahili. The respondents in our study seemed to drop the standard Kiswahili prefix **[HU-]** and adopt the Luhya Kiswahili suffixes **[-INGI]** and **[-ANGA]** as markers for habitual aspect in the indicative mood. This illustrates substratum interference which entails the introduction of foreign linguistic material into another language system which may often carry with it morphological and syntactic baggage (Sankoff, 2001; Hocini, 2011).

#### **4.1.2.1.2 The Variant [-ANGA] in the Subjunctive mood**

In the subjunctive mood, the Luhya Kiswahili suffix changes from **[-ANGA]** to **[-ANGE]**. In the data set, this subjunctive mood suffix marker **[-ANGE]** has two allomorphs: **[-ENGE]** and **[-INGI]**. The examples below illustrate the use of the three variant suffixes.

##### **4.1.2.1.2.1 The Subjunctive Variant [-ANGE]**

The variant suffix **[-ANGE]** seems to be the default habitual marker in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The suffix seems to occur in free variation with its allomorph **[-ENGE]** in the Luhya Kiswahili data set. The variant **[-ANGE]** is used to express various states of unreality such as wishes,

possibility, opinions, necessity, suppositions and action that has not yet occurred (that is, the future).

Example 4.25:

- a) Nika**ange** huko Uganda. (LK)

‘I be staying in Uganda’

[Ni- ka- **ang-** e]

{SM1sg- sit- INFL-S FV [SUBJ]}

- b) Ni**we** nikikaa huko Uganda. (SK)

- c) Menyen**je** Yibukanda (Luhya).

In example 4.25 above, the suffix [-**ANGE**] marks the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker expresses a wish to be staying in Uganda.

Example 4.26:

- a) Unataka ujion**ange** mwenyewe. (LK)

‘You want to be seeing yourself’

[u- ji- on- **ang-** e]

{SC2sg- SC2sg- see- INFL-S FV [SUBJ]}

- b) Unataka **uwe** ukijiona mwenyewe. (SK)

- c) Wenya wilolen**je** mwene (Luhya)

In example 4.26 above, the suffix [-**ANGE**] marks the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker makes reference to a person who wishes to be able to see him/herself.

Example 4.27

- a) Mimi nataka niuz**ange** omena (LK)

‘I want to be selling ‘omena’ (a kind of fish)’

[Ni-        uz- **ang-**        e]

{SM1sg- sell- INFL-S FV[SUBJ]}

- b) Mimi nataka ni**we** nikiuza dagaa (SK)

- c) Nenyaa ngulits**enje** bumena (Luhya)

In example 4.27 above, the suffix [-**ANGE**] marks the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker expresses a wish to be selling ‘omena’ (a species of tiny fish).

Example 4.28:

- a) Nataka nisom**ange** mbali (LK)

‘I want to be learning far (from home)’

[Ni-        som- **ang-**        e]

{SM1sg- learn- INFL-S FV [SUBJ]}

- b) Nataka ni**we** nikisoma mbali (kutoka nyumbani) (SK)
- c) Nenyaa
- d) somen**je** ihale (Luhya)

In example 4.28 above, the suffix [-**ANGE**] marks the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker expresses a wish to be learning far away from his/her home.

Example 4.29:

- a) Mapolisi wasitusumbuan**ge** kila mara (LK)

‘The police should not be disturbing us all the time’

[Wa- si- tu- sumbu- **ang-** e]

{SM3pl- NEG- OM1pl- disturb- INFL-S FV [SUBJ]}

- b) Polisi wasi**we** wakitusumbua kila mara (SK)
- c) Basikali bakhakhusumbulen**je** buli khase (Luhya)

In example 4.29 above, the suffix [-**ANGE**] marks the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker expresses a wish that the police should desist from habitually disturbing them.

Example 4.30:

- a) Tulim**ange** kwa forest (LK)

‘We be cultivating in the forest’

[Tu- lim- **ang-** e]

{SM1pl- cultivate- INFL-S FV [SUBJ]}

- b) Tu**we** tukilima msituni (SK)
- c) Khulim**enje** mumuliru (Luhya)

In example 4.30 above, the suffix [-**ANGE**] marks the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker expresses a wish that they be able to cultivate in the forest.

Example 4.31:

- a) Ukul**ange** kitu unapenda (LK)

‘You be eating something that you like’

[U- kul- **ang-** e]

{SM2sg- eat- INFL-S FV [SUBJ]}

- b) U**we** ukila kitu unachopenda (SK)
- c) Ulitsen**je** shindu shia wayanza (Luhya)

In example 4.31 above, the suffix [-**ANGE**] marks the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker expresses a wish that one be allowed to eat something that they like.

In examples 4.25 to 4.31 above, the variant suffix (-**ANGE**) is consistently used in the luhya Kiswahili data set to express the habitual aspect in the form of future wishes. The variant suffix (-**ANGE**) is present in the Luhya Kiswahili

verbs *zikaange*, *ujionange*, *niuzange*, *nisomange*, *wasitusumbuange*, *tulimange* and *ukulange* while the suffix **(-ENJE)** is used in the corresponding Luhya language verbs *menyenje*, *wilolenje*, *ngulitsenje*, *somenje*, *bakhakhusumbulenje*, *khulimenje* and *ulitsenje*. In these examples 4.25 to 4.31 above, the verbal clusters also have an almost identical matching of morphemes in both the Luhya Kiswahili and in the Luhya language.

Evidently, there seems to have been a phonological process involving the substitution of the vowel sound [e] and the palatal consonant cluster [nj] in the Luhya language suffix **[-ENJE]** with the vowel sound [a] and the velar consonant cluster [ng] in the Luhya Kiswahili suffix **[-ANGE]**. This substitution of the vowel sound [e] with [a] seems to be conditioned by the presence of the final vowel [a] in the Kiswahili verbs *kaa*, *jiona*, *uza*, *soma*, *sumbua*, *lima* and *kula*.

However, in the corresponding standard Kiswahili verbs, future wishes are expressed by the suffix **[-WE]** in such words *asniwe*, *uwe*, *wasiwe* and *tuwe*. This suggests that the verbal suffix **[-ANGE]** in Luhya Kiswahili may be a borrowed feature from the Luhya construction **[-ENJE]**. This confirms that languages in contact might influence one another's linguistic structure (Meyerhoff, 2006; Poplack & Levey, 2010; Atkinson, 2011; Hocini, 2011; Mocho, 2012).

#### 4.1.2.1.2.2 The Subjunctive Allomorph Variant [-ENGE]

The variant suffix [-ENGE] is the other habitual marker in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. Its occurrence does not entail change of meaning from the various states of unreality such as wishes, possibility, opinions, necessity, suppositions and action that has not yet occurred (that is, the future). It, therefore, seems to occur as the allomorph of the variant [-ANGE] with which they are in free variation.

Example 4.32:

- a) Mapaka zika**enge** jikoni. (LK)

‘Cats to be staying in the kitchen’

[zi- ka- **eng-** e]

{SC3pl- sit- INFL-S FV [SUBJ]}

- b) Paka **wawe** wakikaa jikoni. (SK)  
 c) Mapusi kikhale**nje** muchikoni (Luhya)

In example 4.32 above, the suffix [-ENGE] marks the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker expresses an opinion that cats ought to stay in the kitchen.

Example 4.33:

- a) Mang’ombe zipigan**enge** kila siku. (LK)

‘Cattle to be fighting everyday’

[zi- pig- an- eng- e]

{SC3pl- beat- DSuf [RECIP]- INFL-S FV [SUBJ]}

- b) Ng'ombe wawe wakipigana kila siku. (SK)
- c) Tsing'ombe tsikwanenje shia litukhu (Luhya)

In example 4.33 above, the suffix [-ENGE] marks the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker expresses an opinion that cattle ought to be fighting every day.

Example 4.34:

- a) Nataka niioneenge karibu. (LK)

'I want to be seeing it nearby'

[ni- i- one- eng- e]

{SC1sg- OM3sg- see- INFL-S FV [SUBJ]}

- b) Nataka niwe nikiiona karibu. (SK)
- c) Nenyanga chiloleleenje himbi. (Luhya)

In example 4.34 above, the suffix [-ENGE] marks the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker wants to be always seeing it (the thing) nearby.

Example 4.35:

- a) Nio**enge** bikira kila mwaka (LK)

‘I be marrying a virgin every year’

[Ni- o- **eng-** e]

{SM1sg- marry- INFL-S FV [SUBJ]}

- b) Ni**we** nikioa bikira kila mwaka (SK)

- c) Mbilen**je** muchima shia muhika (Luhya)

In example 4.35 above, the suffix [-ENGE] marks the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker wants to be marrying a virgin every year.

Example 4.36:

- a) Nibarikiwe nikunyw**enge** beer (LK)

‘I get blessed to be taking beer (instead of illicit brew)’

[Ni- kunyw- **eng-** e]

{SM1sg- drink- INFL-S FV [SUBJ]}

- b) Nibarikiwe ni**we** nikinywa bia (sio chang’aa) (SK)

- c) Ngasitswi ng’wetsen**je** ipia (Luhya)

In example 4.36 above, the suffix [-ENGE] marks the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker expresses a wish to become blessed to be taking beer (instead of illicit local brew).

Example 4.37:

- a) Tusikilizan**enge** na ndugu wangu (LK)

‘We be reconciled with my brothers’

[Tu- sikiliz- an- eng- e]

{SM1pl- reconcile- DSuf [REFL]- INFL-S FV [SUBJ]}

- b) Tu**wetukisikilizana** na ndugu zangu (SK)

- c) Khuhulishitsan**enje** na bamwabo banje (Luhya)

In example 4.37 above, the suffix [-ENGE] marks the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker expresses a wish to be always in agreement with his/her siblings.

Example 4.38:

- a) Wasom**enge** bila kulipa (LK)

‘They (children) be learning without paying (fees)’

[Wa- som- eng- e]

{SM3pl- learn- INFL-S FV [SUBJ]}

- b) [Watoto] wawe wakisoma bila kulipa [karo] (SK)
- c) Basomenje buchila khurunga (Luhya)

In example 4.38 above, the suffix [-ENGE] marks the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker expresses a wish that children be learning without paying fees.

In examples 4.32 to 4.38 above, the suffix (-ENGE) is used to express habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood in the Luhya Kiswahili verbs *zikaenge*, *zipiganenge*, *niioneenge*, *nioenge*, *nikunywenge*, *tusikilizanenge* and *wasomenge*, while the suffix (-ENJE) is used in the corresponding Luhya language verbs *kikhaleenje*, *tsikwanenje*, *chiloleenje*, *mbilenje*, *ng'wetsenje*, *khuhulishitsanenje* and *basomenje*. It needs to be noted that both the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-ENGE] and the Luhya language suffix [-ENJE] are, of course, missing from the corresponding standard Kiswahili examples in which future wishes are expressed by the suffix [-WE] in the words *niwe* and *wawe*.

Evidently, there seems to have been a phonological process involving the palatal consonant cluster [ɲj] (for 'nj' in orthography) in the Luhya language suffix [-ENJE], which is replaced by the velar consonant cluster [ŋg] (for 'ng' in orthography) in the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-ENGE]. Kiswahili does not seem to frequently use the palatal consonant cluster [ɲj] which is also found in the Luhya language. It is for that reason that it is replaced with the velar consonant cluster [ŋg]. This, therefore, suggests that the verbal suffix [-ENGE] in Luhya Kiswahili may be a borrowed feature from the Luhya suffix

**[-ENJE]**. Indeed, according to Lindfors (2003), grammatical morphemes are among the structures that may be borrowed when languages are in contact.

In the examples 4.32 to 4.38 above, the verbal clusters also have an almost identical matching of morphemes both in the Luhya Kiswahili constructions and in the Luhya language ones. Although the Luhya Kiswahili variant suffix **{-ENGE}** has been described as an allomorph of the variant **[-ANGE]**, the suffix variant **[-ENGE]** seems to be phonologically conditioned as it occurs in verbs which happen to be already in the subjunctive mood (and, therefore, ending in the vowel sound [e]) such as *zikaē*, *zipigane*, *niione*, *nioe*, *nikunywe*, *tusikilizane* and *wasome*.

#### **4.1.2.1.2.3 The Subjunctive Allomorph Variant [-INGI]**

The variant suffix **[-INGI]** is the third habitual marker in the subjunctive mood in Luhya Kiswahili. Just like the other allomorph variant **[-ENGE]**, the occurrence of variant **[-INGI]** does not entail change of meaning from the default habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood variant **[-ANGE]**. Rather, suffix variant **[-INGI]** is phonologically conditioned by the last vowel sound of the verb. If the last vowel sound of the verb is /i/, then the verb will take the Luhya Kiswahili habitual suffix **[-INGI]** in the subjunctive mood in place of either **[-ANGE]** or **[-ENGE]**. It is also used to express various states of unreality such as wishes, possibility, opinions, necessity, suppositions and action that has not yet occurred (that is, the future).

Example 4.39:

- a) Nataka niish**ingi** mjini (LK)

‘I want to be staying in town’

[Ni- ish- **ing-** i]

{SM1sg- stay- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) Nataka ni**we** nikiishi mjini (SK)

- c) Nenyanga meny**enje** mulukulu (Luhya)

In example 4.39 above, although the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-INGI] is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sound [i] in the preceding verb, it is a marker for the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood. The speaker expresses a wish to be staying in town.

Example 4.40:

- a) Nitabir**ing**ivitu za kweli (LK)

‘I be prophesying truthful things’

[Ni- tabir- **ing-** i]

{SM1sg- prophesy- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) Ni**we** nikitabiri vitu vya kweli (SK)

- c) Nilwats**enje** bindu biu bwatoto (Luhya)

In example 4.40 above, the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-INGI] is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sound [i] in the preceding verb but it is a marker for the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood. The speaker expresses a wish to be prophesying truthful things.

Example 4.41:

- a) Wafikiringi kilamara (LK)

‘They be thinking at all times’

[Wa- fikir- ing- i]

{SM3pl- think- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) Wawe wakifikiri kila mara (SK)

- c) Baparenje khali khatsotso (Luhya)

In example 4.41 above, the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-INGI] is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sound [i] in the preceding verb but it is a marker for the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood. The speaker expresses an opinion that the people referred to ought to be thinking all the time.

Example 4.42:

- a) Tumilikimkamakampuni kubwa kubwa (LK)

‘We be owning big companies’

[Tu- milik- ing- i]

{SM1pl- own- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) Tu**we** tukimiliki makampuni makubwa makubwa (SK)
- c) Khubets**enje** ni tsikambuni tsingali tsingali (Luhya)

In example 4.42 above, the Luhya Kiswahili suffix **[-INGI]** is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sound /i/ in the preceding verb but it is a marker for the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood. The speaker expresses a wish that they be owning big companies.

Example 4.43:

- a) Wasichana warid**ingi** mali (LK)

‘Girls to be inheriting property’

[Wa- ridh- **ing-** i]

{SM3pl- inherit- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) Wasichana waw**e** wakiridhi mali (SK)
- c) Bakhana banyol**enje** miandu (Luhya)

In example 4.43 above, the Luhya Kiswahili suffix **[-INGI]** is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sound /i/ in the preceding verb but it is a marker for the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood. The speaker expresses an opinion that girls should inherit property.

Example 4.45:

- a) Nidhibit**ingi** bei za vitu (LK)

‘I be controlling commodity prices’

[Ni- thibit- **ing-** i]

{SM1sg- control- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) Niwe nikidhibiti bei za vitu (SK)
- c) Sinjililenje tsipei tsya bindu (Luhya)

In example 4.45 above, the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-INGI] is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sound /i/ in the preceding verb but it is a marker for the habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood. The speaker expresses an intention to be controlling prices of commodities.

In examples 4.39 to 4.45 above, it is evident that the suffix [-INGI] is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sounds [i] in the preceding verbs *niishi*, *nitabiri*, *wafikiri*, *tumiliki*, *warithi* and *nithibiti*. However, and perhaps as proof that the suffix [-INGI] is used as a marker for the subjunctive mood, the corresponding Luhya language verbs *menyenje*, *nilwatsenje*, *baparenje*, *khubetsenje*, *banyolenje* and *sinjililenje* take the Luhya language subjunctive variant suffix [-ENJE].

It needs to be noted that both the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-INGI] and the Luhya language suffix [-ENJE] are missing from the corresponding standard Kiswahili verbs in which the subjunctive mood is marked by the suffix [-WE] in the words *niwe*, *wawe* and *tuwe*. At the same time, this standard Kiswahili subjunctive mood suffix {-WE} is missing from both the Luhya Kiswahili and the Luhya language forms. This suggests that the suffix [-INGI] in Luhya Kiswahili may be a borrowed feature from the Luhya suffix [-ENJE]. This

confirms the observation by Mocho (2012) that the Luhya linguistic structure affects the variety of Kiswahili spoken by the Luhya language speakers.

Evidently, there seems to have been a phonological process involving the substitution of the vowel sound [e] and the palatal consonant cluster [ɲj] (for ‘nj’ in orthography) in the Luhya language suffix [-ENJE] with the vowel sound [i] and the velar consonant cluster [ŋg] (for ‘ng’ in orthography) in the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-INGI]. This seems to confirm the observation by Sankoff (2001) that the introduction of foreign linguistic material into another language system may often carry with it morphological and syntactic baggage (also Hocini, 2011). As a phonologically conditioned allomorph of the variant [-ANGE], the suffix variant [-INGI] seems to be common with verbs with the final vowel sound [i] such as *ishi*, *tabiri*, *fikiri*, *miliki*, *ridhi*, and *dhibiti*.

#### **4.1.2.1.3 The Variant [-ANGA] in the Negative mood**

In the negative mood, the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-ANGA] changes to [-ANGI]. In the data set, this negative mood suffix marker [-ANGI] has the allomorph variant [-INGI]. Both [-ANGI] and [-INGI] seem to be phonologically conditioned markers for negation in Luhya Kiswahili.

##### **4.1.2.1.3.1 The Negative Variant [-ANGI]**

The variant suffix [-ANGI] seems to be the default habitual marker in the negative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. Its occurrence seems to be phonologically conditioned by the last vowel sound of the verb. If the last vowel sound of the

verb is [a], then the verb will take the Luhya Kiswahili habitual suffix [-ANGI] in the negative mood.

Example 4.46:

- a) Siku**wangi** na sadaka. (LK)

‘I usually don’t have an offering’

[Si- kuw-**ang-** i]

{NEG1sg- be- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) **Hu**wasina sadaka. (SK)  
c) Shimbetsa**anga** ni sataka ta (Luhya)

In example 4.46 above, the suffix [-ANGI] marks the habitual aspect in the negative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker states that s/he habitually has no offering to pay in church.

Example 4.47:

- a) Hautumi**angi** sigara. (LK)

‘You do not use cigarette’ (You never smoke)

[Ha- u- tumi- **ang-** i]

{NEG2sg- SC2sg- use- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) **Hu**wahutumii sigara. (**Hu**wa huvuti sigara) (SK)  
c) Shuhunga**anga** isikala ta (Luhya)

In example 4.47 above, the suffix [-**ANGI**] marks the habitual aspect in the negative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker states that the person s/he is speaking to habitually never smokes.

Example 4.48:

- a) Hatengenez**angi** manjia. (LK)

‘S/he (MP) never constructs roads (in the constituency)’

[Ha- tengenez- **ang-** i]

{NEG3sg- make- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) (Mbunge) **huw**ahatengenezi barabara. (SK)

- c) Shialomba**anga** tsinjila ta (Luhya)

In example 4.48 above, the suffix [-**ANGI**] marks the habitual aspect in the negative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker states that the person being talked about (the local Member of Parliament) habitually never constructs/repairs roads (in the constituency).

Example 4.49:

- a) Kuiba sipend**angi** (LK)

‘Stealing I never like’

[Si- pend- **ang-** i]

{NEG1sg- like- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) **Hu**wasipendi kuiba (SK)
- c) Khuhuba shinyanz**anga** ta (Luhya)

In example 4.49 above, the suffix [-**ANGI**] marks the habitual aspect in the negative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker states that s/he habitually never likes stealing.

Example 4.50:

- a) Mi siend**ang**ishule (LK)

‘I never go to school’

[Si-            end- **ang-**    i]

{NEG1sg- go- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) Mimi **hu**wa siendi shule (SK)
- c) Inzi shinzits**anga** musukulu ta (Luhya)

In example 4.50 above, the suffix [-**ANGI**] marks the habitual aspect in the negative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker states that s/he habitually does not go to school.

Example 4.51:

- a) Mpira sion**angi** (LK)

‘Football, I usually do not watch’

[Si-            on-    ang-    i]

{NEG1sg- watch- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) **Hu**wasioni mpira (SK)
- c) Mupila shindol**anga** ta

In example 4.51 above, the suffix [-**ANGI**] marks the habitual aspect in the negative mood in Luhya Kiswahili. The speaker states that s/he habitually does not watch football.

In examples 4.46 to 4.51 above, it is evident that the variant suffix [-**ANGI**] is present in the Luhya Kiswahili verbs *sikuwangi*, *hautumiangi*, *hatengenezangi*, *sipendangi*, *siendangi* and *sionangi*. In the corresponding Luhya language, the suffix is present in its indicative mood [-**ANGA**] in the verbs *shimbetsanga*, *shuhunganga*, *shialombanga*, *shinanzanga*, *shinzitsanga* and *shindolanga*. This could be explained by the presence of two other markers of negation in the Luhya language verbs: the prefix morpheme [**SHI-**] in the verbal complex and the free morpheme [**TA**]. The Luhya language, therefore, does not seem to mark negation using the Kiswahili negative mood vowel final [**i**].

However, both the Luhya Kiswahili habitual negative mood marker [-**ANGI**] and the Luhya language habitual aspect marker [-**ANGA**] are missing from the standard Kiswahili verbs which adopt the habitual aspect prefix marker [**HU-**]. This prefix [**HU-**] is missing from both the corresponding Luhya Kiswahili and the Luhya language forms, which suggests that the Luhya Kiswahili habitual negative marker suffix [-**ANGI**] may be a borrowed feature

from the Luhya language into Luhya Kiswahili in which the final vowel sound [a] is substituted with the Kiswahili negative mood final vowel [i]. This confirms previous study findings that show that languages in contact might influence one another's linguistic structure (Poplack, 1993; Thomason, 2001; Sankoff, 2001; Milroy, 2002; Lindfors, 2003).

#### 4.1.2.1.3.2 The Negative Allomorph Variant [-INGI]

The occurrence of the Luhya Kiswahili habitual aspect negative suffix [-INGI] does not entail change of meaning from the habitual aspect negative mood marker [-ANGI]. Rather, suffix [-INGI] is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sounds of the preceding verbs. It seems that if the last vowel sound of the preceding verb is [I], then the verb will take the Luhya Kiswahili habitual suffix [-INGI] in the negative mood in place of the variant [-ANGI].

Example 4.52:

- a) Hatupigan**ingi** sana. (LK)

‘We usually don’t fight a lot’

[Ha- tu- pig- an- ing- i]

{NEG- SM1pl- beat- D Suf [RECIP]- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) **Hu**wahatupigani sana. (SK)  
 c) Shikhukwan**anga** muno ta (Luhya)

In example 4.52 above, the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-INGI] is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of the suffix [-ANGI] which marks the habitual aspect

in the negative mood. The initial vowel sound in the suffix [-INGI] is conditioned by the final two vowel sounds [I] in the preceding verb. The speaker states that they habitually do not fight one another.

Example 4.53:

- a) Mimi sikos**ingi** kusafiri Mombasa. (LK)

‘Ineverfail to travel to Mombasa’

[Si-        kos- ing-    i]

{NEG1sg- fail- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) **Hu**wasikosi kusafiri Mombasa. (SK)

- c) Shimbul**anga** khutsia Imbasa ta (Luhya)

In example 4.53 above, the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-INGI] is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of the suffix [-ANGI] which marks the habitual aspect in the negative mood. The initial vowel sound in the suffix [-INGI] is conditioned by the final vowel sound [I] in the preceding verb. The speaker states that s/he never fails to travel to Mombasa.

Example 4.54:

- a) Mimi sitak**ingi** ugomvi (LK)

‘I usually do not want quarrels’

[Si-        tak-    ing-    i]

{NEG1sg- want- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) Mimi **huwa** sitaki ugomvi (SK)
- c) Inzi shinzeny**anga** bulembani ta (Luhya)

In example 4.54 above, the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-INGI] is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of the suffix [-ANGI] which marks the habitual aspect in the negative mood. The initial vowel sound in the suffix [-INGI] is conditioned by the final vowel sound [I] in the preceding verb. The speaker states that s/he usually does not want quarrels.

Example 4.55:

- a) Mimi sitaman**ingi** vitu vya wenyewe (LK)

‘I usually do not admire other people’s things’

[Si-            taman-    **ing-**        i]

{NEG1sg- admire- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) Mimi **huwa** sitamani vitu vya wenyewe (SK)
- c) Inzi shinikomb**anga** bindu bia bene ta (Luhya)

In example 4.55 above, the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-INGI] is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of the suffix [-ANGI] which marks the habitual aspect in the negative mood. The initial vowel sound in the suffix [-INGI] is conditioned by the final vowel sound [I] in the preceding verb. The speaker states that s/he habitually does not admire other people’s things.

Example 4.56:

- a) Sikunyw**ingi** pombe (LK)

‘I usually do not drink alcohol’

[Si-            kunyw- **ing-**    i]

{NEG1sg- drink- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) **Huwa** sinywi pombe (SK)

- c) Shing’wets**anga** malwa ta (Luhya)

In example 4.56 above, the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-**INGI**] is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of the suffix [-**ANGI**] which marks the habitual aspect in the negative mood. The initial vowel sound in the suffix [-**INGI**] is conditioned by the final vowel sound [I] in the preceding verb. The speaker states that s/he habitually does not take alcohol.

Example 4.57:

- a) Mimi siamin**ingi** bishop (LK)

‘I usually do not believe the bishop’

[Si-            amin-    **ing-**    i]

{NEG1sg- believe- INFL-S FV [NEG]}

- b) Mimi **huwa** siamini askofu (SK)

- c) Inzi shisubil**anga** mumuskopi ta (Luhya)

In example 4.57 above, the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-INGI] is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of the suffix [-ANGI] which marks the habitual aspect in the negative mood. The initial vowel sound in the suffix [-INGI] is conditioned by the final vowel sound [I] in the preceding verb. The speaker states that s/he usually does not believe the bishop.

Goyvaerts (2007) points out that standard Kiswahili tends to be rather vague with regard to the precise meaning of the negative habitual constructions. For example, the construction:

Example 4.58:

Silali. (SK)

[Si-        la-    i]

{NEG1sg- sleep- FV [NEG]}

This construction might seem ambiguous as it may be translated to mean three different things:

‘I am not sleeping’, or

‘I do not sleep’, or even

‘I usually do not sleep’

In Luhya Kiswahili, however, the use of the [-INGI] variant is unequivocally habitual. The ambiguity in the standard Kiswahili example 4.58 above is eliminated in the Luhya Kiswahili example 4.59 below:

Example 4.59:

a) Silal**ingi**. (LK)

‘I usually do not sleep’

[Si-        lal-   **ing-**    **i]**

{**NEG1sg- sleep- INFL-S FV [NEG]**}

b) Shingon**anga** ta (Luhya)

In examples 4.52 to 4.59 above, it is evident that the Luhya Kiswahili negative habitual aspect variant suffix [-**INGI**] is phonologically conditioned by the vowel sound [**I**] in the preceding verbs *hatupigani*, *sikosi*, *sitaki*, *sitamani*, *sikunywi*, *siamini* and *silali*. In the corresponding Luhya language examples, the suffix is present in its indicative mood [-**ANGA**] in the verbs *shikhukwananga*, *shimbulanga*, *shinzenyanga*, *shinikombanga*, *shing’wetsanga*, *shisubibilanga* and *shingonanga*. This could be explained by the presence of two other markers of negation in the Luhya language verbs: the prefix morpheme [**SHI-**] in the verbal complex and the free morpheme [**TA**]. The Luhya language, therefore, does not seem to mark negation using the Kiswahili negative mood final vowel [**I**].

However, as already stated for the habitual negative aspect mood marker [-**ANGI**] (cf. section 4.1.2.1.3.1), both the Luhya Kiswahili habitual aspect negative mood marker [-**INGI**] and the Luhya language habitual aspect marker [-**ANGA**] are missing from the standard Kiswahili verbs which adopt the

habitual aspect prefix marker **[HU-]**. This prefix **[HU-]** is missing from both the corresponding Luhya Kiswahili and the Luhya language forms, which suggests that the Luhya Kiswahili habitual negative marker suffix **[-INGI]** may be a borrowed feature from the Luhya language into Luhya Kiswahili in which the final vowel sound **[a]** is substituted with the Kiswahili negative mood final vowel **[i]**. This echoes Sankoff (2001) who observes that the introduction of foreign linguistic material into another language system may often carry with it morphological and syntactic baggage (see also Hocini, 2011).

#### **4.1.2.1.4 Discussion**

These comparative data (cf. **table 4.1**, to **table 4.8**) suggest that the Luhya Kiswahili indicative mood verbal suffix **[-ANGA]**, the subjunctive mood verbal suffix **[-ANGE]** and the negative mood verbal suffix **[-ANGI]** with their respective allomorph variants, could be features that have been borrowed from the Luhya linguistic system into the Kiswahili linguistic system. This confirms the observation by Thomason (2001) on the notion of convergence in language contact, a process that involves borrowing or transfer of grammatical structure from one language to another (also Poplack & Levey, 2010).

It is, therefore, concluded that the Luhya Kiswahili verbal suffix **{-ANGA}** is the marker for habitual aspect in the indicative mood. It marks both the present and past habitual aspect and has the allomorph **[-INGI]** which is phonologically conditioned. The Luhya Kiswahili variant **[-ANGE]** is the marker for habitual aspect in the subjunctive mood. It has two allomorphs: **[-ENGE]** and **[-INGI]**, both of which seem to be phonologically conditioned.

The Luhya Kiswahili variant [-**ANGI**] seems to be the marker for the habitual aspect in the negative mood. It has the allomorph [-**INGI**] which is also phonologically conditioned.

The suffix [-**ANGA**], therefore, seems to be a borrowed feature from the Luhya language structures where it seems to be a marker for the general present aspect. This confirms previous study findings that show that languages in contact might influence one another's linguistic structure (Poplack, 1993; Thomason, 2001; Sankoff, 2001; Milroy, 2002; Lindfors, 2003; Meyerhoff, 2006; Poplack & Levey, 2010; Atkinson, 2011; Hocini, 2011; Mocho, 2012).

According to Roberts and Bresnan (2008), inflection may be borrowed from substrate languages and some varieties of Kenyan Pidgin Swahili have adopted verbal suffixes from indigenous Kenyan Bantu languages. Roberts and Bresnan identified two affixes: the verbal suffix [-**ANGA**] for habitual aspect, and the verbal suffix [-**KO**] for polite imperative emphasis. In this section I have attempted an analysis of the Luhya Kiswahili verbal suffix {-**ANGA**}. In the next section, I attempt an analysis of the verbal suffix {-**KO**}.

#### **4.1.2.2 Identification of the Salient Morphosyntactic Feature {-KO}**

This section presents the second salient morphosyntactic feature of Luhya Kiswahili that was identified from the transcribed tape-recordings that were obtained during field work in Kakamega East district. After sifting through the transcribed Luhya language data from the respondents, I was able to identify

the verbal suffix **{-KO}**. The variants of this salient morphosyntactic feature are presented in **tables 4.9 to 4.11**.

**Table 4.9: A Sample Data of the Polite Imperative Marker {-KO}**

<b>Standard Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
[ <b>tafadhali</b> ]Fuga ng'ombe	Fugako ng'ombe	Bayakhu ing'ombe	Please keep a cow
[ <b>Tafadhali</b> ]enda nje	Endako nje	Tsiakhu ilwanyi	Please go out
[ <b>Tafadhali</b> ]nicheze mpira?	Nichezeko mpira?	Mbayekhu mupila?	May I play football?

**Table 4.9** presents a sample of the polite imperative variants of the Luhya Kiswahili verbal suffix **{-KO}**. The Luhya language versions have the corresponding verbal suffix **[-KHU]**. However, the corresponding standard Kiswahili constructions are indicated by the zero **[Ø]** variant.

**Table 4.10: A Sample Data of the Polite Imperative Emphasis Marker****{-KO}**

<b>Standard Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<b>Tafadhali</b> tafuta kazi	<b>Tafadhali</b> tafutako kazi	<b>Nuyanza</b> khabakhu ikasi	Kindly please seek employment
<b>Tafadhali</b> leta maji	<b>Tafadhali</b> letako maji	<b>Nuyanza</b> lerakhu matsi	Kindly please fetch water
<b>Naomba</b> usonge nyuma	<b>Naomba</b> usongeko nyuma	<b>Sayanga</b> wisundikhu inyuma	I beg you to move back

**Table 4.10** presents a sample of the polite imperative emphasis variants of the Luhya Kiswahili which include the explicit polite expression *tafadhali* / *naomba* and the verbal suffix **{-KO}**. The Luhya language versions also have the corresponding explicit polite expression *nuyanza* / *sayanga* and the verbal suffix **[-KHU]**. However, the corresponding standard Kiswahili constructions are indicated by a polite expression and the zero **[Ø]** variant.

**Table 4.11: A Sample Data of the Diminutive Marker {-KO}**

<b>Standard Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili</b>	<b>Luhya</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
Mimihunywa [chang'aa] <b>kidogo</b>	Nakunywako [chang'aa]	Ng'etsakhu [khachang'aa]	I take a bit of liquor
Sijaenda kotini hata <b>kidogo</b>	Sijaendako kotini	Shili khutsiakhu mukoti	I haven't been to court at all
Niko na pesa <b>kidogo</b>	Nikoko na pesa	Ndikhu ni tsendi	I have a little money
Utaonja [chang'aa] <b>kidogo</b> leo	Utaonjako [chang'aa] leo	Ulatsamakhu khachang'aa nunu	You will taste a little [liquor] today

**Table 4.11** presents a sample of the diminutive variant of the Luhya Kiswahili verbal suffix {-KO}. It is apparent that the diminutive in Luhya Kiswahili is indicated by the variant [-KO]. The Luhya language versions have the corresponding verbal suffix [-KHU]. However, in the corresponding standard Kiswahili constructions the diminutive is indicated by an explicit diminutive expression such as *kidogo*.

On average, over sixty percent of all the utterances by the Luhya Kiswahili respondents contained verbal clusters with the suffix {-KO}. The suffix seems

to have two main functions: as a marker for politeness and also as a marker for the diminutive. However, unlike the habitual aspect marker variant [-ANGA] which is represented in three different forms in the Luhya Kiswahili data set, the suffix {-KO} is represented in only one form whose functions are discussed in the sections that follow.

#### 4.1.2.2.1 The Variable [-KO] as a Marker for Politeness

The Luhya Kiswahili verbal suffix [-KO] seems to be a general marker for politeness. In fact, with regard to the Luhya Kiswahili speakers, the suffix might be aptly described in Kiswahili as the '**KO** *nyenyekevu*' that is, the '*polite KO*'. In this regard, the suffix [-KO] seems to be a marker for both polite imperative and polite imperative emphasis.

##### 4.1.2.2.1.1 The Variant [-KO] as a Marker for Polite Imperative

Luhya Kiswahili speakers seem to typically employ the variant [-KO] to express politeness in the imperative constructions. In the Luhya Kiswahili data set, the suffix seems to be an indirect way of expressing politeness. In all the examples that follow, there seems to have been a phonological process whereby the voiceless velar fricative [x] (**kh** in orthography), is replaced by the voiceless velar stop [k] (**k** in orthography). As explained for **Table 1.2**, this could be because the latter is the closest to [x] in terms of articulation. Kiswahili does not seem to frequently use the voiceless velar fricative [x] which is also found in the Luhya language. It is for that reason that it is substituted with the voiceless velar stop. There also seems to be a

corresponding replacement of the vowel sound [u] in the Luhya suffix [-KHU] by [o] resulting in the Luhya Kiswahili morpheme [-KO].

Example 4.60:

- a) Fugako ng'ombe. (LK)

‘(Please) keep a cow’

[Fug- a- ko]

{Rear- FV [IND]- INFL-S}

- b) (tafadhali) Fuga ng'ombe. (SK)

- c) Bayakhu ing'ombe (Luhya)

In example 4.60 above, the suffix [-KO] is the marker for politeness in the Luhya Kiswahili imperative construction. The speaker politely asks the person being addressed to rear cattle.

Example 4.61:

- a) Endako nje. (LK)

‘(Please) go out’

[End- a -ko]

{Go- FV [IND]- INFL-S}

- b) (tafadhali) Enda nje. (SK)

- c) Tsiakhu ilwanyi (Luhya)

In example 4.61 above, the suffix [-**KO**] is the marker for politeness in the Luhya Kiswahili imperative construction. The speaker politely asks the person being addressed to go out.

Example 4.62:

- a) Washukishe**ko** [bei za] vitu. (LK)

‘They should [kindly] reduce commodity prices.’

[Wa- shukish- e -**ko**]

{SM3pl- reduce- FV [SUBJ] –INFL-S}

- b) (**tafadhali**) Washukishe [bei za] bidhaa. (SK)

- c) Bishitsik**hu** bindu. (Luhya)

In example 4.62 above, the suffix [-**KO**] is the marker for politeness in the Luhya Kiswahili imperative construction. The speaker pleads for commodity prices to be reduced.

Example 4.63:

- a) Nicheze**ko** mpira? (LK)

‘May I play football?’

[Ni- chez- e- **ko**]

{SM1sg- play- FV [SUBJ] –INFL-S}

- b) Nicheze mpira tafadhali? (SK)
- c) Mbayekhumupila? (Luhya)

In example 4.63 above, the suffix [-**KO**] is the marker for politeness in the Luhya Kiswahili imperative construction. The speaker is requesting to play football.

Example 4.64:

- a) Tupatieko mandazi. (LK)

‘Please give us some *mandazi*’

[Tu- pati- e- ko]

{SM1pl- give- FV [SUBJ] –INFL-S}

- b) (**tafadhali**) Tupatiemandazi kidogo. (SK)
- c) Khuheku mandasi. (Luhya)

In example 4.64 above, the suffix [-**KO**] is the marker for politeness in the Luhya Kiswahili imperative construction. The speakers politely ask to be given some *mandazi*.

Example 4.65:

- a) Umetelezako kwa mazungumzo (LK)

‘You’ve spoken inappropriately please’

[U- me- telez- a- **ko**]

{SM2sg- TAM [PERF]- slip- FV [IND] –INFL-S}

- b) (**tafadhali**) Umeteleza katika mazungumzo (SK)
- c) Ureleleshe**khu** mu malomolomo (Luhya)

In example 4.65 above, the suffix [-**KO**] is the marker for politeness in the Luhya Kiswahili imperative construction. The speaker politely points out that the person being addressed has said something inappropriate.

Example 4.66:

- a) Niambie**ko** kitu kizuri leo (LK)

‘Please tell me something good today’

[Ni- a- mbi- e -**ko**]

{SM1sg- TAM [PRES]- tell- FV [SUBJ]- INFL-S}

- b) (**tafadhali**) Niambie kitu kizuri leo (SK)
- c) Mbolel**akhu** shindu shilahi nunu (Luhya)

In example 4.66 above, the suffix [-**KO**] is the marker for politeness in the Luhya Kiswahili imperative construction. The speaker politely asks the person being addressed to tell him/her something nice that day.

In examples 4.60 to 4.66 above, the Luhya language suffix [-**KHU**] marks politeness in the verbs *bayakhu*, *tsiakhu*, *bishitsikhu*, *mbayekhu*, *khuhekhu*, *ureleleshekhu*, and *mbolelakh*. In the corresponding Luhya Kiswahili verbs

*fugako, endako, washukisheko, nichezeko, tupatieko, umetelezako* and *niambieko*, the suffix [-KHU] seems to have been substituted by [-KO] which implies the phonological processes already explained above.

With the use of the suffix [-KO], therefore, Luhya Kiswahili speakers need not necessarily use the explicit marker for politeness *tafadhali* which is evident in the corresponding standard Kiswahili constructions. It needs to be noted that the standard Kiswahili constructions, without the suffix [KO], would definitely sound impolite without the explicit politeness marker *tafadhali*.

On the other hand, it would be an unequivocal command, or at least impolite, to leave out the verbal suffix [-KO] in the Luhya Kiswahili constructions. It is equally important to note that in Kenya, the most commonly used variant for marking politeness is *tafadhali* but Tanzanians mostly prefer the variant *naomba* to express politeness.

The suffix morpheme [-KO], therefore, seems to be a borrowed feature from the Luhya language into Kiswahili. As Poplack (1993) observes, language contact involves the linguistic processes by which forms from two or more languages may be combined as a result of their common use (also Thomason, 2001; Poplack & Levey, 2010).

#### **4.1.2.2.1.2 The Variant [-KO] as a Marker for Polite Imperative Emphasis**

The Luhya Kiswahili data set reveals cases where an explicit polite term such as *tafadhali* is used preceding the imperative verbal cluster which already includes the verbal suffix [-KO]. It has already been pointed out (**cf. section**

**4.1.2.2.1**) that the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-**KO**] marks politeness. This may be explained as a case of double politeness marking to achieve a form of emphasis.

Example 4.67:

- a) **Tafadhali** tafutako kazi. (LK)

‘Kindly please seek employment’

[**Tafadhali** tafut- a -ko]

{Please search- FV [IND] –INFL-S}

- b) **Tafadhali** tafuta kazi. (SK)

- c) **Nuyanza** khabakhu ikasi (Luhya)

In example 4.67 above, there seems to be evidence of double marking to emphasize politeness in Luhya Kiswahili. Apart from the explicit politeness marker *tafadhali*, there is also the suffix [-**KO**] which is the marker for politeness in the Luhya Kiswahili imperative construction. The speaker seems to emphasize the polite injunction for the person being addressed to search for employment.

Example 4.68:

- a) **Tafadhali** letako maji. (LK)

‘Kindly please fetch water’

[**Tafadhali** let- a -**ko**]

{**Please bring- FV [IND] –INFL-S**}

- b) **Tafadhali** leta maji. (SK)
- c) **Nuyanza** lerakhu matsi (Luhya)

Example 4.68 above reveals double marking to emphasize politeness. In the Luhya Kiswahili imperative construction, there is the explicit politeness marker *tafadhali* occurring together with the Luhya Kiswahili polite marker [-**KO**]. The speaker seems to emphasize the polite request for the person being addressed to fetch water.

Example 4.69:

- a) **Naomba** usongeko nyuma (LK)

‘I beg that you please move back’

[**Na- omba** u- song- e- **ko**]

{**SM1sg- beg OM2sg- move- FV [SUBJ]- INFL-S**}

- b) **Naomba** usonge nyuma (SK)
- c) **Sayanga** wisundikhu inyuma (Luhya)

Example 4.69 shows evidence of double marking to emphasize politeness. In the Luhya Kiswahili imperative construction, there is the explicit politeness marker *naomba* and the Luhya Kiswahili polite marker [-**KO**]. The speaker

seems to emphasize the polite request for the person being addressed to move back.

Example 4.70:

- a) **Naomba** uninunulieko nguo mpya (LK)

‘I beg that you please buy me a new dress’

[Na- oмба u- ni- nunu- li- e- ko]

{SM1sg- beg OM2sg-TAM [FUT]- buy- DSuf [CAUS]- FV [SUBJ]- INFL-S}

- b) **Naomba** uninunulie nguo mpya (SK)

- c) **Sayanga** ungulilikhu ingubu imbia (Luhya)

Example 4.70 shows evidence of double marking to emphasize politeness. In the Luhya Kiswahili imperative construction, there is the explicit politeness marker *naomba* and the Luhya Kiswahili polite marker [-KO]. The speaker seems to emphasize the polite request for the person being addressed to buy him/her a new dress.

Example 4.71:

- a) **Tafadhali**to kitu kidogo (LK)

‘I request you please give something small’

[Tafadhali to -a ko]

{Please remove- FV [IND]- INFL-S}

- b) **Tafadhali** toa kitu kidogo (SK)
- c) **Nuyanza** rulakhu khandu khati (Luhya)

Example 4.71 shows evidence of double marking to emphasize politeness. In the Luhya Kiswahili imperative construction, there is the explicit politeness marker *tafadhali* and the Luhya Kiswahili polite marker [-**KO**]. The speaker seems to emphasize his polite request for the person being addressed to give something small (money).

Example 4.72:

- a) **Tafadhali** nileteeko dawa (LK)

‘Please kindly bring me some medicine’

[**Tafadhali** ni- let- e- e- **ko**]

{**Please OM1sg- bring- D Suf [CAUS] FV [SUBJ]- INFL-S**}

- b) **Tafadhali** niletee dawa (SK)
- c) **Nuyanza** nderelakhu lunyasi (Luhya)

Example 4.72 shows evidence of double marking to emphasize politeness. In the Luhya Kiswahili imperative construction, there is the explicit politeness marker *tafadhali* and the Luhya Kiswahili polite marker [-**KO**]. The speaker seems to emphasize his polite request for the person being addressed to bring him/her some medicine.

Example 4.73:

- a) **Naomba** nichezeeko nje (LK)

‘May I please play from outside’

[**Na-**      **ombani-**      chez- e-      e-      **ko**]

{**SM1sg- beg**    **SM1sg- play-** **D Suf [APPL] FV [SUBJ]- INFL-S**}

- b) **Naomba** nichezee nje (SK)

- c) **Sayanga** mbayilikhu ilwanyi (Luhya)

Example 4.73 shows evidence of double marking to emphasize politeness. In the Luhya Kiswahili imperative construction, there is the explicit politeness marker *naomba* and the Luhya Kiswahili polite marker [-**KO**]. The speaker seems to emphasize his/her polite request to be allowed to play from outside.

Example 4.74:

- a) **Tafadhali** nipeeko mandazi (LK)

‘Please kindly give me some *mandazi*’

[**Tafadhali** ni-      pe- e-      **ko**]

{**Please**    **OM1sg- give-** **FV [SUBJ]- INFL-S**}

- b) **Tafadhali** nipatie mandazi (SK)

- c) **Nuyanza** mbekhu mandasi (Luhya)

Example 4.74 shows evidence of double marking to emphasize politeness. In the Luhya Kiswahili imperative construction, there is the explicit politeness marker *tafadhali* and the Luhya Kiswahili polite marker [-KO]. The speaker seems to emphasize his/her polite request to be given some *mandazi*.

In examples 4.67 to 4.74 above, the Luhya Kiswahili verbs *tafutako*, *letako*, *usongeko*, *uninunulieko*, *tokako*, *nileteeko*, *nichezeko* and *nipeeko*, seem to have substituted the Luhya language politeness marker [-KHU] with the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-KO]. Moreover, there is the explicit politeness marker *tafadhali* or *naomba* in each of these Luhya Kiswahili imperative constructions.

This is comparable to the corresponding Luhya language imperative constructions where explicit polite terms such as *nuyanza* and *sayanga* occur together with the Luhya language polite marker [-KHU] in the verbs *khapakhu*, *lerakhu*, *wisundikhu*, *ungulilikhu*, *rulakhu*, *nderelakhu*, *mbayilikhu* and *mbekhu*. It may seem as if, to achieve emphasis in imperative constructions, Luhya Kiswahili (and the Luhya language) speakers feel the need to combine the polite marker [-KO] (or [-KHU]) with the explicit politeness markers *tafadhali* and *naomba* (or *nuyanza* and *sayanga*), respectively.

This maybe explained as a case of double use of politeness marking in order to achieve emphasis in both Luhya Kiswahili and the Luhya language. The Luhya Kiswahili double politeness marking, therefore, seems to be a borrowed feature from the Luhya language because the corresponding standard Kiswahili imperative constructions do not show any cases of double politeness marking.

In fact the corresponding standard Kiswahili constructions only mark politeness once by use of either of the explicit politeness markers *naomba* or *tafadhali*. This confirms previous study findings that show that languages in contact might influence one another's linguistic structure (Poplack, 1993; Thomason, 2001; Sankoff, 2001).

There is also evidence of phonological processes (**cf. section 4.1.2.2.1.1**).

#### **4.1.2.2.2 The Variable [-KO] as a Marker for the Diminutive**

The Luhya Kiswahili data set also reveals cases where the use of the verbal suffix [-KO] has the implied meaning of the notion 'a little bit'. This may be explained as a case of the suffix [-KO] being used to mark the diminutive form in Luhya Kiswahili.

Example 4.75:

- a) Nakunywako (chang'aa). (LK)

'I take a bit of liquor'

[N- a- kunyw- a -ko]

{SM1sg- TAM [PRES]- drink- FV [IND] -INFL-S}

- b) Mimi hunywa (chang'aa) kidogo. (SK)  
c) Ng'wetsakhu (khachang'aa) (Luhya)

In example 4.75 above, the standard Kiswahili morpheme *kidogo* (a little) is marked by the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-**KO**] and the Luhya language suffix [-**KHU**]. The speaker declares that he drinks a bit of liquor.

Example 4.76:

- a) Sijaendako kotini. (LK)

‘I haven’t been to court at all’

[Si- ja- end- a -ko]

{NEG1sg- NEG- go- FV [IND] –INFL-S}

- b) Sijaenda kotini hata kidogo. (SK)

- c) Shili khutsiakhu mukoti (Luhya)

In the negative construction in example 4.76 above, the two standard Kiswahili morphemes *hata kidogo* (at all) are marked by the suffix [-**KO**] and [-**KHU**] in the Luhya Kiswahili and Luhya sentences, respectively. The speaker laments that s/he has not been to court at all.

Example 4.77:

- a) Nikokona pesa. (LK)

‘I have a little money’

[Ni- ko -ko]

{SM1sg- have- INFL-S}

- b) Niko na pesa **kidogo**. (SK)
- c) Ndikhu ni tsisendi (Luhya)

In example 4.77 above, the standard Kiswahili morpheme *kidogo* (a little) is marked by the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-**KO**] and the Luhya language suffix [-**KHU**]. The speaker asserts that s/he has a little money.

Example 4.78:

- a) Utaonjako leo. (LK)

‘You will taste a little (liquor) today’

[U-        ta-                onj-    a                -ko]

{SM2sg- TAM [FUT]- taste- FV [IND] –INFL-S}

- b) Utaonja (chang’aa) **kidogoleo**. (SK)
- c) Ulatsamakhununu (Luhya)

In the sentence expressing the future in example 4.78 above, the standard Kiswahili morpheme *kidogo* (a little) is marked by the suffix [-**KO**] and the Luhya language suffix [-**KHU**]. The speaker expresses a supposition that the person being addressed will taste a bit of liquor that day.

Example 4.79:

- a) Ningeolewako ingekuwa vizuri. (LK)

‘It would have been great if I’d cohabited for some time’

[Ni- nge- olew- a -ko]

{SM1sg- TAM [HYP]-marry- FV [IND]- INFL-S}

- b) Ningewekwa kinyumba **kidogo** ingekuwa vizuri. (SK)
- c) Mba khubahilak**hu** hati bwakhabele bulahi (Luhya)

In the sentence expressing the hypothetical past in example 4.79 above, the standard Kiswahili morpheme *kidogo* (a little) is marked by the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-**KO**] and the Luhya language suffix[-**KHU**]. The speaker expresses a hypothetical possibility of a great time had s/he cohabited for a short time.

Example 4.80:

- a) Nilimuonak**o**jana (LK)

‘I saw him a little yesterday’

[Ni- li- mu- on- a- ko]

{SM1sg- TAM [PST]- OM3sg- see- FV [IND]- INFL-S}

- b) Nilimuona jana **kidogo** (SK)
- c) Mulolik**hu** mukolobo (Luhya)

In example 4.80 above, the standard Kiswahili morpheme *kidogo* (a little) is marked by the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-**KO**] and the Luhya language suffix [-**KHU**]. The speaker states that s/he briefly saw the person being talked about the previous day.

Example 4.81:

- a) Punguzako bei bwana (LK)

‘Reduce the price a bit’

[Punguz- a- ko]

{Reduce- FV [IND]- INFL-S}

- b) Punguza bei kidogo (SK)

- c) Yishitsakhu ipe (Luhya)

In example 4.81 above, the standard Kiswahili morpheme *kidogo* (a little) is marked by the suffix [-KO] and the Luhya language suffix [-KHU]. The speaker is requesting the person being addressed to reduce the price a little.

Example 4.82:

- a) Wacha nipumzikekohapa (LK)

‘Let me rest a little bit here’

[Ni- pumzik- e- ko]

{SM1sg- rest- FV [SUBJ]- INLF-S}

- b) Wacha nipumzike hapa kidogo (SK)

- c) Lakha mbulushikhu hanu (Luhya)

In example 4.82 above, the standard Kiswahili morpheme *kidogo* (a little) is marked by the Luhya Kiswahili suffix [-**KO**] and the Luhya language suffix [-**KHU**]. The speaker declares his/her intention to rest a little bit in that place.

The Luhya Kiswahili data set as shown in examples 4.75 to 4.82 above reveal that the diminutive suffix [-**KO**] is missing from the corresponding standard Kiswahili constructions. Instead, the Luhya Kiswahili diminutive marker [-**KO**] (for the notion ‘a little bit’) seems to be explicitly indicated by the diminutive term *kidogo* (a little bit) in the corresponding standard Kiswahili imperative constructions.

It is, therefore, concluded that the Luhya Kiswahili variant [-**KO**] seems to have two main functions in the imperative constructions. First, it acts as a marker for politeness: when the suffix occurs alone on the verbal complex, it marks polite imperative; when it occurs in a verbal cluster preceded by an explicit morpheme indicating politeness, it can be said to be a marker for polite imperative emphasis. Finally, it seems that the suffix [-**KO**] may be used to indicate the diminutive form (also seen as the marker for the notion ‘a little bit’). There is also evidence of phonological processes (cf. section 4.1.2.2.1.1).

Shinagawa (2007) argues that while the verbal suffix [-**KO**] may be a feature borrowed into Kenyan non-standard Kiswahili from other ethnic Bantu languages, she attributes the sound [O] in the morpheme [-**KO**] to influence from the Nilotic Luo language. This is in line with previous study findings which show that languages in contact might influence one another’s linguistic structure (Poplack, 1993; Thomason, 2001; Sankoff, 2001; Milroy, 2002;

Lindfors, 2003; Meyerhoff, 2006; Poplack & Levey, 2010; Atkinson, 2011; Hocini, 2011; Mocho, 2012).

#### **4.1.2.2.3 Discussion**

The comparative data (cf. **table 4.9** to **table 4.11**), therefore, suggest that the Luhya Kiswahili politeness verbal suffix [-**KO**] and the diminutive verbal suffix [-**KO**], could be features that have been borrowed from the Luhya linguistic system into the Kiswahili linguistic system. Sankoff (2001) identifies substratum interference whereby native language structures influence the second language structure. This introduction of foreign linguistic material into another language system may often carry with it morphological and syntactic baggage (Sankoff, 2001; Hocini, 2011).

Indeed, the Luhya language suffix [-**KHU**] seems to have been substituted by [-**KO**] in Luhya Kiswahili. It is apparent that there have been phonological processes involving the voiceless velar fricative [x] (**kh** in orthography) which is replaced by the voiceless velar stop [k] (**k** in orthography). As explained for **Table 1.2**, this could be because the latter is the closest to [x] in terms of articulation. Kiswahili does not seem to frequently use the voiceless velar fricative [x] which is also found in the Luhya language. It is for that reason that it is substituted with the voiceless velar stop. There also seems to be a corresponding replacement of the vowel sound [u] in the Luhya suffix [-**KHU**] by [o] resulting in the Luhya Kiswahili morpheme [-**KO**].

## **4.2 Quantitative Analysis of Data and Discussion**

In the previous section, data on the investigations into morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili were analyzed qualitatively and the findings discussed. The present section presents the quantitative analysis of data as well as the statistical interpretations of the influence of the social variables (**cf. sections 2.2.3.1 to 2.2.3.3**) on the linguistic variables (**cf. section 3.2**) under investigation. This section, therefore, addresses itself to requirements of the second and third objectives of the current study that is:

1. To analyze how age and gender of the speaker affect the salient morphosyntactic features of Luhya Kiswahili.
2. To establish the correlation between the level of education and the salient morphosyntactic features of Luhya Kiswahili.

Various studies on language use have demonstrated that speech is variable and individuals who speak the same language variety may display linguistic differences which are based on differences in social factors. The present study used the Labovian type methodology (Labov, 1972) in which the salient morphosyntactic features of the Luhya Kiswahili verbal complex were correlated with the social variables of age, gender and educational level.

### **4.2.1 Statistical Analyses**

The aim of statistical analyses in the current study was to determine whether there is any significance within any morphosyntactic patterning with regard to the three social variables. Within the results presented in this section, the

**descriptive statistical tests** of **mean** and **standard deviation**, and the **inferential statistical t-tests** were implemented. These statistical tools were implemented to establish the statistical significance of the social variables with regard to variations in the use of linguistic variables.

The main advantage of using the t-tests is that they can handle two sets of variable scores in order to determine whether the distribution of frequencies of variants in the data is likely to be due to chance (Wray & Bloomer, 2006). This quantitative analysis is based on the following variants of the linguistic variables (the verbal suffixes):

**1. The Variable(-ANGA) as a Marker for habitual Aspect**

- a) The variant [-ANGA] in the unmarked indicative mood with allomorph [-INGI].
- b) The variant [-ANGE] in the subjunctive mood with allomorphs [-ENGE] and [-NGI].
- c) The variant [-ANGI] in the negative mood with allomorph [-INGI].

**2. The Variable (-KO) as a Marker for Politeness**

- a) The variant[-KO] for polite imperative
- b) The variant[-KO]for polite imperative emphasis

**3. The Variable (-KO) as a Marker for the Diminutive**

The variants of [-ANGA] and [-KO] were obtained from the Luhya Kiswahili data set that was tape-recorded from the sixteen respondents who were drawn from Kakamega East district in Kakamega County (cf. **Map Appendix 4**).

Atkinson (2011) contends that although statistical analyses test hypotheses regarding differences across groups of speakers, they should not delimit the true nature of sociolinguistic enquiry. Atkinson further argues that language variationists need to be good linguists, and not just good number crunchers. This echoes Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992) who aver that statistical generalizations about language and social factors are not the major goal of linguistic investigation (also Romaine, 1982).

This calls for statistical tests to be used alongside descriptive analyses because, such correlations complement the linguistic analyses by highlighting areas that require further investigations. Indeed, in the present study, statistical tests were employed as a quantitative tool with the objective of emphasizing patterns and trends which occur within the descriptive results. Therefore, both descriptive and inferential analyses were employed to provide a comprehensive approach in order to highlight these specific patterns.

#### **4.2.2 The Analysis Report**

The statistical analyses were carried out using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 17. The analysis process was divided into two parts. The first part deals with descriptive analysis while the second is the inferential analysis which tests the significance of the relationship between the dependent linguistic variables and the independent social variables by application of the t-tests.

This study sampled a total of sixteen respondents who were interviewed. Responses from the semi-structured interview schedules (**cf. Appendix 1**) were coded with regard to information on the respondents' gender, their ages, and their educational level. Each respondent was assigned a coding key. To represent the variable of educational level, the following key was used:

**LC** to stand for the **lower class** speakers

**HC** to stand for the **higher class** speakers

To represent the gender and age variables, the following keys were used:

**YM** to stand for **younger male** speakers

**YF** to stand for **younger female** speakers

**MM** to stand for **middle-aged male** speakers

**MF** to stand for **middle-aged female** speakers

Each respondent was assigned a serial number ranging from one to sixteen. The first eight serial numbers correspond to the lower class speakers while number nine to sixteen correspond to the higher class speakers. Thus, each informant had a numeric identification. For example, **LCYM1** stands for lower class younger male speaker number one while **HCMF16** stands for higher class middle-aged female speaker number sixteen. This was to facilitate the ease of data processing and analysis and for verifying sources of examples given in the presentation and discussions.

**Identification of variation** in the use of the **linguistic variables** in the transcribed data from the unstructured interview schedules (**cf. Appendix 2**) involved counting Luhya Kiswahili verbal affix morphemes in different speaker groups. **Social evaluation** involved the variables of age, gender and educational level. The data were analyzed by **noting the frequencies** of the **linguistic variants** that occur in the spoken Luhya Kiswahili of each respondent.

The counting of the variants adopted the peculiar sociolinguistic convention of counting variants in such a way that the standard Kiswahili morpheme was given a score of zero (Njoroge, 2006). Because the interest of this study was on the non-standard Luhya Kiswahili morphemes, this approach was adopted so that focus is on the **varying forms**. The results of the data collected using the interview schedules are tabulated as shown in **table 4.12**.

**Table 4.12** shows results of the total number of tokens identified from the data collected from each of the sixteen respondents in sample drawn from Kakamega East district using the semi-structured and unstructured interview schedules. It is clear that all the respondents sampled were bilingual. As shown in the table above, the eight uneducated speakers speak at least two languages, Luhya and Kiswahili. All the eight educated speakers speak English in addition to Luhya and Kiswahili though two of them speak a fourth African language each (Lingala and Dholuo, respectively).

**Table 4.12: Results of Data on Variables from the Interview Schedules**

Speaker Code	Languages Spoken	Habitual Aspect Markers		Politeness & Diminutive Markers	
		SK [HU-]	LK[- ANGA]	SK [Ø]	LK [-KO]
LCYM 1	2	6	36	3	33
LCYM 2	2	6	42	5	35
LCYF 3	2	26	18	12	16
LCYF 4	2	46	8	47	9
HCYM 5	3	19	11	26	4
HCYM 6	3	36	2	19	0
HCYF 7	3	23	5	18	0
HCYF 8	3	20	18	15	3
LCMM 9	2	5	79	11	52
LCMM 10	2	19	33	14	28
LCMF 11	2	23	12	25	6
LCMF 12	2	57	16	30	14
HCMM 13	4	73	9	65	6
HCMM 14	3	40	9	32	0
HCMF 15	3	29	10	27	2
HCMF 16	4	30	3	16	11

In order to account for the gender variable as shown in **table 4.12**, the sample comprised eight male speakers and eight female speakers. To account for the age variable, the eight male and eight female speakers were stratified into four younger speakers (14 and 34 years old) and four middle-aged speakers (35 and 59 years old), respectively. With regard to the educational level variable, the sixteen speakers were stratified into eight uneducated speakers (without primary school completion certificate) and eight educated speakers (with a minimum of form four level of education).

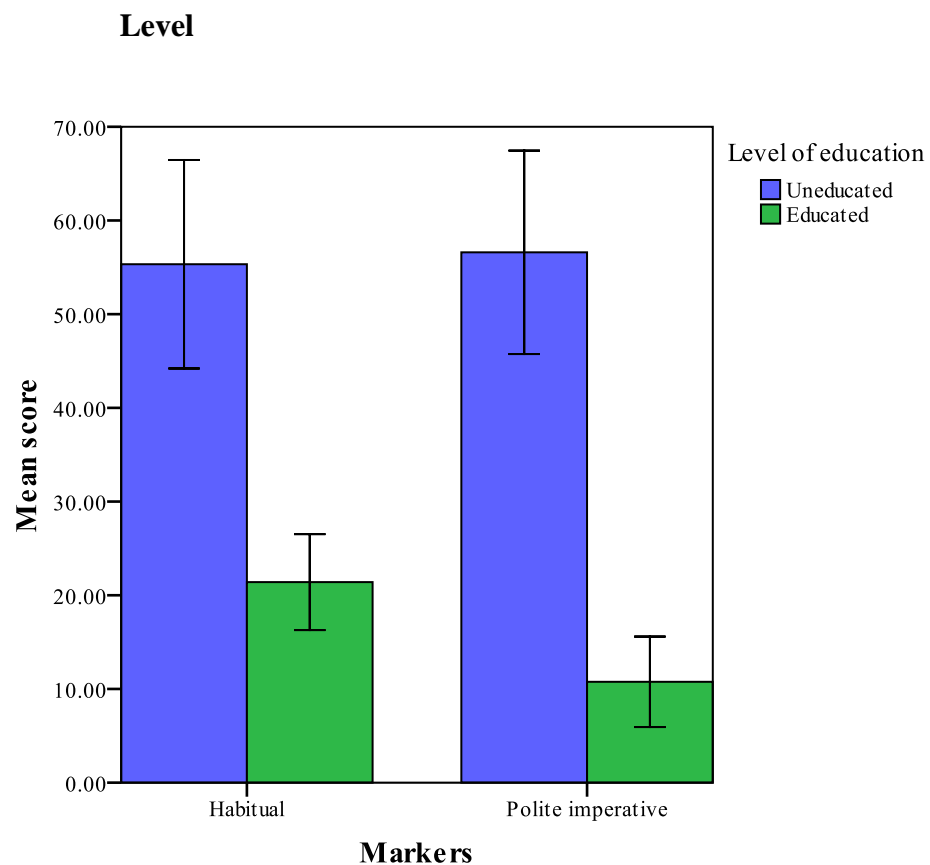
The eight uneducated speakers were further stratified into four younger speakers (two of whom were of either gender) and four older speakers (two of whom were also of either gender). The same applied to the eight educated speakers. All the sixteen sampled speakers responded to all the items in the two interview schedules in **Appendix 1** and **Appendix 2**. The results of the frequencies of the linguistic variants in **table 4.12** are further analyzed in the sections that follow below.

#### **4.2.2.1 Correlation of Luhya Kiswahili Variants against Educational level**

**Figure 4.1** shows the distribution of all Luhya Kiswahili variants for the habitual marker (-**ANGA**) and the politeness & diminutive marker (-**KO**) among both educated and uneducated speakers. The variants of [-**ANGA**] show overall distribution of only about 20 percent among educated speakers compared to about 55 percent among uneducated speakers. The variants of [-**KO**] show overall distribution of just about 10 percent among educated

speakers compared to almost 60 percent among uneducated speakers. It is therefore evident that Luhya Kiswahili variants score lower frequencies among educated speakers compared to uneducated speakers whose frequency scores are higher.

**Figure 4.1: Correlation of Luhya Kiswahili Variants against Educational**



It is apparent that education influences morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili. Education seems to enhance the use of standard Kiswahili while minimizing the effects of language contact on Kiswahili from the dominant

Luhya language. Indeed, the distribution of Luhya Kiswahili variants seems to be inversely proportional to the educational level. As shown in **figures 4.1**, the frequency of Luhya Kiswahili variants seems to be lower among educated speakers and higher among uneducated speakers.

These findings support previous studies on the education variable (**cf. section 2.2.3.3**) that suggest that refined language is a sign of the emergent status of the educated person (Romaine, 2003). Kebeya (2008) observes that language use correlates with educational status while Njoroge (2006) and Mocho (2012) argue that variation in language use depends upon the level of exposure to the language in school. The current study sought to show that educated speakers differ from uneducated speakers in their speech (Njoroge, 2008; Atkinson, 2011; Hocini, 2011). These findings therefore confirm the study assumption that the speech of uneducated speakers contains more Luhya Kiswahili variants than the speech of educated speakers (**cf. section 1.4 (d)**).

#### **4.2.2.1.1 Explaining the T-Test for the Habitual Marker variants**

**Table 4.13** shows that there is no significant difference in the use of standard Kiswahili and Luhya Kiswahili variants among uneducated speakers for the [-**ANGA**] variants ( $P = 0.509$ , t-test at 95% confidence level). However, there is a significant difference among the educated speakers ( $P < 0.001$ , t-test at  $\alpha = 0.05$ ). There is a significant difference between uneducated and educated speakers for the standard Kiswahili variants ( $P = 0.020$ , t-test at  $\alpha = 0.05$ ). There is also a significant difference for the Luhya Kiswahili variants ( $P = 0.020$ , t-test at  $\alpha = 0.05$ ).

**Table 4.13: T-Test for Education against Standard Kiswahili and Luhya****Kiswahili Variants**

<b>Linguistic Variable</b>	<b>Education Level</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Standard Kiswahili Mean <math>\pm</math> SD</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili Mean <math>\pm</math> SD</b>	<b>P-value</b>
Habitual Marker(-ANGA)	Uneducated	8	44.67 $\pm$ 31.47	55.33 $\pm$ 31.47	0.509
	Educated	8	78.60 $\pm$ 14.48	21.40 $\pm$ 14.48	<0.001
	<b>P-value</b>		0.020	0.020	
Politeness & Diminutive Marker (-KO)	Uneducated	8	43.40 $\pm$ 30.70	56.60 $\pm$ 30.70	0.404
	Educated	8	89.24 $\pm$ 13.66	10.76 $\pm$ 13.66	<0.001
	<b>P-value</b>		0.003	0.002	

**4.2.2.1.2 Explaining the T-Test for the Politeness & Diminutive Marker****Variants**

**Table 4.13** shows that there is no significant difference in the use of standard Kiswahili and Luhya Kiswahili variants among uneducated speakers for the [-**KO**] variants ( $P = 0.404$ , t-test at 95% confidence level). However, there is a significant difference among educated speakers ( $P < 0.001$ , t-test at  $\alpha = 0.05$ ). There is a significant difference between uneducated and educated speakers for the standard Kiswahili variants ( $P = 0.003$ , t-test at  $\alpha = 0.05$ ). There is also a

significant difference for the Luhya Kiswahili variants ( $P = 0.002$ , t-test at  $\alpha = 0.05$ ).

These t-test results suggest that educated speakers are keenly aware of the quality of Kiswahili they speak. They therefore seem to make an effort to use more standard Kiswahili variants in their speech. This is unlike uneducated speakers whose use of standard Kiswahili variants shows no significant difference from their use of Luhya Kiswahili variants. This could mean that uneducated speakers may not be so keen to use more standard Kiswahili variants in their speech. This confirms the previous study findings which show that the use of standard language is a function of the quality and quantity of education an individual has acquired (Jahangiri & Hudson, 1982; Milroy, 1987; Milroy & Milroy, 1992; Romaine, 2003; Njoroge, 2006; Kebeya, 2008; Mocho, 2012).

#### **4.2.2.1.3 Summary of T-test for the Education Variable**

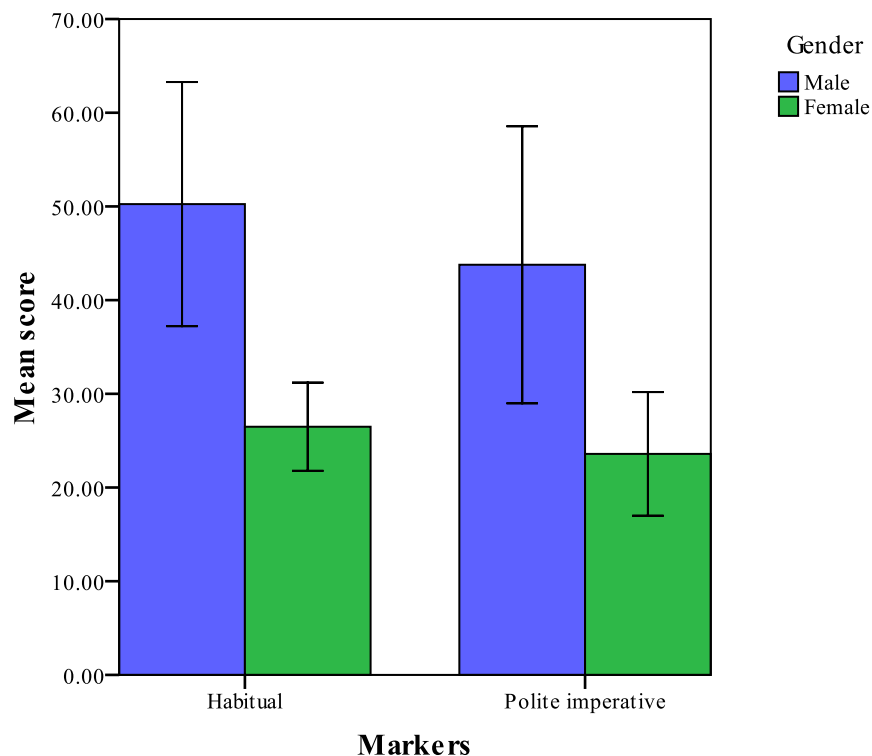
Differences between uneducated and educated speakers were tested on a total of eight parameters. There was significance in six parameters (75 percent) while two parameters (25 percent) showed no significance. It can therefore be concluded that the education variable was highly significant at 75 percent with regard to morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili.

#### **4.2.2.2 Correlation of Luhya Kiswahili Variants against Gender**

**Figure 4.2 below** shows the distribution of all the Luhya Kiswahili variants for the habitual marker (-ANGA) and the politeness & diminutive marker (-KO)

among both male and female speakers. The variants of [-ANGA] show overall distribution of 50 percent among male speakers compared to about 28 percent among female speakers. The variants of [-KO] show overall distribution of about 45 percent among male speakers compared to just about 25 percent among female speakers. It is therefore evident that although Luhya Kiswahili variants score lower frequencies among female speakers compared to male speakers, the differences are comparatively not very great.

**Figure 4.2: Correlation of Luhya Kiswahili Variants against Gender**



It is apparent that gender influences morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili. Male speakers seem to use more Luhya Kiswahili variants than

female speakers. These findings support previous studies on the gender variable (**cf. section 2.2.3.1**) that suggest that male speakers tend to use more localized forms specific to their language variety than women who tend to favour supra-local forms in speech (Milroy, 1980; Eckert, 1997, 2003, 2004, 2005; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Maclagan, 2005). This factor is said to have a relation with identity because men show their identity and belongingness to their language group through their use of local variants (Hudson, 1980; Milroy & Milroy, 1997). Cheshire (2002b) discusses stable sociolinguistic stratification whereby male speakers use a higher frequency of nonstandard forms than female speakers in the same social class.

The current study sought to show that men and women differ in their speech (Eckert, 1997, 2003, 2004, 2005; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Kallel, 2002; Hocini, 2011; Atkinson, 2011). These findings therefore confirm the study assumption that the speech of men contains more Luhya Kiswahili forms than the speech of women (**cf. section 1.4 (b)**).

#### **4.2.2.2.1 Explaining the T-Tests for the Habitual Marker variants**

**Table 4.14 below** shows that there is no significant difference in the use of standard Kiswahili and Luhya Kiswahili variants among male speakers for the [-ANGA] variants ( $P = 0.979$ , t-test at 95% confidence level). However, there is a significant difference among female speakers ( $P < 0.001$ , t-test at  $\alpha = 0.05$ ). There is no significant difference between male and female speakers for the standard Kiswahili variants ( $P = 0.121$ , t-test at 95% confidence level). There is

also no significant difference for the Luhya Kiswahili variants ( $P = 0.121$ , t-test at 95% confidence level).

**Table 4.14: T-Test for Gender against Standard Kiswahili and Luhya**

**Kiswahili Variants**

<b>Linguistic Variable</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Standard Kiswahili Mean <math>\pm</math> SD</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili Mean <math>\pm</math> SD</b>	<b>P-value</b>
Habitual Marker(- ANGA)	Male	8	49.75 $\pm$ 36.85	50.25 $\pm$ 36.85	0.979
	Female	8	73.51 $\pm$ 13.31	26.49 $\pm$ 13.31	<0.001
	<b>P-value</b>		0.121	0.121	
Politeness & Diminutive Marker (- KO)	Male	8	56.23 $\pm$ 41.81	43.78 $\pm$ 41.81	0.561
	Female	8	76.41 $\pm$ 18.67	23.59 $\pm$ 18.67	<0.001
	<b>P-value</b>		0.242	0.242	

#### 4.2.2.2 Explaining the T-Tests for the Politeness & Diminutive Marker

##### Variants

**Table 4.14** shows that there is no significant difference in the use of standard Kiswahili and Luhya Kiswahili variants among male speakers for the [-KO] variants ( $P = 0.561$ , t-test at 95% confidence level). However, there is a significant difference among female speakers ( $P < 0.001$ , t-test at  $\alpha = 0.05$ ). There is no significant difference between male and female speakers for the standard Kiswahili variants ( $P = 0.242$ , t-test at 95% confidence level). There is also no significant difference for the Luhya Kiswahili variants ( $P = 0.242$ , t-test at 95% confidence level).

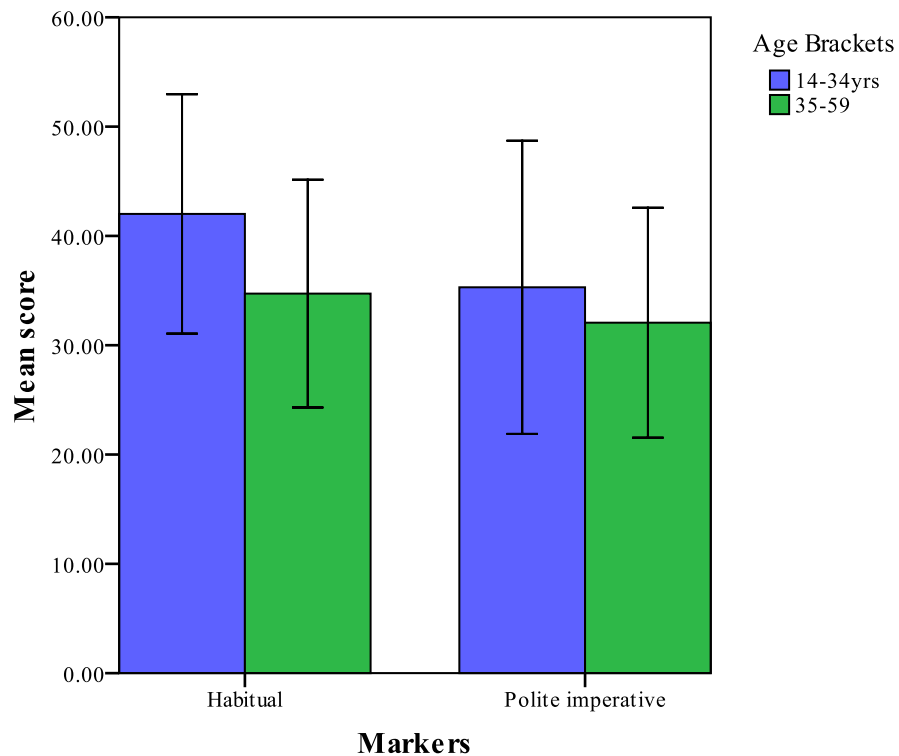
These t-test results suggest that female speakers are keenly aware of the quality of Kiswahili they speak. They therefore seem to make an effort to use more standard Kiswahili variants in their speech. This is unlike male speakers whose seem to use more Luhya Kiswahili variants in their speech. This could mean that male speakers may not be so keen to sound different from other local speakers.

#### 4.2.2.3 Summary of T-test for the Gender Variable

Differences between male and female speakers were tested on a total of eight parameters. There was significance in only two parameters (25 percent) while six parameters (75 percent) showed no significance. It can therefore be concluded that the gender variable was minimally significant at only 25 percent with regard to morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili.

### 4.2.2.3 Correlation of Luhya Kiswahili Variants against Age

**Figure 4.3: Correlation of Luhya Kiswahili Variants against Age**



**Figure 4.3 below** shows the distribution of all the Luhya Kiswahili variants for the habitual marker (**-ANGA**) and the politeness & diminutive marker (**-KO**) among both younger and middle-aged speakers. The variants of [**-ANGA**] show overall distribution of about 42 percent among younger speakers compared to about 35 percent among middle-aged speakers. The variants of [**-KO**] show overall distribution of about 35 percent among younger speakers compared to about 32 percent among middle-aged speakers. It is therefore

evident that although Luhya Kiswahili variants show overall higher frequencies among younger speakers compared to middle-aged speakers, the margins of difference are rather narrow.

It is apparent that age exerts a slight influence on morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili. The younger speakers consistently score higher frequencies for Luhya Kiswahili variants compared to middle-aged speakers but the differences are small. This narrow margin of difference could be attributable to the fact that the current study excluded younger speakers who were below 14 years of age.

These findings support previous studies on the age variable (**cf. section 2.2.3.2**) that suggest the less prestigious variants are used more frequently by younger speakers while the prestigious variants are used relatively more frequently by middle-aged speakers (Labov, 1972; Eckert, 1997; Kallel, 2002; Cheshire, 2002a). It is argued that younger speakers are more likely to use new linguistic forms in their speech, while middle-aged speakers show stabilization. It is further observed that in their middle years, people's lives tend to become more public, and they have to adapt to the norms and values of the mainstream society, which include standard varieties of language.

The current study sought to show that younger speakers differ from middle-aged speakers in their speech (Eckert; 1997, 2003, 2004, 2005; Kallel, 2002; Sankoff, 2004, 2006; Wagner, 2008; Mackenzie & Sankoff, 2010; Hocini, 2011; Atkinson, 2011). These findings therefore confirm the study assumption

that the speech of younger speakers contains more Luhya Kiswahili variants than the speech of middle-aged speakers (cf. section 1.4 (c)).

**Table 4.15: T-Test for Age against Standard Kiswahili and Luhya**

**Kiswahili Variants**

<b>Linguistic Variable</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Standard Kiswahili Mean <math>\pm</math> SD</b>	<b>Luhya Kiswahili Mean <math>\pm</math> SD</b>	<b>P-value</b>
Habitual Marker(-ANGA)	14-34yrs	8	57.99 $\pm$ 30.96	42.01 $\pm$ 30.96	0.320
	35-59	8	65.28 $\pm$ 29.47	34.72 $\pm$ 29.47	0.057
	<b>P-value</b>		0.637	0.637	
Politeness & Diminutive Marker (-KO)	14-34yrs	8	64.70 $\pm$ 37.93	35.30 $\pm$ 37.93	0.143
	35-59	8	67.94 $\pm$ 29.75	32.06 $\pm$ 29.75	0.030
	<b>P-value</b>		0.852	0.852	

**4.2.2.3.1 Explaining the T-Tests for the Habitual Marker Variants**

**Table 4.15 below** shows that there is no significant difference in the use of standard Kiswahili and Luhya Kiswahili variants among younger speakers for

the [-ANGA] variants ( $P = 0.320$ , t-test at 95% confidence level). There is also no significant difference among middle-aged speakers ( $P = 0.057$ , t-test at 95% confidence level). There is also no significant difference between younger and middle-aged speakers for the standard Kiswahili variants ( $P = 0.637$ , t-test at 95% confidence level). There is equally no significant difference for the Luhya Kiswahili variants ( $P = 0.637$ , t-test at 95% confidence level).

#### 4.2.4.3.2 Explaining the T-Tests for the Politeness & Diminutive Marker

##### Variants

**Table 4.15** shows that there is no significant difference in the use of standard Kiswahili and Luhya Kiswahili variants among younger speakers for the [-KO] variants ( $P = 0.143$ , t-test at 95% confidence level). However, there is a significant difference among middle-aged speakers ( $P = 0.030$ , t-test at  $\alpha = 0.05$ ). There is no significant difference between younger and middle-aged speakers for the standard Kiswahili variants ( $P = 0.852$ , t-test at 95% confidence level). There is also no significant difference for the Luhya Kiswahili variants ( $P = 0.852$ , t-test at 95% confidence level).

These t-test results suggest that middle-aged speakers are not necessarily more keenly aware of the quality of Kiswahili they speak than younger speakers. Younger speakers, on the other hand, seem not to be particularly keen to use more Luhya Kiswahili variants in their speech than middle-aged speakers. According to Eckert (2003, 2004), it is the younger speakers who spear-head linguistic change within their communities. It would, therefore, be expected

that the younger speakers of Luhya Kiswahili would make a conscious effort to sound different from the middle-aged speakers. However, according to the results of the t-tests, it does seem as the younger speakers of Luhya Kiswahili may not be so keen to sound different from middle-aged speakers.

#### **4.2.2.3.3 Summary of T-test for the Age Variable**

Differences between younger and middle-aged speakers were tested on a total of eight parameters. Only one parameter showed significance (0.125 percent) while seven parameters (99.875 percent) showed no significance. At less than one percent significance, it can be concluded that the age variable seems not to be significant with regard to morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili.

#### **4.2.3 Discussion**

This section sought to establish a correlation between the three linguistic variables and the three social variables under investigation in the current study. These variables were studied quantitatively, analyzed and represented under the form of statistical results in bar graphs and tables. Basing on a speaker's linguistic features, therefore, s/he could be classified to pertain to a given social group. This quantitative method has enabled me to gain an in-depth understanding of the Luhya Kiswahili speakers' linguistic behavior as well as the reasons for such behavior.

Education seems to exert the greatest influence on the morphosyntactic variables. Education seems to enhance the use of standard Kiswahili thereby

minimizing the effects of language contact from the dominant Luhya language. Indeed, the distribution of Luhya Kiswahili variants was inversely proportional to the educational level. Luhya Kiswahili variants were lower among educated speakers and higher among uneducated speakers (**cf. figure 4.1**). The t-tests show education level to be highly significant at 75 percent with regard to morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili.

Gender also seems to exert some minimal influence on the morphosyntactic variables in Luhya Kiswahili. Male speakers generally seem to use more Luhya Kiswahili variants than female speakers in all the variants. The t-tests show gender to be significant at only 25 percent with regard to morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili.

Age seems to hardly exert any influence on morphosyntactic variables in Luhya Kiswahili. Although the younger speakers score higher frequencies for all the Luhya Kiswahili variants than the middle-aged speakers, the margins of difference were very narrow. Consequently, the t-tests show the significance of age to be negligible at a paltry 0.125 percent with regard to morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili.

### **4.3 Summary of Chapter**

This chapter has attempted to give an analysis of the variations involving the two salient morphosyntactic features that characterize the Luhya Kiswahili verbal complex. It has already been observed that the Kiswahili language in Kenya is mainly a set of non-standard spoken varieties. Each of these varieties

exhibits important morphological and syntactic variations that characterize it as a distinct variety. In spite of the similarities with other regional varieties of Kiswahili, Luhya Kiswahili is endowed with its rich array of inherently local peculiarities at the morphosyntactic level which mark it out as unique. Those are the morphosyntactic features which the current study had targeted.

Although Luhya Kiswahili shares some of its most important morphosyntactic characteristics with other ethnic language-based Kiswahili varieties in Kenya, the preponderance of two main features, the verbal suffixes **{-ANGA}** and **{-KO}** in Luhya Kiswahili is regularly used by Kenyans, especially in media comedy, to distinguish Luhya Kiswahili from other non-standard varieties. Hence, these two suffix morphemes seem to be the most important features with regard to categorizing Luhya Kiswahili speakers. The verbal suffixes **{-ANGA}** and **{-KO}** are, therefore, proposed as stereotypes of Luhya Kiswahili in the current study.

According to Meyerhoff (2006), stereotypes are those linguistic features about which even lay people sometimes have very clear perceptions with regard to their ability to differentiate linguistic varieties (**cf. section 2.2.2.1**). It needs to be noted that Luhya Kiswahili shares the borrowed vernacular Bantu morpheme **{-ANGA}** with many other regional Kiswahili varieties in Kenya like the varieties spoken by the Gikuyu, the Luo, or even the youthful urban Sheng variety. Indeed, a casual observation will reveal that the suffix **{-ANGA}** is very common in the speech of all non-standard Kiswahili varieties in Kenya. Yet, the morpheme **{-ANGA}** continues to be consciously attributed

to Luhya speakers of Kiswahili. This association of the suffix {-ANGA} with Luhya speakers of Kiswahili may be explained by its sheer preponderance among their speech, hence its categorization as a stereotype in the current study.

With regard to the verbal suffix {-KO}, this seems to be a feature that is exclusively used by the Luhya speakers of Kiswahili. A keen observation does not seem to show evidence of any other language group that incorporates the morpheme {-KO} in their spoken non-standard Kiswahili varieties. The association of the suffix {-KO} with Luhya speakers of Kiswahili would, therefore, seem to be a straightforward matter. What qualifies this feature as a possible stereotype of Luhya Kiswahili is the ease with which the lay people also use it to characterize this variety of Kiswahili used by the Luhya speakers.

It has already been argued that non-standard Kiswahili in Kenya is subject to the effects of constant linguistic variation. It has been pointed out that morphosyntactic variation in the Luhya Kiswahili is a consequence of two broad factors: contact with the Luhya language and the intervention of social factors such as age, gender and educational level of the speakers (**cf. section 4.2**). This chapter has attempted to demonstrate that Luhya Kiswahili has its own peculiarities which are mainly due to linguistic structures borrowed from the Luhya language as a consequence of contact with Kiswahili. The research assumption that Luhya Kiswahili has salient morphosyntactic features that characterize it has, therefore, been confirmed (**cf. section 1.4 (a)**).

With regard to the influence of the social variables on the linguistic variables under study, educational level has been shown to exert the most significant. The research assumption that uneducated speakers will display a higher usage of Luhya Kiswahili than educated speakers (**cf. section 1.4 (d)**) has been confirmed. Gender was shown to be only minimally significant. The research assumption that male speakers will display a higher usage of Luhya Kiswahili than female speakers (**cf. section 1.4 (b)**) has, therefore, only been partly confirmed. According to Romaine (1982), such statistical generalizations about language and social factors not only complement the linguistic analyses, but also highlight areas that require further investigation. The age variable was shown not to be significant at all. Therefore, the research assumption that younger speakers will display a higher usage of Luhya Kiswahili than middle aged speakers (**cf. section 1.4 (c)**) has been rejected.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents concluding remarks by reiterating the objectives of the current study. It then outlines a summary of the study findings and the conclusions. The chapter then outlines the study implications together with recommendations, and finally, gives some suggestions for further researcher.

#### **5.1 The Study Objectives**

The basic aim of the current study was to examine variation in the salient morphosyntactic features of Luhya Kiswahili. The study employed a stratified sample of sixteen speakers based on the social factors of age, gender and educational level. The study also aimed to correlate linguistic variables in Luhya Kiswahili with these social factors.

Variation in Luhya Kiswahili was examined as a linguistic phenomenon within the framework of language contact and variation. Variations within the Luhya Kiswahili verbal complex were, therefore, investigated as a consequence of linguistic influence from the Luhya language. The study therefore had the implied aim of ascertaining to what extent the Luhya linguistic features may be making their way into the Kiswahili variety spoken by Luhya speakers.

## 5.2 Summary of Findings

The first objective of the current study was:

To identify and describe the salient morphosyntactic features of Luhya Kiswahili.

The study investigated three linguistic variables that are suggestive of morphosyntactic variation within Luhya Kiswahili. These are the habitual aspect marker suffix (**-ANGA**), the politeness marker suffix (**-KO**) and the diminutive marker suffix (**-KO**). Luhya Kiswahili spoken in Kakamega East district was targeted as one of the many non-standard regional varieties of Kiswahili spoken in Kenya. The description and examination of the salient morphosyntactic features of the Luhya Kiswahili yielded some interesting observations whose findings are summarized in the points outlined below.

The results obtained from data from the sampled respondents show that Luhya Kiswahili has salient morphosyntactic features which distinguish it from standard Kiswahili. Although Luhya Kiswahili shares many morphosyntactic features with other non-standard Kiswahili varieties in Kenya, it has been identified with two typical verbal suffixes: **{-ANGA}** and **{-KO}**. In fact, the most striking characteristic in the morphosyntactic structure of Luhya Kiswahili is the preponderance of these verbal suffixes.

Another finding is that morphosyntactic variation in the structure of Luhya Kiswahili is, to a very large extent, a consequence of language contact with the Luhya language. A comparative analysis involving corpus from the Luhya

language, Luhya Kiswahili and standard Kiswahili was undertaken. Results show interesting similarities between linguistic structures in both the Luhya language and Luhya Kiswahili data while the corresponding standard Kiswahili versions seem to be different.

The other findings have to do with the impact of the specific social variables under investigation with regard to morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili. Labov (1972) was considered as the basic theoretical approach to language variation in the current study. Based on the principles of this theory, the examination of variation in Luhya Kiswahili reveals how the social patterns of the Luhya speakers are reflected in their use of Kiswahili.

The second objective of the current study was:

To analyze how age and gender of the speaker affect the salient morphosyntactic features of Luhya Kiswahili.

The study correlated the three linguistic variables (cf.4.2.2.1 to 4.2.2.3) with the social variables of age and gender. These social variables were considered to be among the primary factors that may influence variation within Kiswahili among the Luhya speakers. Based on interpretations of findings of the examination of the linguistic variables in relation with the social factors of age and gender, some conclusions have been arrived at.

Male speakers generally seem to use more Luhya Kiswahili variants than female speakers in all the variants. However, the t-tests show gender to be

significant at only 25 percent with regard to morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili.

Although the younger speakers score higher frequencies for all the Luhya Kiswahili variants than the middle-aged speakers, the differences are very narrow, hence insignificant. Consequently, the t-tests show the significance of age to be negligible at a paltry 0.125 percent with regard to morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili.

The third objective of the current study was:

To establish the correlation between the level of education and the salient morphosyntactic features of Luhya Kiswahili.

The study also correlated the linguistic variables with the social variable of educational level which was considered to be one of the primary factors that may influence variation within Luhya Kiswahili. Based on interpretations of findings of the examination of the linguistic variables in relation with the social factor of educational level, some conclusions have been arrived at.

The distribution of Luhya Kiswahili variants is shown to be inversely proportional to educational level. Luhya Kiswahili variants were lower among educated speakers and higher among uneducated speakers. The t-tests show education level to be highly significant at 75 percent with regard to morphosyntactic variation in Luhya Kiswahili.

### 5.3 Conclusions

Interpretations of findings based on the examination of morphosyntactic variables in Luhya Kiswahili point towards one fundamental conclusion: that Kiswahili is subject to intense variation when used by Luhya speakers. Many factors seem to contribute to this variation. These factors include population mobility which leads to increased interaction between the Luhya speakers and speakers from other language groups hence language contact, commerce and trade, increased access to educational opportunities through free primary and free day secondary education, and the spread of the urban Sheng varieties of Kiswahili into rural areas like Kakamega East district.

Although the verbal suffix {-ANGA} occurs in other non-standard Kiswahili varieties, its preponderance, and that of the verbal suffix {-KO}, among the Luhya speakers of Kiswahili has become the subject of jest both by the general public and in media comedy. Accordingly, the verbal suffixes {-ANGA} and {-KO} are proposed as stereotypes of Luhya Kiswahili in the current study.

Results show interesting similarities between linguistic structures in both the Luhya language and Luhya Kiswahili data while the corresponding standard Kiswahili versions seem to be different. It can, therefore, be concluded that variations in the three linguistic variables may be as a result of Luhya Kiswahili speakers transferring linguistic structures from their Luhya linguistic system into the Kiswahili linguistic structure.

Male speakers seem to use more Luhya Kiswahili variants than female speakers. However, gender seems to exert minimal influence on the morphosyntactic variables in Luhya Kiswahili. It is also apparent that both the younger and middle aged speakers use Luhya Kiswahili variants in almost equal measure. Age, therefore, seems to hardly exert any significant influence on morphosyntactic variables in Luhya Kiswahili. Education seems to exert the greatest influence on the morphosyntactic variables. Luhya Kiswahili variants were lower among educated speakers and higher among uneducated speakers. Education, therefore, seems to enhance the use of standard Kiswahili while minimizing the effects of language contact from the dominant Luhya language.

#### **5.4 Implications of the Study**

It has already been pointed out that regional varieties of Kiswahili, such as Luhya Kiswahili, mark ethnicity. Indeed, it is relatively easy for Kenyans to guess to which indigenous language group a given speaker of Kiswahili belongs. This is possible because some salient morphosyntactic features are associated with certain indigenous language groups. A good example is the observation in the current study that the Luhya language speakers are associated with the inclusion of the verbal suffixes {ANGA} and {-KO} in their spoken Kiswahili. This kind of casual association by the lay public may curtail and limit the ability of Kiswahili to foster national unity. People might, therefore, easily become stigmatized, and judged unfairly, based on their use of Kiswahili which, ironically, is our national language. In a nutshell, regional varieties of Kiswahili may undermine national cohesion.

The prevalence of regional varieties of Kiswahili as the main spoken forms in Kenya has implications in educational achievement. Kiswahili is both an examinable subject as well as a compulsory subject at primary and secondary school levels. All the resource materials prepared by the KICD for use in teaching and learning are prepared in the theoretical standard Kiswahili variety. Consequently, national examinations in Kiswahili are set and evaluated based on the norms of standard Kiswahili. This scenario implies that morphosyntactic features of regional Kiswahili varieties, such as the Luhya Kiswahili suffixes **{ANGA}** and **{-KO}** plus other similar ones, routinely attract penalties whenever they occur in students' work in national examinations. This might increase failure rates in national examinations which in turn may lead to wastage and missed opportunities for educational advancement as well as in job placement.

The current study has identified regional Kiswahili varieties, such as Luhya Kiswahili, as lingua francae that seem to enjoy the widest use in most language use situations in Kenya. This has implications for language planners and language policy designers who do not seem to factor regional varieties of Kiswahili into consideration. The Kenyan Constitution (2010), for instance, seems to tacitly identify the standard Kiswahili variety as the national language. The place of the popular regional Kiswahili varieties on the national language market place, therefore, remains unclear.

Although standard Kiswahili is the prescribed language for media and book publications, the widespread nature of regional Kiswahili varieties has

implications for media practitioners and book publishers. Media Kiswahili has been infiltrated by indigenous language morphosyntactic features such as {-ANGA} and {-KO}. Media Kiswahili, therefore, may no longer be viewed exclusively as the model of standardization. This is made worse by the popular use of regional Kiswahili varieties based on indigenous languages in media comedy. As a matter of fact, local television comedians like Mwala, Olexander, Mogaka and Makokha are celebrities and role models for many a young people.

### **5.5 Recommendations**

Given the extensive spread of regional non-standard varieties of Kiswahili in Kenya, there is need for their legal recognition for use in non-formal domains like for everyday communication, in media comedies and even in advertisement. This will enable research into individual regional varieties of Kiswahili with a view to gaining more insights about such regional variations in order to formally recognize their economic value as the preferred language for artistic expression. As it has already been pointed out, non-standard Kiswahili has already been embraced by media comedians to entertain people in Kenya.

Moreover, a better understanding of regional variations could increase the pass rates for Kiswahili in national examinations which are evaluated based on the norms of standard Kiswahili. Educators, language planners, curriculum designers, authors and evaluation agencies need to identify specific linguistic features in Kiswahili which are associated with regional languages. Such

features would then be included in any remedial strategies aimed at improving performance of Kiswahili in national examinations. For example, the suffix {-**ANGA**} seems common in the regional Kiswahili varieties of almost all Kenyan language groups including the urban Sheng variety. Similarly, the suffix {-**KO**} seems to be a fundamental feature of the Kiswahili variety used by Luhya language speakers. These two features, plus other similar ones, would, therefore, form the starting point for such a remedial action involving the Luhya speaking students of Kiswahili.

Although variations in language can neither be ignored nor eliminated, education has been shown to minimize regional variation in Kiswahili. There is, therefore, need to increase access to educational opportunities beyond primary school. There is need to expand free secondary education because it seems that by class eight the learners have not yet been sufficiently exposed to standard Kiswahili structures which can result in a reduction of regional variations in their spoken Kiswahili.

There is need for books published for the teaching and learning of Kiswahili to take into consideration the sociolinguistic situations of the Kenyan learners. Examples used in books recommended for use in school should be contextualized to include morphosyntactic features like {-**ANGA**} and {-**KO**} which have been borrowed into regional Kiswahili varieties from indigenous languages. It is hoped that such measures would make standard Kiswahili less bookish and thereby making it more appealing beyond the examination rooms. Placing undue emphasis on standard Kiswahili has caused regional varieties to

be frowned upon and yet standard Kiswahili is regarded as a foreign language by many Kenyans.

### **5.6 Suggestions for Further Research**

The current study has only involved speakers who fall within the age range of between 14 and 59 years. There may be need to investigate morphosyntactic variations in the language of children below fourteen years as well as in the language of older retired speakers of sixty years and above. The current study also examined the effects of the linguistic structure of a regional language, Luhya, on the morphosyntactic structure of Kiswahili as a consequence of language contact. It is entirely possible that the Kiswahili linguistic system may have influenced the linguistic structure of some Kenyan regional languages. There may be need to carry out a systematic study to look into the effects of Kiswahili morphosyntactic structure on the morphosyntactic structures of regional languages in Kenya.

## REFERENCES

- Arimi, M. P. (2006). *Syntactic variation in written English: A case of secondary schools in Meru South District* (Unpublished MA Thesis) Kenyatta University, Kenya.
- Ashton, E. O. (1947). *Swahili grammar: Including intonation*, (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). London: Longman.
- Atkinson, J. (2011). *Linguistic variation and change in North-East Border Town: A sociolinguistic study of Darlington* (PhD thesis, University of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, England). Retrieved 12-Oct-2012, 4:29PM.
- Botha, W. (2011). *Dimensions in variationist sociolinguistics: A sociolinguistic investigation of language variation in Macau* (MA Thesis, University of South Africa). Retrieved 8-Aug-2012, 5:10 PM.
- Chambers, J. & Trudgill, P. (1980). *Dialectology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cheshire, J. (2002a). Age and generation-specific use of language.  
<http://webpace.qmul.ac.uk/jlcheshire/sociolingx%20and%20age.pdf>

- Cheshire, J. (2002b). Sex and gender in variationist research. In J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change* (pp. 423-443). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cheshire, J. (2005). Syntactic variation and spoken language.  
<http://webpace.qmul.ac.uk/jlcheshire/pdf%20papers/che.pdf>
- Deen, K. U. (2002). *The acquisition of Nairobi Swahili: The morphosyntax of inflectional prefixes and subjects* (PhD dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles).
- Deen, K. U. (2004). Object agreement and specificity in Swahili. *BUCLD 28*, 129-140. Retrieved 15-April-2013, 11:36 PM.
- Deen, K. U. & Hyams, N. (2006). The morphosyntax of mood in early grammar with special reference to Swahili. *First Language 26*(1), 67-102. Retrieved 15-Feb-2013, 1:02 PM.
- Devitt, M. (2006). Intuitions in linguistics. *British Journal for the Philosophy of Sciences* (57), 481-513.
- Downes, W. (1998). *Language and society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved 12-March-2015, 6:21 PM.

- Eckert, P. (1997). Age as a sociolinguistic variable. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *The handbook of sociolinguistics* (pp. 151-167). Malden MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Eckert, P. (2003). Language and adolescent peer groups. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 22(1), 112-118. Retrieved 12-Oct-2012, 4:29PM.
- Eckert, P. (2004). Adolescent language. In E. Finegan & J. Rickford (Eds.), *Language in the USA*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Eckert, P. (2005). Variation, convention and social meaning. *Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, Oakland CA*. Retrieved 12-April-2013, 12:55 PM.
- Eckert, P. (2008). Variation and the indexical fields. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12(4), 453-476. Retrieved 12-Oct-2012, 4:29PM.
- Eckert, P. & McConnell-Ginet, S. (1992). Communities of practice: Where language, gender, and power all live. *Proceedings of the 1992 Berkeley Women and Language Conference*, 89-99.

- Eckert, P. & McConnell-Ginet, S. (1995). Constructing meaning, constructing ourselves: Snapshots of language, gender and class from Belten High. In K. Hall & M. Bucholtz (Eds.), *Gender articulated: Arrangements of language and the socially constructed self* (pp. 469-507). London: Routledge.
- Eckert, P. & McConnell-Ginet, S. (2003). *Language and Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Edelsten, P., Kula, N. C. & Marten, L. (2010). Swahili relative clauses. *SOAS*. Retrieved 12-Oct-2012, 4:29PM.
- Flick, U. (2004). Triangulation in qualitative research. In U. Flick, E. V. Kardoff & I. Steinke (Eds.), *A companion to qualitative research* (pp. 178-183). London: Sage Publishers Ltd.
- Gahutu, P. (2012). *Tense, aspect and modality systems in Kihavu: A minimalist perspective* (Unpublished PhD thesis) Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Githiora, C. (2002). Sheng: Peer language, Swahili dialect or emerging creole? *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 15, 159-181.

Goyvaerts, D. (2007). Bukavu Swahili: Tense, aspects and blurry history.

*Journal of Asian and African Studies* (74), 5-33.

Guthrie, M. (1967). *Comparative Bantu. Part 1, Vol. 1*. England: Gregg

International Publishers Ltd.

Haddican, W. F. (2005). *Aspects of language variation and change in*

*contemporary Basque* (PhD dissertation, New York University, New

York). Retrieved 20-March-2013, 2:31 PM.

Hinnebusch, T.J. (1996). What kind of language is Swahili? *AAP* 47, 73-95.

Hocini, A. (2011). *A sociolinguistic study of Ghazaouet speech community:*

*Phonological, morphological and lexical variation* (Master's thesis,

University of Tlemcen, Tlemcen, Algeria). Retrieved 01-May-2012,

3:23 PM.

Hudson, R.A. (1980). *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press.

Hyman, L. M. (2002). Suffix ordering in Bantu: A morphocentric approach. In

G. Booij & J. V. Marle (Eds.), *Yearbook of morphology* (pp. 245-281).

Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Hyman, L. M. (2007). Niger-Congo verb extensions: Overview and discussion.

*Selected Proceedings of the 37<sup>th</sup> Conference on African Linguistics*,  
149-163.

Hyman, L. M. & Katamba, F. X. (2005). The word in Luganda. In E. F. K.

Voeltz (Ed.), *Studies In African Linguistic Typology* (pp. 171-193).  
Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Jahangiri, N. & Hudson, R.A. (1982). Patterns of variation in Tehran Persian.

In R. Suzanne (Ed.), *Sociolinguistic variation in speech communities*  
(pp. 49-63). London: Edward Arnold.

Jahn, U.R. & Kiebling, R. (2006). Lugha ya mitaani in Tanzania. *Swahili*

*Forum 13*.

Kakamega District Development Maps (1997-2001). Map of Kakamega  
County.

Kallel, A. (2002). The age variable in the rise of periphrastic “Do” in English.

*Reading Working Papers in Linguistics 6*, 161-185. Retrieved  
12-Oct-2012, 4:27 PM.

Kang’ethe, I.R. (2004). Cognitive efficiency: the Sheng phenomenon in

Kenya. *International Pragmatics Association 14*(1), 55-68.

- Karia, M. K. (2007). *Phonemic variation in spoken English used by children with cleft palate in Kenyatta national Hospital* (Unpublished Master's thesis) Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Kasomo, D. (2006). *Research methods in humanities and education*. Egerton: Egerton University Press.
- Katamba, F. (1993). *Morphology*. New York: Palgrave Publishers Ltd
- Kebeya, H.U. (2008). *Linguistic accommodation and code switching during Luo/Luyia and Luo/Gusii contacts* (Unpublished PhD thesis) Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Kelle, U.& Erzberger, C. (2004). Qualitative and quantitative methods: Not in opposition. In U. Flick, E. V. Kardoff &I. Steinke, (Eds.), *A companion to qualitative research* (pp. 172-177). London: Sage Publishers Ltd.
- Kenya Institute of Education (2002). *Secondary education syllabus: Volume one*. Nairobi: Kenya Institute of Education.
- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2011). *Kenya population and housing census, 2009*. Retrieved from [www.knbs.or.ke/detailed-population-results.php](http://www.knbs.or.ke/detailed-population-results.php)

Kimathi, M.J. (2008). *Variation in register in six social network groups in the*

*Meru speech Community* (Unpublished Master's thesis) Kenyatta

University, Nairobi, Kenya.

Kioko, A., Mbori, B., Kitetu, C. W., Ongarora, D., Buliba, F. A., Mworio, F., et

al. (2012). A unified orthography for Bantu languages of Kenya.

*CASAS Monograph, 249.*

Kowal, S. & O'Connell, D. C. (2004). The transcription of conversations. In U.

Flick, E. V. Kardoff & I. Steinke (Eds.), *A companion to qualitative*

*Research* (pp. 248-252). London: Sage Publishers Ltd.

Labov, W. (1972). The study of language in its social context. In J. B. Pride

and J. Holmes, (Eds). *Sociolinguistics* (pp. 180-202). Middlesex:

Penguin Books Ltd.

Labov, W. (1984). Field methods of the project on linguistic change and

variation. In J. Baugh & J. Sherzer (Eds.). *Language in use* (pp. 28-53).

Englewood Cliffs: Prentice hall.

Labov, W. (2008). Quantitative reasoning in linguistics. *Linguistics* 563.

Retrieved 12-March-2015, 6:38 PM.

Labov, W. (2009). A life of learning: Six people I have learned from.

[File:///C:/Users/ERIC/Documents/labov lecture.htm](File:///C:/Users/ERIC/Documents/labov%20lecture.htm)

Labov, W. (2011). Automatic alignment and analysis of linguistic

change – Transcription guidelines. Retrieved 12-Oct-2012, 4:29 PM.

[http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~wlabov/L560/Transcription\\_guidelinesFAAV.pdf](http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~wlabov/L560/Transcription_guidelinesFAAV.pdf)

Liao, S.W. (2010). *Identity, ideology, and language variation: A*

*sociolinguistic study of Mandarin in Central Taiwan* (PhD dissertation,

University of California Davis). Retrieved 8-Aug-2012, 5:07 PM.

Lindfors, A.L. (2003). The ku- marker in Swahili. *C-uppsats VT*: Uppsala

University Linguistics. Retrieved 17-Oct-2012, 4:20 PM.

MacKenzie, L. & Sankoff, G. (2010). A quantitative analysis of

diphthongization in Montreal French. *University of Pennsylvania*

*Working Papers in Linguistics* 15(2), 90-100.

MacLagan, M. (2005). Regional and social variation. In M. J. Ball (Ed.),

*Clinical sociolinguistics* (pp. 15-25). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Makokha, M. (2013). *Phonological variation in Lukhayo dialect of the Luhya*

*language in Kenya* (Unpublished Master's thesis) Kenyatta University,

Nairobi, Kenya.

- Malatesta, M. (2002). Classical logic as formal trans-cultural system. The case of the Bantu languages: Swahili. *Metalogicon XV* (2), 107-118.
- Meyerhoff, M. (2006). *Introducing sociolinguistics*. London: Routledge.
- Meyerhoff, M. (2007). Sociolinguistic variation and change. *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems (EOLSS)*. Retrieved 20-March-2013, 2:16 PM.  
<http://www.eolss.net/Eolss-sampleAllChapter.aspx>
- Milroy, L. (1980). *Language and social networks* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). New York: Blackwell Inc.
- Milroy, L. (1987). *Observing and analyzing natural language: A critical account of sociolinguistic method*. New York; Basic Blackwell Ltd.
- Milroy, L. (1997). Field linguistics. In N. Coupland and A. Jaworski (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: A reader and course book* (pp.23-88). New York: Palgrave.
- Milroy, L. (2002). Introduction: Mobility, contact and language change – working with contemporary speech communities. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 6(1), 3-15.
- Milroy, J. & Milroy, L. (1985). Linguistic change, social network and speaker innovation. *Journal of Linguistics* 21, 339-384

Milroy, L. & Milroy, J. (1992). Social network and social class: Toward an integrated sociolinguistic model. *Language in Society* 21, 1-26.

Milroy, J. & Milroy, L. (1997). Varieties and variation. In F. Coulmas, (Ed.), *The handbook of sociolinguistics* (pp.47-64). Malden MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Milroy, L. & Gordon (2003). *Sociolinguistics: Method and interpretation*. Malden MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Mochiwa, Z. S. M. (2007). Kiswahili verbs: A lexicographical challenge. *AFRILEX* 17, 114-133

Mocho, S. J. (2012). Causes of syntactic errors in Kiswahili second language learning among Western Kenya's Kiidakho first language speakers. *JETERAPS* 3(6), 921-928.

Momanyi, C. (2009). The effects of Sheng in the teaching of Kiswahili in Kenyan schools. *The Journal of African Studies* 2(8),127-138.

Muaka, L. (2011). Language perceptions and identity among Kenyan speakers. *Selected Proceedings of the 40<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, 217-230. Retrieved 12-Oct-2013, 6:44 PM.

- Muandike, F. M. (2011). *Linguistic borrowing and language vitality in Lubukusu* (Unpublished Master's thesis) Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Mugenda, A.G. (2008). *Social science research: Theory and principles*. Nairobi: ARTS Press
- Mulinge, I. J. (2006). *Phonological variability in the ESL of students: A case study of Mikuini Secondary School, Machakos District* (Unpublished Master's thesis) Kenyatta university, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Social motivation for code-switching: Evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nabea, W. (2009). Language policy in Kenya: Negotiation with hegemony. *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 3(1), 121-138.
- National council for Law Reporting (2010). *The Constitution of Kenya, 2010: Laws of Kenya*. Retrieved from [www.kenya.org](http://www.kenya.org)
- Njoroge, C.M. (2006). *Linguistic variation in spoken English as used by teachers in Kenyan primary schools* (Unpublished PhD thesis) Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya.

- Njoroge, C. M. (2008). Variations in spoken English used by teachers in Kenya: Pedagogical implications. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* 23(2), 75-103.
- Njoroge, J. K. & Ole Kerei (2012). Free day secondary schooling in Kenya: An audit from cost perspective. *Internal Journal of Current Research* 4(3), 160-163. Retrieved 12-march-2015, 4:29 PM.
- Nkosi, D.M. (2008). *Language variation and change in a Soshangule High School* (MA dissertation, University of South Africa). Retrieved 8-Aug-2012, 5:04 PM.
- Omondi, H. K. (2012). Language and ethnic identity: More perspectives from Africa. *International Journal of Linguistics* 4(3), 755-771.
- Polkinghorne, D. E. (2005). Language and meaning: Data collection in qualitative research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 52(2), 137-145.
- Polome, E.C. (1967). *Swahili language handbook*. Washington: Centre for Applied Linguistics.
- Poplack, S. (1993). Variation theory and language contact. In D.R. Preston (Ed.), *American dialect research* (pp.251-286). Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Poplack, S. & Levey, S. (2010). Contact-induced grammatical change: A cautionary tale. In P. Auer, J. E. Schmidt (Eds.), *Language and space: An international handbook of linguistic variation. Vol.1: Theories and Methods* (pp.391-419). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Rieger, D. (2011). Swahili as a tense prominent language. Proposal for a systematic grammar of tense, aspect and mood in Swahili. *Swahili Forum 18*, 114-134.
- Roberts, S.J. & Bresnan, J. (2008). Retained inflectional morphology in pidgins: A typological study. *Linguistic Typology 12*(2), 269-302.
- Romaine, S. (1982). *Socio-historical linguistics: Its status and methodology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Romaine, S. (2003). Variation in language and gender. In J. Holmes and M. Meyerhof, (Eds.). *The handbook of language and gender* (pp. 98-119). New York: Blackwell.
- Russell, J. (1981). *Communicative competence in a minority group: A sociolinguistic study of the Swahili-speaking community in the Old Town, Mombasa*. Leiden: J. Brill.

- Sankoff, G. (2001). Linguistic outcomes of language contact. In P. Trudgill, J. Chambers and N. Schilling-Estes, (Eds.). *Handbook of sociolinguistics* (pp. 638-668). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Sankoff, G. (2004). Adolescents, young adults and the critical period: Two case studies from 'Seven Up'. In F. Cameron (Ed.). *Sociolinguistic variation* (pp. 121-139). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sankoff, G. (2006). Age: Apparent time and real time. In *Elsevier encyclopedia of language and linguistics, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition* (pp.1-16).
- Shinagawa, D. (2007). Notes on the morphosyntactic bias of verbal constituents in Shengtexts. *HERSETEC 1*(1), 153-171. Retrieved 02-May-2012, 6:03 PM.
- Starks, D. & McRobbie-Utasi, Z. (2001). Collecting sociolinguistic data: Some typical and some not so typical approaches.  
<http://www.sfu.ca/~mcrobbie/S.M.pdf>
- Thomason, S. G. (2001). *Language contact*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.
- Tonkin, H. (2005). Language planning. In Ball, M. J. (Ed.), *Clinical sociolinguistics* (pp.120-132). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

- Wagner, S. E. (2008). *Linguistic change and stabilization in the transition from adolescence to adulthood* (PhD dissertation, Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania).
- Wahu, M. C. (2011). *Sociolinguistic differences in the use of polite forms by standard seven pupils in Machakos municipality* (Unpublished Master's thesis) Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Waithera, C. (2007). *Phonological variation in Gikuyu spoken by Kamba traders in Thika district* (Unpublished Master's thesis) Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Wardhaugh, R. (2010). *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Wasow, T. & Arnold, J. (2005). Intuitions in linguistic argumentation. *Lingua* (115), 1481-496. Retrieved 12-Oct-2012, 3:20 PM.
- Watt, D. & Smith, J. (2005). Language change. In M. J. Ball (Ed.), *Clinical sociolinguistics* (pp. 101-119). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Waweru, M. M. (2011). *Gikuyu verbal extensions: A minimalist analysis* (Unpublished PhD thesis) Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya.

Whiteley, W.H. (Ed.) (1971). *Language use and social change: Problems of multilingualism with special reference to East Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wolfram, W. (1997). Dialect in society. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *The handbook of sociolinguistics* (pp.107-126). Malden MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Wolfram, W. (2004). Variation and language, an overview.

[http://www.ncsu.edu/linguistics/docs/pdfs/walt/Language\\_variation-sgl.pdf](http://www.ncsu.edu/linguistics/docs/pdfs/walt/Language_variation-sgl.pdf)

Wray, A. & Bloomer, A. (2006). *Projects in linguistics: A practical guide to researching language* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). London: Hodder Education.

## APPENDICES

### A1

#### Semi-structured Interview Schedule

The contents of this semi-structured interview schedule will be translated into Kiswahili for purposes of the interview which will be conducted in Luhya Kiswahili.

1. **Gender: (interviewer to tick the appropriate category)**

Male

Female

2. **Age Set: (interviewer to tick the appropriate category)**

14-17 years

18-34 years

35-59 years

3. **The highest Academic Qualification: (interviewer to tick the appropriate category)**

Primary school certificate

College / University certificate

No certificate/uneducated

Secondary school certificate

**4. Languages spoken: (interviewer to tick all the languages spoken)**

Kiswahili

English

Luhya

Any

others

(specify)

.....

**Semi Structured Interview Schedule (Kiswahili Translation)**

**1. Jinsia**

Wewe ni mwanamume/ mvulana au mwanamke/msichana?

Mume

Mke

**2. Umri**

umri wako uko katika kiwango kipi?/ umezaliwa mwaka gani?

Miaka 14-17

Miaka 18-34

Miaka 35-59

**3. Elimu**

Umehitimu kiwango gani cha juu zaidi cha elimu?

Cheti cha shule ya msingi (KCPE/KPE)

Cheti cha chuo/chuo kikuu

Hamna cheti chochote

Cheti cha shule ya upili (KCSE/KCE)

**4. Lugha**

Una uwezo wa kuzungumza na kuelewa lugha zipi?

Kiswahili

Kiingereza

Kiluhya

Lugha

nyingine

zozote

(eleza).....

**A2****Unstructured Interview Schedule**

**Some of these topics will be used to create an interactive conversational mood in order to generate spontaneous speech data. Speakers will therefore be allowed and encouraged to talk at length and to pursue their own topics. The contents of this unstructured interview schedule will be translated into Kiswahili for purposes of the interview which will be conducted in Luhya Kiswahili.**

1. What activities do you routinely engage in to earn a living?
2. What was the saddest / most painful experience that has affected you for life?
3. Is it true that people around here fight a lot? Describe your worst physical fight.
4. What are your worst fears in life?
5. What is the greatest desire of your life?
6. How do people around here spend their leisure time?
7. Do you attend church regularly? What are your views on miracles?  
Habitual role in church?
8. What are your views on modern dressing styles?
9. What are your views on free education? What would you do differently if you had the power?

10. If you were to travel the world, with whom would you choose to travel?  
Where? Why? If you met President Uhuru Kenyatta today, what would you tell him?
11. It was recently reported that people in Mombasa fear cats. Are there similar fears about animals around here?
12. Ever been in serious danger of being arrested or jailed? What was it about?
13. Is it true that people around here drink a lot? Do you think 'chang'aa' should be legalized? Any memorable experience with 'chang'aa'.
14. Describe your experiences with your first girl/boyfriend. What would you do if s/he turns up wanting to be your lover again?

**Unstructured interview schedule (Kiswahili Translation)**

**Ningependa tuzungumziko hali ya maisha katika gatuji la Kakamega kwa ujumla. Tafadhali elezea kwa mapana na marefu. Uko huru kuzungumzia yale mambo yanayokuhusu zaidi.**

1. Wewe unafanyanga shughuli gani za kimaisha ili kujikimu?
2. Jambo/tukiogani limewahi  
kukuumiza/kukukasirisha/kukuhuzunisha sana? Eleza.
3. Unaogopanga nini zaidi maishani mwako?
4. Unatamani kufanya nini zaidi maishani mwako?
5. Hapa kwenu watu wanajiburudishanga kwa njia gani?
6. Wewe unaendanga kanisani? Unatekelezanga majukumu gani huko? Unaaminingi kwa miujiza?
7. Nimesikia kuwa hapa watu wanapigananga sana. Hata wewe unapigananga?Kwa nini?
8. Una maoni gani kuhusu elimu ya bure? Ungendeleako mabadiliko gani kwa huu mpango?
9. Toa maoni kuhusu mavazi ya kisasa ya wanaume, wanawake na vijana.
10. Umewahi kuwako katika hatari ya kushikwa na polisi au kufungwa jela? Eleza.

11. Ni kweli kwamba watu wanakunywanga chang'aa sana huku?

Wewe unakunyanga chang'aa? Unafikiri chang'aa ina manufaa gani? Kuna haja ya kuhalalisha chang'aa?

12. Tuelezeoko vile ulianza urafiki na mpenzio wa kwanza. Utafanyaje akija saa hizi akitaka mrudiane?

A 3

**SAMPLE PARENTAL CONSENT FORM FOR CHILD TO  
PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH STUDY**

**Title of Research: A Morphosyntactic Analysis of a Regional Variety of Kiswahili Spoken in Kakamega County: A Variationist Sociolinguistic Approach.**

**Name of Primary Researcher: Likuyani Erick Muhati**

**Admission Number of Primary Researcher: C50/23823/2011**

**A. Purpose and Background**

Under the supervision of Dr. Hilda Kebeya and Ms. Florence Owili of Department of English and Linguistics at Kenyatta University, Likuyani Erick Muhati, a graduate student researcher in linguistics is conducting a research on Language Use in Kakamega East district. The purpose of this interview is to help the researcher study how different categories of people use language in their daily informal settings.

**B. Procedures**

I agree for my child to participate in this research study under the following conditions:

1. My child will be asked questions at his/her level of experience during the school holidays in 2013 (For school going children only).
2. Participation in this study will take a total of two hours over a period of one week.
3. A single interview session should take about 30 minutes.

4. My child will be asked to discuss their feelings about their perception of life in a one-on-one interview with the researcher.
5. This will be audio taped.

**C. Risks**

Risks will include the possible loss of privacy and possible discomfort at answering some questions.

**D. Confidentiality**

The information gathered from this study will be kept as confidential as possible. My child's real name will not be used in the report and all files, transcripts and data will be stored in a locked cabinet in the researcher's home, and no one except the researcher will have access to them. Any identifying personal information about my child will be avoided.

**E. Direct Benefits**

There are no guaranteed benefits to my child.

**F. Costs**

There will be no costs to my child or me as a result of my child taking part in this research study.

**G. Consent**

I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep. PARTICIPATION IN THIS RESEARCH STUDY IS VOLUNTARY. My child is free to decline to participate in this research study, or I may withdraw their participation at any point without penalty. Their decision whether or not to participate in this research study will have no influence on their present or future status.

My child \_\_\_\_\_ has my consent to  
participate in the research study.

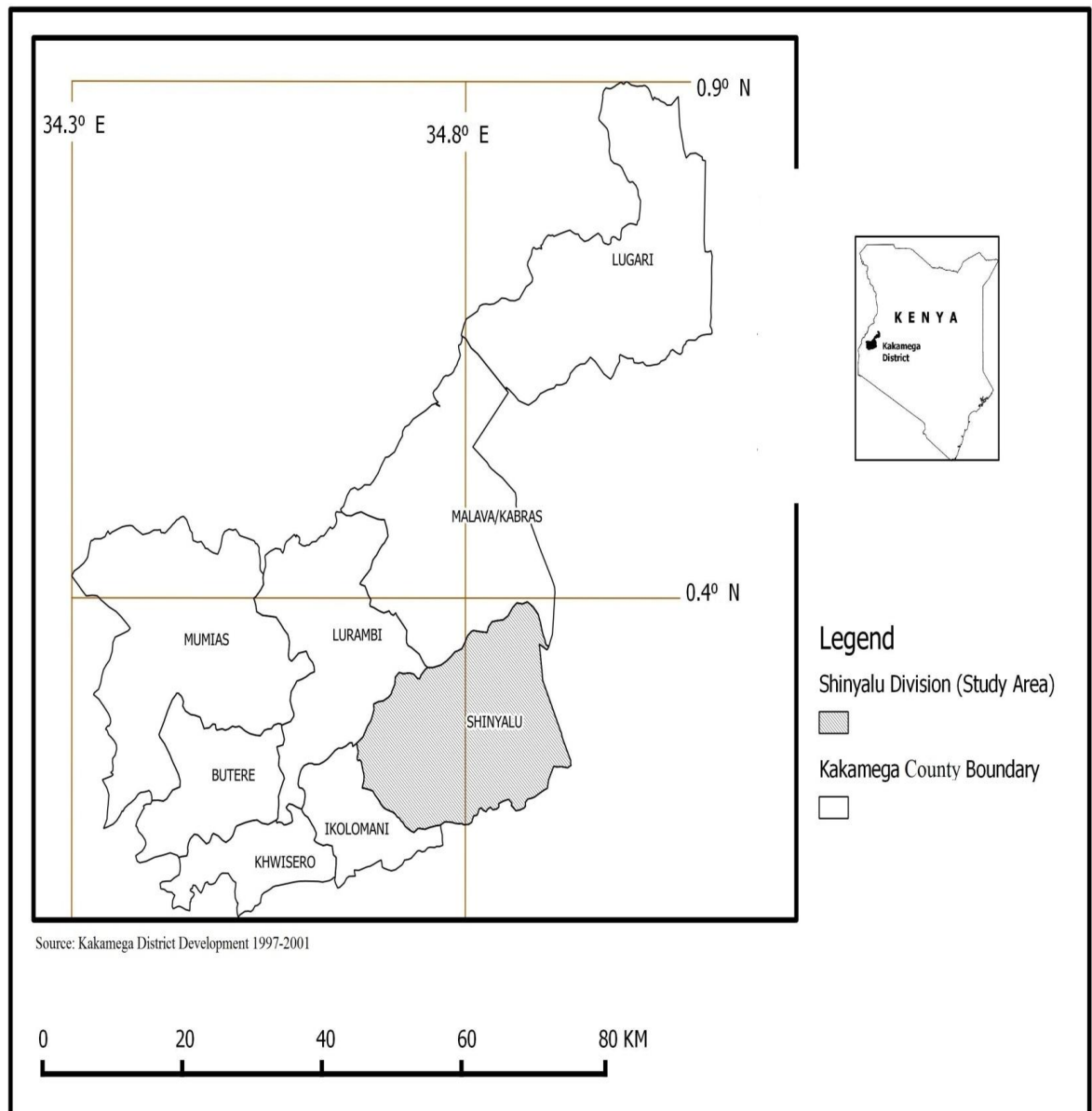
Respondent is a minor of \_\_\_\_\_(age)

Parent/Guardian: \_\_\_\_\_(signature)

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

A 4

**MAP OF KAKAMEGA COUNTY SHOWING THE STUDY AREA**



A 5

**Research Permit**

**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:  
MR. ERICK LIKUYANI MUHATI  
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 0-50300  
maragoli, has been permitted to conduct  
research in Kakamega County**

**on the topic: A MORPHOSYNTACTIC  
ANALYSIS OF A VARIETY OF KISWAHILI  
SPOKEN IN KAKAMEGA EAST DISTRICT,  
KAKAMEGA COUNTY.**

**for the period ending:  
25th September, 2015**

**Permit No : NACOSTI/P/15/8980/5656**

**Date Of Issue : 9th April, 2015**

**Fee Recieved :Ksh 1,000**



**Applicant's  
Signature**

**Director General  
National Commission for Science  
Technology & Innovation**

**A 6****Budget**

Below is a table showing the proposed budget for the research:

Travel	30,000
Accommodation	50,000
Secretarial Services	20,000
Stationery	10,000
Printing and Binding	30,000
Contingencies	20,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>160,000</b>