

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF CODE - SWITCHING IN GIKUYU,

KISWAHILI AND ENGLISH

BY

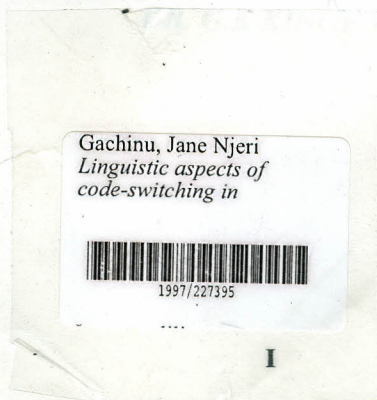
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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Master of Arts of Kenyatta university.

OCTOBER, 1996



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DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.



GACHINU JANE NJERI.

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with our approval as University supervisors.



DR. P. MUSAU



DR. G.K KINGE'I

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to :-

1. My parents the late Mr J.B Gachinu and Mrs Roman Gachinu for all they have been and are to me.
2. All my brothers and sisters for their moral support.
3. My grandfather, Mr Mark Mwithaga for having great faith in me.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate language use among Gikuyu Multilingual speakers. The main aims of the study was to investigate the phenomenon of code-switching, that is : the function of these switches, the syntactic occurrence of switching and what determines the matrix language. We found out that the three linguistic types of code-switching (tag-switching, intra-sentential switching and inter-sentential-switching) were present in the speech of Gikuyu speakers. Each switch in all the utterances collected was seen to have a function. It was also found out that switching could take place anywhere in a sentence. The Matrix language was seen to be Gikuyu most of the time.

Chapter one contains the introduction, background of the study, the theoretical framework, literature review, methodology and sample and sampling procedure.

In chapter two the switches have been classified into the three linguistic types of code-switching mentioned above.

Chapter three contains the functions of code-switching.

Chapter four shows where in a sentence switching can possibly take place while chapter five contains the summary, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. 1 INTRODUCTION

Mobility of people has led to regional, national and international interaction. Similarly, the need for economic, social, political, religious and emotional fulfilment has led to interaction of people who speak different languages. People therefore end up mastering a number of languages for different purposes. People also mix the languages they know in their speech.

The main aim of this study is to investigate language use among Gikuyu Multilingual speakers. It will analyse data obtained from these speakers to find out whether code-switching takes place, what types of linguistic code-switches can be identified, what function the switches play in speech and in what circumstances switching can possibly take place.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Kenya is a country with diverse ethnic groups and languages. There are forty indigenous languages Mbaabu (1978:3)

The population is predominantly 98.5% African, but has an Asian component of 0.5%, 0.3% European and the Arab population accounts for 0.3% (Kenya statistical Abstract 1984).

The African population has the majority of languages. These are spoken by varying numbers of people. Historically, each language is associated with a particular region. Kiswahili is the lingua franca and was declared the national language in 1974. English is the official language. It is also the language of instruction from the upper primary school to the university.

The history of language planning in Kenya goes as far back as 1901 when the first committee on language policy met (Muthiani1986:1). There have been many more committees since 1901. These committees have, among other issues, preoccupied themselves with the language or languages that ought to be chosen to serve as media of instruction in Kenyan schools. These committees have also dealt with the stage at which change would be made from an African language to English, and what languages are to be taught as subjects.

The Gachathi Report(1976) recommended the use of African languages at lower primary level and English from upper primary to university. As a result, anyone who goes through the education system in Kenya masters at least three languages. The first language, Kiswahili and English. Some people who have not gone to school get access to English in one way or another, and since Kiswahili is the national language used in most political rallies, matatus, working places and in inter-ethnic communication, most people get to know the language. This has led to multilingualism and hence the mixing of languages, otherwise known as code - switching.

Code - switching is a sociolinguistic phenomenon. It means the insertion of words or parts of a word of one language into an utterance which is entirely from another language. Linguistic and sociolinguistic criteria can be used to classify code- switches, (Roman 1986:111). In the former emphasis is on the syntactic manifestation of the switched segments (see chapter two). In the latter case emphasis is placed on the social variables affecting such switching. The type of code- switches using this criteria are metaphorical, conversational and situational.

In some studies a distinction is made between code-switching and code-mixing (Fasold 1984, Singh 1985:34). For the purposes of this study, we will, following Pfaft(1979:295), not make a distinction between code- switching and code - mixing.

1.3 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS.

- (i) Multilingualism:- Is a state where people have mastered more than one language.
- (ii) Code - switching:- Is the insertion of words or part of a word of one language into an utterance which is entirely in another language.
- (iii) ML:- Matrix language (recipient language)

EL:- Embedded language (donor language.)

- (iv) Blue collar jobs: Jobs done with or controlled by the hands, mostly outside offices and are done by people with little or no formal education because the skills to do them are not acquired through the formal education system.
- (v) White collar jobs: Jobs done by the elite, mostly in offices and involve paper work, brains and skills acquired through formal education system.
- (vi) Rural area: Countryside
- (vii) Urban Situated in a city or town.
- (viii) NP Noun phrase
- (ix) VP Verb phrase.

1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM .

A lot of research has been done on sociolinguistic types of code - switching in Kenya. For example Bunyi(1985), Muthwii (1986) and Scotton (1982,1988) . However, there is no study that we are aware of that has dealt with linguistic types of code-switching in Kiswahili, Gikuyu and English. This study therefore tries to fill this gap by examining aspects of code-switching among Gikuyu multilingual speakers . This study applies the "Matrix Language

Frame model of code switching" (MLF henceforth) promulgated by Scotton (1992), Functional Framework of Jakobson(1960) and Halliday et al (1964), and Gal's (1979) Interpretive Analysis of the Interactional Intents Technique.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.

This research tries to answer the following questions:

1. Do morphemes of one language dominate in every code-switched utterance?
2. Does every switch occurring in any utterance have a function?
3. Where does switching occur in a sentence?
4. What are the sociolinguistic implications of these switches?

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.

This study is important because it highlights some major functions of code-switching that have not been dealt with in most researches in Kenya. It thus fills an important gap in our knowledge of functions of code-switching. The findings of the study will be useful to language teachers in making them understand the phenomenon and so an important tool in language teaching . The study also gives a clear description of patterns of language use in a multilingual society. It will also help policy makers in making important decisions on language planning.

1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.

This study was carried out in Nairobi city and its outskirts including Kenyatta University. Research was also done in Nyahururu (a rural area.) It focused on these two areas because the former is a typical urban area and the latter is a typical rural area. The study focuses on the linguistic types and sociolinguistic functions of code - switching. It particularly examines where code-switching can possibly take place and what determines the matrix language. However, it was at times very hard to distinguish between linguistic and sociolinguistic types of code-switching. Some chances for data collection were ignored simply because the circumstances would not allow recording without the speakers being aware of it.

1.8 THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The study is based on Scotton's (1992) model, namely "The Matrix Language Frame Model of code-switching" (MLF). Scotton developed the M.F.L model from earlier code-switching researchers: Timm (1975), Lipski (1978), Poplack (1980), Sridhan (1980) and Joshi(1985). Although these researchers used the model, they did not describe the criterion for determining the matrix language.

The model accounts for the points in sentences where a speaker shifts from one language to the other in code -switching, as the selection of bilinguals and multilinguals of lexemes from an embedded language (donor language) in utterances of a matrix language (recipient language)during the same conversation. Code-

switching in this model includes both intersentential code-switching i.e a switch within a sentence, and Intrasentential code switching, i.e a switch at a sentence boundary.

The model presented here distinguishes crucially between the matrix language (ML) and the embedded language (EL) as participants in code-switching. The model identifies three types of constituents within a sentence containing code-switching. First there are ML+EL constituents. These consist of morphemes from the two (or more) languages involved in code-switching.

There are also ML or EL islands. These are constituents consisting entirely of either morphemes from the ML or the EL. They must be well formed according to the grammar of the respective language.

Building the frame:-

This model sees code-switching as a process involving building of a frame. The general hypothesis behind the frame is that the two or more language building the frame play different roles. Specifically, one language plays a more dominant role and this language is labelled the matrix language (ML). The ML is defined independently of the frame on the basis of psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic criteria. The ML is the more dominant language both in terms of speakers proficiency and it's use in the speech community.

It follows logically that in code-switched conversations the ML has more overall frequency than the EL. That is, there are more morphemes in ML+EL constituents in the ML and there are more ML than EL islands.

Over time, with changing social conditions, the ML can change for

individual speakers or the entire community. Once the ML is identified, we can test specific hypotheses with regard to the ML's more dominant role in ML+EL constituents. These hypotheses are embodied in the following principles.

1. The morpheme order principles:-

Morpheme order will be that of the ML in ML+EL constituents.

2. The system morpheme principle:-

All productive system morphemes are from the ML in ML+EL constituents.

This model sees the frame in intrasentential code-switching as a set of structural constraints without content words. For ML+EL constituents, the frame sets requirements for morpheme order and system morphemes. For the rest of the sentence, it specifies which constituents may occur as ML and EL islands. The requirements for ML+EL constituents appear to be universal, with some allowance for marked variations for stylistic purposes. While the concept of ML and EL islands is universal, and there are some universal tendencies in their specification, these islands may more often be language pair - specific.

While the frame is being set, the contents morphemes from either the ML or EL are inserted into the available slots defined by the frame.

According to this model, there is no switching as such but rather a two-stage process of insertion. In ML + EL constituents consistency comes from only one language, the ML. Two riders are in order.

1. EL systems morpheme may be present but they are fossilised as far as specifying grammatical relations in the constituents as a whole is concerned.

2. Bare forms with the system morpheme in which the morphosyntax of the ML would normally require are not disallowed by the system morpheme principle.

This model is the most suitable one for our study because it is easily applicable in the analysis of linguistic types of code-switching. It best describes switching within a sentence and portrays the matrix language unlike other models and theories of code switching. For example, the theory of markedness which Scotton 1982, used to analyze code-switching is a case in point. The theory of markedness deals with lengthy utterances where a switch to another language can be after several sentences, or a lengthy conversation and so can not be classified into linguistic types of code switching. There is also the theory of "Competence and performance" used by Bitutu(1991) in analysis of code-switching. This theory is only applicable in showing the syntactic patterns of code -switching, which is not the main issue in our study. These two theories do not deal with the matrix language, a thing that is of great importance in our study. In that case "The Matrix language frame model of code-switching " is the most suitable for our study. However this model is not applicable in showing functions of code-switching. In that case we have used "The Functional Framework of Jakobson (1960) and Halliday et al (1964) and Gal's (1979) Interpretive Analysis of the Interactional Intents technique. To show where switching can possibly take place, we

have used Poplack's (1980) hierarchy.

1.9 LITERATURE REVIEW

Code - switching is not an isolated phenomenon but a central part of bilingual or multilingual discourse, as a number of studies have shown.

(a) Fallis (1976), studied code -switching among the French and identified three linguistic types of code switching which our study tries to identify among the Gikuyu speakers. This makes Fallis's study important to our study. The difference, however, is that different languages serve as sources of data. In addition, Fallis did not use the MLF model.

(b) Sankoft and Poplack (1981) studied Spanish/English code-switching. They proposed that Spanish/English code-switching can be generated by a model of grammar which is governed by the following two constraints:

(i) Free Morpheme Constraint which predicted that a switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the lexical form has been phonologically integrated into the language of the morpheme.

(ii) The "equivalence constraint" predicts that code-switching will tend to occur at points where the juxtaposition of elements from the two languages does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, that is, switching cannot occur between any two sentence elements unless they are normally ordered in the same way.

The importance of Sankoff and Poplack's study to our study is that it shows where in a sentence switching can possibly take place. The difference is that the languages studied are Spanish and English while our study focuses on English, Kiswahili and Gikuyu. Also a different model of grammar is used.

(c) Berk- Seligson (1986) did research on Hebrew-Spanish code-switching. She is one of the researchers on code-switching who have disputed the existence of universal syntactic constraints on code-switching. She exemplified some of the constraints claimed to be universal such as the equivalence constraints, the free morpheme constraints and the size of constraints which derives from Poplack's constraints, that require that code -switches should occur primarily at phrase structure boundaries.

This study is important to our study because it shows where code switching takes place. The difference, again, is that different languages serve as the source of data, like Poplack and Sankoff, Berk - Seligson focused on where switching can take place while our study is also involved in functions and types of code-switching.

(d) Goke - Poriola (1984) did research on Yoruba- English code switching . He wanted to answer the following questions:-

(i) How frequent is code -switching in the discourse of Yoruba - English bilinguals and can we predict where in their discourse the switches from one language to another will take place?

(ii) Which word classes are most susceptible to being rendered in the second language?

(iii) Does one language consistently serve as the matrix language.

(iv) Do we actually observe language - mixing or a case of linguistic borrowing?

The importance of Goke-Poriola's study to our study is that it deals with where code-switching can possibly take place and also with matrix language which our study is dealing with. The major differences between these studies and our study is that different languages serve as the basis for data.

(e) Bunyi (1985\86) studied language switching in standard 4 in Kiswahili medium classroom. Hers was an exploratory study based on sociolinguistic functions of code-switching. She wanted to find out whether language switching occurs and the function of such switching. She outlined the functions as:-

(i) Clarity

(ii) Emphasis

(iii) Where technical vocabulary appear.

(iv) Private initiation

(v) Some in planned content.

(vi) Multilingual switch with no reason.

Bunyi's study focuses on different functions of code-switching from ours. Her study was classroom based, while ours is based on people from all walks of life.

Muthwii (1986) studied language use in plurilingual societies and the significance of code-switching focusing on the casual conversation between educated Kalenjin people who speak English and Kalenjin fluently. She looked at metaphorical and situational types

of code-switching .She observed that code-switching served the following functions:-

- (i) Mimicry and quotation.
- (ii) Interjection
- (iii) Reiteration
- (iv) Personalization and objectivity.
- (v) Addressee's specification and change of topic.

She found out that the study exhibited a type of code-switching that was very complex. This study is different from the present one in that the languages studied are English and Kalenjin while our study looks into Kiswahili ,Gikuyu and English. Unlike Muthwii's study which looked at metaphorical and situational types of code-switching, this study looks at tag-switching , intrasentential switching and inter-sentential switching. The present study is based on "The matrix language frame model of code-switching" while Muthwii's study is based on the theory of "Markedness"

1.10 METHODOLOGY

The researcher collected the data using participant observation method. This method involves the collection of information directly from individuals who possess the information. The observation technique used in this study was interactional approach. The researcher observed and listened to- on going verbal communication between two or more individuals, noting down instances of code-switched utterances and mostly recording them using a tape recorder. In some cases, the presence of a tape recorder made the

respondents shy off. This meant that the recording had to be done as discreetly as possible through anonymous observation Milroy, (1987). In some cases like these the researcher wrote down the utterances.

The data obtained was then analysed using Scotton (1992) model namely, "The Matrix Language Frame Model of code-switching" which determines ML, EL, and EL2 islands. The functional framework of Jakobson (1960) and Halliday et al (1964) technique, was also used. According to this technique code-switching is seen to serve the following functions.

1. Referential function,
2. Directive function,
3. Expressive function,
4. Phatic function,
5. Metalinguistic function,
6. Emotive function.

Since this technique does not show the aspect of passing authority as a function of code-switching, Gal's (1979) Interpretive Analysis of the International Intents technique was also used. According to this technique, code-switching is seen as a process of language shift whereby functions of emotion, force and authority are transferred to the prestigious language.

1.11 THE TARGET POPULATION:-

The study focused on unlimited number of Gikuyu multilingual speakers. The respondents were people occupying different social status from two locations, i.e Nairobi (urban area) and Nyahururu (rural area). The respondents from each of the two locations were divided into three social classes: that is students, white collar workers, and blue collar workers.

1.12. THE SAMPLE AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE.

Both random sampling Phillips (1985) and purposive sampling were used in collecting code-switched utterances that were heard by chance, ie not elicited to prior arrangements made to get them. The researcher then analysed only forty five sentences from the respondents from each location. This number of sentences was large enough to enable the researcher to compare switches from these classes so as to know what determines the ML and whether the functions of code-switching is the same for all the categories.

1.13 DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES.

1. The researcher first transcribed the cassette recordings.
2. The transcripts were then typed to make reading easy.
3. The points at which the switches occurred were marked and numbered.
4. Switches were classified according to different types of linguistic code - switching, showing the ML and EL islands.
5. Tables were used to summarize the information in No.4
6. The researcher noted the function of each code- switch.
7. The researcher also identified where, in a sentence, switching can possibly take place.
8. The researcher gave explanations on the contexts in which utterances were made in order to show their sociolinguistic implications.

TYPES OF CODE-SWITCHING.

2.1 INTRODUCTION:

With reference to the data collected, this chapter discusses three linguistic types of code switching (Romain 1986:112-113), namely tag-switching, intersentential-switching and intrasentential-switching.

The data collected was presented and discussed in the following order.

1. Data from the urban area (Nairobi). This entails data from students, those in white collar jobs and those in blue collar jobs.
2. Data from the rural area (Nyahururu). This entails data from students, those in white collar and blue collar jobs. Only forty five sentences were chosen from each category (see Appendix A)

This order of presentation and discussion of data was followed because there are claims (Pride 1971:29) that social-economic classification, acquired at different times in a person's life, such as educational level, occupation, income etc, are likely to be reflected in linguistic behaviour.

Data from each category was summarized in tables using the following short forms:-

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|
| a) Type of switching | <u>code</u> |
| (i) Tag switching | tag |
| (ii) Intrasentential -switching | intra |
| (iii) Intersentential-switching | inter |

| | |
|----------------|-------------|
| b)Language | <u>Code</u> |
| (i) English | Eng |
| (ii) Kiswahili | Kis |
| (iii) Gikuyu | Gik |

| | |
|------------|-------------|
| c) Speaker | <u>Code</u> |
| (i) Female | F |
| (ii) Male | M |

At the end of the chapter there is a table that gives the summary of the number of sentences that fall in each linguistic type of code-switching. There is also another table giving a summary of languages used as ML (Matrix Language), EL1 (Embedded language one) and EL2 (Embedded language two). After these two tables, the sociolinguistic implications of the switches are discussed.

2.2 DATA FROM THE URBAN AREA (NAIROBI).

In this section data from the urban area is categorised and discussed. For each of the utterance, the setting, the translation into English, the information concerning the ML, EL and EL2 islands in each of the utterances is provided.

2.2.1 TAG - SWITCHING.

Tag-switching involves the insertion of a tag, exclamation or a parenthetical, of one language into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in another language. These serve as the sole indicators of multilingual character of an otherwise monolingual sentence. Poplack (1980) calls it emblematic switching.

The following are examples of tag-switching from data in the urban area.

1. Setting: A group of university male students were discussing a tape recorder. They were all Gikuyu speakers and after a long discussion one of them said:

"You! ngwihoka ti migambo iitu uroya na kanyamu
kau."

("You! I hope you are not recording our voices.")

This is a tag-switch, the speaker has just inserted an English tag in a Gikuyu sentence.

ML is Gikuyu, EL is English.

2. The same setting as No 1. The reply given.

"Who? aca tiga kuhura ngoro."

(Who? no don't worry):

This is a tag switch because the speaker has inserted an English parenthesis in a Gikuyu sentence.

ML is Gikuyu, EL is in English

3. Setting: A group of working class ladies (in white collar jobs) were discussing how they were running short of time in preparations for their friends wedding. (They were all Gikuyu speakers). One of them said:

"In fact I told Lucy to come early, Ngai! this might be the only day we have."

(In fact I told Lucy to come early, God! this might be the only day we have.)

The word Ngai is used by Gikuyu speakers to mean God. It is also used as an exclamation to express worry or shock. In this context the switch to " Ngai" makes the utterance to be in the class of tag switching. The speaker has inserted a Gikuyu tag in an English sentence.

ML is English, EL is Gikuyu.

4. Setting: A group of working class ladies were discussing how men behave with small babies. (In the presence of Luhya speakers) one of them said;

"They don't even touch the nini of their babies."

(They don't even touch the "whatever"(toilet) of their babies.)

The word nini is used in Kiswahili as a question asking "what", it is also used as an euphemism as in this context. The insertion of the word "nini" is an act of tag-switching.

ML is English, EL is Kiswahili.

5. Same setting as No.6 . One lady gave a specific example.

"Like when Mburu's daughter was born, he was saying ati, "the kid was so tiny, I could not even hold it."

"(Like when Mburu's daughter was born, he was saying (that) "the kid was so tiny, I could not even hold it.)"

Here the speaker has inserted a Gikuyu tag 'ati' in an English sentence. The word 'ati' is normally used to mean "pardon" but

in this context it is used as a tag to indicate a change from direct speech to reported speech.

ML is English, EL is Gikuyu.

6. Setting: Two Gikuyu ladies were talking. One of them remembered she was indebted to somebody. She said,

"Ui!, I had your five hundred bob"

(Oh, I owe you five hundred shillings).

This is tag-switching, the speaker has just inserted a Gikuyu exclamation "Ui" in an English sentence. 'Ui' is normally used in Gikuyu when speakers are screaming but in this context it is used as a tag to express worry.

ML is English, EL is Gikuyu.

2.2.2 INTRASENTENTIAL-SWITCHING.

Intrasentential-switching refers to the different types of switches which occur within a sentence. It also includes mixing within a word, giving a word in a certain language another language's inflectional morphology.

Examples of this type of switching in the data from the urban area are as follows:-

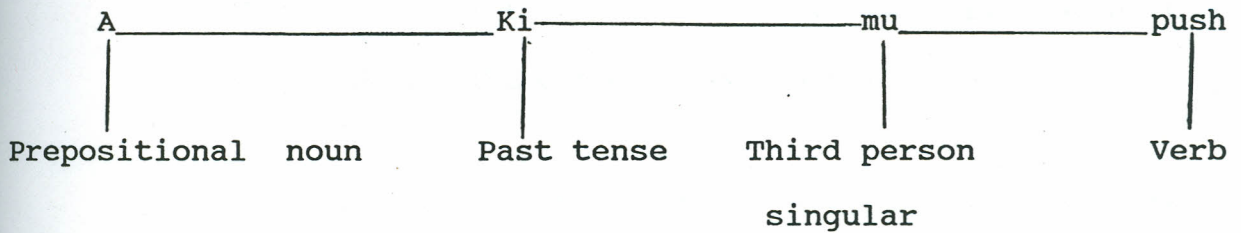
1. Setting : A group of students were discussing a certain man.

One of them said,

" Akimu - push nginya akiandikwo wira munene muno."

(He pushed him until he got a very good job.)

This is an intrasentential -switch because it involves mixing within word boundary resulting to a word with Gikuyu inflectional Morphology. In this example 'akimupush' comprises the following,



ML is Gikuyu - El is English.

2. Same setting as in NO. 1. One speaker talked of the advice she gave the man.

"Ngimwira, haiya you! Ukiendelea kutupa mbao hivyo, no ukubutwo wira."

(I told him, you, if you continue misbehaving you will lose your job.)

The utterance is an intrasentential-switch because the speaker switches severally within a sentence. The speaker was speaking Gikuyu, she switched to English, then Kiswahili and back to Gikuyu.

ML is Gikuyu, EL1 Kiswahili, and EL2 English.

3.Setting: A student was talking of her intentions to see her supervisor. She said:

"But the good thing is that when we meet we work kabisa,ati tugitigana we've done so much."

(But the good thing is that, when we meet we work alot in that by the time we part we have done so much).

This is an intrasentential-switch because the speaker switches severally in one sentence. She was using English, switched to Kiswahili, then to Gikuyu and back to English. (See Appendix A. NO. 6913 and 15 for more examples).

ML is English, EL1 Gikuyu, EL2 Kiswahili.

4.Setting: In an office, a group of men were discussing a certain man. One of them talked of the man they were discussing to be on training. Another man asked:

6. Setting: In a matatu. The conductor said,

"Ni ciringi ithano ngari, Shilingi tano bus station, wewe five bobs."

(The car is five shillings, five shillings bus station, you five shillings.)

In this utterance the speaker switches severally in one sentence. The speaker was using Gikuyu, he switched to Kiswahili, then to English to Kiswahili again and then to English

ML is Gikuyu, EL1, English, and EL2 Kiswahili.

(See also Appendix A, No 34, 36 and 90.)

2.2.3 INTERSENTENTIAL - SWITCHING.

Intersentential-switching involves a switch at a clause or sentence boundary, where each clause or sentence is in one language or another i.e., a sentence is divided into two parts by the two languages involved in the utterance. This requires greater fluency in the languages involved, since each part of the sentence must conform to the rules of the languages used. Examples of such switching in our data from the urban area are as follows.

1. Setting: A student talking of her intentions to see her supervisor.

"Ndirinda kugera gwa Kihara, on my way home."

(I want to pass by Kihara's place on my way home.)

This is intersentential-switching because one part of the sentence is in Gikuyu and the other in English. There is no mixing within a word or several switches within one utterance.

ML is Gikuyu, EL is English.

2. Same setting as No. 1. as the speaker was leaving she said,

"Say hi to the others, ninguka thaa icio ingi."

(Say hi to the others, I will come later.)

This utterance has two sentences, one in English, the other in Gikuyu, making the utterance an intersentential-switch.

No ML or EL islands.

3. Setting: A number of ladies were discussing how men behave with small babies. One of them said,

"Ama akilia, they give it to the mother.

(And in case it cries they give it to the mother.)

The speaker switched from Kiswahili to English.

The ML is English, EL is Kiswahili.

4. Setting: In an office, a group of men were discussing a certain man. (All Gikuyu speakers). One of them said,

"Kabui anyendaga na kanua, he is very good at that."

(Kabui love for me is only talk, he is very good at that.)

The speaker switched from Gikuyu to English.

ML is Gikuyu, EL is English.

5. Setting: Two women were discussing their children's tuition classes. One of them asked,

"Urutaga wira na Mama Ndungu."

(You work with, Ndungu's mother.)

The speaker switched from Gikuyu to Kiswahili.

ML is Gikuyu, EL is Kiswahili.

6. Setting: In a matatu, the conductor refused to give a hawker his balance. The hawker said,

Thii nacio, icio ticio ingithinia, nii ndi mbece nyingi, I have a lot of money."

(Go with it that can't make me poor, I have alot of money (I have alot of money.)

The speaker switched from Gikuyu to English

ML is Gikuyu, EL is English.

From all these switches we see the utterance constructed in two languages. The speaker speaks in one language and when he/she switches to another he/she does not switch again. There is also no mixing within a word. (see also Appendix A. No. 1,2,10,19,22,28 35 and 38 for more examples.)

2.24 TABLES:

Table A below gives a summary of the data collected from the students in the urban area. It indicates the sex of the speakers, type of switch and the language used.

A A SUMMARY OF DATA FROM STUDENTS IN THE URBAN AREA.

| SENTENC | SPEAKER | TYPE OF SWITCH | LANGUAGES | | |
|---------|---------|----------------|-----------|-----|-----|
| | | | ML | EL1 | EL2 |
| 1. | F | INTER | ENG | GIK | - |
| 2. | F | INTER | ENG | GIK | - |
| 3. | F | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 4. | F | INTER | - | - | - |
| 5. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 6. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 7. | F | INTRA | GIK | KIS | ENG |
| 8. | F | INTRA | GIK | KIS | - |
| 9. | F | INTRA | ENG | GIK | KIS |
| 10. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 11. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 12. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 13. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 14. | M | TAG | GIK | ENG | - |
| 15. | M | TAG | GIK | ENG | - |

From the table we see that all the three types of code-switching occurred in the speech of students. 13.3% of switches were in the class of tag-switching, 53.3% intrasentential-switching and .3% intersentential-switching. In 74% of the data the ML was Gikuyu, 20% English and 6.7% had no ML, EL1 or EL2 islands.

(The sociolinguistic implication of this data is in section 2.4.)

| | | | |
|-----|--|--|--|
| 1. | | | |
| 2. | | | |
| 3. | | | |
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| 12. | | | |
| 13. | | | |
| 14. | | | |
| 15. | | | |

The table shows that all the three types of code-switching occurred in the speech of students. 13.3% of switches were in the class of tag-switching, 53.3% intrasentential-switching and .3% intersentential-switching. In 74% of the data the ML was Gikuyu, 20% English and 6.7% had no ML, EL1 or EL2 islands.

Table B below gives a summary of data collected from those in white collar jobs in the urban area.

B A SUMMARY OF DATA FROM THOSE IN WHITE COLLAR JOBS

| SENTENCE | SPEAKER | TYPE OF SWITCH | LANGUAGES | | |
|----------|---------|----------------|-----------|-----|-----|
| | | | ML | EL1 | EL2 |
| 1. | F | INTER | ENG | KIS | - |
| 2. | F | INTER | ENG | KIS | - |
| 3. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 4. | M | INTER | ENG | GIK | - |
| 5. | F | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 6. | M | INTER | ENG | GIK | - |
| 7. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 8. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 9. | F | INTRA | ENG | KIS | - |
| 10. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 11. | M | INTRA | GIK | KIS | - |
| 12. | F | TAG | ENG | GIK | - |
| 13. | F | TAG | ENG | KIS | - |
| 14. | F | TAG | ENG | GIK | - |
| 15. | F | TAG | ENG | GIK | - |

The table shows that all the three types of code-switching occurred in the utterance of these speakers. 27% of the switches were in the class of Intrasentential-switching, 27% tag-switching and 46% intersentential switching. In 40% of the data the ML was found to be Gikuyu 60% English and there is no time Kiswahili appeared as

ML. ELI was either of the three languages. (For sociolinguistic implication of this data see section 2.4.)

Table C below gives a summary of data collected from those in blue collar jobs in the urban area.

C.A SUMMARY OF DATA FROM THOSE IN BLUE COLLAR JOBS.

| SENTENCE | SPEAKER | TYPE OF SWITCH | LANGUAGES | | |
|----------|---------|----------------|-----------|-----|-----|
| | | | ML | EL1 | EL2 |
| 1. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 2. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 3. | F | INTER | GIK | KIS | - |
| 4. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 5. | F | INTER | GIK | KIS | - |
| 6. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 7. | F | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 8. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | KIS |
| 9. | F | INTRA | KIS | GIK | ENG |
| 10. | M | INTRA | ENG | GIK | - |
| 11. | M | INTRA | ENG | GIK | - |
| 12. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 13. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 14. | M | INTRA | ENG | GIK | - |
| 15. | F | TAG | GIK | ENG | - |

From the table we see that all the linguistic types of code-switching occurred. 3.7% of the switches were in the class of tag-switching, 47% intrasentential-switching. In 74% of the data the ML was found to be Gikuyu, 20% English and 3.7% Kiswahili. EL1 interchanged between three languages and only two sentences had EL2 islands. (For sociolinguistic implications of the data see section 2.4.)

2.3 DATA FROM THE RURAL AREA (NYAHURURU).

In this section data from the rural area is discussed.

2.3 1 TAG-SWITCHING.

Examples of tag-switching in the data collected from the rural area are as follows:

1. setting: A student in presence of fellow Gikuyu speakers was talking about a drunkard. She said:

"Uria hingo ciothe aikaraga ari fit."

(That one stays fit all the time.)

This is tag-switching because the speaker has just inserted an English tag in a Gikuyu sentence. The word 'fit' in English is normally used to mean 'well' or something is in order. In this context it is used to describe the state of the woman, maybe to mean that the woman feels good when drunk.

ML is Gikuyu EL is English.

2. Setting: A student discussing pairs of shoes she and her sister had been bought.

"Mami auma Nyahururu aratuita ati tuigerie iratu, ndiragithii ngenete no ndaciona, ndirauga Kwisha! Ithui twagithira."

(After mum came from Nyahururu she called us to try out some shoes, I was so happy when going, but when I saw them I said (finish)us we are finished.)

This is tag-switching because the speaker has inserted a Kiswahili exclamation in a Gikuyu sentence.

ML is Gikuyu, EL is Kiswahili.

3. Setting: A teacher talking to a 4k club. He said:

"Now, when I read this table of the seed master (a) seed mistress, the seed mistress tells me that it is only one, two, three, four, four members who have brought the seeds."

(Now when I read this table of the seed master (no) seed mistress, the seed mistress tells me that it is only one, two, three, four, four members who have brought the seeds.)

This is tag-switching, the speaker has inserted a Gikuyu tag in an English sentence.

ML is English EL is Gikuyu.

4. Setting: Same as No 3. The teacher went on to say:

"Right! reke twambe tutige uhoru wa mahuti.

(Right! let us first leave the topic on rubbish.)

This is tag-switching, the speaker has inserted an English tag in a Gikuyu sentence.

ML is Gikuyu EL is English.

5. Setting: A number of people were making preparations to go for a graduation ceremony. The organizer said:

"O mundu arute magana meri ma ikumi, okey!"

(Everyone to contribute two hundred and ten, okey!)

This is tag-switching because the speaker has inserted an English parenthesis in a Gikuyu sentence.

ML is Gikuyu, EL is English.

2.3.2 INTRASSENTENTIAL-SWITCHING.

The examples of intrasentential-switching in the data collected from the rural area are as follows.

1. Setting: Someone talking of his intentions to greet another through the radio. He said;

"Napenda request time ya Larry Wambua instead of ile ya mwanamke, sikumbuki jina lake, yule ambaye ameenda n'gambo."

(I like Larry Wambua's request time, instead of that of the woman, I can't remember her name, the one who has gone abroad.)

This is an intrasentential switch because the speaker switches severally in a sentence. The speaker started in Kiswahili, switched to English and then Kiswahili.

ML is Kiswahili, EL is English.

2. setting: Two secondary school students were discussing a car. one said ;

"Niui ino ni ngari njega muno ,it's a very nice car, mahitia ni kunyua muno."

(Do you know that this is a very nice car (it's a very nice car)the problem is that it consumes alot.)

This is an intrasentential -switch because it is at the middle of the sentence . The speaker was using Gikuyu, then switched to English and then back to Gikuyu.

ML is Gikuyu,EL is English .

3.Setting : In a medical training college graduation ceremony one speaker said:

"Katika college hii tutaendelea kuwa na tight discipline."

(In this college ,we will continue having tight discipline.)

This is intrasentential-switching because the speaker switches severally in one sentence. He started speaking in Kiswahili, switched English, then to Kiswahili and back to English.

ML is Kiswahili ,EL is English .

4.Setting: A teacher talking to a 4K club. He said:

"Also Mwangi you are the people who have relaxed,Mahuti macio mothe twatigire ndaugire macinwo,mahuti macio na matiacinirwo,why?"

(Also Mwangi you are the people who have relaxed, all the rubbish that remained I said it be burned, that rubbish, and you did not burn it why?)

This is intrasentential-switching because the speaker switches severally in one sentence. He was first speaking in English then switched to Gikuyu and back to English.

ML is Gikuyu, EL is English

5. Setting: In a church, the preacher (a farmer) was talking about the woman who was taken to Jesus after having been caught committing adultery. The preacher said:
"Ndiui nikii athuri matoragio ni hari na ubaguzi, tondu mundu ndangi-commit adultery e wiki."

(I don't know why men were not being accused, there was discrimination because a person can-not commit adultery all alone.)

This is intrasentential-switching because the speaker switches severally in one sentence. The speaker was using Gikuyu, switched to Kiswahili, then to Gikuyu and then to English. He also mixed within a word.

ML is Gikuyu, EL1 is English, EL2 Kiswahili.

6. Setting: In a party (a person said.)

"Reke nyambe nyone programme menye niatia, waanjira
ati ti confidential."

(Let me first see the programme so as to know how
things are, you've told me it's not confidential.)

This is intrasentential-switching because the speaker switches
severally in one sentence.

ML is Gikuyu, El is English.

7. Setting: Two Gikuyu men were discussing an issue of getting
plots. One of them said,

"Ki-booklet kiria kiari hahari, nindeyonire ho."

(I saw my name in the booklet that was here.)

This is intrasentential-switching because the speaker switches
within a word giving an English word Gikuyu inflectional
morphology.

ML is Gikuyu, EL is English.

For other examples of intrasentential-switching, (see Appendix
A NO. 48,54,56,58,63,72, 74 and 85.)

2.3.3 INTERSENTENTIAL - SWITCHING.

This involves switching within a sentence boundary. For example.

1.Setting: Two students from different schools met at a festival. One of them said,

"Uthomagira thukuru itagwo atia?, Just be straight, I mean be transparent.

(What is the name of your school?, just be straight, I mean be transparent.)

The speaker switched from Gikuyu to English.

ML is in English, EL is Gikuyu.

2.Setting: Discussing a competition, one student asked,

" Na atiriri tuma namba cigana, teacher what number were we?"

(And listen what number were we, teacher what number were we?)

The speaker switched from Gikuyu to English.

ML is Gikuyu, EL is English.

Setting: A form three student was telling the sister of his performance in school. He said:

"Ndirona ngika Githweri wega muno, ngahoya Ngai, niendelee na moyo huo huo."

(I am doing so well in Kiswahili, and I am praying God that I should continue with the same spirit.)

The speaker switched from Gikuyu to Kiswahili

ML is Gikuyu, EL is Kiswahili

Setting: In a medical training college graduation ceremony. One speaker said:

"I will now speak the national language, ili nanyi wazazi mpate kuelewa tunayosema."

(I will now speak the national language so that you parents can understand what we are saying.)

The speaker switched from English to Kiswahili

ML is Kiswahili, EL is English.

5. Setting: In a church, the preacher (a farmer) while interpreting the readings said,

" No nginya mwirire, You must convert."

(You must repent, you must convert.)

The speaker switched from Gikuyu to English.

No ML or EL islands.

6. Setting: Some visitors were leaving. One of them said,

" Jane we wagithi-ri, safiri salama."

(Jane when going, have a safe journey.)

The speaker switched from Gikuyu to Kiswahili

ML IS Gikuyu, EL is Kiswahili.

7. Settings: Somebody talking about being a frequent visitor to a certain place.

"Nii guku ndimuki muno, ninjukaga at least twice a year."

(I come here so often, I came at least twice a year.)

The speaker switched from Gikuyu to English.

ML is Gikuyu, EL is English.

For other examples of intersentential-switching (see Appendix 47, 51, 68, 77, 78, 80, 84 and 86)

In all these utterances the speaker uses two languages and when he switches to another he does not switch again. There is also no mixing within a word.

2.3.4 TABLES

In table D a summary of the data collected from students in the rural area is given. It contains speakers, type of switch and the languages used. The sociolinguistic implications of the data in the tables is presented in section 2.4.

D. A SUMMARY OF DATA FROM STUDENTS IN THE RURAL AREA

| SENTENCE | SPEAKER | TYPE OF SWITCH | L A N G U A G E S | | |
|----------|---------|----------------|-------------------|-----|-----|
| | | | ML | EL1 | EL2 |
| 1. | M | INTER | ENG | GIK | - |
| 2. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 3. | F | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 4. | F | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 5. | M | INTER | GIK | KIS | - |
| 6. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 7. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 8. | M | INTRA | KIS | ENG | - |
| 9. | F | INTRA | GIK | KIS | - |
| 10. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | ENG |
| 11. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 12. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 13. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 14. | F | TAG | GIK | ENG | - |
| 15. | F | TAG | GIK | KIS | - |

From this table we see that all types of switching occur. 13.3 % of the switches fall under the class of tag-switching, 53.3% intrasentential-switching and 33.3% intersentential-switching. In 87% of the data the ML was Gikuyu, 3.7% English and 3.7% Kiswahili. The three languages serve as EL and only one sentence had EL2 Islands.

Table E below gives a summary of data collected from those occupying white collar jobs in the rural area.

E. A SUMMARY OF DATA FROM THOSE IN WHITE COLLAR JOBS.

| SENTENCE | SPEAKER | TYPE OF SWITCH | L A N ML | G U A G ELI | E S EL2 |
|----------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------------|------------|
| 1. | F | INTER | ENG | KIS | - |
| 2. | M | INTER | ENG | GIK | - |
| 3. | M | INTER | ENG | GIK | - |
| 4. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 5. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 6. | F | INTRA | KIS | ENG | - |
| 7. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 8. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 9. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 10. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 11. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 12. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 13. | F | INTRA | ENG | GIK | - |
| 14. | M | TAG | ENG | KIS | - |
| 15. | M | TAG | GIK | ENG | - |

From this table we see that all three types of linguistic code-switching occur. The switches are 13.3% in the class of tag-switching, 53.3% intrasentential-switching and 33.3% intersentential switching. In 64.3% of the data the ML was

Gikuyu, 30.7% English and 3.7% Kiswahili. The three languages served as EL1 and EL2 Islands.

Table F below gives a summary of data collected from those in blue collar jobs in the rural area.

F. A SUMMARY OF DATA FROM THOSE IN BLUE-COLLAR JOBS.

| SENTENCE | SPEAKER | TYPE OF SWITCH | L A N G U A G E S | | |
|----------|---------|----------------|-------------------|-----|-----|
| | | | ML | EL1 | EL2 |
| 1. | M | INTER | - | - | - |
| 2. | M | INTER | GIK | KIS | - |
| 3. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 4. | F | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 5. | M | INTER | GIK | KIS | - |
| 6. | F | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 7. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 8. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 9. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | KIS |
| 10. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 11. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 12. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 13. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 14. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 15. | F | TAG | GIK | ENG | - |

The table shows that all types of code switching occurred. From the data 3.7% of the switching were in the class of tag switching, 46% intrasentential switching and 48% intersentential

switching. The ML was 96.3% Gikuyu, 3.7% of the data had no ML, EL or Islands.

2.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE SWITCHES.

Table G below gives a summary of the number of switches sentences that fall in each linguistic type of code-switching.

G. NUMBER OF CODE-SWITCHES.

| SPEAKER | TAG-SWITCHING | INTERSENTENTIAL SWITCHING | INTRASENTENTIAL SWITCHING | TOTAL |
|------------|---------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------|
| MALE | 4 | 22 | 22 | 48 |
| FEMALE | 8 | 5 | 19 | 42 |
| TOTAL | 12 | 37 | 41 | 90 |
| PERCENTAGE | 13% | 41% | 46% | 100% |

From the data that is summarised in the table we see that all the three types of linguistic code-switching occur in the speech of speakers from all the social classes. This shows that switching is not an isolated phenomenon but a central part of Multilingual discourse Appel and Muysken (1987:117). This idea is also supported by, Romain (1986:110) who says that code-switching is a natural and frequent part of bilingual or multilingual behaviour, (see also pride 1971:26).

Although tags are subjected to minimal syntactic restrictions and so can be inserted easily Poplack (1980), our data shows that this type of switching is not common. This is because in most cases the function of a tag in utterance is to express emotions (exclamations) while there are other common ways of expressing this, through facial expressions or words such as " I am happy" or " I am annoyed." Tags are also inserted as an after thought, in this case being a parenthesis. This is not common in casual talk. (see Appendix A NO.81)

Intersentential and intrasentential-switching are common because they involve switching at a sentence boundary or anywhere in a sentence. This is common in speech as people make use of languages they are exposed to in their daily speech so as to communicate effectively. Poplack (1980) says that "often people will include a single word from another language because of having forgotten or not yet learnt that word in the base language of the sentence. In any case the speaker who switch most are also those who are capable of switching in the middle of a sentence, and hence intrasentential and intersentential - switching.

Since languages often serve as an important marker of the boundaries among social groups Miracle (1983), there are differences in the nature of code-switching employed by people from different social classes studied. Level of education literacy, personality, gender and environment are factors

influencing language use and thus type of switching (see also Beardsmore 1982:50). From our data we see that intersentential type of code-switching was mostly employed by speakers in Nairobi, those being students and those in white colour jobs. These are speakers who have acquired a high level of education and have mastered the grammar of the languages involved. This is because this type of switch requires greater fluency in the languages involved, since major portions of the utterance must conform to the rules of both languages (Romain 1986:112) For example, in a setting where a student was talking of her intention to see her supervisor. She says:

"Ndirenda kugera gwa Kihara, on my way home."

(I want to pass by Kihara's place on my way home.)

Each part of the sentence is constructed in such a way that the grammatical rules of the language used are followed.

On the other hand, intrasentential-switching is commonly employed by speakers in blue colour jobs and those in rural areas. This is because these speakers rarely use the three languages in their casual talk. They therefore insert a word of different language anywhere in a sentence especially when speaking English possibly because they are not fluent in the language or cannot use English words properly and so keep on giving them either Gikuyu or Kiswahili inflectional morphology. This shows that the frequency with which the individual uses his two or three languages also affect code-switching Beardsmore (1982).

There is also difference in the way the three languages were used by the different social classes of people studied.

ML for students in the urban area was dominantly Gikuyu with English appearing in a few cases, while for those in white collar jobs, it was dominantly English with Gikuyu occurring in a few cases. This can possibly be because those in white collar jobs interact with people from different ethnic groups at working places and do not have a choice of who to interact with. In that case, they make use of English most of the time even when talking to their fellow Gikuyu speakers. In this case code-switching reveals a great deal about a person's self-awareness, that is, his awareness of his audience and of third parties Grimshaws (1966)

Those in blue collar jobs had Gikuyu serving as the ML in most of their utterances while English and Kiswahili served as ML only in a few cases. This is because most of them have little or no formal education and so Gikuyu is the language they are fluent in. However, due to urban life and interaction with other ethnic groups, they have some knowledge of English and Kiswahili which they use at times.

Data from rural area shows that Gikuyu dominantly served as the ML in the speech of the speakers from the three categories. However, in the speech of students and those in white collar jobs there are few cases where ML is English or Kiswahili. Those in rural blue collar jobs had Gikuyu as their ML all through. These are people with little or no formal education and being in the

rural area where the population is dominantly Gikuyu, they have very little knowledge of English and Kiswahili. In this case, they cannot use them well to serve as ML in their utterances. This shows that education plays a major role in determining the ML.

Table H below gives a summary of languages used as ML EL1 and EL2.

H. LANGUAGES USED IN CODE -SWITCHING

| LANGUAGES | SPEAKER | ML | % | EL1 | % | EL2 | % |
|-----------|---------|----|------|-----|------|-----|------|
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| | M | 9 | | 35 | | - | |
| KISWAHILI | F | 3 | 4% | 13 | 19% | 1 | 50% |
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| GIKUYU | F | 26 | 73% | 7 | 19% | - | - |
| | M | 38 | | 10 | | - | |
| TOTAL | | 88 | 100% | 88 | 100% | 6 | 100% |

The table shows that Gikuyu dominantly served as the ML. This shows that most Gikuyu speakers in the data collected, irrespective of their level of education and environment, use Gikuyu in larger portions of their utterances while speaking to their fellow Gikuyus. In this case Gikuyu speakers always want to identify themselves as Gikuyus. As Milroy (1980:14) observed about the occupants of Martha's vineyard, vineyarders used the

resource of linguistic variability to indicate their affiliation with that group. Although hierarchial orderings do exist on the island, the concept of social class is less useful in explaining patterns of linguistic variation than the less abstract concept of community.

The data also shows that female Gikuyu speakers had English as ML in most cases than male speakers who had Gikuyu as the ML in most cases. This might probably mean that female Gikuyu speakers are more prone to influence than male speakers. Trudgill(1974:79) says that it is known from linguistic research that in many societies the speech of men and women differs. He gives an example of language situation in West Indies where men and women used different languages and expressions. The reason given for this is that women had been influenced by Caribs who came to occupy the island.

Our data shows that code -switching prevails in the speech of all Gikuyu speakers irrespective of their location and level of education and, therefore, opposes Poplack(1980) claim that only fully multilingual speakers are capable of using two languages in one sentence. Only those speakers who have learned both languages at an early age will reach the level of proficiency necessary to be able to use two languages in one single sentence.

CHAPTER THREE

FUNCTIONS OF CODE - SWITCHING.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we shall discuss the sociolinguistic functions of our data. Data obtained is analyzed using the functional framework of Jakobson (1960) and Halliday et al (1964). According to this model as stated by Appel and Muysken (1987) code - switching is seen to serve the following functions.

1. Referential function
2. Directive function
3. Expressive function
4. Phatic function
5. Metalinguistic function
6. Emotive function.

This model is similar to Gal's (1979) interpretive analysis of the interactional intents achieved in code - switching. Gal argues that when used to accomplish interactional intents, code- switching is a process of language shift whereby functions of emotions, force and authority are transferred to the prestigious language.

The social situations in which some utterances were made have been described to explain why the switches that occur are said to serve certain functions.

3.2 REFERENTIAL FUNCTION.

Code - switching is said to serve this function where there is lack of knowledge of one language, or lack of facility in that language, or certain subjects may be more appropriately discussed in one language. The introduction of such a subject can lead to a switch. In addition, a specific word from one of the languages involved may be semantically more appropriate for a given concept. From our data, twenty seven of the utterances have switches serving this function. Examples of such switches are as follows.

1. Setting: In an office, a group of men were discussing a man who was supposed to be on training. One of them said,

" A- train-wo atuike Ki?"

(He will be trained to become what?)

In this example if the speaker decided to use a Gikuyu word instead of "train" the message would not be clear. The only

equivalent for train is "guthoma" which is very broad in meaning. It could also mean "going to school" and so it would not be specific.

2. Same setting as in No. 1 Another man said:

Ningi niendaga, politics."

(He also wanted politics.)

Although the word "politics" has an equivalent in Gikuyu (uteti). The word is rarely used and is not easily understandable because it has a broader meaning. It can mean politics or complaints of any kind. In that case, the speaker switched so as to communicate easily.

3. Setting: In a party involving Gikuyu speakers a man said:

"Reke nyambe nyone programme menye niatia, Wanjira ati ti confidential".

(Let me first see the programme so as to know how things are, you've told me it's not confidential.)

The switches to programme and confidential serve a referential function. Although Gikuyu language has equivalents of these.

"program-Mutaratara" , "Confidential-ti ya hitho" These words are rarely used and most people might not know them.

4. Setting: A group of university students were discussing a tape recorder. They were all Gikuyu speakers. One of them was giving an advice on how to record better. He said,

"Ukwenda wike uguo, no riu ni advance muno, wethe Ka-microphone kahana karamu."

(What you need to do is, to advance , you look for a microphone that looks like a pen.)

The switches serve referential function because the words "Thii na mbere" which would be used in place of "advance" are very broad in meaning. They could also mean developed. The word "microphone" is easily understandable than lengthy Gikuyu explanations. Microphone is a new item in the Gikuyu community and so lacks a suitable equivalent.

5. Setting: Same as in No.4. The speaker went on to say.

"Kanja araigwa ari o kuria gwake na niui no urrite uri o hau"

(Kanja can hear from his place, and you know you can monitor from where you are).

Gikuyu language has no equivalent for "Monitor". In that case the switch serves a referential function because it brings out the message being passed clearly.

6. Setting: Two men were parting, one a porter the other a second hand clothes seller. One of them said:
"Riuri, we should take this very seriously tutige nitwa-place order iyo."
(Now, we should take this very seriously, we make sure we've placed that order.)

The switch to 'order' serves a referential function. Gikuyu language has no word with that meaning. In that case the word handles the subject better. The other switches serve different functions which will be discussed later.

7. Setting: A group of men were discussing an issue of getting plots. One of them said:
"Marariha na mbeca citu na riu ithui tutikaheyo
Plot na mbeca ni citu"
(They are paying with our money and we will not be given plots its our money.)

The word 'plot' best describes what is being referred to, although there is a Gikuyu equivalent, "Kiwanja" but this word is broad in meaning. It could also mean a field and so could be confusing.

All these examples are supported by Beardsmore (1970) claims that people may avoid using certain constructions for which they feel no need or perhaps which present them with a degree of problematic complexity which can be circumvented by the use of alternatives and simpler constructions.

Other switches that serve referential function are those made by speakers who switch when quoting somebody Appel and Muysken (1987: 11:118). Here people switch to the language of the speaker they are quoting; for example,

8. Setting; In a Jua Kali market, a number of men, all Gikuyu speakers were discussing how they get broke at times. After a long discussion one of them said;

"Kai muiciragia Wamutahi ndakoragwo akiaria uhoru wa ma When he talks of how he is fond of sabotaging the woman's budget?"

(You think Mutahi's son does not tell, the truth when he talks about being fond of sabotaging the woman's budget?)

This switch serve referential function because the speaker is quoting Wahome Mutahi (A Kenyan writer). So Wahome's words handle the subjects better.

Lanly (1962:95) observes that in contact situations obscenities and vulgar expressions can easily lead to referential code - switching.

For example,

10. Setting: In a church a preacher was talking about a woman who was taken to Jesus having been caught committing adultery. He said,

"Ndiui niki athuri matoragio, ni hari na ubaguzi tondu mundu ndangi-commit adultery e wiki."

(I don't know why men were not accused, there was discrimination because a person cannot commit adultery all alone.)

The word "ubaguzi" brings out the idea of discrimination more clearly than any other Gikuyu word would. The only Gikuyu word which nearly means discrimination is "kuonerwo" but it is broad in meaning. It could mean (hate or to see for someone, or to look down upon someone). The words "Commit adultery" are more polite or less obscene than the Gikuyu equivalent "Utharia" which to young people

would probably mean ``to spoils a building or anything.'' For other examples on referential function of Code - switching (see Appendix A No 3, 10, 16, 24, 25, 29, 53, and 61.)

3.3 DIRECTIVE FUNCTION.

According to Appel and Muysken(1987:119) directive function of code - switching occurs when a switch serves to specify an addressee as the recipient of the message, that is to accommodate monolingual speakers, to draw attention to the fact that the addressee is being invited to participate in an exchange. Since it involves the hearer directly, it may serve to exclude or include certain persons from a portion of the conversation.

From our data some of the switches that serve to illustrate this function are as follows:

1. Setting: In a medical training college graduation ceremony. After a song, the mistress of the ceremony said, " Thank you very much for Muthunguci song, no inyui aciari mutinatu - joini - i na niinyui mwaturutire."

(Thankyou very much for the muthunguci song but you parents did not join us and you are the one's who taught us.)

The mistress of ceremony was supposed to address the congregation in English, but since most parents could not understand it, she switched to Gikuyu to accommodate them. The part of the sentence in Gikuyu is directed to the parents alone, so it specifies them as the recipient, of the message.

2. Same setting as No 1. One of the speaker when addressing the congregation said;

" I will now speak the national language, "ili nanyi wazazi mpate kuelewa tunayosema."

(I will now speak the national language, so that you parents can understand what we are saying.)

The speaker knew that most parents could not understand English so he switched to Kiswahili to accommodate them.

3. Setting: A teacher talking to a 4K club. He said;

"Wanjiru ndungiigua rugama hau rainini hari aria angi, Yes, it is very unfortunate that we have got only two weeks to go before we close the school and our gardens are bare."

6. Setting: In a party (a person said.)

"Reke nyambe nyone programme menye niatia, waanjira
ati ti confidential."

(Let me first see the programme so as to know how
things are, you've told me it's not confidential.)

This is intrasentential-switching because the speaker switches
severally in one sentence.

ML is Gikuyu, El is English.

7. Setting: Two Gikuyu men were discussing an issue of getting
plots. One of them said,

"Ki-booklet kiria kiari hahari, nindeyonire ho."

(I saw my name in the booklet that was here.)

This is intrasentential-switching because the speaker switches
within a word giving an English word Gikuyu inflectional
morphology.

ML is Gikuyu, EL is English.

For other examples of intrasentential- switching, (see Appendix
A NO. 48,54,56,58,63,72, 74 and 85.)

2.3.3 INTERSENTENTIAL - SWITCHING.

This involves switching within a sentence boundary. For example.

1. Setting: Two students from different schools met at a festival. One of them said,

"Uthomagira thukuru itagwo atia?, Just be straight, I mean be transparent.

(What is the name of your school?, just be straight, I mean be transparent.)

The speaker switched from Gikuyu to English.

ML is in English, EL is Gikuyu.

2. Setting: Discussing a competition, one student asked,

" Na atiriri tuma namba cigana, teacher what number were we?"

(And listen what number were we, teacher what number were we?)

The speaker switched from Gikuyu to English.

ML is Gikuyu, EL is English.

Setting: A form three student was telling the sister of his performance in school. He said:

"Ndirona ngika Githweri wega muno, ngahoya Ngai, niendelee na moyo huo huo."

(I am doing so well in Kiswahili and I am praying God that I should continue with the same spirit.)

The speaker switched from Gikuyu to Kiswahili

ML is Gikuyu, EL is Kiswahili

Setting: In a medical training college graduation ceremony. One speaker said:

"I will now speak the national language, ili nanyi wazazi mpate kuelewa tunayosema."

(I will now speak the national language so that you parents can understand what we are saying.)

The speaker switched from English to Kiswahili

ML is Kiswahili, EL is English.

5. Setting: In a church, the preacher (a farmer) while interpreting the readings said,

" No nginya mwirire, You must convert."

(You must repent, you must convert.)

The speaker switched from Gikuyu to English.

No ML or EL islands.

6. Setting: Some visitors were leaving. One of them said,

" Jane we wagithi-ri, safiri salama."

(Jane when going, have a safe journey.)

The speaker switched from Gikuyu to Kiswahili

ML IS Gikuyu, EL is Kiswahili.

7. Settings: Somebody talking about being a frequent visitor to a certain place.

"Nii guku ndimuki muno, ninjukaga at least twice
a year."

(I come here so often, I came at least twice a year.)

The speaker switched from Gikuyu to English.

ML is Gikuyu, EL is English.

For other examples of intersentential-switching (see Appendix 47, 51, 68, 77, 78, 80, 84 and 86)

In all these utterances the speaker uses two languages and when he switches to another he does not switch again. There is also no mixing within a word.

2.3.4 TABLES

In table D a summary of the data collected from students in the rural area is given. It contains speakers, type of switch and the languages used. The sociolinguistic implications of the data in the tables is presented in section 2.4.

D. A SUMMARY OF DATA FROM STUDENTS IN THE RURAL AREA

| SENTENCE | SPEAKER | TYPE OF SWITCH | L A N G U A G E S | | |
|----------|---------|----------------|-------------------|-----|-----|
| | | | ML | EL1 | EL2 |
| 1. | M | INTER | ENG | GIK | - |
| 2. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 3. | F | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 4. | F | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 5. | M | INTER | GIK | KIS | - |
| 6. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 7. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 8. | M | INTRA | KIS | ENG | - |
| 9. | F | INTRA | GIK | KIS | - |
| 10. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | ENG |
| 11. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 12. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 13. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 14. | F | TAG | GIK | ENG | - |
| 15. | F | TAG | GIK | KIS | - |

From this table we see that all types of switching occur. 13.3 % of the switches fall under the class of tag-switching, 53.3% intrasentential-switching and 33.3% intersentential-switching. In 87% of the data the ML was Gikuyu, 3.7% English and 3.7% Kiswahili. The three languages serve as EL and only one sentence had EL2 Islands.

Table E below gives a summary of data collected from those occupying white collar jobs in the rural area.

E. A SUMMARY OF DATA FROM THOSE IN WHITE COLLAR JOBS.

| SENTENCE | SPEAKER | TYPE OF SWITCH | L A N ML | G U A G ELI | E S EL2 |
|----------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------------|------------|
| 1. | F | INTER | ENG | KIS | - |
| 2. | M | INTER | ENG | GIK | - |
| 3. | M | INTER | ENG | GIK | - |
| 4. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 5. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 6. | F | INTRA | KIS | ENG | - |
| 7. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 8. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 9. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 10. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 11. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 12. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 13. | F | INTRA | ENG | GIK | - |
| 14. | M | TAG | ENG | KIS | - |
| 15. | M | TAG | GIK | ENG | - |

From this table we see that all three types of linguistic code-switching occur. The switches are 13.3% in the class of tag-switching, 53.3% intrasentential-switching and 33.3% intersentential switching. In 64.3% of the data the ML was

Gikuyu, 30.7% English and 3.7% Kiswahili. The three languages served as EL1 and EL2 Islands.

Table F below gives a summary of data collected from those in blue collar jobs in the rural area.

F. A SUMMARY OF DATA FROM THOSE IN BLUE-COLLAR JOBS.

| SENTENCE | SPEAKER | TYPE OF SWITCH | L A N G U A G E S | | |
|----------|---------|----------------|-------------------|-----|-----|
| | | | ML | EL1 | EL2 |
| 1. | M | INTER | - | - | - |
| 2. | M | INTER | GIK | KIS | - |
| 3. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 4. | F | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 5. | M | INTER | GIK | KIS | - |
| 6. | F | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 7. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 8. | M | INTER | GIK | ENG | - |
| 9. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | KIS |
| 10. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 11. | M | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 12. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 13. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 14. | F | INTRA | GIK | ENG | - |
| 15. | F | TAG | GIK | ENG | - |

The table shows that all types of code switching occurred. From the data 3.7% of the switching were in the class of tag switching, 46% intrasentential switching and 48% intersentential

switching. The ML was 96.3% Gikuyu, 3.7% of the data had no ML, EL or Islands.

2.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE SWITCHES.

Table G below gives a summary of the number of switches sentences that fall in each linguistic type of code-switching.

G. NUMBER OF CODE-SWITCHES.

| SPEAKER | TAG-SWITCHING | INTERSENTENTIAL SWITCHING | INTRASENTENTIAL SWITCHING | TOTAL |
|------------|---------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------|
| MALE | 4 | 22 | 22 | 48 |
| FEMALE | 8 | 5 | 19 | 42 |
| TOTAL | 12 | 37 | 41 | 90 |
| PERCENTAGE | 13% | 41% | 46% | 100% |

From the data that is summarised in the table we see that all the three types of linguistic code-switching occur in the speech of speakers from all the social classes. This shows that switching is not an isolated phenomenon but a central part of Multilingual discourse Appel and Muysken (1987:117). This idea is also supported by, Romain (1986:110) who says that code-switching is a natural and frequent part of bilingual or multilingual behaviour, (see also pride 1971:26).

Although tags are subjected to minimal syntactic restrictions and so can be inserted easily Poplack (1980), our data shows that this type of switching is not common. This is because in most cases the function of a tag in utterance is to express emotions (exclamations) while there are other common ways of expressing this, through facial expressions or words such as " I am happy" or " I am annoyed." Tags are also inserted as an after thought, in this case being a parenthesis. This is not common in casual talk. (see Appendix A NO.81)

Intersentential and intrasentential-switching are common because they involve switching at a sentence boundary or anywhere in a sentence. This is common in speech as people make use of languages they are exposed to in their daily speech so as to communicate effectively. Poplack (1980) says that "often people will include a single word from another language because of having forgotten or not yet learnt that word in the base language of the sentence. In any case the speaker who switch most are also those who are capable of switching in the middle of a sentence, and hence intrasentential and intersentential - switching.

Since languages often serve as an important marker of the boundaries among social groups Miracle (1983), there are differences in the nature of code-switching employed by people from different social classes studied. Level of education literacy, personality, gender and environment are factors

influencing language use and thus type of switching (see also Beardsmore 1982:50). From our data we see that intersentential type of code-switching was mostly employed by speakers in Nairobi, those being students and those in white colour jobs. These are speakers who have acquired a high level of education and have mastered the grammar of the languages involved. This is because this type of switch requires greater fluency in the languages involved, since major portions of the utterance must conform to the rules of both languages (Romain 1986:112) For example, in a setting where a student was talking of her intention to see her supervisor. She says:

"Ndirenda kugera gwa Kihara, on my way home."

(I want to pass by Kihara's place on my way home.)

Each part of the sentence is constructed in such a way that the grammatical rules of the language used are followed.

On the other hand, intrasentential-switching is commonly employed by speakers in blue colour jobs and those in rural areas. This is because these speakers rarely use the three languages in their casual talk. They therefore insert a word of different language anywhere in a sentence especially when speaking English possibly because they are not fluent in the language or cannot use English words properly and so keep on giving them either Gikuyu or Kiswahili inflectional morphology. This shows that the frequency with which the individual uses his two or three languages also affect code-switching Beardsmore (1982).

There is also difference in the way the three languages were used by the different social classes of people studied.

ML for students in the urban area was dominantly Gikuyu with English appearing in a few cases, while for those in white collar jobs, it was dominantly English with Gikuyu occurring in a few cases. This can possibly be because those in white collar jobs interact with people from different ethnic groups at working places and do not have a choice of who to interact with. In that case, they make use of English most of the time even when talking to their fellow Gikuyu speakers. In this case code-switching reveals a great deal about a person's self-awareness, that is, his awareness of his audience and of third parties Grimshaws (1966)

Those in blue collar jobs had Gikuyu serving as the ML in most of their utterances while English and Kiswahili served as ML only in a few cases. This is because most of them have little or no formal education and so Gikuyu is the language they are fluent in. However, due to urban life and interaction with other ethnic groups, they have some knowledge of English and Kiswahili which they use at times.

Data from rural area shows that Gikuyu dominantly served as the ML in the speech of the speakers from the three categories. However, in the speech of students and those in white collar jobs there are few cases where ML is English or Kiswahili. Those in rural blue collar jobs had Gikuyu as their ML all through. These are people with little or no formal education and being in the

rural area where the population is dominantly Gikuyu, they have very little knowledge of English and Kiswahili. In this case, they cannot use them well to serve as ML in their utterances. This shows that education plays a major role in determining the ML.

Table H below gives a summary of languages used as ML EL1 and EL2.

H. LANGUAGES USED IN CODE -SWITCHING

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resource of linguistic variability to indicate their affiliation with that group. Although hierarchial orderings do exist on the island, the concept of social class is less useful in explaining patterns of linguistic variation than the less abstract concept of community.

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The social situations in which some utterances were made have been described to explain why the switches that occur are said to serve certain functions.

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1. Setting: In an office, a group of men were discussing a man who was supposed to be on training. One of them said,

" A- train-wo atuike Ki?"

(He will be trained to became what?)

In this example if the speaker decided to use a Gikuyu word instead of "train" the message would not be clear. The only

equivalent for train is "guthoma" which is very broad in meaning. It could also mean "going to school" and so it would not be specific.

Same setting as in No. 1 Another man said:

Ningi niendaga, politics."

(He also wanted politics.)

Although the word "politics" has an equivalent in Gikuyu (uteti). The word is rarely used and is not easily understandable because it has a broader meaning. It can mean politics or complaints of any kind. In that case, the speaker switched so as to communicate easily.

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"Reke nyambe nyone programme menyé niatia, Wanjira ati ti confidential".

(Let me first see the programme so as to know how things are, you've told me it's not confidential.)

he switches to programme and confidential serve a referential function. Although Gikuyu language has equivalents of these. "program-Mutaratara" , "Confidential-ti ya hitho" These words are rarely used and most people might not know them.

4. Setting: A group of university students were discussing a tape recorder. They were all Gikuyu speakers. One of them was giving an advice on how to record better. He said,

"Ukwenda wike uguo, no riu ni advance muno, wethe Ka-microphone kahana karamu."

(What you need to do is, to advance , you look for a microphone that looks like a pen.)

The switches serve referential function because the words "Thii na mbere" which would be used in place of "advance" are very broad in meaning. They could also mean developed. The word "microphone" is easily understandable than lengthy Gikuyu explanations. Microphone is a new item in the Gikuyu community and so lacks a suitable equivalent.

5. Setting: Same as in No.4. The speaker went on to say.

"Kanja araigwa ari o kuria gwake na niui no uronte uri o hau"

(Kanja can hear from his place, and you know you can monitor from where you are).

Gikuyu language has no equivalent for "Monitor". In that case the switch serves a referential function because it brings out the message being passed clearly.

6. Setting: Two men were parting, one a porter the other a second hand clothes seller. One of them said:
"Riuri, we should take this very seriously tutige nitwa-place order iyo."
(Now, we should take this very seriously, we make sure we've placed that order.)

The switch to 'order' serves a referential function. Gikuyu language has no word with that meaning. In that case the word handles the subject better. The other switches serve different functions which will be discussed later.

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"Marariha na mbeca citu na riu ithui tutikaheyo
Plot na mbeca ni citu"
(They are paying with our money and we will not be given plots its our money.)

The word 'plot' best describes what is being referred to, although there is a Gikuyu equivalent, "Kiwanja" but this word is broad in meaning. It could also mean a field and so could be confusing.

All these examples are supported by Beardsmore (1970) claims that people may avoid using certain constructions for which they feel no need or perhaps which present them with a degree of problematic complexity which can be circumvented by the use of alternatives and simpler constructions.

Other switches that serve referential function are those made by speakers who switch when quoting somebody Appel and Muysken (1987: 11:118). Here people switch to the language of the speaker they are quoting; for example,

8. Setting; In a Jua Kali market, a number of men, all Gikuyu speakers were discussing how they get broke at times. After a long discussion one of them said;

"Kai muiciragia Wamutahi ndakoragwo akiaria uhoru wa ma When he talks of how he is fond of sabotaging the woman's budget?"

(You think Mutahi's son does not tell, the truth when he talks about being fond of sabotaging the woman's budget?)

This switch serve referential function because the speaker is quoting Wahome Mutahi (A Kenyan writer). So Wahome's words handle the subjects better.

Lanly (1962:95) observes that in contact situations obscenities and vulgar expressions can easily lead to referential code - switching.

For example,

10. Setting: In a church a preacher was talking about a woman who was taken to Jesus having been caught committing adultery. He said,

"Ndiui niki athuri matoragio, ni hari na ubaguzi tondu mundu ndangi-commit adultery e wiki."

(I don't know why men were not accused, there was discrimination because a person cannot commit adultery all alone.)

The word "ubaguzi" brings out the idea of discrimination more clearly than any other Gikuyu word would. The only Gikuyu word which nearly means discrimination is "kuonerwo" but it is broad in meaning. It could mean (hate or to see for someone, or to look down upon someone). The words "Commit adultery" are more polite or less obscene than the Gikuyu equivalent "Utharia" which to young people

would probably mean ``to spoils a building or anything.'' For other examples on referential function of Code - switching (see Appendix A No 3, 10, 16, 24, 25, 29, 53, and 61.)

3.3 DIRECTIVE FUNCTION.

According to Appel and Muysken (1987:119) directive function of code - switching occurs when a switch serves to specify an addressee as the recipient of the message, that is to accommodate monolingual speakers, to draw attention to the fact that the addressee is being invited to participate in an exchange. Since it involves the hearer directly, it may serve to exclude or include certain persons from a portion of the conversation.

From our data some of the switches that serve to illustrate this function are as follows:

1. Setting: In a medical training college graduation ceremony. After a song, the mistress of the ceremony said, " Thank you very much for Muthunguci song, no inyui aciari mutinatu - joini - i na niinyui mwaturutire."

(Thankyou very much for the muthunguci song but you parents did not join us and you are the one's who taught us.)

The mistress of ceremony was supposed to address the congregation in English, but since most parents could not understand it, she switched to Gikuyu to accommodate them. The part of the sentence in Gikuyu is directed to the parents alone, so it specifies them as the recipient, of the message.

2. Same setting as No 1. One of the speaker when addressing the congregation said;

" I will now speak the national language, "ili nanyi wazazi mpate kuelewa tunayosema."

(I will now speak the national language, so that you parents can understand what we are saying.)

The speaker knew that most parents could not understand English so he switched to Kiswahili to accommodate them.

3. Setting: A teacher talking to a 4K club. He said;

"Wanjiru ndungiigua rugama hau rainini hari aria angi, Yes, it is very unfortunate that we have got only two weeks to go before we close the school and our gardens are bare."

(Wanjiru, you can't hear, stand in the line with the others, yes, it is very unfortunate that we have got only two weeks to go before we close the school and our gardens are bare.

4. Setting: Same as No 3. The teacher was talking about rubbish. He then said:

" Right, reke twambe tutige uhoro wa mahuti."

(Right, lets first drop the topic of rubbish.)

Here, although all the students could understand English and Gikuyu, the switch served a directive function. English is the language of authority and instructions in school. In No3 the teacher was addressing Wanjiru in Gikuyu then switched to English to show that everybody was included in the speech. In No 4. the switch shows a change in topic and the fact that the speaker includes all the other pupils in the speech. The message was not only meant for Mwangi who he had addressed before.

5. Setting: A number of students were discussing a school competition. One of them asked:

" Na atiriri tuma namba cigana, teacher
what number were we?"

(And listen, what number were we, Teacher what number were we?)

The student was first addressing the other student in Gikuyu, but switched to English to specify the teacher as the recipient of the messages. He used English because it is the official language in Kenya schools. In this example, the student identifies the teacher as a person of higher status.

6. Setting: In a matatu The conductor said:

"Ni ciringi ngari, shilingi tano, bus station, wewe five bob."

(The car is five shillings, five shillings, bus station, you five shillings.)

Here the matatu conductor switched to accommodate all the passengers. He knew that the passengers could be people from different ethnic groups and different levels of education. So if he used one language, some of them would not get the message he was trying to pass across. This idea is supported by Grimshaw (1996) who observes that code-switching reveals a great deal about a person's self-awareness; his awareness of his audience and of the third parties.

3.4 EXPRESSIVE FUNCTION.

This function of code-switching was stressed by Poplack (1980). Here, speakers emphasize a mixed identity through the use of two languages in the same discourse. For fluent multilinguals, conversation full of code-switching is a mode of speech by itself, and individual switches no longer have a discourse function.

From our data, the three languages used show three different identities. Where the speakers use Gikuyu they are identifying themselves as Gikuyu speakers. The use of English is to identify themselves as learned and Kiswahili gives the identity of a Kenyan because it is the national language (Whitley (1974: 211:222)). There are twenty seven switches serving this function from our data. Only six of them are cited below to illustrate the point:

1. Setting: A lady was washing clothes and did not have enough pegs to hang them. She said:

"Jane, wi pegs hihi you don't have."

(Jane, do you have pegs by any chance, you don't have.)

Here the speaker identifies herself as a learned Gikuyu speaker by use of Gikuyu and English.

2. Setting: A group of ladies were discussing a certain man. One talked of advice she gave the man.

"Ngimwira, haiya, you ukiendelea kutupa mbao hivyo,, no ukubutwo wira."

(I told him, you, if you continue misbehaving you will lose your job.)

Here the speaker identifies herself as a Gikuyu by use of Gikuyu, and a learned Kenyan by use of English and Kiswahili. All the participants were Gikuyu speakers so the switches could not be serving any other function

3. Setting: In an office, a group of men were discussing a certain man. One of them talked of those in training with the man they were discussing. He said,

"They were three, two university lecturers nake."

(They were three, two university lecturers and him.)

Here the speaker identifies as a learned Kenyan by use of English and as a Gikuyu by use of the Gikuyu word.

Setting: Same as in NO.3. Another man said:

"It was a good risk, yake guthii Daystar."

(It was a good risk, for him to go to Daystar.)

The speaker identifies himself as a learned Gikuyu by use of Gikuyu and English.

Setting: A student talking of her intentions to see her supervisor. She said:

" Ndirenda kugera gwa Kihara, on my way home."

(I want to pass by Kihara's place on my way home.

Here the speaker identifies herself as a learned Gikuyu by use of English and Gikuyu.

Setting: Same as in No. 7. When the student was leaving. She said:

"Say hi to the other, ninguka thaa icio ingi."

(Say hi to the others, I will come later.)

Here the speaker identifies herself as a learned Kenyan, just as in No. 5.

This function of code-switching is mostly found in the speech of people in Nairobi (urban area), especially students and those in white collar jobs because they are fluent in the three languages. In that case they have acquired the three identities.

For other examples of expressive function of code-switching see (Appendix A No.s 2, 17, 22, 58, 65, 70, 82, 86, and 90.)

3.5 PHATIC FUNCTION.

Here code-switching serves to indicate a change in tone of conversation. One may use a standard language then use a sentence or word to show the levels of emphasis. It therefore supplies force to an order. From our data, twenty one of the switches served this function. Six examples of switches that serve this function are as follows:

1. Setting: In an office, a group of men were discussing a certain man. One of them said,

"Kabui anyendaga na kanua, he is very good at that."

"(Kabui's liking for me is just talk, he is good at that.)

the speaker switches to English to put emphasis on what he had said
at first part of the sentence. He does not add anything new to
the first statement in Gikuyu.

Setting: In a matatu a passenger said:

Tuticokerio, bado hatujapatiwa change."

(We have not yet been given change.)

the speaker switches to emphasise that she had not been given
er balance. The utterance in Gikuyu passed the whole message
in Kiswahili to put emphasis.

Setting: In a church, a preacher, while interpreting the
readings, he said:

"No nginya mwirire You must convert."

(You must repent You must convert.)

the preacher code-switched to put emphasis on the importance of
repentance.

4. Setting: In a party, the master of ceremony, telling people to introduce themselves. Said:

"Mundu egwete hanini ta mbwe,

Kiasi kidogo tu."

(You mention your name in short like a fox, just a little.)

The speaker switches to Kiswahili to emphasise what he said at the first part of the sentence.

5. Setting: Two secondary school students were discussing a car. One said

"Niui ino ni ngari njega muno, It's a very nice car, mahitia ni kunyua muno."

(Do you know that this is a very nice car, (it is a very nice car) the problem is that it consumes a lot of petrol.)

The speaker switches to English to emphasize the goodness of the car.

All these switches are supported by Rayfield's (1970:54) claim that, in contemporary spoken language, code-switching has been noted as a device for emphasis through repetition in another language.

There are also switches that supply force to an order. For example,

Setting: A teacher talking to a 4k club, he then turned to the pupils who had not brought planting seeds and said:

"Tuikaire na aya menacio aya ana, could I remain with these four?"

(We stay with these who have them, could I remain with these four?)

This switch serves to indicate a change in tone of conversation. The teacher was talking in Gikuyu in a low voice then shouted in English forcing the students to give an answer. (See also Appendix S No 7, 33, 36, 43, 47, 71, 77.)

6 METALINGUISTIC FUNCTION:

This is when code-switching is used to comment directly or indirectly on the language involved. Here speakers switches between different codes to impress the other participants with a show of linguistic skills. Examples of switches serving this function from our data are as follows:

Setting: A hawker was selling a baby's dress to a man in presence of many people from different ethnic groups. The man said:

"Niui, mahitia makwa nikwaga kuhikania, that is my problem."

(You know my mistake is that I am not married, that is my problem.)

The man switched to impress those who were present with a show of linguistic skills. The last part of the sentence was directed to people around in a manner to show that he also knows English.

Setting: Two students from different schools met. One did not want to say much about herself, but the other was pestering her. He said:

"Uthomagira thukuru itagwo atia, just be straight, I mean be transparent."

(What school do you attend? just be straight, I mean, be transparent.)

The student switched to impress the other with a show of linguistic skills. The part, "I mean be transparent" was said in a manner to show that he has also heard the phrase.

3. Setting: A group of people were making preparations to go for a certain ceremony. The organizer said:

"Wee i ndwakiheirwo uhoru, ni ndatumire that boy."

(You were given the message, I sent that boy.)

4. Setting: Same as in No 3. The organizer went on to say,

"O mundu arute magana meri na ikumi, Okay?"

(Everyone to contribute two hundreds and ten, okay)

The switches the organizer made in the two utterances were just intended to impress the listeners with a show of linguistic skills. Normally the speaker uses Gikuyu all through, but when her big daughters who are university students are in the house she tends to switch to English most often. After the two utterances, her younger daughter commented that,

"Umuthi mami arenda gutuiga iguru na Githungu."

(Today mum wants to impress us by speaking English.)

In this case even the listeners realised that the organizer wanted to impress them.

Setting: Two men were talking, one talked of being a frequent visitor to a certain place. The other asked:

"Hindi iria wiriga mwokite na your dad?"

The last time you were here, you had come with your Dad?)

The speaker wanted to show that he can also use the phrase "Your dad" He imitated the other speaker who had used it earlier. (see also Appendix A No's 62 and 63, for more examples.)

7 EMOTIVE FUNCTION.

Here, code - switching serves to express emotions for example:

Setting: In a Matatu the conductor refused to give a hawker his balance. The hawker said:

"Thii nacio, icio ticio ingithinia, nii ndi mbeca nyingi, I have a lot of money."

(Go with it, that can't make me poor, I have a lot of money.)

Here the speaker switched to English to show greater annoyance.

2. Setting: Two students met, One wanted to know the other better. He said,

"Tucemanitie handu ta haha na tukageithania no njigue ndi offended ngiaga gukumenya."

(Having met in a place like this and having greeted one another, I can feel offended not to get to know you.)

The switch to the English word "offended" shows that the speaker was getting annoyed because the lady was proving to be very stubborn.

3. Setting: A group of ladies were discussing how they were running short of time in preparations for their friend's wedding . One said,

"In fact I told Lucy to come earlier; Ngai! this might be the only day we have."

(In fact I told Lucy to come early; God! this might be the only day we have.)

Here the speaker switches to express worry.

4. Setting: A lady remembered she owed somebody money. She said:

"Ui, I had your five hundred bobs."

(Oh, I had your five hundred shillings.)

Here the speaker is expressing shock and regret.

5. Setting: Two kiosk sellers were discussing a certain family. One talked of the family having more members than the other knew. The other said:

"Really ! hari angì akuru kwi Mutuota?"

(Really ! there are others older than Mutuota?)

The speaker switched to express disbelief.

6. Setting: A student discussing a pair of shoes she and her sister had been bought. She said,

"Mami auma Nyahururu aratwita ati twigerie iratu, ndiragithii ngenete no ndaciona ndirauga kwisha! ithui twagithira."

(After mum came from Nyahururu she called us to try out some shoes, I was so happy when going , but when I saw them I said, (finish) we are finished.)

The switch serves an emotive function in that the speaker wants to show dissatisfaction and the fact that she did not like the pair of shoes.

3.8 NUMBER OF SWITCHES THAT SERVE EACH FUNCTION OF CODE-SWITCHING FROM THE DATA

In quantifying the number of switches into each function of code - switching we have not used the number of sentences because a sentence can have more than one switch serving different functions. Instead we have used the number of switches.

NUMBER AND FUNCTIONS OF SWITCHES

| FUNCTIONS | NUMBER | PERCENTAGE |
|---------------------------|--------|------------|
| 1 REFERENTIAL FUNCTION | 27 | 28% |
| 2 DIRECTIVE FUNCTION | 6 | 6% |
| 3 EXPRESSIVE FUNCTION | 27 | 28% |
| 4 PHATIC FUNCTION | 21 | 22% |
| 5 METALINGUISTIC FUNCTION | 8 | 8% |
| 6 EMOTIVE FUNCTION | 7 | 8% |

From the table we see that code-switching mostly serves referential, expressive and phatic functions and rarely serves directive, metalinguistic and emotive functions. Languages are used to ease communication. That is why code-switching mostly serves the referential, expressive and phatic functions. There are ideas or messages which can only be passed using certain languages. So if speakers are using languages other than these, they will tend to code-switch. In this case code-switching serves referential function (Blom and Gumprez 1967).

Language is a symbol of identity, Whitely (1974:221:222). If people have mastered a number of languages, they can tend to use all of them to express these different identities hence the expressive function of code-switching. Similarly, different languages carry

different weight in certain social situations Appel and Muysken (1987). That is why people make switches serving phatic function. In this case they want to put emphasis on something and adding force to an order. However, directive function of code-switching among Gikuyu speakers from the data collected was rare because, apart from differences in levels of education, there is no other reason as to why a Gikuyu speaker would switch to accommodate a fellow Gikuyu speaker.

Code-switching serving metalinguistic function is employed only by people who have little or no formal education. Their intentions being to show that they know languages which are prestigious. This is a very minor reason for language use and so metalinguistic function of code-switching is rare.

Emotions are better expressed through actions or expressions such as facial ones rather than words. That is why code-switching rarely serves the emotive function.

This approach of functional framework of Jakobson (1960) and Halliday et al (1964) has some limitations. For example, there are switches which can be said to serve both emotive and phatic functions. A good example is the utterances made by a hawker after the matatu conductor refused to give him his balance. The hawker said,

"Thii nacio, icio ticio ingithinia, nii ndi mbeca nyingi, I have a lot of money."

(Go with it, that can't make me poor, I have a lot of money (I have a lot of money.)

ere one can say that the speaker switched to English to show greater annoyance. On the other hand, One can also say that the speaker switched to emphasize the fact that he has a lot of money. However we classified it in emotive function, putting into consideration what provoked the speaker to speak. It wasn't because he wanted to show the he has a lot of money but because he was annoyed for having been refused his balance. The other limitation is that there are switches that do not properly fit in the six functions of code -switching listed in this approach. For example, the switch made by a teacher while talking to a 4K club:

"Wanjiru ndungiigua, rugama hau raini-ini hari aria angi, Yes it is very unfortunate that we have got only two weeks to go before we close the the school and our gardens are bare."

(Wanjiru, you can't hear, stand in the line with the others, yes it is ver unfortunate that we have got only two weeks to go before we close the school and our gardens are bare.)

The teacher also said:

"Right, reke twambe tutige uhoro wa mahuti."

(Right, lets first leave the topic on rubbish.)

Using the model of Jakobson (1960) and Halliday et al (1964), the two utterances made by the teacher are said to serve directive function because although all the students could understand English and Gikuyu, the first part of the utterance is directed at Wanjiru while the second is directed at Mwangi. He then switches to show that the message is directed at all the students. Here we employ the technique of Gal (1979) which shows that switching can be employed to show authority. In our case, English is the language of authority in schools and that is why the teacher switches to English while speaking to all the students.

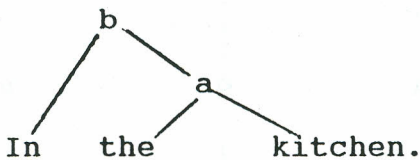
Despite the fact that the model has these limitations, it at least enabled us to show the functions of all the code-switches.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHERE SWITCHING OCCURS IN AN UTTERANCE.

4.1 INTRODUCTION.

This chapter shows where in an utterance code-switching can possibly take place. Here we have used Poplack's (1980) frequency hierarchy of switchable constituents. We have however not restricted ourselves to Poplack's hierarchy but have gone further to describe other easily switchable constituents outside Poplack's hierarchy. According to Matthews (1981: 72 -73), constituency model of syntax permits the formulation of a phrase structure (or constituent structure) grammar. In constituent structure grammar a unit 'A' is related to a neighbouring 'B' solely by their placement within a larger unit 'C'. The larger unit is called syntagm. For example, a three word syntagm "In the kitchen" is established by the relationship of "in" and "the kitchen".



Any unit which is enclosed within a syntagm may be described as a constituent of that syntagm. So each of the units "in, the, kitchen," are constituents of the unit "in the kitchen". Of these constituents those whose relationship directly establishes the

ntagm are it's immediate constituents. In the adverbial analysis of a sentence like, "leave the meat in the kitchen, other syntagms can be formed by "the meat" and "leave." All these syntagms are related and can be joined to make one sentence. The construction of each syntagm can be characterized by the class of the whole, the class of each of it's immediate constituents and the order in which they appear. In the adverbial analysis, the whole assemblage could be displayed as follows:-

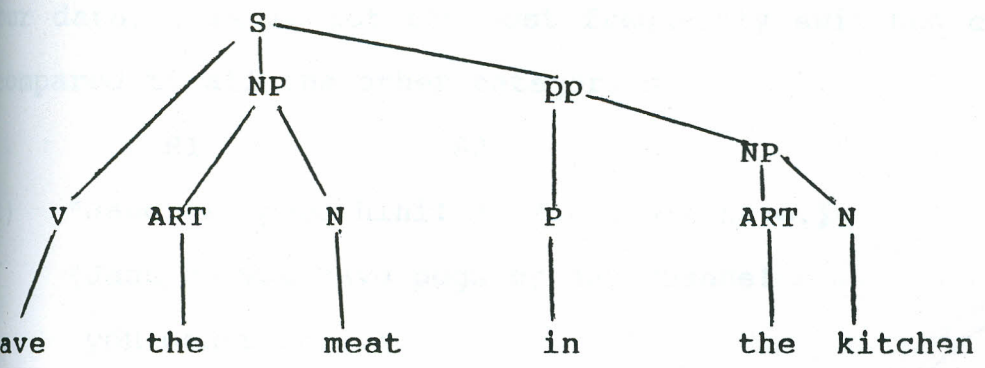
entence - s.

the Kitchen -> Noun Phrase (NP) with an article (ART) and (NOUN).

W -> prepositional phrase (PP).

leave -> Verb phrase (VP).

the meat -> Noun phrase with an article (ART) and (NOUN).



his system has been divided into three syntagms which are

->Verb

NP -> Noun phrase, pp -> prepositional phrase.

These syntagms are formed by various constituents. A verb is just made up of a verb, noun phrase is made up of an article and a noun and the prepositional phrase is made up of a preposition and a noun phrase.

4.2 WHERE SWITCHING OCCURS

Poplack (1980) established a frequency hierarchy of switchable constituents. According to her, a sentence is seen as the highest constituent. She found out that full sentences are the most frequently switched constituents. A grammatical sentence as defined by the phrase structure rules Matthews (1981:76) can consist of a verb phrase plus a noun phrase. From our data, 22% of the utterances had full sentence switches (see examples below). This shows that although there is switching of full sentences in our data, this is not the most frequently switched category when compared to all the other categories.

S1

S2

1) "Jane, wi pegs hihi! / You don't have.)

(Jane do you have pegs by any chance!

you don't have.)

This utterance is in two sentences. The first sentence is a

question and is in Gikuyu. Although there is an English word "pegs" in this sentence this cannot be called a switch because Gikuyu language does not have a word for pegs: in which case this is a borrowing. The second sentence is a statement in English.

NP VP
First sentence: Jane / wi pegs hihi

NP VP
Second sentence: You / don't have

S1 S2
"Say hi to the others / ninguka thaa icio ingi"
(Say hi to the others, i will come later.)

First sentence: Say hi to the others.

NP VP
There is an implied NP (You / Say hi to the others.)

NP VP
Second sentence: Ni / nguka thaa icio ingi.

The first sentence is in English the second in Gikuyu.

S1 S2
"Uthomagira thukuru itagwo atia? / just be straight i mean
be transparent."

(Where do you go to school, just be straight i mean be

transparent.)

NP VP

First sentence: U/thomagira thukuru itagwo atia?

Second sentence: Just be straight, I mean be transparent

There is an implied NP

NP VP

(You /just be straight, I mean be transparent.

The first sentence is in Gikuyu the second one in English.

S1 S2

4. "Jane niukwendaga ucuru? / I've put it in a cup".

(Jane did you want some porridge, I've put it in a cup.)

NP VP

First sentence: Jane/ niukwendaga ucuru?

NP VP

The second sentence : I /have put it in a cup.

The first sentence is a question in Gikuyu the second is a

statement in English.

S1

S2

"Kabui anyendaga na kanua / he is very good at that."

(Kabui's love for me is only talk , he is very good at that.)

NP

VP

First sentence: Kabui /anyendaga na kanua.

NP

VP

Second sentence: He /is very good at that.

The first sentence is in Gikuyu the second in English.

All these sentences as defined by the phrase structure rules consist of verb phrase and noun phrase constituents.

The second stage of Poplack's hierarchy is switching at various major constituents boundaries. That is between noun phrase and verb phrase. Our data does not however show switching occurring exactly between a noun phrase and a verb phrase. Nevertheless, at the lower end of continuum, according to Poplack (1980) are switches within major constituents: i.e within the noun phrase or verb phrase. This was clearly evident in our data.

For example,

NP

VP

"Did you / give him a nice musomo?"

(Did you give him a nice lecturer?)

Here the switch occurs within the verb phrase, between the object attribute and the third noun.

2. NP VP

Nii/ nindiciendete tondu Mwarimu nioi weakness ya mwana.

(Me I like them because the teacher knows the child's weakness.)

Here the switch occurs within the verb phrase between the second verb and the object attribute.

NP

Vp

3. "Nima tondu tigiti ucio / niwatuika too much."

(It's true because that bus fare has become too much.)

The switch is within the verb phrase between verb and the preposition.

NP

Vp

4. Inyui/ muikaraga nyumba iyo nyonaga mwi hatari kabisa.

(You the occupants of that house, I find you to be completely dangerous.)

The switch is within the verb phrase between the preposition and the noun attribute.

NP

VP

5. "Wee / indwakiheirwo uhoru nindatumire that boy."

(You were given the message, I sent that boy.)

The switch is within the verb phrase, between the second verb and the determiner.

From our data 21% of the utterance had switches within the verb phrase. None had switches within the noun-phrase.

According to Poplack the higher the syntactic level of the constituents, the more likely it is to serve as a potential site for a switch. Poplack's claim is true to some extent but when we look at intrasentential and tag-switching we see switching at very low syntactic levels of constituents.

4.3 OTHER EASILY SWITCHABLE CONSTITUENTS.

4.3.1 NOUNS.

Nouns are the single most often switched constituents, Scotton (1988). One reason why nouns are so frequently code - switched is that they are relatively free of syntactic restrictions. From our data we have about ten nouns of one language being inserted in utterances of another language without violating the syntactic structure of the recipient language. Examples from our data are as follows.

1. "Akorwo wi sister ya Muturi-ri niui Muturi twi agemates, nake Njuguna twari classmates."

(If you are a sister to Muturi, do you know that Muturi we are agemates and Njuguna we were classmates.)

2 "You mean they have repaired the big riko?"

(You mean they have repaired the big hot plate(cooker.)

3. "Urutaga wira na Mama Ndung'u?

(You work with Ndungu's mother.)

4. " Ningi niendaga politics."

(He also wanted politics.)

5. "Katika college hii, tutaendelea kuwa na tight discipline."

(In this college, we will continue having tight discipline.)

6 "Reke nyambe nyone program menye niatia wanjira ati ti confidential."

(Let me first see the program so as to know how things are, you've told me its not confidential.)

7. "Marariha na mbeba citu no riu ithui tutikaheyo plot na mbeba ni citu."

(They paid with our money and we will not be given plots and it's our money.)

From all these examples we see that nouns are inserted anywhere in a sentence without violating the syntactic structure of the recipient language. In the first example the English nouns 'sister', 'agemate' and 'classmates' are inserted in a Gikuyu sentence without violating its syntactic structure. In the second example a Gikuyu noun 'riko' meaning 'cooker' is inserted in an English sentence without violating its syntactic structure and in the third example Kiswahili nouns 'Mama Ndungu' meaning Ndungu's mother are inserted in a Gikuyu sentence.

4.3.2 TAGS

Tags are also subject to minimal syntactic restrictions, therefore, they can be inserted easily at a number of points in a monolingual utterance without violating its syntactic rules Romain (1989). Examples of tag switching from our data are as follows:-

1. "You! ngwihoka ti migambo itu uroya na kanyamu kau."

(You! I hope you are not recording our voices.)

2. "In fact I told Lucy to come early, Ngai! this might be the only day we have."
(In fact I told Lucy to come early, God! this might be the only day we have.)
3. "Ui ! I had your five hundreds bobs."
(Oh, I had your five hundred shillings.)
4. "Now, when I read this table of the seed master a seed mistress, the seed mistress tells me that it is only one, two, three four, four members who have brought the seeds."
(Now when I read this table of the seed master no seed mistress, the seed mistress tells me that it is only one, two three, four four members who have brought the seeds.)
5. "O mundu arute magana meri ma Ikumi, okey! "
(Everyone to contribute two hundred and ten shillings okay!)
6. Nduma, wee urendaga o kunduma , finish!."
(Send me, you just wanted to send me, finish!)
7. Mami auma Nyahururu aratwita ati twigerie iratu, ndiragithii ngenete no ndaciona, ndirauga kwisha ithui twagithira."
(After mum came from Nyahururu she called us to fit some shoes, I was happy when going, but when I saw them i said (finish) we are finished)

From these examples we see that a tag in one language can be inserted anywhere in an utterance of another language without violating the syntactic structure of the language. In example one an English tag is put at the beginning of a Gikuyu sentence. In example two a Gikuyu tag is inserted in the middle of an English sentence and in example seven a Kiswahili tag is inserted in the middle of a Gikuyu sentence.

1.3 SWITCHING WITHIN A WORD:

The syntactic structure of a sentence does not restrict code-switching. If switches do occur at positions where there is no structural equivalent, the words of the donor language are given the recipient language's inflectional morphology. This results in intrasentential switching, where switching occurs at a word boundary.

EXAMPLES

"Akimu-push nginya akiandikwo wira munene muno."

(He pushed him until he got a very good job.)

"No u-imagine njukire guku before eight."

(Can you imagine I came here before eight.)

"Gathere arenda atia na kanyamu gaka, ka-dub-agira ku?"

(What does Gathere want with this thing, where is the ~~button~~ button.)

Kanja araigwa ari o kuria gwake na niui no u-monit-e uri o hau."

(Kanja can hear from his place, and you know you can monitor from where you are.)

"Riuri, we should take this very seriously, tutige, nitwa-place order iyo."

(Now we should take this very seriously, we make sure we've placed that order.)

"A-train-wo atuike ki?"

(He will be trained to become what.)

"Initially she had sindikiza-ed with a thousand shillings."

(Initially she had escorted with a thousand shillings.)

"Thank you very much for the muthunguci song, no inyui aciari mutinatu-join-i na ni inyui mwaturutire."

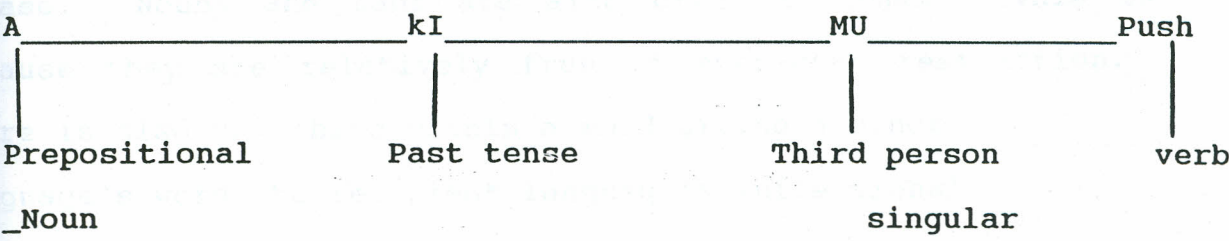
(Thank you very much for the muthunguci song, but you parents did not join us and you are the ones who taught us.)

"Hau hothe nindira-consider, no ri, tikaba kuu nimarathoma hanini."

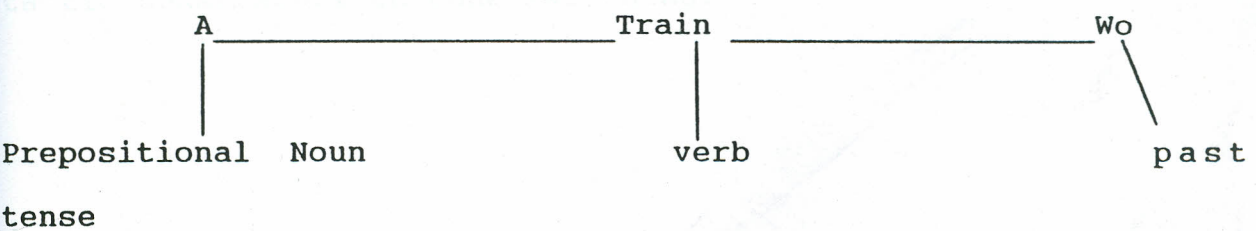
(I am considering all that, but its better there because they at least learn.)

In all these examples we see the donor language's words being given the recipient language's inflectional morphology. Most of these words are taken from the donor language because the recipient language does not have a suitable equivalent word for what is being referred to. Instead of the speaker using the word as it is used in the donor language, the word is changed to suit the recipient language's morphology.

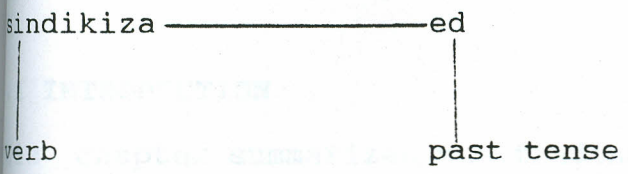
In the first example the English word "push" is added Gikuyu inflectional morphology to make it a Gikuyu word because Gikuyu language has no word with the meaning of "push" as used in the utterance.



In example six an English word is given Gikuyu inflectional morphology.



In Example seven, a Kiswahili word is given English inflectional morphology of past tense.



In this chapter we sought to show where switching can occur in an utterance. We have found out that full sentences can be switched easily. Twenty utterances from our data had switching of full sentences. There is also switching within major constituents. Here, switching occurs mostly within verb: phrase. Nouns and tags are also often switched. This is because they are relatively free of syntactic restriction. There is also switching within a word giving a donor language's word the recipient language's inflectional morphology. This shows that syntactic structure of a sentence does not restrict code-switching and that code-switching can occur anywhere in a sentence. This idea is supported by the view of Berk-Selingson (1986) that there are no universal syntactic constraints on code-switching.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter summarizes the findings of the whole study and draws pertinent conclusions. Particular emphasis is laid on the theoretical implications of the findings.

2 OBJECTIVES AND FINDINGS OF THE STUDY.

The central objective of this study was to investigate language use among Gikuyu Multilingual speakers. It analysed data obtained from speakers in two locations:- Nairobi (urban area) and Nyahururu (rural area). The main aims of this study were to collect, identify and classify the switches. Three types of switches were identified. These are: tag-switching, intersentential-switching and intrasentential-switching. The study was based on Scotton's (1992) model, namely "The Matrix Language Frame Model of code-switching" (M.L.F). Using this model the researcher intended to show how applicable the model can be in analysing the switches, what determines the matrix language (ML) and whether, one language consistently served as the matrix language.

The study was also aimed at finding out what functions switches play in speech, the sociolinguistic implications of the switches and the circumstances in which switching can possibly take place.

Data was obtained from students, people in white collar jobs and those in blue collar jobs from the locations stated above.

The researcher then analysed forty five utterances from speakers in each location using the functional framework of Jakobson (1960) and Halliday et al (1964). This method was supported by Gal's (1979) interpretive analysis of the interaction intents achieved in code-switching. Both random sampling (Phillips: 1985) and purposive sampling were used in the collection of data. Poplack's (1980) frequency hierarchy of switchable constituents was used to show where switching can occur in an utterance.

The data showed that all the three types of linguistic code-switching were present in the speech of Gikuyu speakers, with intrasentential and intersentential switching occurring more often than tag - switching. According to the model, "The Matrix Language Frame Model of code - switching" Scotton (1992). The language that is supposed to serve as the matrix language is Gikuyu. This is the language that is more dominant both in terms of speaker's proficiency and its use in the speech community.

who observes that the Matrix language is English or Kikuyu in most cases. From the data, it was also found that for those living in rural areas and hold blue collar jobs, ML is Kikuyu throughout. However, education is seen to be a major factor determining ML. For students and those in white-collar jobs, there are times when ML is English or Kiswahili.

Urbanity is another factor determining ML. From the data, there are more instances where ML was English or Kiswahili in the speech of those in the urban area than those in the rural area. This is because there are many different ethnic groups in the urban area than the rural area and, as such, the frequency of Kikuyu speakers using English or Kiswahili in the urban area is higher than in the rural area.

This idea is supported by Hymes (1964) and Ervin-Tripp (1964), who state that, apart from purely linguistic and stylistic rules, the form of a verbal message in any speech event is directly affected by the participants, the ecological surroundings and the topic or range of topics.

It was also found that, each of the switches made by the speakers had a function. In this case code-switching is seen to be a useful tool in communication. This idea is supported by a pride

(1972) who observes that the social value of language reveals itself in all manner of socially motivated verbal behavior.

The functions of code-switching differed between individuals depending on the level of education. Code-switching serving expressive function was mostly employed by students and those in white collar jobs, while code-switching serving metalinguistic function was employed by those in blue collar jobs, especially those in rural area. Mostly these are people who have a very low level of formal education or have none at all, but want to show their linguistic skills.

The data also showed that code-switching is not restricted to the syntactic structure of the languages involved. This idea is in line with Berk-Seligson's view (1986). She disputed the existence of universal syntactic constraints on code-switching.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The approach of functional framework of Jakobson (1960) and Halliday et al (1964) has some shortcomings in showing a clear-cut distinction between different functions of code-switching. For example, difference between emotive and phatic functions (see Appendix A No 30). It is, therefore recommended that a similar study based on a different functional framework be carried out.

It is also recommended that a similar study be carried out using data from different languages. This will enable researchers to find out whether language use is similar in all linguistic communities. This study has dealt very briefly on where in a sentence code-switching can possibly take place. A more extensive study mainly on this subject would be important.

APPENDIX A

1. Setting: A lady was washing clothes in presence of another Gikuyu lady. She did not have enough pegs to hang the clothes. She said,

"Jane, Wi- pegs hihi, you don't have?"

(Jane, do you have pegs by any chance, you don't have.)

2. Setting: Discussing a cooker. A lady in presence of Gikuyu and Luhya speakers said,

'You mean they have repaired the big riko?'

(You mean they have repaired the big plate
(Cooker?))

3. Setting: Discussing a certain man. A lady in presence of Gikuyu speakers said,

"Akimu - push nginya akiandikwo wira munene muno."

(He pushed him until he got a very good job.)

4. Setting: Same as in No3. A lady talking of the advice she gave the man said,

"Ngimwira, haiya, you, ukiendelea kutupa mbao
hivyo, no ukubutwo wira."

(I told him, you, if you continue misbehaving you will lose your job.)

5. Setting: A student talking of her intention to see her supervisor in presence of a fellow Gikuyu speaker.

"Ndirenda kugera gwa Kihara, on my way home."

(I want to pass by Kihara's place on my way home.)

6. Same setting as No 5. The speaker continued to say,

"No ui-magine njukire guku before eight."

(Can you imagine I came here before eight.)

7. Same as No 5 The speaker went on to say,

"But the good thing is that, when we meet we work kabisa ati tugitigana we've done so much.

(But the good thing is that when we meet we work completely in that when parting we've done so much.)

8. Setting: Same as No 5, as the speaker was leaving she said,

"Say hey to the others, ninguuka thaa icio ingi."

(Say hey to the others, I will come later.)

9. Setting: A group of Gikuyu male students were discussing a tape recorder. One of them said,

"Gathere arenda atia na kanyamu gaka, ka-dab-
agira ku?"

(What does Gathere want with this thing, where is the dabling button.)

10. Same setting as no 9. The reply given.

"Kai nii njui githi ti ukorie, indurona ke on."

(I don't know, ask it can't you see its on.)

11. Same setting Another said,

"You! ngwihoka ti migambo itu uroya na kanyamu kau."

(You ! I hope you are not recording our voices.)

12. Same setting : The reply given.

"Who ! aca tiga kuhura ngoro."

(Who ! no don't worry.)

13. Same setting: Giving advice on how to record better.

"Ukwenda wike uguoi, no riu ni advance muno, wethe
ka-microphone kahana karamu

(Although it's very advance, you need to look for
a microphone that looks like a pen.)

14. Same setting: The speaker went on to say,

"Kanja araigwa ari o kuria gwake na niui no
u-monite uri o hau.!"

(Kanja can hear from his place, and you know you
can monitor from where you are.)

15. Setting: A group of Gikuyu ladies discussing how they were
running short of time in preparation for their
friends wedding. One said,

"In fact I told Lucy to came early; Ngai! this
might be the only day we have."

(In fact I told Lucy to came early; God! this
might be the only day we have .)

16. Setting: A group of Gikuyu ladies in presence of two Embian speakers, discussing how men behave with small babies. One of them said,

"They don't even touch the nini of their babies."

(They don't even touch the "what -ever(toilet) of their babies.)

17. The same setting as No. 16 Another lady said.

"Ama akilia, they give it to the mother."

(And incase it cries, they give it to the mother.)

18. Same setting as No. 16. One lady gave a specific example.

"Like when Mburu's daughter was born, he was saying ati, " that kid was tinny, I could not even hold it."

(Like when Mburu's daughter was born, he was saying (that), " that kid was tinny, I could not even hold it.)

19. In the same setting, another lady said,

"Did you give him a nice musomo."

(Did you give him a nice lecture.)

20. Setting: In an office, a group of Gikuyu men discussing a certain man. One of them said,

"Kabui anyendaga na kanua, he is very good at that."

(kabui likes me with the mouth, he is very good at that.)

21. The same setting as no.6. One talked of the man they were discussing to be on training. Another asked,

"A-train-wo atuike ki?"

(He be trained to become what?)

22. The same setting: Talking of these involved in the training. One said,

"They were three, two university lecturers, nake."

(They were three two university lecturers and him.)

23. Setting. Two Gikuyu ladies were talking. One remembered she had the others dept. She said,

"Ui, I had your five hundred bob."

(Oh, I had your five hundred shillings.)

24. Setting: A group of Gikuyu ladies talking about a fund raising. One of them said,

"Initially she had sindikiza-ed with a thousand shillings."

(Initially she had escorted with a thousand shillings.)

25. Setting: Two women were discussing their children's tuition classes. One of them said.

"Nii ni ndiciendete tondu mwarimu nioi weakness ya mwana."

(Me I like them because the teacher knows the child's weakness.)

26. The same setting as No 25. the other woman asked,

"Urutaga wira na, Mama Ndungu.?"

(You work with, Ndungu's mother.)

27. Setting: Two men were discussing a certain man, one of them said,

"It was a good risk, yake guthii Daystar."

(It was a good risk, for him to go to Daystar.)

28. same setting as no 27 the other man said,
fruits said,

"Ningi niendaga, politics."

(He also wanted, politics.)

29. Same setting: Talking about politics the first man said,

"Nyeuthi itiri musimamo."

(Blacks do not have a stand.)

30. Setting: In a matatu, the conductor refused to give a hawker his balance. the hawker said,

"Thii nacio ,icio ticio ingithinia, nii ndimbeca nyingi, I have a lot of money."

(Go with it, that can't make me poor, I have alot of money, (I have alot-of money.)

31. setting: In a matatu. The conductor said,

"Ni ciringi ithano ngari, shilingi tano, bus station, wewe five bobs."

(The car is five shillings, five shillings bus station, you five shillings.)

32. The same setting as No. 31. A passenger who was carrying fruits said,

"Tuticokerio, bado hatujapatiwa change."

(We have not been given our balance, we've not been given change yet.)

33. Setting: Two men were parting. One a porter the other a businessman. (selling second hand clothes.) The businessman said,

"Riuri, we should take this very seriously, tutige nitwa - place order iyo."

(Now we should take this very seriously, we make sure we've placed that order.)

34. The same setting as No. 33. The businessman suggested when they should meet again. The porter said,

"Ndigira mbecha, tondu wahota ku-fail the whole day, anything can happen."

(Leave me with some money, because you might fail the whole day, anything can happen because you might fail

36. The same setting as No. 33. The businessman replied,

"Nima, tondu tigitu ucio niwatuika, too much."

(It is true, because that bus fare has become too much).

37. Setting: A hawker selling baby's clothes to passengers said,

"Mia na ishirini, muthee urenda atia."

(A hundred and twenty, old man, what do you want.)

38. Same setting as No. 37. The man replied.

"Niui mahitia makwa ni kwaga kuhikania,
that is my problem."

(You know my failing is that I am not married,
that is my problem.)

39. Setting: In a market. A fruit seller talking to a number of Gikuyu ladies said,

"Inyui muikaraga nyumba iyo nyonaga mwi
hatari kabisa."

(You the occupants of that house, I find you to be completely dangerous.)

40. Setting: At a " Jua Kali" market. A number of Gikuyu men were discussing how they get broke at times. One of them said,

"Nitwike uguo murungii, you see things are terrible and I need money Mr, ndirenda uhe loan rwa ciringi igana."

(Lets do this Murungi, you see things are terrible and I need money Mr, I want you to give me a loan for a hundred shillings.)

41. Same setting as No 40. Another man said,

"Ta-imagine atiriri, how many times you have robbed the kitchen budget.)

(Just imagine this, how many times you have robbed the kitchen budget.)

42. Same setting: Another man went on to say,

"Kai muiciragia wa Mutahi ndakoragwo akiaria uhoru wa ma, how he is fond of sabotaging the woman's budget."

(You think Mutahi's son does not talk the truth, how he is fond of sabotaging the woman's budget.)

43. Setting: Two Kiosk sellers discussing a certain family. One woman said,

"We utakiui twana tuu, hari imundu nguru nginya kungira, Tiga Mutuota, there are several others."

(You don't know those children, there are some who are even older than me, leave alone Mutuota there are several others.)

44. Same setting as No. 43. The other said,

"Really! hari angi akuru kwi Mutuata?"

(Really? are there others older than Mutuota?)

45. Setting In a medical training college graduation ceremony. During entertainment, after a song a student who was the mistress of ceremony said,

"Thank you very much for the muthungucu song, no inyui aciari mutinatu - join -i na ni inyui mwaturutire."

(Thank you very much for the muthungucu song, but you parents, you did not join us and you are the ones who taught us.)

46. Setting: Two students from different schools met at a festival. One of them said,

"Uthomagira Thukuru itagwo atia, just be straight, I mean be transparent."

(Where are you schooling, just be straight, I mean be transparent.)

47. Same setting as No. 46. The other refused to say. The speaker continued to say,

"Wee njiira, ndukamake niuria ukunjirite, I will understand."

(You just tell me, don't worry about what you had told me, I will understand.)

48. Same setting: The speaker continued to say,

"Tucemanitie handu ta haha na tukageithania, no njigwe ndi offended ngiaga gukumenya."

(Having met in a place like this and having greeted one another, I can feel offended not to get to know you.)

49. Setting: Someone talking of his intentions to greet another through the radio said,

"Napenda request time ya Larry Wambua instead of ile ya mwanamke, sikumbuki jina lake, yule ambayee ameenda nga'mbo.

(I like Larry Wambua's request time instead of that of the woman, I can't remember her name, the one who have gone abroad.)

50. Setting: In a kitchen a form four student asked,

"Mai ni mathiru, weka chini, weka side."

(Is the water over, put down, put aside.)

51. Same setting as No.50 The speaker continued to say,

"Jane niukwendaga ucuru, I've put it in a cap."

(Jane did you want some porridge, I've put it in a cap.)

52. Setting: Two secondary school students were discussing a car. One said,

"Niui ino ni ngari njega muno, It's a very nice car, mahitia ni kunyua muno."

(Do you know that this is a very nice car (it's a very nice car) the problem is that it consumes alot.)

53. Setting: A student in the presence of another Gikuyu speakers was talking about a drunkard woman. she said,

"Uria hingo ciothe aikaraga ari fit."
(That one stays fit all the time.)

54. Setting: A number of students were playing dart one of them was loosing and said,

"Ndirenda mundu wa gu-sponsor."
(I want someone to sponsor me.)

55. Setting: Discussing about a competition. One student asked,

"Na atiriri tumā nāmba cigana, teacher what number were we?"

(And listen what number were we, teacher what number were we?)

56. Setting: A parent telling her child that it was too late to change schools at form four. The child said,

"Hau hothe nindira-consider, no ri tikaba kuu nimarathoma hanini."

(I am considering all that, but it's better there because they at least learn.)

57. Setting: A student discussing a pair of shoes she had been bought . (In presence of her sister)

"Mami auma Nyahururu aratwita ati twigerie iratu, ndiragithii ngenete no ndaciona, ndirauga kwisha! ithui twagithira.)

(After Mum came from Nyahururu she called us to try out some shoes, I was so happy when going, but when I saw them I said (finish) us we are finished.)

58. Setting: A form three student wanted to take his sisters tape recorder with him but the sister was refusing. The student begged,

"Ui please ndungindu -rust o umuthi tu."

(oh! please can't you trust me only for today.)

59. Setting: A form three student was telling the sister of his performance in school. He said,

"Ndirona ngika Githweri wega muno, ngahoya Ngai;
niendeleee na moyo huo huo."

(I am doing so well in Kiswahili, and I am praying God to continue with the same spirit.)

60. Setting: In a medical training college graduation ceremony. One speaker (a doctor) said.

"I will now speak the national language, ili nanyi wazazi mpate kuelewa tunayo sema."

(I will now speak the national language so that you parents can understand what we are saying.)

61. Same setting as No. 60. The speaker went on to say,

"Katika college hii, tutaendelea kuwa na tight discipline."

(In this college, we will continue having tight discipline.)

62. Setting: Two people met, One a trained primary school teacher, the other did not go beyond stand two and has not travelled out of the rural area. The teacher kept on switching but the other used Gikuyu

all through. After hearing that the other person belonged to a certain family, the teacher wanted to show how close he is to that family. He said,

"Akorwo wi sister ya Muturi-ri niui Muturi twi agemates, nake Njuguna twari classmates."

(If you are a sister to Muturi, do you know Muturi we are agemates, and Njuguna we were classmates.)

63. Setting: Same setting as No. 62. The lady talked of a person they both seemed to know. The man (teacher) said,

"Ari headmaster wakwa at Uasinigishu no at Baringo, no riu ndiui a-transfa-ire agithii ku.'"

He was my headmaster at Uasinigishu, but now I don't now where he was transferred to.)

64. Setting: A teacher talking to a 4K club. He said,
"Wanjiru, ndungiigua rugama hau raini-ini hari aria angi, yes, it is very unfortunate that we have got only two weeks to go before we close the school and our gardens are bare."

(Wanjiru, you can't hear, stand in the line with the others, yes, it is very unfortunate that we have got only two weeks to go before we close the school and our gardens are bare.)

65. Same setting as No. 64: The teacher went on to say,

"Now, when I read this table of the seed master (a) seed mistress, the seed mistress tells me that it is only one, two, three, four, four members who have brought the seeds."

(Now, when I read this table of the seed master (no) ~~seed mistress~~, the seed mistress tells me that it is only one, two, three, four, four members who have brought the seeds.)

66. Same setting: ~~The teacher went on to say,~~

"Also Mwangi you are the people who have relaxed, mahuti macio mothe twatigire ndaugire macinwo, mahuti macio na matiacinirwo, why?"

(Also Mwangi you are the people who have relaxed, all the rubbish that remained I said it be burned, that rubbish, and you did not burn it, why?)

67. Same setting: The teacher went on to say:

"Right! reke twambe tutige uhoru wa mahuti."

(Right! let us first leave the topic on rubbish.)

68. Same setting: The teacher continued to say, were discussing

"When I was there today I found out that,
nikwabitie kumera ria."

(When I was there today I found out that, weeds have
started growing.)

69. Same setting as no. 68: The teacher talking to those who had
not brought seeds.

"Tuikare na aya menacio, aya ana, could I remain
with these four?

(We remain with these who have, these four, could I
remain with these four?)

70. Same settings: The teacher continued to say,

"I am giving you tomorrow and Wednesday such that
everybody will have brought his or her seeds, tondu
kundu kuu mbere ya tuhande nigugucokuo ringi na
theci kurimitwo guothe nikumerete ria muno."

(I am giving you tomorrow and Wednesday such that
everybody will have brought his or her seeds ,
because before we plant I want us to go back there
with jembes and dig the whole place there are alot
of weeds.)

71. Setting: In a staff room, a number of teachers were discussing students. One teacher said,

``Niuu ciana cia standard six ndicihuraga uriwona
nguite muti ngithii six, I don't beat standard six
pupils.''

(Do you know I don't beat children in standard six,
have you ever seen me going to standard six with a
stake, I don't beat standard six pupils.)

72. Same setting as in no. 71: Another teacher talking about a specific pupil.

"Maina ni kana kogi, na kari memory ma kahuni kau,
Ungikorwo ni ugathoniithitie kindu gacokagira
orougwo."

(Maina is a very bright child and has a very good
memory, if you teach him something he repeats
exactly what you said.)

73. Same setting: Another teacher said,

"I mwari mwa nyina, uria wi standard four gutiri
umucindaga."

(And the sister, the one in standard four no one
defeats her.)

74. Same setting: Another teacher talking about exams said,

"So gwatwuika atia riu, about the examinations,"

(So how is it now about the examinations.)

75. Setting: In a church, the preacher (a farmer) while interpreting the readings said,

"No nginya mwirire, you must convert."

(You must repent, you must convert.)

76. Same setting as no. 75: Talking about the woman who was taken to Jesus after having been caught committing adultery.

The preacher said,

"Ndiui nikii athuri matogario, ni hari na ubaguzi,
tondu mundu ndangi-commit adultery e
wiki."

(I don't know why men were not being accused, there was discrimination because a person cannot commit adultery all alone.)

77. Same setting: During announcement time the announcer (farmer) said,

" Nimwititwo ngunurano ya mwanake ucio, nyote mumearikwa."

(You have been invited at the ordination of that young man, You have all been invited.)

78. Setting: In a party where all participants were Gikuyu speakers. A person said,

"Reke nyambe nyone program menye niatia Waanjira ati ti confidential."

(Let me first see the program so as to know how things are, you've told me it's not confidential.)

79. Setting: same as in no. 78; The master of ceremony telling people to introduce themselves.

"Mundu egwete hanini ta mbwe, kiasi kidogo tu."

(You mention your name in short like a Fox, just a little.)

80. Setting: Talking about preparation to go for a certain graduation ceremony. The organiser said,

"Wee ndwakiheirwo uhoro, ni ndatumire, that boy."

(You were given the message I sent that boy)

81. Same setting: The organiser went to say.

"Omundu arute magana meri ma ikumi, okey."

(Everyone to contribute two hundred and ten, okey!)

82. Same setting: when leaving one of the visitors said,

"Jane we wagithii-ri, safiri sarama."

(Jane when going, have a safe journey.)

83. Setting: Somebody talking of being a frequent visitors to a certain place.

"Nii guku ndimuki muno, ninjukaga at least twice an year."

(I came here so often, I came at least twice an year.)

84. Same setting: Another person asked,

"Hindi iria wiriga mwokite na your Dad?"

(The last time you were here, you had come with your dad?)

85. Setting : Discussing potato market, a person said,

"Area yanyu maguraga waru na buyer's price."

(In your area, they buy potatoes at the buyers price.)

86. Setting: Discussing issue of getting plots. One man said,
"Heendagwo mundu akorwo eyandikithitie before may 1991."
(One was supposed to be registered before May 1991.)

87. Same setting: Another said,
"Kibooklet kiria kiari haha - ri nindeyonire ho."
(I saw my name in the booklet that was here)

88. Same setting: Another said,
"Hi na umenye tariu mararihire kanju, maugire ni one forty ki, one forty - something fine."
(Oh, get to know that, now that they have paid the council, they said it's one forty what? one forty something fine.)

89. Same setting: Another said,
"Marariha na mbece citu na riu ithui tutikaheyo plot na mbece ni ciitu."
(They are playing with our money and we will not be given plots and its our money).

Setting: A group of students were discussing how house girls cook. One of them gave an example of her experience with her house girl the previous evening. She said,

"Then I told her, haiya si hiki chakura tulikula jana."

(Then I told her, Isn't this the food we ate yesterday.)

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