INVESTIGATING LINGUISTIC ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN TWO LUYIA DIALECTS: LOGOOLI AND LWITAKHO.

BY

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DECLARATIONS

THIS THESIS IS MY ORIGINAL WORK AND HAS NOT BEEN PRESENTED FOR A DEGREE IN ANY OTHER UNIVERSITY.

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DEDICATION

To my beloved parents, Mannasseh and Grace Kebeya, who kept reminding me to pursue a master's degree; and my beloved Isaac and our sons Bram and Sweetie, without whose patience and moral support I could not have been able to complete this work in time.

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ABSTRACT

This Sociolinguistic study investigates, analyzes and explains linguistic accommodation between speakers from two closely related dialects of one Kenyan language, Luyia. The dialects are Logooli and Lwitakho. The study is guided by two broad questions: How do speakers from one dialect linguistically accommodate to their listeners from the other dialect? and; why do speakers accommodate to their listeners in the way they do?

A definition of the study is laid out in chapter one together with a general introduction on the Luyia language and its speakers. Chapter two is a critical review of relevant literature while in chapter three the methodological approach of the study is provided. In chapter four, various phonological features in the two dialects are compared and the most salient features discussed leading to the establishment of several linguistic variables. We further, explore the effects of speech convergence on given linguistic variants and then formulate phonological rules to explain the changes affecting these variants.

In chapter five, various linguistic variables involved in the accommodation process are quantified and then correlated to the speaker variables of age, dialect and sex. We also attempt explanations to speakers' convergence to and divergence from their

listeners' speech. An examination and description of listeners' perception of speakers' convergence and divergence is also provided.

In chapter six are the summary and conclusions of the study. From the analyses undertaken female respondents are observed to linguistically converge more than the male ones. The study further establishes that the older speakers from both dialects linguistically diverge more than the younger ones. It is found that various phonological segments in the two dialects are modified in different ways whenever speakers converge to their listeners' speech. These modifications can be generalised into phonological rules.

The study also established that speakers from the two dialects converged or diverged for a number of reasons. Speakers converged for the following reasons: when they desired to communicate effectively; when they desired social approval and integration from their listeners; when they needed financial assistance and so on. Speech divergence, on the other hand, was employed when speakers wanted to dissociate themselves from their listeners so as to show disapproval of them, or to identify with their dialect group. We further found out that speakers' convergence or divergence could be perceived favourably or unfavourably depending on the factors that were attributed to that linguistic behaviour. It was also

found that the tenets of the Speech Accommodation Theory adequately explain linguistic accommodation between the two dialects of the Luyia group.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE STUDY

F : Female.

IPA : International Phonetic Alphabet.

KG : Kilogramme.

LOG : Logooli.

LTK : Lwitakho.

M : Male.

O : Older.

RP : Received Pronunciation : The name given to the regionally neutral accent in British English.

S : Sentence.

SAT : Speech Accommodation Theory.

Y : Younger.

NOTES

For typographical reasons, we have used;

I in place of the IPA symbol ɪ for the lax high front vowel.

U in place of the IPA symbol ʊ for the lax high back vowel.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Code: A neutral label for any system of communication involving language. This term is used by linguists who would like to avoid committing themselves to such terms as language, variety or dialect.

Dialect: A regionally or socially distinctive variety of a language usually associated with a distinctive pronunciation.

Linguistic/Speech Accommodation: A motivated linguistic strategy used to produce linguistic markers that can be used in identity- relevant situations to make salient either ingroup or outgroup identity.

Social network: A given person's day to day contacts. An individual may be linked to others in a number of role relationships. For example as a cousin,a workmate, a team mate in a certain sport, a former schoolmate, a tribe mate and so on.

Speech community: Any regionally or socially definable human group that is identified by a shared linguistic system.

Stereotype: A phonological feature in an individual's speech that is highly associated with a particular dialect group.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

This is a Sociolinguistic study on language variation. It is concerned with linguistic variation during face-to-face interaction between speakers from two closely related dialects of one Kenyan language, Luyia. In particular, the study focuses on natural speech and it attempts to examine, analyze and explain linguistic accommodation between speakers of Logooli and Lwitakho dialects. That is, how and why Logooli speakers modify certain linguistic features of their dialect to become similar to or dissimilar from those of their Lwitakho interlocutors and vice versa.

Luyia is a Bantu language. Its speakers are referred to as Abaluyia and they inhabit over eight thousand square kilometres to the North East of Lake Victoria; in the Western province of Kenya. They are spread over four districts namely Kakamega, Vihiga, Busia and Bungoma.

According to the historical records available, the Abaluyia are believed to have originated from Egypt (Misri) through Uganda. However, some Luyia clans claim that they came from West Africa (c f. Osogo, 1966:21). The Abaluyia did not migrate collectively as one group but came in small groups which form present dialectal groupings. The earliest

Abaluyia arrived before 1000 A.D. and the latest about 1700 A.D. (Osogo, ibid; Were, 1967).

The Luyia group is the second largest tribe in Kenya with a population of three million, eighty three thousands two hundred and seventy three (c f. The Kenya Population Census 1989 Volume I). It is made up of seventeen dialects (c f. Were, 1967; Williams, 1973; Itebete, 1974; Angogo, 1980; Sumba, 1992). These are the Bukusu, Khayo, Marachi, Saamia, Nyala K, Nyala B, Wanga, Marama, Kisa, Nyore, Logooli, Lwitakho, Lwisukha, Kabras, Tsotso, Tiriki and the Tachoni. Nyala B refers to the Nyala group that lives in Busia district while Nyala K refers to the other Nyala group that inhabits Kakamega district.

There have been several attempts to subgroup these seventeen dialects (c f. Angogo, op cit; Williams, op cit; Itebete, op cit.). Angogo, for instance, categorizes the Luyia dialects into three subgroups - the Northern, Central and the Southern dialects. This is diagrammatically represented in figure 1 below:

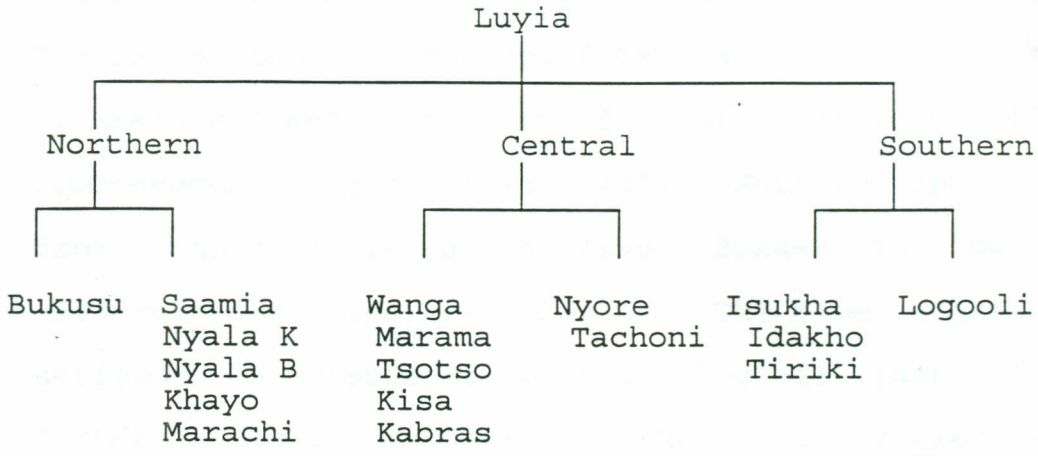

Figure 1: *Subgrouping of Luyia dialects.* Adapted from Angogo (1980:79)

Angogo claims that this breakdown is based upon intelligibility tests, linguistic data, attitudes of the speakers of Luyia and sharable literature among the dialects.

The seventeen Luyia dialects spread over different geographic locations (see map in appendix A) display differences in linguistic features. These differences are so extensive between some dialects to the extent that mutual intelligibility between them is very minimal whereas in other dialects these differences are so little hence a very high mutual intelligibility between them. (c f. Angogo, 1980; Chambers and Trudgill, 1980).

According to Angogo (op cit) and Itebete (1974) there seems to be no consensus on a standard dialect. If availability of literature were to be used as a yardstick for identifying a standard variety then

either Wanga, Nyore or Logooli could be selected. Bukusu, on the other hand, fits this role but lacks literature and is itself not "dialectically homogeneous" Angogo (1980: 238). Moreover speakers from other dialects perceive Bukusu to be a difficult and separate language. The same negative attitude is displayed towards Logooli (see also Itebete, 1974). Observing the difficulties in language standardisation in the Luyia group, Angogo (1980:246) suggests that:

> The luyia situation is one in which `unity in diversity' seems to be a more achievable goal than unity through a single union language. In the light of this the first major suggestion is that we cease thinking only in terms of one written Luyia for all people who are able to share them ....one literature for the fifteen (i.e minus Logooli and Bukusu) dialects is still not a workable solution, since some of the groups would still be forced to accommodate themselves only too extensively.

Age, sex, dialectal-group identity, marital status, education level and occupation are significant social variables among the Abaluyia (c f. Angogo, 1980:161; Abdulaziz, 1982). Age, for instance, is revered among the Luyia community and there is great pressure to respect those older than oneself and to develop close relationships with those of one's peer group. Roles in the Luyia community are defined according to the sex of individuals. Men and women are restricted from certain activities and expected to do others. In the kitchen, for example, women are more

active than men whereas women are restricted from participating in such activities as the digging of graves. Men are usually the breadwinners in many families but the advent of westernization is diminishing this traditional role of the man. As a result, today there is no clear definition of roles according to sex of individuals.

In many rural areas of Kenya, women and men socialize separately. There is a tendency for individuals to interact with those of their own sex (c f. Abdulaziz, 1982). However, in urban areas it becomes difficult to give clear cut distinctions on this issue because in such places as work places both males and females interact freely (c f. Muthwii, 1994).

The Abaluyia perceive marriage as a crucial stage in an individual's life and all normal adults are expected to get married and have children. Marriage is viewed as an outward sign of an individual's " stability and achievement, and indicates a more involved participation in the functioning of the society" (Angogo, 1980:162). As a result, when parents rear their offspring, they instill the roles of husband and father (in the male children) and those of wife and mother (in the female children) at an early age. A middle-aged adult who is still unmarried is treated with a lot of contempt, and may even be restricted from taking charge of certain

responsibilities within the family (meaning extended family) or society, at large.

Like most Kenyans, many rural inhabitants in 'Ibuluyia' (meaning Luyialand) earn their living from the land. Tea, maize, sugar cane, vegetables and beans are among the crops grown. Some Abaluyia are also professionals in various fields whereas others engage in different businesses.

Formal education (which is generally categorized in three major levels namely: primary, secondary, college/university) is the "national norm in Kenya" today (Angogo, 1980:167). Many parents in 'Ibuluyia' send their children to school and this can be attributed partly to the introduction of 'free' education in all primary schools in Kenya in 1978 (Eshiwani,1993:138) as well as the socio economic benefits associated with formal education (c f. Whiteley, 1974; Angogo,1980). Individuals with high levels of education were until recently treated with great respect by other members of the community. However, today the situation is changing and such treatment is now reserved for those with high financial and/or political statuses rather than those with high levels of education.

1.2.0 DEFINITION OF THE STUDY

1.2.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Codes that are in contact have been observed to influence each other (c f. Trudgill, 1986; Scotton, 1982; Russell, 1982 Angogo, 1980). During such contact, there is usually a tendency for speakers to transfer certain linguistic items from one code into the other. Trudgill (ibid), for example, in a study on English dialects in contact observes that the Received Pronunciation (RP) variety of English was influenced by the Norwich dialect. An analysis of his own speech as an interviewer in this study (see also Trudgill, 1974) revealed that he did transfer some linguistic items from his respondents' Norwich dialect into his RP dialect. In other words, Trudgill (1986:9) notes that he linguistically accommodated to his Norwich respondents to a certain extent and even remarks "... I did accommodate to my informants in the use of (t) ...."

Russell (1982) also makes similar observations with dialects from the Swahili language. She observes that the Standard Swahili dialect did influence Kimvita (also a Swahili dialect) during contact. In other words, Wavita respondents linguistically accommodated to their interviewer (Russell) who spoke standard Swahili by using linguistic items from Standard Swahili in their speech. Exactly why this kind of thing happens is not immediately clear.

There have been several attempts to explain such linguistic modifications by speakers. Trudgill (op cit) and Russell (ibid), for example, explain these modifications by using Howard Giles' Speech Accommodation Theory (see sub section 1.2.7 for details). This theory (in Giles & St. Clair, 1979) posits that speakers have motivational reasons for adjusting their speech to be similar to or dissimilar from that of their listeners. Giles (ibid) argues that if speakers wish to gain their listeners' approval then they may adapt their speech patterns towards those of their listeners hence reducing the dissimilarities between them. He labels this process, **speech convergence** and points out that the reverse process, **speech divergence** may take place instead if, for example, speakers wish to remain distinct from their listeners or to show disapproval of them. During speech divergence the dissimilarities between interlocutors are increased.The speech accommodation process (also referred to as linguistic accommodation process), therefore, is of two types, speech convergence and divergence.

According to Trudgill (1986:30):

> The problem is then one of determining how speakers *linguistically* (italics mine) accommodate, the extent to which they accommodate, and why some situations and some individuals produce more - or different types of - accommodation than others.

Earlier works on speech accommodation have studied different codes. Trudgill's (ibid) study, for

for instance deals with English dialects whereas Russell (1982) studies Swahili dialects. To date there exists no study that has investigated linguistic accommodation between any of the Luyia dialects yet it has been noted that Luyia speakers linguistically accommodate to their listeners from other dialects (c f. Osogo, 1966; Itebete, 1974; Angogo, 1980). Angogo for example demonstrates this when she (1980:13) writes:

> It appears to be a universal of language that people need to communicate as efficiently as possible even when there is no common language. In the case of abaluyia, we are not dealing with different languages, but with varieties of the same language, and since the speakers themselves are aware of this, this universal characteristic manifests itself in an attempt on the part of each speaker to adjust phonologically to his hearer.

1.2.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study aimed at investigating, analyzing and explaining linguistic accommodation between speakers from two Luyia dialects during contact. The dialects are Logooli and Lwitakho.

The study addressed the following questions:

(a) Which phonological variants are modified during the accommodation process and which ones are not? (see table 4.3 in subsection 4.4 below for variants).

(b) To what extent do different speakers accommodate to their listeners by converging or diverging?

(c) Do Logooli speakers accommodate to their listeners in the same way as Lwitakho ones?

(d) Do female speakers accommodate to their listeners in the same way as male speakers?

(e) Do younger speakers accommodate to their listeners in the same way as older speakers?

(f) Why do speakers linguistically converge on some occasions and diverge on others?

(g) How are speech convergence and divergence by speakers perceived by listeners from these two Luyia dialects?

(h) Is the speech accommodation theory capable of explaining linguistic accommodation between the two Luyia dialects?

1.2.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The following were the objectives of this study:

(a) To examine and describe the structure of given phonological segments during contact between speakers of Logooli and Lwitakho dialects.

(b) To establish the reasons why and extent to which speakers from these Luyia dialects linguistically accommodate to their listeners by converging or diverging.

(c) To find out whether the dialect, sex and age of speakers have any influence on the speech accommodation process during contact between the

two Luyia dialects.

(d) To find out how speech convergence and divergence are perceived in the two Luyia dialects.

(e) To evaluate the adequacy of the Speech Accommodation Theory in explaining accommodation between the two Luyia dialects.

1.2.4 RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS

This study was undertaken with the following assumptions:

(a) Speakers will linguistically accommodate to their listeners.

(b) Interlocutors tend to converge rather than diverge in their speech.

(c) Female speakers converge more to their listener's speech than male ones.

(d) Older speakers diverge more in their speech than younger ones.

1.2.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A study of all the dialects would provide better and more data for the subject under study. However, due to constraints of time and resources we were unable to study all the seventeen Luyia dialects. Hence this study has limited itself to only two dialects. These dialects are Logooli and Lwitakho.

Logooli, Lwisukha, Lwitakho and Tiriki form the southern group of Luyia dialects. However, Logooli is claimed to be rather divergent linguistically from the other southern dialects (c f. Itebete, 1974; Angogo, 1980). Therefore, there is need to examine how speech accommodation takes place between such a rather divergent dialect and Lwitakho to which it is more closely related (both linguistically and geographically) than the other southern dialects. Logooli and Lwitakho were therefore, selected on these grounds.

In this study, the investigator dwelt only on phonological features (meaning consonantal elements). We did not study other linguistic features such as syntactic, morphological, semantic and lexical ones; because dialect differences have been observed to be reflected mainly in phonological phenomena (Angogo, 1980; Chambers & Trudgill, 1980) and in the two dialects of Luyia these differences are mainly in the consonantal elements (for details see chapter 4). Furthermore, we did not study all the consonantal features in the two dialects. Only nine features that seemed to have an especially high level of awareness associated with them were studied (c f. Trudgill, 1986). These features (also referred to as linguistic variants in this study) are presented in the table 4.3 below. They were arrived at after a pilot study in Shikhambi area of Kakamega. Furthermore, after

analyzing tape recorded material from the pilot study and the main study, it was possible to roughly identify linguistic variants that appeared to be stereotypes.

A further limitation of this study is the sample size. Our sample comprised ~~of~~ only 8 respondents and 24 conversations (see sub-section 3.4 for details). Research with a larger sample could provide more data on accommodation but given constraints on time and resources, we could not work with a sample larger than the present one. As a result, all the generalisations we make should be taken with caution.

1.2.6 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

In recent years, "Sociolinguistics has become a recognised part of most courses at university level on 'linguistics' or 'language', and is indeed one of the main growth points in the study of language, from the point of view of both teaching and research" Hudson (1980:1). By and large, the great majority of sociolinguistic research has been based in the western world and largely in North America (c f. Giles & Robinson, 1990:4). Very little therefore, is known about languages (and their varieties) in the other areas of the world (c f. Romaine, 1982:1). The present study being a sociolinguistic one hopes to increase our knowledge and understanding of language varieties

and how they are used in the community, and particularly in an African context which has been observed to be linguistically different in several ways from the Western one (c f. Muthwii 1994; Russell, 1982). This study hopes, therefore, to " give us a more complete picture of the linguistic situation " in the world for, in fact, "it would probably not be claiming too much to say that more is known about more kinds of English than about the varieties of any other language in the world" (Romaine, 1982:1).

Earlier studies on Speech accommodation theory have been associated more with social psychologists than with linguists. It is only recently that studies on speech accommodation have been undertaken by linguists (Trudgill, 1986). No sociolinguistic work of this nature to the best of our knowledge has been done on any Luyia dialects. Angogo's (1980) and Scotton's (1982 & 1983) studies, though sociolinguistic in nature, deal with very different issues as we shall see in sub-section 2.1 below. This study hopes, therefore, to fill this gap.

It is also hoped that this study will provide a good testing ground for the claims and validity of Howard Giles' (Giles & St. Clair, 1979) speech accommodation theory. For as Romaine (1982:4) suggests:

> A viable social theory of language must present a coherent account of how particular uses, functions and kinds of language develop within particular speech communities. This will require

the testing of methodology on new and different kinds of data.

1.2.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study was guided by the Speech Accommodation Theory (hence SAT) by Howard Giles (c f. Giles & St. Clair, 1979). The SAT is a socio psychological theory of language use in society and has been used by linguists as well as social psychologists in studying language behaviour during contact between speakers from different linguistic groups (c f. Trudgill, 1986; Russell, 1982; Giles & St. Clair, 1979; Giles et al., 1980)). The SAT was developed to account for the ways in which interlocutors modified their language during interactions. This theory attempts to explain the dynamics of speech adjustments in the process of interaction. The SAT posits that "individuals subtly and indirectly communicate approval or disapproval of one another by altering their speech to be more similar to or different from the other" (Giles et al., 1980:185).

The SAT is an integration of four socio psychological theories: similarity-attraction; social exchange; causal attribution and social identity theory .

The similarity-attraction theory proposes that when interlocutors become more similar in the codes they use there is likely to be a greater liking between them than if they became more dissimilar.

Speakers will therefore, converge when they desire social integration and approval.

The SAT also views convergence as a social exchange during which interlocutors incur certain costs in order to obtain potential rewards. Interlocutors are more likely to converge when rewards (e.g. material rewards, social approval e t c) outweigh the costs (e.g. linguistic effort, group identity loss e t c) of converging (c f. Giles & Robinson, 1990).

The theory of causal attribution processes posits that listeners interpret speakers' linguistic convergence and divergence and evaluate them in terms of the motives they attribute as the cause of the speakers' behaviour. Thus a speaker who diverges, for example, may on one occasion be perceived favourably and on another unfavourably.

The theory of social identity of the SAT analyzes divergence. It states that linguistic divergence primarily reflects motivations to assert positive ethnolinguistic identities when with outgroup members or to show disapproval of them.

The present study has used these four tenets of the SAT to explain the various modifications by speakers on their speech during interactions with speakers from the other Luyia dialect. Using this theory we have attempted to explain why speakers converge to or diverge from their listeners' speech.

The psychological dimension of this study therefore, lies here. We have analyzed data on the basis of the SAT with an aim of finding out whether this theory can explain linguistic accommodation between the two Luyia dialects.

This study has based all the phonological analyses in chapter four and five on the standard phonclogical theory (Lyons, 1968; Catford, 1988; Clark & Yallop, 1990). According to this theory, all known human languages have a sound system. Some differences in the sound segments of these systems are crucially distinctive (Clarke and Yallop, 1990). For example, in English, [led], [red] and [wed], the conscnantal sounds [l], [r] and [w] occur in the same environment but are phonetically different. They also have the effect of distinguishing the lexical sets in question. These sounds are, therefore, treated as phonemes - thus /l/, /r/ and /w/. A phoneme is therefore, a contrastive sound within a language (ibid).

Sometimes phonetically different sound segments may occur in the same environment and not bring chance of meaning in the lexical set in question. That is to say that " the substitution of one for the other does not produce a different word but merely a different `pronunciation' of the same word" Lyons (1968:114). For example, the glottal stop, [ʔ], is a free variant of [t] before vowels in such

[ʔ], is a free variant of [t] before vowels in such words as `city' in the Cockney variety of English.

Variability in articulation of a phoneme may be as a result of phonological or morphological conditioning. Phonological conditioning is widely used to explain variability which seems to be as a result of "language specific rules of pronunciation" (Clark & Yallop, 1990:121) whereas morphological conditioning has to do with variation due to the context of a sound.

Although we have adopted these theories in this study, we have taken in Giles and Robinson's, (1990:4) caution that:

> We must be careful. Human beings may be all alike in more ways, but there are cultural, subcultural and individual differences which limit the nature of some of the generalizations we ought to make.

As a result, in this study we do not have to make similar generalisation to those of studies on the speech accommodation theory in the western countries. The findings of this study may or may not be similar to those in the western part of the world.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review will be of three related categories. First, will be a review of literature on Luyia. Secondly, we shall review studies on other Kenyan languages and finally will be a review of works on the theoretical framework that are relevant to our study.

2.1. STUDIES ON LUYIA

To date the linguistic literature on Luyia remains scant as it is for many local languages in Kenya. Earlier studies have examined phonological (c f. Sumba, 1992; Williams, 1974), morphophonological (Mutonyi, 1986; Magwaga, 1989), syntactic (Austen, 1974) and sociolinguistic (Scotton & Ury, 1977; Angogo, 1980; Scotton, 1983) features of various Luyia dialects.

Most of the earlier works on Luyia fall in the realm of comparative linguistics (c f. Angogo, op cit). Ingonga (1991) for instance, carries out a comparative study based on lexicostatistical classification. She studies two Luyia dialects (which she treats as languages) in addition to another Kenyan language, Ekegusii. Ingonga (ibid) compares phonological, lexical, and morphosyntactic structures of the three languages with the aim of establishing the degree of

closeness between them. She observes that Logooli and Lwitakho are much closer to each other than either is to Ekegusii. From this work we obtain useful information on the phonological aspects of both Logooli and Lwitakho dialects.

Sumba (1992) compares major phonological processes, affecting vowels and consonants in Logooli, Bukusu and Wanga and observes that although the phonological processes take place in the three dialects the degree of application differs from dialect to dialect. Sumba's (ibid) study provides the present study with useful information on the phonological system of Logooli.

Magwaga (1989) studies the morphophonology of the consonantal processes in Lwitakho on the basis of the Natural Generative Grammar (NGG) theory. From her work we obtain useful information on the consonantal system of Lwitakho.

Angogo's (1980) work is a general study of all the seventeen Luyia dialects. She examines and compares several linguistic aspects of the dialects with the aim of investigating linguistic forms of variation apparent among them. Angogo, furnishes us with useful information on the dialect situation in the Luyia community. Hence her work is of importance to the present study in this sense.

Scotton and Ury (1977) in a study on the Abaluyia, in the Western province of Kenya, observe

that speakers have a tendency of switching between three codes- English, Kiswahili and Luyia. This study and other later studies (see Scotton 1982, 1983) explain this switching of codes by speakers in terms of the Negotiation Principles model. This model posits that a speaker uses a switch in code as a tool to negotiate a certain right and obligation set which s/he wishes to be in effect for the exchange. All the participants in a conversation know that code choices are symbolic and will interpret them as either marked or unmarked. Speakers choose unmarked codes when they desire to identify with the terms of the role relationship whereas marked choices are negotiations to dis-identify (c f. Scotton in Giles et. al., 1980:359). Scotton & Ury (1977) and Scotton (1982, 1983) are related to the present study in the sense that they attempt to explain linguistic modification during the contact between different codes (see Platt, 1980 for relationship between accommodation and code switching). However, Scotton and Ury (op cit.) and Scotton (1982 & 1983) treat Luyia as a discrete group while the present study treats Luyia as a cluster of distinct and identifiable dialects. The theoretical orientation between these studies and the present one are different.

Were (1967) and Osogo(1966) provide very useful historical information as has been shown in the introductory part of this study.

2.2 RELATED STUDIES ON OTHER KENYAN LANGUAGES

Parkin (1974) in a study on language switching in the speech community of Kaloleni, Nairobi, observes that there is a tendency for the estate residents to switch between English, Kiswahili and vernaculars during interaction. Each switch in code denotes something; that is, either 'brotherhood,' 'haughtiness,' 'friendliness' and so on (Parkin 1974). Parkin's study like the present one focuses on linguistic modification during face-to-face contact between speakers. The two works attempt to examine and explain how and why speakers modify their language in the presence of their listeners in the way they do.

Muthwii (1994) presents an analysis of the phonological system of Kalenjin (an ethnic language in Kenya) and shows how its system interacts with that of English and Kiswahili in the speech of its trilingual speakers. The study establishes that ethnic phonological variants implicate an ethnic identity and English and Kiswahili variants represent an extra group identity. Thus the less ethnic features in speech the more a speaker has moved away from ethnic norms and ethnicity towards extra-group norms and extra-group identity.

According to Muthwii (1994) then, linguistic variation in multilingual communities is found in the way the languages are used as well as in the differences in the linguistic systems in contact.

Muthwii's study like the present focuses on what happens when different linguistic systems come into contact.

Russell (1982) investigates speech accommodation between two Swahili dialects in Mombasa. The dialects are Kimvita (also known as Mombasan Swahili) and Standard Swahili. Russell's (ibid) study establishes the following: female respondents linguistically converge more than male ones; educated respondents converge more than the uneducated ones; and older respondents diverge more than the younger ones. Russell (1982:139) suggests that:

> It may be that the amount of divergence evident in their scores is the result of confidence that comes with maturity; each is very much his 'own man.' The five high scorers look as though they identify strongly with their community, and this sense of identity carries over into dialogue with an outsider.

Russell's study, therefore investigates, analyzes and explains speech accommodation between speakers from two different dialects of the same language and is in this sense similar to the present one.

2.3 STUDIES ON THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As already stated, studies on the Speech Accommodation Theory have shown that speech accommodation is of two types: speech convergence and divergence (Giles & St. Clair, 1979; Giles et al., 1980; Russell, 1982; Trudgill, 1986). Convergence

and divergence have been empirically demonstrated by means of several linguistic indicators namely; speech rate (Giles & St. Clair, 1979:53-65), dialect (Russell, 1982; Trudgill, 1986; Giles & Robinson, 1990:298), language (Giles & St. Clair, 1979) and pitch and pause length (Giles & St. Clair, 1979:48). All these studies have analyzed their data on the basis of the tenets of the Speech Accommodation Theory (hence SAT).

One tenet of the SAT is the similarity-attraction theory. According to this theory, convergence, a process in which speakers make their speech style similar to that of the interlocutor, is employed to enhance mutual liking. Since increasing similarity between people along such an important dimension as communication is likely to increase attraction, speakers who desire social approval and integration from their interlocutors will tend to converge to the latter's speech (Giles & St. Clair, 1979).

In Quebec (in Giles & Robinson, 1990:297), for example, Anglophone Quebecers perceived Francophone Quebecers more favourably when the latter converged to English than when they maintained French. The study demonstrates that when speakers converged to their listeners' speech, the dissimilarities between them were reduced thus resulting into greater mutual liking which subsequently led to social

approval and integration for the speaker. This study uses the similarity attraction theory of the SAT to explain speech modification by speakers and is in this way related to the present one. The difference is in the codes studied; the Quebec study focused on languages (French and English) whereas our study is on dialects.

The speech accommodation theory also views convergence by interlocutors as a social exchange during which speakers incur costs in order to receive rewards. These costs which may be in terms of group-identity loss and/or linguistic effort will be initiated when speakers expect to receive rewards (such as social approval, material rewards and so on). These rewards tend to outweigh the costs incurred. Van den Berg (in Giles & Robinson, 1990), for example, in a study in Taiwan, observes that salespersons in markets and departmental stores linguistically converged more than their clients. Using the social exchange theory, den Berg explains convergence to clients' language in business transactions as the salesperson's desire to maximize potential monetary gains from sales. In this sense therefore den Berg's study is of importance to ours. Van den berg's study however, is based on salespeople alone, while the present one is based on individuals from all walks of life.

Linguistic strategies of accommodation have been

observed to influence listeners' behaviourial reactions to a message (Giles & Robinson, 1990). According to the causal attribution theory of the SAT, a speaker's linguistic behaviour is evaluated in terms of the motives attributed to this behaviour. As a result, a speaker who linguistically converges, for example, may on one occasion be perceived favourably and on another unfavourably. For instance, a study by Simard, Taylor and Giles (in Giles & St. Clair, 1979) has shown that when convergence (the use of French by the English Canadians) was attributed to situational pressures demanding out-group language from the speaker, unfavourable perception was more pronounced than when the same behaviour was attributed to the speakers' 'genuine' and 'internal' desires to communicate. Using the causal attribution theory, we too hope to explain listeners' evaluations of speakers' convergence to or divergence from their listeners' speech.

Speech divergence has been accounted for by the social identity theory of the SAT (Giles & St. Clair, 1979; Russell, 1982; Giles & Robinson, 1990). The social identity theory posits that speakers use a speech style that differs from that of their interlocutor because of a desire to dissociate themselves from their interlocutors. This may be because "they personally dislike their interlocutor or because they wish to assert their group identity"

(Giles et. al., 1980:336). Speech divergence therefore, has particular relevance in asserting ethnic identity in the context of intergroup relations.

For example, studies in Belgium and Wales have shown that a member of one ethnic group will accentuate the unique aspects of his/her own group's speech style when speaking to an outgroup member who makes a derogatory remark about his/her linguistic or socio-cultural heritage (Giles & St. Clair, 1979). In the study in Wales, Welshmen studying the Welsh language were observed to accentuate their Welsh accents during an interaction with an English speaker who made a derogatory remark about their Welsh language. The Belgian study (ibid), on the other hand, shows that not only do speakers diverge with regards to accent alone but also in the language they use: Flemish trilingual speakers did diverge from English to Flemish when a francophone outgroup speaker threatened a salient cultural feature of the (Flemish) ingroup.

On the basis of the social identity theory speech divergence in the two studies is seen as an "important strategy for making oneself psychologically and favourably distinct from outgroup members" (Giles & St. Clair, 1979:52). Therefore, the Belgian and Welsh studies are of importance to the present one in the sense that they attempt to explain divergence in

speakers by using the social identity theory of SAT. However, they deal with different codes from ours. The two studies are laboratory based (and are by social psychologists) whereas the present one is sociolinguistic in nature.

In addition reference has also been made to Catford (1988) and Clark and Yallop (1990) for details on the standard phonological theory. It is on the basis of this theory that the phonological analyses in Chapter Four and Five are founded.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 A METHODOLOGICAL DISTINCTION

The distinction between studies on speech accommodation by linguists and those by social psychologists lies in the methodological approach. An important tool for investigating speech accommodation by social psychologists has been the experimental method, in particular, the matched guise technique (Trudgill, 1986; Giles & St. Clair, 1979).

This method requires that selected groups of subjects evaluate personality traits of speakers whose tape recorded voices are played to them. If there is a significant uniformity in the evaluation reactions of any group of subjects, such reactions are said to represent the stereotyped impressions of that group toward the speakers of a particular code (c f. Fasold, 1984; Giles et. al, 1980). Using the matched guise technique, the researcher is, therefore, able to control all other variables except language (c f. Fasold, 1984). Despite the fact that this method has been criticized both from within the discipline of social psychology and from outside it is extremelyy useful in "its potential for replication and rigorous control of extraneous variables as well as in its capacity to allow more exact specification of the conditions under which certain language patterns are

emitted, and the types of responses people afford particular language behaviours in specific contexts" Giles et. al., (1980:5).

On the other hand, linguists who have investigated speech accommodation have based their studies on spontaneous conversations collected from speakers in the community. During analyses of these conversations, various linguistic variables are quantified and generalizations drawn from these analyses. As a result, those who propagate for a linguistic approach in studying accommodation argue that more insights are gained by linguistically sophisticated analyses of the accommodation process than those in socio-psychological studies (see Trudgill, 1986:3).

The following are some of the insights researchers can gain from a linguistic study of speech accommodation: an exact rather than impressionistic quantification of the degree of accommodation indulged in by speakers; an explicit examination of which linguistic features are and are not changed during accommodation together with explanations for these; a systematic study of whether accommodation is a uniform process, or whether linguistically different types of accommodation take place in case of different speakers, different situations and so on (c f. Trudgill, 1986). Bearing in mind these insights, we have chosen to carry out a study on speech

accommodation between Logooli and Lwitakho dialects using a linguistic approach (see sub-section 3.5 below for details on data elicitation method).

3.2 Target Population

This study was carried out among Logooli and Lwitakho respondents residing in Shikhambi, Kakamega district. Shikhambi is approximately four kilometres from Kakamega town centre and is typically linguistically heterogeneous as are other outskirts of urban areas (c f. Trudgill, 1974). In view of the fact that our study aimed at investigating linguistic accommodation between Logooli and Lwitakho, we had to choose a study area that is heterogeneous. Such a heterogeneous community would make it possible for us to achieve this objective since the probability of speakers from the two dialects coming into contact was likely to be higher than in a homogeneous community. We had observed many such incidences during the pilot study in Shikhambi. Members from Logooli and Lwitakho dialects were observed to mingle a lot in such places as at the market places, in churches, at the shopping centre and even in homes.

3.3 Informant sampling

The judgement sampling method was used in this study. A researcher who uses this method identifies in advance the "types "of speakers to be studied and then

"seeks out a quota of speakers who fit the specified categories " (Milroy, 1987:26). Since one objective of this study was to investigate whether dialect, sex or age differences in speakers had any influence on the accommodation process, these social variables had to be represented in our sample. If we used other sampling procedures, for example random sampling, there was a probability of obtaining a sample with the same dialect, sex and even the age hence making it impossible to achieve this objective.

3.4 Sample Size

Our sample comprised of eight respondents whom we recorded in conversation with various individuals. We chose to work with this number of respondents because, many researches on speech communication have demonstrated that it is no longer necessary to work with large samples when carrying out a study in linguistic variation (c f. Tucker et. al, 1981; Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1974). This is because studies on linguistic behaviour are apparently "more homogeneous than many other types of behaviour studied by survey- such as for example, dietary or television programme preferences" Milroy, (1987:21). In addition, this study focused on phonological phenomena and as such required very good recording and very careful transcription. Therefore, there was a practical incentive to use a small sample (Tucker et. al., 1981).

To ensure equal representation of each dialect we selected four Logooli respondents and four Lwitakho ones. The selected respondents did not need to have a mastery in the other code but required to be aware of several linguistic aspects of the other code. This condition was easily attainable for many of those approached because it has been observed that "Luyia speakers are generally quite familiar with the most characteristic differences in their neighbouring dialects" (Angogo, 1980:134).

Four of the respondents were male and the other four female. This was also to ensure equal representation of both sexes. This is because earlier studies have demonstrated that the sex of a speaker does influence an individual's use of language in many speech communities . (c f. Milroy, 1980; Labov, 1972; Russell, 1982). In the Luyia community, the sex of an individual is an important social characteristic (see sub-section 1.1). Consequently, the sex of an individual might be found to influence his/her use of language in this study.

In many sociolinguistic studies age is a significant social variable (c f. Milroy, 1980; Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1974). Younger speakers have been observed to be more innovative than older ones who tend to remain conservative (see Trudgill, 1974). Therefore, age as a social variable might be found to influence an individual's use of language. In view of

this, two generation cohorts were adopted in this study. Younger respondents who ranged from 18 to 30 years and older ones who ranged from 40 to 65 years (see Trudgill, 1974:107; Milroy, 1980:126).

3.5 Data Elicitation

We elicited data through the social network technique. Given the objectives of this study it was necessary that we collect spontaneous conversations. From these, we would be able to describe how speakers accommodate to their listeners during inter-dialectal contacts. Such data could be obtained using the participant observation method. However, earlier studies have observed that although participant observation technique is a rich and useful source of data, it is fraught with considerable problems of its own.(Prideaux, 1984; Labov, 1972; Milroy, 1987). One major problem is the observer's paradox:

> The aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation. Labov (1972:209).

The participant observation method, therefore, contributes to the effects of the observer's paradox in that "the researcher by joining the group disturbs what s/he would like to hold constant...." Milroy, (1987:60)

To reduce the effects of the observer's paradox (which cannot be eliminated completely) during data

collection in this study, we adopted the social network technique. Social network studies involve the attachment of the researcher for weeks or months to the target group. The investigator may approach the group using a variety of techniques, for instance, as a ' friend of ' or ' a friend of a friend of' or as ' a daughter of' and so on (c f. Milroy, 1980). Over a period of time a relatively close relationship does evolve between a field worker and the group in a network study and this normally influences the type of data obtained.

The main practical advantage of this method is that the researcher is able to attach himself/herself to a group and by making use of group dynamics which influence patterns of language use, s/he can obtain a lot of data from spontaneous speech "than is generally possible in interaction with a single individual who is isolated from his or her customary social network" (Milroy 1987:38). This method ensures a greater degree of informality than is possible, say, in interviews. Using this procedure limits the observer's paradox because "the volume of exchanges and therefore of shared knowledge within the network is great. Speakers are therefore likely to use their most casual and intimate speech styles" Milroy (1987:60).

After selecting the eight respondents on the criteria of age, sex and dialect group, the researcher studied one respondent at a time. This was by

attaching herself to each respondent for several weeks and recording spontaneous conversations between the respondent and his/her customary social network. We did not record any conversation between the respondents and their social networks on our first meeting with them. Recording was only done after a relatively close relationship had evolved between the researcher and the group. This means that the field worker interacted with the group at least three times before effecting any recording.

The respondents were all aware that they were being recorded but we did not disclose the objectives of our study because doing so could easily have 'doctored' the data. The respondents were just told that the purpose of the recordings was to study sentence construction in Luyia (c f. Thelander, 1982). All recordings were done in a relaxed atmosphere such as in the home of one of the participants (c.f. Romaine, 1982). Each recording was at least twenty minutes in length.

We collected three conversations from each respondent and chosen peers (c f. Russell, 1982). Of the three conversations, one was between the respondent and a speaker from the same dialect group. That is, a Logooli respondent was recorded in conversation with a fellow Logooli whereas a Lwitakho respondent was recorded in conversation with a fellow Lwitakho. The purpose of this was to objectively

establish that the respondent is a speaker of either Logooli or Lwitakho.

The other two conversations were between the respondent and speakers from the other dialect, that is, Logooli respondents were recorded in conversation with Lwitakho speakers and vice versa. These two conversations form the basis of the analyses and discussions in chapter 5 and part of chapter four. It is from these analyses that we are able to establish the manner and extent of speech convergence and/or divergence in the eight respondents.

After recording, the researcher then administered questionnaires to the respondents and other members of the two speech communities. The aim of administering the questionnaires was to obtain additional data on the accommodation process between the two dialects (see Appendices B1 and B2 for samples of the questionnaire). We obtained information on how speakers' convergence or divergence was perceived by their listeners. Such information could not be obtained from the recorded conversations hence a need for questionnaires. A total of twenty four questionnaires were administered. Observation notes and other useful information from the respondents were recorded in a note book.

In the next chapter, a discussion and analysis of the phonology of the two dialects of Luyia is provided.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHONOLOGY OF LOGOOLI AND LWITAKHO

An examination and description of the most salient features of each dialect is explored in this chapter with an aim of showing that the phonological variables that we discuss in chapter five are "part of a complex but coherent system rather than in isolation" Trudgill (1974:64). Under segmental phonology, we shall mainly discuss consonants rather than the vowels. This is because the vowel systems of the two dialects are isomorphic. Furthermore, this study is concerned with how various consonantal segments in the two Luyia dialects are affected by the accommodation process hence a greater part of this chapter will be centred on consonants. For the same reason we shall not deal with suprasegmental elements.

We shall proceed to discuss the segmental elements in each of the two dialects.

4.1 LOGOOLI CONSONANTS

An examination of the literature on the sound system of Logooli shows that there is no agreement on the number of its consonants (Angogo,1980; Ingonga, 1991; Sumba, 1992). Angogo (1980) and Sumba (1992) for

instance, suggest that Logooli has 28 consonants whereas Ingonga (1991) gives the number of consonants in Logooli as 24.

In the present study, 27 consonants were identified. We arrived at this number of consonants after listening to and analyzing various recordings from several Logooli respondents. Our analysis was based on the tenets of the standard phonological theory (see Lyons, 1968; Clark & Yallop, 1990).

On the basis of the standard phonological theory, sound segments are considered phonemes if they are found to distinguish meaning between a minimal pair; but if they do not contrast meaning between the minimal pair, then the sound segments are taken to be variants (details on this theory are provided in sub-section 1.2.7 above). For example, Logooli /g/ and /k/ in /guuta/ 'defeat' and /kuuta/ 'to scrape' respectively are phonemes because the presence of one in the place of another brings about a change in the meaning of the lexical sets concerned. On the other hand, [β] and [v] in [βana] 'children' and [vana] 'children' respectively are variants because the presence of one in place of the other does not result into a change in the meaning of the lexical items in question.

In addition to relying on the standard phonological theory to identify phonemes in this study, we also consulted the native speakers of

Logooli for verification. Speaker intuition was also relied upon. This is because the researcher has intuitive knowledge of the two dialects.

The correspondence between the IPA representation of the 27 consonants in Logooli and the standard orthography is as follows:

	ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION	IPA SYMBOL	EXAMPLES	GLOSS
1	p	p	/paga/	until
2	b	b	/babovo/	your father
3	t	t	/ɾeta/	ask
4	d	d	/da/	not
5	g	g	/Iguru/	up
6	k	k	/madiku/	days
7	m	m	/maʃu/	hot (water)
8	n	n	/noho/	or
9	ny	ɲ	/kuɲi/	us
10	ng'	ŋ	/maŋana/	words
11	b/v	β	/βoro/	millet
12	f	f	/kIfwe/	it is finished
13	s	s	/siena/	step on
14	z/dz	dz	/ɾisidza/	a week
15	sh	ʃ	/kIʃa/	a new (thing)
16	h	h	/henza/	look
17	ch	tʃ	/βutʃima/	ugali
18	j	dʒ	/idʒuba/	a bottle
19	r	r or ɾ	/hira/ /hiɾa/	take

20	l	l	/mula:/	one (year)
21	w	w	/wItu/	ours
22	y	j	/jindi/	another
23	mb	mb	/hamba/	come
24	nd	nd	/kIndu/	thing
25	nz	nz	/ninzia/	(then) I went
26	ng	ŋg	/iŋguβu/	a cloth
27	nj	ɲdʒ	/iɲdʒugu/	a groundnut

The 27 consonants are presented in the phonemic chart below:

	Bilabial	Labio Dental	Dental Alveolar	Palato Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
STOPS	b p		d t			g k	
NASALS	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
FRICATIVES	β	f	s	ʃ			h
AFFRICATES			dz	ʤ tʃ			
LIQUIDS				r l			
GLIDE	w				j		
NASAL COMPOUNDS	mb		nd nz		ɲdʒ	ŋg	

Figure 4.1: Logooli Phonemic Inventory

There is a difference in the content of the consonant inventories given by Angogo (1980) and Ingonga (1991) and the one proposed here. In Angogo's (ibid) study /dz/ and /z/ in /βadzidza/ 'they are going' and /βaziza/ 'they are going,' for example, are treated as separate phonemes whereas in the present study [dz] and [z] are in free variation. The use of [dz] in place of [z] and vice versa does not create a change in the meaning of the lexical items in question. Other phones that are in free variation are:

Example 1

a. [β] and [v] in:

[βiko] and [viko] 'relations' respectively.

[βudiɲu] and [vudiɲu] 'difficult' respectively.

b. [r] and [ɾ] in:

[reta] and [ɾeta] 'bring' respectively.

[rumba] and [ɾumba] 'push' respectively.

It was observed during the study that the choice of one variant over another tended to depend on an individual's region of origin. It could be generalised that Logooli speakers from the South, for example, tended to use the [dz] variant whereas those from the North used [z].

Ingonga (1991) fails to recognize /p/, /tʃ/ and /ʃ/ as phonemes whereas the present study identifies them as such. These phonemes were observed in the example 2 below. This is because when one of the sound segments in the minimal pairs provided is used in place of the other sound there is a change in meaning of the lexical items concerned.

Example 2

a. /p/ is a phoneme in:

/paga/ `until' /ɾaga/ `promise'

b. /tʃ/ is a phoneme in:

/Butʃima/ `ugali' /Butima/ `anger'

c. /ʃ/ is a phoneme in:

/kiʃa/ `a new (thing)' /kira/ `that one (thing)'

However, it is important to note that the phonetic yield of /p/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/ and /ndʒ/ in Logooli is very minimal.

4.2 LWITAKHO CONSONANTS

Like the case of Logooli, a survey of existing documentation on Lwitakho indicates that there is no agreement on the number of consonants present. Angoco (1980) for instance suggests 25 consonants, Magwaga (1989) gives 23 and Ingonga (1991) 24. In

the present study we have identified 24 consonants from an analysis of recordings collected from Lwitakho respondents.

Below are the IPA symbols for these consonants together with corresponding standard orthographic symbols and examples from Lwitakho to illustrate these consonants:

	ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION	IPA SYMBOL	EXAMPLES	GLOSS
1	p	p	/papa/	father
2	t	t	/ta/	no
3	k	k	/ikasi/	a job
4	m	m	/mundu/	person
5	n	n	/mwana/	child
6	ny	ɲ	/maɲi/	I know
7	ng'	ŋ	/ŋwa/	(you) drink
8	b	ɓ	/ɓatʃeni/	visitors
9	f	f	/fwanana/	look alike
10	s	s	/tsjosi/	all of them
11	kh	X	/Xandi/	again
12	h	h	/muhika/	a year
13	ts	ts	/jitsa/	s/he came
14	sh	ʃ	/ʃindu/	a thing
15	ch	tʃ	/ʃitʃila/	because

16	r	r	/rema/	cut (tree)
17	l	l	/ikulu/	up
18	w	w	/mwiβi/	a thief
19	y	j	/jImba/	(you) sing
20	mb	mb	/imberi/	in front
21	nd	nd	/indika/	a bicycle
22	nz	nz	/inzala/	hunger
23	ng	ŋg	/iŋgo/	home
24	nj	ndʒ	/wandʒe/	mine

The 24 consonants are presented in the phonemic chart below:

	Bilabial	Labio dental	Dental alveolar	Palato alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
STOPS	p		t			k	
NASALS	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
FRICATIVES	β	f	s	ʃ		x	h
AFFRICATES			ts	tʃ			
LIQUIDS				r l			
GLIDES	w				j		
NASAL COMPOUNDS	mb		nd nz	ɲdʒ		ŋg	

Figure 4.2: Lwitakho Phonemic Inventory.

There is a difference between the consonants presented in Magwaga (1989) and Ingonga (1991) and those in the present study. Magwaga, for example, does not include /nz/ on her list as does the present work. We were able to observe /nz/ as phoneme in a number of instances. For example, in the following minimal pairs /nz/ is a phoneme. This is because when /nz/ is used in place of /n/ there is a change in meaning in the minimal pairs.

Example 3

a. /inzu/ `a house' and /inu/ `here'

b. /henza/ `look' and /hena/ `where'

Magwaga further treats [ɾ] as a variant of [l] whereas the present study treats [r] as a variant of [ɾ] in Lwitakho. As a result, if [r] was to be used in place of the first [l] in [lula] `harsh' for example, then the meaning of the lexical item in question would change to /rula/ `come from (a place).' However, if [ɾ] was used in place of [ɛ] in /rula/ `come from (a place)' the meaning would not change in any way. It would remain /ɾula/ `come from (a place).' Therefore, like Ingonga (1991) we have treated [r] and [ɾ] as variants.

Angogo (1980) includes /dz/ in the Lwitakho phonemic inventory. We are of the view that such a phoneme does not exist in Lwitakho. We could not

identify it during the phonological analysis of the 20 recordings we collected from Lwitakho speakers (see also Magwaga, 1989 and Ingonga,1991).

4.3 LOGOOLI AND LWITAKHO VOWELS

Sumba (1992) asserts that there are 10 vowels in Logooli whereas Ingonga (1991) and Angogo (1980) regard them to be 14. In the present study we identified 14 vowels from the recordings collected, half of which are short, and half long. The 14 Logooli vowels are similar to the Lwitakho ones (c.f. Ingonga, 1991; Magwaga, 1989; Angogo, 1980). Thus the vowel systems of the two dialects are isomorphic.

We have presented the IPA symbols for these fourteen vowels together with corresponding standard orthographic symbols in Appendix C. In addition we have also provided examples from Logooli and Lwitakho dialects to illustrate these vowels.

Vowel length in the two dialects is phonemic as illustrated in the following examples:

Example 4

Logooli Examples

a.	[i]	iritu	[iritu]	' an ear'
	[i:]	iriitu	[iri:tu]	'a leaf'
b.	[a]	kusala	[kusala]	'to vomit'
	[a:]	kusa:la	[kusa:la]	'to pray'

Lwitakho Examples

a. [U] rula [rUla] 'come from a place'

[U:] ruula [rU:la] 'to remove a load'

b. [a] baya [ɓaja] 'tame/domesticate'

[a:] baaya [ɓa:ja] 'play'

4.4 THE SALIENT FEATURES THAT DISTINGUISH LWITAKHO AND LOGOOLI DIALECTS

There is an awareness of existing dialect distinctions among members of the Luyia community based mainly on phonological and lexical differences between the dialects (c.f Angogo, 1980; Itebete, 1974). As a result, people of the Luyia language group have stereotypes for each dialect.

A contrastive analysis of Logooli and Lwitakho dialects quickly shows that the Logooli phonemic inventory contains certain voiced consonants (namely, /b/, /d/, /g/, /dz/) whereas the Lwitakho one does not. Consequently, many Lwitakho speakers will associate the Logooli speakers with the voiced consonants whereas the Logooli speakers will associate Lwitakho speakers with unvoiced consonants. It is therefore on this basis that many of the stereotypes for the two dialects are founded to a large extent.

On the basis of a phonetic analysis, we can summarise the salient features between the two

dialects as follows:

1. Logooli [k] corresponds to [X] in the following instances:

Example 5

Lwitakho	Logooli	Gloss
[Xandi]	[kandi]	again
[Xali]	[kali]	even
[Xola]	[kola]	do
[muXari]	[mukari]	wife
[Xulia]	[kulia]	to eat
[-Xala]	[ɨkala]	sit
[Xulola]	[kulola]	to see
[Xare]	[kare]	long ago
[βu:Xa]	[βu:ka]	wake up
[mbeXu]	[mbeku]	please give me
[muXana]	[mukana]	girl
[Xoɲa]	[koɲa]	help
[muXono]	[mukono]	hand
[muXutsu]	[mukudzu]	deceased

From the data collected it was observed that the [X]/[k] contrast had the highest frequency between the two dialects, hence making it the most salient feature in the two dialects.

2. Logooli [k] corresponds to /ʃ/ in Lwitakho in the

following examples:

Example 6

Lwitakho	Logooli	Gloss
[ʃipande]	[kibande]	identity card
[ʃiβala]	[kiβala]	the world
[ʃindu]	[kindu]	thing
[ʃiti]	[kidi]	small
[muʃere]	[mukere]	old lady
[likoʃe]	[ligoke]	ash
[ʃitari]	[kidari]	bed
[ʃitiɲu]	[kidiɲu]	it (is) hard
[ʃiɾi]	[kiɾi]	not yet

It should, however, be noted that there are instances where Lwitakho /ʃ/ corresponds to /tʃ/ in Logooli. This occurs in the following instances:

Example 7

Lwitakho	Logooli	Gloss
[buʃuma]	[butʃima]	ugali
[-ʃere]	[-tʃeje]	become dawn
[ʃjuXuria]	[tʃjukuria]	food

In an auxiliary verb, Lwitakho [ʃ] corresponds to [s] in Logooli. We can see this in the following examples:

Example 8

Lwitakho	Logooli	Gloss
[ʃiβara:ka]	[siβata:ga]	don't they plant
[ʃimukulanga]	[simugulanga]	don't you buy
[ʃjaXuha]	[siakuha]	won't s/he give you

From the data above it is apparent that the /ʃ/-/k/ correspondences and the /X/-/k/ correspondences have higher frequecies of occurrence compared to the other correspondences; hence enabling us to count a substantial number of tokens (see sub-section 5.3 above for details on counting of tokens). This study therefore limits itself to those phonological correspondences that appear to be significant (see Romaine 1982:145), thus the /ʃ/-/k/ and /X/-/k/ correspondences have been selected on these grounds.

3. Lwitakho [t] corresponds to Logooli [d] in the following intances:

Example 9

Lwitakho	Logooli	Gloss
[-tiɲu]	[-diɲu]	hard
[ato:la]	[ado:la]	s/he is picking
[βutuXu]	[βudiku]	night
[tuXa]	[duka]	reach
[matuma]	[maduma]	maize
[matuXu]	[madiku]	days

[lutelu]	[ludelu]	a sisal dish
[ateXa]	[adeka]	s/he is cooking
[itajwa]	[idajwa]	a cock

4. Lwitakho [ts] corresponds to [dz] in Logooli in the following examples:

Example 10

Lwitakho	Logooli	Gloss
[tsa]	[dza]	only
[tsia]	[dzia]	go
[tsiɲombe]	[dziɲombe]	cows
[musatsa]	[musadza]	husband
[βutswa]	[βudza]	only
[matsi]	[madzi]	water
[risitsa]	[risidza]	week
[tsisendi]	[dzisendi]	money

5. Lwitakho [k] corresponds to Logooli [g] in the following instances:

Example 11

Lwitakho	Logooli	Gloss
[lijoko]	[lijogo]	noise
[ikanisa]	[iganisa]	a church
[isikara]	[isigara]	a cigarette
[muhika]	[muhiga]	a year
[mukolo:βa]	[mugolo:βa]	yesterday
[makoβi]	[magoβi]	debts

[makanda]	[maganda]	beans
[Xaβaka]	[kaβaga]	thrice
[jakona]	[jagona]	s/he slept
[jakula]	[jagula]	s/he bought
[jalcka]	[jaloga]	s/he bewitched
[hakari]	[hagati]	in the middle

Other salient features in the two dialects are summarised below. However it should be borne in mind that these features are not as salient as the ones we have just highlighted above.

(a) Lwitakho [ɾ] corresponds to [t] in Logooli in the following instances:

Example 12

Lwitakho	Logooli	Gloss
[muɾwi]	[mutwi]	head
[toɾo]	[doto]	new born
[ɾaŋga]	[taŋga]	start
[ɾeβa]	[teβa]	ask
[ɾuma]	[tuma]	send
[ɾaka]	[taga]	plant
[-kuɾa]	[-guta]	satisfied
[ɾuɾitsa]	[tuɾidza]	remove

(b) However this is not always the case as seen in Example 13 where Lwitakho [ɾ] corresponds to [ɾ] in Logooli. That is, no variation is observed.

Example 13

Lwitakho	Logooli	Gloss
[ɾoɾa]	[ɾoɾa]	see
[ɾiβa]	[ɾiβa]	(one's) nature
[ɾembana]	[ɾembana]	quarrel
[muɾina]	[muɾina]	friend
[muɾImI]	[muɾImI]	farm

(c) Lwitakho [p] corresponds to Logooli [b] in the following examples:

Example 14

Lwitakho	Logooli	Gloss
[papa]	[baba]	father
[ʃipande]	[kibande]	identity card
[supui]	[subui]	morning
[mapwoni]	[mabwoni]	potatoes
[xupa]	[kuba]	beat

As already mentioned earlier, nine of the salient features above have been adopted as the linguistic variants that we shall use in discussing accommodation (for details on selection of variants see sub-section 1.2.5). These variants, which form

the basis of discussion in the sub-section below and in Chapter 5, are presented in table 4.3 below:

VARIABLE NAME	VARIANTS		EXAMPLES
	LOGOOLI	LWITAKHO	
(K)	[k]	[X] & [ʃ]	[kuba] [Xupa] 'beat' [kindu] [ʃindu] 'thing'
(D)	[d]	[t]	[dawe] [tawe] 'no'
(G)	[g]	[k]	[mugamba] [mukamba] 'tomorrow'
(Z)	[dz]	[ts]	[dza] [tsa] 'only'

Table 4.3: Linguistic Variables referred to in this Study.

We have identified various phonological units that vary in a systematic way in the two dialects. Using examples from the two dialects, we have further shown how these phonological variants are embedded in the linguistic structure of each of these dialects. We shall now go on to explore the effects of speech accommodation on these nine variants in the two dialects. It is expected that in all instances of convergence, Logooli respondents will use the Lwitakho variants of a variable instead of the corresponding Logooli ones whereas converging Lwitakho respondents will use the Logooli variants

instead of the corresponding Lwitakho ones.
will serve to illustrate this.

4.5.C Effects of Speech Convergence on Phonological Variants in Logooli and Lwitakho dialects

In the present sub-section we examine speech convergence in greater detail by:

(i) discussing various instances of convergence, showing how each affects given phonological variants in Logooli and Lwitakho dialects.

(ii) Formulating rules that explain the changes affecting these variants.

We shall discuss one dialect at a time.

4.5.1 Effects on Lwitakho variants

It was observed that whenever Lwitakho respondents converged to their Logooli listeners' speech, they modified their Lwitakho variants to become similar to the corresponding ones in Logooli. A respondent, Rosebella K., for example, displays this characteristic in a conversation with a Logooli female friend in the following instances:

Example 15

S. 48: [ajanza da] `s/he will not be happy'

S. 84: [Xa ʃeka musatsa araXuβe:ra] `Let alone, (your) husband will forgive you.'

It should be noted that Rosebella converges in sentence 48. Then from sentence 49-83, no linguistic convergence is observed until we get to sentence 84. During convergence Rosebella modifies Lwitakho variants to become similar to Logooli ones twice (see underlined variants). From the two instances above, [t] in Lwitakho [ta] `no' is modified to [d] in [da] whereas [X] in Lwitakho [ʃaXa] `leave (it)' is modified to [k] in [ʃeka] `leave.'

Let us now examine the speech of other Lwitakho speakers during instances of convergence and see how the 5 variants of Lwitakho are affected. Using examples from our data, we shall examine one variant at a time.

The [X] and [ʃ] Variants

In the data below it appears that the Lwitakho variant [X] changes to [k] when the Lwitakho respondents converge to their Logooli interlocutors' speech.

Example 16

Before Convergence		During Convergence	Gloss
[χwiχala]	>	[kwikala]	to stay
[muχari]	>	[mukari]	wife
[musaχulu]	>	[musakuru]	an old man
[χali]	>	[kari]	even
[χuχureβa]	>	[kukuteβa]	to ask you
[βaχaβe]	>	[βakaβe]	they look for
[maχomi]	>	[makomi]	tens
[liχola]	>	[likola]	banana fibres

In the following examples the Lwitakho variant [ʃ] appears to change to [k] when the Lwitakho respondents linguistically converge to their Logooli listeners' speech.

Example 17

Before Convergence		During Convergence	Gloss
[ʃindu]	>	[kindu]	thing
[ʃihanwa]	>	[Kihanwa]	present
[ʃi]	>	[ki]	what
[tsjiʃiloko:li]	>	[dzjikilogo:li]	of Logooli

The changes affecting the Lwitakho variants [X] and [ʃ] when Lwitakho respondents converge to their Logocli interlocutors' speech can be captured in the follcwing rule: [X] or [ʃ] > [k]

The [k] Variant

In the examples below, the Lwitakho variant [k] appears to change to [g] when Lwitakho respondents linguistically converge to Logooli.

Example 18

Before convergence		During Convergence	Gloss
[mukolokolo]	>	[mugorogoro]	a two kg tin
[tʃaβaraka:mu]	>	[tʃaβataga:mu]	what they will plant in
[βikuri]	>	[βiguti]	they are satisfied
[ikulu]	>	[iguru]	up
[tsjiʃiloko:li]	>	[dzjikirogoli]	of Logooli

The changes affecting the Lwitakho variant [k] during linguistic convergence by Lwitakho respondents may be captured in the following rule: [k] > [g]

The [t] Variant

In the data below it is apparent that the Lwitakho variant [t] changes to [d] during linguistic convergence by Lwitakho respondents.

Example 19

Before Convergence	During Convergence	Gloss
[XumuXono mukata]	> [kumukono mugada]	on the left hand side
[sana ta]	> [sana da]	not very much
[isota]	> [isoda]	a soda
[tsitejwa]	> [dzidajwa]	cocks
[luteru]	> [luderu]	sisal mat

The changes affecting the Lwitakho variant [t] in the examples above can be captured in the following rule: [t] > [d]

The [ts] Variant

In the data below we see the Lwitakho variant [ts] change to [dz] when Lwitakho respondents converge to their Logooli listeners' speech.

Example 20

Before convergence	During Convergence	Gloss
[tsji∫iſoko:li]	> [dzjikiſogoli]	of Logooli
[tsitejwa]	> [dzidajwa]	cocks
[aXweki:tsa]	> [akwigi:dza]	s/he teaches us
[utsi:tsa]	> [udzi:dza]	you are going

The changes affecting the Lwitakho variant [ts] above can be captured in the following rule :

[ts] > [dz]

The data above has served to illustrate the follcwing:

(i) That [t], [k] and [ts] change to [d], [g] and [dz] respectively when Lwitakho respondents converge to their Logooli listeners' speech. That is whenever Lwitakho speakers converge to their Logooli interlocutors' speech, the unvoiced segments become voiced.

(ii) That [X] or [ʃ] > [k] during speech convergence by Lwitakho respondents. This change from [X] to [k] is in the manner of articulation. Both [k] and [X] have the same point of articulation but differ in the manner of articulation. The change from [ʃ] to [k], on the other hand, affects both the point and manner of articulation of the two segments and is therefore, the greatest.

Let us now examine the effects of linguistic convergence by Logooli respondents on 4 Logooli variants.

4.5.2 Effects on Logooli variants

Whenever Logooli speakers converged to their Lwitakho listeners' speech, they modified Logooli variants to become like their correspondences in Lwitakho. Mary K. , for example, in a conversation with a young male Lwitakho speaker converges several times as can be seen from the extract below:

Example 21

S.23 [Xwixala dza Xandi dzinganagani dzjari dzidziri jengo kare] `Just sitting idle like this, my mind had already strayed home'

S.24 [Xusoma sikoveje kupita dae] `Studying for exams does not mean passing (them)'

Mary modifies the Logooli variants to be similar to Lwitakho ones 4 times (see underlined variants) as can be seen in sentences 23 and 24 above.

We now examine the speech of other Logooli respondents to find out how the 4 Logooli variants (given in table 4.3 above) are modified whenever Logooli speakers converge to their Lwitakho interlocutors' speech.

The [k] Variant

From the examples below, it appears that the Logooli variant [k] changes to [X] when Logooli respondents converge to their Lwitakho interlocutors' speech.

Example 22

Before Convergence		During Convergence	Gloss
[mukana]	>	[muXana]	girl
[kare]	>	[Xare]	long ago
[kandi]	>	[Xandi]	again
[-kala]	>	[-Xala]	sit
[kusoma]	>	[Xusoma]	to learn
[joneka]	>	[jonoXa]	get spoilt
[kuri]	>	[Xuri]	like (comparative)
[nakole ndi]	>	[naXole ndi]	what will s/he do

In the following instances we see the Logooli variant [k] change to [ʃ] when the Logooli respondents converge to Lwitakho.

Example 23

Before Convergence		During Convergence	Gloss
[mukere]	>	[muʃere]	old woman
[kidi]	>	[ʃiti]	small thing
[ukiri]	>	[uʃiri]	you haven't yet
[kindu]	>	[ʃindu]	thing

The changes affecting the Logooli variant [k] whenever Lwitakho variants converge to their Logooli interlocutors' speech in the above examples can be captured in the following rule:

[k] > [X] or [ʃ].

The [g] Variant

In the data below the Logooli variant [g] changes to [k] when Logooli respondents linguistically converge to Lwitakho.

Example 24

Before Convergence		During Convergence	Gloss
[paga]	>	[paka]	until
[muriganisa]	>	[murikanisa]	in church
[nugwimani]	>	[nukwimani]	he is selfish
[gaβeje]	>	[kaβere]	they have become
[gundegwo]	>	[kundoko]	that person (gigantic)

The changes affecting the Logooli variant [g] above can be captured in the following rule: [g] > [k].

The [d] Variant

A look at the examples below shows that [d] changes to [t] when Logooli respondents linguistically converge to their Lwitakho interlocutors' speech.

Example 25

Before convergence		During convergence	Gloss
[da]	>	[ta]	no
[lwidako]	>	[lwitaXo]	lwitakho
[lidiriʃa]	>	[litiriʃa]	window
[mugadi]	>	[mukati]	bread

These changes affecting the Logooli variant [d] in the above examples can be captured in the following rule: [d] > [t]

The [dz] Variant

In the examples below we see the Logooli variant [dz] change to [ts] when Logooli respondents converge to their Lwitakho interlocutors' speech.

Example 26

Before convergence		During convergence	Gloss
[tadzana]	>	[tatsana]	struggle
[dzisilindʒi]	>	[tsiʃilindʒi]	shillings
[dzinguβu]	>	[tsinguβu]	clothes
[dzistori]	>	[tsistori]	stories

The changes affecting the Logooli variant [dz] above can be captured in the following rule: [dz] > [ts]

The data above has served to illustrate the following phenomena:

(i) That [d], [g] and [dz] change to [t], [k] and [ts] respectively whenever Logooli speakers converge to their Lwitakho interlocutors' speech. Therefore, voiced segments become devoiced when Logooli respondents converge to their Lwitakho interlocutors' speech.

(ii) That [k] > [X] or [ʃ] whenever Logooli speakers converge to their Lwitakho interlocutors' speech. The change from [k] to [X] is in the manner of articulation. Both [k] and [X] have similar points of articulation but differ in the manner of articulation. The change from [k] to [ʃ], on the other hand, affects both the point and manner of articulation of the two segments and is, therefore, the greatest. We shall see the significance of this in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 ANALYSIS OF DATA AND DISCUSSION

This chapter explores the functions of phonological variation in the speech of eight respondents from Lwitakho and Logooli dialects. The discussion in this sub-section will be centred on the (K), (G), (D) and (Z) variables together with their variants (see table 4.3 above). As already stated in sub-section 3.4 above the social variables of dialect, sex and age will be studied.

First, we attempt to account for the types of accommodation that appear to be at work during various instances of contact between Logooli and Lwitakho dialects. We shall explain accommodation in one situation and then see if the same explanation can be generalised to other similar situations (c f. Trudgill, 1986). Our discussion will be based on the tenets of the Speech Accommodation Theory (hence SAT).

Secondly, we examine and describe listeners' perception of speakers' convergence and divergence in the two dialects. Our concern here is to find out and then describe how listeners perceive speakers who converge to or diverge from their (listeners') speech.

Finally, we examine and describe the degree of linguistic convergence and divergence in the various social groups. To do this, tokens are counted for each variable in each informant's speech. Then percentage

scores are computed and subsequently an average score for each social group is calculated (for details see sub-section 5.3 below). By means of these scores we are able to investigate the nature of correlation between realisations of phonological and social variables.

5.1.0 Explanations for Speech Accommodation

In the present study, many instances of speech accommodation by speakers were observed. During such instances, respondents could choose to make their speech similar to or dissimilar from that of their interlocutor. All instances where speakers modified the variants of their dialect to become similar to their listeners' were analyzed as convergence whereas instances where speakers modified the variants of their dialect to become dissimilar from their interlocutors' were analyzed as divergence. Basing our discussion on the tenets of the Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) and on examples from our recordings we shall analyze and explain speech convergence and divergence by Logooli and Lwitakho respondents.

5.1.1 Explanations for Speech Convergence by Lwitakho and Logooli Speakers

In this study, it was observed that speakers converged for various reasons. Below we attempt explanations for this linguistic behaviour on the

basis of the tenets of the SAT. Since the similarity attraction theory and the social exchange theory of the SAT have been used by earlier researchers to account for speech convergence (see sub-section 2.3), the present study attempts to use these two tenets to explain speakers' convergence to their listeners' speech. We have used the two theories because each of them views convergence from a different perspective and the use of only one tenet may not provide us with sufficient explanations on speakers' convergence. We shall begin with the similarity attraction theory and then go on to the social exchange theory.

5.1.1.1 The Similarity Attraction Theory

The examples in this sub-section will attempt to account for linguistic convergence in Lwitakho and Logooli respondents on the basis of the similarity attraction theory. This theory posits that when communicators become more similar in their speech, then greater liking develops between them. This liking subsequently leads to speakers gaining social approval and integration. Therefore, speakers converge when they desire to induce their listners to evaluate them favourably.

Lwitakho Examples

Our first example, example 27, is an excract of

the speech of a young female Lwitakho respondent, Judith M. Her interlocutor is a young female Logooli friend. The two went to the same primary school and are now chatting about some of their ex-school-mates. In sentences 10 and 11 of example 27 below, no convergence is observed. However, from sentence 12 onwards Judith converges 8 times (see underlined variants). She modifies Lwitakho variants to become similar to Logooli ones. She does this because she would like to reduce the linguistic dissimilarities between her listener and herself. Since increasing similarity between interlocutors along such a dimension as communication is likely to increase attraction, convergence in example 27, perhaps reflects Judith's desire for social approval. She may be out to induce her interlocutor to evaluate her favourably so as to receive social approval from her. Another explanation for Judith's convergence could be to increase intelligibility between her interlocutor and herself.

Example 27

S. 10: [muXari wewe ariho ta] `his wife is not there '

S. 11: [jatsia india alafu napola muʃere wewe jarulaho] `he went to India and when he came back he found his wife had left'

S.12: [ku ja:ni jasulaki wundi ura ndjo]

`now why was he refusing that other one'

S.13: [kama βarinatsa lakini ʃimbara kama mukari mba] `Just like friends, but I do not think as a wife'

S.14: [ojo ʃiari mundu apara kwikara nu mukari mba] `He is not somebody who can live with a wife'

S.15: [ja:ni atʃendza mapa ikamilioni] `In fact he changes like a chameleon'

S.16: [apara kuseka kidogo ameuθika kabisa] `He can laugh one minute, the next one he is so angry'

Other instances of convergence by Lwitakho respondents that can be explained in similarity attraction theory terms include:

Example 28a

[jabolaku da] `She did not even say (it)'

In Example 28a the speaker is Rosebella K.. She is chatting with an elderly Logooli lady who is a distant cousin. The above statement is a response to a question posed by Rosebellla's interlocutor who would like to know whether Rosbella knows the man who impregnated their niece. Consequently, convergence by Rosebella may be a strategy to induce her interlocutor to evaluate her favourably i.e.that she is a

responsible for she has attempted to ask about the man but that their niece refused to say who it was.

Example 28b

[tʃaβataga:mu] `what they will plant'

In example 28b above, the young Lwitakho speaker is in the company of an elderly Logooli man and because of the reverence that is reserved for older members of the Luyia community, he converges because he wants to induce his interlocutor to evaluate him favourably (as a respectful young man). Such a positive evaluation may in turn lead to the Lwitakho speaker being socially approved of and integrated by his Logooli interlocutor.

Example 28c

[sasa hakuna hadʒa jukudzia jeŋgo ati udzidza kurora mwana da] `Now there is no use of going home that you are going to see (the) child.'

In Example 28c above the Lwitakho respondent modifies Lwitakho variants to become similar to corresponding Logooli ones (see underlined variants) and such linguistic convergence can be explained as is done above, using the similarity attraction theory.

LOGOOLI EXAMPLES

In examples 29a-29d, Logooli respondents modify

Logooli variants to become similar to their Lwitakho correspondences (see underlined variants).

Example 29a

[makoso gaβeho da] `There is no problem'

In example 29a, for instance the speaker is Flo, a young Logooli female trying to convince an elderly Lwitakho woman that there is nothing wrong with one being a single parent. However, Flo's interlocutor is so opposed to single parenthood that she even brands all single parents `prostitutes.' Therefore Flo's convergence is because she wants to induce her interlocutor to evaluate her favourably (that although Flo is a single mother, she is not a prostitute). Such a favourable evaluation finally enables Flo to receive social approval and integration from her interlocutor. Thus the similarity attraction theory is at work here.

Example 29b

[mwene XujaXomera] `He is really fat'

The above statement is uttered by Mary K. in reference to her councillor. Convergence in this instance could be explained as a strategy Mary adopts so as to induce her interlocutor to perceive her favourably. This is because she has said something unpleasant about the councillor (that he is too fat) and does not want to be perceived as a person who talks ill about other people. She therefore converges so as to induce her

interlocutor to perceive her favourably. Such a positive perception will then enable Mary to receive social approval and integration from her interlocutor.

Example 29c

[mwamena mwu mu∫ere noho mwu musakuru]

`Did you used to stay at the old man's or old woman's place'

Sylvester L. converges as he poses the above question to his Lwitakho interlocutor. This convergence may be an implication of the speaker's desire for an answer to the above question. Thus in order to get an appropriate answer, Sylvester realises that he has to converge to his interlocutor's speech. Or it may be that Sylvester converges so that he can induce his interlocutor to evaluate him favourably so that he may receive social integration from his interlocutor.

Example 29d

[XwiXala za Xandi dzinganagani dzjari dzidziri jengo kare] `Just sitting like this, my mind had already strayed home'

Like in the case of Flo, other Logooli respondents linguistically converge because they desire to reduce the linguistic dissimilarities between them and their listeners. Since increased similarity increases mutual

attraction, the respondents converge because they desire social approval and integration from their listeners.

All the examples above, therefore, demonstrate that the similarity attraction theory of the SAT adequately accounts for speakers' convergence in Lwitakho and Logooli dialects. Other instances of convergence, in examples 15-19 and 20-25, may also be explained in terms of the similarity attraction theory. Let us now attempt to explain convergence using the social exchange theory.

5.1.1.2 The Social Exchange Theory

In this sub-section we shall base all the discussions on the social exchange theory of the SAT. This theory views convergence as a social exchange during which interlocutors incur costs in order to obtain rewards. Speakers will converge when these rewards (which may be in the form of material rewards, social approval and integration and so on) outweigh the costs (for instance, linguistic effort, group identity loss) of converging.

LWITAKHO EXAMPLES

Lwitakho respondents converge to their Logooli interlocutors speech and in so doing incur costs (linguistic effort and a temporary identity loss) in order to obtain certain rewards (such as material

rewards and social approval and integration). They expend linguistic effort in articulating the Logooli variants [g], [d] and [k]. This is especially so for [k] which is phonetically radically different from the corresponding Lwitakho variants [ʃ] and [X].

Example 30a

[he βiguti] `yes they are satisfied'

For instance, example 30a is Livingstone's (a young Lwitakho) response to a question posed by his friend and colleague at work. The friend is inquiring whether Livingstone's children are satisfied because they have cleared all the food on their plates and are still seated at table. Livingstone's convergence can be explained in terms of the social exchange theory. Livingstone incurs two costs (namely, group identity loss and expended effort in articulating the Logooli variant [g]) in order to obtain a reward (social approval) from his interlocutor. Livingstone does not want his interlocutor to perceive him as a stingy man, a quality that is highly disapproved of in the Luyia community.

Example 30b

[austja XumuXono mukada joko]

`Then you take that left hand side'

Example 30c

[nuweɲa kindu maɲa isoda] `If you want something like a soda.'

In example 30b and 30c the speakers incur two costs (group identity loss and expended effort in articulating Logooli variants [k] and [d]) in order to obtain a reward (to be clearly understood by their interlocutor). In 30b, in particular, the speaker is giving directions to her rural home because she would like her interlocutor to deliver some money to her parents. Therefore, the reward here is delivery services from the interlocutor.In example 30c, however, the reward is monetary assistance. The speaker is a college student and is soliciting for pocket money because colleges are just about to re-open.

Example 30d

[namusa:ma ɗawe tsiŋgutsa] `don't you irrigate the vegetables?'

The reward in 30d is intelligibity. Benard N. converges to his interlocutor's speech because he would like to be clearly understood. He desires that his interlocutor clearly understands his question. Or it may be that Benard's convergence may be a strategy he uses in order to obtain an answer to his question. This is because convergence will induce the interlocutor to perceive Benard favourably and consequently lead him to receive a reward (an answer

to his question).

Let us now examine data from the Logooli respondents to find out whether the social exchange theory of the SAT adequately accounts for speakers' linguistic convergence.

LOGOOLI EXAMPLES

Example 31a

[arekimu tsiʃilindʒi ielefu na mia tisa] `s/he has left behind two thousand and nine hundred shillings.'

In example 31a Sylvester converges to his listener's speech (see underlined variants) because he would like to be clearly understood. In order to achieve this, which in social exchange theory terms constitutes the reward, Sylvester readily incurs the cost of expended effort in articulating Lwitakho variants as well as a temporary identity loss.

Example 31b

[ni kUri lwisuka nu lwidako lwitaχo]

`Is it like lwisuka or lwidako lwitakho'

In example 31b, the speaker would like to know whether Tsotso (a Luyia dialect) is similar to either Logooli or Lwitakho. Thus convergence at this instance enables the speaker to be clearly understood by her interlocutor.

In the other examples, however, the rewards for the converging speakers are social approval and

integration.

Example 31c

[gwajonoχa mutwi] `You mean she ran mad?'

In 31c, for instance, the reward for converging may be that the speaker would like to get the correct information (i.e. that the person they are talking about has surely run mad). Or it may be that the speaker converges so that she can socially integrate her listner which will consequently lead to her being told more about the subject of discussion.

Example 31d

[βadza: χwiβisa iwenejo mwalimu naβaβolaχu ʃindu βaβola ta] `they used to go and hide there and whenever the teacher would caution them they would not listen.'

In 31d the rewards for converging are social approval. The context of this conversation is a home where the speaker and interlocutor are chatting about their days in school. The speaker makes the statement in 31d in relation to a lady who is currently suffering because she does not have any income. Thus convergence by the speaker may be because she would like to induce her interlocutor to perceive her favourably (that she does not hold the lady that they are talking about with contempt). Such a favourable perception will then enable her to be socially

approved of and integrated. Hence in social exchange theory terms the rewards are social approval and integration whereas the costs are expended effort and identity loss.

We can therefore, conclude that the social exchange theory of the SAT can give us another perspective of explaining convergence by Lwitakho and Logooli respondents in contact. Furthermore, other instances of convergence such as those in Examples 15-25 can also be explained in social exchange theory terms.

5.1.2 Explaining divergence by Logooli and Lwitakho speakers on the basis of the social identity theory

Our aim here is to explain why speakers linguistically diverge from their interlocutors. Earlier studies have relied on tools from the social identity theory of the SAT to explain speech divergence among communicators (c f.Giles & St. Clair, 1979; Giles & Robinson, 1990; Russell 1982;). According to the social identity theory, speakers will diverge when they desire to show disapproval of their interlocutors or wish to make themselves positively distinct from the outgroup members. The following data serves to illustrate that this is the case in speakers of Logooli and Lwitakho dialects of the Luyia group. Examples 32a-32d below come immediately after

instances of convergence by the respondents. Speakers diverge to assert their dialectal-group identity after having temporarily lost it during convergence.

However, there could be an additional reason to explain speech divergence in example 32c below. The interlocutors, in this example, are discussing some cultural events in their communities. There is a major difference between the two dialects in the art of wrestling. Lwitakhos wrestle whereas Logoolis do not. When the Lwitakho respondent is told that Logoolis do not wrestle, he is not convinced and as a result he poses the above question in example 32c. In doing so he diverges from his listener's speech to show disapproval. He disapproves of what the listener asserts (that Logoolis do not wrestle because they are churchgoers).

EXAMPLES FROM LWITAKHO

Example 32a

[jabolaXu ʃindu ta] `He did not say a thing'

Example 32b

[Xutsi Xulaŋga ɲimba] `we call it inimba (bell)

Example 32c

[weɲa Xumbo:la ja:ni βandu βatsja mwiβukana βanala XulwanaXu ta] `Do you want to tell me that

churchgoers never fight (wrestle)'

Example 32d

[uβola: mambiri uβetsa: kakamekiji] `Are you referring to the Mambiri who stays here in Kakamega?'

LOGOOLI EXAMPLES

Like the case of Lwitakho, all the examples below come immediately after instances of convergence. The speakers modify certain variants (see underlined variants) to become different from those of their interlocutors. This is because they want their listeners to perceive them as outgroup members. The perception of such a positive distinctiveness for the speakers will ensure that they have an adequate dialectal-group identity.

There is an additional explanation for linguistic divergence in example 33d, in particular. The above statement is made by an old Logooli female speaker during a conversation with an old Lwitakho female friend. The speaker diverges because she would like to show disapproval of her listener. She disapproves of her listener's assertion (that the subject of discussion never goes to his rural home; that he is a `lost' man). Since the speaker feels otherwise, she tries to defend the subject. As a result divergence in this case denotes a speaker's disassociation from her listener in order to show disapproval.

Example 33a

[kari kwasomaku na βana βeβe]

`we even went to school with his children'

Example 33b

[kʊ̀ni mundu agona madiku gaβaga gane]

`in our (community) a dead body stays for three or four days'

Example 33c

[βalulidza dzimbega dziosi] `they sharpened both sides'

Example 33d

[kandi ama adza: jengo] `In fact he often goes home'

We have therefore, observed that speech divergence by respondents from Lwitakho and Logooli dialects may be attributed to two factors:

(i) Speech divergence reflects a speaker's desire to assert a positive ethnolinguistic identity. Perception of such a positive distinctiveness by the ingroup ensures that they have an adequate social identity. This is because people experience satisfaction in the knowledge that they belong to groups which are different in some way. Given that speech is,for many people, a clue to social group membership,

it can be argued that in many situations when group membership is a salient issue, divergence in speech is an important strategy for making oneself psychologically and favourably distinct from outgroup members.

(ii) Speech divergence is also used by a speakers to show disapproval of their listeners.

5.2 Listeners' Perception of Speakers' Convergence and divergence in Lwitakho and Logooli dialects.

The discussion in this sub-section will be based on the data in the questionnaires. We shall explore the responses of 24 respondents so as to describe how listeners perceive speakers who linguistically converge or diverge. Reference will be made to the causal attribution theory of the SAT. The causal attribution theory posits that, in an interpersonal encounter, a speaker may converge to or diverge from his/her listener's dialect. Such speech modifications can be perceived as voluntary or as externally coerced by circumstances. When speech modification by a speaker is perceived to be voluntary this will result in relatively extreme evaluations; extremely favourable for convergence

and extremely unfavourable for divergence. But if a speaker's modification is attributed to external coercion then these favourable and unfavourable reactions will be attenuated (see Giles & Robinson, 1990).

After analyzing the responses in the questionnaires (see Appendix BI and BII, for samples) by the 24 respondents from Lwitakho and Logooli dialects, it was found that speakers' convergence to their listeners' dialect was sometimes perceived favourably and at other times, the perception was unfavourable. For example, item Number 7a(i) in the questionnaires required the respondents to give their view of a speaker who completely converged due to a genuine desire to communicate. Analysis of the responses to this question showed that such convergence was perceived favourably by all the 24 respondents. Some of their responses included the following: `as a kind and loving person,' `as a considerate fellow,' `as a person who would like his listener to understand him,' `must be very good with his tongue.' Therefore, after analyzing responses received it was found that all the respondents perceived linguistic convergence favourably when it was attributed to speakers' genuine desire to communicate.

Item number 7a(ii) in the questionnaires required the respondents to give their view towards

speakers who completely converged because of social pressure demanding that the speakers converg. For example during dialect group clashes, a Lwitakho speaker may converge to Logooli when in the company of hostile Logoolis. Convergence in such circumstances was perceived favourably by only 8 respondents. However, the majority (14 out of 24 respondents) had an unfavourable perception. We analyzed the following responses as unfavourable: `he is crazy because he is trying to please the other,' `I will become uneasy if he speaks so well to the extent of giving the impression that he is a speaker of the other dialect' `as a lost sheep'`I will be suspicious of the speaker.' Two respondents did not give their comment.

Speech divergence, on the other hand, was perceived more favourably when it was attributed to circumstances beyond the speaker's control. As a result speakers who linguistically diverged because of unavoidable circumstances tended to be perceived more favourably than unfavourably. For instance, during weddings involving members from the two dialect groups a Logooli speaker may use Logooli because s/he wants to communicate an important message to the audience but is not good in Lwitakho, even after trying to use it. Item number 7(bi) required the respondents to give their opinion towards a speaker who linguistically diverged

because of circumstances beyond their control. Analysis of the responses to this question, showed that some respondents (7 out of 24) perceived such divergence unfavourably. Some of the responses analyzed as unfavourable included: `tries to assimilate the other to his dialect' `as a proud person,' `he is not a good person because he only speaks his dialect,' `does not consider the dialect differences, thus a mean person,' ` he misses to communicate in certain words.' We also received other responses which we analyzed as favourable. These include: `it is alright so long as they communicate,' `he is not very fluent in the other dialect so it is okey,' `Logoolis find it hard to pronounce some words in Lwitakho.' It was found that more respondents (17 out of 24) had a favourable response rather than an unfavourable one.

Item number 7b(ii) required the respondents to give their perception of a speaker who diverged because of a lack of effort on his (the speaker's) part. This could be for example, when a Lwitakho speaker does not make any effort to use Logooli in his speech during interaction with Logoolis. Analysis of the responses to this question revealed that only 6 of the 24 respondents perceived divergence in such circumstances favourably. All those who insinuated a favourable perception of divergent speakers seemed to feel that there was

nothing wrong in diverging so long as the speakers could communicate with their listeners. 18 respondents, on the other hand, had an unfavourable perception of divergence when such behaviour was attributed to lack of effort on the speaker's part to converge. In fact, one respondent referred to such a speaker as being "proud for nothing."

We can, therefore, conclude that, speech convergence as a result of a speaker's genuine desire to communicate was perceived more favourably than when the same behaviour was attributed to situational pressure demanding convergence. This observation is similar to that of Simard, Taylor and Giles (in Giles & St. Clair, 1979). Simard and colleagues demonstrate that when convergence (the use of French by the English Canadians) was attributed to situational pressure demanding out-group language from the speaker, unfavourable perception was more pronounced than when the same behaviour was attributed to the speakers' `genuine' and `internal' desire to communicate. Similarly, they show that when speech divergence by English Canadians was attributed to situational pressure demanding own-group language from the speaker, negative responses were not as pronounced as when the same behaviour was attributed to a lack of effort on the speaker's part. Using the causal attribution theory, therefore, we have been able to

explain listeners' evaluation of speakers' convergence to or divergence from their listeners' speech in Logooli and Lwitakho dialects.

5.3 Measurement of Co-variation of Phonological and social variables

In this sub-section our concern is to measure the extent of linguistic convergence and divergence in 8 respondents' speech. In order to achieve this, it is necessary that the variables under study be quantified. As a result tokens are counted for each variable. We do not count an equal number of tokens for all the variables (C f. Milroy , 1980:119). This is because it turned out during analyses of data that despite the fact that all the 4 phonological variables were salient some were more salient than others. Consequently, more tokens are counted for the most salient of the variables (see also Milroy, 1987:135). We have, therefore, counted 100 tokens for variable (K) and 30 for variables (D), (G) and (Z) in each speaker's speech.

Earlier studies have shown that phonological variants of binary nature are easily handled as percentages (Russell, 1982, Trudgill 1986, Milroy 1980). In this study, the variables (G), (D) and (Z) have two variants each but (K) has three. Since 3 out of the 4 variables in this study have binary variants, we have chosen to calculate percentage

scores for each variant. For the purposes of regularity we also compute percentage scores for the other variable despite the fact that it has three variants instead of two.

The percentage scores are arrived at using the formula:

$$\frac{x}{N} \times 100$$

where x = Total number of tokens of a variant
and N = Total number of tokens of a variable

Example 50

Assuming speaker X1 had 20 tokens for variant [d] and 10 tokens for variant [t]. The percentage scores for each variant are computed as follows:

[d]:

Given $\frac{x}{N} \times 100$

$$\frac{20}{30} \times 100 = \frac{200}{3} = 66.7$$

Thus variant [d] has a percentage score of 66.7%

[t]:

Given $\frac{x}{N} \times 100$

$$\frac{10}{30} \times 100 = 33.3\%$$

Thus variant [t] has a percentage score of 33.3%

Using the above formula, percentage scores for various variants in the eight respondents' speech are computed and these are presented in table 5.1 below.

TABLE 5.1 TOKENS AND PERCENTAGE SCORES FOR (K), (G), (D) AND (Z) VARIABLES FOR 8 RESPONDENTS

RESPONDENT	DIALOGUE NUMBER	(K)		(G)		(D)		(Z)	
		[k]	[x] [ʃ]	[g]	[ɣ]	[d]	[t]	[dz]	[ts]
JUDITH M.	I	22 22%	78 78%	05 16.7%	25 83.3%	11 36.7%	19 63.3%	05 16.7%	25 83.3%
	II	02 2%	98 98%	03 10%	27 90%	04 13.3%	26 86.7%	00 0%	30 100%
LIVINGSTONE M.	I	05 5%	95 95%	02 6.7%	28 93.3%	03 10%	27 90%	02 6.7%	28 93.3%
	II	00 0%	100 100%	02 6.7%	28 93.3%	02 6.7%	28 93.3%	00 0%	30 100%
ROSEBELLA K.	I	01 1%	99 99%	00 0%	30 100%	01 3.3%	29 96.7%	00 0%	30 100%
	II	02 2%	98 98%	00 0%	30 100%	05 16.7%	25 83.3%	00 0%	30 100%
BEN W.	I	02 2%	98 98%	00 0%	30 100%	01 3.3%	29 96.7%	00 0%	30 100%
	II	02 2%	98 98%	02 6.7%	28 93.3%	04 13.3%	26 86.7%	01 3.3%	29 96.7%
FLO. O	I	75 75%	25 25%	24 80%	06 20%	28 93%	02 7%	24 80%	06 20%
	II	94 94%	06 6%	30 100%	00 0%	29 97%	01 3%	30 100%	0 0%
SYLVESTER L.	I	98 98%	2 2%	30 100%	00 0%	30 100%	00 0%	30 100%	0 0%
	II	98 98%	02 2%	30 100%	00 0%	30 100%	00 0%	28 93.3%	02 6.7%
MARY K.	I	99 99%	1 1%	26 86.7%	04 13.3%	30 100%	00 0%	30 100%	00 0%
	II	96 96%	04 4%	26 86.7%	04 13.3%	30 100%	00 0%	30 100%	00 0%
ENONDA L.	I	100 100%	00 0%	29 96.7%	01 3.3%	30 100%	00 0%	30 100%	00 0%
	II	0 100%	00 0%	30 100%	00 0%	30 100%	00 0%	30 100%	00 0%

In table 5.1, the first four respondents are Lwitakho speakers and the other four are Logoolis. Two dialogues are analyzed for each respondent. It should be noted that the Logooli variants are given on the left hand side while Lwitakho ones are on the right hand side. In addition, numerical items are entered in the 3rd to 8th columns. The numerical items on the right hand side are the percentage scores whereas those on the left hand side are the number of tokens. For example, in dialogue I, Judith M. the Logooli variant [dz] 5 times and the Lwitakho variant [ts] 25 times. When this information is expressed as a percentage, it is found Judith uses [dz] 16.7% whereas she uses [ts] 83.3%.

It is immediately apparent from table 5.1 that:

(a) All the 8 respondents have high percentage scores in the use of variants from their own dialects for all the variables. Rosebella K., in particular, has the highest scores compared to the other Lwitakho respondents whereas Enonda L. scores highest in the Logooli group.

(b) All the respondents have low scores in the use of the variants from the other dialect for all the variables.

We can therefore generalise, on the basis of these scores, that Logooli and Lwitakho respondents tend to diverge from rather than converge to their listener's speech during inter-dialectal contact.

A high linguistic divergence by respondents may be attributed to the respondents' desire to assert their dialectal-group identity in the presence of outgroup members. This is because during inter-dialectal contact "language provides an important cue for social categorisations and is often considered to be the most important and valued dimension of group identity" Giles & Robinson (1990:298). Furthermore, in the Luyia community "the most prevalent feelings from the members of each subgroup were that their own was the most prestigious, and that their particular dialect was superior to all others" Angogo, (1980:181). Therefore, Luyia speakers tend to have an intimate identity with their own dialect, hence higher scores in linguistic divergence than convergence by both Logooli and Lwitakho respondents.

Let us now examine the patterns of linguistic accommodation by the 8 respondents on the basis of the four phonological variables and the social variables of dialect, sex and age. We shall deal with one social variable at a time.

5.3.1. Dialect

A look at variation patterns with regard to dialectal differences reveal that there are certain systematic patterns observed. Figure 5.1. (which is constructed from the data in table 5.2 in Appendix D1) demonstrates that:

(a) Logooli respondents have higher mean scores for variables (K) and (G) compared to Lwitakho respondents. However, the difference is very minimal. It can therefore, be generalised that Logooli respondents linguistically converge m o r e han Lwitakho ones in their use of variables (K) and G). However, this observation is not so ignificant. This observation may be explained from the following points of view:

(i) Logooli respondents are more aware of the variants of (K) and (G) variables in the two dialects than those of the other variables. The two variables may have an especially high level of awareness associated with them. As a result the respondents tend modify them. Trudgill is of the same view when he (1986:10-11) remarks:

> the high level of awareness associated with a marker leads speakers to modify their pronunciation of it .... The same explanation obviously works for the accommodation process: in contact with speakers of other language varieties, speakers modify those features of their own varieties of which they are most aware.

(ii) A higher convergence by Logooli respondents may be a reflection of their desire for social approval and integration from their Lwitakho listeners. According to the similarity attraction theory of the SAT, communicators who are similar in speech among other features, tend to like one another. As a result, speakers will converge to their listeners when they desire to increase mutual liking between their listeners and them. An increased liking between the speaker and listener eventually leads to the former being socially approved of and integrated.

(b) Figure 5.1 also shows that Lwitakho respondents have higher mean scores in the use of the Logooli variant for variable (D) compared to Logooli speakers' use of the Lwitakho variant for the same variable. This may be because Lwitakho speakers are highly aware of the differences between their variant and that of the Logooli for the (D) variable and will therefore modify it when in the presence of Logooli interlocutors.

(c) It is also apparent from figure 5.1 that both Lwitakho and Logooli respondents have a mean score of 3.3% in the use of the variants for the (Z) variable. Consequently we can state that speakers from both dialects linguistically converge to their listeners' dialect equally in the use of (Z).

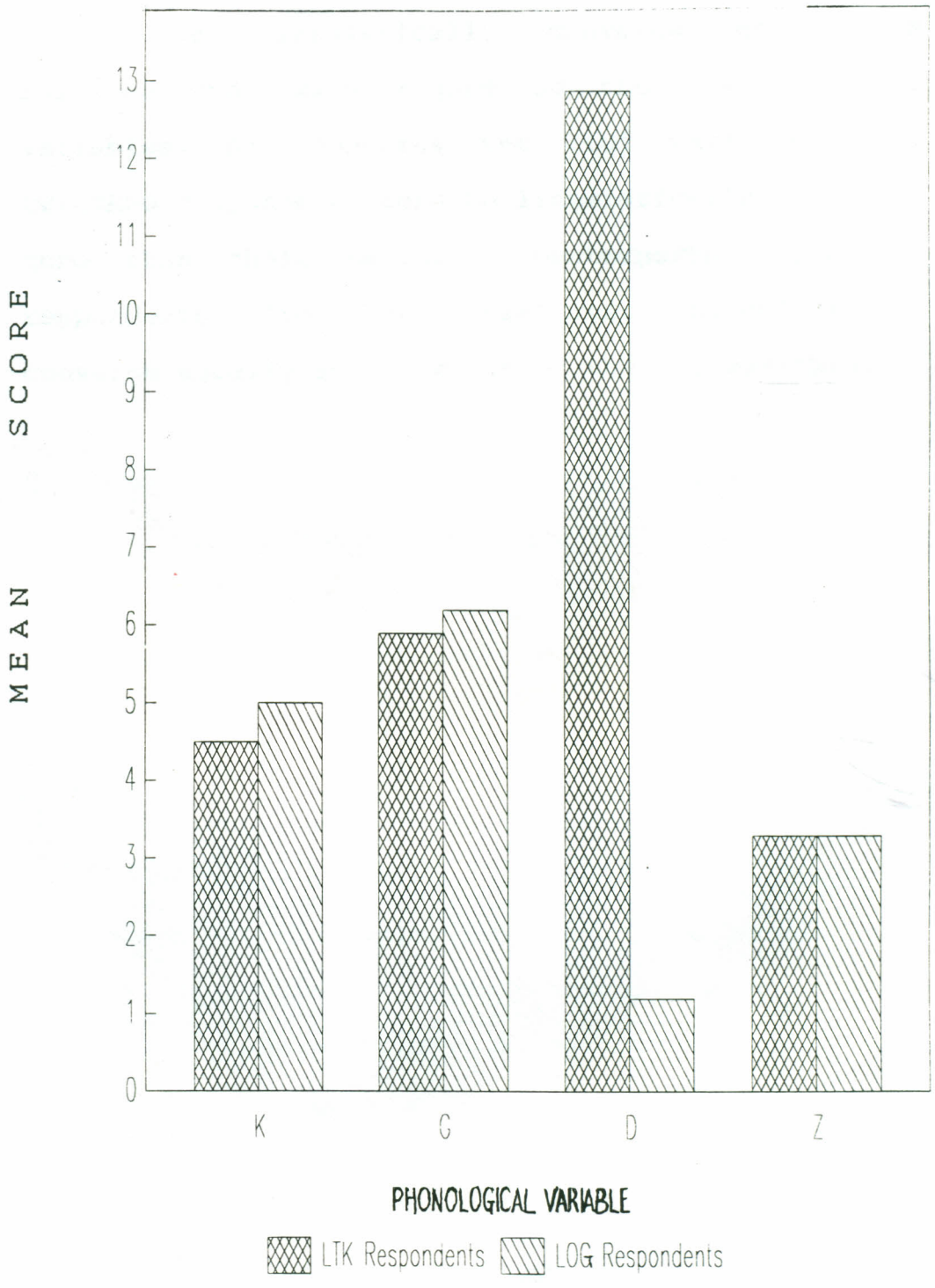

Fig 5.1: Linguistic Accommodation according to dialect of speakers.

It can, therefore, be generalised that Logooli respondents linguistically converge more than Lwitakho ones with regard to the (K) and (G) variables. As concerns the (D) variable, the Lwitakho respondents tend to linguistically converge more than their Lwitakho counterparts. Finally, respondents from both dialects, Linguistically converge equally in their use of the (Z) variable.

5.3.2 Sex

In this study, the female respondents from Logooli and Lwitakho dialects converge more to their listener's speech than do their male counterparts. Figure 5.2 (which is based on the scores presented in table 5.3 in Appendix C2) presents the degree of convergence by male and female respondents from the two dialects. A look at figure 5.2 shows that:

(a) Female respondents from both dialects have higher mean scores in the use of all 4 variables compared to their male counterparts. It can therefore, be generalised that female respondents from both dialects linguistically converge more than the male ones. This pattern of sex differentiation may be attributed to these two interrelated factors:

(i) Women in the Luyia community, like in many other speech communities, have a less secure social position than men (cf. Trudgill 1974:94). This position is generally subordinate to that of men. It is therefore, more necessary for women to secure their social status; which they may do linguistically or in other ways.

In addition, women tend to be more aware than men of the stereotypes that exist in communities and the functions these serve. As already stated, in the Luyia community members of one dialect group tend

to overtly stigmatise the speech of the other dialects hence, each dialect group considers their dialect more prestigious than the others (cf. Angogo, 1980:181). Thus female respondents modified the variants of their dialect to become similar to their interlocutors' more than did their male counterparts. This is by putting into consideration the fact that more convergence by the female respondents may be due to their desire to be associated with the more prestigious dialect during inter-dialectal contact. In the present study, female respondents converged more because they wanted to signal their social status. They did not want to be associated with overtly stigmatised variants.

(ii) A higher convergence by female respondents in our study may also be as a result of attempts to secure their social status. Given that women hold a less secure and generally subordinate social status, it is necessary that they induce their listeners to evaluate them more favourably. To achieve this the female respondents attempt to reduce any dissimilarities between them and their listeners and this subsequently leads them to being socially approved of and integrated.

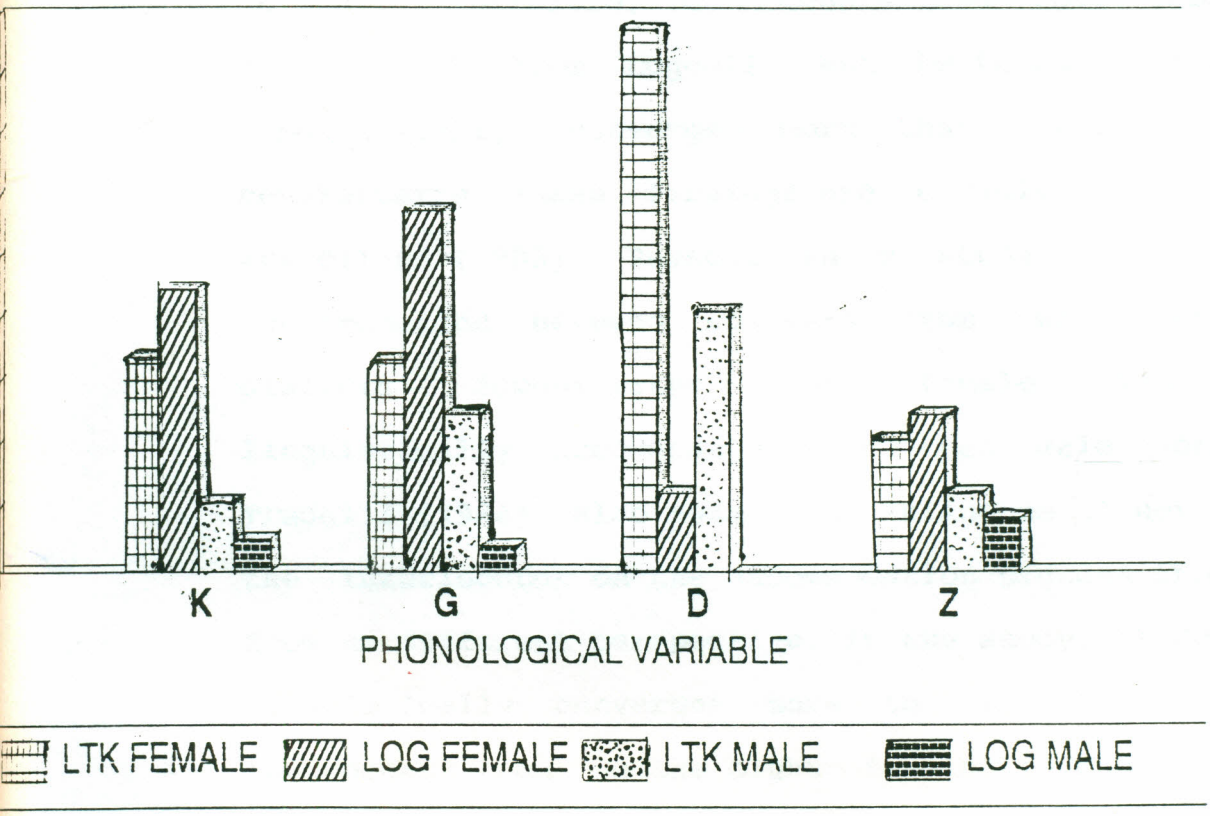

Figure 5.2: Linguistic accommodation according to the sex and dialect of speaker

It can, therefore, be generalised that female respondents from Logooli and Lwitakho dialects linguistically converge more than their male counterparts. These findings are closely related to Russell's (1982). Russell in a study of speech accommodation between speakers from two Swahili dialects demonstrates that female subjects linguistically accommodate more than male ones. Trudgill (1986) also notes the influence of sex of the interlocutor on the accommodation process though from a different perspective. In the study, Trudgill linguistically converges more to the two male respondents than to the eight females in his use of (t) variable.

5.3.3 Age

A co-variation of the 4 phonological variables and the age of the respondents gives a systematic pattern. When we look at figure 5.3 (which is constructed from the scores in table 5.4 in Appendix C3), we observe that:

(a) For each dialect it is the younger respondents that seem to have high mean scores for variables (K), (D) and (Z) and not the older respondents. We can therefore, generalise that younger speakers converge more than older ones. This may be ascribed to the fact that younger people are generally more concerned about how they are perceived and tend to desire social approval and integration from their peers more than the older people. In this study, therefore, a higher convergence in younger speakers may be attributed to the fact that the speakers would like to induce their interlocutors to perceive them favourably so as to be socially integrated or be socially approved of.

A lower score of linguistic convergence in older respondents in the use of (K), (Z) and (D) variables, on the other hand, may be attributed to the confidence that comes with maturity (cf. Russell, 1982). When people grow older they become more mature and tend to become rather independent. Peer influence no longer has a great impact on them

as does with the younger people. Or it may be due to the fact that the older respondents identify very strongly with their speech communities and this sense of identity carries over into dialogue with an outsider.

(b) When we ignore dialect boundaries, it is apparent that older Lwitakho respondents have higher mean scores than younger Logooli respondents with regard to (D). This may be explained in similarity attraction theory terms. According to this tenet speakers who desire social approval and integration are likely to converge to their interlocutors' speech. This is because increased similarity between people tends to increase attraction between them which eventually leads to speakers receiving social approval and integration from their interlocutors. Thus a higher convergence by older Lwitakho respondents in the use of (D) may be a reflection of a speaker's desire for social approval and integration; it may be that the former have a great desire for social approval and integration from their listeners.

(c) It is also clear from figure 5.3 that older Logooli respondents have a higher mean score (7.5%) in the (G) variable compared to the younger Logooli respondents' (5%). We have seen in (a) above that

there is a regular age differentiation of (K), (D) and (Z); younger speakers from the two Luyia dialects have consistently higher scores than older speakers. What we see now is a completely reversed pattern revealing that a change is in progress. This unusual pattern may be attributed to two factors:

(i) It may be that older Logooli respondents desire social approval and integration from their listeners. Therefore, a higher convergence in older Logooli respondents may be attributed to the fact that the speakers would like to reduce the dissimilarities between them, since increasing similarity between people is likely to increase attraction. Convergence perhaps reflects older Logooli respondents' desire for their listeners' social approval and integration.

(ii) A more likely explanation, is that, this variable is overtly stigmatised in the particular social group and, therefore, has a high level of awareness associated with it. Hence the respondents converge more on this variable (cf. Trudgill, 1986).

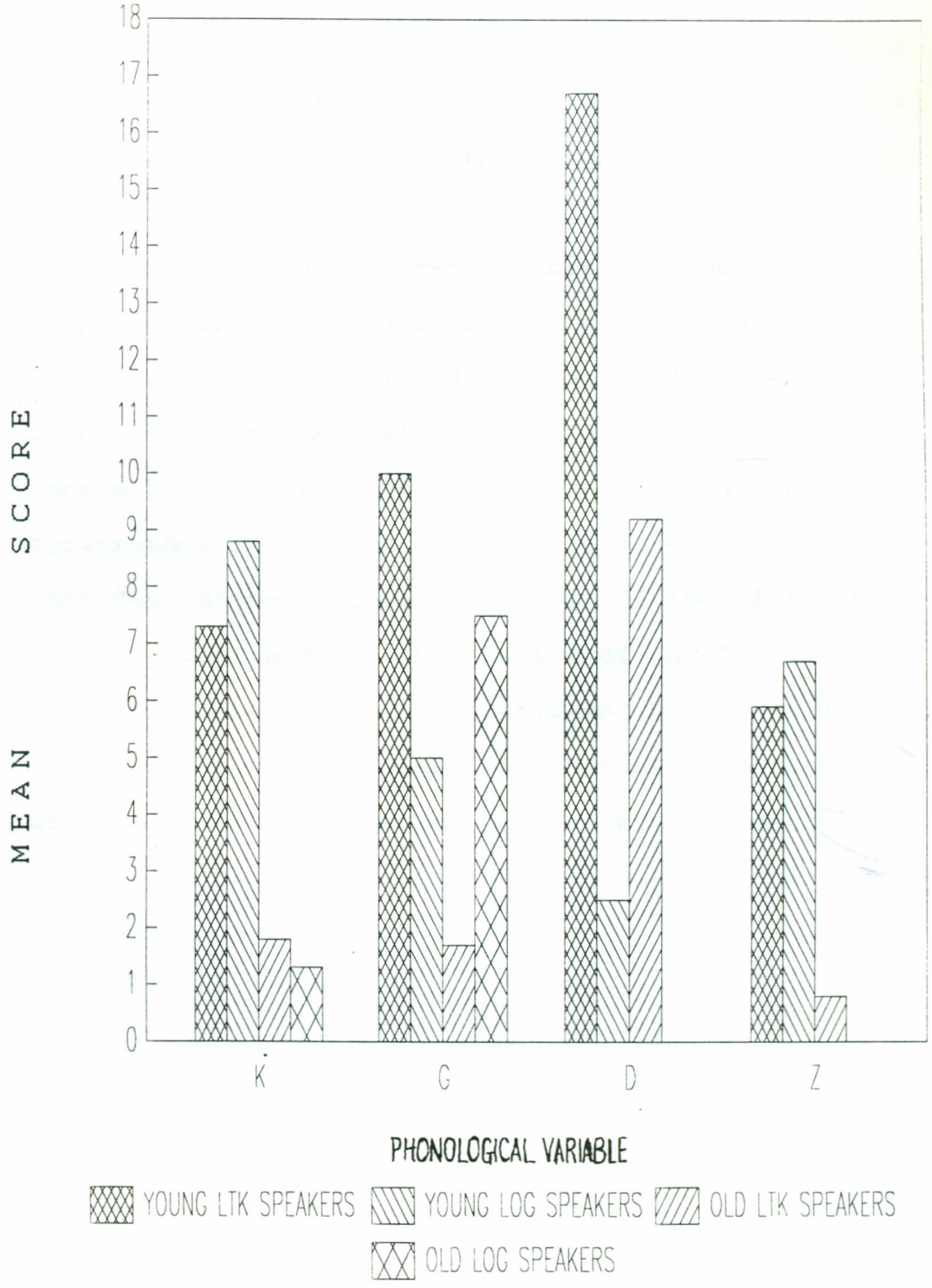

Fig. 5.3: Linguistic accommodation according to age and dialect of speaker

We can, therefore, generalise that younger speakers from the two dialects are more convergent to their listeners' speech than their older counterparts. This patterning is similar to that of Russell (1982) in which she demonstrates that younger speakers converge more to their listeners' speech than the older ones. Trudgill (1986), on the other hand, being younger than all his informants, has higher scores than most of them with regard to linguistic convergence in the use of (t). He is of the opinion that "... higher scores than most of the informants must be ascribed to the factor of age" Trudgill (1986:8). Therefore, the studies by Russell and Trudgill like the present one demonstrate that age of speakers influences the accommodation process.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has demonstrated that linguistic accommodation takes place when Logooli speakers come into contact with Lwitakho ones. All the eight respondents had higher percentage scores in the use of their own dialect's variant and low scores in the other dialect's variant. It can therefore be generalized that during contact between Logooli and Lwitakho speakers linguistic accommodation tends to take the form of divergence rather than convergence.

Moreover analysis of the accommodation process during contact between speakers from the two dialects has shown that female respondents from each dialect have higher mean scores in the use of the variants from the other dialect for all the 4 phonological variables compared to their male counterparts. We therefore, generalize that female speakers from Logooli and Lwitakho dialects are more convergent to their listener's speech than male ones. Male respondents from both dialects, on the other hand, had higher mean scores in the use of the variants from their own group for all the 4 variables compared to their female counterparts. And this shows that male speakers from Logooli and Lwitakho dialects linguistically diverge more than their female counterparts.

The study has further demonstrated that it is

the younger respondents from the two dialects that had higher mean scores in the use of the other dialect's variants compared to the older respondents. Thus younger speakers from Logooli and Lwitakho dialects converge more to their listener's speech than the older speakers. We have also shown that older respondents from the two dialects have higher mean scores in the use of their own dialect's variants compared to the younger ones. From this, we can generalize that, older speakers from Logooli and Lwitakho dialects linguistically diverge more than the younger ones.

An examination of the structure of the 4 phonological variables involved in the accommodation process has revealed that each variable is affected in a different way. It has been found that during convergence by Logooli respondents that voiced segments become devoiced with the exception of the (K) variable. On the other hand, during convergence by Lwitakho respondents to their Logooli interlocutor's speech Lwitakho voiceless variants tend to become voiced except for (K) variable.

The study has also established that speakers from the two dialects converge for a number of reasons. We have seen that speakers converge in order to obtain social approval from their listeners; so as to be clearly understood by their interlocutors; or so as to obtain some monetary

favours such as pocket money. Consequently, it was found that all the above could be subsumed into two tenets of the SAT; the similarity attraction theory and the social exchange theory.

Speech divergence, on the other hand, was observed when speakers needed social differentiation from their listeners so as to maintain a positive ethnolinguistic identity or to show disapproval of their listeners. From the analyses undertaken, it was found that all instances of speech divergence could be accounted for by the social identity theory of the SAT.

The study has further found out that speakers' convergence or divergence was sometimes be perceived favourably and on some occasions the perception was unfavourable, depending on the situations in which these linguistic strategies are employed. Furthermore, it was found that the causal attribution theory explains listeners' perception of speakers' convergence and/or divergence in Logooli and Lwitakho dialects.

We therefore, conclude that during inter-dialectal contact between speakers from Logooli and Lwitakho dialects the accommodation process tends to take the form of divergence rather than convergence. The 3 social factors of dialect, sex and age have an influence on the accommodation process. Finally, the SAT provides tools that can adequately explain

linguistic accommodation between speakers of Logooli and Lwitakho dialects.

6.1 Suggestions for Future Related Research

Future research in this area may focus on the follcwing :

1. Investigate the effects of linguistic accommodation on other linguistic features such as lexical items or morphological features. In the present study, for example, speakers were observed to accommodate to their listener's in their use of varicus lexical items. However, since analysis of lexical units involved in the accommodation process was beyond the scope of our study, we ignored such cases. However, findings of this nature could provide useful information on the accommodation process.

2. Investigate the accommodation process between speakers from other Luyia dialects. This study limits itself only to two of the seventeen Luyia dialects. A study of the accommodation process in the other fifteen Luyia dialects could provide more data and subsequently a more revealing picture on the accommodation process in the seventeen dialects.

For example, a Logooli speaker, may be found to converge more on one occasion (say when with a Tiriki) and diverge more on another (say, with a Bukusu). So a study involving all the dialects may provide details to such a fine level, something which the present study could not because of its objectives, scope and limitations.

3. Investigate linguistic accommodation between dialects of other African languages. A study on linguistic accommodation of dialects of other languages, such as Kikamba, is recommended. This is because, a review of the literature revealed that very few linguistic studies have been undertaken in this area (Trudgill 1986). This, therefore, means that linguistic accommodation between dialects is an area that has not been quite well studied.

4. Investigate linguistic accommodation between languages. This would be useful especially in border areas where speakers of different languages interact. For example, a study on linguistic accommodation between speakers of Luyia and Luo, who live in Maseno, would probably give very interesting findings which increase our knowledge of languages in contact; and particularly in an African context which has been observed to be uniquely different from the Western one. Such a study, therefore, may

provide us with fine details on the linguistic situation in such border areas.

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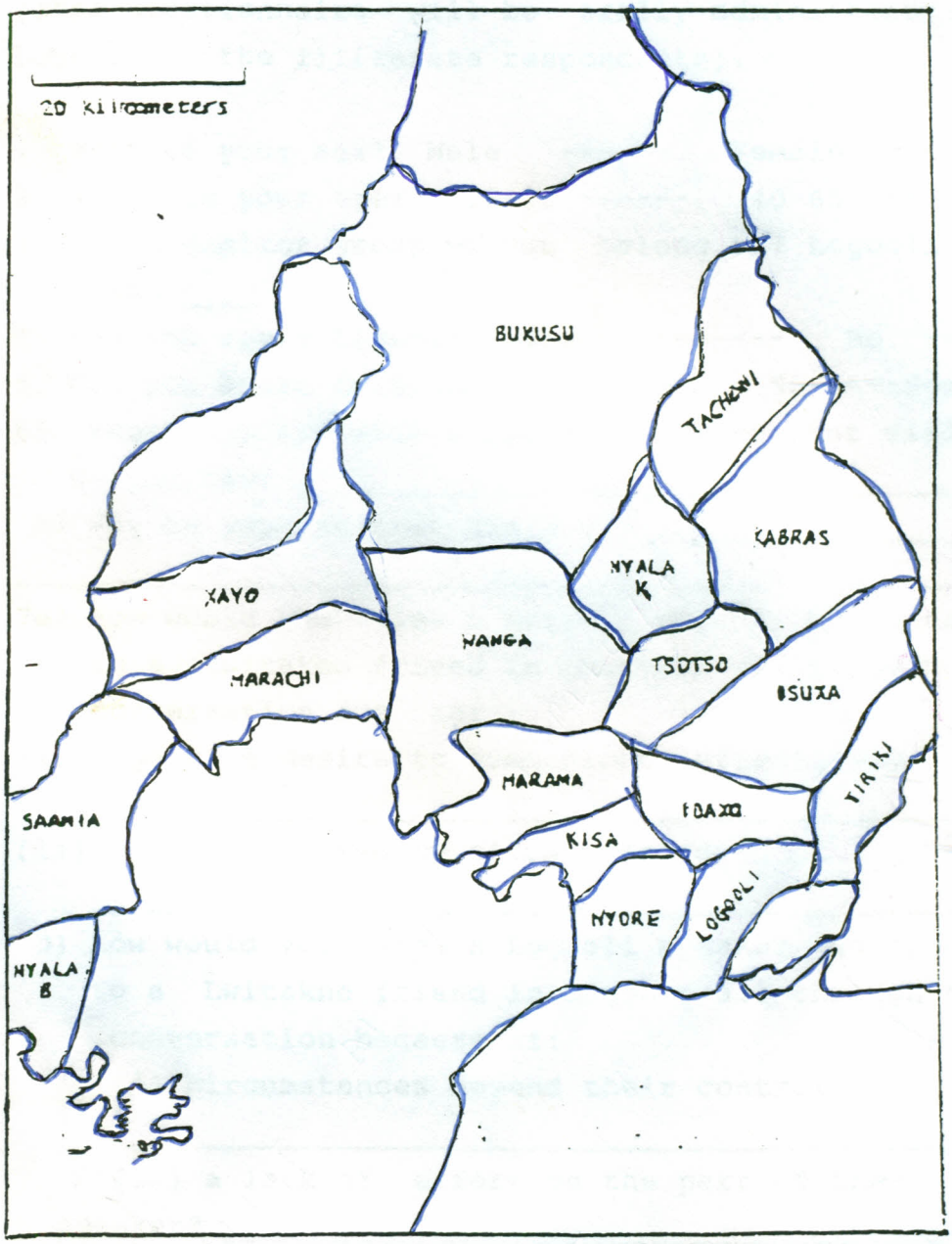
APPENDIX "A"

DIALECT DIVISIONS IN BUKUYIA



Adapted from Angogo (1980:9).

APPENDIX B1

Questionnaire for Logooli Informants

(This questionnaire will be orally administered in Logooli to the illiterate respondents).

1. What is your sex? Male ------ Female -------
2. What is your age? 18-30------- 40-65 --------
3. Which dialect group do you belong to? Logooli____ Lwitakho _____
4. Can you speak Logooli? Yes ---------- No -----
5. Can you speak Lwitakho ? Yes----- No-----Some--
6a) When you are with a Lwitakho friend what dialect do you use? _____

b) Why do you use that dialect? _____

_____

7a) How would you view a Logooli speaker who speaks to a Lwitakho friend in Lwitakho all through the conversation due to:

(i) a genuine desire to communicate effectively ?

_____

(ii) being compelled by situational demands ?

_____

b) How would you view a Logooli speaker who speaks to a Lwitakho friend in Logooli all through the conversation because of:

(i) circumstances beyond their control ?

_____

(ii) a lack of effort on the part of the speaker? _____

8 Are there times when you have used or would use some Lwitakho in your speech? _____

_____

b) If so, when and why ? (give examples to illustrate). _____

_____

9 Are there times you have heard your fellow Logooli speakers use Lwitakho ? _____

_____

b) When and where ? (give examples to illustrate)

_____

_____

c) why do you think they used the other dialect?

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX B2

Questionnaire for Lwitakho Informants

(This questionnaire will be orally administered in Lwitakho for the illiterate respondents).

1. What is your sex? Male -------Female ---------
2. What is your age? 18-30------- 40-65 ----------
3. Which dialect group do you belong to? Logooli---- Lwitakho ----------
4. Can you speak Logooli? Yes ----- No ------ Some----------
5. Can you speak Lwitakho ? Yes----- No-------
6a) When you are with a Lwitakho friend what dialect do you use? _____

_____

b) Why? _____

_____

7a) How would you view a Lwitakho speaker who speaks to a Logooli friend in Logooli all through the conversation due to:

(i) a genuine desire to communicate effectively ?

_____

_____

(ii) being compelled by situational demands ?

_____

_____

b) How would you view a Lwitakho who speaks to a Logooli friend in Lwitakho all through the conversation because of:

(i) circumstances beyond their control ?

_____

_____

(ii) a lack of effort on the speaker's part ?

_____

_____

8a) Are there times when you have used or would use some Logooli in your speech? _____

_____

_____

b) If so, when and why ? (give examples to illustrate).

_____

_____

_____

9 a) Are there times you have heard your fellow Bitakho use Logooli ? _____

_____

_____

b) When and where ? (give examples to illustrate)

_____

_____

c) why do you think they used the other dialect?

_____

APPENDIX C1

LOGOOLI VOWELS

ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION	IPA SYMBOL	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
a	a	/kandi/	again
e	e	/βatende/	neighbours
i	i	/mariga/	funeral
ɪ	ɪ	/imurɪmi/	at the farm
o	o	/βogeri/	intelligence
u	u	/βudiku/	night
ʊ	ʊ	/kʊri/	like (for comparison)
aa	a:	/ngoβo:la:/	I am telling you
ee	e:	/je:ɲa/	he wanted
ii	i:	/βi:βi:/	they have stolen
ɪɪ	ɪ:	/jeŋgɪ:ra/	at home
oo	o:	/iβo:za/	it (hen) is feeding
uu	u:	/asu:ra/	S/he usually refuses
ʊʊ	ʊ:	/kʊ:ra/	extract a tooth

APPENDIX C2

LWITAKHO VOWELS

ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION	IPA SYMBOL	EXAMPLES	GLOSS
a	a	/βamaɲa/	they know
e	e	/βeɲa/	they want
i	i	/xati/	small
I	ɪ	/βarI/	they were
o	o	/βosi/	all (people)
u	u	/lufuŋgu/	key
U	ʊ	/ʃijikʊri/	he is not satisfied

aa	a:	/βala:/	some people
ee	e:	/βe:ɲa/	they wanted
II	ɪ:	/rɪ:ra/	eat with
ii	i:	/mi:ma/	customs
oo	o:	/βo:la/	tell
uu	u:	/xu:la/	extract a tooth
UU	ʊ:	/rU:la/	remove a load

Table 5.2 PERCENTAGE SCORES FOR THE (K), (G), (D) AND (Z) VARIABLES BY DIALECT FOR 8 RESPONDENTS

RESPONDENTS	DIALOGUE No.	DIALECT	(K) VARIABLE		(G) VARIABLE		(D) VARIABLE		(Z) VARIABLE	
			[k]	[x] [ʃ]	[g]	[k]	[d]	[t]	[dz]	[ts]
JUDITH M.	I	LTK	22	78	16.7	83.3	36.7	63.3	16.7	83.3
	II	LTK	2	98	10	90	13.3	86.7	0	100
LIVINGSTONE M.	I	LTK	5	95	6.7	93.3	10	90	6.7	93.3
	II	LTK	0	100	6.7	93.3	6.7	93.3	0	100
ROSEBELLA K.	I	LTK	1	99	0	100	3.3	96.7	0	100
	II	LTK	2	98	0	100	16.7	83.3	0	100
BENARD W.	I	LTK	2	98	0	100	3.3	96.7	0	100
	II	LTK	2	98	6.7	93.3	13.3	86.7	3.3	96.7
AVERAGE SCORE			4.5	95.5	5.9	94.1	12.9	87.1	3.3	96.7
FLO O.	I	LOG	75	25	80	20	93	7	80	20
	II	LOG	94	6	100	0	97	3	100	0
SYLVESTER L.	I	LOG	98	2	100	0	100	0	100	0
	II	LOG	98	2	100	0	100	0	93.3	6.7
MARY K.	I	LOG	99	1	86.7	13.3	100	0	100	0
	II	LOG	96	4	86.7	13.3	100	0	100	0
ENONDA L.	I	LOG	100	0	96.7	3.3	100	0	100	0
	II	LOG	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	0
AVERAGE SCORE			95	5	93.8	6.2	98.8	1.2	96.7	3.3

TABLE 5.3 PERCENTAGE SCORES FOR (K) (G) (D) AND (Z) VARIABLES BY SEX AND DIALECT FOR 8 RESPONDENTS.

RESPONDENTS	DIALECT	SEX	DIALOGUE No.	(K)		(G)		(D)		(Z)	
				[k]	[ɣ] [ʧ]	[g]	[k]	[d]	[t]	[dz]	[ts]
JUDITH M.	LTK	F	I	22	78	16.7	83.3	36.7	63.3	16.7	83.3
			II	2	98	10	90	13.3	86.7	0	100
ROSEBELLA	LTK	F	I	1	99	0	100	3.3	96.7	0	100
			II	2	98	0	100	16.7	83.3	0	100
AVERAGE SCORE	LTK	F		6.8	93.2	6.7	93.3	17.5	82.5	4.2	95.8
MARY K.	LOG	F	I	99	1	86.7	13.3	100	0	100	0
			II	96	4	86.7	13.3	100	0	100	0
FLO O.	LOG	F	I	75	25	80	20	93	7	80	20
			II	94	6	100	0	97	3	100	0
AVERAGE SCORE	LOG	F		91	9	88.4	11.6	97.5	2.5	95	5
LIVINGSTONE M.	LTK	M	I	5	95	6.7	93.3	10	90	6.7	93.3
			II	0	100	6.7	93.3	6.7	93.3	0	100
BEN W.	LTK	M	I	2	98	0	100	3.3	96.7	0	100
			II	2	98	6.7	93.3	13.3	86.7	0	100
AVERAGE SCORE	LTK	M		2.2	97.8	5	95	8.3	91.7	2.5	97.5
ENONDA L.	LOG	M	I	100	0	96.7	3.3	100	0	100	0
			II	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	0
SYLVESTER L.	LOG	M	I	98	2	100	0	100	0	100	0
			II	98	2	100	0	100	0	93.3	6.7
AVERAGE SCORE	LOG	M		99	1	99.2	0.8	100	0	98.3	1.7

TABLE 3.4 PERCENTAGE SCORES FOR (K), (G), (D) AND (Z) VARIANTS BY AGE AND DIALECT FOR 3 RESPONDENTS

RESPONDENT	DIALECT	AGE	DIALOGUE No.	(K) [k]	(K) [x] ʃʃ	(G) [g]	(G) [k]	(D) [d]	(D) [t]	(Z) [dz]	(Z) [ts]
JUDITH M.	ITK	Y	I	22	78	16.7	83.3	36.7	63.3	16.7	83.3
			II	2	98	10	90	13.3	86.7	0	100
LIVINGSTONE M.	ITK	Y	II	5	95	6.7	93.3	10	90	6.7	93.3
				0	100	6.7	93.3	6.7	93.3	0	100
Average Score		LTK Y		7.3%	92.7%	10%	90%	15.7%	83.3%	5.9%	94.1%
SYLVESTER L.	LOG	Y	I	98	2	100	0	100	0	100	0
				98	2	100	0	100	0	93.3	6.7
FLO. O	LOG	Y	II	75	25	80	20	93	7	80	20
				94	6	100	0	97	3	100	0
Average Score		LOG Y		91.2%	8.8%	95%	5%	97.5%	2.5%	93.3%	6.7%
BEN W.	ITK	O	I	2	98	0	100	3.3	96.7	0	100
				2	98	6.7	93.3	13.3	86.7	3.3	96.7
ROSEBELLA K.	ITK	O	II	1	99	0	100	3.3	96.7	0	100
				2	98	0	100	16.7	83.3	0	100
Average Score		LTK O		1.8%	98.2%	1.7%	98.3%	9.2%	90.8%	0.8%	99.2%
ENONDA L.	LOG	O	I	100	0	96.7	3.3	100	0	100	0
				100	0	100	0	100	0	100	0
MARY K	LOG	O	II	99	1	86.7	13.3	100	0	100	0
				96	4	86.7	13.3	100	0	100	0
Average Score		LOG O		98.7%	1.3%	92.5%	7.5%	100%	0%	100%	0%

APPENDIX D III