

BANTU CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC SHIFT ON CONTACT WITH NILOTIC LUO: A Case Study of Languages around Lake Victoria.

Caleb Shivachi, Kenyatta University.

The Luo are Nilotic peoples and as they came into contact with the lacustrine Bantu namely; Gusii Kuria, Suba and Luhya, alongside process of cultural and linguistic shift took place at the expense of bantu speakers. Once in contact the one time Bantu speakers changed over to become Luo speakers and generally the former would feel offended in reminded of their Bantu origins. This paper surveys the cultures particularly of the Luo speakers in order to find pointers as to why the bantu willingly, so to speak, abandoned their cultures and languages in preference to Luo.

No other indigenous language in Kenya other than Kiswahili seems to have influenced so many others as Luo did. In most cases some of the languages and dialects referred to in this research have disappeared others are in the process of shift and yet others are barely surviving the process of shift to Luo. Ironically the Bantu groups involved in contact with Luo attribute their cultural and linguistic shift to "Luo arrogance". The research will attempt to give reasons for shift and illustrate some of the linguistic processes of shift.

Introduction

One of the earliest historical known reference to the Luo, then known as the followers of Olum was when they came into contact with the more numerous Muru of Sudan according to Odongo and Webster (1976). Although in the minority the followers of Olum completely absorbed the Muru people. The resultant group moved to Agoro or Karamoja Mountains between 1085-1112. The two prominent sons of Olum namely Lwo and Ocoli quarreled over a spear. An 'Ujabu' or bad blood between the brothers made them split. Lwo moved south around 1418 and kept on moving until he reached Siaya in Kenya. The Lwo probably moved others with them and absorbed them. Ocoli or the forbearer of the Acholi on the other hand moved West of their ancestral Agoro and came into contact with Langi. The Langi were Nilo Hamitic who spoke the Ateker language. During the 18th century the Langi and Acholi continued to interact and intermarry and in the process notes Nzita and Newampu (1993) the Langi lost their Ateker language and began to speak Luo.

Similarly the Leno people, who spoke Dum or Ateso language according to Nzita and Newampu, lost their language on contact with Acholi. Today these people are known as Kumam. Because of their adopted language the Iteso call the Kumam people 'Ikokolemo' or 'children' where 'Ikoku' is a child in the Teso language. In Kenya, the migrating Luo seem to have absorbed more people of diverse languages and cultures than their Acholi brethren. Indeed other than Kiswahili the Nilotic Luo language and culture seem to have spread to other diverse cultures more than any other language has been able to. This paper explores the circumstances under which this culture spread has been made possible.

Luo Cultural and Linguistic Spread over other Cultural Groups in Kenya.

In this section I will explore cultural and linguistic shift of those people mainly Bantu, who came into contact with the Luo in Kenya. This exploration will include most of the waterfront dwellers of the Kavirondo Gulf of Lake Victoria from Port Victoria near Uganda Kenya border to Shirati in Northern Tanzania.

Luhya Dialects

According to Ray (1991) the History of the Luhya is a mix of cattlemen known as Hima and Bantu cultivators. Fallers (1965) notes that the Hima spoke a Cushitic language but later shifted to the culture and language of the Bantu. In this paper I will limit my survey to the Luhya dialects which neighbour Luo speaking areas. It may be appreciated that among the Luhya dialects the following have partially or wholly shifted culturally and linguistically to the Luo: Samia, Songa, Nyala, Abanyakera, Nyawiny, Saga, Nyambir, Abamani, Abangali, Jokomwari, Kasagam, Machika, Mmatsi, Balako, Kasiralo and Joomuli.

Samia

According to Harman (1965) the Samia is an old Bantu people of the Lakes' Northern Coast. He further notes that they are a quick-witted folk, fishermen and Lake Traders. The Jaluos despised them as having webbed feet and therefore not quite human. But this accusation was made after several disastrous campaigns in the mud around the lake. The Samia astride the Kenya Uganda border. The Ugandan Samia are known as Bagwe and there are no cultural and linguistic variations with their Kenyan brethren.

Abanyala and Aba Songa

The Abanyala neighbour the Samia in Busia District of Kenya. A sizeable number of Abanyala live in Siaya District among the Luo speakers. The Luo derogatorily refer to them as Amanyala. The Abanyala who have been completely absorbed by the Luo are known as Abanyakera. During the colonial period the Luhya King Mumia extended his rule to the lakeshore covering the Songa, Banyala and Samia, though the Abanyakera remained in Luo Nyanza. Mumia appointed Kadima as a paramount over these areas in 1920. With the death of Mumia in 1949 and the subsequent collapse of his kingdom these areas were placed under Luo Nyanza. At independence, in 1963, most of these Bantu people agitated to rejoin the rest of the predominantly Bantu Western Province. The redrawing and shifting of boundaries had a direct influence over the culture and language of these people. During Mumia's reign the Songa and Banyakera did not consider themselves as Nilotic Luo.

My informant at Ruabwa observed that since 1950 (after Mumias power ended) the Songa had to know Luo quickly. This way they were able to access services in offices or justice in courts where the predominant language was Luo. Children attending schools were to know Luo, which was the medium of instruction in the primary schools. Some of my informants blamed the heedless young men who started marrying Luo girls. Whenever one married a Luo girl she brought with her cousins and sisters.

Some would be married in the village or even to the same man. In time their children and the entire village children would be speaking the Luo language. This complaint echoed the predicament of the Umuru, Langi and Kumam centuries earlier. Osogo (1965) described the Songa as speaking the 17th of the 19 Luhya dialects. The Songa thirty-five years later categorically denied that they are Bantu or Luhya. They claim that they were Luo.

Ochieng (1974) noted that the Abanyakera were Bantu who came into the area after the Songa. They picked Luo from their Songa hosts and in time shifted to Luo language and culture much faster than the Songa. At the beginning of this section, it was noted that other Luhya clans or tribes shifted or are in the process of shifting to Luo language and culture. And similar process is to be seen among other Bantu groups around the Lake.

The Gusii.

The Gusii moved into Kenya from the direction of Uganda around 1500. There is no record of conflict between the newly come Gusii or Luo until both sides of the migrating groups met once again on the southern side of the Kavirondo Gulf.

By 1800 the Gusii were firmly ensconced in their Highlands with enemies surrounding them on all sides. According to Ochieng (1974) the Kabondo and Jokabwoch Luo sacked the Gusii Girango clans capturing their women, children and cattle. On the southern eastern part of the Highlands the Isiria Maasai overran the Bassi and Majoge

Gusii clans. The Maasai pursued the fleeing Gusii until the later sought refuge among the Kabwoch Luo to the West. The Gusii had to choose total annihilation from the Maasai in the East or selfhood from their Luo protectors. Though the Gusii offered their daughters to the Luo in appeasement the Luo made them their serfs to herd cattle and cultivate in their fields. Ochieng (1974:44) notes that the Luo embarked on forceful assimilation of their serfs. They would marry Gusii daughters without proper dowry. They systematically killed Gusii elders. They would refer to Gusii by Luo nicknames. In addition, the Luo used the derogatory term 'Jamwa' to refer to all the Gusii. The Gusii resented seeing their tribe disappears. One night the Gusii vanished to join the rest of their kin in the highlands. In Nyakoe forest the pursuing Luo were repulsed in unexpected fashion. The Gusii have since remained in their Highlands home with an occasional skirmish with Luo to the west and Maasai to the Southeast up to the present day. The animosity has relevance to culture and language shift as will be seen later.

The Kuria

The Kuria who straddle Kenya Tanzania border east of Lake Victoria came into contact with Luos as the latter moved round the lake from their entry point at Uganda Kenya border.

Between 1760-1800 various Bantu Kuria clans lost their culture and language to the advancing Luo. The Abasweta according to Abuso (1980:152) lost their identity in this manner. Salvadori (1980:104) notes that the Kuria clan of Banjari succumbed to Luo culture around 1870. By the 19th century notes Abuso, the Kuria clans of Abakenye and Abagumbe were affected in this cultural/linguistic shift. He notes that today the Banjari and Abagumbe deny the fact that they were once part of the Kuria society.

The rest of the Kuria community who hold members of the two clans in low esteem because of their shift to Luo language and culture reciprocates this. Quoting his informants, Abuso noted that the Luo people are strange. When you are with them they always want you to speak their language. When we started marrying their daughters is when we started speaking their language. A Luo woman will always teach her children and since we are neighbours we all started speaking their language, observed the informants.

Kirwen (1979:33) observes that the Kuria speaking Wagari and Kamageta of Tanzania is partly Luonised. Kuria clans that are totally Luonised are the Wategi, Kaksera and Ugu. According to Kirwen these Kuria clans were over, ran by Luo culture around 1870s and they no longer circumcise or follow Bantu Kuria initiation rites.

The Lake Victoria Islands

The larger Lake Victoria islands of Ufangano and Rusinga completes the survey of Luo influence among the people they came into contact with. Bantu speakers known as Wadira, Walusige Wafuluma, Wakiyena, Watenga and Wafira in their early history first settled the twin islands. It is possible that these early settlers were fishermen who came from Uganda in the North and Tanzania in the south. This indigenous population was soon to be dominated by war like fugitives from Buganda kingdom. The Baganda fugitives solidified into two main groups the Wawire and Wasaki. In order to dominate the indigenous population, the Baganda fugitives invited mainland Bantu known as Wanyama and in the end the big three Wanyama, Waware and Wasaki controlled the islands.

In the initial stages of their History the Waware had the upper hand in the islands. Consequently, the remnants of the indigenous peoples and newly come Wanyama became the Waware serfs. No Wanyama was allowed to keep bulls, bulls being symbols of Waware power.

In an incident where a Wanyama bull defeated one belonging to a Waware, the latter armed themselves and drove the Wanyama out of the islands. As expected the only enemy on the island worth of note was now the Wasaki fellow Ugandan speaker. In all the two Baganda speaking groups fought four major wars. As is the case of all island battles and wars the loser takes to the sea. In the case of these islanders the losers would seek safety among the Luos on the mainland.

The first war took place on what appears to be a flimsy excuse. Namakanga a Waware young man fought a Wasaki youth over a termite trap. In the encounter Namakanga killed his opponent. Wasaki chief Guluwa sought compen-

sation of eight cattle and a virgin to replace the dead boy. Chief Riogi of Waware refused to pay anything. For three days, a pitched battle saw the Waware driven out of the Islands. Those who remained collectively known as Kamasengre quickly sought to become the Wasaki. The Waware sought refuge among the Luos on the mainland where they became 'Jodak' or rootless immigrants without any rights. As it is the usual thing one war begets another. The Kamasengre who had become Wasaki were in turn made serfs of their new Masters. They had to pay tribute to the Wasaki. Their huts were not to have a central stick jutting out of the thatch (a symbol of virility of the man of the house). According to Ayot (1977:20) their chicken runs were raided at will and of course they were not to keep bulls in their cattle runs. The Wasaki men paid less for Kamasengre maidens and demanded extortionate dowry for their own girls.

With such potential enemies within the island, the fugitive Waware was able to infiltrate the island. One dawn the unsuspecting Wasaki woke up to the blowing of war horns. The Wasaki broke and ran. Those without boats helped themselves into what their enemies had left ashore. The victorious Waware fell on the loot left behind, cattle, women, children, household goods and fishing nets.

The Wasaki themselves as 'Jodak' were despised on the mainland among the Luo. They were called cowards, for having been humiliated at war. Stung to the quick the Wasaki modernised their arsenal. With buffalo hide shields and spears, once again surprise worked for the attackers and though the defenders fought bravely with clubs and fishhooks, they soon were driven to the mainland. Ayot (1977:26) notes that the Waware for the second time sought the refuge among the Luo on the mainland. He further notes that this time the Waware began to loose their Bantu language and culture. This was the case since they experienced a lot of pressure from their hosts for them to abandon their Bantu identity.

Whenever a Waware youth married a Luo girl, her Luo boyfriend would snatch her back by force. Waware homes would be razed at the slightest excuse. In order to survive in their new environment the Waware had to hide their identity and learn Luo language. They ceased to circumcise after the manner of the Luo. They employed the services of 'Janak' the tooth expert in order to knockout their lower front sixth teeth just like the Luos do. It was a desperate attempt not to be identified as 'Jodak' or 'Jamwa'. Meanwhile the Wasaki started to oppress the Kamasengre on the islands. With such internal enemies the Waware were able to land in 1850. The attacking army had been given 'bilo' or Luo witchcraft. When the war horns sounded the Kamasengre quickly switched their loyalty and the Wasaki leader according to Ayot (1977:57) cried 'Kamasengregi kare gin aola'. An expression indicative of language shift already evident even among the Wasaki. Soon the Wasaki broke and fled never to return to the Islands. Ayot (1977) observes that the returning Waware had abandoned their Bantu Luganda language and culture and become Luo.

Reasons For Cultural and Linguistic Shift to the Luo

Argument of numbers.

Most of the Bantu tribes accounted for in this survey came into contact with the Luo as small un-coordinated groups. They spoke various Bantu languages, found in those parts of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania. Each band of Bantu speakers confronted the more numerous and unitary Luo and sheer numbers seem to favour the Luo. Even though the Luo did not have a political head they always acted in unison. Beattie (1964) notes that society may be considered centralised if they possess a common language and culture even if it does not have a political head or king. According to Feddler and Salvadori (1979) Luos had evolved into a sense of unity and consciousness of their culture by 1900. In any case, evidence from their contact with Langi, Kumam and Muru point to a long standing propensity of the Luo culture to overwhelm others even if numbers do not favour them.

'Jodak' 'Jamwa' and Widow Inheritance

Love has been a great motivation around which much of the Luo cultural and even economic activities evolve. No newly built house is occupied unless the owner has had intercourse with his wife in it before the rest of the family moves in. There is also ritual sex before planting. In the event of a young unmarried woman or 'Migogo' dying she would not be buried in the homestead where the other graves are. She would be buried outside the compound the

same way someone would bury a donkey. There would be no 'Duogo liel' for her, where food is cooked and given to mourners. These sanctions were directed against her partly for having added nothing to the society and partly a warning to her living ilk not delay getting married.

A girl at 24 would be considered past marriage age and on in case there is a foolhardily father burying his unmarried daughter in the family burial ground, then there would be another death in the family. This time the father himself would die. In the case of the Samia who are partly Luonized, such as unmarried woman is buried in a swamp far away from home. When asked what would happen if she would be buried in the family graveyard, my informant observed that calamity would befall the family. He cited the example of a cow one-day doubling itself and suckling its own udder in such a homestead. This prominence given to sex and procreation may be understood in an environment where infant mortality is commonplace. Tropical pestilence spring up from the mud around the lake. Among the Luo there are rituals that must be performed correctly else the family or the community meets the disaster. The Luo believe that such rituals must be performed by a 'Jamwa' that is 'Jodak' that is stranger in their midst.

Chodo Okola

Chodo Okola is one such ritual where a Luo Widow or 'chi liel' must have sex with a 'Jamwa' before she is inherited by her brother in-law. In the old days, unless a 'Jamwa' performed this ritual sex, the outcome is null and void and calamity will strike the family. Evans Prithard (1965:242) observes that it is customary for the Luo to find a Jamwa to sleep with the widow in the event of the dead man's ghost being troublesome the ensuing calamity should befall the Jamwa. The 'Okola' a string of Banana fibre is tied around the mourning widows' waist, which is then cut 'Chodo' by the Jamwa during the ritual sex. In the manner of things the Jamwa will then carry away all the evil surrounding the matter including whatever killed the husband.

In circumstances such as these, the Jamwa would strive to shade his Bantu culture and language in order to avoid being targeted by the Luo. There is evidence that the Luo would cease targeting for ritual cleansing those who became Luonized. A widow who avoids or disdains '*Chodo*' '*Okola*' would be debarred from moving freely in the community. Should anyone fall sick or famine devastates the land then it would be blamed on her unclean status. In the event of such a widow dying then the members of her family would call on the services of the very Jamwa she had tried to avoid during her widowhood. It is only after this that the corpse will be buried. Her daughters would then be no longer 'Otwegi' or tied not to have their own sexual relationships and may now get married. Without being 'untied' then disaster would catch up with the daughters should they decide to get married.

Kirwen (1979:54) notes that the Lounised Wagari and Kamageta Bantu of Tanzania regard widow inheritance as compatible with the Catholic faith and should in no way be made stumbling block for Christian widows. The Samia too cleanse widows. When a woman dies the corpse spends the night in a room with whoever is to perform the sex ritual. The person in this case is their version of a 'Jamwa'. For the Bantu who shifted to Luo culture, widow inheritance is taken seriously.

Dowry

It will be considered ill luck for a man not to pay dowry for his wife. If a woman whose dowry has not been paid dies, she will not be buried until the "Dhonkeny" or cattle for the bride price have been paid in full. A 'Jamwa' must drive the cattle to the woman's home. Such animals considered bringers of evil and ill luck never reaches the woman's home as they are abandoned on the way. The 'Jamwa' would be rewarded but will carry on his shoulders whatever ill luck might have killed the woman.

Summary of Cultural Shift

Most of the former Bantu surveyed felt insulted, if one referred to them as Luhya, Suba or Kuria as implicit in this name was the traditional role allocated the Bantu people and foreigners. During the research among the Luonised Bantu, i.e. the Songa, Kasagam, Abakhekhe, Machika, Kasiralo, Kuria, Suba etc, the word 'Jamwa' was used by

them to refer to the rest of the Bantu people. They address themselves as the Luo do; that is to say ‘Jathura’ or home boy. No Luo would refer to another as ‘Jamwa’ even in jest. Ochieng (1974:81) observes that it was Luo pride in themselves which made them regard non-Luos as sub-human. In any case, the Luo were obliged to despise the very people who performed cleansing ritual in their society.

On becoming a Luo

According to Luo ‘Jamwa’ was anyone with two rows of gleaming dentals. All Luo men and women had their lower six front teeth removed by a ‘Janak’ or expert dental surgeon. According to Ayot (1977) the Waware could not go to war on the side of the Luo during their sojourn on the mainland unless their six front lower teeth were removed for them to be distinguished from foe during battle. No Waware would be buried unless the six lower teeth were removed. The Samia removed four instead of the mandatory six teeth and they considered the outcome most beautiful to behold. The Gusii in spite of their efforts to emancipate themselves kept the custom of removing their front lower teeth long after freeing themselves from the Luo. Luhyia who live far from the border with Luo. The continued the custom long after the Luo gave up the custom themselves in 1950s.

Linguistic Change Attributed to Luo Influence

The case of Samia

Usually Luo women married to Samia men retain their Luo language and do not learn the Samia language. However, of interest in this paper do the few Luo women, fishermen and medicine men who have settled in Samia, show the linguistic patterns. The Luo learners of Samia use Bantuised Luo vocabulary, coin new vocabulary items and introduce new sounds into Samia in a manner which ironically appeals to indigenous Samia who end up imitating some of these linguistic strategies. Some of these Luonised Samia terms are listed below, showing that the Samia language is under shift through the influence of the minority settlers or the Luo women they marry.

New Samia	Luo source	Indigenous Samia	Gloss
Emitielo	Tielo	Emikulu	Legs
Yabaya	Bayo	Yalasa	She/he threw
Asanda	Source unknown	Anyakhana	He is suffering
Imilamila	Milo	Ing’ingang’ina	Shine
Losa	Loso	Loma	Talk
Katoyo	Toyo	Kandikhile	Broken
Esyoka	Source unknown	Obuyoka	Noise
Ndawa	Ndawa	Endaba	Cigarette

Table 1: Influence of Luo on Samia.

One strategy Luo learners of Samia use is to invent new words neither found in Samia nor in Luo. The new word is then made to conform to Bantu grammar for example ‘esyoka’ and ‘asanda’, which have the Bantu concordial prefix markers. The new inventions seem simpler. For example the word sanda does not contain the velar fricative found in its equivalent ‘anyakhananga’. In some way Luo version of Samia is a form of language simplification. Another strategy used by Luo learners is to employ typical Bantu grammatical markers to typical Luo words. Luo does not have prefixes marking nouns. Hence the Luo word ‘tielo’ (legs) is given noun prefix ‘e’ and the Bantu plurals marker ‘mi’ to form the new Samia word ‘emitielo’.

Some Samia sounds are substituted in New Samia. The velar fricative is substituted by the voiceless plosive/K/ or the glottal voiceless fricative /h/ as in these examples.

New Samia	Samia	Gloss
Mikaye	Mukhaye	Woman
Mahulo	Mukhulo	Samia personal name
Buhayo	Bukhayo	Place name
Hana	Khana	Child.

Table 2: New Samia sound changes.

As noted earlier the Samia imitates the Luo learner language themselves. Therefore two types of Samia are emerging; one indigenous and the other which is an imitation of Luo rendition of Samia.

Luo Influence on Samia grammar.

Luo who learn Samia regularize grammatical agreement of noun, verb adjective within a sentence. Whereas Samia speakers may imitate changes in indigenous vocabulary no Samia accepts to use regularized agreement. Regularized agreement markers are shown below. The Samia nouns are classified after Doke (1954:37).

Luo Samia/New Samia	Samia	Class	Gloss
Musala yino	Omusala kuno	Class 3	This tree
Sidomolo yino	Esidomolo sino	Class 4	This jerrican
Nyumba yino	Enyumba yino	Class 7	This house
Mwana yino	Mwana uno	Class 1	This child
Ngombe yino	Engombe yino	Class 5	This cow

Table 3: The Samia Demonstrative.

The Samia demonstrative 'kuno, sino, uno, and yino' are various forms of the demonstrative 'this' which forms concord with a noun and at the same time helps to distinguish one noun class from another. It is a complex classificatory system that ensures that one does not classify 'man' with 'stone' even though both are nouns. The data shows that Luo Samia speakers generalise all these markers as 'yino'. This data shows that language under threat may give up their vocabulary much earlier than their grammar hence making the grammar of the language survive much longer than the vocabulary.

Process of Language Loss among the Songa.

Language shift among Basonga involved what Sase (1994:9) described as change from below. It involved the Songa marrying Luo women on a larger scale than was the case with Samia. The children were taught Luo first and then left on their own to learn Lusonga but they chose not to do so. In time almost all spoke Luo and were ashamed to learn the "Jamwa" Songa language. Of interest are the stages through which Songa language moved before shift. Data from Uasi village in Sumba sub- location where the Songa language is reputed to be still spoken show massive borrowing from the Luo language. Carol – Myers Scotton (1992:34) distinguish two types of borrowing: cultural loans which stand for objects or concepts not found in the borrowing languages culture and core borrowing for items already in the borrowing language. The following Uasi data shows core borrowing patterns.

Luo	Luonized Songa	Indigenous Songa	Gloss
Thuno	Idhuno	Lubere	Breast (woman)
Dhiang	Idhiang	Ing'ombe	Cow
Diel	Idiel	Imbusi	Goat
Guok	Iguok	Imbwa	Dog
Liech	Iliech	Injofu	Elephant
Winyo	Iwinyo	Liyoni	Bird
Yierwiny	Amayier	Amabaya	Feathers
Tung	Litung	Olwika	Horn
Yip	Uluyp	Omukhira	Tail
Gweng	Igweng	Lukongo	Village
Dwe	Omudwe	Omwosi	Smoke

Table 4: Core borrowing in Songa.

It may be noted from the above data that core borrowing replaces existing vocabulary and as a result the original language is reduced in a process of language death. In conformity with the observation that the grammar of a language takes longer to die the Songa speakers used the Bantu class prefixes; Ama (class 5) Olu (class 6) li (class 3) and i (class 3) as a means of nativising the core borrowed item.

Nevertheless the Luonized Songa shows loss even in grammar. Breast in Songa is lubele (class 6) whereas the borrowed term is ithuno (class 3). Tail is umukhira (class 6) and in Luonised Songa Oluyip (Class 6). Cow in Songa is Ing'ombe (class 3) and in Luonised Songa it is Idhiang (class 3). Due to the class difference in relation to the same item Songa speakers at Uasi invariably repeat their words first in the borrowed form and next in the Songa language as a means of coming to terms with the drastic shift in their new repertoire. It appears that in the final language death situation the grammar of the dying language is dislocated as a means of weakening an already ailing language even further.

Luo linguistic influence among the Gusii

The cause of false English

Among a section of the Gusii at the border with Luo there is a growing belief that knowledge of the Luo language may facilitate in the learning of English. This new strategy is used unwittingly in the spread of Luo by sections of those interested in the pedagogy of English among the Gusii. The basis of this belief is the fact that there are a number of striking similarities in the grammar and orthography of Luo, English and a number of Indo-European languages. The following is a sample of Luo vocabulary and personal names, which show these similarities.

Luo	Gloss
Tong	Egg
It	Ear
Tol	Rope
Polo	Sky
Bar	Branch off
Bat	Hands
But	Near
A lot	Vegetables
Rech	Fish
Thin	Small
Thing	Bear dregs

Ring	Run
Wan	Us
Got	Hill
Come	His seat
Bet	Sit
In	You
Los	Make
Tell tell	Wood pecker

Table 5. English Like Luo Words

Luo Personal Names

Name	Comment
Ouma (a man's name)	grandmother in Afrikaans
MacGoye	same as Scottish name
Audi	Same as German carmakers
Moya	Spanish name.

Conclusion

Reasons based on culture influenced the spread of Luo language and the shift of Bantu languages that came into contact with them. However if the notion of the desire to know Luo in order to understand English is established then new reasons are being created to justify dominance in the Kavirondo Gulf area.

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