LEXICAL VARIATION AND CHANGE IN THE NORTHERN DIALECT OF GĨKŨYŨ LANGUAGE

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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS, DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGES UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

2018

DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for any award of degree in any university

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family; my husband Dr. Anthony Mũngai Gathũmbĩ, my sons, Victor Gathũmbĩ and Ian Njũgũna, and my daughter Perpetua Mũthu.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Apparent - time construct: This refers to a situation where only one set of interview is done on language at one point in time and the set of speakers interviewed is selected to be representative of all age groups in the community.

Code mixing: This refers to the mixing of two or more languages or language varieties in speech by multilingual speakers, especially within the same sentence. The term is at times used interchangeably with code switching.

Code switching: This refers to the situation whereby a speaker alternates between two of more languages or language varieties in conversation especially within the same discourse. For instance a speaker using one language and then in the course of speaking puts in a sentence or a phrase that is in another language.

Diachronic study: This refers to the study of a language system over a period of time.

Dialect: A dialect is a particular form of a language that is peculiar to a specific region or social group.

Lexical variation: This refers to difference in words for instance, the way one language is spoken in different places and among different social groups.

Linguistic variable: This refers to a linguistic feature which has more than one variant, each of which has a sociolinguistic significance.

Native speaker: A native speaker is a person who uses a certain language as his first language.

Real -time construct: This refers to where the ideal historical linguistic survey would take place in real time.

Synchronic study: This refers to the study of a language system at one particular point in time.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gikuyu language. The study was guided by three objectives which sought to: identify the types of lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language; establish the factors responsible for lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language and lastly to investigate the consequences of lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. The study was guided by the variationist theory proposed by Labov (1972). The target population consisted of all the speakers of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language living in Northern Murang'a in Murang'a County. The study used non probability sampling in the selection of the sample. A sample of 40 respondents who comprised of 20 respondents aged between 15 and 25 years and 20 respondents who were aged 65 years and above was selected. The study was carried out using descriptive survey research design. Data was collected using interviews. There were two sets of interviews for the two categories of respondents. Data analysis was done in line with the variationist theoretical framework. In data analysis, words in the data were transcribed orthographically and phonetically and thereafter presented in tables where patterns were observed. Findings revealed that there were several types of lexical variation in Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. The types included geographical variation, social variation, contextual variation, onomasiological variation and semasiological variation. Findings also revealed that various factors were responsible for the variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. These factors included word loss, borrowing, loan translations, and modernization and schooling. Findings on the consequences of lexical variation and change in this dialect revealed that the variation and change had resulted to communication breakdown between the old and the young speakers of the dialect. The lexical variation and change had also resulted to change in the syllable structure of words, replacement of one word with a phrase, vocabulary expansion and lastly extinction of lexical items.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Language is the systematic, conventional use of sounds, signs or written symbols in a human society for communication and self-expression (Crystal, 2003). As Sapir (1921: 147) puts it, "Everyone knows that language is variable." This means that language is dynamic and keeps on changing. According to Thomason and Sarah (2001), all languages change through time. There has not been an explanation as to why languages change but the way languages change offers insights into the nature of language itself. The possible answers to why languages change tell us about the way language is used in society, about how it is acquired by individuals and may reveal the information about its internal organization (Richard & Brian, 2003).

For a long time, sociolinguists have made attempts to explain the relationship between language and society. In earlier sociolinguistic studies of language variation, variation has been divided into two categories, that is, variation according to the user and variation according to the use (Halliday, McIntosh & Strevens, 1964). Variation according to the user explains how a speaker varies his language due to aspects that he always carries with him including gender, age, social class, ethnicity and level of education. These are aspects of individual's identity. On the other hand, variation according to use explains how a speaker

varies his language depending on social situations. This happens in everyone's speech as they move from one social situation to another (Halliday, et al. 1964).

Linguists have used the term 'variety' to refer to variation in language. Each way of speaking is referred to as a variety. The term variety is preferred because it does not have the negative aspect associated with terms such as dialect or accent. It also fits in with the idea of descriptive linguistics meaning that description of language is based on actual use (Crystal, 2003). It can also be applied across a wider range of language features than the terms dialect and accent. For example, we can talk of linguistic variation, historical variation, social variation, geographic variation, stylistic variation and so on (Fischer, 1958). Lexical variation occurs when different dialects, or even same language users employ varying words for the same thing due to various reasons. Geographical variation in language, for example, occurs when there are different levels of contact between different people at different times (Anttila, 2002). This results in different ways of saying the same thing among people speaking the same language but living in different geographical regions.

The present study focuses on lexical variation and in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. Gĩkũyũ is a language in the Central Bantu branch of the Niger-Congo family spoken primarily by the Agĩkũyũ people of Kenya (Dwyer, 1997). Gĩkũyũ is spoken mainly in the region between Nyeri and Nairobi. It is one of the five languages of the Thagichu sub-group of the Bantu languages which stretches from Kenya to Tanzania. According to Dwyer (1997), Gĩkũyũ language has five dialects namely Southern Gĩkũyũ (Kiambu and Southern Mũrang'a), Northern

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Gĩkũyũ (Northern Mũrang'a), Mathĩra (Nyeri), Gĩchũgũ (Northern Kĩrĩnyaga), and Ndia (Southern Kĩrĩnyaga)

Wachera (2008) classified the varieties of Gĩkũyũ language based on linguistic variation; phonological, grammatical and semantic variations. This classification divides Gĩkũyũ language into four dialects. These include the Gĩ-gĩchũgũ spoken in the East, Kĩ-mathĩra spoken in the North, Kĩ-mũtemi spoken in the Central region and Gĩ-kabete spoken in the South. For the purpose of this study, the researcher used the Dwyer (1997) classification of dialects of Gĩkũyũ language into five. The researcher looked at the origin of words, their meanings and contexts of use in the Northern dialect spoken in the Northern Murang'a. The study also looked at the choice of words and the social factors responsible for the choices.

Throughout history, languages are known to borrow new lexical items from the languages they come into contact with (Trudgill, Chambers & Schilling, 2001). To borrow is to import linguistic items from one linguistic system into another. This happens any time two cultures come into contact over a period of time (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988). According to Thomason & Kaufman (1988), the first elements to enter the borrowing language are words. They continue to say that usually, though not always, the borrowed words are treated as stems in the borrowing language. This means that they take the usual affixes for appropriate stem-class in the recipient language.

Langacker (1968:17) asserts that, there is no language whose speakers have ever had contact with any other language that is completely free of borrowed forms. When a group of speakers learn a commong second language, they often find themselves introducing the second-language lexical items into conversations with fellow bilinguals in their original language (Peter, Wexler, Kenneth & Culicover, 2001). This is one of the reasons why languages change because, when a language borrows a lexical item from a foreign language, the lexical item becomes an addition to the vocabulary of the borrowing language. It may also result in discarding the original word that was in use before the borrowing (Labov, 1990). Gĩkũyũ language is no exception as it has borrowed widely from the languages it has come into contact with like Kiswahili and English among others.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The lexicon is said to be the most erratic aspect of language and most likely to undergo change due to the superstrate influence in a language contact situation (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988). The rate at which the vocabulary is changing is so fast such that, in some circumstances, it becomes difficult for the young speakers to communicate with the old speakers who find it difficult to cope with them. This is because the young speakers tend to use borrowed terms rather than the terms used by the old speakers. For example, if an older speaker of the Gĩkũyũ language asks for a *mondo*, (bag) the youth may not make out what the elder is asking for because the young speakers refer to it using the borrowed term, *mbagi*, or if he asks for *rũhiũ* (panga), they might find it difficult to understand since they know it as *banga,* which is borrowed from Kiswahili *panga* These are some of examples

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of cases where vocabulary has changed and made it a challenge for the elderly speakers of the Gĩkũyũ language to communicate with the younger speakers.

A number of studies (Kamau, 1996; Karega, 1983 and Njoroge 2014 among others) have been carried out to investigate the changes in different aspects of Gĩkũyũ language including syntactic, semantic, morphological or phonological ones. Kamau (1996) carried out a study on major phonological processes in Kindia and Gichugu dialects of Gĩkũyũ language. Karega (1983) looked at sound change and the classification of the dialects of Southern Mount Kenya. There is no known study on lexical variation in Gĩkũyũ language yet, and as already stated in the background above, variation as a result of contact between languages usually involves or affects words first. No study has identified the kind of words that are borrowed into Gĩkũyũ and hence show variation. This research intended to fill that academic gap by carrying out a systematic study to find out what kinds of words show variation and what is responsible for this volatile nature of lexicon. The study used variation theory to attain this goal.

1.3 Research Questions

The statement of the problem was summarized in the following questions:

i. What are the different types of lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language?

ii. Which factors are responsible for lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language?

iii.   What are the consequences of lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language?

1.4 Research Objectives

This research was guided by the following objectives:

i.   To identify the types of lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language

ii.   To establish the factors responsible for lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language

iii.   To investigate the consequences of lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language.

1.5 Justification of the Study

This study is useful to the field of sociolinguistics in general and language change specifically. It is expected to be relevant to linguists working on language variation and change in the Gĩkũyũ language. Researchers will find this study an invaluable source of information on the factors responsible for language change and variation, and also the consequences of such change and variation. For teachers and students of language change, it will be a useful reference material.

The study suggested significant recommendations that may help come up with policy statements that will help curb the negative consequences of language change. Variation in language may be the cause of communication breakdown

between the young and the old. Such recommendations could inform the setting up of programs to ensure that the young generation learns their mother tongue fully in the lower primary schools. This came in the backdrop of renewed debate on the importance of teaching first language to pupils in the lower classes. Indeed research has in the recent past established that a firm foundation on the learner's first language greatly bolsters their ease of understanding other languages and concepts. The adoption of recommendations of the study may help mitigate the negative effects of language variation and change in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language and the language at large.

1.6 The Scope and Limitations of the Study

Lexical variation falls under the broad area of language variation and change and dialectology. There are many aspects involved in language change but this study limited itself to lexical change. It did not focus on other aspects of language change such as phonological, morphological and syntactic aspects of language change among others. This study was conducted in Northern Muranga, where the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language is spoken. Gĩkũyũ language has five dialects but this research study only focused on this one dialect and did not take into consideration the other dialects of Gĩkũyũ language.

The present study also limited itself to change in vocabulary and did not focus on phrases and sentences which may also have changed. Though the present study focused on words, its focus was limited to major-class content words namely nouns and verbs, and to some extent adjectives. This was informed by the fact that

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these were the categories of words mostly affected by change (Poplack & Meechan 1998). Functional words such as conjunctions and prepositions were not observed to change and as such did not have a space in the study.

1.7 Literature Review

This section reviews literature related to lexical variation and change. It focuses on sociolinguistics in relation to lexical variation and change, varieties of lexical variation, factors affecting lexical change, borrowing as a factor for lexical change and studies related to lexical variation and change in Gĩkũyũ language.

1.7.1 Introduction

According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), any time two languages come into contact, the lexicon of the two languages change. Chambers (2002) concurs with this claim although his work analyzes contact between dialects of one language rather than between two languages. The study claims that lexical replacement is acquired faster than pronunciation and phonological variants. This is true because even in first language acquisition, children first learn the lexicon before they learn the other aspects of the same language. It is true that a majority of the young speakers of Gĩkũyũ language seemed to have lost most of the native vocabulary that was used by the older speakers.

1.7.2 Sociolinguistics in Relation to Lexical Variation and Change

The relationship between language and society has for a long time been an area of interest for linguists. This is because there are many angles and domains from

which language can be studied, for example, sociolinguists attempt to find out the different varieties of language used by people and why those linguistic variations exist among different groups. Trudgill (1992) defines sociolinguistics as "a term used to describe all areas of the study of the relationship between language and society". According to him, sociolinguistic research aims at helping researchers to attain a better understanding of the nature of human language by studying language in its social context. It is also intended to help achieve a better understanding of the relationship and interaction between language and society. The current study is therefore a sociolinguistic study that aims at providing a better understanding of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language and how it has changed with time in terms of its lexicon.

Sociolinguists believe that speakers engage in various kinds of interactions and verbal exchanges that create systems for communication based not only on the rules of language as a formal system but also on their knowledge of the social context of the individual they are addressing as well as the topic at hand. According to Holmes (1992) sociolinguists aim to move towards a theory which provides a motivated account of the way language is used in a community, as well as of the choices people make when they use language. This study therefore is an attempt to examine how Gĩkũyũ language has changed in its lexicon.

Sociolinguistics, being the study of language in relation to society, means that language is closely related to society and the context in which it is used (Hudson 1996). This includes the speakers who are taking part in the language use and their social characteristics such as their age, gender and social class. In addition to

this, Downes (1998) asserts that sociolinguistics is that branch of Linguistics which studies just those properties of language and languages which require reference to social, including contextual factors in their explanation. This leads to the conclusion that sociolinguists try to find out the different ways in which language is used by different speakers in different contexts. The current study attempts to explain how language use varies in terms of lexicon in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language with regard to use, user and context of use.

1.7.3 Varieties of Lexical Variation

A variety is a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution (Milroy, 1997). Speakers who belong to different age groups, social classes, ethnic groups, and genders show systematic differences in the way they talk (Hudson, 1996). Speakers will also speak differently when they are conversing with different people. For instance, when a young person is with his peers, he will speak differently from when he is with an elder person, such as his parent. Each of the many ways of speaking is a variety. A variety does not have a large vocabulary and grammar like a full-fledged language does, but it may simply be a small set of linguistic items, as is the case with a slang. A slang may be defined as a quite restricted set of new words and new meanings of older words, mixed with linguistic items with a much larger social distribution (Hudson, 1996).

Language variation can be looked at in terms of geographical variation, social variation or contextual variation. Geographical variation is variation in languages or dialects of the same language based on geographical location of the speakers.

This results to a language having different dialects. A dialect is a geographical variety of a language, spoken in a certain area, and different in some linguistic items from other geographical varieties of the same language (Downes 1998). Therefore, a dialect can be said to be one of the several mutually intelligible geographical varieties of the same language. In Gĩkũyũ language, for example, there are five dialects each of which is distinguished by its geographical location. As already stated, these are Southern Gĩkũyũ spoken in Kiambu and Southern Murang'a; Northern Gĩkũyũ spoken in Northern Murang'a; Mathĩra spoken in Nyeri; Gĩchũgũ spoken in Northern Kirinyaga; and Ndia spoken in Southern Kirinyaga (Dwyer, 1997). This study focused on the Northern dialect spoken in Northern Murang'a.

Among the speakers of Gĩkũyũ language, different people speak the dialects of their geographical location. Therefore, it is easy to locate the geographical area of a speaker by the variety of the language they speak. This is not the case with social varieties as these are found within the same dialect of a language. Hicky (2010) defines social varieties as varieties of a language used by groups defined according to class, education, age, occupation, sex and other social parameters. These affect the speech of an individual with use of jargon associated with one's occupation.

Contextual variation, on the other hand, is variation within the individual where a speaker varies his language depending on context. This could depend on the formality of the speech situation, the social factors of age, gender and social class. This study focused on lexical variation and change which is also dependent on the

social factors of age, sex and social class of the speakers. A speaker of Gĩkũyũ language speaks differently depending on context of language use and this is also dependent on the age of the speakers.

According to Hicky (2010), only one meaning of a word is usually denoted in spite of the multiple meanings that the word conveys. Although there is limited knowledge on how it transpires, it is generally observed that context is the sole determinant of the meaning to be conveyed by a word. This observation, as a logical consequence, leads us to identify the context responsible for meaning variation of a word. The identification of context depends heavily on the intuitive ability of a language user.

Lexical variation can also be looked at in a different way. Different terminological distinctions are used to capture the different kinds of variation that exist in the use of lexicon to name referents (Geeraerts, 1993). These include onomasiological variation, semasiological variation, formal variation and contextual variation. Onomasiological variation is where a referent or type of referent may be named by means of various conceptually distinct lexical items, for example, a bag can either be referred to as *mbagi* or *mondo* in Gĩkũyũ language.

Semasiological variation is where a particular lexical item may refer to distinct types of referents, for example in Gĩkũyũ language, the word *kahũa* may mean coffee or diminutive form of a flower. Formal variation is where a particular referent or type of referent may be named by means of various lexical items,

regardless of whether these represent conceptually different categories or not. Contextual variation is where variation phenomena of the kind just specified may correlate with contextual factors such as the formality of the speech situation, the geographical location, and word meaning and sociological characteristics of the participants in the communicative interaction (Geeraerts 1993).

1.7.4 Factors Affecting Lexical Change

Several factors affect linguistic change. The social factors including age, gender, and social class, are some of these factors that affect linguistic change. Age has been observed to be a significant factor in detecting linguistic change. Many sociolinguistic analyses adopt the Apparent Time Construct and interpret different rates of usage by speakers of different ages as evidence of a change in progress (Bailey et al. 1991). These analyses prove that the younger speakers are more likely to use advanced forms of the variable than the older speakers.

Chambers (1992), one of the few quantitative studies of lexical variables shows that younger speakers acquire new lexical forms and pronunciations at a higher rate than older speakers. This happens at the beginning of a change but once the change has been adopted, both old and young speakers tend to use the new lexical forms almost equally. This is true even in Gĩkũyũ language since the old speakers adopt the new forms especially those borrowed from other languages. For instance, a word like *thoko* has become part of Gĩkũyũ vocabulary used by both young and old speakers. It has been borrowed from Kiswahili word *soko*.

The second factor which has been used to provide synchronic evidence of linguistic change is gender. A number of studies show that, generally, men are more conservative in starting linguistic change, while women are more innovative (Labov, 1990). However, in established change, men may use more of the innovative forms than women (Chambers & Trudgill, 1980). One study of lexical change that shows that females are slightly more conservative in their usage of "new" lexical forms is Bayard (1989).

Although social class, determined by occupation and income, has been shown to be a significant factor in sociolinguistic analyses (Labov 1972), the usual distinctions according to social class do not account for variation found in lexical change processes. Bayard's (1984-85) study shows no correlation of the degree of lexical change to the socioeconomic factor (Bayard 1989).

1.7.5 Borrowing as a Factor for Lexical Change

There are several reasons as to why speakers borrow words from other languages. The most obvious reason is necessity (Peter, et al. 2001). People develop words for new and unfamiliar concepts, for example, new technology, new plants and animals, and even new and unfamiliar foods. There is no connection between concepts and the lexical items that denote them and therefore there are no words to name such concepts. For this reason, speakers resort to borrowing words from other languages to name those concepts (Peter, et al. 2001).

Another reason for borrowing is prestige. If certain cultures are associated with particular prestigious activities, it is common for the words associated with that

activity to come from the language of that culture (Bates, 2002). Whenever words are borrowed, they are gradually changed so that they fit the phonological and morphological structure of the borrowing language or dialect (Hoffer, 2002). Gĩkũyũ has nativised borrowed words so that they can fit within its phonology and morphology. Such words include: glass – *ngirathi*; blanket –*mũrĩngĩti;* and skirt – *thikati.* Sometimes when new concepts are introduced from other societies, the speakers of a particular language may use their own native linguistic resources to coin a new word.

Language is the carrier of a people's culture and whenever there is language contact, this leads to cultural change (Eyol, 1985). A lot of borrowing may take place between the two languages that come into contact. Sometimes, some of the cultural practices are eroded due to the contact and thus some lexical items become dormant due to lack of usage. This is the scenario in Gĩkũyũ language. When Gĩkũyũ speaking community came into contact with English and Kiswahili speaking communities, a lot of cultural change took place. In the process, some lexical items that were used to name some cultural practices are no longer in use. The contact also brought about a new mode of dressing. The traditional dressing was just pieces of skin known as *mwengũ* and *mũthuru*. With the contact between the Gĩkũyũ people and the Whites came with a new mode of dressing.

The names of these traditional dressings are no longer in use, for example *mũthuru*, *mwengũ and irinda.* Other items acquired a borrowed name in addition to the original name, for example: *mbagi* (bag) for *mondo, banga* (panga) for

rũhiu, *gĩtanda (*bed*)* for *ũrĩrĩ* and *icembe (jembe)* for *mũro.* A lot of new items were also introduced including utensils and furniture that were not there in the Gĩkũyũ culture. These include words like *thaani* (plate), *gĩkombe* (cup), *gĩciko* (spoon), *thaburia* (sufuria). These names were borrowed from Kiswahili and modified to fit within the phonology and morphology of Gĩkũyũ language. Mira (2012:299) notes that lexical inventory in the borrowing language is expanded by adapting new words from the source language through language contact. The borrowed words contribute to lexical change as they become additional lexical items that were not originally part of the borrowing language.

Language change is clearly noticeable in communication, especially between the young and the older speakers. Young speakers tend to include a lot of borrowed words from foreign languages especially English. They tend to code switch and code mix which makes their speech difficult for the adults to follow and understand. The spread of technologies, the evolution of the internet and mass media have resulted in the use of new structures that did not exist among earlier generations but have now been adopted into the Gĩkũyũ language. Kenya like most countries has entered the global world where people are sharing common interests, exchanging ideas and communicating with each other, and sometimes sharing a common language.

Languages vary not only among speakers from different geographical regions but also among speakers within the same geographical region and speaking the same language or dialect of the same language. This study aims at finding out the motivation behind language variation in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language

and subsequent change in lexicon since the younger generation brings in new words and this leads to loss of the old ones.

1.7.6. Studies Related to Lexical Variation and Change in Gĩkũyũ Language

Several studies have been carried out on areas closely related to the current study. Among them is Kamau (1996) who carried out a study on major phonological processes in Kĩndia and Gĩgĩchugu dialects of the Gĩkũyũ language. He used the Natural Generative Theory to discuss the phonological correspondences between the two dialects. His findings were that there was a correspondence between the two dialects. This study is similar to the current study in that it studies dialects of the Gĩkũyũ language. It however differs from the current study in that it studies two dialects, Kindia and Gigichugu while the current study focuses on only one dialect, the Northern dialect.

Mwihaki (1998) quoted in Mutua (2013) did a study on loan words in Gĩkũyũ language. In the study, the researcher describes the phonological shapes of loan words using the metrical theory and the tier system. It was revealed that the adaptation of loan words involves replacement of phonological properties of the source language with the equivalent of the borrowing words. This study was relevant to the current one because loan words contribute to language change. Through borrowing, a language acquires new words that are nativized and made part of the language vocabulary. The current study looks at borrowing as a factor contributing to language variation and change while Mwihaki's study focuses on the phonological adaptation of the borrowed words.

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Another study by Wanyoike (2002) focused on morphophonological analysis of Gĩkũyũ verbal affixes within lexical phonology. This study found out that affixation affects phonological processes such as deletion of sounds, assimilation and dissimilation among others. The study by Wanyoike (2002), focused on Gĩkũyũ language as a whole while the present study deals with only one dialect of Gĩkũyũ language, the Northern dialect. Waithera (2006) looked at the phonological variation in the Gĩkũyũ spoken by Kamba traders in Thika District. Her study dealt with phonological variation while the current study is interested in lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language.

Macharia (2011) carried out a study on phonological variation and change in Mathira dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language. The study established that there is a phonological change in progress in the Gĩkũyũ language spoken by the Mathira dialect speakers. Furthermore, age and gender were seen to influence the variation of the dependent variable, thus leading to the conclusion that there was a significant correlation between the phonological variable under study with age and gender which implied that this change was led by adolescents and women.

The social factor of education was also included and it emerged that respondents with secondary and tertiary levels of education identified more with variant which is the more prevalent form in the Gĩkũyũ language, an indicator that education also plays a role in the phonological change. This study is similar to the current one since the social variables of age, gender and education tend to influence both phonological and lexical variation. The current study however focuses on lexical variation and not phonological variation, thus making the two studies different.

Macharia's study also focuses on Mathira dialect while the current study focuses on the Northern dialect.

Ndung'u (2011) investigated lexical and morphosyntactic attrition in secondary school students who speak Gĩkũyũ as their first language. The study was based on the premise that students were losing their competencies in indigenous languages especially at the level of schooling. The study sought to determine whether lexical and morpho-syntactical attrition was occurring in secondary school Gĩkũyũ Ll speakers. It also sought to determine the nature of attrition and determine the effect of schooling and home backgrounds on attrition. This study was of relevance to the current study since it provided information that schooling contributes to loss of first language proficiency. This is due to the use of English and Kiswahili as languages of instruction in learning institutions. The educated find it outdated to speak in their local languages and therefore end up losing proficiency in them. This information was relevant to the current study since education was found to be a contributing factor to lexical change as the educated speakers of the Northern Dialect of Gĩkũyũ language were found to adopt borrowed words from English and Kiswahili in their speech.

Karuru (2012) carried out a study on phonological and morphological adaptation of loanwords from English and Kiswahili into the Gigichugu dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language. Using source-similarity model, it was established that Gigichugu observed maximal similarity between words that are borrowed and their corresponding source counter parts. This study was relevant to the current study since it provided information on how words borrowed from English and

Kiswahili are adapted phonologically and morphologically to fit in the borrowing language. This information was important as the borrowed words became part of the vocabulary of the borrowing language leading to lexical variation in the borrowing language.

Njoroge (2014) discusses the relationship between informativity and interpretation of euphemism as well as taboo words and the social–cultural context in which they are used by speakers of Gĩkũyũ as a first language. The study aimed at identifying and describing the euphemisms and taboo words that are popularly used by speakers of Gĩkũyũ. It also aimed at establishing the informativity and semantic attributes of euphemisms and taboo words in Gĩkũyũ language and to analyze the pragmatic and social functions of euphemized taboo words which are used by speakers of Gĩkũyũ. The results of the research showed that in order to avoid embarrassment and face–loss, Gĩkũyũ people try to look for substitutions that can hide or cover up the indecency of taboo words. Consequently, euphemisms are employed to replace offensive expressions that can cause harm and shame to the speaker of Gĩkũyũ language. This study provided information about contextual variation of language as speakers tend to use euphemisms in situations where the actual word cannot be used for one reason or the other.

These studies and many others have been carried out on the Gĩkũyũ language. However, none of these studies has addressed lexical variation and change. This study fills in the gap by investigating the lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language spoken in Northern Muranga.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

This study was based on the Variationist theory which was propounded by William Labov in 1972. The variationist approach claims that language variation is systematic in accordance with the social characteristics of the speakers. The basic concern for this theory is how language can be described or explained as a systematic apparatus if language use varies from situation to situation.

According to variation theory, variation is an inherent part of language which can be observed and studied both synchronically and diachronically. This shows that variation has its historical development and that language varies across different dialects within linguistic communities and socio-geographical distribution. Such variations which can even be traced in everyday vernacular of a language are at the same time rule-governed as is true for all natural languages. It is established in a sociolinguistic research that language variation happens rather systematically (Tagliamonte, 2012).

Variation is an integral part of the linguistic system (Nurse & Heine, 2000). This variation can be intra-speaker variation, that is, in an individual speaker, or across a group of speakers, inter-speaker variation, (Chambers, 2004). The theory also states that in different contexts, an individual will speak in different ways (Coates, 1992). Later research on linguistic variation revealed the fact that the frequency at which a speaker uses variable forms depends not only on the speaker's demographic characteristics, but also on the linguistic environment in which the form occurs.

Variation occurs in all spoken varieties, even in those which can be considered to be fairly standard. Labov's approach moves gradually from a purely linguistic study on variation into a more sociolinguistic account of variation seeking to find a socio-ethnic explanation on linguistic variation. According to Tagliamonte (2012), one example of such a principle of social perception is Labov's Golden Age Principle which states that at some time in the past, language was in a state of perfection (Labov, 2001). Every sound in language is said to have been correct and beautiful, proper, accurate and appropriate. This has changed over time with changes being introduced into the language leading to falling away of some words in language and introduction of new ones. Speakers have interpreted these changes as nonconformity to the norm in language and tend to reject them (Labov, 2001: 514).

The Variationist theory is guided by a number of tenets. The convergence of linguistic and social aspects according to Tagliamonte (2006) have over the years led to the cementing of variationist sociolinguistics as an integral field in language study. Consequently, the resultant model which fuses both social and linguistic dimensions is capable of tackling myriad paradoxes of language change. The domain of variationist sociolinguistics is described by Tagliamonte (2006) as linguistic branch dealing with both the social and linguistic structure, that is, social and grammatical meaning. Pursuant to this, the explanation of any concept under study takes into account the external (social) factors together with the internal system of a language.

1.8.1 Premises of Variationist Sociolinguistics

According to Tagliamonte (2006), there are three premises upon which the study of sociolinguistic variation is based namely perpetual change of language, orderly heterogeneity and the fact that any language conveys meanings beyond the sum total of its words. Firstly, orderly heterogeneity is to the effect that there is a variation in language use. Language users have a continuum of choices to make in their use of language. For instance, whether a speaker of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ uses *ruhiu* or *banga* for *panga* depending on the motivations and environment is tackled under this presupposition. It should be noted that in as much as heterogeneity is about choices in the use of language, it follows a systematic pattern which reflects the prevailing grammar and order in the language.

Secondly, the presupposition that language change is perpetual is also indispensable in variationist sociolinguistics. This assertion can be exemplified from a number of words which have disappeared from the lexical inventory employed in day to day communication and new ones that replace the original ones. A case in point is *mondo* and *mbagi* which are variants of the word 'bag'. It should be noted that *mondo* was previously used before contact between the Gĩkũyũ language and English directly or indirectly through Kiswahili. This assertion is motivated by the morphological and phonological adaptations in the nativization of 'bag' into *mbagi*. Therefore, given the fact that language contact, age, gender, education among other factors influence language, it logically follows that language change is mandatory in the lifetime of a language.

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The third premise of the Variationist Sociolinguistics according to Tagliamonte (2006) is the use of language for social identity. This implies that it is possible to identify a speaker's social set up from their speech. Information relating to their gender, age, education and other personality traits can be easily deduced as speakers tend to identify with specific stratifications of the society. For example in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ, Elderly speakers are more likely to use *gĩathi* as opposed to *thoko* which is mostly used by the youth and is borrowed from the Swahili word *soko* meaning 'market.' This can be explained by the tendency of the older generation being conservative and holding onto identity markers linked with their traditions. On the contrary, the youth are adventurous and less likely to resist something on the grounds of its being outlandish. In addition, their growth in environments and situations with a lot of exposure to Kiswahili as a national, official and compulsory examinable language makes them more likely to use the borrowed variant of the word 'market.'

1.8.2 The Tenets of the Variationist Sociolinguistics

The method and analysis of Variationist Sociolinguistics is rooted in a number of tenets like the principle of accountability, speech community, accessing the vernacular, function asymmetry, the quantitative method, linguistic variables and circumscribing the context of the variable (Tagliamonte, 2006).

1.8.2.1 The Principle of Accountability

According to the principle of accountability, the linguistic variant must be correctly analyzed. This implies that whatever analysis is carried out, it should be

accountable to the data for it to pass the test. The researcher must take into account all the variants regardless of whether they were realized or unrealized as long as they comprise the variable context. Pursuant to this, aside from studying unusual or interesting variants, the analysis must also take into account any other realizations of the same form which is deemed to be the norm. A correctly accountable research will exhaustively investigate any other possibility in line with the context of the study, Tagliamonte (2012). Take the case of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language for instance. Given that *icembe* is a borrowed word from Kiswahili *jembe* that is nativised into *icembe* to fit into the borrowing language, an accountable study will also look at *mũro* which is used interchangeably within the same context. The resulting findings are thus deemed to take into account all internal and external aspects of a variationist sociolinguistic study.

1.8.2.2 The Vernacular

This tenet is to the effect that the fundamental goal of variationist sociolinguistics methodology is accessing the vernacular (Tagliamonte, 2006). A number of definitions have been advanced for the term vernacular. According to Milroy (1992), the vernacular refers to 'real language in use.' The vernacular is also defined as language that is reserved for intimate or casual situations with spontaneity (Poplack, 1993). For the purposes of the present study, Poplack's (1993) definition is adopted.

According to Tagliamonte (2006), the vernacular is indispensable in the variationist methodology as it is considered to be highly systematic. This is not only because it was the first language to be acquired but also because it generally tends to be devoid of style shifting and hypercorrection. Moreover, the vernacular forms the foundation onto which other styles are developed. Therefore, the point of departure in the evolution of language is the vernacular which makes it a vital component of language variation. It was for this reason that the researcher sought to conduct the study in Murang'a where the dialect has its roots and is widely spoken in order to find the dialect devoid of style shifting. In addition, by using respondents cutting across different ages, the study unearthed both the usual and the unusual aspects of language use in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language.

1.8.2.3 The Speech Community

As indicated in the preceding paragraph (1.8.2.2), the most specific goal of any variationist analysis is to gain access to the vernacular. Consequently, the researcher should record unmonitored speech by members of the speech community as an observer and at times as a participant (Tagliamonte, 2006). Both intuitive and anecdotal judgments which make analysis challenging are limited. The observation of the elements of language under study was done within the sociocultural setting of speakers of the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language. From the observations of language use, the researcher was able to decipher the social value of utterances made ranging from highly vernacular to standard through a contemplation of the different ways the word would have been said.

This theory fits in this study since Gĩkũyũ language has its historical development and that it varies across different ages within the Gĩkũyũ linguistic community and those variations can even be traced in everyday vernacular of the Gĩkũyũ language speakers.

1.9 Research Methodology

This study used variationist methodology to collect and analyze data. This methodology requires a large number of words for analysis in line with the quantitative methodology tenet. The different manifestations of the lexical items were observed for systematic patterns. The researcher used 40 informants who were instrumental in providing the data. This number of informants was deemed enough for the study because of the high quantity of data necessary. The informants comprised of 20 young people and 20 elderly people. Each category of respondents, (young and old) had 10 male and 10 female informants. The elderly informants were beyond 60 years of age, with little or no formal education. This is because they are the people who used the original forms of the words before the changes were introduced into the language. The young informants were between the ages of 15 and 25. This is the age at which speakers tend to bring in new words into the language through borrowing as they undergo education. They feel that the words used by the elderly speakers are outdated and so they tend to use words borrowed from either English or Kiswahili. Purposive sampling was done to ensure the age factor was properly represented. Table 1 shows the distribution of the sample

Table 1: Sample Distribution

Sample category	Number targeted	Number reached & percentage
Young people (15-25 years)	20	20 (100%)
Old people (60 & above)	20	20 (100%)
Total	**40**	**40 (100%)**

From the Table 1 above, all the informants targeted were reached, which is 100% of the sample. The informants were interviewed and the information written down for orthographic and phonetic transcription for analysis. This data was later presented in tables and observed for patterns and structures in the analysis. In addition, introspection was employed to supplement the data using native speaker competence as the researcher is a native speaker of the Gĩkũyũ language.

1.9.1 Research Design

The study was carried out using descriptive survey research design. According to Mugenda (2008) and Orodho (2004), a descriptive survey design establishes and reports how the things are without any manipulation. This research design employs proper analyses, interpretation, comparison, identification of trends and relationships among the data collected. It defines the questions to be answered, selects the sample, collects the data and analyses it. This design was selected for this study since the study aimed at defining questions to be answered, selecting

the sample, collecting data and analyzing it to identify trends and relationships among the data.

1.9.2 Sample Population

The target population of the study consisted of all the speakers of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language living in Northern Murang'a in Murang'a County. The County is quite densely populated but with diverse distribution varying from one region to another. According to the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) Statistical abstract (2013) there are a total of 778,984 people in Muranga County, comprising of 376,877 males and 402,107 females. There are 212, 279 households in the county.

Since it is not possible to carry out the study among all the people in the county, the study selected a sample of 40 informants. Chambers, Trudgill and Schilling (2002) point out that variation in language can emerge from samples as small as 25 speakers. The young informants were selected from high school and college students. This is the age at which innovations are introduced in the language as the young speakers seek identity. Both genders were represented, and this helped the researcher to identify the variation evident among the different age groups and the different genders.

The study used non probability sampling to sample the elderly. This was done using purposive sampling and snowballing sampling techniques. Using this sampling procedure, every elderly person interviewed, suggested another elderly person that they knew to have the information required and was interviewed. The

same was done with the young respondents. Using one young speaker, the researcher was referred to others who were known to have the relevant data.

1.9.3 Data Collection and Instrumentation

Even though the variationist sociolinguistic research has often employed multiple methods of data collection, Labov suggests that sociolinguistic interview remains a primary research tool (Labov, 1972). This study, therefore, used interviews to collect data. According to Mesthrie (2000), there is a basic procedure in Variationist Studies. First, the linguistic features that vary in a community are identified by the researcher who gathers the data from the community by selecting a suitable sample of people. Then an interview involving informal continuous speech as well as more formal dimensions of language use is conducted. After that, data is analyzed. The relevant social units like age groups, sex and social class are then selected, and lastly, significant correlations between social groups and particular speech choices are ascertained.

The researcher intended to establish the types of lexical variation evident in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language, the factors responsible for the variation and the consequences of such variation. The primary research instrument used was interview which was based on semi-structured questions. These kinds of questions are mostly the same and are asked in the same order making comparison across the questions straightforward. It also makes analysis easy because the wording of the questions and the sequence are fixed and identical for every respondent. The advantage of this kind of questions is that the researcher is able to interact

personally with the informants to get first-hand information. It also allows for discussion to develop the information gathered from the main questions.

The interviews were conducted in informal settings such as in farms as the informants were working or in their houses. This helped the informants to have a relaxed atmosphere where they could give their opinions without constraints. The interviews were conducted in Gĩkũyũ language and took about twenty minutes each. During the interview, the researcher took down notes of the information given. At the end of the interviews, the data collected was transcribed orthographically and phonetically for the purpose of analysis.

The researcher also used observation to collect data. This method of collecting data was used because, it was noted that some linguistic variants were impossible to collect through interview. Some vernacular forms are only used in peer conversation and as such, the researcher could only collect them through observation. This technique is advantageous in variationist sociolinguistics as it gives the researcher an opportunity to gather information from naturally occurring social situations without influencing the course of the study. This enables the researcher to look directly at what is taking place in a situation rather than relying on second hand information. This method was appropriate for the current study because the researcher was there to observe the actual use of varieties of lexicon in the specific domains, bearing in mind that the researcher is a native speaker of the language under study. The data collected was analyzed using descriptive statistics to describe the basic features of the data.

1.9.4 Data Analysis

During data analysis, words collected were transcribed orthographically and phonetically. They were then presented in tables where patterns were observed. The analysis was done in line with the variationist theoretical framework. The theory was selected as it provides tenets for looking at language across different times and situations. Furthermore, it accounts for both internal (systemic) and external (social) changes in language unlike other formal grammar rule based theories.

1.10 Conclusion

The present chapter has presented the subject of research. The study sought to analyze lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ. A background on Gĩkũyũ language was presented together with information on the five existing dialects. The research questions and the objectives of the study were outlined too. There was also a review of literature on variation as a field of study as it is the theoretical framework guiding the present study. The research methodology was also discussed from data collection to data analysis. The next chapter looks into the types of variation in relation to the data and existing literature.

CHAPTER TWO

TYPES OF LEXICAL VARIATION

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the various types of lexical variation and change in line with the first objective of this study. The chapter precisely focuses on the different types of lexical variation found in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. These include geographical variation, social variation, contextual variation, semasiological variation and onomasiological variation.

2.2 Geographical Variation

As previously mentioned, geographical variation, also referred to as regional variation, is variation in languages or dialects of the same language based on geographical location of the speakers. It is evident that as one moves from one place to another, a lot of differences in language use are found. This is true even in villages. As one walks from one side of the village to the other, they are likely to notice linguistic differences. This is in line with the variationist theory that claims that language varies across different dialects within linguistic communities and socio-geographical distribution.

Chambers and Trudgill (1998) refer to different geographical varieties of the same language as dialects or regional dialects, for example, American English and British English are both dialects of English language. A dialect is regarded as a geographical variety of a language, spoken in a certain area, and being different in

some linguistic items from other geographical varieties of the same language (Downes, 1998). Hudson (1996) observes that, it is difficult to establish the boundaries between dialects. This is because each dialect spreads into the other where the speakers of the different dialects at the boundary can speak any of the two dialects comfortably.

Francis (1983) defines dialectology as the study of dialects which are varieties of a language used by groups smaller than the total community of speakers of a language. This study focuses on the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. This dialect is spoken by people living in Murang'a County. The speakers of this dialect are just a small group compared to the total population of speakers of Gĩkũyũ language. Other speakers of Gĩkũyũ language use other dialects of the same language.

Mutahi (1977) studied Kiembu as a dialect of Southern Mount Kenya and divided it into Kimbeere, Kiembu, Kindia, Gĩgĩchugu and Kĩmathira. He was quick to note that Kiembu is recognized as separate from Mbeere and Gĩkũyũ. Wachera (2008) observes that geographical and politically motivated dialects of Gĩkũyũ have since reduced in number with Kimbeere and Kiembu becoming fully fledged languages.

The dialect under study is spoken in Northern Murang'a, and therefore the researcher did not focus on other dialects of the language. This does not mean that the other varieties are not spoken in Murang'a County. It is possible to find other varieties in the region due to intermarriages between speakers of different dialects

and also migration of speakers of the other dialects into the region. Table 2 shows examples of linguistic variables from the different dialects of Gĩkũyũ language.

Table 2: Linguistic Variables from the Five Dialects of Gĩkũyũ Language

Southern Dialect	Northern dialect	Ki-Mathira	Gi-Gichugu	Ki-Ndia	Gloss
Ndigiri /^{n}digiri/	Bunda /fu^{n}da/	Bunda /fu^{n}da/	Bunda /βu^{n}da/	Bunda /βu^{n}da/	donkey
Gwata /ɣwata/	Nyiita /ɲi:ta/	Gwata /ɣwata/	Gwata /ɣwata/	Gwata /ɣwata/	hold
Gũtha /ɣoða/	Gũtha /ɣoða/	Gũtha /ɣoða/	Kũna /kona/	Kũna /kona/	hit

Table 2 shows that speakers of different dialects of Gĩkũyũ language may use different words to refer to the same referent. A donkey is referred to as *ndigiri* in the southern dialect while the other dialects refer to it as *bunda.* The word *nyiita* is used in the Northern dialect to mean 'hold' while the other dialects use the word *gwata* to mean the same. The word *gũtha* is used in the southern, Northern and Kimathira dialects to mean 'hit', while Gigichugu and Kindia use the word *kũna* to imply the same.

2.3 Social Variation

Social variation is about the social organization of society. Social varieties are varieties of language used by groups defined according to class, education, age,

occupation, sex and other social parameters (Hicky, 2010). An individual is a part of a social network and has stronger and looser ties with other individuals in the society he lives in (Milroy, 1997). According to variationist theory, language variation is systematic in accordance with social characteristics of speakers. When people belong to the same level in terms of wealth and power, they tend to speak more or less the same. For example, the language spoken by the women who do business in the market is not likely to have any difference. The language spoken by the people in white collar jobs is likely to have a lot of differences from the language spoken by the business women, even if they are in the same town. The same case applies to those who have formal education as compared to those without any formal education. Those with formal education are likely to use borrowed forms while those without formal education tend to use the original linguistic forms. This is illustrated in the table 3.

Table 3: Social Variation Due to Social Class Difference

Business women(original forms)	IPA	Working class (borrowed forms)	IPA	Gloss	Source language
Ndari	/^{n}dari/	Namba	/na^{m}ba/	Number	English
Mwendwa	/mwɛ^{n}dwa/	Ndari	/^{n}dari/	Darling	English
Mĩthaiga	/meðaiɣa/	Ndawa	/^{n}dawa/	Medicine	Kiswahili

In Table 3, the data revealed that two different words are used for the same concept in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language. Whereas the women in

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the market, mostly uneducated, were found to use *ndari* and *mwendwa* for number and darling respectively, their counterparts in white collar jobs, who are educated, within the same vicinity used *namba* and *ndari* for the same concepts due to contact with the English language. This is due to the fact that these words are borrowed from English which is appropriate to their situation as it is the official code of communication. On the contrary, the language found in the market is usually informal and speakers there tend to use the vernacular for communication. According to variationist theory, language is used for social identity. Different speakers used words that they would want to be associated with. The young speakers used borrowed words which sounded modern as they would want to be associated with mordenity. The borrowed words also extend to Kiswahili where *dawa* which means medicine is nativized to *ndawa* by the class of educated speakers of the Gĩkũyũ language. The uneducated speakers tend to use *mĩthaiga* for medicine which is the original name. The educated speakers also use the word *thoko* for market which is borrowed from Kiswahili *soko* and nativised to fit in Gĩkũyũ phonology. The women in the market were found to use *gĩathĩ* for the same concept.

All these variations reveal the social stratification of the speakers of the Northern Gĩkũyũ at the social level besides demonstrating the systemic changes phonologically and morphologically in the adaptation of loan words from English and Kiswahili into the language. Variationist theory states that language change is not a haphazard phenomenon but it happens systematically. This was proved to be true because the borrowed words had to undergo some changes before being

adopted into the language.These differences influence the language situation in a society as people learn to speak the variety they hear in their social networks. It is evident that there are people who live in the same region, but differ in terms of education and economic status. These people often speak in quite different ways. These differences may be used, implicitly or explicitly, as indications of membership in different social groups or speech communities (Milroy, 1997).

A personal dialect, also referred to as an idiolect is an individual's way of speaking. However, speakers of any language generally tend to sound like others with whom they share similar educational backgrounds and/or occupations. Among those who leave the educational system at an early age, there is a general pattern of using certain forms that are relatively infrequent in the speech of those who go on to complete college. Those who spend more time in the educational system tend to have more features in their spoken language that derive from a lot of time spent with the written language (Hudson, 1996). In the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language, the speech of educated working class is characterized by words borrowed from English and in some cases Kiswahili as shown in Table 3.

During the field study, it was noted that the old people who never received formal education used terms that those who went to school could not identify with. The young people who are educated used borrowed terms due to the contact with English and Kiswahili. These can be said to be social varieties of the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language. The uneducated could communicate easily with each other but it was difficult for them to communicate with the young people who were educated. Such terms included the following original Gĩkũyũ terms

used extensively by the elderly while the younger speakers preferred and were well acquainted with loan words from Kiswahili nativised into the Gĩkũyũ language. Table 4 below shows the social variation due to education.

Table 4: Social Variation Due to Education

Original Name	IPA	Borrowed name	IPA	Source word	IPA	Source Language	Gloss
Mũro	/morɔ/	Icembe	/isɛ^{m}bɛ/	Jembe	/ɟɛ^{m}b ɛ	Kiswahili	Jembe
Theci	/ðɛsi/	Hũũma	/ho:ma/	Uma	/uma/	Kiswahili	folk jembe
Mũnyaka	/moɲaka/	mbahati	/^{m}bahati/	Bahati	/bahati/	Kiswahili	Luck

The elderly speakers' speech was characterized by the original Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ names like *mũro* meaning *jembe*. Conversely, the younger educated generation preferred to use *icembe* a loan word from Kiswahili. This was explained by the fact that the youth use Kiswahili as a second language besides being a compulsory examinable subject in the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) and the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE). Therefore, the resultant language contact leads to lexical borrowing, a factor of lexical variation and change. Similarly, in spite of the existing Gĩkũyũ word *theci* referring to the 'folk jembe', the young speakers use *hũũma* adopted as a loan word from the Kiswahili equivalent *uma*. Lastly, while the young speakers used *mbahati* to meal "luck", elderly speakers used *mũnyaka* to mean the same as it is a lexical item that they have grown up using in the language. By virtue of them

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being from a generation with little or in some cases no formal ties which could have exposed them to borrowing from English and Kiswahili like their children and grandchildren, the elderly mostly retained the original native words. The retention could also be motivated by the need to conserve their social and cultural identity.

Social group differences were aslo evident in lexical variation according to age groups. The young speakers were found to use slang and borrowed words as opposed to the original Gĩkũyũ words used by the older speakers. Table 5 below shows social variation due to age difference.

Table 5: Social Variation Due to Age Difference

Original	IPA	Borrowed	IPA	Source	Gloss
Mbia	/^{m}bia/	mbeca	/^{m}be sa/	Kiswahili(pesa)	Money
Mũrutani	/morutani/	Mwarimu	/mwarimu/	Kiswahili (mwalimu)	Teacher
Ndũyũ	/^{n}doɲo/	thoko	/ ðɔkɔ/	Kiswahili (soko)	Market

The examples in Table 5 above show that depending on the age of the speaker, 'money' may be referred to as *mbia* or even *mbeca* in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. In the same way, 'teacher' is realized as *mũrutani* or *mwarimu* and 'market' can be represented by *ndũnyũ* or *thoko*. From the study, the younger population accounted for the majority of users of the borrowed words from Kiswahili. The elderly on the other hand, displayed some rigidity in the adoption

of words adopted from other languages in cases where first language equivalents existed. This is pursuant to the fact that language besides being a tool of communication, also doubles up as a marker of social identity. Both the young and the elderly speakers have their own unique personal preferences and thus identify with their social groups as signaled in their use of language.

Gender is also a major factor contributing to variation in language. Men and women tend to use slightly different language styles. According to Lakoff (1995), women's register serve to maintain their perceived inferior role in the society. He further says that gender differences in language reflect a power difference. These gender differences in language use are more pronounced in single gender groups. This is because people accommodate their language towards the style of the person they are interacting with. Therefore, in mixed gender groups, gender differences in language use tend to be less pronounced.

The following table shows some of the words used by different genders in communication.

Table 6: Social Variation Due to Gender Difference

Words used by men	IPA	Words used by women	IPA	Gloss
Nyũkwa	/ɲokwa/	Maitũguo	/maitoɣuɔ/	your father
Mũka	/moka/	Mũtumia wake	/mutumia/	Her husband

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			/wakɛ/	
Babaguo	/fafaɣuɔ/	Thoguo	/ðɔɣuɔ/	Your father
Mũthuriwe	/moðuriwe/	Mũrũme	/moromɛ/	Her husband

Table 6 shows that there are some words that men use that are not commonly used by women. The same case applies to women, who have words that they use when alone with other women but cannot use them in the presence of men. A man will only refer to a woman as *nyũkwa* when talking to a child about his mother but when the mother is there he will refer to her as *maitũguo*. The same case applies to words *mũka* and *mũrũme* used to refer to 'his wife' and 'her husband' respectively. These words are used only when the people being referred to are not around.

2.4 Contextual Variation

Contextual variation is variation within the individual where a speaker varies their language depending on contextual factors such as the formality of the speech situation, the geographical location, word meaning, and sociological characteristics of the participants in the communicative interaction. An individual speaker will vary his speech or choice of words depending on who he is speaking to, that is, whether it is his age mate or an elder or the situation he is in. This is in line with the variationist theory that claims that a speaker will vary his language depending on the context of language use. This is illustrated in the table 7.

Table 7: Contextual Variation among Young People

Forms used with peers	IPA	Forms used with adults	IPA	Gloss
Mũthee	/moðɛ:/	Baba	/fafa/	Father
Mũkũrũ	/mokoro//	Mami	/mami/	Mother

Table 7 above shows that, a young speaker will refer to his father as *baba* in formal situations or when talking to adults, but in informal situations or when speaking with his peers, he will refer to him as *mũthee*. The same case applies when he is referring to his mother. When speaking to adults, he refers to her as *mami*, but in the company of his peers he refers to her as *mũkũrũ*. *Baba* and *mami* is borrowed from Kiswahili *baba* while mami is borrowed from English "Mummy" which is a child's term for mother.

These illustrations further show that the young speakers prefer using borrowed forms due to contact with English and Kiswahili and also for prestige. They tend to have their own form of language so as to enhance their own cultural identity, to invoke feelings of identity and even as a way of excluding others who do not belong to their social groups. This form of language also helps them to identify with each other. They therefore use these forms only when they are alone with their peers but when they are with adults or in formal situations, they adopt a different variant of the same language. According to Hicky (2010), contexts that

vary promote word learning better than contexts that do not vary. Thus, variable contexts and definitions both have the potential value of allowing features of meaning to be understood without dependence on specific contexts.

2.5 Onomasiological variation.

Onomasiological variation, according to Geeraerts (1993), involves the situation that a referent or type of referent may be named by means of various conceptually distinct lexical items regardless of whether these represent conceptually different categories. Onomasiological lexicology goes back to the early 20th century's Wörter and Sachen Movement in Linguistics whose intention was to discover the different expressions existing in one or more languages for a given concept and to explain their etymology and the motivations for their creation (Quadri, 1952). It also served as a methodological background to the great enterprises in linguistic dialectology within the same century. This extremely fruitful line of study lost its vitality under the influence of Modern (Structuralist) Semantics whose view was decidedly semasiological.

Onomasiological studies try to discover the different lexical "pathways" through which a particular concept has been designated by going back to the respective source concepts (Geeraerts, 1993). Variationist sociolinguistics premise of orderly heterogeneity claims that speakers have a continuum of choices to make in their language use. In the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language, there are concepts that are named by different lexical items. The choice of the lexical item to use is

determined by social factors such as age, sex, level of education, and the geographical origin of the speaker. This is as illustrated in the table 8.

Table 8: Onomasiological Variables in the Northern Dialect of Gĩkũyũ Language

Variant 1	IPA	Variant 2	IPA	Meaning
Kahĩĩ	/kahe:/	kamwana	/kamwana/	Boy
Tonya	/tɔɲa/	ingĩra	/iⁿgera/	get in
Hanyũka	/haɲoka/	teng'era	/tɛŋɛra/	Run
Mũtwe	/motwɛ/	Kĩongo	/kiɔⁿgɔ/	Head
Gwĩthamba	/ɣwiðaᵐba/	Kwĩyoga	/kuijɔɣa/	To take a bath
Baara	/fara/	Rora	/rɔra/	Look
Toboka	/tɔfɔka/	Rika	/rika/	Get into (a pool or river)

Table 8 displays examples of variants with the same meaning. For instance, 'boy' can be inferred from the words *kahĩĩ* or *kamwana*. On the other hand, *tonya* or *ingĩra* all mean 'get in'. In addition, both *mũtwe* and *kĩongo* mean 'head'. The choice of the words used by the speakers of the two variants is usually influenced by social factors like age and geographical background of the speakers. For instance, older speakers and others who spent most of their time in the rural areas

used variant 1 with those residing in urban areas, the youth and the educated using variant 2 for their communication. The variations are attributable to cultural and language contact with other languages. For instance, the words *ingĩra* and *kwĩyoga* have been borrowed from Kiswahili words *ingia* and *kuoga* respectively. This is why variant 2 was found to be common among the educated youth since they are the ones that are in contact with Kiswahili language and hence find themselves borrowing. These words indicate that the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language is characterized by onomasiological variation. Other than Onomasiological variation in which different lexical items were found to name the same referent, there is a related kind of variation in which the same lexical item names different referents. This kind of variation is called Semasiological variation and is discussed below.

2.6 Semasiological Variation

Semasiological variation is a type of language variation in which a particular lexical item may be used to name different referents. These is commonly referred to as homonymy. Semasiology is the observation of how expressions or words show variation in given space and time. Semasiological variation involves the situation where a particular lexical item may refer to distinct types of referents (Hicky, 2010). Table 9 shows some of the words in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ that may be used to refer to different referents.

Table 9: Semasiological Variables in the Northern Dialect of Gĩkũyũ Language

Word	IPA	Gloss	
Thũa	/ðoa/	(i)	set (sun)
		(ii)	scratch
Ira	/ira/	(i)	yesterday
		(ii)	demean
		(iii)	darken

The data in Table 9 above shows that the word *ira* may be used to mean 'yesterday'. It may also mean 'demean' besides being used in other contexts to mean 'darken'. All these meanings imply totally distinct concepts. They explain semasiological variation in the Gĩkũyũ language. These meanings did not come about at the same time and space but are instead a result of variation in the use and meaning of words and phrases in different spaces and time. Therefore, it is only the context of the use of a word which informs on the implied meaning. It is only after linking the use of the word *ira* to the context of use that one can understand whether the speaker means yesterday, demeaning or even darkening. The same case applies to the word *thũa* which was found to mean 'set', as in the sunset or 'scratch'. Again, the meaning of this word is derived from the context of use.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the varieties of lexical variation evident in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. This is in line with the first objective of the study which was to identify the types of lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language. It has discussed the geographical variation, which is variation according the geographical location of the speakers. The research found out that speakers of the same language speak differently depending on the geographical location they come from, giving rise to the various dialects of a language.

Social variation has also been discussed. It is variation according to the social factors of age, gender, and level of education. It was noted that those speakers who are educated use a different variety of language from those who are not educated. Male and female speakers of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language were also found to use different terms for the same referent. The older speakers, those who were 60 years and above, were also found to speak differently from the young speakers of between 15 and 25 years. This was found to be due to the conservative nature of the old who were not ready to adopt the new terms introduced into the language by the young speakers through borrowing from other languages such as English and Kiswahili. The young speakers found some words used by the older speakers outdated, and thus used borrowed word from both English and Kiswahili. This is because of the contact they have with these two languages in their social interactions.

The speakers of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language who were between the age of 26 and 59 were found to be conversant with the words used by both the younger and the older speakers. Contextual, onomasiological and semasiological variations were also discussed and examples provided. All these varieties were found to be at the core of the changes in the lexical vocabulary of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ. The next chapter continues with lexical variation specifically focusing on the factors responsible for the variation.

CHAPTER THREE

FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR LEXICAL VARIATION AND CHANGE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the factors responsible for lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. Lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language is the result of a number of factors. This section discusses some of the reasons motivating language variation and change with the passage of time and across generations. The specific areas under study were word loss, borrowing, loan translations, and modernization and schooling. This chapter provides and discusses data of variation and change in names of months, times of the day and night, animals, colour terms, kinship ties and verbs. In addition, the lexical differences between the young and the old speakers were also tackled. Lastly, a conclusion of the entire chapter is presented.

3.2 Word Loss

One of the premises upon which sociolinguistic variation is based is perpetual change of language. The young speakers of any language tend to avoid certain words in their language during certain situations. They feel that those words are out of fashion. They end up replacing them with other alternatives, especially from a prestigious language which they feel is fashionable and those that best match the demands of the new generation. This results in the disappearance of old words and some even become lost completely. This corroborates the variationist sociolinguistic premise that languages changes over time. The premise explains

why a number of words disappear from the usage. For example, the term *maitũ* which is the Gĩkũyũ name for mother is rarely used especially by the young speakers. The young speakers of the dialect tend to use a borrowed term *mami* instead. No young speaker refers to his or her mother as *maitũ* anymore as this term is considered outdated. With time, this word will fall out of use when the old speakers using it pass on.

There are other words that were used in the traditional setting but are no longer in use due to change in culture and lifestyle. Such words are falling out of use and may become extinct as they have been replaced by new terms. Some cultures have been abandoned and so the words used to refer to them are no longer in use. It is only the older speakers of Gĩkũyũ language who can understand them but the young speakers of the language cannot since they no longer exist.

During the interview, the researcher asked the old respondents to name various items that they used in their earlier years that are no longer in use. They were also asked to name the parts of a traditional house. When the young respondents were asked whether they conversant with the words given by the old respondents, they could not tell what those words signified. The researcher classified the words that were seen to be falling out of use into different categories. These include words related to the parts of the house, utensils, dressing and ornaments. These are presented in the table 10.

Table 10: Words Related to Parts of the House

Word	IPA	Gloss
Riigĩ	/ri:ɣe/	Door
Rũrii-inĩ	/rori:ne//	The area after entrance
Kĩrĩrĩ	/kerere/	Girls' sleeping place
Thegi	/ðɛ:ɣi/	A place where the pots were put
Gĩceegũ	/ɣesɛ:ɣo/	A place where rams slept in the house
Kwerũ	/kwɛro/	A place where the goats and sheep slept
Thingira	/ðiⁿgira/	A hut for the man
Mĩhĩrĩgo	/mehereɣɔ/	Boundary made of sticks to separate different sections of the house

Table 10 above shows words that named parts of a traditional house. With the change in the structure of the house, these words fell out of use. The modern house has parts like the kitchen, sitting room, dining room, and bedroom which are known to young speakers by different words such as *riiko*, for kitchen, *metha-inĩ* for sitting room, *gwa kũrĩĩra*, for dining room and *rumu ya toro* for bedroom. Words like *kĩrĩrĩ* and *riigĩ* have been replaced by *ũrĩrĩ* and *mũrango* respectively. These words are slowly getting lost as none of the young speakers uses them.

Table 11presents words related to utensils

Table 11: Words Related to Utensils

Word	IPA	Gloss
Nyũngũ	/ɲoⁿgo/	Earthen pot used to cook all food
Kiuga	/kiuɣa/	Half calabash used for feeding
Kĩnya	/keɲa/	A big calabash for putting porridge, also used to draw water from the river
Kĩihũri	/keihori/	Half calabash for drinking porridge
Gĩĩtirira	/ɣeiterera/	A big half calabash for serving porridge
Kameni	/kameni/	A small half calabash for serving food
Ndigithũ	/ⁿdiɣiðo/	A very big calabash for storing water for domestic use
Mũndũri	/moⁿdori/	A big stick for mashing food
Ndĩrĩ	/ⁿdere/	Mortar
Mũũthĩ	/mo:ðe/	Pestle
Ihiga	/ihiɣa/	A flat stone for grinding grains on
Thĩo	/ðeɔ/	A small stone used to grind grains on the big flat one
Gĩtaarũrũ	/ɣeta:roro/	Winnow

Table 11 above shows words that were used to name the utensils used by the old speakers before the introduction of the modern utensils by the whites. Most of

these utensils have become outdated as new ones are in use. When asked what each of the terms meant, majority of the young speakers could not tell. This is because these utensils are no longer in use. People no longer use *nyungu* for cooking, it has been replaced by *thaburia* borrowed from Kiswahili *sufuria.* People no longer feed in *kiuga*, this has been replaced by *thaani*, borrowed from Kiswahili *sahani. Kinya* and *Kĩihũri* have also been replaced by *mũtũngi* from Kiswahili *mtungi* and *gĩkombe* from Kiswahili *kikombe*. The same case applies to the rest of the words in this table. They have been replaced and are therefore not being used among the young speakers. With their replacement and lack of usage among the younger speakers of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language, these words are slowly getting out of use.

Table 12: Words Relating to Dressing and Ornaments

Word	IPA	Gloss	Replacement	IPA	Gloss
Mũthuru	/moðuru/	A piece of goat's skin used to cover the back side of the woman below the waist	Thikati	/ðikati/	Skirt
Mwengũ	/mwɛ^{n}go/	A piece of skin to cover the front part below the waist	Thikati	/ðikati/	Skirt
Thĩĩtu	/ðe:tu/	tied on one shoulder to cover	Irinda	/iri^{n}da/	Dress

		the whole body over the mwengu and muthuru			
Gĩthii	/ɣeði:/	Goat's skin worn by men	Mũbuto	/mofutɔ/	Trousers
Mũgathĩ	/moɣaðe/	Necklace	_	-	Earrings
Hang'i	/haŋi/	Earring for women	Mindira	/mi^{n}dira/	Earrings
Ndebe	/^{n}dɛfɛ/	Earring for women	Mindira	/mi^{n}dira/	-
Ndogonye	/^{n}dɔɣɔɲɛ/	Rings worn on legs	_	_	-
Ikenye	/ikɛɲɛ/	A round ring worn around the neck	_	_	-
Mũguongo	/moɣuɔ^{n}gɔ/	A kind of a bangle worn on the elbow	_	_	-
Nyori	/ɲɔri/	Earrings for girls	Mindira	/mi^{n}dira/	Earrings

Table 12 shows words that were used by the old speakers to name their clothes and ornaments. These clothes and ornaments are no longer in use and have been replaced by new ones. *Mũthuru, mwengu, thĩĩtu* and *gĩthii* are no longer worn among the Gĩkũyũ people. With the coming of the white man, new clothes were introduced, which replaced the ones that were worn before. Women now wear *thikati,* from English 'skirt'*, mburaũci*, from English 'blouse' and *irinda* from

Kiswahili *rinda*. Men wear *caati* from English 'shirt' and *mũbuuto* which was own innovation.

Among the words used to name ornaments, only *mũgathi* seemed to have been retained and the young speakers could identify with. The rest are either no longer used or have been replaced. *Hang'i* and *ndebe* have been replaced by *mindira* while *ndebe, ndogonye* and *ikenye* are no longer worn. The young speakers could not identify with these words. As observed from the data above, most of the lost words are replaced with borrowed words. This means that borrowing is a factor responsible for lexical change as discussed below.

3.3 Borrowing

Borrowing is one of the outcomes of any language contact situation. It is concerned with the transfer of lexical items from one language to another. These could be nouns, verbs, or even adjectives. These borrowed words become part of the borrowing language and are referred to as loanwords. They are usually nativized to fit in the phonological and morphological system of the borrowing language. In line with the premise of perpetual change of language and orderly heterogeneity, borrowing leads to change in language as new words are introduced into the language as others disappear.

The study established that there was lexical variation as a result of borrowing. According to the premise of use of language for social identity in the variationist sociolinguistics, the social set up of speakers can be deduced from their speech. That is, educated youths prefer to use borrowed forms at the expense of original

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existing ones used by the elderly. When Gĩkũyũ language speakers came into contact with speakers of languages like English and Kiswahili, a lot of borrowing took place. One of the reasons for borrowing was the introduction of new items that were not part of the culture. Gĩkũyũ speakers had to get names for them. These names were borrowed from either English or Kiswahili and then nativised to fit into the phonology of Gĩkũyũ language. Table 13 below presents examples of the words borrowed from Kiswahili and modified to fit into Gĩkũyũ morphology. They have since become part of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language.

Table 13: Words Borrowed from Kiswahili

Word	IPA	Source Word	Gloss
Thaani	/ða:ni/	Sahani	Plate
Thaburia	/ðafuria/	Sufuria	Sufuria
Thaa	/ða:/	Saa	Watch/clock

As presented in Table 13, the change from Kiswahili word *sahani* to *thaani* meaning 'plate' is due to substitution of the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/to the voiced dental fricative /ð/. This is because the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language lacks the voiceless alveolar fricative prompting the nativization to accommodate the new word. The same substitution mechanism was noted in the adaptation of *sufuria* to *thaburia* in which the voiceless alveolar fricative was

replaced by the voiced dental fricative. Lastly, the Kiswahili word *saa* also undergoes nativization to form *thaa* with the voiceless alveolar fricative being substituted by the voiced dental fricative at word initial position. Through this borrowing, the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language acquired new words in its inventory which were not there before the borrowing.

Table 14: Adaptation of Voiceless Velar Stops from Kiswahili into Gĩkũyũ

Name	IPA	Source word	IPA	Gloss
Gĩkombe	/ɣekɔ^{m}bɛ/	Kikombe	/kikɔ^{m}be/	Cup
Gĩciko	/ɣesikɔ/	Kijiko	/kiʝikɔ/	Spoon
Gĩtĩ	/ɣete/	Kiti	/kiti/	Chair
Gĩtanda	/ɣeta^{n}da/	Kitanda	/kita^{n}da/	Bed
Gĩtambaya	/ɣeta^{m}baja/	Kitambaa	/kita^{m}baa/	Cloth
Kĩbũyũ	/kefojo/	Kibuyu	/kibuju/	Can

The data in Table 14 reveals that only *kibuyu* which is realized as *kĩbũyũ* in its adapted form retains the place and manner of articulation of the word initial consonant, voiceless velar stop. On the other hand, *kijiko, kiti, kitanda* and *kitambaa* are fricativised at word initial position in the adaptation of the Kiswahili words into the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language resulting in the voiced velar fricative. The disparity in the adaptation process was because of the fact that in *kĩbũyũ* the initial velar stop is immediately followed by a back vowel after the first consonant in the root of the word. Conversely, *kijiko, kiti, kitanda* and

kitambaa are all followed by front vowels after the initial consonant of their root. From the foregoing, the nativisation of Gĩkũyũ loanwords from Kiswahili followed a systematic phonological and morphological pattern with substitution of sounds that were absent in the Gĩkũyũ language with those closely related.

Table 15: The Adaptation of Other Words from Kiswahili into Gĩkũyũ

Name	IPA	Source word	IPA	Gloss
Riiko	/ri:kɔ/	Jiko	/ɟikɔ/	Cooker
Meetha	/mɛ:ða/	Meza	/mɛza/	Table
Nguo	/ⁿguɔ/	Nguo	/ⁿguɔ/	Clothing
Iraatũ	/ira:to/	Viatu	/viatu/	Shoes
Mũtharaba	/moðarafa/	Msalaba	/msalaba/	Cross
Mbica	/ᵐbisa/	Picha	/pitʃa/	Picture/photograph
Mbirika	/ᵐbirika/	Birika	/birika/	Kettle
Cuka	/suka/	Shuka	/ʃuka/	Sheet
Ibaati	/ifa:ti/	Bati	/bati/	iron sheet
Mũtũngi	/motoⁿgi/	Mtungi	/mtuⁿgi/	Jerican
Kĩrooto	/kerɔ:tɔ/	Ndoto	/ⁿdɔtɔ/	Dream

The data in Table 15 shows that loanword adaptation was systematic as follows: *Bati* changes to *Ibaati* because all voiced stops in Gĩkũyũ are prenasalized therefore the voiced bilabial stop in Gĩkũyũ retains the same place of articulation

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but changes the manner of articulation from a stop /b/to /f/ due to lenition as it is weakened from a stop to a fricative. The Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language lacks the voiceless bilabial plosives which prompted the adaptation of *picha* to *mbica* as the nearest substitutable sound close was the prenasalized bilabial plosive. The palato alveolar fricative is not found in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ hence /ʃ/ is changed to /s/ at word initial position such that *shuka* becomes *cuka.* All these adaptations are guided by systematic patterns from the source language to the borrowing language.

Table 16: Adaptation of Voiced Bilabial Plosives from English into Gĩkũyũ

Name	IPA	Source word	Gloss
Mũrĩngĩti	/more^{n}geti/	Blanket	Blanket
Mbagi	/^{m}ba:ɣi/	Bag	Bag
Mbeceni	/^{m}bɛsɛni/	Basin	Basin
Mbathi	/^{m}baði/	Bus	Bus

Table 16 also reveals that the nativisation of the English words with voiced bilabial plosives at word initial positions was also systematically patterned. It was noted that since the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language's phonetic inventory lacked voiced bilabial plosives but instead had prenasalized stops for the equivalent plosives, all adapted loan words were prenasalized in the process of nativisation into the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. For instance, 'bag' was substituted at word initial position with *mbagi*. 'Bus' was also nativised to *mbathi* and 'basin' was nativised to *mbeceni.*

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Table 17: The Adaptation of Other words from English into Gĩkũyũ

Name	IPA	Source word	Gloss
Ibuku	/ifuku/	Book	Book
Benjũ	/fɛⁿɟu/	Pencil	Pencil
Raba	/rafa/	Rubber	Rubber
Taurũ	/tauro/	Towel	Towel
Ribooti	/rifɔ:ti/	Report	Report
Itaangi	/ita:ⁿgi/	Tank	Tank
Njaagi	/ⁿɟa:gi/	Jug	Jug
Thuuti	/ðu:ti/	Suit	Suit
Kandi	/ka:ⁿdi/	Card	Card
Maacini	/ma:sini/	Machine	Machine
Thukuru	/ðukuru/	School	School

In Table 17 'card' is nativised to *kandi.* This phonological change is motivated by the fact that the Gĩkũyũ language lacks the voiced alveolar stop /d/ as all its voiced stops are prenasalized resulting in /nd/. The voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ in 'pencil' changes to the voiceless bilabial fricative /f/ while the consonant clusters /ns/ which is not found in Gĩkũyũ is changed to the existing prenasalized palato-alveolar affricate /ⁿɟ/. These examples represent items which were nonexistent in Gĩkũyũ and words had to be borrowed from English to name these new items.

There were also items that were in the culture and had names but have since acquired new names borrowed from the languages that Gĩkũyũ came into contact with. The language has henceforth added to borrowed words to its vocabulary. The old speakers tend to use the original names for the items but the young speakers consider the terms outdated and tend to use the borrowed terms.

Table 18: Items that Acquired New Names from Kiswahili in Addition to the Original Names

Original Name	IPA	Borrowed Name	IPA	Source Word	IPA	Gloss
Rũhiũ	/rohio/	Banga	/fa^{n}ga/	Panga	/pa^{n}ga/	Machete
Mũro	/morɔ/	Icembe	/isɛ^{m}bɛ/	Jembe	/ʝe^{m}be/	Jembe
Theci	/ðɛsi/	Huuma	/ho:ma/	Uma	/uma/	folk jembe
Gĩathĩ	/ɣeaðe/	Thoko	/ðɔkɔ/	Soko	/sɔkɔ/	Market
Mũnyaka	/moɲaka/	Mbahati	/^{m}bahati/	Bahati	/bahati/	Luck
Mũthaiga	/moðaiɣa/	Ndawa	/^{n}dawa/	Dawa	/dawa/	Medicine
Rũthanju	/roða^{n}ʝu/	Kiboko	/kifɔkɔ/	Kiboko	/kibɔkɔ/	Cane

The examples in Table 18 show that in spite of there being Gĩkũyũ equivalents describing the different concepts, users borrowed from Kiswahili resulting in synonyms. The users nativised *banga* from Kiswahili *panga* adding to the original word *rũhiu* that is majorly used by the older generation. Through borrowing, the

Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language acquired new lexical items which are used interchangeably among both the old and the young speakers of the language. This variation is therefore motivated by borrowing.

Table 19: Items that Acquired New Names from English in Addition to the Original Names

Original Names	IPA	Borrowed Name	IPA	Source Word
Mwendwa	/mwɛ^{n}dwa/	Ndari	/^{n}dari/	Darling
Mondo	/mɔ^{n}dɔ/	Mbagi	/^{m}baɣi/	Bag
Gĩathĩ	/ɣeaðe/	Marigiti	/mariɣiti/	Market
Ndari	/^{n}dari/	Namba	/na^{m}ba/	Number

Table 19 presents lexical items that were borrowed from English to refer to nouns found in English. For instance, English language brought *ndari* nativised from 'darling.' Therefore, even as the youth prefer the borrowed word, the elderly still use the original word *mwendwa* which was originally used by speakers of Gĩkũyũ but contact with the English resulted in *ndari* from 'darling'. Similarly, *mondo* was used to denote 'bag' but with borrowing, *mbagi* came into use. Lastly, the 'market' was known by the term *gĩathĩ* initially but with the contact between the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language and English, market was nativized to *marigiti* for the same referent. These sets of data indeed point to the fact that some items acquired new names in addition to their original ones as a result of language

contact which led to borrowing of foreign words into the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language.

3.4 Loan Translation

Loan translation is a form of borrowing in which meaning, rather than the lexical item, is borrowed. It is also known as calque. It is a process of translating morphologically complex foreign expressions by means of new combinations of native elements that match the meaning and the structure of the foreign expression and their component parts. In such a translation, a lexical item is translated bit by bit into another language. This makes it easier for the speakers to understand complex borrowed words. This is a process that has also influenced language change because the use of these translations adds to the vocabulary of Gĩkũyũ language. Table 20 shows some of the loan translations in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language.

Table 20: Loan Translations

Word	Translation	IPA
President	Mũtongoria wa bũrũri	/motɔⁿgɔria wa forori/
Deputy president	Mũnini wa mũtongoria wa bũrũri	/monini wa motɔⁿgɔria wa forori/
Chief justice	Mũcirithania munene	/mociriðania monene/
State house	Thingira wa iregi	/ðiⁿgira wa irɛgi/
Master of ceremonies	Mũtabania wa iruga	/motafania wa iruɣa/
Headteacher	Mũrutani munene	/morutani monɛnɛ/
Pope	Baba mũtheru	/fafa moðɛru/

The data in Table 20 shows that apart from nativization as shown in previous examples, there are words that come about as a result of translating meaning of English words. Using the principle of accountability, it was possible to correctly study the linguistic variant by taking other variants into account. The concept of 'Holy Father' in the Pope, which literally means 'clean father', is translated to *Baba mũtheru* which is equivalent to the literal translation. The loanword translation was based on a synonymous reference to the pope. This is represented by the compound noun which refers to the Pope. The loan word could also have been indirectly borrowed from Kiswahili *Baba Mtakatifu*. Similarly, *mũrutani mũnene* in Gĩkũyũ emanates from 'Head teacher' with each of the elements in the compound words being assigned an equivalent in Gĩkũyũ. In both translations however, it is noted that the headword of the compound noun is interchanged with

the last element of the compound noun preceding the headword in the translation in line with the Gĩkũyũ rules of compound word formation.

3.5 Modernization and Schooling

The other factor at the centre of lexical variation and change is modernization as a result of formal schooling, which was found to lead to variation in the usage of certain words. This comes in where variants of some concepts are dictated by the social situations and education status of the speakers. It is based on the premise of heterogeneity. For example the concept of 'your mother' is represented as *nyũkwa* among the elderly speakers context and *mami wanyu* in situations appropriate to the youth who feel that the word *nyũkwa* is outdated. They prefer using *mami wanyu* which is equivalent to Kiswahili *mama yako*. They want to be seen as modern and therefore use borrowed words which to them, are modern for that purpose.

With the coming of formal education among the Gĩkũyũ language speakers, there came new aspects that were not there initially. These includes things like the calendar that influenced the naming of months of the year, the days of the week and other things. The youth who want to be seen as modern tend to use the new words learnt in school to name days and months because they feel that the traditional way of naming the same referents is outdated. This was attributed to formal schooling where the educated youth wanted to feel and look stylish by using borrowed terms from both English and Kiswahili languages. The remaining section presents data on the variation in language use between young and the

elderly speakers of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. The words used by

the young speakers result from formal education and therefore modernization

Table 21: Names of Months

Words Used by the Old	IPA	Words used by Young people	IPA	Gloss
Mũgaa	/moɣa:/	Njanuari	/^{n}ɟanuari/	January
Mũratho	/moraðɔ/	Femburuarĩ	/fɛ^{m}buruare/	February
Kĩhu	/kehu/	Maachi	/ma:tʃĩ/	March
Mũratho wa keeri	/moraðɔ wa kɛ:ri/	Mweri wa ina	/mwɛri wa ena/	April
Mũgira njara	/moɣira ^{n}ɟara/	Mweri wa itano	/mwɛri wa etanɔ/	May
Gathathanwa	/ɣaðaðanwa/	Mweri wa gatandatũ	/mwɛri wa ɣata^{n}dato/	June
Gathano	/ɣaðanɔ/	Mweri wa mũgwanja	/mwɛri wa moɣoa^{n}ɟa/	July
Mworia nyoni	/mwɔria ɲɔni/	Mweri wa ĩnana	/mwɛri wa enana/	August
Mũgaa wa Keri	/moɣa: wa kɛre/	Mweri wa kenda	/mwɛri wa kɛ^{n}da/	September
Kĩhu gĩa Keri	/kihu ɣea kɛri/	Mweri wa ikũmi	/mwɛri wa ikomi/	October
Kanyua hũngũ	/kaɲua ho^{n}go/	Mweri wa ikũmi	/mwɛri wa	November

		na ũmwe	ikomi na omwɛ/	
Gatumu	/ɣatumu/	Ndithemba	/ⁿdiðɛᵐba/	December

The data presented in Table 21 reveals the contrast in the words used to denote months of the year among the speakers of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language differentiated by their age. Young speakers employ loanwords from English and Kiswahili nativised to suit the Gĩkũyũ phonology and morphology to denote different months of the year. For instance, *January* is adapted to *Njanuari* in spite of the original Gĩkũyũ equivalent *Mũgaa*. The same is also replicated for *February* whose nativised equivalent is *Feburuarĩ*. The aged speakers of the language use *Mũratho* to capture the same concept. Furthermore, *December* is referred to as *Gatumu* by the elderly while young people use *Ndithemba* borrowed from English, 'December'. The young speakers feel that the original terms used by the elderly speakers are old fashioned and therefore tend to use the borrowed forms which they consider stylish and modern.

In addition, the names of the months are suggestive of the seasons as used by the elderly. An example is *Mũgaa* which means a time when the sun is hot. It is used to refer to the month of January which is usually hot. The month of August which is normally cold is associated with extreme cases where birds are unable to fly due to the cold. Consequently, it is called *Mworia nyoni*. To add on that, the month of July which is normally full of mist inhibiting visibility is known as *Gathano*. Therefore in line the vernacular principle, the study identified these

forms of the aged as the vernacular form with the loanwords by the youth accounting for the change in language as a result of borrowing.

The preference of loanwords by the youth is attributable to language contact with the loan languages. This is especially because of education which provides exposure to English and Kiswahili languages not only as languages of instruction and mediums of communication but also examinable subjects. The Kenyan government's language policy recognizing English and Kiswahili as official languages also promotes their wide usage among the young people.

Lastly, using loanwords from English and Kiswahili can be attributed to the role languages play as tools of social identity. One possible way for the educated youth to distinguish themselves from other language users is by using borrowed words. The elderly speakers of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language, who are 60 years and above, on the other hand, also identify themselves with original words from their first language. Therefore, insufficient institutionalized exposure to the English and Kiswahili languages, unlike the young speakers accounts for the use of lexical items in Gĩkũyũ by the elderly persons.

The existence of this sharp contrast in language use between the young and the aged speakers inevitably leads to a communication breakdown across the generations. This is the result of the speakers having different lexical items to denote the same concepts. Therefore the main factor responsible for language change is language contact. When young speakers come into contact with English and Kiswahili through formal schooling, they borrow items from the two

languages into Gĩkũyũ language resulting to Lexical variation and change. Table 22 shows variation in the naming of times of day between the young and the old speakers of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language.

Table 22: Times of Day and Night

Words used by the old	IPA	Words used by the young	IPA	Gloss
Riũa rĩkĩratha	/rioa rekeraða/	Thinacara	/ðinasara/	6.00 am
Riũa rĩaratha	/rioa rearaða/	Thaa ĩmwe	/ða: emwɛ/	7.00 am
Ime rĩaitĩka	/imɛ reaiteka/	Thaa igĩrĩ	/ða: iɣere/	8.00 am
Rĩahiũhia ciande	/reahiohia siaⁿdɛ/	Thaa ithatũ	/ða: iðato/	9.00 am
Mĩaraho ya ciũrĩ	/mearahɔ ya siori/	Thaa inya	/ða: iɲa/	10.00 am
Igĩthie rũũi	/iɣeðie ro:e/	Thaa ithano	/ða: iðanɔ/	11.00 am
Mĩaraho	/mearahɔ/	Thaa thita	/ða: ðita/	12.00 noon
Ikiuma rũũi	/ikiuma ro:e/	Thaa mũgwanja	/ða: moɣwaⁿɟa/	1.00 pm

Miarahŭko	/mearahokɔ/	Thaa inyanya	/ða: iɲaɲa/	2.00 pm
Riŭa rĩaikia huho	/rioa reaikia hu:hɔ/	Thaa kenda	/ða: kɛ^{n}da/	3.00 pm
Marŭgia aka	/maro:ɣia aka/	Thaa ikŭmi	/ða: ikomi/	4.00 pm
Makenga arĩĩthi	/make^{n}ga areithi/	Thaa ikŭmi na ĩmwe	/ða: ikomi na emwɛ/	5.00 pm
Ng'ombe igĩkamwo	/ŋɔ^{m}bɛ iɣekamwɔ/	Thinacara hwainĩ	/ðinasara hwaine/	6.00 pm
Mbŭri ikĩingĩra	/^{m}bori ikei^{n}gera/	Thaa imwe cia ŭtukŭ	/ða: emwɛ sia otuko/	7.00 pm
Nyŭngŭ yahagĩrwo	/ɲo^{n}go yahaɣerwɔ/	Thaa igĩrĩ cia ŭtukŭ	/ða: iɣere sia otuko/	8.00 pm
Ciekĩrwo marigŭ na nyeni	/siɛkerwɔ mariɣo na ɲɛni/	Thaa ithatŭ cia ŭtukŭ	/ða: iðato sia otuko/	9.00 pm
Irio ikĩihŭrwo	/irio ikeihorwɔ/	Thaa inya cia ŭtũkŭ	/ða: iɲa sia otuko/	10.00 pm
Andŭ meigĩrĩra	/a^{n}du mɛiɣerera/	Thaa ithano cia	/ða: iðanɔ sia	11.00 pm

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		ũtukũ	otuko/	
Utũkũ gatagati	/otoko ɣataɣate/	Thaa thita cia ũtukũ	/ða: ðita sia otuko/	12.00 pm
Andũ meegarũra	/aⁿdu mɛɣarora/	Thaa mĩgwanja cia ũtukũ	/ða: moɣwaɲɟa sia otuko/	1.00 am
Ikĩrĩa nyoni	/ikiria ɲɔni/	Thaa inyanya cia ũtukũ	/ða: iɲaɲa sia otuko/	2.00 am
Huho njeke	/huhɔ ⁿɟɛkɛ/	Thaa kenda cia ũtukũ	/ða: keⁿda sia otuko/	3.00 am
Nyoni igĩcuracura	/ɲɔni iɣesurasura/	Thaa ikũmi cia kĩroko	/ða: ikomi sia kerɔ:kɔ/	4.00 am
Ruoro rũgĩtema	/ruɔrɔ roɣetɛma/	Thaa ikũmi na ĩmwe cia kĩroko	/ða: ikomi na emwɛ sia kerɔkɔ/	5.00 am

Table 22 presents yet another contrast in the representation of similar concepts between the young and the old. Take the example of 6.00 am, which is denoted by the youth as *thinacara* and *riũa rĩkĩratha* by the old speakers of the language. Another one is 6.00 pm realized as *thinacara hwainĩ* by youthful language users

and *ng'ombe igĩkamwo* by the elderly language users. Comparatively, the older system of marking time links the world activities going on with the time of the day while the young speakers employ a numerical based system like the English and Kiswahili. The older speakers link the rising of the sun *riũa rĩkĩratha* to 6.00 am while the younger speakers use *thinacara*. Six in the evening is referred to as *thinacara hwainĩ* by the young speakers. The same time is linked to the milking of cows in *ngombe ĩgĩkamwo* by the old speakers.

Moreover, *ikiria nyoni* meaning 2.00 am by the aged is linked to the quietness at that time that even the birds are quiet. The later generation use *thaa inyanya cia ũtukũ* meaning two in the night. *Andũ meigĩrĩra* denotes the time people go to sleep at 11.00 pm. Younger speakers on the contrary, use *thaa ithano cia ũtukũ* meaning eleven at night. 1.00 am is linked to the time people turn in their sleep and thus called *andũ meegarũra* while the young prefer *thaa mũgwanja cia ũtukũ.*

The fact that the older speakers associate time with activities taking place at the time shows that there was a programme of doing things. People in the traditional set up went on their daily activities in an orderly manner. That is why they could use the activities taking place at a particular time to tell what time it was. On the other hand, the young speakers use numerical based system to denote time due to formal education. They adopted the English way of denoting.time due to the contact with the language in school. The traditional order of things has also changed with modernization and formal employment. People no longer follow the systematic order of activities since there are people who work even at night. This

has led to the traditional way of naming times of day becoming outdated and thus the young speakers adopting a modern way of doing it.

As much as the lexical reservoir is expanding with the coming of new words to denote the different concepts and things present in the society, users are alienated based on what they use. Pursuant to that, there is a breakdown in the communication process between the young and the old. It logically follows from the fact that sociological factors like identity, education and age might limit style shifting principle as espoused in Wardhaugh (2006). This is because these sociological variables bear a great influence on what someone speaks, where they speak, to whom they speak and how they speak.

Table 23: Words relating to Animals

Elderly people	IPA	Young people	IPA	Gloss
Karwere	/karwɛrɛ/	Wambeti	/waᵐbɛti/	Crab
Ndigiri	/ⁿdiɣiri/	Buda	/fuⁿda/	Donkey
Ndũiga	/ⁿdoiɣa/	Njirabu	/ⁿɟirafu/	Giraffe
Wambũi mĩcoore	/waᵐboi mesɔ:rɛ/	Sembura	/sɛᵐbura/	Zebra
Huria	/huria/	Raino	/rainɔ/	Rhino

Table 23 revealed a similar pattern of borrowing by young speakers as demonstrated in the previous data on days, dates, months. That was corroborated in the entire data except for the crab which is known as *wambeti* among the young people and *karwere* among the elderly speakers. It was observed that the giraffe is nativised to *njirabu* from English among the youth whereas the elderly people use *ndũiga*. The donkey is also borrowed from Kiswahili *punda* with the voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ being replaced by a near equivalent from the Gĩkũyũ phonetic inventory, voiceless labial dental fricative at word initial position. Conversely, the elderly speakers use *ndigiri* to denote the same animal. Furthermore, in spite of there being *huria* among the elderly in reference to the rhinoceros, the young speakers of the Gĩkũyũ language uses *raino* which is borrowed from English 'rhino'.

From the foregoing, it is observable that younger speakers of the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language opt for loanwords in spite of there being original native equivalents which have been largely abandoned to the preserve of the older generation. This is attributable to their contact with the English and Kiswahili languages as they undergo formal schooling. This implies that in the absence of style switching, it is difficult for either generation to effectively communicate with the other due to the difference in the words used. The scenario is ultimately a manifestation of a communication breakdown resulting from formal education.

Table 24: Words Relating to Colour

Words Used by Elderly people	IPA	Words Used by Young people	IPA	Gloss
Gakarakũ	/ɣakarako//	Papũ	/Papo/	Purple
Mũtune	/motu:ne/	Redi	/reⁿdi/	Red
Ngoikoni	/ⁿgɔikɔni/	Yerũ	/jero/	Yellow
Mwerũ	/mwero/	Hwaiti	/hwaiti/	White
Mũirũ	/moiro/	Mburaaki	/ᵐbura:ki/	Black
Mbirũirũ	/ᵐbiroiro/	Mbururu	/ᵐbururu/	Blue
Macungwa	/masuŋgwa/	Orĩnji	/ɔreⁿʃi/	Orange
Nyeni	/ɲeni/	Ngirini	/ⁿgirini/	Green
Kĩbuu/ kĩmũhu	/kefu:/kemohu/	Ngiree	/ⁿg irɛ:/	Grey
Gĩĩtĩri	/ɣe:teri/	Mburaũni	/ᵐburaoni/	Brown

Table 24 is also full of loanwords signifying different colours borrowed from English characterizing the speech of the young speakers of the Northern Dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language. The old speakers on the other hand use original Gĩkũyũ equivalents. Take the colour blue for instance, which was nativized to *mbururu* by

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the young speakers while the elderly used *mbirũirũ*. Similarly, brown is adapted

to *mburaũni* as the aged use *gĩtĩri*. The youthful speakers have *ngirini* for colour

green even as the elderly use *nyeni* for the same. This evidence also points to the

same pattern of borrowing as a result to formal schooling. The young speakers

who have undergone formal schooling tend to borrow terms in their environment.

The words used by the older speakers are also outdated and the young speakers

want to sound and look modern. This results to a breakdown of the

communication process where the language users are unable to understand the

words used by the other party, in this case the young and the old speakers of the

Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. Table 24 shows variation in words denoting

kinship ties.

Table 25: Words Relating to Kinship Ties

Word used by the Elderly	IPA	Words used by Young people	IPA	Gloss
Irigithathi	/iriɣiðaði/	mwana wa mbere	/mwana wa ᵐbere/	first born
Awa	/awa/	Baba/ mũthee	/fafa/, /moðɛː/	Father
Maitũ	/maito/	Mami/mũkũrũ	/mami/, /mokoro/	Mother

Kĩhinganda	/kehiⁿgaⁿda/	mwana wa mũico	/mwana wa moisɔ/	Last born
Mwarĩ wa maitũ	/mware wa maito/	Sisita yakwa	/sisita jakwa/	My sister
Murũ wa maitũ	/moro wa maito/	Burathayakwa	/ᵐburaða jakwa/	My brother
Mugendi wa awa	/moɣeⁿdi wa awa/	Kacini yakwa	/kasini jakwa/	My cousin
Mũriũ	/morio/	Mwanake wakwa	/mwanake wakwa/	My son
Mwarĩ	/mware/	Mũiritu wakwa	/moiretu wakwa/	My daughter
Gukaguo	/ɣukaɣuɔ/	Guka wanyu	/ɣu:ka waɲu/	Your grandfather
Nyũkwa	/ɲokwa/	Mami wanyu	/mami waɲu/	Your mother

As presented in Table 25, there are also variations in names used in the description of kinship ties among the aged and the young persons. One example is *mũriũ* used by the elder people to mean my son. The younger generation use *mwanake wakwa*. In addition, *mwarĩ* is used by elderly to mean my daughter

whereas the youth employ *mũirĩtu wakwa*. The first born is called *mwana wa mbere* by the youth as opposed to *irigithathi* which is used by elders in denoting the same meaning. In all these cases, the young generation seemed to be employing compound nouns to describe persons despite there being single nouns in use. This rules the desire for simplification of existing lexical items possibly pointing to other influences like contact with other languages like English and Kiswahili. This can be illustrated by the use of *kacini yakwa* by young people instead of *mũgendi wa awa* that is employed by the elderly. Formal education has resulted to the variation between the words used by the young and old speakers of Gĩkũyũ language to refer to family members as illustrated in Table 25. For first born and last born, the numerical based system of denoting them is borrowed from English by the young speakers who are educated. The same case applies to *kacini* borrowed from English word 'cousin'. This confirms that education is a factor for lexical variation and change.

Table 26: Variation in Verbs

Words Used by the Elderly	IPA	Words Used by the Young	IPA	Gloss
Kũhutata	/kohutata/	Gũcoka thuutha	/ɣosɔ:ka ðu:ða/	To retreat
Kuumagara	/ku:maɣara/	Gũthiĩ	/ɣoðie/	To leave
Kuumbĩka	/ku:ᵐbĩka/	Gũthika	/ɣoðika/	To bury

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Kwĩhanda	/kwehaⁿda/	Kũrũgama	/koroɣama/	To stand
Kuuna iru	/ku:na iru/	Gũikara thĩ	/ɣoikara ðe/	To sit down
Kunanĩra njũng'wa	/ku:nanera ⁿɟoŋwa/	Kwaria	/kwaria/	To talk
Kũhiũka	/kohioka/	Kũhiũha	/kohioha/	To make haste

Table 26 shows that variation and change between the language of the youth and the old is not only limited to nouns but also encompasses verbs. The use of different words for the same action basing on the age is bound to result in communication breakdown. For example, to retreat is realized as *gucoka thuutha*, which is a nativised fashion of Kiswahili *kurudi nyuma,* by the younger speakers while the elder speakers use *kũhutata*. Moreover, sitting down among the younger speakers is *gũikara thĩ* while the elderly speakers represent it as *kuuna iru*. Lastly, standing among the youth is represented as *kũrũgama* while the aged use *kwĩhanda.* These varied uses are a reflection of the critical role played by language in self-identity. This variation is motivated by the fact that the young speakers who have undergone formal schooling want to be associated with modernity. To them, the words used by the older speakers are old fashioned and they would not want to be associated with such. Modernization and formal schooling have led to this kind of variation in lexical items.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the factors responsible for lexical variation and change. The data analysis was done using descriptive statistics. The Gĩkũyũ language has undergone a lot of changes in terms of the lexical inventory with variation in the use of words among the young and elderly speakers of the Gĩkũyũ language. The chapter identified word loss, borrowing, loan translation, formal education and modernization as reasons behind the variation and change. The meaning of words in some cases has changed across different space and time. There also have been cases of a shift in the use of certain lexical items resulting in the non-use of some words in the inventory of the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language.

It was found out that Gĩkũyũ language has changed through borrowing of lexical items from the languages it came into contact with. The introduction of the foreign culture also brought about new items. The Gĩkũyũ language did not have names for these items, therefore names had to be borrowed from the foreign languages, English and Kiswahili from which the new culture was borrowed. This change in culture brought changes in mode of dressing too, bringing with it new mode of dressing with new names.

The study also further revealed that the borrowed words underwent various nativization processes both phonologically and morphologically. Therefore, the borrowing was seen to be systematic and not haphazard. This chapter has also listed words that are no longer in use since the items they named are no longer in existence. It has been found that most young people do not know the meaning of

such lexical items. Loanword translations also contribute to lexical variation as some foreign words that have no native equivalent are translated word for word.

Next, this chapter presented and analysed data on the numerous variations and changes in the speech of the elderly and the youth. This data illustrates how formal schooling and modernization has contributed to lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. The words under study were categorized as words relating to time of the day and night, words relating to months, colour, animals and verbs. Generally, it was observed that the youth majorly replaced the existing Gĩkũyũ words with loanwords from English and Kiswahili and in some rare cases employed different words but from the Gĩkũyũ language. For instance, the conception of time among the old speakers was linked to the prevailing climate or season while the youth primarily used loanwords. August was referred to as *Mworia nyoni* since the weather is usually so cold that birds cannot fly. The young speakers, on the other hand, use a numerical based system similar to the Kiswahili language by denoting August as *Mweri wa ĩnana.* This variation was attributed to formal schooling and modernization. It was found that the young speakers felt that the words used by the elderly speakers were outdated and old fashioned. They therefore adopted borrowed words which to them were modern and stylish. The following chapter focuses on the consequences of lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONSEQUENCES OF LEXICAL VARIATION AND CHANGE

4.1. Introduction

Chapter three discussed the factors responsible for language variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. The present chapter presents the consequences of language variation and change among language users. The disparities were amplified especially across different age groups. Such heightened differences in language use inevitably result in a breakdown of the communication process (Adler, Rosenfeld & Proctor, 2014). The impacts include communication breakdown, change in the syllable structure, replacement of one word with a phrase, vocabulary expansion and extinction of lexical items.

4.2 Communication Breakdown

The biggest impact of variation and change in any language is communication breakdown between different parties especially in cases where either party is unable to access meaning from the statement of the other. This constitutes noise in the communication channel as it impedes the message from reaching the receiver for decoding and feedback (Adler et al; 2014). The breakdown results from a number of factors discussed herein. Age is one of these factors that inhibit communication among speakers of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. When younger speakers use the words they have borrowed from either English or Kiswahili in their discourse, the older speakers do not understand the discourse

because they use different words for the same referents. For instance, when young speakers talk of *kacini* the older speakers, those not educated, do not know they are talking of 'cousin' because they use the compound term *mũgendi wa awa* to refer to the same referent. This also happens when the older speakers use the original words that the young speakers are not familiar with. It is imperative to note that the Variationist Sociolinguistic assumption that languages change underscores the fact that distinctness is attainable via language choices speakers make. The language of the young speakers is therefore a form of identity for them.

4.3 Change in Syllable Structure

The variation of lexical items which is motivated by both sociological and linguistic factors usually results in the modification of the syllable structure of some words. This phenomena occurs where the varied lexical item differs from the original word in the consonants and vowel orders. However, it is imperative to note that the change in syllable structure adheres to the Gĩkũyũ open syllable structure in which there is no complex onset. For instance, *mbi.ru.i.ru* with a CVCVVCV syllable structure is realized as *mbu.ru.ru* with a CVCVCV syllable structure among the youth. In addition, *ki.mu.hu* with a CVCVCV syllable structure is transformed into *ngi.ree* with a CVCVV syllable structure. It is imperative to note that in all cases of a change in the syllable structure of words as a result of variation, the Gĩkũyũ open syllable structure is retained.

4.4 Replacement of One Word with a Phrase

Based on the principle of speech community in Variationist Sociolinguistics, the observation of elderly and youthful speakers' unmonitored speech revealed stark differences in language use. Lexical variation was observed to lead to the replacement of single words with phrases consisting of more than one word. The preference for phrases where one word equivalents exist in Gĩkũyũ was evident among the young speakers, since they do not identify with the single-word names used by the elderly speakers. The observation paints a stark distinction between the elderly and the youthful Gĩkũyũ language users. The younger speakers were found to use phrases in situations where the elder speakers used single words for the same referents. Table 27 presents examples of such cases where young speakers use phrases to refer to referents with single- word names.

Table 27: Replacement of One Word with a Phrase

Elderly speakers	IPA	Young speakers	IPA	Gloss
Irigithathi	/iriɣiðaði/	Mwana wa mbere	/mwana wa ^{m}bere/	first born
Kĩhinganda	/kehi^{n}ga^{n}da/	Mwana wa mũico	/mwana wa moisɔ/	Last born
Mwarĩ	/mware/	Mũirĩtu wake	/moiretu	His/her

			wake/	daughter
Mũriũ	/morio/	Mwanake wake	/mwanake wake/	His/her son

The data in Table 27 shows how the young speakers replace single words with phrases. The older speakers for example, refer to the first born child as *irigithathi* but the younger speakers prefer *mwana wa mbere* which is a three-word phrase. The same case applies to the last born referred to as *kĩhinganda* by elder speakers while the younger speakers refer to the same referent as *mwana wa mũico*.

4.5 Vocabulary Expansion

Lexical variation and change has expanded the lexical inventory of the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language. This is because new words introduced through borrowing are added to denote concepts, things, people and actions with already existing names. Other than adding new words to existing vocabularies, loan words help in the description of alien concepts for which there can never be Gĩkũyũ equivalents. Consider words like *mũrengeti, ibuku, taurũ,* just to mention a few. These words were not in the Gĩkũyũ inventory before the contact between Gĩkũyũ and English, neither did the referents exist among the Gĩkũyũ speakers. Both the referents and their names came with the coming of the white man who brought with him English language. These words have been incorporated into Gĩkũyũ language and have become part and parcel of Gĩkũyũ vocabulary.

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4.6 Loss of Lexical Items

Variationist sociolinguistic premise of language use is important in understanding why some lexical items are lost. Words that are not used over time are usually lost in the long run. This stems from the fact that languages are alive and the absence of a word in the active lexical repertoire moves it to the fringes after which it is lost. The conscious decision of not using given words because of age has contributed to the disappearance of some words from the vocabulary of the youth who borrow others for replacing these forms. The language of the young speakers is presently devoid of terms like *Mũgaa* for January opting for the borrowed variant *Njanuari.* In addition, the term March originally known to the elderly as *Kĩhu* has since been replaced by *Machi.* If the trend persists into the future, there is no doubt that the original forms that have remained the preserve of the aged will disappear with them. Currently, young people cannot effectively communicate with the aged because of this diference.

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter sought to discuss the consequences of language variation and change in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language. It was established that communication breakdown comes with variation and change in the use of the language. It causes a change in the syllable structure of words as the new words are nativised into the Northern Gĩkũyũ dialect which is open and does not allow onset clusters. Secondly, language variation and change also leads to vocabulary expansion as new words were introduced into the language by youthful speakers.

Moreover, another impact of language variation and change was the replacement of single words with other lexical items consisting of more than one word. This was observed in spite of there being Gĩkũyũ equivalents. New lexical items were also introduced into Gĩkũyũ language through borrowing expanding its lexical inventory. To add on that, some lexical items were also lost. As the youth seek to distinguish their speech from that of their elders, many words are dropped directly impacting on the transaction of any business in speech across generations. This is because the aged hold onto the original words thereby obstructing meaningful conversations.

In conclusion, this chapter demonstrated to a great extent, the fact that as much as languages live over time, there is an element of variation and change in the language inventory. Some of these changes lead to communication breakdown that comes with the variation and change in the use of the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter aims at providing a summary of the study, conclusion and recommendation for further research. To achieve this, the objectives of the study were looked into to find out whether they have been achieved. Each of the objectives was discussed in each of the three chapters after the introductory chapter. The last section of this chapter suggests recommendations for further research.

5.2 Summary and Conclusion

This study investigated lexical variation and change in the in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. The objectives of the study were; to identify the types of lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language, to establish the factors responsible for lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language and to investigate the consequences of lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language.

It was found that there are different types of lexical variation found in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. These include geographical variation, social variation, contextual variation, semasiological variation and onomasiological variation. Geographical variation was found to be responsible for the creation of

the regional dialects of Gĩkũyũ language. It was also observed that a number of social factors were responsible for the social variation and change as exhibited in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language.

Moreover, onomasiological variation which deals with how certain lexical items work in different pathways was also demonstrated. Take the example of the variants of the verb phrase 'get in' denoted by *tonya* and *ingĩra*. *Tonya* is used in communication with the elderly whereas *ingĩra* is switched to by a speaker in the environment of the young speakers.

Semasiological variation in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language was also demonstrated where a certain lexical item was used to represent different referents. For instance *ira* can be used to mean darken, yesterday or even demean depending on the context at hand.

The study also sought to find out which factors are responsible for the lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. It was observed that a number of social factors were responsible for the variation and change as exhibited in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language. The factors range from the age of the speakers, their educational level and gender among others. Speakers of different ages spoke differently and the same applied to speakers of different genders and levels of education. The younger speakers and the educated ones tended to use borrowed terms in the place of the original terms of the Northern

dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. For instance, they would use the word '*mbagi*' for a bag instead of the original term '*mondo*' which would be used by the older speakers who are more conservative.

It was imperative to investigate the consequences of lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. The data presented revealed the extent to which the speech of the young and old was different. This variation was seen to result in communication breakdown between the young and the old speakers of the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language. The breakdown was motivated by the introduction of new words from Kiswahili and English by the young speakers into the Gĩkũyũ language. The motivation for such borrowing was the attainment of a sense of identity among the young speakers who are exposed to other languages because of their education and socialization.

The replacement of original Gĩkũyũ words with loanwords directly changes the language alienating older speakers without exposure to the loan languages. Moreover, the continued use of the borrowed forms by the youth leaves them without knowledge of the original Gĩkũyũ words that were replaced by the loanwords hence obstructing any meaningful communication with the elderly as both parties fail to understand the other's word choices. Other consequences of Lexical variation and change that came out are change in syllable structure, replacement of single words with phrases, vocabulary expansion and word loss.

The researcher provided proof of words which the young and old used across many groupings like names of animals, time of day and night and months of the

year, verbs and words relating to colour. In most cases the variation seemed to originate from the speech of the youth who borrowed many words to replace existing Gĩkũyũ lexical items.

5.3. Recommendations for Further Research

This research attempted to find out the lexical variation and change in the Northern dialect of Gĩkũyũ language within Variationist sociolinguistics. Consequently, the focal point was one dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language. It would be interesting if the study would be conducted in other dialects as they are variations of the same language in order to find out what is happening in other scenarios. This would provide a good dialectical survey of language variation and change in Gĩkũyũ language.

Furthermore, the focus of the present study was at the lexical level in Linguistics. It would be insightful if a study was also conducted to find out how other dimensions like morphology and phonology vary across different sociological situations in the dialect.

Another area of interest would be a comparative study of the dialect under study and another dialect of Gĩkũyũ language. Since the current study only focused on the Northern dialect, a comparative study would be necessary to find out whether the same change happening in the Northern dialect is happening in other dialects too.

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR RESPONDENTS AGED 60 YRS AND ABOVE

My name is Faith Njuguna from the University of Nairobi. I am currently pursuing a degree in Masters of Arts (Linguistics). I would like you to provide some information on the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language for research. I will appreciate if you give me information about your background, education and the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language. The information will be useful for documentation of the language and future studies. The interview will take about 20 minutes.

(i)First of all tell me about yourself; origin, education and work experience.

(ii)Which language do you mostly use for communication at home?

(iii) From your experience, does everyone use it to communicate irrespective of age, gender, education and profession?

(iv) If the answer to (iii) is NO, tell us why you think they do not use the language?

(v) Are there any variations or changes in the use of words in the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language across different ages, gender, education and profession?

(vi) If the answer to (v) is yes, what are some of the variations and changes the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language has undergone and why?

(vii) What are the causes of the variation?

(viii) What are the effects of that variation?

(ix) Please provide me with words that were commonly used before the coming of the white man that are no longer used today in communication.

Thank you for your assistance. I appreciate your time. I would like to give a brief summary of our discussion during the interview. Please be free to notify me any misrepresentation of the information and even additions.

I have gathered sufficient details. It is my sincere hope that you would not mind if I were to contact you in future for any clarification if need be.

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR RESPONDENTS AGED 15 to 25 YEARS.

My name is Faith Njuguna from the University of Nairobi. I am currently

pursuing a Degree in Masters of Arts (Linguistics). I need you to provide some

information on the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language for research. I will

appreciate if you give me information about your background, education and the

Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language. The information will be useful for

documentation of the language and future studies. The interview will take about

20 minutes.

(i) First of all tell me about yourself; origin, education and work experience.

(ii) Which language do you mostly use for communication at home?

(iii) From your experience, does everyone use the same language to communicate

irrespective of age, gender, education and profession?

(iv)If the answer to (iii) is NO, tell us why you think they do not use the

language?

(v) Are there any variations or changes in the use of the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language across different ages, gender, education and profession?

(vi) If the answer to (v) is yes, what are some of the variations and changes the Northern dialect of the Gĩkũyũ language has undergone and why?

(vii) What are the causes of such variations?

(viii)What are the effects of such variation?

(ix)I have a list of words gathered from other interviews. Kindly tell me their meanings.

(ix) Please provide me with words that are commonly used in communication in your language.

Thank you for your assistance. I appreciate your time. I would like to give a brief summary of our discussion during the interview. Please be free to notify me any misrepresentation of the information and even additions.

I feel I have gathered sufficient details. It is my sincerest hope that you would not mind if I were to contact you in future for any clarification if need be.

APPENDIX 3

DATA COLLECTED

WORD	IPA	GLOSS
Gĩathĩ	/ɣeaðe/	market
Ndari	/ⁿdari/	darling
Mwendwa	/mwɛⁿdwa/	darling
Namba	/naᵐba/	number
Ndari	/ⁿdari/	number
Icembe	/isɛᵐbɛ/	jembe
Mũro	/morɔ/	jembe
Theci	/ðɛ:si/	jembe
Mũnyaka	/moɲaka/	luck
Hũũma	/ho:ma/	folk jembe
Mbahati	/ᵐbahati/	luck
Mbia	/ᵐbia/	money
Mũrutani	/morutani/	teacher
Ndũnyũ	/ⁿdoɲo/	market
Nyũkwa	/ɲokwa/	your mother
Mũka	/moka/	his wife
Thoguo	/ðɔɣuɔ/	your father
Mũrũme	/moromɛ/	her husband
Mũthee	/moðɛ:/	father

Mami	/mami/	mother
Baba	/fafa/	father
Thũa	/ðoa/	set (sun)/scratch
Ira	/ira/	yesterday/ demean/ darken
Kahĩĩ	/kahe:/	boy
Tonya	/tɔ:ɲa/	get in
Hanyũka	/haɲoka/	run
Mũtwe	/motwɛ/	head
Gwĩthamba	/ɣweðaᵐba/	to take a bath
Baara	/fa:ra/	look
Toboka	/tɔfɔka/	get in (a pool or river)
Kamwana	/kamwana/	boy
Ingĩra	/iⁿgera/	get in
Teng'era	/tɛŋɛra/	run
Kĩongo	/keɔⁿgɔ/	head
Kwĩyoga	/kwejɔɣa/	to take a bath
Rora	/rɔra/	look
Rika	/rika	get in (a pool or river)/
Riigĩ	/ri:ɣe/	door

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Rurii-inĩ	/rori:ne/	the area after entrance
Kĩrĩrĩ	/kerere/	girls' sleeping place
Thegi	/ðɛ:ɣi/	a place where the pots were put
Gĩceegu	/ɣesɛ:ɣo/	a place where rams slept in the house
Kweru	/kwɛro/	a place where the goats and sheep slept
Thingira	/ði:^{n}gira/	a hut for the man
Mĩhĩrĩgo	/mehereɣɒ/	boundary made of sticks to separate different sections of the house
Nyũngũ	/ɲo^{n}go/	earthen pot used to cook food
Kiuga	/kiuɣa/	half calabash used for feeding
Kĩnya	/keɲa/	a big calabash for putting porridge, also used to draw water from the river
Kĩihuri	/keihori/	half calabash for drinking porridge

Gĩitĩrĩra	/ɣeiterera/	a big half calabash for serving porridge
Kameni	/kamɛni/	a small half calabash for serving food
Ndigithũ	/ⁿdiɣiðo/	a very big calabash for storing water for domestic use
Mũndũri	/moⁿdori/	a big stick for mashing food
Ndĩrĩ	/ⁿdere/	mortar
Mũũthĩ	/mo:ðe/	pestle
Ihiga	/ihiɣa/	a flat stone for grinding grains on
Thĩo	/ðeɔ/	a small stone used to grind grains on the big flat one
Gĩtaaruru	/ɣeta:roro/	winnow
Mũthuru	/moðuru/	a piece of goat's skin used to cover the back side of the woman below the waist.
Mwengũ	/mwɛⁿgo/	a piece of skin to cover the

		front part below the waist
Thĩĩtu	/ðe:tu/	tied on one shoulder to cover the whole body over the mwengu and muthuru
Gĩthii	/ɣeði:/	goat's skin worn by men
Mũgathĩ	/moɣaðe/	necklace
Hang'i	/haŋi/	earring for women
Ndebe	/ⁿdɛfɛ/	earring for women
Ndogonye	/ⁿdɔɣɔɲɛ/	rings worn on legs
Ikenye	/ikɛɲɛ/	a round ring worn around the neck
Mũguongo	/moɣuɔⁿgɔ/	a kind of a bangle worn on the elbow
Nyori	/ɲɔri/	earrings for girls
Thaburia	/ðafuria/	sufuria
Thaa	/ða:/	watch
Thaani	/ða:ni/	plate
Gĩkombe	/ɣekɔᵐbɛ/	cup
Gĩciko	/ɣesikɔ/	spoon

Gĩtĩ	/ɣete/	chair
Gĩtanda	/ɣetaⁿda/	bed
Gĩtambaya	/ɣetaᵐbaja/	headscarf
Kĩbũyŭ	/kefojo/	jerrycan
Riiko	/ri:kɔ/	cooker
Metha	/mɛ:ða/	table
Nguo	/ⁿguɔ/	clothing
Iraatũ	/irɑ:to/	shoes
Mbica	/ᵐbisa/	picture/photograph
Mbirika	/ᵐbirika/	kettle
Cuka	/suka/	bedsheet
Ibaati	/ifa:ti/	iron sheet
Mũtũngi	/motoⁿgi/	jerrrycan
Kĩrooto	/kerɔ:tɔ/	dream
Mũringiti	/moreⁿgeti/	blanket
Mbeceni	/ᵐbɛsɛni/	basin
Mbathi	/ᵐbaði/	bus
Ibuku	/ifuku/	book
Benju	/feⁿɟo/	pencil
Raba	/rafa/	rubber
Taurũ	/tauro/	towel
Ribooti	/rifɔ:ti/	report

Itaangi	/ita:ᵑgi/	tank
Njaagi	/ⁿɟa:ge/	jug
Thuuti	/ðu:ti/	suit
Kandi	/ka:ⁿdi/	card
Maacini	/ma:sini/	machine
Thukuru	/ðukuru/	school
Rũhiũ	/rohio/	machete
Mũro	/morɔ/	jembe
Theci	/ðɛsi/	folk jembe
Ndari	/ⁿdari/	number
Muthaiga	/moðaiɣa/	medicine
Ruthanju	/roðaⁿɟu/	cane
Banga	/faⁿga/	machete
Hũũma	/ho:ma/	folk jembe
Thoko	/ðɔkɔ/	market
Namba	/naᵐba/	number
Ndawa	/ⁿdawa/	medicine
Kĩboko	/kefɔkɔ/	cane
Mwendwa	/mwɛⁿdwa/	darling
Mondo	/mɔⁿdɔ/	bag
Gĩathĩ	/ɣeaðe/	market
Ndari	/ⁿdari/	darling

Mbagi	/ᵐbaɡi/	bag
Marigiti	/mariɣiti/	market
Mũgaa	/moɣa:/	January
Njanuari	/ⁿɟanuari/	January
Mũratho	/moraðɔ/	February
Feburuarĩ	/fɛᵐburuare/	February
Kĩhu	/kehu/	March
Maachi	/ma:tʃi/	March
Mũratho wa keeri	/moraðɔ wa kɛ:ri/	April
Mweri wa ina	/mwɛri wa ena/	April
Mũgiranjara	/moɣiraⁿɟara/	May
Mweri wa ĩtano	/mwɛri wa etanɔ/	May
Gathathanwa	/ɣaðaðanwa/	June
Mweri wa gatandatũ	/mwɛri wa ɣataⁿdato/	June
Gathano	/ɣaðanɔ/	July
Mweri wa mũgwanja	/mwɛri wa moɣoaⁿɟa/	July
Mworia nyoni	/mworia ɲɔni/	August
Mweri wa ĩnana	/mwɛri wa enana/	August
Mugaa wa kerĩ	/muɣɑ: wa kɛre/	September
Mweri wa kenda	/mwɛri wa kɛⁿda/	September
Kĩhu gia kerĩ	/kehu ɣea kɛ:re/	October

Mweri wa ikumi	/mwɛri wa ikomi/	October
Kanyua hũngũ	/kaɲua hoⁿgo/	November
Mweri wa ikũmi na ũmwe	/mwɛri wa ikomi na omwɛ/	November
Gatumu	/ɣatumu/	December
Ndithemba	/ⁿdiðɛᵐba/	December
Riũa rikiratha	/rioa rekeraða/	6.00 am
Thinacara	/ðinasara/	6.00 am
Riũa rĩaratha	/riua rearaða/	7.00 am
Thaa ĩmwe	/ða: emwɛ/	7.00 am
Ime rĩaitĩka	/imɛ reaiteka/	8.00 am
Thaa igĩrĩ	/ða: iɣere/	8.00 am
Riahiũhia ciande	/reahiohia siaⁿdɛ/	9.00 am
Thaa ithatũ	/ða: iðato/	9.00 am
Mĩaraho ya ciũri	/mearahɔ ya siori/	10.00 am
Thaa inya	/ða: iɲa/	10.00 am
Igĩthiĩ rũũĩ	/iɣeðie ro:e/	11.00 am
Thaa ithano	/ða: iðanɔ/	11.00 am
Mĩaraho	/mearahɔ/	12.00 noon
Thaa thita	/ða: ðita/	12.00 noon
Ikiuma rũũĩ	/ikiuma ro: e/	1.00 pm
Thaa mugwanja	/ða: moɣwaⁿɟa/	1.00 pm
Mĩarahũko	/mearahokɔ/	2.00 pm

Thaa inyanya	/ða: iɲaɲa/	2.00 pm
Riũa rĩaikia huho	/rioa reaikia hu:hɔ/	3.00 pm
Thaa kenda	/ða: kɛⁿda/	3.00 pm
Marũgia aka	/maroɣia aka/	4.00 pm
Thaa ikumi	/ða: ikomi/	4.00 pm
Makenga arĩithi	/makɛ:ⁿga areithi/	5.00 pm
Thaa ikũmi na ĩmwe	/ða: ikomi na emwɛ/	5.00 pm
Ng'ombe igĩkamwo	/ŋɔᵐbe iɣekamwɔ/	6.00 pm
Thinacara hwainĩ	/ðinasara hwaine/	6.00 pm
Mbũri ikĩingĩra	/ᵐbori ikeiⁿgera/	7.00 pm
Thaa ĩmwe cia ũtukũ	/ða: emwɛ sia otuko/	7.00 pm
Nyũngũ yahagĩrwo	/ ɲoⁿgo yahaɣerwɔ/	8.00 pm
Thaa igĩrĩ cia ũtukũ	/ða: iɣere sia otuko/	8.00 pm
Ciekĩrwo marigu na nyeni	/siɛkerwɔ mariɣo na ɲɛni/	9.00 pm
Thaa ithatũ cia ũtukũ	/ða: iðato sia otuko/	9.00 pm
Irio ikĩihũrwo	/irio ikeihorwɔ/	10.00 pm
Thaa inya cia ũtukũ	/ða: iɲa sia otuko/	10.00 pm
Andũ meigĩrĩra	/aⁿdo mei:ɣerera/	11.00 pm
Thaa ithano cia ũtukũ	/ða: iðanɔ sia otuko/	11.00 pm
Ũtukũ gatagatĩ	/otuko ɣataɣate/	12.00 pm
Thaa thita cia ũtukũ	/ða: ðita sia otuko/	12.00 pm

Andũ meegarũra	/aⁿdo mɛɣarora/	1.00 am
Thaa mũgwanja cia ũtukũ	/ða: moɣwaⁿɟa sia otuko/	1.00 am
Ikiria nyoni	/ikiria ɲɔni/	2.00 am
Thaa inyanya cia ũtukũ	/ða: iɲaɲa sia otuko/	2.00 am
Huho njeke	/huhɔ ⁿɟɛkɛ/	3.00 am
Thaa kenda cia ũtukũ	/ða: kɛⁿda sia otuko/	3.00 am
Nyoni igĩcuracura	/ɲɒni iɣesurasura/	4.00 am
Thaa ikũmi cia kĩrooko	/ða: ikomi sia kerɔ:kɔ/	4.00 am
Ruoro rugĩtema	/ruɔrɔ roɣetɛma/	5.00 am
Thaa ikumi na ĩmwe kĩroko	/ða: ikomi na emwɛ kerɔ:kɔ/	5.00 am
Karwere	/karwɛrɛ/	crab
Wambeti	/waᵐbɛti/	crab
Ndigiri	/ⁿdiɣiri/	donkey
Buda	/fuda/	donkey
Mũtune	/motunɛ/	red
Rendi	/rɛⁿdi/	red
Ngoikoni	/ⁿgɔikɔni/	yellow
Yerũ	/jɛro/	yellow
Mwerũ	/mwɛro/	white
Hwaiti	/hwaiti/	white
Mbururu	/ᵐbururu/	blue

Macungwa	/masuŋgwa/	orange
Orĩnji	/ɔreⁿɟi/	orange
Nyeni	/ɲɛni/	green
Ngirini	/ⁿgirini/	green
Kĩbuu	/kefu:/	grey
Ngiree	/ⁿgirɛ:/	grey
Irigithathi	/iriɣiðaði/	first born
Mwana wa mbere	/mwana wa ᵐbɛrɛ/	first born
Awa	/awa/	father
Baba	/fafa/	father
Maitu	/maito/	mother
Mami	/mami/	mother
Kĩhinga nda	/kehiⁿgaⁿda/	last born
Mwana wa muico	/mwana wa moisɔ/	last born
Mwarĩ wa maitu	/mware wa maitu/	my sister
Sisita yakwa	/sisita yakwa/	my sister
Mũrũ wa maitũ	/moro wa maito/	my brother
Mburaatha yakwa	/ᵐbura:ða yakwa/	my brother
Mũgeendi wa awa	/moɣɛ:ⁿdi wa awa/	my cousin
Kaacini	/ka:sini/	cousin
Mũriũ	/morio/	son
Mwanake wakwa	/mwanakɛ wakwa/	my son
Mwarĩ	/mware/	my daughter

Mũiritu wakwa	/moiritu wakwa/	my daughter
Gukaguo	/ɣu:kaɣuɔ/	your grandfather
Guka wanyu	/ɣu:ka waɲu/	your grandfather
Nyũkwa	/ɲokwa/	your mother
Mami wanyu	/mami waɲu/	your mother
Kũhutata	/kohutata/	to move backwards
Gũcoka thuutha	/ɣosɔka ðu:ða/	to move backwards
Kuumagara	/ku:maɣara/	to leave
Gũthiĩ	/ɣoðie/	to leave
Kuumbĩka	/ku:ᵐbeka/	to bury
Gũthika	/ɣoðika/	to bury
Kwĩhanda	/kwehaⁿda/	to stand
Kũrũgama	/koroɣama/	to stand
Kuuna iru	/ku:na iru/	to sit down
Guikara thĩ	/ɣoikara ðe/	to sit down
Kunanĩra njung'wa	/ku:nanera ⁿɟoŋwa/	to talk
Kwaria	/kwaria/	to talk
Kũhiũka	/kohioka/	to make haste
Kũhiũha	/kohioha/	to make haste

APPENDIX 4

MAP OF MURANG'A COUNTY