LEXICAL CHANGE: A CASE STUDY OF KISAGALLA LOSING ITS WORDS TO KISWAHILI

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DECLARATION

This is my original work and has never been submitted for examination purposes in the University of Nairobi or any other institution.

Signature…… ……...

Innocent Kyama Michael Date:

This work has been submitted for examination with our approval as the officially assigned supervisors for the candidate:

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Dr. Jane Akinyi Ngala Oduor Date

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ABSTRACT

This study presents a systematic investigation of the lexical change taking place in Kisagalla, through the loss of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili. This was after informal interactions with some native speakers of Kisagalla showed that Kisagalla was abandoning its native words for Kiswahili words in ways that called for an organized study to find out why this was happening. Data was collected from native speakers of Kisagalla who were sampled using the stratified random sampling of willing respondents. The data collection instruments included Individual Language Use and Perception (ILUP) questionnaires for various age groups, interview guides for community opinion leaders and focused group discussions for the organized community groups. The first chapter presents a background to the study, its objectives, methodology, and the conceptual framework to be used for data analysis. Chapter two presents the analyses, findings, and discussions for the first two objectives. Under the first objective of the study, an inventory of two hundred and thirty seven (237) native Kisagalla words that have been lost was compiled as evidence of the lexical change under study. Under the second objective, these words were then grouped into word categories and semantic areas, with a view to identifying the word categories and semantic areas that were most affected by this lexical change. The study found out that nouns (N), and verbs (V) were the most (most precisely, the only) affected word categories, while the most affected semantic areas were those containing words referring to: body parts (semantic area 5), household items (semantic area 9), and socio-cultural vocabulary (semantic area 14). Using the Giles et al. (1977) Model of Language Shift and Language Vitality, the factors responsible for this lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili were identified and classified under three broad clusters; social, demographic, and institutional support factors as shown in chapter three. Chapter four presents a summary of the discussions and some recommendations for further research.

DEDICATION

My dear grandmother, Mary Ndangwa Kilonzo. You taught me the virtues and value of hard work, contentment, and prayer as helplessness.

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Divine enablement and combined human efforts have always blended into the recipe that produces great accomplishments. This thesis is no exception. I would, therefore, like to start by thanking God Almighty for His goodness throughout life and specifically in the writing of this work

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACK	-	Anglican Church of Kenya
ILUP	-	Individual Language Use and Perceptions questionnaire
KNBS	-	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KSG	-	Kisagalla
KSW	-	Kiswahili
SA	-	Strongly agree
A	-	Agree
D	-	Disagree
SD	-	Strongly disagree
St.	-	Saint

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Background to the Study

This study set out to examine the unique and extensive borrowing that is causing a language (specifically lexical) change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. Some of the aspects to be investigated included the linguistic (word categories and semantic areas affected by the language change) and sociolinguistic factors (gender, age and others) responsible for this observed change.

1.1 Lexical change

Generally speaking, languages change, over time. Fromkin and Rodman (1988:297) assert that 'All living languages change with time and that these changes in language are actually changes in the grammars of the speakers of the language.' This is what Lyons (1981:179) calls the '…universality and continuity of the process of language change…' Bloomfield (1965:281) writes that, 'Linguistic change is more rapid than biological change, but probably slower than the changes in other human institutions…'

Language change can occur at the various language levels; phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic or even semantic level. This reality and universality of language change implies that every known living language is continually undergoing certain changes at any given point in time. These changes, be they rapid or slow, are influenced by either language internal factors (factors that have to do with the language itself or within the language itself) such as the need for simplification in pronunciation which often leads to phonological changes in language (for instance the great vowel shift in English) or language external factors, (factors outside the language itself, or factors within the context where the language is used) most important of which is language contact, and the influences of this contact on the languages in question.

When languages come into contact, borrowing takes place between them. Langacker (1972:309) notes that one of the most important sources of linguistic change is borrowing; the adoption by speakers of one language of certain structural traits of another. This is why we have loan words from French and Arabic in Kiswahili, for instance. If a language does not have a term for a given phenomenon or item, then that language may need to borrow a term from another language in its neighborhood that has it for use in the borrowing language. Such borrowing is thus as a result of need by the borrowing language, which sees the possibility of meeting this need by borrowing and adopting the borrowed term from the other language.

According to O'Grady et al. (1997:316), when the speakers of one language frequently interact with the speakers of another language or dialect, as a consequence, extensive borrowing can occur, especially at lexical, and thus phonemic level.

This is expounded on by Bloomfield (1965:467), who writes that repeated borrowing may swamp a language with loanwords. This means that a language can borrow from another so much that its native words are lost and replaced with foreign or loanwords. The borrowing language in this case may finally take on some or most of the features of the lending language. If the interaction of the languages is such that the languages are at different levels, Bloomfield continues to say that the model of the upper language may affect even the grammatical forms of the lower like the syntax and affixes (p.461). In extreme cases, the borrowing language may finally be abandoned as its native speakers adopt the lending language. This leads to eventual language death.

Human inventions through aspects like technology, and science, as well as novel coinages of new words and exploitation of word formation processes like compounding, clipping, and blending also lead to 'lexical additions' (Fromkin and Rodman, 1988: 326).This is mostly in the language within which the invention is

made, so that other languages may have to borrow the specific term from this language, or coin their own term, if so it is possible to. However, the converse of lexical additions, (word loss), can also lead to language change over a considerable period of time (p.312).

Change at the lexical level was the main focus of this study. The study investigated the factors contributing to the lexical change happening in Kisagalla, leading to the loss of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili. Hall, Jr. (1964: 353) writes that of all its parts, the lexicon of a language is the most responsive to changes in the surrounding nonlinguistic culture, and hence the cultural development of a speech community is reflected in the history of its vocabulary. The study also focused on identifying the factors influencing this change.

1.1.1. Kisagalla

Kisagalla is the language of the Sagalla people, who live on the Sagalla hills and also on the lowlands around the hills. This is in Taita Taveta county, Voi sub-county, Voi district, Voi constituency. They are part of the larger Eastern Bantu group including communities like the Akamba, Agikuyu, Mijikenda, and the Ameru. With very little literature available about the Sagalla, this study relied on information from preliminary research and the few sources that could be found to understand the Sagalla and their language.

There has been controversy surrounding the status of Kisagalla as either being a fully-fledged language or a dialect of Kidawida, both spoken in the Kenyan coastal region. Quoting Bravman (1992), Mwasusu (2012:1) writes that the Taita area, comprising of three mountain masses (Dawida, Kasighau, and Sagalla) is the home of 'one cohesive people called the Wadawida.' However, she goes on to cite linguistic evidence to the position that the Dawida and Kasighau people 'share greater linguistic and cultural features…than with some of the Sagalla people.' She says:

> The Sagalla mountain mass, which is adjacent to the Eastern Dawida mountain masses is separated from Dawida by plains. The people speak a language called Kisagalla opposed to the other language of (the) Taita known as Kidawida, which is spoken by the Dawida and Kasighau people.

Mwasusu (2012:1) goes on to quote from Bravman (1992), who writes that Kidawida and Kisagalla are thought to have separate origins and may have converged somewhat on the basis of proximity to the point that they are now roughly sixty percent linguistically related to one another. In her study, Mwasusu does not consider Kisagalla as a dialect of Kidawida.

Going by this, and the fact that there is little literature about Kisagalla, it is apparent that there is more that needs to be resolved before qualifying Kisagalla as a dialect of Kidawida. For the purposes of this study, therefore, Kisagalla will be treated as an independent language.

1.1.2. Kiswahili

According to Mwaliwa (2014), Kiswahili is a Bantu language spoken by both the native speakers (also known as the Waswahili, who live on the East African coast) as well as the non-native speakers spread all over the globe. It is not only spoken but also taught as a subject both within and outside Africa. In Kenya, it is taught as a subject at all levels of the formal (8-4-4) education system, and also used as a national and official language. This factor will be key with regard to the interaction between Kiswahili and Kisagalla, thus contributing to the research problem of this study.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

The fact that languages change over time has been one of concern to linguists. However, there are some changes whose characteristics raise more concerns than others. It is normal that languages, at least to some degree, lose native words, as well as borrow from other languages for various reasons. However, when the loss cannot be accounted for, there is need to pay keener attention to such a (socio) linguistic phenomenon. For instance, a language may borrow without necessarily doing so to meet such need as, say, technological inventions for which it does not have native words. Such a language simply abandons the use of its native words for other words from another language.

This is the case with Kisagalla, which seems to be progressively abandoning the use of native words for Kiswahili equivalents. For instance, the native word for bed *(ulili)* has been abandoned for the Kiswahili equivalent *(kitanda).* Similarly, the term *apesa/ anguo*, used by a man's sisters to refer to his wife (their sister-in-law) has been abandoned for the Kiswahili word, *wifi.*

The fact that Kisagalla is losing its native words to Kiswahili is compounded by the fact that the Sagalla, as a language group, did not feature in the 2009 Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) census report, which listed the language communities in Kenya. Either the speakers themselves do not hold their language with much prestige, and so identified themselves as Taita or Swahili, or they were lumped together with the Taita now that there has been the assumption that they are a dialect of the Taita. This again makes it difficult to establish their population, which would help in predicting the possible fate of Kisagalla in the near and distant future.

The researcher's own interactions with two of the informants before the actual study led to the conclusion that either way, the Sagalla language was either shifting to Kiswahili, or changing in ways that called for systematic investigation.

It was, therefore, necessary to investigate this lexical change and the factors that had led to the observed changes. These issues were summarized in the following research questions:

i) What are the lexical changes taking place in Kisagalla?

ii) Which word categories and semantic areas are most affected by this lexical change?

iii) What factors are responsible for the lexical change in Kisagalla?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study, therefore, were;

i) To find out which native Kisagalla lexical items have been replaced with Kiswahili words.
ii) To identify the word categories and semantic areas that are most affected by this lexical change.
iii) To identify the factors responsible for the lexical change in Kisagalla.

1.4 Research Hypotheses

The study worked with the following three hypotheses;

a) Most native Kisagalla words have been abandoned for Kiswahili words.
b) Content words such as nouns and verbs (word categories) relating to the social life of the Sagalla community (semantic area) are the most affected by the lexical change.
c) Prestige is the most dominant factor responsible for the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili.

1.5 Justification of the Study

Loss of lexical items from a language can cumulatively lead to language shift, or worse enough, language death and extinction. It was, therefore, considered

important to find a way to understanding the factors responsible for this lexical change where Kisagalla was abnormally losing its native words to Kiswahili.

This study, therefore, investigated the factors contributing to the lexical change happening from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. The findings would go a long way into informing both short-term and long-term strategies towards preserving Kisagalla as a language, as well as the identity and culture of its speakers from possible erosion and extinction.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study mainly focused on the lexical change happening from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. Language change is wide, involving changes at the phonological, morphological, syntactic as well as semantic levels. However, since a close look at all these levels would not be possible in this study, attention was only be given to the lexical level of language change, hence lexical change. The study focused on the native Kisagalla lexical items that have been replaced with Kiswahili words, without, for instance, looking at the loan word adaptation processes or semantic changes (broadening or narrowing) that may have taken place.

Perceptions on language often tend to be more subjective than objective. Most linguistic studies often face the challenge of informants lacking the necessary linguistic lenses through which to look at the developments in their language, while those who may still have them, may not be willing to give an objective evaluation of the situation for personal or communal reasons. However, since this was expected, the study was designed in a way that would allow the use of various and well-designed research instruments, so that the data collected for final analysis would have a level of objectivity expected of a study like this.

The researcher, being a non-native speaker of Kisagalla, had to rely on informants, and so missing out on the added advantage of a mother tongue competence a native Kisagalla speaker would have enjoyed. However, his

knowledge of Kiswahili, as well as the assistance of the contact persons (informants), who were native speakers of Kisagalla, helped counter this limitation.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

The interaction between Kisagalla and Kiswahili, which has led to the lexical change focused on in this study, presents a typical case of interactions between different 'ethnolinguistic groups' and the effects that come with that interaction. With regards to this, J. Harwood et al. (1994) writes that;

> Relations between groups do not occur in a vacuum but rather are influenced by a range of sociostructural and situational factors that can fundamentally affect the nature and quality of intergroup contact between speakers of contrasting ethnolinguistic groups. (p. 167).

In view of the above, it was imperative to find a theoretical model that could explain this interaction between Kisagalla and Kiswahili, and one that would also 'provide a framework for explaining the factors' behind this lexical change (Harwood, 1994: 171). The Giles et al. (1977) Model of Language Shift and Language Vitality was used for this study. Quoting Tajfel (1972), Harwood et al.(1994) writes that the 'vitality concept…provides a framework for explaining factors' behind linguistic phenomena such as 'language shift, language attitudes, interethnic communication, and ethnic conflict…'.(p. 171). This concept uses '…three broad dimensions of structural variables (which) were proposed as most likely to influence the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups: these were demographic, institutional support, and status factors.' (p. 168).

Ngure (2012:13), refers to this as a three-cluster factor model in which various factors combine to give more or less minority language vitality. These factor clusters are social factors, demographic factors, and institutional support factors. Sachdev (1995: 43) observes that, according to the Giles et al. (1977) model, an ethnolinguistic group can be classified 'as having low, medium or high

vitality' by looking at the 'group's strengths and weaknesses on the dimensions of institutional support…social status and demographic' factors.

To start with, social factors have to do with the economic, social and symbolic status of the language. According to Ngure (2012:13), when the economic prospects of the speakers of a given language are poor, the pressure to shift to the language whose speakers are better off is high. Similarly, when a language is seen as giving higher social status and more political power, a shift towards that language may occur.

Demographic factors have to do with the numbers, age, gender and geographical distribution of the speakers of a language, while institutional support factors have to do with the use of a language in a wide variety of institutions such as education, mass media, national and local government institutions, etc. Languages used in most of these institutions enjoy greater prestige, and so likely to attract speakers from other languages of relatively lower status.

Since the phenomenon under research is occasioned by, among others, contact between Kisagalla and Kiswahili, this model would be useful in determining the nature and extent of this contact, thus the relevant factors responsible for the lexical change happening thereof.

The model was also considered for this study since it provided the advantage of a systematic classification of the factors responsible for the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili, as opposed to a blanket discussion of these factors. It also provided a basis for assessing the vitality of Kisagalla by looking at the language attitudes and perceptions of the native speakers of Kisagalla, through those who were sampled.

1.8 Literature Review

Language change is studied under the branch of linguistics called Historical and Comparative Linguistics, which, according to Fromkin and Rodman (1988: 314), deals with how languages change, what kinds of changes occur, and why those changes occur. Various linguists have written on language change. Cohen (1970:69) writes that language, along with humanity and its civilizations, is in a continual evolution and this evolution can be from an external point of view and an internal one (p.72).

Langacker, (1972:304) defines language change as the modification through time of a linguistic system and adds that language change over time is studied through the diachronic analysis approach as opposed to the synchronic analysis approach, which focuses on a single linguistic system at one point in time. Of interest for this study in the quotations above was the question of how Kisagalla was getting modified through the lexical change that was leading to loss of its native words. Again, what were the language internal and external factors responsible for this change? The findings of the study would later provide answers to these questions.

Cook (1997:224), asserts that any language from any period of history must conform to the constraints of human language itself, for at least as far back as the time when the human mind took its present shape. This implies that such language must reflect such changes over time, as would themselves reflect changing times in the evolution of human thought and society. By studying the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili, it was expected that insights would be found as to the evolution of thought, lifestyles and general language attitudes and perceptions of the native Kisagalla speakers, reflected in, and by this lexical change.

With regards to language change, Cook (1997:224) says that the reasons for language change (could be, both) from outside the language and from within

it. Reasons for language change from outside the language are what Cohen (1970:125) talks about when he writes that:

> There is no doubt that language, being a social tool, is in close relationship with social states and especially with changes in thought resulting from economic and other transitions; this dependence must be expressed in grammatical systems. Despite differences in locale, certain selective grammaticalizations, which have occurred in the course of known history…have participated in the rising curve of civilization. One is even able to notice the emergence, at different moments, in different degrees, and by different material means, of the parallel changes in the use of grammatical systems, thus proving secondary and distinct characters of realization.

The quotation above implies that language is closely related to the society it is used in. By looking at the language of a given society, one is able to understand the society in question with regards to its development over time, developments which, in themselves, have helped shape the language of that society itself.

An example of the influence of social factors on language change can be seen in the development of pidgins and creoles. This is as a result of language contact. Borrowing across languages in contact is a common linguistic phenomenon. According to Trudgill (2000), 'a pidgin (or pidgin language) is a lingua franca that has no native speakers…and is subject, to simplification, reduction and admixture through the process of pidginization. (p. 165-6), while a creole is 'a pidgin that has acquired native speakers' (p. 170) after undergoing the process of creolization. When two or more languages come into contact, where the speakers of either cannot understand those of the other(s), then a 'minimal language' (pidgin) (Cook, 1997, p. 234) develops. When this minimal language acquires native speakers, a creole is born, which, according to Trudgill (2000), is as a result of the repairing of the reduction that occurred during pidginization. (p. 170).

Bloomfield (1965:467), observes that repeated borrowing may swamp a language with loanwords. If the interaction of the languages is such that the

languages are at different levels, Bloomfield continues to say that the model of the upper language may affect even the grammatical forms of the lower e.g. the syntax, affixes, etc. (p.461). Cohen (1970:109), also comments on this factor by observing that numerous borrowings modify the phonological system of the borrower, often by the addition of a phoneme e.g. the reintroduction of the once lost intervocalic /t/ in French due to borrowing from Latin. Once these borrowings have been made, any irregular forms that may task heavily on memory will undergo what Fromkin and Rodman (1988:325), call 'regularization of exceptional forms to lessen the number of irregular forms to be remembered, hence the theory of the economy of memory.

Before going further, it is good to comment briefly on borrowing, as a factor for language change. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:37), quoted in Croft (2000:200), define borrowing as 'the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained, but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features.'

Languages borrow to add to what Croft (2000:200), calls a 'lingueme pool' of the recipient language. He writes as follows;

> Any linguistic change that is due to contact requires some degree of social contact and bilingualism on the part of at least one speaker of the language in question (in this case Kisagalla)…the contact is the result of some degree of communicative interaction between speakers of the two languages, which requires some minimal knowledge of both languages on the part of the speaker of the original language. If a linguistic change through contact is propagated, what has happened in effect is that a lingueme-anything from a word, an inflection, a phoneme, a grammatical distinction, or a syntactic schema- has been transferred (more accurately replicated) from the lingueme pool of one language to the lingueme pool of the other language. (p. 200-201).

Croft (2000:201), continues to write that the lingueme flow is a function of two factors, associated with innovation and propagation;

> The first factor is the degree of bilingualism of speakers in the two societies; this will determine the amount and direction of lingueme flow. The second factor is particularly important when there is a high degree of bilingualism: will the speakers of the original language shift completely to the acquired language, or will they resist, and to what extent will they resist?

Although the direction of flow of lexical items was already determined at the onset of the study, looking at the lexical items from Kiswahili that were replacing native Kisagalla words would help understand whether or not this flow received any resistance from the native speakers.

Another social reason why languages change is explained in the way children acquire language. Fromkin and Rodman (1988) argue that there is an imperfect learning of adult dialects by children, who later incorporate those imperfect forms in their grammars. The imperfections are as a result of simplification and overgeneralizations of rules from the linguistic input received-with vocabularies showing 'small differences that accumulate over several generations' to cause linguistic change (326).This is what O'Grady et al.(1997:315) seem to assert when they write:

> Children do not begin with an intact grammar of the language being acquired, but rather must construct a grammar on the basis of the available data…In such a situation, it is hardly surprising that differences will arise, even if only subtle ones, from one generation to the next.

O'Grady's assertion was important for this study in that it helped shape a background that kept the researcher sensitive to any underlying factors that would indicate, for instance, a generational gap with regards to language competence as a result of how native Kisagalla speaking parents provided a conducive environment (one with adequate available data) for their children to acquire Kisagalla. The main underlying question here was in what ways the presence of Kiswahili in the Sagalla context could have influenced this environment, and how this was reflected in the language competence, attitudes and perceptions of the youth, as compared to the adult speakers of Kisagalla.

Lyons (1981:290) writes that education, social and political implications through language planning, especially when they discriminate against linguistic or even ethnic minorities can also lead to language change. According Campbell (1998: 287), when these factors are evidenced in 'negative social evaluations of prestige and stigma' they can lead to eventual language change. Through the framework of the model adopted for this study, such factors and their contribution to the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili were evaluated.

1.9 Research Methodology

Data was collected from the Sagalla community, found on the Sagalla hills in Taita Taveta County. The sample was picked with respect to factors such as gender, age, geographical distribution, as well as position and responsibilities that would make one an opinion leader in the community.

Being both a quantitative and qualitative study, stratified random sampling of willing respondents was used. The sample comprised of: younger members of the community from one primary and one secondary school from Mghange and Teri areas, respectively, four(4) elderly people (opinion leaders-one from Kizumanzi, one from Mghange, and two from Teri) and two organized groups (one from Mghange and another from Kizumanzi). With regards to age and gender, younger members of the community (between 10-20 years; 5 for each gender) were sampled from two primary and two secondary schools, respectively. Four (4) people from each gender made up the sample for the elder members (divided into those between 20-35 years and those above 35 years), and were sampled from churches, members of staff of schools and other social places. The total sample, therefore, comprised of sixty (60) respondents, excluding those from the focused group discussions. However, focused group discussions were only be conducted for groups with at least seven (7) people.

The table below shows a summary of the sample distribution.

Table 1: Sample Distribution (number and corresponding percentage)

Sample category	**Number targeted**	**Number reached**
Pupils (primary school)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)
Students (secondary school)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)
Adults (21-35 years bracket)	8 (100%)	5 (62.5%)
Adults (above 35 years)	8 (100%)	8 (100%)
Community opinion leaders	4 (100%)	4 (100%)
Total	**60 (100%)**	**57 (95%)**

From the above table, the fifty seven (57) out of sixty (60) respondents who were reached represent 95% of the whole sample.

Various research instruments including; Individual Language Use and Perception (ILUP) questionnaires for various age groups, interview guides for the community opinion leaders, etc, and focused group discussions were used. A list of native Kisagalla words that have been replaced with Kiswahili equivalents, which had been compiled during the preliminary research, through interactions with the contact persons, was used to initiate focused group discussions. The researcher then probed the respondents more to enrich this list. Audio recording for the interviews and focused group discussion sessions was also done, with prior notice to, and approval from the interviewees.

Once collected, the data was then transcribed (for audio data), organized and then analyzed in line with the theoretical framework adopted for this study, and subject to the objectives of the study.

Samples of the various research tools, as well as transcriptions of the audio data are provided in the list of appendices at the end of this study.

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the various aspects of the research topic as a whole. It gave a background to the study as well as the statement of the problem, research objectives and the theoretical framework used for the study. The chapter also provided a summarized representation of the sample, showing those who had been targeted and those who were finally reached.

CHAPTER 2: LEXICAL ITEMS REPLACED BY KISWAHILI WORDS

2.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the native Kisagalla lexical items that have been replaced by Kiswahili words. This is in line with the first objective of the study, which sought to find out which native Kisagalla lexical items had been replaced with Kiswahili words. To avoid unnecessary repetition, the chapter will also incorporate the second objective of the study, which sought to identify the word categories and semantic areas that were most affected by the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili.

To illustrate this, the lexical items will be presented in tables showing the native Kisagalla word, its Kiswahili replacement, and the corresponding English gloss. Each of the tables will represent a specific word category, say, nouns or verbs, or a specific semantic area, say, animals or religion, in line with objective two of the study. Similarly, the entirety of the tables will be representative of all the native Kisagalla lexical items that have been replaced with Kiswahili words, in line with the first objective of the study, and as collected during this study.

At the end of the chapter, the word categories and semantic areas most affected by this lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili will be identified by comparing the number of lexical items for each word category or semantic area represented.

2.1 Word Categories and Semantic Areas

The second objective of this study was to identify the word categories and semantic areas that are most affected by the lexical change happening from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. Before showing the lists of native Kisagalla lexical items that have been replaced with Kiswahili words, it is important to comment briefly on the concepts of ‘word categories’ and ‘semantic areas’ used in this study. This is because these two concepts will be frequently encountered as analysis of

findings and discussions for the first and second objectives of the study are done simultaneously.

To begin with, the words of a language can be divided broadly into clusters or groups such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and pronouns, among others. It is each of these clusters that we refer to as a 'word category' in this study. By looking at which word categories have been most affected by the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili, comparisons were made for all the word categories represented in the data (lexical items) collected to see which had the most native Kisagalla words lost to Kiswahili words.

Secondly, the classification of the lexical items into semantic areas borrows from Wardhaugh's (2006) assertion that;

> Language itself has its own classes of units: vowels and consonants; nouns and verbs; statements and questions; and so on. People also use language to classify and categorize various aspects of the world in which they live… (These are called) folk taxonomies (p.234).

This study, therefore, used this concept of 'folk taxonomies' in a bid to organize the data (lexical items), and so provide a systematic framework for more focused discussions through a loose system of semantic areas.

A total of fourteen (14) semantic areas were identified after sieving through the primary data collected. Much as the categories according to parts of speech shown under 2.1.15 could still be swallowed up into various and multiple semantic areas such as religion, socio-culture and physical features, they were deliberately isolated for purely discussion purposes for objective (i) as will be shown in section 2.2.

The various semantic areas and word categories are shown below.

2.1.1 Semantic area 1: Animals

The first semantic area had to do with native Kisagalla words which refer to both wild and domestic animals or parts of animal bodies. Being from a mixed farming community, the respondents gave more native words that have been lost to Kiswahili words which refer to domestic animals.

It was interesting to note that a word like ‘ngache’ for ‘ndama’ (calf) has developed a more general meaning, so that it sometimes is used generally to refer to a cow. However, most young people do not use it altogether. They prefer the Kiswahili equivalent for cow i.e. ng’ombe. Another interesting observation was the way the native Kisagalla speakers had abandoned the word ‘nyonyi’ for ‘ndege’ (bird) yet it is a common Bantu word shared with other Bantu communities such as the Kamba (nyonyi), Kikuyu (nyoni) and Luhya (linyonyi).

Again, it was not possible to authoritatively cite the need for economy in pronunciation as a justification for the adoption of shorter Kiswahili words in place of longer native Kisagalla words. This is because, although the Kiswahili word ‘nzi’ (housefly) has replaced the longer Kisagalla word ‘mbughombugho’ (see 5 in the Table 2), the same trend was not replicated for the Kisagalla word ‘kisholosholo’ for ‘kombamwiko’ (cockroach) (see 7 in the Table 2).

The table below shows the lexical items referring to animals and their parts as were collected from the respondents.

Table 2: Lexical items referring to animals

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement and English gloss
1.	Khwaru	Sungura (rabbit)
2.	Ngache	Ndama (calf)
3.	Nyonyi	Ndege (bird)
4.	Chuchu/ koshi	Mbwa (dog)
5.	Mbughombugho	Nzi (housefly)
6.	Mwamlumvi	Kinyonga (chameleon)
7.	Kisholosholo	Kombamwiko (cockroach)
8.	Fuwe	Nyani (monkey)
9.	Mbeya/ mbiya	Panya (rat)
10.	Togho	Kuku/ koo (hen)
11.	Mshushu	Unyoya (feather)
12.	Ngonzi	Kondoo (sheep)
13.	Kumba/ gumba	Samaki (fish)
14.	Ndosi	Mbuzi (goat)
15.	Boi	Paka (cat)
16.	Mbela	Kifaru (rhino)
17.	Jighau	Beberu (he-goat)

2.1.2Semantic area 2: Kinship terms

The use of terms to refer to those that we relate to by blood and marriage collectively make up the kinship system, which, according to Wardhaugh, (2006) is ‘a universal feature of languages, because kinship is so important in social organization.’ (p.229). Wardhaugh goes on to say that ‘…all (kinship systems) make use of such factors as gender, age, generation, blood and marriage in their organization’ (p.229).

The native Kisagalla kinship terms that have been lost to Kiswahili words go as far back as to the third generation (of the grandparents). The table below is a representation of those that were obtained from the respondents.

Table 3: Lexical items referring to Kinship terms

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement / English Gloss
1.	Ake	Babu (grandfather)
2.	Wawa	Nyanya (grandmother)
3.	Mawe/ mao	Mama (mother)
4.	Khaka/mruna aba	Mjomba/ baba mdogo (uncle)
5.	Aba	Baba (father)
6.	Wa-kwetu	Ndugu/dada (brother/ sister)
7.	Mruna mawe	Shangazi/ mama mdogo(aunt)
8.	Wamii	Binamu (cousin)

From the table above, it was interesting to note that the native Kisagalla speakers were not only abandoning individual native words for Kiswahili words, but also the synonyms for these native words. It is expected that in a synonymy relationship, if one word is lost, for whatever reason, its synonym(s) automatically gain usage in its place. However, in (4) above, the synonyms 'khaka' and 'mruna aba' have both been abandoned for the Kiswahili word 'mjomba' (uncle). This observation, therefore, could be used to attract attention to other cases where native Kisagalla words in a synonymy relationship have both been abandoned for a Kiswahili word.

In (6) above, the word 'wa-kwetu', which is not gender-specific, seems to have been abandoned for Kiswahili equivalents which can help distinguish between a male and a female sibling. It was also interesting to note that while the meaning of the word 'wa-kwetu' is limited to the relationship between and among siblings in Kisagalla, this meaning can, and has been broadened in Kiswahili, so

that ‘wa-kwetu’ can be used by people who do not share a blood relationship as long as they share a common identity or origin of some sort.

2.1.3 Semantic area 3: Business/ commerce

Most of the Sagalla settlements are up the Sagalla Mountain mass. Due to the need for basic services, small scale businesses are run there by both the natives and those from other communities living there. Having native words in the area of business indicates that the Sagalla, just like all other traditional African communities, have been an enterprising people over the years. However, these native words have largely been abandoned for their Kiswahili equivalents in normal day to day communication by and among the native Kisagalla speakers. Only three lexical items in this area were reported as shown in the table below.

Table 4: Lexical items referring to Business/ commerce

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement / English Gloss
1.	Milinga/ magome	Pesa (money)
2.	Kinyange/ zoghori	Soko (market)
3.	Mzoghori	Mnunuzi (buyer/ customer)

From the table above, examples (1) and (2) show another case of synonymy relationships where the two words, ‘milinga’ and ‘magome’ as well as ‘kinyange’ and ‘zoghori’ have been abandoned for the Kiswahili words ‘pesa’ (money), and ‘soko’ (market) respectively.

2.1.4 Semantic area 4: Physical features

As earlier said, most of the Sagalla settlements are found up the Sagalla Mountain mass. There has, however, been a rather rapid move to occupy the lowlands (popularly known as nyika) over the years. The lowlands are more conducive for agriculture, especially livestock keeping. The Sagalla area has quite attractive

scenes, especially around Kishamba, where one can get a good view of the Kajire-Mwambiti lowlands as well as the Kasighau hills and Maungu town centre which is on your way to Mombasa.

The table below represents the lexical items obtained under this semantic area.

Table 5: Lexical items referring to physical features

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement / English Gloss
1.	Gulai	Kona (corner)
2.	Mghondi	Mlima (mountain/hill)
3.	Ndiwa	Kisima (well)
4.	Dyara	Ukungu (fog)
5.	Kigemu/ Mwala	Kiwanja (open field)
6.	Mbanga	Pango (cave)
7.	Ilanga	Shimo (hole)
8.	Ngila njachu	Kichochoro (a path)
9.	Ngila mbaa / mtandara	Barabara (road)
10.	Khwalazi	Kaskazini (the North)
11.	Mataghano	Makutano (ya njia) (cross-roads/ junction)
12.	Musutu	Msitu (forest)
13.	Mwetha	Mto (river)

From the table above, while the synonyms ‘kigemu’ and ‘mwala’ in (4) have been abandoned for the Kiswahili word ‘kiwanja’ (open field), the compound words ‘ngila mbaa’ and ‘ngila njachu’ in (8) and (9) respectively, have been abandoned for the Kiswahili words ‘kichochoro’ (path) and ‘barabara’ (road), respectively. This shows that the lexical loss from Kisagalla to Kiswahili has not only affected single-word nouns, but also compound nouns in Kisagalla.

In (12) above, the phonological closeness between the native Kisagalla word, ‘musutu’ and the Kiswahili word for which it has been abandoned, ‘msitu’, could be said to be the reason for the loss of the native Kisagalla word in question.

2.1.5 Semantic area 5: Body parts

Vocabulary on body parts forms what in linguistics is traditionally known as basic or core vocabulary. Other clusters of core vocabulary include those referring to kinship terms, names of seasons, lower numerals (1-9) as well as names of natural and supernatural phenomena. Since putting all the clusters together under the broader semantic area of ‘Basic/ core vocabulary’ would have led to one very long semantic area, each of these clusters of basic or core vocabulary have been looked at separately and may not be arranged in any order in this presentation of primary data.

A general comment with regards to basic or core vocabulary is that when a language starts to lose this, it is always a sign of danger. This is because these vocabulary items form, probably, the oldest and the most native inventory of a community’s lexical items with regards to their culture and general understanding and description of their world. It should concern any keen linguist, therefore, that over twenty (20) native lexical items have been abandoned for Kiswahili words in just one cluster of the overall Kisagalla core vocabulary inventory.

The table below shows native Kisagalla words referring to body parts that have been abandoned and the Kiswahili words that have taken their place.

Table 6: Lexical items referring to body parts

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement / English Gloss
1.	Ngokoro	Goti (knee)
2.	Sisiri	Nywele (hair)
3.	Gafwa	Ndevu (beard)
4.	Lwaka	Sauti (sound)
5.	Chongo/ mabilingo	Kichwa (head)
6.	Ngolo	Moyo (heart)
7.	Bigati	Damu (blood)
8.	Ijegho	Jino (tooth)
9.	Gimbe	Kisigino (heel)
10.	Chala	Kidole (finger)
11.	Kiri	Kisogo (nape of the neck)
12.	Ishimba	Tako (buttocks)
13.	Maele/ nyodo	Matiti (breasts)
14.	Madu	Masikio (ears)
15.	Kifu	Tumbo (stomach)
16.	Idumbu	Shavu (cheek)
17.	Nywala	Kucha (fingernails)
18.	Ndambi	Mapaja (thighs)
19.	Mrongo	Ngozi (skin)
20.	Vikunya	Kope (eyelashes)
21.	Gambili	Uso (face)
22.	Kikoto	Mkono (hand)
23.	Kirendende/ mrui/ kiju	Kivuli (shadow)
24.	Ibala	‘mguu chuma’ (bare footed)
25.	Kipulupulu	Mrembo (a beauty)
26.	Kikotho	Kiganja (palm of the hand)
27.	Ngoringori	Kisugudi (elbow)

From the table above, it was noted with even greater concern what was observed in table 2, that Kisagalla has lost words that can be considered natively Bantu in the sense that they are used by other Bantu communities like the Kamba, Kikuyu, Meru, Kisii and Luhya. For instance, in (14), the word ‘madu’ for ‘ears’ is also found in Ekegusii (amato), Kikamba (matu), Kikikuyu (matu), Kimeru (matu), as

well as Luhya (amatu), while in (13), the word ‘nyodo’ is also found in Kikamba (nondo/ nyondo), Kikikuyu (nyondo) and Kimeru (nyonto). Similarly, in (10), the word ‘chala’ is found in Ekegusii (ekiara), Kikamba (kyaa), and Kikikuyu and Kimeru (kiara) while in (6), ‘ngolo’ can also be found in Kikamba (ngoo), Kikikuyu (ngoro), Ekegusii (enkoro)and Kimeru (nkoro). It would be important to find out the cause of this phenomenon whereby Kisagalla is losing such natively Bantu words for Kiswahili words.

2.1.6 Semantic area 6: Technology

In a technologically fast developing world, every community is confronted with the challenge of coining or borrowing terms to refer to various items and aspects of technology. Whenever a language does not find it easy to coin its own word for whatever item or aspect of technological advancement it wants to name, borrowing becomes the easiest way out. However, if coining is possible, it is expected that the speakers of that given language will find greater pride in identifying that item by their coined term as compared to using a foreign term borrowed from another language. This is, of course, if these speakers attach greater prestige to their language than they do to other languages they are in contact with.

In the case of Kisagalla, the fact that they had coined the onomatopoeic word ‘mwatulituli’ in (1) below, and later abandoned it for the Kiswahili word ‘simu’ (telephone) indicates a shift that could be attributed to greater prestige attached to Kiswahili as compared to Kisagalla by native Kisagalla speakers.

It is also good to note that, although this study did not concern itself with word formation processes in Kisagalla, the recurrence of words that employ reduplication of single syllables or clusters of syllables like (1) and (3) below exemplifies such a word formation process for other words in other semantic areas.

The table below shows the native Kisagalla lexical items that have been lost to Kiswahili under this semantic area.

Table 7: Lexical items in the area of technology

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement / English Gloss
1.	Mwatulituli	Simu (telephone)
2.	Mwachaka	Pikipiki (motor bike)
3.	Mzengezenge	Machela (stretcher)
4.	Mabamba	Mabati (iron sheets)

2.1.7 Semantic area 7: Numerals

Numerals are another cluster of the core vocabulary of a language. Kisagalla does not seem to have lost many native lexical items here, but the few collected were worth considering. It could be argued that the loss of native words referring to numerals that are multiples of ten is because pronouncing them would require more energy and time as opposed to their Kiswahili equivalents. Therefore, one would find it easier and faster (or technically, 'economical') to say 'ishirini' or 'hamsini' than to say 'mirongo miili' or 'mirongo misanu' for 'twenty' and 'fifty' respectively.

The following table shows the lexical items recorded under this semantic area.

Table 8: Lexical items referring to numerals

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement / English Gloss
1.	Ndandatu	Sita (six)
2.	Mfungate	Saba (seven)
3.	Mirongo misanu	Hamsini (fifty)
4.	Mirongo miili	Ishirini (twenty)
5.	Ighana	Mia moja (one hundred)
6.	Mirongo mfungate	Sabini (seventy)

The use of ‘mirongo’ to mark for multiplicity in tens is common in other Bantu languages like Kikamba (miongo), Kikikuyu and Kimeru (mirongo), as well as Ekegusii (emerongo). The word ‘ighana’ (one hundred) which has been abandoned for the Kiswahili word ‘mia moja’ or simply ‘mia’ presents another case of a natively Bantu word that Kisagalla has lost. ‘Ighana’ is ‘Iana’ in Kikamba, ‘igana’ in Kikikuyu and Kimeru and ‘rigana’ in Ekegusii.

2.1.8 Semantic area 8: Religion

As shown in Table 9 below, Christianity is apparently the dominant religion in Sagalla area.

Table 9: Respondents with regards to religion

Category	**Christian**		**Other**	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Youth	19	20	1	0
Adults	6	7	0	0
Total	**25**	**27**	**1**	**0**

From this table, fifty six (56) out of the fifty seven (57) respondents reached i.e. 98.2% of the sample said that they were Christians while only one (1) respondent said they were Muslim, i.e. 1.8% of the population. The native Kisagalla lexical items that have been lost to Kiswahili words have, therefore, much to do with the Christian faith. However, some like ‘mshaiyo’ and ‘charo’ for ‘mpendwa’ (beloved/ loved one) and ‘safari’ (journey) could also bear purely social connotations with reference to interpersonal relationships and a literal journey from one geographical point to another respectively. Similarly, ‘nguma’ (praise/ fame) can also be used outside religious domains when talking about well-known people in society, etc.

The table below shows the lexical items in this semantic area.

Table 10: Lexical items on religion

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement / English Gloss
1.	Tondolo	Malaika (angel)
2.	Kurikha	Kutubu (to repent/confess wrong doing)
3.	Idhumusi	Imani (faith/ belief)
4.	Mkizi	Mwokozi (savior)
5.	Mwaruri	Msaidizi (helper)
6	Mshaiyo	Mpendwa (beloved)
7.	Kaung'a	Dhambi (sin)
8.	Jumwa	Kanisa (church)
9.	Mbazi	Neema (grace)
10.	Matimo	Majaribu (temptations)
11.	Mwakilimbita	Muujiza (miracle)
12.	Matsori	Maandiko (writings/ scriptures)
13.	Kuvoya	Kuomba (to pray)
14.	Kuzumila	Kutukuza(to glorify a deity)
15.	Nguma	Sifa (praise/ fame)
16.	Kutasa	Kuabudu (to worship)
17.	Charo	Safari (journey/ pilgrimage)

2.1.9 Semantic area 9: Household items

Household items are those that people use, especially in the home, for their day to day life. The following table shows native Kisagalla words that have been lost to Kiswahili words in this semantic area.

Table 11: Lexical items referring to household items

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement
1.	Ulili/ walo	Kitanda (bed)
2.	Kighoro/ vua	Bakuli (bowl)
3.	Kifumbi/ Kithagayo	Kiti (chair)
4.	Mboko	Glasi (glass)
5.	Kishori	Kibuyu (gourd)
6.	Gholoshi	Kikombe (cup)
7.	Kikuchu	Mfuko/ kibeti (a purse)
8.	Kikhoto	Sahani (plate)
9.	Mwatu	Mzinga (beehive)
10.	Lushero	Ufagio (broom)
11.	Ndana	Uta (bow)
12.	Kisherere	Chumvi (salt)
13.	Kijulu	Nyumba (house)
14.	Sangu	Mtungi (container)
15.	Njomo	Panga (panga)
16.	Kighera	Kisu (knife)
17.	Kituli	Kinu (mortar)
18.	Lungo	Uteo (sifting/winnowing tray)
19.	Mbande	Kuni (firewood)
20.	Vishi	Mlango (door)
21.	Chugha	Kamba (rope)
22.	Kirughoni	Jikoni (kitchen)

From the table above, examples (1-3) show native Kisagalla words in a synonymy relationship that have both been lost to Kiswahili words.

Looking at the Kiswahili words that have been adopted, for instance in example (3), the semantic specificity of the native Kisagalla word ‘kifumbi’, which referred to the traditional three-legged chair, has been lost together with the

word. Today, the word ‘kiti’ is a general term for a chair, irrespective of the number of legs, and design.

Living in modern times where some more advanced items can be bought from the market could be an explanation why some native words for items such as ulili (the traditional bed) and kishori (gourd) have been lost to Kiswahili words. This concept of modernity will be revisited, though, in chapter three.

2.1.10 Semantic area 10: Food

The table below shows the native Kisagalla words that have been lost to Kiswahili words in the semantic area on food. Not many lexical items were collected under this area, but just like it was observed in other semantic areas, (4) below presents a case where words in a synonymy relationship have both been abandoned for a Kiswahili word. Example (3) also shows, as was observed elsewhere, a natively Bantu word ‘mufu’ that has been lost to Kiswahili. This word is found in other Bantu languages such as Kikikuyu, Kikamba, and Kimeru as ‘mutu.’

Table 12: Lexical items referring to food

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement / English Gloss
1.	Iyole	Kiporo (food left-overs for the day before)
2.	Mufu	Unga (flour)
3.	Mswara	Sima (ugali)
4.	Leu/ posho	Chakula (food)

2.1.11 Semantic area 11: Agriculture

Besides keeping animals, the Sagalla people grow various crops, both on the hills and the surrounding lowlands (nyika). While it is often cold in the hills, and so crops grow slowly, the lowlands are much warmer, thus favoring crop farming. Many people who live on the hills still have pieces of land in the lowlands where

they grow various crops such as maize, greengrams, and beans, among others. Citrus fruits like oranges, passion and lemons are also common on the hills.

The following table shows native Kisagalla words that have been lost, and the Kiswahili words that have replaced them.

Table 13: Lexical items on Agriculture

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement / English Gloss
1.	Mbuwa	Shamba (farm)
2.	Makapu	Malimau (lemons)
3.	Samvi	Ndengu/ pojo (greengrams)
4.	Ndembo	Mgomba (banana plant)
5.	Ithangina	Tikiti maji (watermelon)
6.	Marughu	Ndizi (bananas)
7.	Kichunguri	Kiota (nest)
8.	Manga	Mihogo (cassava)
9.	Mberesemberese	Mchele (rice)
10.	Mavunde	Ndizi mbivu (ripe bananas)
11.	Marugo	Maharagwe (beans)
12.	Mabemba	Mahindi (maize/corn)
13.	Mriringa	Mzizi (root)
14.	Manyasi	Majani (leaves)
15.	Ighunya	Muwa (sugarcane)
16.	Shugu	Mbaazi (peas)

As seen in the table above, example (9) shows a long native Kisagalla word ‘mberesemberese’ having been lost to a shorter Kiswahili word ‘mchele’. Economy in speech can be said to be a contributing factor to this loss, but as observed earlier in Table 1, this cannot be applied as a generalization. Natively Bantu words such as ‘mabemba’ (maize), ‘shugu’ (peas), and ‘manga’ (cassava)

have also been lost. For instance, maize is ‘mbemba’ in Kikamba, ‘mbembe’ in Kikikuyu, and ‘mpempe’ in Kimeru. Similarly, peas is ‘njugu’ in Kikikuyu, and ‘shugu’ and ‘nzuu’ in Kimeru and Kikamba, respectively. The term for cassava is ‘manga’ and ‘mwanga’ in Kikamba and Kikikuyu respectively.

2.1.12 Semantic area 12: Days of the week

Native Kisagalla words referring to the days of the week have also been affected by this lexical change happening from Kisagalla to Kiswahili.
The table below shows the ones that were collected under this semantic area.

Table 14: Lexical items referring to the days of the week

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement / English Gloss
1.	Kuramuka	Jumatatu (Monday)
2.	Kanaa	Alhamisi (Thursday)
3.	Kifulanguo	Jumamosi (Saturday)
4.	Lyajumwa	Jumapili (Sunday)

An interesting observation to make under this table was to do with the figurative use of the terms ‘kuramuka’ for the first day of the week (Monday), and ‘Kifulanguo’ for Saturday. Literally translated, ‘kuramuka’ means ‘to wake up’, symbolic of the start of a new week, just like we wake up to a new day in the morning. Similarly, ‘kifulanguo’ is symbolic of ‘a day for washing clothes’. ‘Kufula’ is the native Kisagalla word for ‘wash’ while ‘nguo’ is a Kiswahili word for ‘clothes’, which the native Kisagalla speakers have adopted in place of their native words ‘marwari/ mrera’ (See Table 15 below).
This also shows a unique way of working out this unusual borrowing from Kiswahili to Kisagalla, where a native Kisagalla word combines with a borrowed Kiswahili word to form a different native Kisagalla word.

2.1.13 Semantic area 13: Clothing

The table below shows native Kisagalla words that have been lost to Kiswahili words under this semantic area as obtained from the respondents.

Table 15: Lexical items referring to clothing

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement / English Gloss
1.	Marwari/ mrera	Nguo/mavazi (clothing/ clothes)
2.	Mkumbu/ mkoa	Mshipi (belt)
3.	Chepeu	Kofia (cap/ hat)
4.	Mvuto	Suruali ndefu (a pair of trousers)

Examples (1 and2) above show cases of synonymy, where both native Kisagalla words have been abandoned for Kiswahili words, while example (4) shows a case where a natively Bantu word has been lost from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. In Kikikuyu, for instance, the word for 'mvuto' (pair of trousers) is 'mubuto', while 'muguto' and 'muvuuto' are used in Kimeru and Kikamba, respectively.

2.1.14 Semantic area 14: Social/ cultural vocabulary

Language is key in not only expressing a people's culture and social life (day to day dealings with each other), but also in preserving this culture and the uniqueness of the community. It is the latter which helps us learn about some already abandoned cultural aspects of a community through the lexical items that survive in the language even long after those cultural practices have been abandoned.

The table below is a representation of the native Kisagalla words that have been lost to Kiswahili in this area. By looking closely at these words, one is able to learn a lot about the culture of the Sagalla in the past. For instance, the words 'kichigho' (traditional circumcision ceremonies) and 'kukhoya' (marry in the traditional way), we learn that the Sagalla, like almost all other African communities, carried out these practices, even before the coming of western

medicine and religion. In fact, it was reported by some of the community opinion leaders that the Sagalla, for instance, used to circumcise both boys and girls. However, with modernity, and the campaign to free the girl child from some oppressive traditional practices like Female Genital Mutilation, this practice has been abandoned. With the coming of Christianity, most people now have their marriages conducted in church, with very few going the traditional way, or at times simply eloping.

Table 16: Lexical items on Social/ cultural vocabulary

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement / English Gloss
1.	Zome	Kikao cha wazee (traditional meeting and resting place for the elders)
2.	Kichigho	Tohara (circumcision)
3.	Kukhoya	Kulipa mahari (to pay dowry)
4.	Via	Pete (ring)
5.	Mkidina	Mwenyeji (host)
6.	Inosi/ dhau	Zawadi (gift/ present)
7.	Kithinga	Mwizi (thief)
8.	Njovi	Pombe (beer)
9.	Mghosi	Mzee (an elderly man)
10.	Lufwijo	Mwiko (cooking stick)
11.	Mwangalanga / makoti	Askari (policeman)
12.	Wakelile	Mjinga (a fool)
13.	Kidhushu	Nguo fupi (a short dress)
14.	Kaila	Mbilikimo (a short person/ dwarf)
15.	Kiteto	Lugha (language)
16.	Voro	Salamu (greetings)
17.	Ngasu	Siri (secrets)
18.	Mang'oni	Mashujaa (heroes/heroines)
19.	Mzuri	Tajiri (a rich person)
20.	Mchorori	Mstari (line)
21.	Chabi	Kizingiti (pillar)

From the table above, examples (6 and 11) show cases where both words in a synonymy relationship have been lost to Kiswahili.

2.1.15 Categories according to parts of speech

As earlier mentioned, the words of a language can be divided broadly into clusters or groups such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and pronouns, among others. Wardhaugh (2006: 234) refers to these clusters or groups to as 'classes of units'. The two tables below (17 and 18) represent word classes or what are traditionally called word categories or parts of speech, rather than semantic areas. The first category (15) represents verbs while the second one (16) represents abstract nouns. Although these could have been swallowed up in other semantic areas, they were deliberately isolated for purely discussion purposes as shown below.

2.2.15 (a): Word category 1: Verbs

Table 17: Lexical items under the category of verbs

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement / English Gloss
1.	Kuhaka	Kucheza (to play)
2.	Kuwaghala	Kujenga (to build)
3.	Kurokocha/ kudyaya	Kushona (to sew/mend)
4.	Kutirira	Kutesa (to trouble/ torture)
5.	Kukharo	Kunyolewa (to shave)
6.	Kutsora	Kuandika (to write)
7.	Kushera	Kufagia (to sweep)
8	Kughora	Kusema (to say something)
9.	Kudea	Kufanya (to do sth)
10.	Kulwana/ kukwita	Kupigana (to fight with each other)
11.	Kufuma	Kutoka (to come from/ get out of)
12.	Kudima	Kuweza (to be able to)
13.	Kujuzila	Kuongezea (to add)
14.	Kuirima	Kufuata (to follow)
15.	Kusigha	Kuacha (to abandon/ leave)
16.	Kutsarusa	Kupoesha (to cool something)
17.	Kughula	Kununua (to buy)
18.	Kuhasiza / kumanzira	Kushikilia (to hold onto)
19.	Kutughusa	Kuchechemea (to limp)
20.	Kuvina	Kucheza (to play)
21.	Kusara	Kugawanya (to divide/ share)
22.	Kusha	Kusaga (to grind)
23.	Kudiwa	Kuwinda (to hunt)
24.	Kugwaka/ Kutungura	Kulala (to sleep)
25.	Kuanyiria	Kulaani (to curse)
26.	Kumara	Kuzunguka (to surround/go round sth)
27.	Kutheo	Kufanya mapenzi (to have intercourse)
28.	Kubwelo	Kufurahia (to be happy)
29.	Kukoja	Kuchoka (to be tired)
30.	Kuvila	Kupaka (to paint/ smear with)
31.	Kuririkanya	Kufikiria (to think)
32.	Kurighita	Kutibu (to treat)
34.	Kuombocholo / kueleso	Kutakasa (to cleanse/ make ritually clean)
35.	Kubula	Kufunika (to seal/ cover something e.g. a container)
36.	Kuvurughira	Kupalilia (to cultivate)
37.	Kujoka	Kupanda (to climb e.g. a hill)
38.	Uka	Amka (wake up)
39.	Kusagalla	Kukaa (to settle/ stay somewhere)

From Table 17 above, the Kiswahili words replacing native Kisagalla words in synonymy relationships in examples (3, 10, 18, 24 and 34) seem to bear generalized meaning, thus leading to the loss of some semantic specificity and uniqueness borne in the lost native Kisagalla words. For instance, the Kiswahili word replacing 'kurokocha' and 'kudyaya' in (3) above does not capture the slight meaning difference between these synonyms, where 'kurokocha' points more to 'patching' and 'kudyaya' is more inclined to 'sewing together, say, a torn seam'. Similarly, the Kiswahili word that has replaced 'kuombocholo' and 'kueleso' in (34) above does not capture the slight semantic difference between the two words, whereby 'kuombocholo' has more to do with 'ritual cleansing', e.g. for warriors after war, or for someone who has committed murder, etc, while 'kueleso' has less to do with the 'ritual' aspect of 'making clean'.

Interesting, again, was example (39) above, which seems related to the name of the community- the Sagalla. Inquiring further, it was found out that this meaning had a lot to tell about the history of the community itself. The term 'kusagalla' is a Giriama term which means 'to sit' or 'to settle.' It is believed that this term, which has finally become the name of the community, was coined by the first natives who settled in the current geographical area known as Sagalla. Having liked the place, they convinced each other to 'sagalla' (Giriama for 'settle') there, finally giving rise to the name of the community.

2.1.15 (b): Word category 2: Abstract nouns

Table 18: Lexical items under Abstract nouns

No.	Kisagalla word	Kiswahili replacement / English Gloss
1.	Uloli	Uzuri (goodness)
2.	Ulachu	Ujanja (cunnigness)
3.	Ushayo	Upendo (love)
4.	Umana	Amani (peace)
5.	Ukongo	Ugonjwa (illness/ sickness)
6.	Ekosereo	Matumaini (hope)
7.	Ngelo	Saa/ wakati (time)
8.	Ikoto	Swali (question)
9.	Mbeo	Baridi (coldness)

Of interest to comment on was example (7) where a single native Kisagalla word had been replaced with two Kiswahili words in a synonymy relationship. In example (9) above where 'mbeo' (coldness), which has been lost to Kiswahili, is a natively Bantu word found in Kikikuyu (heho), Kikamba (mbevo), and Kimeru (mpio).

2.2 Semantic Areas and Word Categories most Affected by the Lexical Change

Having discussed the findings in this chapter broadly with regards to the first and second objectives of the study, it was important to separate these findings, so that an interested reader could tell what exactly was discovered under each objective. Tables 19 and 20 below show the summary of findings for objective (i) and (ii), respectively.

2.2.1 Findings for objective (i): Native Kisagalla words replaced with Kiswahili words

Table 19 shows the summary of findings for objective (i) by highlighting the semantic areas as well as the categories according to parts of speech identified in each semantic area. The sum of words in all the semantic areas and categories according to parts of speech form the inventory of native Kisagalla words that have been lost to Kiswahili through the lexical change taking place from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. This is exactly what objective (i) of the study set out to accomplish.

The table also shows the numbers of words for each semantic area (divided into word categories represented) and the corresponding percentage of words in each semantic area. Through this detailed representation, Table 19, therefore, goes further to provide a basis for discussing objective (ii) of this study, in that, from the figures and percentages, one can easily identify which semantic areas and word categories were most affected by the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili.

Table 19: Native Kisagalla words replaced with Kiswahili words

No.	Semantic area	Word category		% per semantic area
		Nouns	**verbs**	
1.	Animals	18	0	7.59
2.	Kinship terms	9	0	3.80
3.	Business/ commerce	5	0	2.11
4.	Physical features	15	0	6.33
5.	Body parts	31	0	13.08
6.	Technology	4	0	1.69
7.	Numerals	6	0	2.53
8.	Religion	14	3	7.17
9.	Household items	25	0	10.55
10.	Food	5	0	2.11
11.	Agriculture	16	0	6.75
12.	Days of the week	4	0	1.69
13.	Clothing	6	0	2.53
14.	Social/ cultural vocabulary	22	1	9.70
15 (a)	Word category 1: Verbs	0	44	18.57
15(b)	Word category 2: Abstract nouns	9	0	3.80
	TOTAL	**189**	**48**	**100**

The first objective of this study sought to generate an inventory of at least one hundred and fifty (150) native Kisagalla words that have been lost to Kiswahili. However, as seen in the table above, the total inventory of native Kisagalla words that have been lost to Kiswahili included one hundred and eighty nine (189) nouns and forty eight (48) verbs, giving a total of two hundred and thirty seven (237) words (100%). Therefore, of the one hundred and fifty (150) native Kisagalla words that had been initially targeted, eighty seven (87) more words were collected, which represents fifty eight (58%) percent above this initial target.

This was significant in that it revealed that the extent of the loss of native Kisagalla words was way beyond what the researcher had expected. With all these words coming from what the respondents could remember within the limited time of the interviews or filling in of questionnaires, it can only be left to imagination how many more words they would have given had they been given more time. It is most likely that the lexical loss from Kisagalla to Kiswahili is more than one can judge from this data.

2.2.2 Semantic areas and Word categories most affected by the lexical change

The second objective of this study was to identify the word categories and semantic areas that were most affected by the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. To begin with, the table below shows a summary representation of the word categories themselves.

Table 20: Word categories and semantic areas most affected by the lexical change

Word category	**Number collected**	**Percentage (%)**
Nouns	189	79.7
Verbs	48	20.3
Other categories, e.g. adjectives, adverbs, etc.	0	0
Total	237	100

As seen from Table 20 above, with regards to the word categories, all the two hundred and thirty seven lexical items collected fell under two broad word categories, namely, nouns and verbs. It had been hypothesized that content words such as nouns and verbs relating to the social life of the Sagalla community are the most affected. This seems to have been confirmed from the data obtained.

It was interesting to observe that the respondents did not give any lexical items from other word categories such as adjectives, pronouns, prepositions and adverbs. The researcher hypothesizes that this is most likely because most

laymen, when asked to think of words in their language, are most likely to think in terms of names and actions, as opposed to descriptions of entities and actions, or spatio-temporal relations between phenomena in their context. Again, Bantu languages, unlike English, do not have, for instance, as many adverbs and adjectives. In most cases, one adjective or adverb will be used for a variety of nouns or actions, respectively. The hypothesis here is that this limitedness of words in other word categories, and the tendency to have them used in a broad range of contexts in Bantu languages makes it less likely that such will be lost easily, as compared to the nouns and verbs. Further research is, however, recommended to test these hypotheses.

With regards to semantic areas, Table 19 shows that all the semantic areas (1-14) comprised of nouns only, except for semantic areas 8 and 14, which had three (3) and one (1) verbs, respectively. The reason for including these verbs in the count for these two semantic areas was that they were directly related to those semantic areas, unlike the other verbs which could fit into multiple semantic areas, and so, were grouped separately.

It is clear from Table 19 above, that semantic areas numbers five (body parts), nine (household items) and fourteen (social/ cultural vocabulary) were found to be the most affected, recording thirty one (31), twenty five (25), and twenty three (23) lexical items that have been lost to Kiswahili words, respectively. It is good to remember that, since verbs and abstract nouns were not to be treated as semantic areas (see sections 2.1 and 2.1.15.), they were left out in the making of this conclusion.

An attempt to explain why these three semantic areas were the most affected is most likely to be pegged on hypothetical thinking than on any universally held justification. For instance, the case for semantic area (5: Vocabulary on body parts) where Kisagalla has lost many words to Kisagalla may not find easy answers, owing to the fact that these words fall under the core vocabulary domain. It had earlier been mentioned that vocabulary items under the core vocabulary

domain form, probably, the oldest and the most native inventory of a community's lexical items with regards to their culture and general understanding and description of their world. Therefore, any justification for their loss would call for a systematic investigation, which was outside the scope of this study.

However, for semantic area number nine (household items) one could cite technological developments as having led to the replacement of most traditional household items with modern ones, while for semantic area number fourteen (social/ cultural vocabulary), cultural erosion and other social developments culminating into the present day post-modern society could be possible explanations for the loss of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter focused on presenting and analyzing data with regards to the first and second objectives of this study.

From the analysis above, it was confirmed that a lexical change is actually taking place from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. This is in line with the first objective which aimed at generating an inventory of native Kisagalla words that have been lost to Kiswahili. Initially, the target was at least one hundred and fifty (150) lexical items. However, this was exceeded by eighty seven (87) words, giving a final count of two hundred and thirty seven (237) lexical items. This was an indicator that the extent of lexical loss from Kisagalla to Kiswahili could actually be greater than this data revealed.

In the second objective, which sought to identify the grammatical categories and semantic areas that are most affected by the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili, the hypothesis that content words such as nouns and verbs were the most affected by the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili was confirmed. Analysis showed that nouns (79.7%) and verbs (20.3%), respectively, were the most affected by this lexical change. These were the only broad word categories under which all the collected lexical items fell. Both nouns and verbs are part of the content words, as opposed to articles and prepositions, which are part of grammatical words in language. The respondents did not give any other lexical items falling under other word categories such as adjectives and adverbs.
Similarly, semantic areas number five (body parts), nine (household items) and fourteen (social/ cultural vocabulary) were found to be the most affected, recording thirty one (31), twenty five (25), and twenty three (23) lexical items that have been lost to Kiswahili words, respectively. Since broadly, these semantic areas largely relate to the social life of the Sagalla community, the hypothesis that it was such words relating to the social life of the community under study that were most affected by the lexical loss from Kisagalla to Kiswahili, was also confirmed.

In this chapter, it was also observed that Kisagalla has not only lost single-noun words, but also compound nouns, as seen in Table 5. Again, instead of losing one word and retaining another in a synonymy relationship with the one lost, both words in such a relationship were also found to have been lost to Kiswahili in several cases. In other cases, Kisagalla, a Bantu language, was found to be losing words that are considered as natively Bantu, in the sense that these words are also found in other Bantu languages as shown in Tables 2, 6, and 12, among other tables.

CHAPTER 3: CAUSES OF THE LEXICAL CHANGE

3.0 Introduction

As noted in section 1.1., change at the lexical level is just part of the changes that are constantly happening in languages world over. This chapter focuses on the third objective of the study, which was to identify the factors responsible for the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. Using the conceptual framework adopted for this study, i.e. Giles et al. (1977) Model of Language Shift and Language Vitality, these factors were classified into three; social factors, demographic factors, and institutional support factors. (For details, see section 1.7).

3.1 Respondents' Biodata

Respondents' biodata is important in identifying and classifying respondents' characteristics. Such classification of characteristics is useful in comparing and contrasting responses between and/ or among different groups of respondents. This in turn helps the researcher to draw conclusions and relevant generalizations about the community based on correlations between the various groups of respondents.

The tables below provide more detailed characteristics of, and the responses from the sample, which was represented in Table 1. The sample characteristics (biodata) given here were useful in drawing conclusions and commenting on the factors contributing to the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili, as well as the level of vitality of Kisagalla, as provided for in the theoretical framework adopted for this study.

Details from the analysis of the respondents' biodata and their responses to various questions in the Individual Language Use and Perception (ILUP) questionnaires will later be incorporated under various sections. Only gender is discussed separately here.

3.2.1 Gender

It is socio-culturally possible to look at gender as representing, more than one's biological make up, a measure of the degrees of masculinity and femininity (Downes 1998, Labov 2001). However, in this study, the differentiation of the sample on gender lines approaches the notion of gender as simply being a biological issue, thus the division of respondents into males and females.

Gender, whether looked at from a biological or socio-cultural perspective, is key to understanding the way the different genders (male versus female, or masculine versus feminine, respectively) view whatever a study is focusing on. With regards to the relationship between language and sex (his variant for gender), Trudgill (2000: 61) observes that;

> The division of the human race into male and female is so fundamental and obvious that we take it for granted….it is hardly surprising that it is also reflected and indicated in all human languages.

Trudgill (2000: 64) further continues to say that;

> It is known from linguistic research that in many societies the speech of men and women differs in all sorts of ways. In some cases, indeed, the differences may be quite large, overtly noted, and perhaps even actively taught to young children.

In the case of the lexical loss from Kisagalla to Kiswahili, dividing the sample into male and female respondents was intended to show the differences in language choice and use, between the male and female native speakers of Kisagalla. It would also help to reveal any underlying attitudes and perceptions in each gender, which could guide analysis as to which gender was contributing to this lexical change more than the other. This is in view of the assertion by Downes (1998: 203) that people are socialized into gender characteristics, and that these different characteristics are reflected in the way each gender uses language.

The table below shows the gender distribution of the sample, both for the total targeted sample and those who were finally reached.

Table 21: Sample distribution with regards to gender

Sample category	Gender		
	Total targeted (male and female	Total reached	
		Male	Female
Pupils	20 (100%)	10 (50%)	10 (50%)
Students	20 (100%)	10 (50%)	10 (50%)
Adults (21-35years)	8 (100%)	2 (25%)	3 (37.5%)
Adults (over 35 years)	8 (100%)	4 (50%)	4 (50%)
Opinion leaders	4 (100%)	4 (100%)	0 (-)

As shown in the table above, 100% of the targeted youth respondents (pupils and students) as well as the adult respondents over 35 years were reached. Only 62.5% of those in the 21-35 years bracket were reached. There was a challenge getting, especially, male respondents in this bracket since most of them were either out of the community working, or majority of those who remained would be found drunk and unwilling to provide information without some financial incentives.

Comparing gender between those reached among the youth (students and pupils) and adults (those between 21-35 years and those above 35 years, not counting the opinion leaders), the representation was as follows.

Table 22: Gender distribution- youth versus adult respondents

Category	**Gender**	
	Male	**Female**
Youth (students and pupils)	20	20
Adults (21 and above, minus opinion leaders)	6	7
Total	**26**	**27**

The totals for all males and all females, respectively, were useful in comparing and contrasting responses to selected questions with gender as the variable. This helped draw generalizations and conclusions about the community with regards to the tallies registered for each gender in these selected questions.

3.2 Responses to Various items in the Individual Language use and Perception (ILUP) questionnaires

3.3.1. Language choice and use in various communication instances

Before going to the factors themselves, it will be important to present and discuss a few observations about the language use trends of the respondents reached. Using the ILUP questionnaires for youth and adults, a table was provided where respondents answered a number of questions regarding their language choices for use in various communication instances. The findings from the various categories of the sample are presented in the tables below.

Table 23: Language choice and use in various communication instances for youth

Instance	Male youth				Female youth			
	KSG	**KSW**	**Mixture of KSW and KSG**	**Total**	**KSG**	**KSW**	**Mixture of KSW and KSG**	**Total**
When speaking to my parents	7	4	9	**20**	5	5	10	**20**
My parents are speaking to me	14	-	6	**20**	6	3	11	**20**
When my parents are speaking to each other	14	2	4	**20**	13	2	5	**20**
When speaking to my grandparents	13	2	5	**20**	17	-	3	**20**
When my grandparents are speaking to me	18	1	1	**20**	16	2	2	**20**
When speaking to my religious leader	-	20	-	**20**	-	19	1	**20**
When my religious leader is speaking to me	-	19	1	**20**	-	18	2	**20**
When speaking to adult neighbors	7	8	5	**20**	11	1	8	**20**
When my adult neighbors are speaking to me	9	6	5	**20**	6	11	3	**20**
When speaking to my age-mates and friends	2	13	5	**20**	-	11	9	**20**
My age-mates and friends are speaking to me	2	10	8	**20**	-	15	5	**20**
When in class	-	18	2	**20**	1	15	4	**20**
When out of class	3	12	5	**20**	2	12	6	**20**
When talking to my teachers in school	-	20	-	**20**	-	18	2	**20**
When talking to my teachers outside school	-	15	5	**20**	3	15	2	**20**
When my teachers are talking to me in school	1	19	-	**20**	-	19	1	**20**
My teachers are talking to me outside school	1	17	2	**20**	4	11	5	**20**

As seen from the table above, Kiswahili is in use in the homes and religion. It is worth noting the cases where Kiswahili or a mixture of Kiswahili and Kisagalla are used in contexts where Kisagalla is expected to be dominant. For instance, while twenty (20) i.e., 50% of the youth respondents admitted to their parents using either Kiswahili or a mixture of Kiswahili and Kisagalla when addressing them, twenty eight (28) of them, i.e., 70% admitted to using Kiswahili or a mixture of Kiswahili and Kisagalla when addressing their parents. However, it was the female youth respondents who registered higher percentages for using Kiswahili or a mixture of Kiswahili and Kisagalla when speaking to their parents, as well as having their parents use Kiswahili or a mixture of Kiswahili and Kisagalla when speaking to them, as compared to their male counterparts.

Similarly, it is worth noting that thirty eight (38) of these respondents, i.e. 95% use Kiswahili or a mixture of Kiswahili and Kisagalla when speaking with their age-mates. Again, twenty two (22) of the youth respondents i.e. 55% use Kiswahili or a mixture of Kiswahili and Kisagalla when speaking to their adult neighbors, while twenty five (25) i.e., 62.5% admitted that their adult neighbors used either Kiswahili or a mixture of Kiswahili and Kisagalla when addressing them. From this, it was evident that the presence of Kiswahili in the Sagalla context, with regards to the language of the youth, was quite significant.

The next table shows the language choice and use in various communication instances for adults.

Table 24: Language choice and use in various communication instances for adults

Instance	Male adults				Female adults			
	KSG	**KSW**	**Mixture of KSG and KSW**	**Total**	**KSG**	**KSW**	**Mixture of KSG and KSW**	**Total**
When speaking to my spouse	2	2	2	**6**	2	2	3	**7**
When speaking to my children	2	3	1	**6**	2	2	3	**7**
When my children are speaking to me	2	3	1	**6**	2	3	2	**7**
When my children are speaking to each other	1	4	1	**6**	1	4	2	**7**
When speaking to my parents	5	1	-	**6**	7	-	-	**7**
When my parents are speaking to me	5	1	-	**6**	7	-	-	**7**
When speaking to my religious leader	1	4	1	**6**	1	5	1	**7**
When my religious leader is speaking to me	1	2	3	**6**	1	4	2	**7**
When speaking to adult neighbors	5	-	1	**6**	7	-	-	**7**
When my adult neighbors are speaking to me	5	-	1	**6**	7	-	-	**7**
When speaking to my age-mates and friends	1	-	5	**6**	1	2	4	**7**
When my age-mates and friends are speaking to me	1	-	5	**6**	1	2	4	**7**
At work	-	-	6	**6**	2	5	-	**7**
For my general interactions	1	1	4	**6**	2	1	4	**7**

The fact that Kiswahili has invaded the context of the home was also evidenced in that nine (9) of the adult respondents, i.e. 69.2%, used Kiswahili or a mixture of Kiswahili and Kisagalla when addressing their children or the vice versa, when

their children are talking to them. Eleven (11) of the adult respondents, i.e. 84.6%, reported that their children used Kiswahili or a mixture of Kiswahili and Kisagalla while talking to each other. When speaking to their age-mates and friends, or vice versa, eleven (11), i.e. 84.6% of the adult respondents reported using Kiswahili or a mixture of Kiswahili and Kisagalla, while only three (3), i.e. 23.1% of the same adult respondents use Kisagalla for their general interactions.

The question that followed was whether the respondents had been taught to speak Kisagalla by their parents. The responses for the youth and adults were as separately tabulated below.

Table 25: Youth on whether or not they had been taught Kisagalla by their parents

Did your parents teach you to speak Kisagalla	**Male youth**		**Female youth**	
	Yes	12 (60%)	Yes	11 (55%)
	No	8 (40%)	No	9 (45%)
Total		20 (100%)		20 (100%)

From the table above, more male youth (60%) confirmed having been taught to speak Kisagalla by their parents than their female youth counterparts (55%). Similarly, fewer male youth (40%) had not been taught to speak Kisagalla by their parents than their female youth counterparts (45%).

Failure to have children adequately exposed to their mother tongue in the home during their early years of life affects the way they acquire the mother tongue as their first language. In the analysis of the theories explaining first language acquisition done by Lightbown and Spada (2006), one can clearly see the cross-cutting agreement among proponents of the different theories and perspectives, that exposure to a conducive linguistic environment is important for a child's acquisition of their first language.

When the environment is not adequately conducive for various reasons, this acquisition process is adversely affected, and various linguistic deficiencies can be seen later in life. For instance, as much as a child can still pick the language from outside the home, possibly from other individuals in the neighborhood, or when they start going to school, there are aspects they may not pick as well as their counterparts who enjoyed better exposure to the language at home picked. Consequently, when such children finally become parents, they may obviously transfer the same language deficiencies to their children, reinforcing a downward trend on the vitality of the language. However, the hypothesis above needs validation through systematic research.

Table 26: Adults on whether or not they had been taught Kisagalla by their parents

Did your parents teach you to speak Kisagalla	**Male adults**		**Female adults**	
	Yes	5	Yes	5
	No	1	No	2
Total		**6**		**7**

From the table above, five out of the six male adults (83.3%), and five out of the seven female adults (71.4%) were taught Kisagalla by their parents, respectively. Only one out of the six male adults (16.7%), and two out of the seven female adults (28.6%), sampled had not been taught Kisagalla by their parents, respectively.

The significance of this observation is that it helps us to see that, for whatever reason, failure by parents of these adult respondents to teach Kisagalla to their children, some of whom are grandparents now, actually goes three generations back. There is also the possibility that this could go more generations further back. This could, therefore, be used to strengthen the case for the increasing use of Kiswahili words among native Kisagalla speakers.

Having seen the two tables above, on whether or not the youth and adult respondents had been taught Kisagalla by their parents, it was good to show a representation of their language use, with regards to the languages the respondents spoke in the order of fluency. This was done in the table below.

Table 27: Languages spoken in order of fluency (both youth and adults)

Category	**KSG, then KSW**		**KSW, then KSG**	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Youth	10	8	10	12
Adults	5	3	1	1
Total	**15**	**11**	**11**	**13**

More male (15) than female (11) respondents were more fluent in Kisagalla than in Kiswahili, whereas more female (13) than male (11) respondents were more fluent in Kiswahili than Kisagalla. Three (3) female respondents left this question unanswered. This will, however, be negated in a later section of this study.

A second table was also provided where respondents (both youth and adults) responded to various statements with regards to aspects of Kisagalla. The statements were intended to provide insights into the attitudes the native Kisagalla speakers have towards their language in light of the ongoing lexical change to Kiswahili.

The responses are tabulated and compared below.

Table 28: Language attitudes and perceptions for youth respondents

Statement	Male youth					Female youth				
	SA	**A**	**D**	**SD**	**Total**	**SA**	**A**	**D**	**SD**	**Total**
I am more comfortable speaking KSG than KSW	2	13	4	1	**20**	7	8	3	2	**20**
I am more comfortable speaking KSW than KSG	6	5	9	-	**20**	6	3	8	3	**20**
Female KSG speakers tend to replace native KSG words with KSW words more than the male KSG speakers	3	6	4	7	**20**	8	6	4	2	**20**
I want to master speaking and writing fluently in KSG	3	10	2	5	**20**	4	10	2	4	**20**
I will teach KSG to my children	4	9	3	4	**20**	5	5	7	3	**20**
Many native KSG speakers are no longer proud of their language	9	6	2	3	**20**	2	3	5	10	**20**
KSG will die in future	3	9	4	4	**20**	3	2	5	10	**20**

From the table above, thirty (30) of the youth respondents, i.e. 75% (combining those who 'strongly agreed' and those who 'agreed' for both male and female youth) were more comfortable speaking Kisagalla than Kiswahili, while twenty (20) of them, i.e., 50% were more comfortable speaking Kiswahili than Kisagalla. However, more male youth respondents (55%) than female youth respondents (45%) reported being more comfortable using Kiswahili than Kisagalla.

Twenty three (23), i.e., 57.5% of the youth respondents agreed that female Kisagalla speakers tend to replace native Kisagalla words with Kiswahili words more than the male Kisagalla speakers, while seventeen (17), i.e., 42.5% disagreed.

While twenty seven (27), i.e., 67.5% of the youth agreed that they would want to master speaking and writing fluently in Kisagalla, the remaining thirteen (13), i.e., 32.5% reported that they would not want to.

Twenty three (23), i.e., 57.5% reported that they would teach their children Kisagalla while seventeen (17) youth, i.e. 42.5% reported in the negative. The margin between the two percentages (15%) is relatively little, but given several generations from now, and with the trend that more native Sagalla youth are losing pride in their language (as shown in the next paragraph), then more parents may not teach Kisagalla to their children in future.

Half of the youth respondents (50%) admitted that many native Kisagalla speakers are no longer proud of their language, while seventeen (17), i.e., 42.5% were of the opinion that Kisagalla would die in the future.

The next table shows the language attitudes and use for adults.

Table 29: Language attitudes and perceptions for adults

Statement	Male adults					Female adults				
	SA	**A**	**D**	**SD**	**Total**	**SA**	**A**	**D**	**SD**	**Total**
I am more comfortable speaking KSG than KSW	4	1	1	-	**6**	-	2	5	-	**7**
I am more comfortable speaking KSW than KSG	-	1	4	1	**6**	-	1	5	1	**7**
There is an increasing number of KSW words gaining usage in KSG, thus leading to the loss of native KSG words	1	5	-	-	**6**	3	4	-	-	**7**
Most young people are not able to speak fluently in KSG	2	4	-	-	**6**	3	3	-	1	**7**
Female KSG speakers tend to replace native KSG words with KSW words more than the male KSG speakers	-	1	5	-	**6**	-	4	2	1	**7**
Many parents are not transmitting KSG to their children	3	2	1	-	**6**	3	3	-	1	**7**
I teach KSG to my children	-	4	2	-	**6**	2	1	4	-	**7**
KSG will die in future	-	2	3	1	**6**	-	2	3	2	**7**

From the table above, we see that while seven (7) out of thirteen (13) native adults, i.e. 53.8% reported being more comfortable speaking Kisagalla than Kiswahili, a significant six (6), i.e. 46.2% responded in the negative.

All the adult respondents (100%) agreed that there is an increasing number of Kiswahili words gaining usage in Kisagalla, thus leading to the loss of native Kisagalla words while only 7.7% (one respondent) objected to the statement that most young people are not able to speak fluently in Kisagalla.

With regards to the adult respondents' view of language use among the youth, only five (5), i.e. 38.5% agreed to the assertion that female Kisagalla speakers tend to replace native Kisagalla words with Kiswahili words than the male Kisagalla speakers.

Eleven (11) adult respondents, i.e. 84.6% agreed that many (native Sagalla) parents are not transmitting Kisagalla to their children. In fact, only slightly above half of these native adult respondents (53.8%) admitted teaching Kisagalla to their children. The other six (6), i.e. 46.2% responded in the negative.

As to whether Kisagalla will die or survive in future, four (4), i.e. 30.8% of the adult respondents agreed that the language will die while the majority (69.2%) felt that the language would not die.

Having separately seen the responses from both the youth and adult respondents in the two tables (28 and 29) above, it was considered important to identify selected statements for comparison between the two groups. The comparison is shown in the table below.

Table 30: Comparison between all youth versus all adults on selected statements (regardless of gender)

Statement	All youth					All Adults				
	SA	**A**	**D**	**SD**	**Total**	**SA**	**A**	**D**	**SD**	**Total**
I am more comfortable speaking KSG than KSW	9	21	7	3	**40**	6	5	2	-	**13**
I am more comfortable speaking KSW than KSG	12	6	19	3	**40**	-	2	9	2	**13**
Female KSG speakers tend to replace native KSG words with KSW words more than the male KSG speakers	11	12	8	9	**40**	-	5	7	1	**13**
KSG will die in future	6	11	9	14	**40**	-	4	6	3	**13**

From the table above, more adults (84.6%) than youth (75%) were more comfortable speaking Kisagalla than Kiswahili. However, the fact that there are still some among the youth and the adult respondents who are more comfortable speaking Kiswahili than Kisagalla, should be a pointer to the fact that Kiswahili has gained usage among native Kisagalla speakers, thus the lexical change under study.

More youth (51.5%) than adult respondents (38.5%) felt that the female Kisagalla speakers showed the tendency to replace native Kisagalla words with Kiswahili words than the male Kisagalla speakers. Similarly, more youth (42.5%) than adult respondents (30.8%) were of the opinion that Kisagalla will die in future. This observation is worrying because, coupled with the others above, where close to half of the native adults (46.2%) admitted to not teaching Kisagalla to their children and a significant percentage of youth (42.5%)who said that they would not teach Kisagalla to their children in future, it spells a gloomy future for Kisagalla.

When the younger generation of a community have a negative view of their language, it implies a negative trend for that language, because, unless intervention is made, those youth are likely not to teach the language to their

children upon becoming parents. Similarly, their children are likely not to teach the language to the next generation, and soon the language is significantly weakened, or even fully lost.

An explanation for this can be found in J. Harwood's (1994: 183) assertion that 'the rewards available to fluent speakers (of a language) are incentives for maintaining that tongue.' It does appear that the current generation of native Kisagalla youth does not see any possible rewards coming with gaining fluency in Kisagalla, and so are not ready to teach it to their children in future.

It was similarly considered important to compare the responses of the sample with regards to gender by looking at responses from all male respondents (regardless of age) against those of the female respondents (regardless of age). The table below shows the findings with regards to this comparison.

Table 31: Language attitudes and perceptions- all Male versus all Female respondents (regardless of age)

Statement	**All Male respondents**					**All Female respondents**				
	SA	**A**	**D**	**SD**	**Total**	**SA**	**A**	**D**	**SD**	**Total**
I am more comfortable speaking KSG than KSW	6	14	5	1	**26**	9	12	4	2	**27**
I am more comfortable speaking KSW than KSG	6	9	10	1	**26**	6	2	15	4	**27**
Female KSG speakers tend to replace native KSG words with KSW words more than the male KSG speakers	3	7	9	7	**26**	8	10	6	3	**27**
Kisagalla will die in future	3	11	7	5	**26**	3	4	8	12	**27**

From the table above, slightly more female (77.8%) than male respondents (76.9%) reported being more comfortable speaking Kisagalla than Kiswahili while more male (58%) than female respondents (29.6%) said they were more comfortable speaking Kiswahili than Kisagalla. This observation is in agreement with what the three opinion leaders interviewed, and the two groups reached for the Focused Group Discussions seemed to affirm, that it was the male child who

was spearheading the entry and use of Kiswahili (and so Kiswahili words) into Kisagalla. The opinion leaders and those from the groups reported that native male Sagalla youth enjoyed more freedom than their female counterparts to visit relatives and friends in places outside Sagalla, especially over the holidays, thus picking Kiswahili words and bringing them into the Sagalla context.

More female respondents (66.7%) than male respondents (38.5%) agreed to the statement that female Kisagalla speakers showed the tendency to replace native Kisagalla words with Kiswahili words than the male speakers. Despite the fact that it is the native male speakers who introduce Kiswahili words into Kisagalla, this observation that more female Kisagalla speakers tend to replace native Kisagalla words with Kiswahili words than the male Kisagalla speakers is important. It implies that the female Kisagalla speakers are quick to learn and use these 'imported' words as a way of compensating for their lesser freedom to go out of the community. This confirms what Trudgill (2000: 77) concluded about the Koasati people (in India) that men tend to lead linguistic changes, and women follow along, later. Native female speakers of Kisagalla seem to doing the 'following along' at a quite fast rate in that, no sooner do the male speakers bring the Kiswahili words into Kisagalla context than they pick and start using them.

According to Downes (1998: 205-6), women tend to respond through a reflex to their 'powerlessness' by succumbing to linguistic pressure that promises some prestige rewards. In this case, since using Kiswahili, or a mixture of Kiswahili and Kisagalla is portrayed by the male youth as giving these prestige rewards, the female speakers, who are socio-culturally restrained, seem to be compensating for this 'powerlessness' by readily picking and using Kiswahili words once they are 'imported' by the male youth speakers.

With regards to whether Kisagalla would die in future, slightly over half of the male respondents (53.8%) were of the opinion that Kisagalla would die in future while only 25.9% of the female respondents responded in the affirmative.

Lastly, a question was as to whether the respondents thought that something needed to be done to respond to this loss of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili. The responses are tabulated below.

Table 32: Youth on whether something needs to be done to respond to the loss of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili

Do you think that something needs to be done to respond to this loss of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili?	**Male youth**		**Female youth**	
	Yes	19 (95%)	Yes	13 (65%)
	No	1 (5%)	No	7 (35%)
Total		20 (100%)		20 (100%)

More male youth respondents (95%) than female youth respondents (65%) said that something needs to be done to respond to the word loss from Kisagalla to Kiswahili, while more female youth respondents (35%) than male youth respondents (5%) responded in the negative.

When the same question was posed to the adults, the responses were as represented below.

Table 33: Adults on whether something needs to be done to respond to the loss of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili

Do you think that something needs to be done to respond to this loss of native KSG words to KSW?	**Male adults**		**Female adults**	
	Yes	5 (83.3%)	Yes	7 (100%)
	No	1 (16.7%)	No	-
Total		6 (100%)		7 (100%)

From the table above, all the female adult respondents (100%) said that something needs to be done to respond to the word loss happening from Kisagalla to Kiswahili, with 83.3% and 16.7% of the adult male respondents answering in the affirmative and the negative, respectively.

Table 34: All youth versus all adults on whether something needs to be done to respond to the loss of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili

Do you think that something needs to be done to respond to this loss of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili?	**All youth**		**All adults**	
	Yes	32 (80%)	Yes	12 (92.3%)
	No	8 (20%)	No	1(7.7%)
Total		40 (100%)		13 (100%)

The table above shows that when the responses from all youth (regardless of gender) were compared to those of the adult respondents, more adult respondents (92.3%) than youth respondents (80%) responded in the affirmative, while more youth respondents (20%) than adult respondents (7.7%) answered in the negative, respectively. With regards to this, the adult speakers of Kisagalla seem to care more for the future of their language than the younger generation. This is a sign of danger for Kisagalla.

Table 35: All male versus all female respondents on whether something needs to be done to respond to the loss of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili

Do you think that something needs to be done to respond to this loss of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili?	**All male respondents**		**All Female respondents**	
	Yes	24 (92.3%)	Yes	20 (74.1%)
	No	2 (7.7%)	No	7 (25.9%)
Total		26 (100%)		27 (100%)

Again, when comparison between the genders was done, more male respondents (92.3%) than female respondents (74.1%) felt that something needs to be done to respond to the lexical change happening from Kisagalla to Kiswahili, while more

female respondents (25.9%) than male respondents (7.7%) responded in the negative, respectively.

3.3 Categorization of the Causes of the Lexical Change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili

As mentioned in section 3.1, the factors responsible for the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili can be categorized into three: social factors, demographic factors, and institutional support factor, according to the Giles et al. (1977) Model of Language Shift and Language Vitality.

In the ILUP Questionnaires for both youth and adults, there was a question as to what reasons the respondents would give for the loss of lexical items from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. The same question was asked to the community opinion leaders and the organized social groups during the interviews and organized group discussions, respectively. It is the analyses of these responses that form the bulk of this section. According to the Giles et al. (1977) model, it was argued that the more vitality a group has (as a result of having more strengths than weaknesses in each of these three clusters of factors) the more that group is likely to survive as a distinctive linguistic collectivity in intergroup settings. The converse of this would lead to 'linguistic assimilation' or a situation where the group 'ceases to exist' as a distinctive one altogether (Sachdev 1995: 43).

3.3.1 Social factors for the lexical loss from Kisagalla to Kiswahili

According to the Giles et al. (1977) Model of Language Shift and Language Vitality, the social factors useful for assessing the vitality of a minority language (in this case Kisagalla) refer to those factors that have to do with the economic, social and symbolic status of the language. The strong link between language and society implies that the vitality of that language is dependent on the symbolic status the speakers of that language attach to it. This is in view of the opportunities that the language presents its speakers with for economic and social

advancement. For instance, when the language in question presents greater opportunities for economic advancement for its speakers, then it will enjoy higher status, and consequently be termed as having greater vitality than another that does not offer these opportunities. In the case of Kisagalla, the following were the social factors cited as responsible for the lexical change to Kiswahili.

3.3.1.1 Identity in a Modern culture

In a modern world where people are seemingly more conscious about their identity than ever before, the inclination to identify as either 'modern' or 'primitive', 'digital' or 'analogue', etc, seems to have drawn language into the very centre of the identity battle field. Today, one can easily and quickly be assigned either or the other of the above categories with regards to the language they use. Among the Kenyan youth, for instance, the use of Sheng or failure thereof, has often been used to put a divide between the 'urban and modern' and the 'rural and primitive'.

According to Wardhaugh (2006: 98), one's language choices are part of the social identity they claim for themselves. Looking at Kisagalla, there is a contrast between the youth and the older members of the community, especially in the way the youth view themselves and their world, and consequently the way they use language to assert this view.

Fifteen (15) out of forty (40) youth respondents, which represents 37.5% of this group cited modernization as the main cause of the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. Some of the statements they gave alluded to the fact that, according to them, Kisagalla's time had passed, and that it is only being used by the primitive and uneducated older generation of native Kisagalla. These youth have increasingly got to view Kiswahili as the language that offers them symbolic status in a modern world.

By adopting Kiswahili words in place of native Kisagalla words, these youth are, in actual sense, claiming an identity for themselves-that they are 'modern' as opposed to their parents and the rest of the community who are viewed as 'primitive.' According to Cook (1977: 171) each generation of teenagers…proclaims its uniqueness through its vocabulary.' It is important to note that here, the term 'primitive' has been used loosely to capture a purely attitude-related aspect under this social factor causing lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili.

Most often, the dichotomy created between the members of a language community by these identity groupings comes with a perceived social status and would-be privileges to be enjoyed or foregone by the 'insiders' and 'outsiders', respectively. This raises the question of the prestige these groups of speakers end up attaching to their choice language, and the 'down-looking' attitudes and stereotypes they develop towards each other. For instance, while the younger generation increasingly using more Kiswahili words in place of native Kisagalla words believes that those who insist on speaking pure Kisagalla are primitive and unexposed to the modern world, the older generation considers the youth as missing the point, and ignorantly facilitating the death of their own language.

Helping either side in a linguistic prestige tussle to appreciate the perspective(s) of the other is quite a difficult endeavor. Just like belonging is viewed positively by the insiders, and not belonging is viewed negatively, similarly, the same insiders will view any intentions or the actual act of 'decamping' as betrayal, either or both to self and the group one belongs to. This tussle is not overtly showing in the case of Kisagalla, but a keen observer can see it progressing slowly but surely. If the researcher's interactions with the youth respondents is anything to go by, coupled with the fact that most adult native speakers are joining what would be called 'the youth camp' and proudly using Kiswahili, besides teaching it to their children, there may be little hope of convincing these youth to re-embrace and propagate their language. As earlier

indicated, most of them seem to be already bent on abandoning Kisagalla altogether.

3.3.1.2 Intermarriages

One's marital status is an important factor with regards to their language choices and use. For instance, if one is married to a spouse from their ethnolinguistic group, it is greatly expected that they will tend to use (though not always) their shared language. Conversely, if one is married to a spouse from another ethnolinguistic community, the dynamics of language choice and use change significantly. Both situations have significant implications on the vitality of the language(s) in question, both for the couple, and future generations, starting with their children.

With regards to marital status, the sample was represented as follows.

Table 36: Sample with regards to marital status

Category	**Married**		**Single**	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Youth	0	0	20	20
Adults	6	7	0	0
Total	**6**	**7**	**20**	**20**

As seen from the table above, all the youth respondents were single while all the adult respondents were married. All the youth respondents were students in both primary and secondary schools.

To show the levels of intermarriages in the Sagalla community, it was necessary to find out how many respondents came from single ethnicity families (where both parents were native speakers of Kisagalla) as well as those who came from mixed ethnicity families (where one of the parents was not a native speaker of Kisagalla). The representation was as shown below.

Table 37: Sample with regards to single or mixed ethnicity family

Category	**Mixed**		**Single**	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Youth	4	8	16	12
Adults	0	0	6	7
Total	**4**	**8**	**22**	**19**

While all the adult respondents came from single ethnicity families, considerable intermarriage seems to have taken place in one generation so that twelve (12) of the youth respondents, (30%), came from mixed ethnicity families.

The fact that native Sagalla men have increasingly been marrying from other communities has contributed to the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili in that, Kiswahili, in almost all cases, automatically becomes the language of communication between husband and wife, between wife and in-laws, and later, between mother and children. By the time the wife learns a threshold of Kisagalla for meaningful day to day communication, time has elapsed and the use of Kiswahili has influenced the word choices by the native Kisagalla speakers in their context to a significant extent.

Intermarriage has been encouraged by the close interaction between the Sagalla and people from other communities living around and among them, especially the Giriama, Duruma, Kamba and Taita. As will be shown later under demographic factors, education has also contributed to this by exposing the native male speakers of Kisagalla to education and job opportunities outside Sagalla, thus interacting with, and finally marrying people from other communities they meet in those areas.

3.3.2 Demographic factors for the Lexical Change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili

Demographic factors, according to the Giles et al. (1977) model used in this study include the characteristics of a language community that have to do with numbers (population), as well as their age, gender and geographical distribution. These factors are important because they provide key insights into the status of the language through comparisons between, say, the young and the elderly, or the male and female speakers, etc.

When the demographic factors are in favor of a given ethnolinguistic group, they offer an opportunity for greater vitality and survival of their language. Conversely, when they are not, the ethnolinguistic group risks being assimilated or even losing its language to a dominant group they are in contact with. According to Sachdev (1995: 45), 'favourable demographic factors may be used by ethnolinguistic groups as a legitimizing tool to…bolster their overall group vitality.'

It was, therefore, important to discuss the relevant factors under this cluster, as well as assessing whether each of these factors was in favour of Kisagalla or not.

3.3.2.1 Urbanization

The presence of urban centres such as Voi (which the natives traditionally refer to as Ore), Mombasa, Taveta and Mwatate presents a dynamic that could be said to have also contributed to the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. Most of the parents who work in these urban centres also tend to bring up their children in an urban setting which exposes them to Kiswahili right from the home. Although some of these children will eventually learn some Kisagalla, there will be so much deficiencies in their native Kisagalla vocabulary that they are forced to either mix Kisagalla and Kiswahili or purely speak in Kiswahili in their communication with

their native Kisagalla speaking peers or older members of the community, especially when they visit their relatives in the rural areas.

When asked to state their place of birth, the respondents reported as follows.

Table 38: Sample with regards to place of birth

Category	**Born in Sagalla**		**Born outside Sagalla**	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Youth	14	10	6	10
Adults	6	7	0	0
Total	**20**	**17**	**6**	**10**

With sixteen (16) out of forty (40) youth respondents, which represents 40% reporting that they had been born out of Sagalla, and with the fact that most would-be Sagalla parents, especially those who are educated, are working and living in towns, more children are likely to get born, and brought up, in these urban centres, where, most often than not, they get exposed to Kiswahili as opposed to Kisagalla. This, in turn, will affect their acquisition of Kisagalla as their first language, thus a downward trend in the vitality of Kisagalla.

3.3.2.2 A widening generational gap

When talking about language change, age is an important factor to consider. It helps to compare and contrast the language use and attitude trends between the younger members of the community and the older ones. Before discussing age as a factor, it was good to present the general age distribution of the sample as shown below.

Table 39: Sample with regards to age distribution

Category	**Age Bracket (years)**	**Number**	**%**
Youth	10-20	40	70.2
Adults	21 and above	17	29.8
Total		**57**	**100**

From the table above, the youth represented the larger portion of the sample (70.2%) as compared to the adults (29.8%). However, over three quarters (75%) of the native Kisagalla words lost to Kiswahili collected came from the adult respondents, while only less than a quarter (25%) came from the youth respondents. Some youth respondents could write down Kiswahili words they were using in place of native Kisagalla words, but they could not remember the exact Kisagalla words that these Kiswahili words had replaced. According to Cook (1997: 171) the 'older can [thus] be a repository of forms of the language that are in the process of dying out.'

With a significant percentage of the current generation of youth, whose parents did not teach them Kisagalla, and who are neither keen to learn Kisagalla nor teach it to their children in future, there is a progressively widening generational gap with regards to the competence each generation holds in their language (Kisagalla). The findings showed that thirteen (13) out of forty (40) youth respondents, representing 32.5% of the youth respondents reported that they were not interested in mastering speaking or writing in Kisagalla (see Table 28), while seventeen (17) youth respondents, representing 42.5% of the youth sample reported that they would not teach Kisagalla to their children (see Table 28). On the other hand, 46.2% of the adult respondents reported that they did not teach Kisagalla to their children (see Table 29). It was also found out that many native Kisagalla parents, especially those who have earned some level of formal education, are nowadays using Kiswahili with their children.

Listening to the natives, it was easy to gather that, through a comparison between the current generation of parents and youth, on one hand, and the much older generation of the native speakers of Kisagalla on the other, there is a declining competence in the language in that, while the current generation of both the parents and youth strongly claim that the Kisagalla spoken by the older generation of natives is much harder, this older generation considers the Kisagalla spoken by the current generation of parents, but more so the youth, as 'dilute' and lacking in the 'wealth of the native Kisagalla.'

Going by this consensus between the three generations, (that the Kisagalla then is not the Kisagalla now) and holding all other factors constant, it can be expected that the vitality of Kisagalla for a few more generations in future will have greatly weakened. This will lead to a more overtly marked linguistic shift, or even change, and possible death of Kisagalla.

3.3.2.3 A Minority community

Although it was not possible to establish the actual population of the Sagalla in Kenya (they did not feature as a language group in the 2009 KNBS National Census report, and a head count during the research was not possible due to time, financial and logistical constraints), the Sagalla could be said to be a minority community with regards to numbers. This position is supported from the general perspective of the community members themselves, as reported by the adult respondents reached, that since the Sagalla are 'a small community', then Kisagalla is likely to be eventually 'swallowed up' by Kiswahili.

The following excerpt from an interview confirms this.

> **Researcher:** Looking at the trend where Kiswahili words are gaining regular usage among native Kisagalla speakers, what do you think is the future of Kisagalla?
>
> **Respondent I:** In my opinion, in the next, say, fifty to a hundred years, it will just be a language to be talked about, possibly remaining in church records only. With this influx of other languages, and ***the fact that the Sagalla are a small population,*** they will be swallowed (up). Even now we are being swallowed up, and the language will only be used by a few who want to share secrets or identify themselves as a unique group.

Languages whose speakers are few are at a greater risk of changing, or even dying, than those that have more speakers. In the case of Kisagalla and Kiswahili, the fact that Kiswahili enjoys wider usage in the Coastal region (by both native and non-native speakers) than Kisagalla, it is likely that the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili is, in part, the result of direct or indirect pressure exerted by the number differences between the speakers of Kiswahili and those of Kisagalla.

According to Harwood et al. (1994) the presence (or absence) of leaders who can head the informal and formal institutions representing the ethnolinguistic group is a determining factor as to whether the ethnolinguistic group gets mobilized in favour of their language, culture and ethnic survival or not. Traditionally, the Sagalla have always complained of being politically and economically dominated by the Wadawida, who form the majority of the population in Taita Taveta County. For instance, most of the key politicians have come from the Wadawida. The Sagalla occupy a geographically and politically small area (administratively a Ward), thus have not been able to influence the regional politics, which in a big way, has had a bearing on the distribution of resources and consequent economic empowerment. This, in turn, can be said to have partly contributed to the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili.

It was the feeling of the adult respondents interviewed in the focused group discussions that, with increased awareness campaigns on the need for family planning in view of the rising cost of living and other factors, as well as

the fact that the current generation of male Sagalla youth are reluctant to take up the responsibility of raising a family (many have resorted to drinking and idling in market centres), the population of the Sagalla is likely to reduce significantly in the near future, further weakening the vitality of the language, and leading to possible change, or even death.

3.3.2.4 Gender

A comparison between the male and female respondents reached showed that there is a difference in the attitudes and perceptions towards Kisagalla along gender lines. While the male youth are at the forefront of 'importing' Kiswahili words into the Sagalla context, the female youth speakers are quick to take up these words and use them in place of native Kisagalla words. This is due to the socio-cultural context of the Sagalla, which gives more freedom for socialization outside the community to the boy child than to the girl child, on one hand, and issues to do with linguistic prestige between genders (male and female), on the other.

The situation on the ground indicated that, the male youth were, in a significant way, helping shape language attitudes among their peers who did not get opportunities to socialize outside the immediate Sagalla context. This can be said to be through a blend of overt and covert linguistic stereotyping which seems to water down the will of the native female Kisagalla speakers to remain loyal, as it were, to Kisagalla. Whenever they come back from, especially the towns, these male youth pose as being more exposed than their peers, who in return, try to compensate for their lack of opportunity by readily learning as much Kiswahili vocabulary from the more exposed. This will have far reaching implications on future generations of the speakers of the language.

3.3.3 Institutional Support Factors for the Lexical Change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili

According to Sachdev (1995: 47), institutional support factors refer to the extent to which an ethnolinguistic group enjoys representation in, and control over the various institutions of a community, region or nation. This representation could be formal or informal, and has to do with the use of the language in a wide variety of contexts or institutions such as education, religion, mass media, national and local government institutions among others. The wider the variety of contexts or institutions in which a given language is used, the higher, or stronger the vitality of that language. For instance, a language that enjoys usage in international contexts, like English or French, enjoys stronger vitality than one that is limited to national or even sub-national boundaries. Similarly, a language that enjoys greater vitality as a result of having a wider context of usage is bound to better, and for longer, resist the forces of change, shift, or death as compared to one that enjoys lesser vitality due to limited contexts of usage. The vitality of Kisagalla was assessed as low in view of the following institutional support factors.

3.3.3.1 Use of Kiswahili in Education

The use of Kiswahili in Education was cited by the two groups that participated in the focused group discussions as a contributing factor in the lexical loss from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. For instance, the groups argued that Kisagalla did not present any opportunities for academic advantage for school-going Sagalla children, who, from an early age, are taught in Kiswahili or English. Kisagalla is not used as a language of instruction or taught as a subject even in the nursery and lower primary levels of education. Thus, there has been a growing disposition among parents that by exposing their children to Kiswahili right from the home would give them an advantage to compete with other children at school. Adding this to the fact that most parents are nowadays taking their children to school at an

early age, exposing these children to Kiswahili easily erodes the little, if any, grasp of Kisagalla they had had from home.

The fear that learning Kisagalla would limit a child's academic chances to compete with other children at school is a misinformed one. Research has shown that 'Childhood bilingualism', as explained by Lightbown and Spada (2006) comes with many opportunities, including academic ones, for the child.

> [Although some studies show minor early delays for simultaneous bilinguals] there is no evidence that learning two languages substantially slows down their linguistic development or interferes with cognitive and academic development…. Ellen Bialystok (1991, 2001) and other developmental psychologists have found convincing evidence that bilingualism can have positive effects on abilities that are related to academic success, such as metalinguistic awareness (p. 25-26).

What the native adult speakers of Kisagalla need to possibly focus on is, therefore, providing an environment where their children simultaneously learn both Kisagalla and Kiswahili, and not giving preference to Kiswahili at the expense of Kisagalla. Again, the tendency to take their children to school at an early age, and thus having their exposure to more Kiswahili than Kisagalla in the school setting eroding the little grasp of Kisagalla the children have, needs to be reassessed. This is in view of observations by Wong-Fillmore (1991), in Lightbown and Spada (2006);

> …when children are 'submerged in a different language for long periods in pre-school or day care, their development of the family language may be slowed down or stalled before they have developed an age-appropriate mastery of the new language. Eventually they may stop speaking the family language altogether. (p. 26)

It was also reported that nowadays, with an increasing number of native Kisagalla speakers accessing formal education, those who are learned tend to use Kiswahili or mix it with Kisagalla more often than those who have not been to school. More educated parents tend to use Kiswahili with their children more than those parents

who are less or not educated at all. As earlier observed, the invasion of Kiswahili into the home domain of native Kisagalla speakers implies a direct threat to the vitality of Kisagalla.

As reported by the majority of youth respondents, all of whom were sampled from institutions of formal learning, most of them considered Kisagalla as a language of the uneducated. Their rationale for this was that, since Kisagalla was not enjoying usage in education like other languages, then this implied lesser significance for Kisagalla.

3.3.3.2 Use of Kisagalla in religion

In spite of the massive efforts by the dominant Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK) to encourage the usage of Kisagalla in the church services and other programs, the attitudes of the youth to these efforts indicate a diminishing vitality for Kisagalla. It was reported that most youth preferred the Kiswahili service over the Kisagalla service, which they considered suitable for the elderly. Again, most of the youth who took part in the Kisagalla service, due to their inability to read fluently in Kisagalla, were always hesitant to play any active roles (like facilitating the readings in vernacular) in the service.

During the study, it was gathered that, since most of the Anglican church ministers attached to these local congregations are not always native speakers of Kisagalla, their use of Kiswahili, not only during the services, but also in their interactions with the church members and the larger community, meant reduced opportunities for the natives to engage in religious discourse in their own language.

There are, however, ongoing efforts to encourage the use of Kisagalla in religion by translating church liturgy books and material for use in the Kisagalla service. The Saint Marks ACK church in Teri is spearheading this process with significant breakthrough, and one of the community opinion leaders intimated that

there are also plans to translate the Old Testament of the Bible into Kisagalla. Through such initiatives, the community hopes to regain control of this key institution, which presents an opportunity for Kisagalla to enjoy improved institutional vitality.

3.3.3.3 Use of Kisagalla in mass media and government institutions

Currently, Kisagalla does not enjoy autonomous use in the mass media. Unlike other communities like the Luhya, Luo, Kamba, Kikuyu and the Meru, etc, who have one or more radio (and even television) stations broadcasting in their vernacular, the Sagalla do not have a radio station broadcasting in Kisagalla.

Similarly, Kisagalla is not exclusively used in the local government institutions since the local government officers (who may not always be native speakers of Kisagalla) do not always attend to the natives only. As earlier observed, the Sagalla live with people from other communities like the Duruma, Kamba, Kikuyu, and the Giriama. Kiswahili, therefore, or a mixture of Kiswahili and Kisagalla, tends to be used. This gives an advantage to Kiswahili, whose continued usage had led to the lexical loss happening from Kisagalla to Kiswahili.

It appears, however, that some native speakers of Kisagalla have started realizing the threat posed by Kiswahili to their language. For instance, as reported by one of the youth leaders in the Sagalla community, a group of young people from the community, who consider themselves as the elite of Sagalla, and some of whom live in urban centers in and out of the country, have joined and formed a group on Facebook where Kisagalla is used exclusively for their conversations. Anyone who posts anything in another language is reprimanded by the others. Similarly, the management of the Wray Memorial Museum in Teri and the Mwambungu Cultural Group from Mghange have been conducting events that intend to encourage more appreciation of the Sagalla culture, and consequently, Kisagalla. The most significant of these is the Sagalla Cultural Festival held annually in December, courtesy of the Wray Memorial Museum.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter was dedicated to presenting and discussing various findings on the lexical change taking place from Kisagalla to Kiswahili, with a view to, establishing, from the language attitudes and perceptions of the respondents, the factors that have contributed to this lexical change. Using the Giles et al. (1977) Model of Language Shift and Language Vitality, it was found that various factors, falling under the three clusters; social factors, demographic factors and institutional support factors, combined, in disfavor of Kisagalla, to cause this lexical change.

The social factors discussed were: identity in a modern culture (inclusive of the prestige attached to the language of one's social identity), and intermarriages. The demographic factors identified and discussed were: urbanization, a widening generational gap, Kisagalla as a minority language, and gender. Additionally, the institutional support factors causing the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili were discussed in relation to the use of Kisagalla in education, religion, as well as the mass media and government institutions.

Worth noting in this chapter was that, in view of these factors, the vitality of Kisagalla was significantly weakening. Apparently, with the growing presence and usage of Kiswahili among native Kisagalla speakers, as well as the changing attitudes towards Kisagalla by its native speakers, a disturbing downward trend for Kisagalla seems inevitable. Kisagalla may, in the long run, completely shift into Kiswahili, or be abandoned to its death. This will, of course, be the case if no interventions are made to salvage the situation for Kisagalla.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the discussions and findings of this study. In view of these findings, the chapter also captures a number of recommendations, purely with regards to possible gaps for future research on Kisagalla.

4.1 Conclusion

The reality of the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili is a local testimony to the assertion of language change as a universal characteristic of all languages. Fuelled by a combination of social, demographic, and institutional support factors, this change has led to the loss of a significant number of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili. This study was guided by three objectives as summarized below.

The first objective of this study was to find out which native Kisagalla words have been replaced with Kiswahili words. The study targeted collecting at least one hundred and fifty (150) words. However, two hundred and thirty seven (237) lexical items, comprising of nouns and verbs, were collected during this study. This 58% surplus can only be taken to represent the possible dozens, and perhaps, hundreds of other native Kisagalla lexical items that have, or are in the process of getting lost to Kiswahili.

The second objective of this study sought to, after classifying the words collected into word categories (e.g. nouns, verbs, etc), and semantic areas, identify which word categories and semantic areas were the most affected by this lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. It had been hypothesized that nouns and verbs (for word categories) relating to the social life of the Sagalla community would be found to be the most affected. This study found out that, indeed, nouns and verbs were the word categories most affected by this lexical

change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. Of two hundred and thirty seven (237) words collected in this study, the nouns represented 79.7% (189) while the verbs represented 20.3% (48). The top three semantic areas that had lost most words were five (body parts), nine (household items), and fourteen (social/ cultural vocabulary). Collectively, they can be said to relate to the social life of the community, as opposed to, say, their religious or economic life; thus, the hypothesis under this second objective, which sought to identify the word categories and semantic areas that have been most affected by this lexical change, was confirmed.

The third objective was to identify the factors responsible for the lexical change from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. It had been hypothesized that prestige was the most dominant factor responsible for this lexical change. Using the Giles et al. (1977) Model of Language Shift and Language Vitality, the factors responsible for the lexical loss from Kisagalla to Kiswahili were categorized under three broad areas: social, demographic, and institutional support factors (see sections 3.3.1, 3.3.2, and 3.3.3).

Kisagalla seems to be disadvantaged in many ways; it is a minority language lacking support from educational, mass media, religious and government institutions. Increasing rates of intermarriages with other communities and urbanization add to the woes of Kisagalla, leading to changing attitudes towards the language by its native speakers, a trend which spells a gloomy future for Kisagalla. Underlyingly, the prestige these native speakers (especially the younger generation) attach to their language seems to have declined considerably. For instance, while many parents, who are native speakers of Kisagalla are not teaching Kisagalla to their children, an increasing number of the youth are neither keen to grow their competence in the language, nor committed to teach Kisagalla when they finally become parents.

It is, therefore, important, in view of these attitudes, and the underlying factors discussed under section 3.3, to have certain specific measures taken to salvage the situation for Kisagalla.

First, there is need for the Sagalla community to reassess their attitude towards Kisagalla, and the threat posed to it by Kiswahili, and see which possible other avenues, besides culture, they could use to boost the vitality of their language. It is the conclusion of the researcher that a commitment to better exploit the technological and social media space already available presents a great opportunity towards the revitalization of Kisagalla.

Secondly, there is need for closer working among the various stakeholders involved to mobilize more resources to facilitate the publication of more literature in Kisagalla. The ongoing translation exercise of church liturgy material by the Anglican Church and the construction of a community library at the Wray Memorial Museum are steps in the right direction. However, this needs to be backed up with efforts to encourage a strong reading culture in Kisagalla by the natives.

Thirdly, there is need to urgently reassess the Language Policy in Education by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, in view of its implications on the local coastal languages and other minority languages in the country. The use of Kiswahili in education from the early years of education could be a financially feasible one, due to the challenges of factoring each of these minority languages for use in education, but that is only on one hand. On the other, it is apparently a linguistically expensive one, owing to the threat of losing the linguistic diversity represented by these minority languages when Kiswahili finally strangles them to death. When these languages finally die, we lose the 'traditional linguistic and cultural diversity' (Ehala 2010:213) in which the identity of these coastal communities is enshrined.

Fourthly, and lastly, there is need to reawaken the sense of community among the Sagalla elite. The fact that most of them, due to education and the

opportunities it presents to them, are shaping a more conducive environment for the infiltration of Kisagalla by other languages, especially Kiswahili, should be checked with the sobering call to value and encourage the use of Kisagalla by their children. This will ensure that Kisagalla does not suffer a generational gap that is likely to expose it to the risks of change and eventual death.

The following section presents recommendations purely considered as pointers to possible gaps for further research in future.

4.2 Recommendations

This study limited itself to the lexical change happening from Kisagalla to Kiswahili. Understandably, change in languages is not limited to the lexical level only. This means that future research on Kisagalla could focus on other levels of language, to show the changes that have taken place at those levels. Most important to the researcher are changes at the phonological and semantic levels. Investigating changes at the phonological level would, for instance, address issues to do with the sound changes involved in nativizing borrowed Kiswahili words into Kisagalla. Additionally, investigating changes at the semantic level would show which native Kisagalla words, or borrowed Kiswahili words have received broadened or narrowed semantic assignment, and what these meanings are, in view of their original meaning.

During this study, it was found out that Kisagalla claims three major dialects; Kimghange, Kikishamba and Kiteri. A comparative study of these dialects would help to reveal their differences and similarities at various levels of linguistic analysis.

Unlike this study, which focused on lexical change, future research on Kisagalla could also focus on the Kisagalla lexical formation processes (both derivational and inflectional), and how marking is done for tense and aspect.

Lastly, a replication of this study in other minority ethnolinguistic groups in Kenya and elsewhere can provide important insights into the extent of lexical (or other) change in these languages, as well as the factors leading to these changes.

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APPENDICES

Appendix1: Interview 1 with a community opinion leader

(The respondent is a native of Sagalla who has been working as the curator at the Wray Memorial Museum in Teri, Sagalla since 2006. The interview takes place inside the Wray Memorial Museum in Teri on 30th May, 2016.)

Researcher: My name is Michael Kyama, an MA (Linguistics) student from the University of Nairobi. I am currently researching on Lexical change in Kisagalla towards writing my MA Thesis. Part of my sample includes opinion leaders from the Sagalla community. I am glad that some of my contact persons, who are natives of Sagalla recommended you to me. My intention is to hear from you a few insights on my research problem.

Respondent: Welcome.

Researcher: Thank you. Perhaps you could start by telling me about your work here.

Respondent: I started working here in 2006. That is like ten years now. And here are some books…one that was written by Wray, the Sagalla dictionary. (*Picking and showing it*). You see, Taita has its sub-tribes and Sagalla is one of them. The Sagalla have their own language, and the others, too. Some can understand us when we speak, but others cannot. For instance, our brothers from Taita cannot understand Kisagalla, but we do understand their language.

Researcher: Which place in Sagalla do you come from? I am told that there are areas such as Mghange, Teri, Kishamba, etc. I have been to quite a number of places in Sagalla during my short stay here.

Respondent: I come from Mrongo Village in Teri.

Researcher: And I am aware that the Sagalla also occupy the surrounding lowlands...

Respondent: *(Enthusiastically*). Yes, yes. There are places like Talio, Mwambiti, Kajire and others.

Researcher: At this point, you could tell me about the Sagalla people: who they are, where they came from…simply their history, to the best of your knowledge.

Respondent: Our grandparents told us that the Sagalla came from Shungwaya with other Bantu communities. Some came here, while a group remained in Tanzania.

(*There are some calls from outside the museum. The respondent goes to attend to some primary school children. He comes back after a while.)*

Researcher: You were telling me about some group of the Sagalla who came here and another that remained in Tanzania.

Respondent: Yes. Some of the other Bantu communities remained in the Taita hills, the Sagalla came here, while other groups went to the South coast, like the Agiriama.

Researcher: Speaking to some of the community members, I raised the question whether the Sagalla people are part of the Taita or an independent group, and so language. What is your opinion on this?

Respondent: That is a tricky question, quite a tricky one…well, if someone asked me if I am Taita, I'd agree, because we are all Taita. We share a lot with the Taita; culture, foods, and dances.

Researcher: As a native of Sagalla, are there other communities that live among you?

Respondent: Yes. There are Luos, Kambas, and even Kikuyus who have been married by our men. There are also Kalenjins, Durumas and Kisiis. Let us say that there are quite a number of communities we live with.

Researcher: I heard you mention the Durumas. Are there other coastal communities that have direct contact with the Sagalla? And if yes, which ones have you had the most contact with?

Respondent: The Agiriama. The Agiriama have interacted much with us.

Researcher: How do you think your interaction with these communities has impacted on Kisagalla as a language?

Respondent: For those who have been married here, you will find that if their children do not learn the language of the mother, they will end up using Kiswahili for communication. You see, the fathers are often away working in other places, and so the mother will use Kiswahili with the children. And even when the father comes home, they will still use Kiswahili.

Researcher: Could we, therefore, say that the usage of Kiswahili in such communication has contributed to the loss of Kisagalla, especially native Kisagalla words?

Respondent: Yes. The use of Kiswahili has meant that Kisagalla continues to weaken slowly.

Researcher: Besides intermarriages, what other reasons would you give for the fact that Kiswahili is penetrating and so weakening Kisagalla?

Respondent: The mixed population in our schools-you will find students from other communities- means that the pupils and students use Kiswahili. When our children come home, they will also tend to use Kiswahili at home, everywhere.

Researcher: Which was the language of instruction during your early years of schooling? Do you remember ever being taught in Kisagalla?

Respondent: I do not remember. We began with Kiswahili, then English and Kiswahili to the end. But I am told that Kisagalla was used for formal instruction when Reverend

Wray came here in …(*trying to recall*)…1883. He later ended up writing the Kisagalla dialect dictionary.

Researcher: Moving forward to compare the language of the youth with that of the elderly, is it correct to say that most Sagalla youth have slowly lost pride, and consequently competence in their language, and are, therefore abandoning it for Kiswahili?

Respondent: Most youths do not care about their language. Look at their communication today. Much of it is in Kiswahili. Even when they write text messages on their phones, they will try to mix Kisagalla and Kiswahili, especially by making Kisagalla words sound like Kiswahili words.

Researcher: How would you compare the genders with regards to the tendency to abandon Kisagalla words for Kiswahili words? Which gender seems to more readily use Kiswahili words in place of Kisagalla words?

Respondent: I'd say the men. The men do it more than the ladies. Ladies seem to be hesitant in adopting another language in a way.

Researcher: Why do you think there is this difference between the genders?

Respondent: Men, as you know, are free to go out and socialize. Especially over the holidays, the boys do not find it as hard as the girls to get permission to go to Mombasa, Nairobi or elsewhere to visit parents, relatives, etc. When they come back, they bring in some of the words they have picked out there. The girls are most often here, and so will tend to stick to Kisagalla.

Researcher: I have observed that the Anglican Church of Kenya is the most dominant in this area. I am also aware that you run the Kiswahili and Kisagalla services. How would you compare the involvement of the young people in both services?

Respondent: I'd say it is balanced, although you will find more young men in the Kiswahili service and more ladies in the Kisagalla one. Another thing is that we have Bible readings in both services. When the youth are leading, most of them find it easier reading in Kiswahili than in Kisagalla.

Researcher: It was interesting to join youth from ACK churches for a joint service at Rakhasi yesterday. The shocking thing was that the entire service was run in Kiswahili, save for a few Kisagalla words in the sermon. Again, when one of the leaders tried to introduce himself in Kisagalla, there were protests that he uses Kiswahili. What does this tell us about the attitudes of the youth towards Kisagalla?

Respondent: They do not like it. It is like they do not like it, because if they protest when one of them is using their own Kisagalla, it is enough evidence that they are not proud of their language.

Researcher: Looking at families with both native Sagalla parents, would you say that Sagalla parents are doing enough to teach Kisagalla to their children?

Respondent: My opinion is that they are not. See like these children who just came in here, their parents are Sagalla, both father and mother, yet they speak Kiswahili. This tells you that most parents are not keen on teaching Kisagalla to their children. You will even find homes where the parents speak Kisagalla to their children and the children respond in Kiswahili and no one minds. I'd say that parents who are not as learned are trying, but most of those who are learned have abandoned teaching Kisagalla to their children.

Researcher: Looking at this trend, what do you think is the future of Kisagalla? Do you think the language will survive or die in future?

Respondent: I think it will die. In fact, if something is not done, the language may not survive beyond the year 2030.

Researcher: And what, if anything, do you think needs to be done to prevent the language from dying?

Respondent: There are quite a number of things. For instance, if we make more copies of these Kisagalla dictionaries and encourage more people to buy and read, then the language will not die. The Ministry of Education can also enact and enforce a policy that children be taught in their mother tongue from nursery school to around class five. We can also encourage writing and speaking competitions in Kisagalla among students in our schools as a way of encouraging the youth to learn the language.

Researcher: Speaking to the Reverend serving here, I learnt that they are in the process of translating the Liturgy books into Kisagalla. Do you think this will help in any way to preserve Kisagalla?

Respondent: I believe it will, because as people read the books in Kisagalla, they will learn the language. However, it should be emphasized that the youth embrace the reading of these books more than the older generation.

Researcher: I have seen that you are building a library here. I am also aware that you annually hold a Sagalla cultural festival in December. Do you think these two present further opportunities to preserve the language?

Respondent: Yes. We can publish and sell books in Kisagalla during the festival, as well as encourage people to visit the library when it is ready. There are people who had earlier written books on Kisagalla riddles and proverbs. We can have such as some of the library stock.

Researcher: Thank you very much for your contribution. As we come to a close of our interview, I am interested in compiling an inventory of native Kisagalla words that have been lost, and replaced with Kiswahili words. I would love to get some of those words from you. You can write them down after this.

Respondent: Yes, I can try that.

Researcher: Thank you once again for your time. This will go a long way in helping me in my research.

Respondent: Most welcome.

Appendix 2: Interview 2 with a community Opinion leader

(*The respondent is a retired Education officer with the Ministry of Education, after teaching in several schools in Taita and Sagalla areas, as well as the larger Coastal region between 1969 and 2000. The interview takes place at his home in Kizumanzi on 31st May, 2016.)*

Researcher: My name is Michael Kyama, an MA (Linguistics) student from the University of Nairobi. I am currently researching on Lexical change in Kisagalla towards writing my MA Thesis. Part of my sample includes opinion leaders from the Sagalla community. I am glad that some of my contact persons, who are natives of Sagalla recommended you to me. My intention is to hear from you a few insights on my research problem.

Respondent: Welcome Bwana (Mr.) Kyama. (a cock crows in the background) I am a former teacher and later an education officer, now enjoying the sixteenth year of my retirement. I do farming with my family.

Researcher: That is quite an experience. Perhaps you could also tell me more about the Sagalla people. Who are they and where did they come from?

Respondent: The Sagalla people are a mixture of tribes. There are those who came from the lower Coast, others from Usambaa mountains, and others from Taita hills and Taveta. Some of the Akamba long distance traders also settled around Voi and a number have intermarried with us. You will realize that Kikamba is close to Kisagalla. Actually, the name 'Sagalla' was a coinage by the people from the lower coast, who, upon coming to the Sagalla hills told one another, '*Tusagalle haha*.', which means 'Let us settle here.'

Researcher: Would it then be in order to say that the Sagalla are a mixed people, and so there are no 'true or original' Sagalla people?

Respondent: Well, if you listen to the language of the Sagalla people from Talio, Kishamba and Kajire, you will find that their language is more or less like that of the Taita, but the people of Mghange, Kizumanzi and Teri are the ones who speak the original Kisagalla. In fact, this original Kisagalla is the one we used to translate this New Testament Bible (Picking a copy I had bought from ACK St. Marks church). I was one of the translators in the committee.

Researcher: What did the original Sagalla use to do for their living those days? Were they pastoralists or crop farmers?

Respondent: They were mixed farmers, keeping cattle and growing crops. However, for those who were keeping cattle on the hills here, the government ordered them to take

their animals to the lowlands due to soil erosion concerns. I actually have my animals in the Kirumbi lowlands. Those who keep cattle up here only do zero grazing.

Researcher: From a discussion I had with some young native speakers of Kisagalla, there are those who strongly objected to the argument that the Sagalla are part of the Taita, and so Kisagalla is a dialect of Kidawida. What is your opinion on this?

Respondent: I'd say we are part of the Taita. For instance, as we talk of Mghange in Sagalla, there is Mghange in Taita. We have Kishamba here, and Kishamba near Wundanyi. It is like some of the speakers of Kidawida came and settled here and brought their names. Actually, in the larger Taita County or district, we have the Sagalla, Wadawida and the Watuveta from Taveta. These three make up the Taita County.

Researcher: By mentioning the three, Wasagalla, Wadawida and Watuveta, it appears that we are actually creating a distinction between the three.

Respondent: Yeah. The Sagalla are not Wadawida, nor are they Watuveta. But looking at their languages, the Wadawida from the Taita hills do not understand our language, but we understand theirs very well.

Researcher: Looking at the 2009 Census list of communities in Kenya, it was interesting that the Sagalla did not appear as a distinct community. Walking around, I could see that you are quite a big community, could be larger than some language communities which registered just hundreds or even less than five thousand speakers or members in the last national census. If then the Sagalla are not Wadawida or Watuveta, why is it that they did not identify themselves as a distinct language community?

Respondent: I think we identified ourselves as part of the Wadawida. But in actual fact, the three-the Sagalla, Wadawida and Watuveta are different tribes in the larger Taita County, formerly Taita district.

Researcher: As I had mentioned, I am researching on the interactions between Kisagalla and Kiswahili, especially giving focus on Kiswahili words that have gained usage in day to day conversation by native speakers of Kisagalla, thus leading to the loss of native Kisagalla words. Is it true that Kisagalla is losing its native words to Kiswahili? And if yes, are there examples of such words that you could give me?

Respondent: Yes. *(Trying to remember examples)* Mmh, I think there are…there are such words.

Researcher: I could give you time after the interview to write them down for me.

Respondent: Okay.

Researcher: Moving to the next question, why do you think that the Sagalla speakers are abandoning their native words for Kiswahili words?

Respondent: Intermarriages. We have intermarried with the Agiriama and the Wadawida. My wife comes from Taita, specifically Wundanyi. There are others from

Taveta and Ukambani. My daughter-in-law is from Kathonzweni, my brother's wife comes from Nandi, etc.

Researcher: Speaking to one, Mr. Kisombe, I got to learn that there has been an increasing number of the Duruma people settling among the Sagalla, especially in the lowlands i.e. Sagalla-nyika.

Respondent: Yes, they are there, especially in places like Talio and Kajire, towards Kasighau hills, you will find them there. It is like they have been assimilated here. I believe they have contributed to Kiswahili infiltrating into Kisagalla.

Researcher: Besides intermarriages, what other factors have led to Kisagalla losing its native words to Kiswahili?

Respondent: Business or trade, and non-natives coming to work or even settle here. I remember when I was an Inspector of Schools, I visited a school near Kasighau hills where nearly ninety nine percent of the pupils were Kamba. It is called Kisimenyi primary school.

Researcher: And now looking at trends in language use among the youth in a digital era, could we attribute this to the loss of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili?

Respondent: Yes. You will find that many of them mix Kisagalla, Kiswahili, and even English, even when speaking to the elderly. They mix the languages, could be to express themselves better, or even to hide some issues from the elderly.

Researcher: Would it, therefore, be right to say that most young native speakers of Kisagalla are no longer proud of their language?

Respondent: In my view, there are some who are truly proud, but there are also others who are not. For instance, there are those who cannot read fluently in Kisagalla, especially the Kisagalla bible. In church, I prefer us reading the Kisagalla bible during our Kisagalla service, but quite a number of young people struggle reading fluently in Kisagalla.

Researcher: Looking at the male and female Kisagalla speakers, which of the two genders tends to use Kiswahili words in place of Kisagalla words more often?

Respondent: In my view, it is the males. I think the males enjoy more freedom to go outside Sagalla, e.g. to Nairobi, Mombasa, etc where they pick words, especially Kiswahili. When back here, they use such to show others how exposed to the world they are.

Researcher: Looking at families with both parents as native Sagallas, would you say that they are doing enough to teach Kisagalla to their children?

Respondent: They try, especially when their children come home over the holidays. There is a time when Kisagalla used to be the medium of education in the early years of schooling, but later, when most of the teachers posted here were not native Kisagalla

speakers, Kiswahili was adopted. Go to our schools today and you will find that even class one pupils are being taught in Kiswahili!

Researcher: Looking at these trends in Kisagalla, what do you think is the future of Kisagalla? Will the language survive or die?

Respondent: I think the language will survive, but it is also likely to get mixed up or even disappear if we are not careful. For instance, most of our educated young people are out there with their families. They teach Kiswahili to their children, and for the few times they come home, they appear more of visitors than natives.

Researcher: My last question is whether, in your opinion, something needs to be done to prevent Kisagalla from dying.

Respondent: Yes. I think, for instance, we can emphasize the usage of this New Testament in Kisagalla, especially by the youth. There are attempts to also translate the Old Testament into Kisagalla. There are also Early Childhood Development Education storybooks I took part in writing which teachers can be encouraged to use with the young children. Young people can also make attempts to write Kisagalla poems, etc.

Researcher: I was informed that there are ongoing efforts to translate Liturgy books into Kisagalla.

Respondent: Yeah, but most of those that are ready are simply in pamphlets. Once they are finally put together into a book, they will certainly help to preserve Kisagalla.

Researcher: In the Wray Memorial Museum, I saw a Kisagalla dictionary. I also saw that they are building a library and learnt that they organize a Sagalla cultural festival annually in December. Are these other avenues towards preserving Kisagalla?

Respondent: You know that Wray was the first missionary to Sagalla, and he even wrote the Sagalla prayer book, and the Sagalla dictionary. The festival involves traditional dances, cooking of traditional foods, etc. I was there last December and I enjoyed a lot. There were many young people who came and took photographs using their mobile phones. I think they were excited about it.

Researcher: Speaking to the Sagalla Ward youth leader, I learnt that they have a Facebook group where Kisagalla is exclusively used for chats.

Respondent: I even have some of my sons in that group. I know about it, and I think it has not only helped preserve the language, but also bring our youth together to discuss matters development in Sagalla.

Researcher: We have come to the end of our interview. I think I can now allow you time to write the examples of words we had mentioned. For instance, I learnt that most people today use the Kiswahili word ‘kitanda’ in place of the native Kisagalla word ‘*ulili*’ or ‘*bed*’. Others use ‘*sita*’ and ‘*saba*’ for ‘*six*’ and ‘*seven*’, respectively, when counting.

Respondent: I see that you are actually learning Kisagalla!

Researcher: I am trying, thank you. I think those three will help you as you think of other examples.

Respondent: Yeah.

Researcher: Thank you very much for your time and contribution.

Respondent: Welcome, Mr. Kyama. Thank you for coming to my home. I wish you well in your studies.

Appendix 3: Interview 3 with two community opinion leaders

(The two are retired teachers who later held various positions in the civil service with the Ministry of Education. They are contemporaries and natives of Sagalla who spent the better part of their teaching career in Sagalla. The interview takes place in the Vicar's office, ACK St. Marks church in Teri on 30th May, 2016.)

Researcher: My name is Michael Kyama, an MA (Linguistics) student from the University of Nairobi. I am currently researching on Lexical change in Kisagalla towards writing my MA Thesis. Part of my sample includes opinion leaders from the Sagalla community. I am glad that some of my contact persons, who are natives of Sagalla, recommended you to me. My intention is to hear from you a few insights on my research problem.

Respondents: (*Jointly)* Welcome.

Researcher: Perhaps one of you could start by telling me about the Sagalla people, who they are, where they came from, and what they do for a living.

Respondent I: The Sagalla are a Bantu group. There are many stories about them. Some say that they were part of a larger group that came from Tanzania, some place in central Tanzania, around Usambaa Mountains. When they came here, they decided to settle and start growing potatoes in the lowlands. Another narrative says that the Sagalla came back here after encountering the Cushites in their migration. It is also said that some members of the Agiriama and Duruma communities also came and settled here. There are also some of the Akamba long distance traders who came and settled here. We actually have a village down here called Ngolia, which we are told was occupied by the Akamba settlers. Again, there is another group called the Wabisha (the Abyssinians) who also came and settled around Kindu area. Those were the original Sagalla.

Respondent II: Sagalla is a Giriama term meaning 'sit or settle.' So they came and settled here, and we originated from them.

Researcher: I see. What did the original Sagalla people do for a living?

Respondent I: Most of them were mixed farmers, growing crops like potatoes, cassava, arrowroots and sugarcane, as well as keeping livestock, especially in the lowlands. Attacks from the Maasai for cattle and the Arabs for slaves forced them to find safety in the hills, but they would still go to graze in the lowlands.

Researcher: There are those who say that the Sagalla are Taitas, on one hand, and those who deny this assertion, on the other. What is your take on this?

Respondent II: You see, the Taitas are also Bantu. When they speak, we understand their language, but they hardly understand ours. That brings in a bit of difference, so that one will say that they are a Taita from Taita, or a Taita from Sagalla.

Respondent I: (joining in) Sagallas are Taitas. The back and forth movements during migration made these people to mix in a way. You will find similarities in names between the Sagalla and the Taita. For instance, Mwanjala, Mwambuga, etc are shared names. There is a marked difference between the Sagalla and the Watuveta, but not so with the

Taita. There is a book in the museum here, which, according to the first missionary, Wray, says that the Sagalla are part of the Taita. The only difference is in the dialects since the two groups settled in different mountain blocks. You will also find that some Sagalla words are related to the Agiriama words, and others are related to Kidawida.

Researcher: Are there other communities that live among the Sagalla?

Respondent I: Yes. There are those who have come to settle here, or have come for jobs or married here. These are few, and they easily get assimilated among us. However, in the forest areas, more so in the lowlands of Talio, you will find quite a number of Durumas who have recently come to farm and settle. They are like a small tribe of the Sagalla.

Respondent II: These are people who have come to look for farming land. They have been welcomed and they have settled, but we do not interfere with each other's culture.

Researcher: Which language do the Durumas speak?

Respondent II: Kiduruma, of course, but if they want to communicate with us, they will attempt to speak Kisagalla. Before they can learn Kisagalla, they, however, use Kiswahili.

Researcher: Looking at Kisagalla, would it be right to say that Kisagalla is losing some of its native words to Kiswahili? And if yes, what reasons would explain why this is happening?

Respondent I: For the words that have been lost, I think that education is a contributing factor. When people are learned, they may end up finding some words, especially English and Kiswahili words, more fitting for their communication. The other factor has to do with religion, especially through the posting of church ministers who are not native speakers of Kisagalla to our churches here. Such will end up using Kiswahili with the natives.

Respondent II: I agree with my friend. Religion and education are the key contributing factors to Kisagalla losing its words to Kiswahili. Teachers may find it easier explaining some things in Kiswahili. We even fear that the language may end up dying because our children are being taught in Kiswahili, and some parents are even using Kiswahili with their children at home. In fact, Kiswahili is taking over in most of the families, especially educated families.

Researcher: Any other contributing factors?

Respondent I: Intermarriage….and modernization. You will find the young people even trying to mix languages in an attempt to meet the conversational expectations of their peers.

Respondent II: *(Interjecting).*Yeah, for instance you will hear them saying '*ninakam*' (I am coming) or '*niko bizi*' (I am busy), and they very well understand each other.

Researcher: Going back to the issue of educated families, is it right to say, then, that educated parents are not making enough attempts to teach Kisagalla to their children?

Respondent I: I'd say that no one is attempting to teach Kisagalla to another. They simply pick it from the society. Even in schools, children are taught in English and Kiswahili from nursery schools. There is a time we tried teaching Kisagalla. We even published storybooks in the language, but the effect was minimal. The cost implications were high and the uptake of the material by the community was not encouraging.

Respondent II: You will even find native Sagalla parents speaking Kiswahili to each other, or even to their children.

Respondent I: Even in my home, I have my grandchildren who use '*babu*' for 'grandfather'. When you tell them that '*babu*' in Kisagalla is '*ake*', they find it funny.

Researcher: And now looking at the youth, is it right to say that most young native speakers of Kisagalla have lost pride in their language?

Respondent II: Very few are proud of their language…

Respondent I: *(Interjecting)*. They cannot be proud of their language. Most of them are mixed up. They consider themselves as people from Voi or Mombasa. They could be proud of Sagalla as a region, but not the language. They consider themselves as 'digital' and well exposed, so that identifying with the language itself is being local, being too local.

Researcher: I am aware that there are two services conducted in our churches nowadays. How has this loss of pride in their language affected the involvement of the youth in these services, especially the Kisagalla service?

Respondent I: It has affected because if they are not proud of the language, or are thinking in English, then they will even struggle reading fluently in the language. In our days we only had the Kisagalla service. Today they have options; the Kiswahili, English and Kisagalla services, so that one chooses the one they prefer.

Respondent II: I have been keen to observe that there are more youth in the Kiswahili service than in the Kisagalla service. And even those who attend the Kisagalla service are forced by the fact that they must sing in the choir. I cannot understand what they actually think of their language.

Respondent I: I think it is because they lack the basics of their language, because no one taught them Kisagalla. For instance, some get discouraged when they cannot read fluently in Kisagalla, especially pronouncing some Kisagalla sounds correctly. We are seeing a trend where the Kiswahili service is taking the centre stage for the young people, as well as for natives who stay in towns. When they come home, they do not attend the Kisagalla service anymore.

Researcher: I attended a joint youth service yesterday at Rakhasi, which brought youth from a number of ACK churches in Sagalla, and it was surprising that the entire service was run in Kiswahili, yet the youth, save for one or two like me, were all natives of Sagalla.

Respondent I: As I had said, that is as a result of religion. When the church minister is not a native of Sagalla, then they have to use Kiswahili. Except for the conservative churches especially here, where we still stick to Kisagalla, you will find that most of the upcoming churches, especially in the lowlands, use Kiswahili.

Respondent II: Even as the young people converse on the roads, they use Kiswahili. The effect of Kiswahili has been more on the youth. I remember, was it last December, when a certain girl was asked by her mother to do the church reading in the Kisagalla service, and she did it so well that I had to give her a present, a book. The problem is that when she is with her friends, she will still revert to Kiswahili.

Respondent I: Kiswahili is the language of the street. The youth choose to communicate in the language they best understand.

Researcher: Looking at the trend where Kiswahili words are gaining regular usage among native Kisagalla speakers, what do you think is the future of Kisagalla?

Respondent I: In my opinion, in the next, say, fifty to a hundred years, it will just be a language to be talked about, possibly remaining in church records only. With this influx of other languages, and the fact that the Sagalla are a small population, they will be swallowed up. Even now we are being swallowed up, and the language will only be used by a few who want to share secrets or identify themselves as a unique group.

Researcher: *(motioning the other respondent).* Could be you are of a different opinion.

Respondent II: Kisagalla will get lost because when children get into nursery school onwards, Kisagalla is put aside and Kiswahili takes over. But if the Ministry of Education would enforce the language policy that children be taught in their vernacular, then it would help preserve the language.

Researcher: This takes us to the last question. Having appreciated the risk there is for Kisagalla i.e. getting lost, what things do we think can be done to preserve Kisagalla?

Respondent I: First is the publication of books. The only ones we have are religious books. There are no educational materials in Kisagalla. Children should also be taught their language as well as encouraging the natives to take pride in identifying with their language. You see, Kiswahili is like the language of identity for coastal dwellers, so that when you use your vernacular, you appear as the odd one out.

Respondent II: I also think if Kisagalla is made part of the curriculum, through the support of the Ministry of Education, it can help.

Researcher: The resident church minister here told me that you are in the process of translating the Liturgy books into Kisagalla. Do you think this will contribute to preserving the language?

Respondent I: We have translated hymn books, the New Testament, and we are planning to even translate the Old Testament so that we have a full bible. However, the challenge is lack of finances, and the fact that returns from the community may not even recover the production cost. Again, you see that this is an initiative of the Anglican Church. Will this be adopted by other denominations and the rest of the community?

Respondent II: I think the problem is the community itself.

Respondent I: The community may not even be for what we are doing. It therefore needs concerted efforts, not just the initiative of the church.

Researcher: What about the Kisagalla dictionary and the ongoing library project? Do they present any opportunities for the preservation of Kisagalla?

Respondent I: We have even made and sold copies of that dictionary. The challenge is the production cost, so that they have so far run out of stock. We were encouraging every native speaker of Kisagalla who can read and write to keep a copy of the dictionary. The library will also help. People will be able to read the dictionary, Kisagalla songs, the Chronicles of Reverend Wray and other materials from there. The library and the museum will actually supplement each other to preserve the culture and the language of the Sagalla.

Researcher: What about the annual Sagalla Cultural festival which is usually held in December?

Respondent II: The museum has helped us restore and to revive the old culture.

Respondent I: He is actually one of the key advisors and planners of the Sagalla Cultural festival. He also narrates Kisagalla stories as well as dances and the traditional Sagalla dowry negotiations during our cultural day. We even gave him the go ahead to publish a book with his son on Kisagalla culture. I do not know how far they have gone.

Researcher: What exactly do you do during the cultural day? And how would you comment on the involvement of the youth in the last one?

Respondent II: The festival usually helps the young people to know what was being done in the past, before the modern day. They get to know things like traditional medicines and foods, community ceremonies, dances and many more.

Respondent I: We usually involve the youth in the dances, as well as teach them how to prepare traditional dishes.

Researcher: We have come to the end of our interview. However, as we had agreed, you will take some time to write down the examples of Kisagalla words that have been lost to Kiswahili. Otherwise, thank you very much for your time and contribution.

Respondent I and II: (*Jointly)* Welcome.

Appendix 4. Focused group discussion 1: Kizumanzi Welfare Groups

(This group has been in existence since 1996. They have been doing dairy farming. It has also attracted members from other areas of Sagalla e.g. Talio, and so grown into 'Kizumanzi A' and 'Kizumanzi B'. They are sponsored by the Heifer Project International. The discussion takes place at Kiwanjani, a community open field near Kizumanzi Secondary school on 31st, May, 2016. Fourteen (14) members participated.)

Researcher: My name is Michael Kyama, an MA (Linguistics) student from the University of Nairobi. I am currently researching on Lexical change in Kisagalla towards writing my MA Thesis. Part of my sample includes organized groups from the Sagalla community. I am glad that some of my contact persons, who are natives of Sagalla recommended you to me. My intention is to hear from you a few insights on my research problem.

Respondents: (Jointly). Welcome.

Researcher: Having heard a brief history of this group from one of your leaders, I would be glad to know whether this group only represents the Sagalla people. In other words, are there other communities represented here?

Respondent I: There are others who speak other languages. Our Children have married from the Akamba, we have them here. So we are a mixed community.

Researcher: Which other communities do the Sagalla people live or interact with regularly besides the Akamba?

Respondent II: We have the Duruma. In fact we have them here at Marapu, we have intermarried with them…they are like part of us.

Respondent III: Even the Agikuyu…

Respondent II: The Agikuyu, no….

Respondent III: But we have married their daughters…..

Respondent II: Yes, we have married their daughters. Especially the Duruma in Marapu, they are like natives of here. We are like one people, but they use their language, and we use ours.

Researcher: Which language do you use when interacting with the Duruma people?

Respondent II: Kiswahili. Yes, we use Kiswahili, but when they are alone they use their language.

Researcher: Besides those married from other communities, are there others who have come to work, do business or simply settle here?

Respondent II: Yes, there are some working here. As a community, whenever a visitor comes, we have to know where they are being hosted, they should be introduced to the village elder and the chief.

Researcher: It shows that the Sagalla community is closely knit. Was there a security concern in the past or some incident so that foreigners have to be closely monitored?

Respondent IV: Not so. It is because, for instance, a foreigner could die here…then where will they be buried if they are not known?

Researcher: Have those from other communities married here, or working here, shown interest in learning Kisagalla?

Respondent V: To confirm this as one of such…*(The group laughs).* By now, I am a Sagalla, but I come from Taita. Since I came here, it would be difficult for a non-native of Sagalla to tell that I am not a native Sagalla.

Researcher: Does it mean that you have learnt Kisagalla by yourself or the natives have taught you?

Respondent V: No, no. I have learnt it by myself.

Researcher: Have there been attempts by those from other communities to teach their languages to native Kisagalla speakers?

Respondents: (*Collectively*). No. No.

Respondent VI: Unless you go to their places, but when they are here, they have to learn Kisagalla.

Researcher: Are there native Kisagalla speakers who have shown interest in learning the languages of these other communities?

Respondent VII: (after a moment of silence).Yes. But it is not easy, because when the visitors come, they are interested in learning Kisagalla. For us, it is difficult to learn their languages, except for just a few words.

Respondent I: But our own children are usually interested in learning the Kikuyu language, especially when they go out there for studies, say, in Nairobi.

Respondent VIII: Even us, the natives. *(Laughs)*

Researcher: And why is this so?

Respondent V: It is an attempt to assimilate out there, where the natives of those other languages are the majority.

Respondent II: You see, especially the Agikuyu, they are fond of their language. Even when they are away from their land, they still keep using it, so the non-native has to find a way of learning that language. You see, with us here, we usually use Kiswahili. When

you go to Nairobi, or Ukambani, you will find them using their languages. When a Taita goes there, or a Sagalla, they will simply be swallowed up. But for us….

Respondent V: (*Interjecting)* I think they are generally selfish… (*Group laughs*).

Respondent II: But for us, for instance while with you, we will use the language you understand so that you do not think we are discriminating against you.

Researcher: Moving forward to look at Kisagalla, are there examples of native Kisagalla words that we know that have been abandoned for Kiswahili words? Words we know are native Kisagalla words, the Sagalla used to use them, but nowadays, their place has been taken by Kiswahili words.

Respondent IX: (after excusing herself for coming late). I think it is as a result of abandoning our culture. Some of our children do not know much about our culture and things have changed because they are copying foreign trends.

Researcher: This implies that we are in agreement that there are native Kisagalla words that have been lost to Kiswahili words. After this interview, I request that you will take time to write down examples of such words for me. For instance, I learnt that many people nowadays use 'kitanda' for 'bed' instead of the native Kisagalla word 'ulili'. It means that the word 'ulili' is getting lost.

Respondents: (*Collectively*). Yes.

Researcher: The question then becomes, why is this trend happening?

Respondent X: Because children…..

Researcher: You could raise your voice, please.

Respondent X: Because children are no longer learning their mother tongue. Even in schools, they are taught in Kiswahili.

Researcher: Was there a time when they used to be taught in Kisagalla?

Respondents: (collectively).Yes, yes. They used to.

Researcher: Then what happened?

Respondent IV: It depends on the one in charge, they keep bringing in their own directives.

Researcher: Do you mean the head-teachers or…?

Respondents: (*Collectively*). The government, the government…

Respondent I: The change has to do with the government.

Researcher: I understand that there is a Ministry of Education policy that allows children to be taught in the language of their catchment area for the first three years of schooling, and I believe it is working elsewhere. You may want to follow this up as a community with those in the education sector.

Respondents: (*Collectively)*. Yes.

Researcher: What other reasons could we give for the fact that Kisagalla is losing its native words to Kiswahili?

Respondent V: New generation.

Researcher: New generation?

Respondent V: New generation…this modern generation, they are more into learning Kiswahili. Even in our homes, for instance, I speak Kiswahili with my children. We do not use our native language.

Researcher: I hear young people today saying that they are 'digital'. Do they also want to be 'digital' in matters language?

Respondent V: Precisely.

Researcher: For you as a native Sagalla parent, would you take offence if you spoke to your child in Kisagalla and they responded in Kiswahili?

Respondent II: You see, like she has confessed that she uses Kiswahili with her children at home, then it is like we even do not think or mind that we are losing our own language.

Researcher: Is this to say that most native Sagalla parents are not doing enough to teach Kisagalla to their children?

Respondent V: Yes. We seem to be comfortable with this, that it is a new era, and so things cannot remain as they were. (*Group laughs*).

Researcher: We could hear more reasons why Kiswahili is seemingly penetrating into Kisagalla, causing the loss of native Kisagalla words.

Respondent IX: Another reason is that, for instance, if I am married here from another community, then I must keep using Kiswahili until I am able to speak Kisagalla. Before then, I will teach Kiswahili to my children

Researcher: Is it to say that intermarriages are another cause for the loss of native Kisagalla words?

Respondents: (collectively). Yes.

Researcher: What does this loss of native Kisagalla words mean for the future of Kisagalla? Do we think the language will survive or gradually weaken and die in the future?

Respondent XI: In my opinion, it will not die. Kisagalla cannot die. Even if people from other communities keep coming here, they will always get assimilated, and so Kisagalla will remain.

Researcher: That is her opinion. Could be someone has a different perspective.

Respondent I: Even in churches, the language we use is Kisagalla. The hymn books, and even the bible is in Kisagalla. I think Kisagalla will not get lost.

Researcher: We could also hear from our mum over there.

Respondent XII: Thank you, my son. I think Kisagalla will only get lost for those who consider themselves as 'digital, but for us who picked it from our parents, it will still remain. Could be we can talk of the language weakening gradually, but it is not easy to have it getting completely lost.

Researcher: We know that generations come and go, and the gradual weakening is a possibility. Let us hear something about the involvement of the youth in the Kisagalla and Kiswahili services, which I am told are both conducted in our churches.

Respondent II: Most of them attend both, but the Kisagalla service registers more numbers of youth, men and women.

Respondent IV: But when the youth are asked to conduct the reading in Kisagalla, they do not find it easy…because the Kisagalla used there is hard. Even me, I do not find it easy. It is the very original Kisagalla.

Researcher: I have seen several publications in Kisagalla; this New Testament bible, the Kisagalla dictionary, as well as a Kisagalla hymn book. Are there other publications we know that have been published in Kisagalla?

Respondents: (collectively). No.

Researcher: Moving towards a close, what things do we think can and should be done to preserve Kisagalla?

Respondent II: If it is so, then I recommend that children be taught in Kisagalla up to class three, if that is possible.

Researcher: There are a number of stakeholders there who need to be involved to make this happen.

Respondent XI: The elderly native speakers should also come up with strategies to teach Kisagalla to the young people, e.g. through special forums.

Researcher: Any other thing that can be done?

Respondent XIII: In the old days, we used to have '*zome*', where the elderly would sit together with the youth and teach them many things, but we do not have that now….If only we went back there, we could prevent Kisagalla from getting lost.

Respondent XI: As I had said, I do not think Kisagalla will get lost. The culture can, but the language itself will remain. Since I was born, and am now almost fifty, I have never heard that a language can get lost. Has any language ever disappeared? I doubt it.

Respondent IV: I also think if we had publications in Kisagalla for use in teaching our children in primary schools, this could also help to preserve the language.

Respondent XI: And also a radio station in Kisagalla.

Researcher: Is there one already?

Respondents: (*Collectively)*. No, we do not have.

Respondent XI: The one we have is in Kidawida, which we understand, but our young children do not understand Kidawida.

Researcher: Are there any upcoming music artists we know who are natives of Sagalla?

Respondent II: They are there, but they do not go far due to lack of enough resources to grow their talent. I actually know of one who had come up but we no longer hear about him nowadays.

Researcher: We have now come to the end of our interview. I am glad to have learnt quite much about Kisagalla from you, which will help me a lot in my research. We will now take time so that you can write down the examples of native Kisagalla words that have been lost to Kiswahili. Otherwise, I am grateful for your cooperation.

(The group members split into two groups to compile the list of examples. Later, we conclude and people leave for their homes.)

Appendix 5. Focused group discussion 2: Mghange Welfare Groups executive committee members

(This group includes the leaders of six (6) welfare groups in Sagalla, especially from Mghange and Kishamba areas. They also do dairy farming and table banking where they issue soft loans to their members. The first group was started in 1982 with twenty-seven (27) members, but a number stepped down. Currently, that mother group has 20 members; 18 women and 2 men, who represent their deceased or elderly parents.

The interview is done in Mwambungu Social Hall, near Sagalla Primary school in Mghange on 1st June, 2016. Nine (9) members participated.)

Researcher: My name is Michael Kyama, an MA (Linguistics) student from the University of Nairobi. I am currently researching on Lexical change in Kisagalla towards writing my MA Thesis. Part of my sample includes organized groups from the Sagalla community. I am glad that some of my contact persons, who are natives of Sagalla recommended you to me. My intention is to hear from you a few insights on my research problem.

Respondents: (*Collectively*). Welcome.

Researcher: Having listened to such detailed background information about the groups you represent, what you do, and some of the achievements you have had, we could move on to hear if there are any other communities, besides the Sagalla, who are represented in these groups.

Respondent I: Other communities are represented in that, if I have a son, he brings his Kamba wife here, his Kikuyu wife here, and that is how we have them. (*Seeking the opinion of other members*) Or am I wrong?

Respondents: (Collectively). No.

Researcher: Are there some here who are not native Sagallas?

Respondent I: Not really, because even the one from Taita who is here is just like one of us, like a Sagalla.

Researcher: I have had an interesting discussion with some young people. Some say that they are Sagallas and not Taita, while others say that they are Taitas from Sagalla. Which is which, especially looking at the two groups, the Sagalla and the Taita?

Respondent II: The difference is in the language, in that the Taita have their language, and we have ours, and at times we may not understand each other.

Researcher: So the only difference is in the languages?

Respondents: (*Collectively)*. Yes.

Respondent III: We are all Taita, my son. As Sagallas, when out there, say, in Mombasa, we will identify ourselves as Taitas from Sagalla. There are only differences in names, like Kasighau, Sagalla…even those in Kasighau are Taitas.

Researcher: It could be that the youth are carving out a new identity; we may want to find out that later. Which language do you use as you interact with those from other communities living among you, for instance those married here?

Respondent III: They use Kiswahili, but others get to learn Kisagalla over time.

Researcher: Is that to say that those from other communities living here express interest in learning Kisagalla?

Respondents: (*Collectively)*. Yes.

Researcher: Have there been deliberate efforts from the natives to teach them Kisagalla?

Respondent III: Yes, we do.

Researcher: Have there been attempts by the non-natives to teach their languages to the Sagalla?

Respondent IV: Yes, they are there. My daughter-in-law comes from Ukambani, and she has attempted to teach me some Kikamba.

Researcher: I hope you are able to speak and understand some Kikamba.

Respondent IV: (*Amidst laughter from the group).* Oh, not really, but you see, I am picking it little by little.

Researcher: I see.

Respondent III: You see, my son, those who are married here, have to use their language, especially to their children, so that the mother-in-law ends up picking some of it.

Researcher: Moving on to look at the way Kisagalla has interacted with Kiswahili, are there indicators that Kiswahili is infiltrating into Kisagalla, so that some native Kisagalla words have been lost to Kiswahili words?

Respondent II: Yes, there are signs. Some native Kisagalla words are closely related to Kiswahili words.

Respondent V: We have witnessed some native Kisagalla words, especially in the language of those who call themselves 'dot coms', they often mix Kisagalla and Kiswahili.

Researcher: And so there are native Kisagalla words they have no idea about?

Respondent V: Yeah, they do not know them.

Respondent II: Yes. Even these children being born nowadays, they use Kiswahili.

Researcher: We will now move on to explore the causes of this loss, but towards the end of this session, I will be giving us time to write down examples of such words. For instance, I am aware that most young people nowadays use 'kitanda' and 'babu' instead of 'ulili' and 'ake' for 'bed' and 'grandfather', respectively. Similarly, when counting from one to ten, they will say 'sita' and 'sabaa' instead of 'ndandatu' and 'mfungate' for 'six' and 'seven', respectively. I will be expecting to get more of such words from you when that time comes.

Respondent VI: Even greetings, they have changed them nowadays. In our days, we used to meet and greet each other well, but nowadays you will hear them saying, '*Mambo, mambo; Poa, poa'*, and they are okay with it.

Researcher: Why do we think this loss of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili is happening?

Respondent V: One of them is intermarriage.

Respondent VI: Or you will find a learned person will not want to speak Kisagalla to their children. They choose to use Kiswahili and English.

Researcher: Do you mean to say that those who are natives of Sagalla and are learned, do not consider Kisagalla as a language worth using with their children?

Respondent VI: Yes, yes. They are already learned, they are like Europeans. (Group laughs)

Respondent I: Giving my opinion as well, those who are learned are often out working in Mombasa or Nairobi. When they bring their children home, there is a challenge since they have only learnt English and Kiswahili.

Respondent III: In addition, in the past, our parents never used to educate their children as we are doing nowadays, so that you will find English and Kiswahili in use even in the homes today. There is very little of Kisagalla.

Researcher: Would it be right to say that even the native Sagalla parents are not doing enough to teach Kisagalla to their children?

Respondent VII: When we were young and schooling, there was the use of mother tongue in schools. It is not the case today. Children are being taught in English and Kiswahili, and so they end up picking and using them in their communication.

Researcher: I got to learn from the Kizumanzi groups that native Sagalla parents do not mind addressing their children in Kisagalla and the children responding in, say, Kiswahili.

Respondent IV: That is not good. It is not good at all.

Respondent I: But it could be that the child who responds to their parents in Kiswahili come from a family where the father and mother do not both speak Kisagalla. For such a child, it will be easier using Kiswahili.

Researcher: So far, it is clear that comparing the youth and the elderly native speakers of Kisagalla, it is the youth who use Kiswahili words in place of native Kisagalla words more than the elderly. Looking at the genders, who, between the male and female youth, tend to use Kiswahili words in place of native Kisagalla words more often?

Respondents: (*Collectively)*. The male youth.

Researcher: Why the male youth?

Respondent VIII: I think they are more proud using Kiswahili than Kisagalla.

Respondent II: I also think that the boys keep interacting with their friends and using Kiswahili, thus the trend.

Researcher: How would you compare the involvement of the young people in the Kiswahili and the Kisagalla services?

Respondent IV: Others prefer the English one over the Kiswahili one.

Researcher: I am sorry, we are comparing between the Kiswahili service and the Kisagalla one.

Respondent V: They prefer the Kiswahili one over the Kisagalla one.

Researcher: Why is this so?

Respondent VII: They claim that the Kisagalla service is for the elderly, and the Kiswahili one for the youth. You see, they view themselves as 'dot coms.'

Researcher: For those youths who attend the Kisagalla service, what are their attitudes towards reading in Kisagalla in church services?

Respondent VII: Most of them do not like reading in Kisagalla…

Respondent I: (*Interjecting*). Even when they try reading in Kisagalla, they find it difficult reading the kind of Kisagalla in those books. But when you assign them readings in Kiswahili, they do them with ease.

Respondent IV: It is not easy reading in Kisagalla.

Respondent V: Even writing in Kisagalla, it is not easy. It is not easy at all.

Researcher: Moving to the next question, do we think that the native Sagalla youth have gradually lost pride in Kisagalla, so that they are no longer proud of their language?

Respondents: (*Several of them together*). They have lost it.

Respondent I: The idea is that some may use Kiswahili because they are speaking to a mixed group, where some of their audience are not native Kisagalla speakers. So, to be understood, they will use Kiswahili, and could be, some little Kisagalla…but you will also be shocked to find two young native speakers of Kisagalla conversing in Kiswahili. I think this 'going digital' is causing them to lose their language.

Researcher: With these language trends, and the continued loss of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili words, what do you think is the future of Kisagalla? Do you think the language will survive or gradually weaken and finally get lost?

Respondent VIII: I think that Kisagalla will disappear because our very own youth are more into using Kiswahili in their conversation than Kisagalla. That will make Kisagalla die.

Researcher: Could be someone else has a different opinion.

Respondent III: For now, for those of our age, Kisagalla cannot be lost, but there is fear that it may disappear in future, especially looking at language trends among the young people.

Researcher: What do we think with regards to those native speakers of Kisagalla who are educated?

Respondent I: I usually appreciate some who, in spite of being educated, they are still proud of their language. There are even youth who are educated, but they speak Kisagalla very well. By speaking in Kiswahili, you give an advantage even to foreigners to listen into your secrets, but when you use Kisagalla, they will not follow. It is, therefore, a challenge to parents to encourage their children to use Kisagalla. But looking at some youth, as you put it, six is 'sita', seven is 'sabaa'. They do not know 'ndandatu' and 'mfungate.'

Respondent III: Even for some of us here do not know 'ndandatu'. *(The group laughs)*

Respondent IV: Some of us do not know it at all! (*More laughter*)

Researcher: This takes us to the last question. In view of this risk of losing Kisagalla in the future, what do we think can, and should be done to prevent the language from eventually disappearing?

Respondent V: I think if we go back to our culture, it will help. Again, life has changed so much that the very elderly, who should teach Sagalla culture to the young people are no longer there.

Researcher: Now that she has mentioned something on culture, we can quickly hear from the representative of the Mwambungu cultural group some of the things they could be doing to preserve Kisagalla through emphasis on holding on to our culture.

Respondent III: You see, culture, even the things we have been mentioning here, I think by coming to us, you have said the truth, and are helping us not to lose our culture to modernity….. I think that our people need to go back to their culture, and that is why this group was formed to encourage traditional dances and help the youth to appreciate their culture.

Researcher: I am aware that there is a Sagalla cultural day which you hold annually in December. I believe this can be a great opportunity to showcase your culture and encourage, especially the youth, to own it. What else can we do to preserve Kisagalla?

Respondent I: In our Anglican churches, we run two services, a Kiswahili service in the morning, and the second, a Kisagalla service. That is why you saw books like the New Testament bible in Kisagalla. Again, in the past, there used to be 'zome' for the men, where they would sit with the young men and teach them on their culture. Similarly, the women would sit with their girls and talk to them. Those things are not lost. That is why we are encouraging ourselves, especially with regards to the girl child, to do something, starting from our homes.

Respondent VIII: The loss of the 'zome' has really worsened things. That is why our youth have embraced modernity, using English and Kiswahili, and losing Kisagalla.

Researcher: I believe the challenge is clear to all of us that we need to do something, starting from our homes. We could also try creating time with our youth over the holidays where we can raise key issues with them. Moving on, besides culture, what else can be done to preserve Kisagalla?

Respondent I: In my view, the elderly should plan for a meeting with the youth, say, in April or August, and challenge them on various aspects of life.

Researcher: We could hear the last two suggestions.

Respondent III: I do not know if you were sent to compile a report, you could help us by ensuring that there are language lessons in Kisagalla, say, in the nursery schools and early primary so that children do not lose Kisagalla.

Researcher: That is a good suggestion. There is the Ministry of Education policy guiding the use of the mother tongue in education up to class three. The fact that it is not working here could be a point of discussion with stakeholders in the education sector.

Respondents: (*Collectively*). That is true.

Researcher: Do you think the library being constructed near the Wray Memorial Museum presents another opportunity for preserving Kisagalla?

Respondent V: It will help. There is even a Kisagalla dictionary. I guess you got yourself a copy, besides the Kisagalla Bible.

Researcher: I only got a copy of the Kisagalla bible. The dictionary copies are out of stock. Finally, I am told that there is an ongoing process of translating the Liturgy books into Kisagalla.

Respondent III: That will also help, since the services will now be conducted in Kisagalla, and not Kiswahili.

Researcher: I am glad we have come to the end of our interview. I am grateful for your time, cooperation and warm welcome. It is now time to get the list of native Kisagalla words that have been lost to Kiswahili words from you.

Respondents: *(Collectively)*. Welcome.

(*The group takes time to write down the words. Later, everyone leaves for their home.)*

Appendix 6. Focused group discussion questionnaire

Name of Group…… Date of discussion……

1. Which group is this? Could one of the leaders give us a brief history of the group and what you do?

2. Which is the dominant language in this group? Which other language communities are represented in this group?

3. Which other language communities do the Sagalla people live or interact with regularly?

4. Which language(s) do these communities speak when they are in contact with the native Kisagalla speakers?

5. Have there been attempts or expression of interest:
   i. By these other language communities to learn Kisagalla? If yes, which ones and why?
   ii. By native Kisagalla speakers to learn the language(s) of these other communities? If yes, which ones and why?
   iii. By these other language communities to teach their language(s) to native Kisagalla speakers? If yes, which ones, and why?
   iv. By native Kisagalla speakers to teach Kisagalla to these other language communities? If yes, which ones and why?
6. From my preliminary research, I observed that Kisagalla is losing its native words to Kiswahili. What is the opinion of this group on this? Are there examples of native Kisagalla words that we know that have been abandoned for Kiswahili words?

7. What reasons can be given to explain this kind of word loss from Kisagalla to Kiswahili?

8. Are there any published materials in Kisagalla that this group knows of and/ or uses?

9. In light of this word loss, what does this group think is the future of Kisagalla? Will the language survive or die in the future?

10. What measures, if any, does this group think need to be taken to respond to this word loss and preserve Kisagalla?

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Appendix 7. Interview guide for community opinion leaders

PART A. Introduction

My name is Michael Kyama, an MA (Linguistics) student from the University of Nairobi. I am currently researching on Lexical change in Kisagalla towards writing my MA Thesis. Part of my sample includes opinion leaders from the Sagalla community. I am glad that some of my contact persons, who are natives of Sagalla, recommended you to me. My intention is to hear from you a few insights on my research problem.

Perhaps you could tell me more about yourself at this point.

PART B.

1. In a nutshell, who are the Sagalla people? Where did they come from? What do they do for a living?

2. a) From my preliminary research, I observed that most native Kisagalla words are being abandoned for Kiswahili words. From your own evaluation, how true is this?

   b) Are there examples of Kisagalla words that you know that have been replaced with Kiswahili words?
3. Why is it that Kisagalla speakers are abandoning their own native words for Kiswahili words?

4. Is it correct to say that most Sagalla youth have slowly lost pride, and consequently, competence in their language, and are, therefore, gradually abandoning it for Kiswahili?

5. Do you think that Sagalla parents are doing enough to teach Kisagalla to their children?

6. With this kind of lexical/ word loss, what do you think is the future of Kisagalla? Do you think the language will survive or die in the future?

7. Do you think something needs to be done to respond to this loss of native words from Kisagalla? If yes, what exactly?

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Appendix 8. Individual language use and perception (ILUP) questionnaire for respondents between 10-20 years

INTRODUCTION

My name is Innocent Kyama, an MA (Linguistics) student from the University of Nairobi. I am currently researching on Lexical loss from Kisagalla to Kiswahili towards writing my MA Thesis. I, therefore, request for your help in collecting data by honestly filling in this questionnaire. Information obtained will be used for the purposes of this research only, and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Please respond to all questions by either ticking or filling in the blank spaces as required. Do not write your name anywhere on this questionnaire.

PART A: PERSONAL INFORMATION

Gender: …….. Age in years: ……..

Place of birth: ……..

Religion: …… Level of study: ……

Language of mother: ……

Language of father: ……..

Please list all the languages you speak in order of fluency

……

……

……

……

PART B: GENERAL QUESTIONS

1. a) Which language is dominantly used in your area?
   .....

   b) Which other language(s) is/are spoken in your area?
   .....

2. Between Kiswahili and Kisagalla, which language is frequently used in each of the following instances?

Instance	**Language**		
	Kisagalla	**Kiswahili**	**Mixture of Kiswahili and Kisagalla**
When speaking to my parents			
When my parents are speaking to me			
When my parents are speaking to each other			
When speaking to my grandparents			
When my grandparents are speaking to me			
When speaking to my religious leader			
When my religious leader is speaking to me			
When speaking to adult neighbors			
When my adult neighbors are speaking to me			
When speaking to my age-mates and friends			
When my age-mates and friends are speaking to me			
When in class			
When out of class			
When talking to my teachers in school			
When talking to my teachers outside school			
When my teachers are talking to me in school			
When my teachers are talking to me outside school			

3. Did your parents teach you to speak Kisagalla? (YES) (NO)

PART C: WORD LOSS

1. Are there examples of native Kisagalla words you know that have been replaced with Kiswahili words? If yes, which ones?

2. Why do you think this loss of native Kisagalla words to Kiswahili is happening?

3. Please fill in the following table by ticking only once in the appropriate box for each of the statements.

Statement	**Strongly agree**	**Agree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly disagree**
I am more comfortable speaking Kisagalla than Kiswahili				
I am more comfortable speaking Kiswahili than Kisagalla				
Female Kisagalla speakers tend to replace native Kisagalla words with Kiswahili words more than the male Kisagalla speakers				
I want to master speaking and writing fluently in Kisagalla				
I will teach Kisagalla to my children				
Many native Kisagalla speakers are no longer proud of their language				
Kisagalla will die in future				

4. Do you think something needs to be done to respond to this loss of native Kisagalla words? If yes, what exactly should be done?

END

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Appendix 9. Individual language use and perception (ILUP) questionnaire for respondents between 21-35 years

INTRODUCTION

My name is Innocent Kyama, an MA (Linguistics) student from the University of Nairobi. I am currently researching on Lexical loss from Kisagalla to Kiswahili towards writing my MA Thesis. I, therefore, request for your help in collecting data by honestly filling in this questionnaire. Information obtained will be used for the purposes of this research only, and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Please respond to all questions by either ticking or filling in the blank spaces as required. Do not write your name anywhere on this questionnaire.

PART A: PERSONAL INFORMATION

Gender: …….. Age in years: ……..

Place of birth: ……..

Religion: …… Highest level of study attained: ……

Occupation: …… Marital status: …….

Language of Mother: ……

Language of father: ……..

Please list all the languages you speak in order of fluency

……

……

……

……

PART B: GENERAL QUESTIONS

1. a) Which language is dominantly used in your area?
   .....

   b) Which other language(s) is/are spoken in your area?
   .....

2. Between Kiswahili and Kisagalla, which language is frequently used in each of the following instances?

Instance	**Language**		
	Kisagalla	**Kiswahili**	**Mixture of Kisagalla and Kiswahili**
When speaking to my spouse			
When speaking to my children			
When my children are speaking to me			
When my children are speaking to each other			
When speaking to my parents			
When my parents are speaking to me			
When speaking to my religious leader			
When my religious leader is speaking to me			
When speaking to adult neighbors			
When my adult neighbors are speaking to me			
When speaking to my age-mates and friends			
When my age-mates and friends are speaking to me			
At work			
For my general interactions			

3. Did your parents teach you to speak Kisagalla? (YES) (NO)

PART C: WORD LOSS

4. Are there examples of native Kisagalla words you know that have been replaced with Kiswahili words? If yes, which ones?

5. What reasons would you give for this loss?

6. Please fill in the following table by ticking only once in the appropriate box for each of the statements.

Statement	**Strongly agree**	**Agree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly disagree**
I am more comfortable speaking Kisagalla than Kiswahili				
I am more comfortable speaking Kiswahili than Kisagalla				
There is an increasing number of Kiswahili words gaining usage in Kisagalla, thus leading to the loss of native Kisagalla words				
Most young people are not able to speak fluently in Kisagalla				
Female Kisagalla speakers tend to replace native Kisagalla words with Kiswahili words more than the male Kisagalla speakers				
Many parents are not transmitting Kisagalla to their children				
I teach Kisagalla to my children				
Kisagalla will die in future				

7. Do you think something needs to be done to respond to this loss of native Kisagalla words? If yes, what exactly should be done?

END

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Appendix 10. Individual language use and perception (ILUP) questionnaire for respondents above 35 years

INTRODUCTION

My name is Innocent Kyama, an MA (Linguistics) student from the University of Nairobi. I am currently researching on Lexical loss from Kisagalla to Kiswahili towards writing my MA Thesis. I, therefore, request for your help in collecting data by honestly filling in this questionnaire. Information obtained will be used for the purposes of this research only, and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Please respond to all questions by either ticking or filling in the blank spaces as required. Do not write your name anywhere on this questionnaire.

PART A: PERSONAL INFORMATION

Gender: …….. Age in years: ……..

Place of birth: ……..

Religion: …… Highest level of study attained: ……

Occupation: …… Marital status: …….

Language of mother: ……

Language of father: ……..

Please list all the languages you speak in order of fluency

……

……

……

……

PART B: GENERAL QUESTIONS

1. a) Which language is dominantly used in your area?
   .....

   b) Which other language(s) is/are spoken in your area?
   .....

2. Between Kiswahili and Kisagalla, which language is frequently used in each of the following instances?

Instance	Language		
	Kisagalla	**Kiswahili**	**Mixture of Kisagalla and Kiswahili**
When speaking to my spouse			
When speaking to my children			
When my children are speaking to me			
When my children are speaking to each other			
When speaking to my parents			
When my parents are speaking to me			
When speaking to my religious leader			
When my religious leader is speaking to me			
When speaking to adult neighbors			
When my adult neighbors are speaking to me			
When speaking to my age-mates and friends			
When my age-mates and friends are speaking to me			
At work			
For my general interactions			

3. Did your parents teach you to speak Kisagalla? (YES) (NO)

PART C: WORD LOSS

1. Are there examples of native Kisagalla words you know that have been replaced with Kiswahili words? If yes, which ones?

2. What reasons would you give for this loss?

3. Please fill in the following table by ticking only once in the appropriate box for each of the statements.

Statement	**Strongly agree**	**Agree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly disagree**
I am more comfortable speaking Kisagalla than Kiswahili				
I am more comfortable speaking Kiswahili than Kisagalla				
There is an increasing number of Kiswahili words gaining usage in Kisagalla, thus leading to the loss of native Kisagalla words				
Most young people are not able to speak fluently in Kisagalla				
Female Kisagalla speakers tend to replace native Kisagalla words with Kiswahili words more than the male Kisagalla speakers				
Many parents are not transmitting Kisagalla to their children				
I teach Kisagalla to my children				
Kisagalla will die in future				

4. Do you think something needs to be done to respond to this loss of native Kisagalla words? If yes, what exactly should be done?

END

Thank you very much for your cooperation.