**THE EFFECT OF DHOLUO ON LUNYORE: A CASE OF LEXICAL BORROWING**

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# DECLARATION

This research project is my own original work and has never been submitted for a degree award in any university.

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This research project has been submitted for examination with our approval as the candidate's university supervisors.

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## DEDICATION

Dedicated to my little sons: Ivor and Mitch and daughter: Shanelle for the invaluable endearing names that they have not only christened me but also earned me and the spackle they have added into my life and to, all the young people that look up to me, desire and emulate my way of life.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

**#**           No word was available

**C. L. S. T.**    Cognitive Lexical Semantics Theory

**Orth.**      Orthographical representation

**R. L.**        Recipient Language

**S. L.**        Source Language

**Transl.**     Translation

$\rightarrow$         Changes to/ Becomes

## ABSTRACT

This study endeavored to investigate the effect of lexical borrowing from Dholuo to Lunyore. It focused its attention on identifying and classifying the borrowed lexical material into their appropriate lexical categories, determining any semantic change experienced and narrowed down to the investigation of the processes by which these borrowed lexical items are nativised in Lunyore and attempted an explanation whether these words retain their original meaning from Dholuo or semantically shift. It further determined the possible existence of socio-cultural, economic and psychological factors responsible for this continuous word borrowing phenomenon. In a bid to accomplish this task, the researcher ventured into the collection of data which was made up of a carefully collected and categorized inventory of words of Dholuo origin that are in common use in Lunyore. They were captured from a variety of verbal interaction situations contextualized according to the physical environment, socio-cultural settings, socio-economic settings, material culture and formally planned settings among others. This study employed the theoretical framework of a Cognitive approach to Lexical semantics, that is, the Cognitive Lexical Semantics Theory in the classification, analysis, discussion and making of conclusions on the data collected. This data was collected through participatory observation facilitated by actual interaction with Lunyore native speakers in everyday conservations in a variety of social settings, listening to vernacular radio stations and use of purposeful interviews with informants. It was discovered that the lexical items borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore belonged to six (6) lexical or grammatical categories namely: nominal lexical items, verbal lexical items, adjectival lexical items, adverbs, exclamatives or interjections and conjunctions; and idiomatic expressions. Methods and mechanisms used in the borrowing and nativisation of the loanwords were four: direct loans, loan translations, loan shifts and clipping. In addition to this, instances and types of semantic change were identified, exemplified and discussed. They were four types: zero semantic change, semantic broadening, semantic narrowing and meaning shift. The socio-cultural, socio-economic and psychological factors responsible for this word borrowing such as language contact itself, intermarriages, religion, business and trade and casual labor and evident instances of semantic shift were identified and candidly discussed. Conclusions made from these discussions were used to authoritatively comment on the overall effect that Dholuo has caused and still does on Lunyore as seen in lexical borrowing and subsequent semantic change. For instance, Lunyore was discovered to have relatively increased its lexicon and still went on as the borrowing process continuous. It was also concluded that there was a likelihood of the Lunyore dialect losing or weakening its identity and intelligibility among its sister dialects of Luhya language. It was also concluded that the other likely effect of this process was that a new regionally based Lunyore related dialect of Luhya could be realized over time since word borrowing and semantic change was a continuous linguistic phenomenon.

# CHAPTER ONE
# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background to the Study

### 1.1.0 Introduction

This section of this research project is made up of three main parts. It presents background information on borrowing in general and lexical borrowing in particular as a very important phenomenon in language growth and change. This is also the key issue of attention in this study. It also highlights the background of the two languages that are the basis of this study: Dholuo and Lunyore.

### 1.1.1 Lexical Borrowing

As one of the major aspects of language growth and change, linguistic borrowing is considered a phenomenon that exists in any language (Haugen, 1950). When two languages get into contact with each other, the two speech communities are bound to influence each other in one linguistic aspect or another. Treffers-Daller (2017) asserts that borrowing is said to have taken place when an impression is made on the affected language.

Borrowing is the process by which one language takes words from another language and makes it part of its own vocabulary. The borrowed lexical items are usually referred to as loanwords while the general process of receiving the lexical item is what is generally referred to as borrowing. Apart from words, it is worth noting that there are also other aspects of language that can be borrowed from one language to another.

Any other linguistic material such as sounds, phonological rules, grammatical morphemes, syntactic patterns, semantic associations and discourse markers or channels can also be borrowed. This study will however pay more attention to lexical borrowing and how it has affected the growth, use and general existence of the borrowing language that is Lunyore from the donor language Dholuo.

Studies on borrowing and borrowing mechanisms are processes related to this phenomenon date back to the works of Betz (1939) and Haugen (1950). Among the other scholars that have made contributions to the studies on borrowing include Blank (1995), Pepper Kamp and Dupoux

(2003) and Haspelmath (2008, 2009). Once a lexical item is borrowed from one language to another, it undergoes processes such as adaptation and integration in a bid to nativise and or make the lexical items fit in the system of the borrowing language as much as the indigenous lexical items do.

It is important to note that borrowing of lexical items occur due to various reasons. Among them is the need to do so in order to name a new concept or item that is introduced in the setting of a particular speech community, for prestige and the opposite of prestige as well though the latter is quite a rare reason.

Loanwords can also be introduced into the borrowing language due to bilingualism. Such lexical items may contain sounds which are foreign thus causing phonetic interference. The changing of these sounds to conform to the native sounds and phonetic constraints is usually done through adaptation or phoneme substitution. It is therefore necessary to study the processes and or mechanisms by which such lexical items are nativised.

As far as linguistic borrowing is concerned, anything can be borrowed. These borrowed phenomena include words, sounds, meanings, inflections and even grammatical classes. Thus borrowing involves the incorporation of the features of one language into another. Lexical items are the most commonly borrowed aspects (Lehrer, 1974). According to Haspelmath (2008,) it is worth noting that cultural factors are usually the main reasons behind lexical borrowing. It is therefore clearly understood that when a cultural object or a concept is borrowed, a lexical item is bound to accompany them. It should be however noted that, due to the constant contact between the speakers of Dholuo and Lunyore, there are bound to be other cases of borrowing not basically motivated by the existence of a new phenomenon. There are cases where a word for a particular phenomenon already exists in the recipient language but the speakers of the recipient language go ahead to borrow and nativise another word with a similar sense from the donor language (Haspelmath, 2008).

Lexical borrowing occurs, that is in the case of two languages, when one language usually the donor language, donates the words or aspects to be borrowed, while the other language that is, the recipient language, borrows as indicated in (Haspelmath 2009, 2008). In most cases it is usually presumed that the donor language is higher in status and more prestigious than the

recipient language (Haspelmath 2008, 2009). In the case of Dholuo and Lunyore it may however not be easy to determine the one that enjoys higher social status since they are both African languages with varied socio-cultural, economic and political backgrounds. It should however be noted that the borrowed word enjoys equal status as any other indigenous word in borrowing language.

Linguistic borrowing refers to the process of importing linguistic items from one linguistic system into another (Hoffer 2000). This phenomenon occurs any time two cultures come into contact with each other over any given period of time. Current interests in this topic, that is language borrowing was marked by Haugen`s (1950) article on borrowing.

In this study, Dholuo is the donor language while Lunyore is the recipient language. With the understanding that none of the two languages belongs to none of the colonizers of either the Luo or the Bunyore, the Luhya speakers of Lunyore, it is necessary to investigate any other socio-cultural and psychological factors that have influenced the presumed extensive lexical borrowing from Dholuo into Lunyore as it would be revealed in the study.

Falk (1973:34) stipulates that tracing the history of linguistic borrowing is similar to tracing the history of a people. This involves a discovery of the place they settled, the people they conquered, their conquerors and their commercial practices. Also included in this endeavour is the analysis of people's religious and intellectual history and the development of the society in general.

This argument is supported by Sankoff (2001). He asserts that the results of any language contact are very well discussed from a socio-historical point of view with the historical forces that surround this language contact in mind. Therefore socio-cultural factors also play a very vital role in determining the effect of word borrowing as a result of linguistic contact. This is as further elaborated by Hock (2009) and Thomas and Kaufman (1988).

### 1.1.2 Background of Dholuo Language

Dholuo, also known as Luo or Luoian languages is spoken by the Luo people in an area ranging from southern Sudan to southern Kenya. It extends into Northern Tanzania and into the Democratic Republic of Congo. Dholuo in particular, is a west Nilotic language that is spoken by

the Luo people in Kenya (Oluoch, 2014).They belong to the Western Nilotic group who are collectively referred to as Luo (Okombo 1982)

The other languages with which Dholuo shares sisterhood under the Western Nilotic branch are Acholi, Shilluk, Lang'o, Padhola, Nuer and Alur. It is worth noting that it is only Dholuo that belongs to the Western Nilotic branch in Kenya (Oluoch, 2014). In Kenya, apart from the Nyanza region that is the native home of Dholuo speakers in Kenya, it is also expected to be sporadically spoken in various parts of the country due to migration and movement facilitated by various socio-economic and even political factors.

According to the year 2009 population census, Dholuo is spoken by approximately slightly more than 4.2 million people in Kenya. Neighbors to the native Dholuo speakers include the Luhya, Kuria, Suba, Kelenjin, Maasai and the Gusii. From the works of Stafford (1967), Oduol (1990) and Oluoch (2004) it can be deduced that there exist two main dialects of Dholuo in Kenya. The Kisumu-South Nyanza dialect, spoken in Migori County, Homabay county and some parts of Yala in Siaya County: and the Trans-Yala or Boro-Ukwala dialect spoken in central Nyanza parts such as most parts of Siaya County. These dialects are mutually intelligible.

Oduol (1990) reveals that these regional dialects are determined on the basis of phonological, lexical and grammatical features. Although there is no official standard dialect, the Kisumu-South Nyanza dialect enjoys more prestige as it extensively used in Dholuo literature, education, television and radio broadcasts.

This study will however regard the language as one unit with common features regardless of the regional differences.

### 1.1.3 Background of the Lunyore Language

Lunyore also known as Lunyole, Olunyole or Nyore is a dialect of Luhya language that is spoken by a speech community of people considered to make up one of the sub-tribes of the seventeen sub-tribes that make up the Luhyia community. The Luhyia community is presumed to speak a language known as Luhya.

Therefore Luhya is a Bantu language spoken by native inhabitants of Western region of Kenya specifically in Kakamega, Busia, Bungoma, Vihiga and most parts of Trans-Nzoia counties.

Luhya as a Bantu language belongs to the Benue-Congo sub-group of the Niger-Congo group. The works of various scholars such as Were (1967), William (1973), Itabete (1974), Angogo (1983) and Oluoch (2014), among others reveal that Luhya is made up of about seventeen (17) mutually intelligible dialects.

These seventeen dialects are classified into four groups. Northern, Central, Eastern and Southern (Itabete 1974) while Angogo (1983), categorizes the dialects into three groups namely: the Northern, Central and the Southern dialects as determined by intelligibility tests and the available data. The language of concern in this study is Lunyore which is classified under the Central group of Luhyia dialects with others such as Wanga, Marama, Tsotso, Kisa, Kabras and Tachoni.

Lunyore is a language variety or dialect of Luhya spoken by native residents of Emuhaya and Luanda sub counties of Vihiga County in Western region. Lunyore is said to have about 61 per cent lexical similarities with a dialect in Uganda, though different but lexically related known as Nyole. The Nyore people, who speak Lunyore, are located in Luanda and Emuhaya Sub Counties border and are thus in constant contact with the Luo, Maragoli, and Kisa speech communities.

This Luhya dialect, Lunyore is, according to the 2009 housing and population census spoken by about three hundred and ten thousand (310,000) people.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

The work of various scholars such as Were (1967), William (1973), Itabete (1974), Angogo (1983) and Oluoch (2014) among others, reveal that Luhya is made up of approximately seventeen (17) mutually intelligible dialects. Among these dialects, Angogo (1983) classifies them into three groups: the Northern, Central and Southern dialects as based on intelligibility tests.

For this study, Lunyore which is classified among the central group of Luhya dialects such as Wanga, Marama, Tsotso, Kisa, Kabras and Tachoni – will be of particular interest. The Lunyore speakers are in constant contact due to regional proximity and shared borders with their neighbors: Dholuo speakers.

Pre-investigation and the researcher's intuition by virtue of being a Lunyore native speaker and a bilingual with the knowledge of Dholuo language, it has been noted that, there are lexical items in Lunyore that seem to be of Dholuo origin and are not easily understood by the native speakers of Lunyore especially those in central and northern parts of Bunyore, that is north and north-eastern Emuhaya sub county and the eastern part of Luanda sub county.

The flooding of vocabulary from Dholuo into the Lunyore spoken by Bunyore-Lunyore speakers especially those that share borders with or are in close proximity with Siaya and Kisumu counties, and around the Luanda open air market raises controversies about these lexical items and their meanings. These controversies are based on the meaning of the borrowed lexical item and its possible origin. Some native speakers of Lunyore avoid the use of lexical items borrowed from Dholuo in a bid to proudly preserve their native language. For instance, in trade a two kilogram tin usually referred to as '*gorogoro*' in Dholuo is also referred to as '*egorogoro*' in Lunyore. Some native Lunyore speakers will insist that it be referred to as '*omukepe/ omukebe*' or '*omutikolo*' in order to sound native. Another example is the Dholuo '*ndara*' name for a road nativised as '*indara*'. A road is usually referred to as '*injila, ebarabara*' and the borrowed '*indara*' by Lunyore speakers. The two examples above are just a few of the many lexical items in common use among the Lunyore speakers yet borrowed from Dholuo.

In line with the observation above, it should further be noted that, a systematic investigation on the borrowings from Dholuo to Lunyore had not yet been done, in order to help iron out the controversies that we had realized continually exist in the meaning and origin of these lexical items.

### 1.3 Research Questions

1. What kinds of lexical categories are borrowed from Dholuo by the Lunyore dialect of Luhya language?

2. Which Lexical borrowing mechanisms do the borrowed lexical items undergo during the nativasation process?

3. Which semantic changes do the borrowed lexical items undergo?

4. What are the factors responsible for the lexical borrowing from Dholuo to Lunyore dialect of Luhya language?

## 1.3 Objectives

1. To identify and categorize lexical items of Dholuo origin in Lunyore, dialect of Luhya language.

2. To establish the borrowing mechanisms that the lexical items undergo in order to be accommodated in Lunyore.

3. To establish the semantic changes that the borrowed lexical items (loanwords) undergo as they are accommodated and used in Lunyore.

4. To identify and explain the factors responsible for the lexical borrowing from Dholuo to Lunyore.

## 1.5 Justification of the Study

Dholuo and Luhya (Lunyore) are two languages that are genetically different since the former is Nilotic and the latter is Bantu. It is however worth noting that their relationship is based on the regional and the social and cultural interaction among their speakers. Due to social and cultural factors that enhance the constant contact between the speakers of the two languages, speakers of Lunyore dialect of luhya language, seem to have borrowed a lot of words from the Dholuo speakers.

In support of the above notion is the evident controversy that seems to exist between Lunyore speakers in close contact with Dholuo speakers on one hand and those relatively placed geographically far from the Dholuo speakers on the other hand. Lunyore speakers close to the Dholuo speakers seem to use two sets of lexical items that semantically refer to the same phenomenon while Lunyore speakers relatively far placed from Dholuo speakers have single lexical items and are in a constant struggle to become mutually intelligible with the Lunyore speakers from the Southern region and Southwest regions of Bunyore.

With the linguistic quality of the ability to borrow words for effective communication, Lunyore has acquired a lot of lexical items from Dholuo that have been adopted for use without the majority of the people bothering to realize or study their true origin and possibly right usage.

It is important to note that lexical borrowing is a linguistic phenomenon that is not one way but is basically mutual. Therefore Dholuo will also naturally borrow from Lunyore. This study however focused its attention on the lexical items borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore.

This study therefore investigated and established the influence and effect that this lexical borrowing from Dholuo to Lunyore is bound to have on the native Lunyore language, its growth and its speakers.

It further sought to establish whether the borrowed lexical items undergo any semantic change and whether they do or not, also established whether there could be any likelihood of the establishment of a geographically located sub dialect of Lunyore as a result of this Dholuo-Lunyore contact.

This study was expected to be of great importance to future researchers in the relationship between these two languages from the field of sociolinguistics, anthropology, sociology and psychology.

## 1.6 Scope and Limitations

This study endeavoured to investigate and establish lexical items borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore. These lexical items thereafter referred to as loanwords were collected from Lunyore native speakers within their natural interactional situations within Luanda and Emuhaya Sub counties. Informants for this purpose included the young, old, literate and illiterate both native and non-native speakers of Lunyore.

This investigation ventured into categorizing these lexical items in their appropriate grammatical categories, determining the processes or mechanisms that they undergo in order to be accommodated into Lunyore and finally established the overall effect that these borrowed lexical items have on the growth and use of this Lunyore dialect of Luhya by its speakers in their social interactions and day to day experiences.

This study did not delve into studying words borrowed by Dholuo from Lunyore since the direction of borrowing for this study is obvious but would further establish some of the social and psychological factors behind this constant contact between the languages and the subsequent heavy borrowing by Lunyore from Dholuo.

It also did not investigate the stage in the history of these languages' contact that the lexical borrowing may have taken place. It therefore presumed that the borrowing of these lexical items and their adaptation processes are continuous.

Bearing in mind that the basis of this study was the borrowing of lexical items from Dholuo to Lunyore, it is worth noting that it concentrated on establishing whether the borrowed lexical items undergo any semantic change, have items of equivalent semantic value in the native Lunyore and discusses the overall effect on the identity of Lunyore language and general use by its speakers. This study employs the use of the Cognitive Lexical Semantics theory which takes into consideration: the speaker's perceptual and cognitive experiences with a social, cultural and economic setting. It would therefore be used to help explain the effect of this phenomenon: lexical borrowing on the borrowing language: Lunyore.

**1.7 Definition of Terms**

Borrowing: Refers to the processes of incorporating a certain element or feature of a foreign language into the speakers' native language (Thomas and Kaufman, 1988). This term is used in the general sense to refer to any kind of transfer or copying of a quality.

Word: As a lexeme is used to refer to any analyzable unit of form-coupling with meaning that plays a distinct role in an utterance.

Donor or Source language: This is the language variety from which words are borrowed to the other (Haspelmath, 2009). Such a language in the case of this study is Dholuo which is presumed to donate lexical items to Lunyore.

Linguistic borrowing: This is the process of importing linguistic items from one linguistic system into another (Hoffer 2000). This phenomenon occurs at any

time. It is therefore a continuous process and that Lunyore will be expected to go on borrowing from Dholuo as long as their speakers remain in contact as it is at the moment.

Loanwords:                  This is a word that at one point in a language's history entered its lexicon as a result of borrowing. (Haspelmath, 2009:36). It is formed when a language takes a lexeme from another language. For this study, loanwords are words that exist in Lunyore from Dholuo as a result of the constant contact between the two languages.

Lexical borrowing:          This is the process of adopting elements such as single words or phrases from one language into another as expressed by Lenhver (1974). It is the basic process by which lexical items have been transferred from Dholuo and adopted by Lunyore into its lexicon inventory

Meaning:                    It is the approximate semantic value of the lexical item that is borrowed. During lexical borrowing, it is presumed that the borrowed item has one specific meaning at the time of being borrowed (Blank 1995). Any other meaning that the lexical item acquires later could be referred to as a result of semantic change.

Semantic shift:             The process by which meanings of words change after borrowing and adaptation has taken place. It was therefore imperative to determine whether the lexical items borrowed from Dholuo to Lunyore undergo any semantic change.

## 1.8 Literature Review

According to Weinreich (1953) the field of cultures and languages in contact has over the past half a century, grown so greatly. It is therefore worth noting that, the existence of sets of borrowed words in one language from the other, is considered as one of the easiest observable evidence of intercultural contact and communication between interlocutors from two different

linguistic communities or speech communities. Lexical borrowing is therefore a linguistic phenomenon that is likely to be greatly influenced by socio cultural and psychological factors.

Language borrowing in general and lexical borrowing in particular has been a field of linguistics that has greatly called for the attention of various researchers for some time. (Whitney 1875, De Saussure 1915, Sapir 1921, Pedersen 1931, Haugen 1950, Lehmann 1962, Hockett 1979, Attila 1989) indicate that loanwords which are as a result of lexical borrowing are one of the types of borrowing that are bound to exist across language boundaries.

Hoffer (2005) in language borrowing asserts that when speakers of a particular language get into contact with new items and ideas obviously referred to by foreign terms or lexical items, in a another language, they have various options in a bid to nativise the newly acquired loanword.

These borrowed lexical items function in the usual grammatical processes of the borrowing language. For instance, if the loanword is a noun it would take the plural and or possessive form of the new language while verbs and adjectives would receive native morphemes for effective inflections.

Among these nativasation processes as indicated by Hockett (1958) include the formation of loanwords, loan shifts, loan translations and loan-blends. When native speakers of the borrowing language adopt the item or idea and the source language word for the item or idea, then the borrowed lexical item is referred to as a loanword.

Word shifts exist when native words are adapted to new meanings. Such words include Easter from the early Christian era in England; this word has been earlier used to refer to a pagan dawn goddess festival.

When the native language, that is, the borrowing language uses an item-for-item native version of the original then the lexical items that occur are referred to as loan translations or claques. For instance, the word 'loanword' is a loan translation of the German 'lehnwort' marriage of convenience from the French.

The fourth option at the disposal of a native speaker in a bid to nativise a borrowed lexical item is the formation of a loan-blend. A loan-blend occurs when a loan word is combined with a

native element from the borrowing language. This phenomenon is exemplified by the borrowed preost (priest) plus the native –had (hood) in old English that produces 'preosthad' (priesthood).

This current study focuses its attention on the existence of loanwords in Luhya (Lunyore) from Dholuo and establishing their overall effect on the growth and use of the language by its native speakers: both the young and old.

Hoffer (2002) in his work titled Language Borrowing further asserts that the usual terms in the study of borrowing usually relate to the process rather than the results. Therefore, the term loanword is the most preferable term since it includes all the other terms used in the language borrowing process. To further illustrate this phenomenon, it can be clearly stated that loanwords clearly exhibit morphemic importation without any kind of importation; loanwords show both morphemic substitution and importation while loan shifts only show morphemic substitution but do not apply any importation.

It should be further noted that when two or more linguistic communities exist within a region with a common political influence are bound to have intimate lexical borrowing. This intimate borrowing involves a dominant or upper language and a lower language. The direction of borrowing is usually from the dominant to the lower. The speech forms borrowed rarely refer to new objects or concepts. It is however worth noting that, in the case of the current study, none of the languages: Dholuo and Lunyore could qualify as neither dominant nor lower. The interactants basically seem to operate at equal levels.

When the results of such borrowing do not spread: the outcome is a geographically located dialect from such a contact situation. This study was also set to determine whether a variety of Lunyore is bound to be created as a result of the constant contact between Dholuo and Lunyore.

Edward Sapir's' language (1921) highlights the importance of language contact and influence. He clearly brings out the effect of flooding, Korean and Japanese with vocabulary from Chinese and English with vocabulary from French. He posits that a careful study of loanwords is bound to provide a vivid understanding of the history of cultures across the world. Therefore a languages' reaction to foreign words by accepting, translating or rejecting them can be a clear indicator of the innate tendencies of this language and the psychological states and reactions of

the speakers of the same language. It therefore follows that through this current study, one is bound to clearly understand the Lunyore speaker very well from a social and psychological perspective.

Kisembe (2003) studies the linguistic affects of English on Luhya languages of western Kenya. In her study she comes up with borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing, and language shift resulting into language death in some cases.

In her study, it is argued that English is detrimental to the development of ethic languages in various ways such as: the reduction in stylistic expressions within ethnic languages, a reduction in lexicon inventory especially due to a lot of intrusions, changes in the phonology of the ethnic language, decrease in the competence of the speakers of the ethnic languages and possible loss of linguistic and cultural identity.

Like the current study, her study examines borrowing in general, that is, core and cultural borrowing. However, her findings are restricted to the negative effects of borrowing on the recipient languages. The current study looks at borrowing in general and not only focuses on the phonological adaptation but also further highlights the morphological adaptation and establishes and explains the existence of any semantic change of the borrowed words from Dholuo into the morphological system of Lunyore as a dialect of Luhya language. It not only focuses on the negative effects of lexical borrowing but also examines this lexical borrowing phenomenon's positive effects on the borrowing language, the Lunyore dialect of Luhya.

Akwala (2008) in the study on Morphophonological Nativasation of Lumarachi Loanwords: a case of borrowing from Dholuo finds phonological and semantic resemblance in some forms between Dholuo and Lumarachi with evidence that shows the existence of borrowing of lexical items from one language into the other. Some of the discoveries and data from this study were of some value to this study.

Oluoch (2016) in his study on Lexical borrowing: The Establishment of loanwords in Dholuo from two Luhya dialects: Lumarachi and Lunyala, examines the extent of borrowing from the two Luhya dialects: Lumarachi and Lunyala that are neighbors to the Dholuo speakers of Boro-Ukwala. This study establishes the borrowed words, the direction of borrowing and uses the Source-Similarity Model of loanword adaptation theory advanced by Smith (2009) as a

development from the Optimality- theoretic (OP) explanations that account for loanword adaptations using internal phonological grammar of the borrowing language only.

The current study, though also dealing with lexical borrowing, dwells on the determination of any change in the semantic value of the borrowed words and establishes the effect that this, borrowing has on the lexicon inventory and general use in communication of the Lunyore language.

It is worth noting that lexical borrowing is a phenomenon that is likely to cause a lot of change within the lexicon of a language. In addition to this likely increase in the lexical items, the semantic and stylistics are affected (Hoffer 2002:9). For example, the lexical items 'animal' and 'deer' where the latter earlier referred to animals in general but in English 'deer' is specialized to one type of animal and 'animal' retain its general meaning. Therefore the effect of lexical borrowing can have on the borrowed language should never be underestimated. For instance, linguistically, the Suba are highly influenced by the neighboring Luo, to the extent that language shift has taken place among large portions of the main land Suba. As a result the Subas own language has been classified as endangered. However, despite this language shift, the Suba have kept a distinct ethnic identity.

The current study however concentrates on the changes on the lexicon inventory, their meaning and the general effect on the use and existence of the Lunyore language. The effect on stylistics would be disregarded.

Njagi (2016) in his study: Lexical Borrowing and Semantic Change: a Case of English and Gikuyu Contact: investigates the phenomenon of lexical borrowing from English to Gikuyu language with a great bias on semantic shift. He therefore employs the Cognitive Semantic theory which takes into consideration the speakers' perceptual and cognitive experiences within a cultural and historical environment.

In relation to the current study, it should be noted that among other word categories, discourse makers or channel markers such as '*uh huh'*, '*yes*' and '*is that so'*, that usually signal attention, can be borrowed and used as loanwords with the same meaning. For instance, the researcher's native intuition and pre-investigation indicate that the Dholuo word '*yawa*', an exclamative

indicating surprise and a channel or discourse marker, is usually used by many native speakers of Lunyore by virtue of linguistic contact between the two speech communities.

This current study employs the Lexical Cognitive Semantic theory in a bid to explain the overall effect that this lexical borrowing from Dholuo to Lunyore has on the growth and development of the language and its use in communication by its speakers.

It is worth noting that, as far as lexical borrowing is concerned, no evident research has been done on Lunyore with the other languages with which it is in contact.

The findings of this study are therefore expected to be a great millstone in the study and clearer understanding of Lunyore in varied linguistic enquiries.

## 1.9 Theoretical Framework

This study will employ one linguistic theory in a bid to accomplish its task: the Cognitive Lexical Semantics theory.

To begin with the researcher will use the Cognitive Lexical Semantics theory in attempting the understanding of the semantic value of the lexical items and establishing any semantic change that the words may have undergone (Geeraerts 1995, Taylor 2001).

Among other important issues, this theory attempts to: explain the nature of meaning in language, how meanings of words are learnt and stored, how meanings of words are communicated and understood by language users and further helps in explaining how and why meanings of words change.

This theory emerged as a discipline of research in the 19th century (Paradis, 2012). It is during this time in history that meanings were considered as mental perceptions. At the same time, a structuralist approach associated with Ferdinand de Saussure (1959) came into existence. In this case, word meanings are not treated as psycholinguistic units but are viewed as relational and defined in terms of what they are not (Paradis, 2012).

It was later in the 20th Century posited that word meanings involve psychological processes thus the emergence of the cognitive approach to the study of meaning. This approach states that there

is no clear distinction between lexical and grammatical categories in any language (Geeraerts, 1995).

It is worth noting that cognitive lexical semantics became a more serious field of cognitive linguistic research in the early eighties. In support of this assertion, Treffers-Daller (2000) indicates that lexical borrowing and code-switching started to be studied from a psychological perspective.

In this study, the Cognitive Lexical Semantics approach will be invaluable as it will relate the cognitive processes of the speakers to a socio-cultural and economic context. This is in the view that this research is meant to determine the existence of any socio-cultural and psycho-social factors that influence this lexical borrowing from Dholuo to Lunyore. Paradis (2015), therefore views this phenomenon as a socio-cognitive framework as it takes into consideration, the speakers' perceptual and cognitive experiences within a cultural setting. It will therefore be used to analyze the four objectives of the study. The researcher will be able to classify the borrowed words in their appropriate lexical categories, the mechanisms that they undergo during the borrowing, their semantic value, and any possible semantic change. For instance, the Dholuo nominal lexical item for God is *Nyasaye* /ɲasa:je/ while that for Lunyore is *Wele* /ʊɛ:ḻe/ but it is not surprising that Lunyore speakers also use *Nyasaye* /ɲasa:je/ in their day to day interactions.

## 1.10 Methodology

This part of the research project presents: the design of the research, methods of data collection and the procedures to be followed in undertaking the research. It also presents a description of the sampling procedures, the instruments to be used in data collection and techniques to be used in the analysis of the data collected.

## 1.10.1 Data Collection

This research is basically a study of the effect of lexical borrowing from the Dholuo language to Lunyore. Therefore the data to be collected would undoubtedly comprise an inventory of loanwords from Dholuo but in common everyday use among the native speakers of Lunyore. The researcher collected about one hundred and fifty (150) lexical items established to have their origin in Dholuo from various semantic domains.

The fact that Lunyore is spoken prominently in Emuhaya and Luanda Sub Counties; these were the target areas for effective informants. For instance, it is from Luanda Sub County and the South Eastern part of Emuhaya Sub County that the researcher collected most of the loanwords from Dholuo bearing in mind their close proximity to the Dholuo speakers and Luanda open air market from where most of the verbal interactions were captured. The north-eastern part of Luanda Sub County and the most parts of Emuhaya Sub County were the most appropriate part for the most valid informants that provided lexical items of semantic equivalence in Lunyore for the loanwords presumed to have been donated by Dholuo.

This data was collected from conversations in everyday interactions such as at funerals, parties, church services in Esitsimi Pentecostal Assemblies of God, Emakunda Israel and Attiko Anglican Church of Kenya; from conversations on vernacular radio stations such as Radio Anyole, Mulembe F.M. and Radio Ingo; and from preplanned interview sessions with carefully selected or sampled informants in Emmuli-Esitsimi village, Ebwiranyi-Etwenya and Ebwiranyi-Emusoli villages and from participatory observation with business persons and buyers from the Luanda open air market.

For effective data collection, this study, among other methods, heavily relied on participatory observation. This data, which was acquired from the informant's written and or spoken endeavours, is considered very important since it is primary and firsthand. Cruse (1986:8) asserts the importance of such firsthand data in a study. Firsthand data is more authentic and trustworthy for any research.

The researcher got involved in verbal interactions with informants in church gatherings; market centers like the Luanda open air market and in hotels among others, listened keenly as he made written recordings of words perceived to be of Dholuo origin. It is at this point that the researcher's intuition and linguistic competence in Lunyore as a native speaker of the same became of great importance. The researcher's bilingual nature, having learnt and or acquired Dholuo as a second language will was an added advantage.

Listening to the local vernacular radio stations such as Mulembe F.M., Radio Ingo and Anyole F.M. radio station that broadcast in Lunyore was also a very invaluable source of lexical items borrowed from Dholuo.

## 1.10.2 Data Analysis

The researcher transcribed these words, sorted them into their appropriate grammatical categories also known as lexical categories as per the Cognitive Lexical Semantics theory, established their semantic equivalents in the native Lunyore then gave their translation into English and using the Cognitive Lexical Semantic theory determined if there has been any semantic change.

The researcher then identified and explained the word borrowing mechanisms and processes with appropriate examples, from the data collected as presented in Chapter Two. In line with the semantic domains and the social contexts within which these borrowed lexical items were collected, the semantic changes, if any, were identified, and discussed and the reasons for the same established as presented in Chapter Three. Social factors: socio-cultural, socio-economic and psychological factors considered to have influenced the already established lexical borrowing, and semantic change were identified, discussed with valid examples and established as presented in Chapter Four. This would then be used to establish the overall effect of lexical borrowing and semantic change from Dholuo into the Lunyore dialect of Luhya.

The next chapter presents the data, that is, the lexical material, collected from the field, classifies it into their appropriate lexical categories which are equated to grammatical according to the Cognitive Lexical Semantics Theoretical framework, C.L.S.T. It further identifies and with appropriate examples from the data collected, discusses the lexical borrowing mechanisms and processes responsible for the lexical borrowing into Lunyore dialect of Luhya from Dholuo.

# CHAPTER TWO

## LEXICAL CATEGORIES AND LUNYORE WORD BORROWING MECHANISMS AND PROCESSES FROM DHOLUO

### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a vivid insight into the identification and classification of the lexical items that Lunyore dialect of Luhya has borrowed from Dholuo, into their appropriate grammatical categories. This is in line with the fact that this study focuses on lexical borrowing in general, therefore incorporating both core and cultural lexical borrowing. Among the categories of lexical items borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore as identified from the data collected in this study are: nominal lexical items, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, exclamatives, conjunctions and channels or discourse markers and a few idiomatic expressions. It is important to note that since the languages under study in this research: Dholuo and Lunyore dialect of Luhya are genetically unrelated, as indicated in the background to this study; knowledge of the similarities and any differences in the phonetic inventories of both is highlighted. This will help shed light on the reasons why some phonological features of lexical items would be retained, modified or even discarded and the possibility of Lunyore acquiring non-native sounds during the borrowing process. This Chapter further delves into the identification and discussion of the mechanisms or processes used when borrowing lexical items from Dholuo into the Lunyore dialect of Luhya language. In support of the discussions dealt with in this section, a few examples and explanations have been highlighted in order to justify the lexical classification and application of direct loans, loan translations, loan shifts and clipping as the identified borrowing mechanisms.

### 2.1 Lexical Categories of Items Borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore

In a bid to effectively understand and explain the interaction between Lunyore and Dholuo interactants which is evident and fundamentally established at the spoken or phonological level that paves the way for lexical borrowing with its mechanisms and processes, it is vital to have the knowledge of the phonological systems of these two linguistic media. It is worth noting that, backed by two divergent genetic backgrounds; these languages have discrepancies based on the presence or absence of certain sounds which exist in the other. Regardless of these differences,

both at the vowel and consonantal levels, lexical items borrowed from Dholuo and Lunyore, undergo processes that effectively adapt and accommodate the new sounds acquired from Dholuo.

Some of the native Dholuo consonant sounds that change when realized in Lunyore words of Dholuo origin, as per this study, were discovered as indicated below.

| Orth. | IPA Symbol | Dholuo | Lunyore | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| th | /θ/ → /tʃ/ | *th*olo /θɔ:lɔ/ | *okhuchola* /oxʊtʃɔ:la/ | to roast meat for the purpose of preserving |
| dh | /ð/ → /tʃ/ | *gued*ho /gueðo/ | *okhukwecha* /oxukuetʃa/ | to bless especially by god |
| b | /b/ → /p/ | *ra*buor /ra**b**uor/ | *era*puor /era**p**uor/ | dark brown colour especially of cattle |
| d | /d/ → /t/ | *d*onge /**d**o:ŋge/ | *t*onge /**t**o:ŋge/ | Isn't it so/ that way? |
| g | /g/ → /k/ | li**g**ala /lɪ**g**a:la/ | olu**k**ala /olʊ**k**aɭa/ | a new homestead |
| c | /c/ → /tʃ/ | *ch*iel /**c**ɪɛl/ | okhu*chi*ela /oxʊtʃɪɛla/ | to fry |
| c | /c/ → /s/ | *ch*ira /**c**i:rɑ/ | *is*ila /ɪsi:ɭa/ | an ailment due to a curse |
| r | /r/ → /ɭ/ | chi**r**a /ci:**r**ɑ/ | isi**l**a /ɪsi:**ɭ**a/ | an ailment due to a curse |
| l | /l/ → /ɭ/ | li*gal*a /lɪga:**l**a/ | olu*kal*a /olʊ**ɭ**oka**ɭ**a/ | a new homestead |

It is therefore very important to understand how some of the sounds that exist in Dholuo but are absent in Lunyore, are accommodated or modified to conform to the Lunyore sound system and rules. It is worth noting as stated earlier in the background to the study that these two languages: the donor language-Dholuo, and the recipient language-Lunyore dialect of Luhya are genetically unrelated, with the former being Nilotic and the latter being Bantu. It follows that there would be discrepancies in their phonological and morphological systems.

Dholuo phonemic inventory is made up of twenty six consonants (Okombo 1982:17-18) and (Oduor 2002:73). According to Oduor (2002:73), five of these twenty six consonants are prenasalised. Okombo 1982) had earlier referred to these prenasalised consonants as nasal compounds and two of which were referred to as semi-vowels. The Dholuo phonemic inventory of consonants is as presented below:

The following are the twenty six Dholuo consonants with their phonetic transcriptions:

| Orthography | Phonetic Symbol | Phonetic Transcription | Lexical Item | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| P | /p/ | /paːp/ | pap | a playing ground |
| b | /b/ | /rabuor/ | rabuor | dark brown colour of cattle |
| w | /ɯ/ | /ɯɪːlo/ | wilo | to exchange |
| m | /m/ | /masɪːra/ | masira | an accidental occurrence/ a catastrophe |
| f | /f/ | /fʊɛɲo/ | fwenyo | to discover |
| th | /θ/ | /θɪŋɔ/ | thing'o | to disgust someone with a foul smell |
| dh | /ð/ | /ruːðɔ/ | rudho | to scrub |
| t | /t/ | /taŋ/ | tang' | to be cautious |
| d | /d/ | /doːŋge/ | donge? | Isn't it so/ that way? |
| r | /r/ | /raɔ/ | rao | to pass-by |
| l | /l/ | /dɪːtʃɔl/ | dichol | dark/ black colour of cattle |
| s | /s/ | /siːmbɑ/ | simba | a young man's hut |
| h | /h/ | /hɛːra/ | hera | love |
| c | /c/ | /ciːrɑ/ | chira | an ailment due to a curse |
| j | /ɟ/ | /ɟʊːkɔ/ | juko | to ambush |

| y | /j/ | /jʊak/ | ywak | to cry |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ny | /ɲ/ | / ɲa:r/ | nyar | daughter of a place or someone |
| k | /k/ | / kɔɯɔ/ | kowo | to escort |
| g | /g/ | /lɪga:la/ | ligala | a new homestead |
| ng | /ɲg/ | /ɲgɪma / | ngima | life |
| n | /n/ | /nʊɔjɔ/ | nwoyo | to repeat |
| mb | /mb/ | /ɔkʊ:mbɑ/ | okumba | a shield used in war |
| ndh | /nð/ | /nðʊnɔ/ | ndhuno | to pinch |
| nd | /nd/ | /nda:ra/ | ndara | a road |
| nj | /ɲj/ | /ɯɪnjore/ | winjore | to be in agreement |
| ng' | /ŋ / | /aŋʊɛ/ | angw'e | a medicinal herb with a strong unpleasant smell |

**Dholuo Consonants IPA Symbols with their orthographic representations**
**Extracted from Okombo (1982:19), Oduor (2002:73) and Oluoch (2016:20)**

According to researchers such as Okombo (2002:76) the Dholuo Phonemic inventory of vowels is made up of nine sounds as presented below:

| Orthography | Phonetic Symbol | Phonetic Transcription | Lexical Item | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | /i/ | /si:mba/ | simba | a young man's hut |
| i | /ɪ/ | / ra:ŋɪ/ | rang'i | a mirror |
| e | /e/ | /eɾo/ | ero | an exclamative indicating the meaning: 'that way' |
| e | /ɛ/ | /ŋgɛ:gɛ/ | ngege | tilapia |
| o | /o/ | /rabuor/ | rabuor | dark brown colour of cattle |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| o | /ɔ/ | /opo:ŋ/ | opong' | mature of a girl or boy |
| u | /u/ | /aɾu:ŋgu/ | arungu | a club used as a weapon or a prop in a dancce |
| u | /ʊ/ | /ɔhʊ:lʊ/ | ohulu | a small or young fish |
| a | /a/ | /pa:dɔ/ | pado | to slap |

**Dholuo Vowels IPA Symbols with their orthographic representations**
**Source: Oduor (2002:76) and Oluoch (2016:22)**

Lunyore has twenty three (23) consonants that make up its phonemic inventory. These consonants are orthographically and symbolically presented as exhibited in the Lunyore lexical items presented below.

| Orthography | Phonetic Symbol | Phonetic Transcription | Lexical Item | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| b | /β/ | /oβʊja:ɲjɪ/ | obuyanji | love |
| p | /p/ | /ʃɪpuoni/ | lipuoni | a potato |
| f | /f/ | /oxʊfʊ:mbɛ:lla/ | okhufumbella | to embrace |
| t | /t/ | /ɛtɑjuɑ/ | etaywa | a cock |
| s | /s/ | /ɛsɪkɪejɔ/ | esikieyo | a mirror |
| h | /h/ | /hɜ:ŋgɔ/ | hango | a homestead |
| ch | /ʧ/ | /ɪsʊtʃɛ/ | isuche | fish |
| kh | /x/ | /omʊxa:jɛ/ | omukhaye | the eldest wife/ respectable married woman |
| k | /k/ | / kɔβa/ | koba | to escort |
| l | /l/ | /malle/ | malle | I have finished or |

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| | | | | completed |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| l | /l̪/ | /oxʊl̪ɔ:ka/ | okhuloka | to trade in |
| j | /dʒ/ | /esidʒɪ:ko/ | esijiko | a spoon |
| r | /r/ | /oxuɾil̪illa/ | okhurililla | to be fearful |
| w | /ɯ/ | /oxʊɯɪnjana/ | okhuwinjana | to agree |
| y | /j/ | /ɛtajua/ | etaywa | a cock |
| m | /m̩/ | /mal̪a/ | mala | to finish or complete |
| n | /n/ | /oxuβʊkana/ | okhubukana | to meet |
| ng' | /ŋ/ | /ɪŋombɛ/ | ing'ombe | a cow or bull |
| ny | /ɲ/ | /l̪ɪʊɲɪ/ | liunyi | a medicinal herb with a strong unpleasant smell |
| ng | /ŋg/ | /ɪŋgʊβo/ | ingubo | a cloth or dress |
| mb | /mb/ | /esɪxʊ:m̩ba/ | esikhumba | a shield used in war |
| nd | /nd/ | /ɪnda:ra/ | indara | a road |
| nj | /ɲj/ | /oxʊɯɪnjana/ | okhuwinɟana | to agree |

**Lunyore Consonants IPA Symbols with their orthographic representations**

Source: Malanda, (2005:10-16)

Lunyore dialect of Luhya language is made up of ten (10) vowels: five (5) short vowels with their five (5) corresponding long counterparts as presented below with their phonetic transcriptions. These vowels are presented in their IPA symbols and as they appear orthographically as illustrated in the provided sample of lexical items in Lunyore.

| Orthography | Phonetic Symbol | Phonetic Transcription | Lexical Item | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | /i/ | /oxʊsi:sa/ | okhusisa | to rub |
| i | /ɪ/ | /ɪsi:l̪a/ | isila | an ailment due to a curse |
| u | /u/ | /l̪i:ful̪u/ | lifulu | a small or young fish |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| u | /ʊ/ | /ɪsʊtʃe/ | isuche | fish |
| e | /e/ | /ɛsɪmɛnɛnʊa/ | esimenenwa | *lantana camara* |
| e | /ɛ/ | /ɛβɛmbɛ/ | ebembe | a type of grass |
| o | /o/ | /ɔ�χeβɔ/ | oluebo | a road or path |
| o | /ɔ/ | /xʊβɔlla/ | khubolla | I am telling you |
| a | /ɑ/ | /oxʊfʊnana/ | okhufunana | to fight for something |
| a | /ɜ/ | /βa:ne/ | baane | an exclamative indicating surprise |

**Lunyore Vowels IPA Symbols with their orthographic representations**

Source: Malanda, (2005:31)

According to Malanda, (2005:31) Lunyore has five short vowel sounds with their corresponding long vowels as indicated in the list above. It should however be noted that as from the examples of Lunyore words given above, the current study's researcher realised that Lunyore dialect of Luhya has five (5) vowel sounds namely: /ɪ/, /ʊ/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/, and /a/.

With the knowledge of the similarities and differences in the phonemic inventories of the SL-Dholuo and the RL- Lunyore dialect of Luhya, it is valid to revisit the assertion, as earlier mentioned in the Literature Review that some of the nativasation processes or borrowing mechanisms include the formation of loan words, loan shifts, loan translations, and clipping among others. From the data collected, it therefore follows that Lunyore dialect of Luhya is no exception in the application of some of these mechanisms in its endeavour to receive lexical items from Dholuo as reflected in the data collected.

Thomas and Kaufman (1985) in Meyers-Scotton (2002) assert that borrowing is the incorporation of foreign features from another language into the native language by speakers of the same language. The native language is usually maintained but is transformed by the inclusion of these foreign features. Mesthrie et al (2000) define word borrowing as a technical term for the incorporation of a linguistic item into one language from another.

According to Meyers-Scotton (1993), there are two types of borrowing namely: cultural borrowing and core borrowing. Cultural borrowing brings in lexical items that refer to objects or concepts that are perceived new to the borrowing language speech community's culture while core borrowing brings in lexical items for which the recipient language already has viable equivalents.

She posits that cultural borrowed forms usually appear abruptly in a language when influential or prominent personalities or groups begin using the borrowed lexical items. They may appear in the speech of the monolinguals or bilinguals using the recipient language. Core borrowed lexical forms come into existence when bilinguals introduce them as singly occurring in their speech as a result of code switching experience. The focus of this study is basically on the borrowed lexical items, that is, both with native equivalents and those without native equivalents in Lunyore. Therefore this study is interested in lexical borrowing in general: both core borrowing and cultural borrowing of lexical items.

The older speakers of Lunyore, that is, those aged between eighteen (20) and fifty (50) years old were the most appropriate informants. The old have the advantage of age since it follows that they have had a longer exposure to the contact between Dholuo and Lunyore dialect of Luhya language than the relatively younger speakers. Therefore, they have obviously had a higher use of those borrowed lexical items than their younger counterparts do.

With both cultural and core borrowing as subsets of borrowing in mind, it is worth noting that Lunyore as a dialect of Luhya language has vastly borrowed not only the content lexical items: nominal lexical items and verbs but also adjectives and exclamatives of which some are used as channels or discourse markers.

It is therefore evident from the data collected that Lunyore has borrowed almost every kind of lexical items except lexical items that refer to universal elements in every human society such as those referring to natural phenomenon, numerals and body parts among others.

Some of the nominal lexical items borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore include these presented below:

| | Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | opao /ɔpaɔ/ | esipao /esɪpaɔ/ | esitiyo /esɪti:jɔ/ esitiyilo /esɪti:jɔ/ | a spade |
| 2. | gine /gi:ɪne/ | eginane / egɪnanɛ/ esiginane /esɪgɪnanɛ/ | esinekhane /esɪneɣɑne/ inindu /ɪni:ndʊ/ esinini /esɪnɪnɪ/ inekhane /ɪnɛxane/ | an unspecific thing/a thing |
| 3. | ndara /nda:ra/ | indara /ɪnda:ra/ | injila /ɪɲji|a/ olwebo /o|ʋeβɔ/ ebarabara /ebarabara/ | a road |
| 4. | okumba /ɔkʊ:mba/ | esikhumba /esɪxʊ:mba/ | ingabo /ɪŋgaβɔ/ | a shield used in war |
| 5. | agwata /aguata/ | esigwata /esɪguata/ | essanda /esɪsa:nda/ | a calabash |
| 6. | kube / kʊ:bɛ/ | ekube /ekʊ:bɛ/ | esibuyi /esɪβʊ:jɪ/ omutungi /omʊtʊ:ŋgɪ/ | a five litre jerrican |
| 7. | chira /ʧɪ:ra/ | isila /ɪsi:|a/ | esiluchi /esɪ|ʊ:ʧɪ/ | a curse or iIllness due to |

| | | | | the violation of a taboo |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8. | *mbuta* /mbʊ:ta/ | *imbuta* /ɪmbʊ:ta/ | # | nile perch fish |
| 9. | *ngege* /ŋgɛ:gɛ/ | *injeche* /ɪnjɛ:tʃe/ | # | tilapia fish |
| 10. | *ohulu* /ohʊ:lʊ/ *ofulu* /ofulʊ/ | *lifulu* /lɪ:fulʊ/ | # | fingerlings or very young fish (small fish) |

It should be noted that most of the Dholuo nominal lexical items begin with consonant sounds but acquire the bound morpheme {e} /e/ as a prefix with the semantic value of singularity with the plural form indicated by insertion of the bound morpheme that indicates plurality {chi} /tʃɪ/ between {e} /e/ and the borrowed root form as an infix. These adaptations will partly be discussed in the next part of this chapter under the borrowing mechanisms or processes.

Some of the verbs borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore include the few presented below:

| | **Dholuo** | **Lunyore Borrowed** | **Lunyore Synonym** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | *laro* /la:rɔ/ | *okhulara* /oxʊla:ra/ | *okhufunana* /oxʊfʊna:na/ | to fight for/compete for something |
| 12. | *thing'o* /θɪ:ŋgɔ/ | *okhuthing'a* /oxʊθɪ:ŋɑ/ | *okhufundesia* /oxʊfʊndɛ:sɪa/ | to disgust someone with a foul smell |
| 13. | *chiel* /cɪɛl/ | *okhuchiela* /oxʊtʃɪɛla/ | *okhuha*langa | to fry |

/oxʊxaɭaŋga/

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14. | *rado* /ra:dɔ/ | *okhurada* /oxʊra:da/ | *okhubukana* /oxʊβʊka:na/ | to meet somebody especially for a competition or in a confrontation manner |
| 15. | *teng'* /tɛ:ŋ/ | *okhuteng'a* /oxʊtɛ:ŋa/ | *okhubungulla* /oxʊβʊŋulla/ | to shake |
| 16. | *lawo* /ʌaɯɔ/ | *okhulawa* /oxʊla:ɯa/ | *okhuchunguchula* /oxʊtʃʊŋgʊtʃʊɭa/ | to rinse |
| 17. | *bwogo* /bʊɔgɔ/ | *okhubwoga* /oxʊbʊɔga/ | *okhukosa* /oxʊkɔ:sa/ | to scare |
| 18. | *dwanyo* /dʊaɲɔ/ | *okhudwanya* /ɒxʊdʊaɲa/ | *okhufwabia* /oxʊfʊaβɪa/ | to misbehave in a manner that is shameful |
| 19. | *lwoko* /lwɔkɔ/ | *okhulwoka* /oxʊlwɔka/ | *okhusaba* /oxʊsa:βa/ | to wash |

From the examples given above; it should be noted that most of the verbs borrowed from Dholuo begin with consonant sounds but take up the bound morpheme {okhu} /oxʊ/ as a prefix with the meaning "to". Most of the verbs end in vowel {o} /o/ which is replaced by the vowel {a} /a/ in their Lunyore native forms.

Adjectives are the third grammatical category of lexical items borrowed by Lunyore from Dholuo. Some of these adjectives include among others these given below:

| | Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20. | *opong'* /opoŋ/ | *opong'ele* /opoŋɛ:ɭe/ | *okhelle* /ohelle/ *okhulle* /oxʊlle/ *owichuye* /oɯɪtʃʊ:je/ | mature or of age especially as a young adult |
| 21. | *lich* / liːc/ | *okhulichikha* /oxʊɭi:tʃɪɣa/ | *okhuyungubasia* /oxʊjʊŋgʊβasɪa/ | to look or appear scary/ grotesque |
| 22. | *rabuor* /rɑbʊɔr/ | *erabuor* /eɾɑbʊɒɾ/ | *esiloba* /esɪɭʋβɑ/ | dark brown colour |
| 23. | *dichol* /dɪcɔl/ | *edichol* /edɪtʃɔl/ | *imwamu* /ɪmɯɑmʊ/ | black color especially of cattle |
| 24. | *lando* / laːndɔ/ | *elando* /elaːndɔ/ | *indabillu* /ɪndabɪllʊ/ | light brown |
| 25. | *thuolo* /θuolo/ | *thuolo* /θuolɔ/ | *omweyangu* /omʋejaŋgʊ/ *omulakhule* /omʊɭaxʊ:ɭe/ | free enough or to have the freedom or legibility of doing something |

especially
one controlled
by traditions

From the examples given above, it is worth noting that very few examples were collected in the field and that most of them are adjectives of colour, usually used when describing cattle. Therefore the bound morpheme {e} placed before the nativised lexical item refers to one entity or singularity.

Exclamatives qualify as the fourth category of lexical items evidently borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore. Some of these exclamtives are presented below:

| | **Dholuo** | **Lunyore Borrowed** | **Lunyore Synonym** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26. | *yawa* /jaːɰa/ | *yawa* /jaːɰa/ | *baane* /βaːne/ | indicating surprise or disappointment |
| 27. | *tho* /θo/ | *tho* /θo/ | *baane* /βaːne/ | indicating disgust or annoyance due to a lot of a disgusting phenomenon |
| 28. | *mayo* /majo/ | *mayo* /majo/ | *mamawe* /mamaɰe/ | indicating surprise |
| 29. | *jowa* /ɟɔːɰa/ | *jowa* /ɟɔːɰa/ | *bandu befwe* /βaːndu βɛfue/ | indicating surprise with the meaning "our people" |
| 30. | *ero* /ero/ | *ero* /ero/ | *mbwo* /mbʋo/ | used for approval meaning: "yes, that way" |

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31.  *donge* /do:ŋge/      *donge*       *sikali mbwo*               isn't it so? **for**

/do:ŋge/      /si:ka:ɭɪmbuɔ/             **seeking**

**affirmation**

It is worth noting that all of these exclamative lexical items that were collected retain their spelling and pronunciation and that they are not only used to indicate their meaning but also as channels or discourse markers during verbal interactions even by Lunyore speakers who do not understand their meaning. Their phonological properties still remain unchanged in the recipient language, Lunyore.

There are two other lexical items that were discovered in common use with Lunyore speakers. These two words *ndi* and *se* could be classified as an adverb of emphasis and a bound morpheme indicating the perfective aspect as realized from the informants' use as illustrated below:

*32. se* /sɛ/      perfective aspect

33.  Dholuo-              A**se** wachone.
                         /asɛ:ɯa:cɔnɛ/

34.  Lunyore- Borrowed-  **Se**kele okhumubolla.
                         /sɛ:keɭe oxʊmʊβɔ:ɫɑ/

35.  Lunyore-Synonym-    **Malle** okhumubolla.
                         /malle oxʊɲʊβɔ:lla/

36.  English-
         Literal Transl. I have already told him/her.

**37.**  **'ndi'**   **/**ndɪ/           adverb

38.  Dholuo-              Atieno omor **ndɪ.**
                         /ɑtɪɛɴɔ ɔɱɔr ndi:/

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39. Lunyore- Borrowed-   Atieno usangalle **ndı.**

/atıeno atıeɔ ʊsɜ:ŋgalle pɔ:

40. Lunyore- Synonym-   Atieno usangalle **mno** /po/ okhusila.

/atıeno atıeno ʊsa:ŋgalle xunɔ /pɔ:/ oxʊsi:ɭa/

41. English-

Direct Transl.   Atieno is happy **very.**

42. Literal Transl.   Atieno is **very** happy.

| Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| 43. *ndi* /ndı/ | *ndi* /ndı/ | *po* /pɔ:/ | very |

| Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| 44. *se* /sɛ/ *(ise, ase, seko)* /ısɛ: , asɛ:, sɛ:kɔ/ | *okhuseka* /oxʊsɛka/ *sekele* /sɛ:keɭe/ /usekele /sɛ:keɭe/ | *mala* /maɭa/ | "already done" placed before a verb to indicate the perfective aspect |

The final category of lexical items discovered to have been borrowed by Lunyore from Dholuo could be classified as idiomatic or metaphorical expressions.

| Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| 45. *goyo ligala* /gɔjɔ lıgalɑ/ | *okhukhupa olukala* /oxʊxʊpa oɭʊkaɭa/ | *okhuinia esianyi/* /oxʊınıa esıɑɲı/ *hango ayia* /ha:ŋgɔ a:jıa/ | to establish a new homestead |

| 46. | *goyo wuui* | *okhukhupa ekhwisi* | *okhwekhula* | to scream in |
| | /gɔjɔ uːɯɪ/ | /ɔxʊxʊpa exʊɪsɪ/ | /ɔxʊexʊːʟ̪a/ | a mournful |
| | | | | manner due to pain, |
| | | | | danger or a loss |

| 47. | *nyono dala* | *okhusena hango/* | *okhuinia esianyi/* | to establish a new |
| | /ɲɔːnɔ daːla/ | /ɔxʊsɛːna hɜːŋgɔ/ | /ɔxʊɪnɪa esɪaɲɪ/ | homestead |
| | | | or *litala* /ʟ̪ɪtɜːʟ̪a/ | |
| | | | *hango aya* | |
| | | | /hɜːŋgɔ ajɪa/ | |

From the examples and the explanations presented in this section, it is evident that among other lexical categories of items borrowed by Lunyore from Dholuo are: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, exclamatives and idiomatic expressions.

The next part of this chapter will therefore highlight the various mechanisms or processes involved during the borrowing process of lexical items from Dholuo into Lunyore dialect of Luhya.

## 2.2 Borrowing Mechanisms and Word Formation Processes

It is a common phenomenon that a borrowed lexical item is assimilated in some way to the items already existing in the recipient language (Hudson, 1980). The borrowed lexical items can undergo assimilation in order to fit into the grammatical, morphological, phonological and syntactic systems of the borrowing language. It is however worth noting that this assimilation does not take place in totality.

Fasold and Linton (2006) indicate that the borrowed lexical items are transformed or nativised in order to conform to the linguistic rules of the borrowing language. This process is usually known as adaptation. When foreign sounds occur in loanwords, they are replaced by their nearest

phonetic equivalents in the borrowing or recipient language. It is worth noting that phonological and morphological assimilation of borrowed lexical items go hand in hand with each other.

As asserted by Smeaton (1973), a loanword undergoes modification of morphological structure in order to achieve harmony with the already existing and or established pattern and root system of the recipient language. This study reveals the applicability of this notion to the lexical items borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore.

There are cases in which during morphological adaptation, the borrowed lexical items have to be adapted to the morphological categories of the borrowing language. For instance, when nouns are borrowed into languages with a gender or noun class systems, the borrowing system will involve the reconfiguration of the borrowed lexical items into the new category. From Barkin (1980) study of the gender assignment of the borrowed nominal lexical items from English into Spanish, it was discovered that the borrowed words required gender agreement.

As stipulated by Haugen (1989:213) in Meyers-Scotton (2002), lexical borrowing is considered as a process but not a state and further admits that most of the terms used in discussing borrowing are basically descriptive of the results but not the borrowing process itself.

This thought is further advanced by Thomas and Kaufman (1988) who assert that during the process of linguistic borrowing, the borrowing speakers still maintain their first language and the extent of borrowing. The types of elements borrowed are dependent on the degree of cultural contact and that the phenomenon is based on structural borrowing that affects the phonology, morphology or syntax of the recipient language.

It is necessary to note that borrowed lexical forms exhibit different patterns of morphological adaptation, (Meyers-Scotton, 1993:191). For instance, not all forms show complete morphological integration and in such cases, these borrowed lexical items are characterized in contrast to indigenous forms. The borrowed lexical items also exhibit syntactic integration. She further, however, states that exceptions do exist to the view that most borrowed lexical items are entirely or almost entirely – morphosyntatically assimilated into the recipient language.

## 2.2.1 Direct Loans

According to Haugen (1950) the formation of direct loans occurs when both the form and content of the borrowed lexical item are taken up by the recipient language. It is however, worth noting that not all the borrowed lexical items totally carry with them their original form and content. This process takes place with varied degrees of accuracy (Haugen, 1950; Field, 2002). Some of the loanwords may be very close to their original orthographic and phonological qualities in their source language while others may not be.

Since very few transformation or adaptation processes affect such lexical items on their orthography and phonological qualities, it is usually easier to trace their origin from the donor language: Dholuo. This mechanism that facilitates the existence of direct loanwords of Dholuo origin in Lunyore is supported by the fact that the two languages: the former and the latter are genetically unrelated and as it is clearly revealed in the differences in the phonemic inventories of their phonological structures. For instance, Dholuo has some consonant sounds such as /d/ and /ð/which do not exist in Lunyore phonemic inventory of its consonants but among other sounds, they are bound to exist in some direct loan words from Dholuo into Lunyore dialect of Luhya.

As illustrated below, exclamatives are the best examples of lexical items that are borrowed by Lunyore from Dholuo as direct loans.

| | Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Original Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 48. | *yawa /* jaɯɑ/ | *yawa /*jaɯa/ | *baane* /βa:ne/ | surprise |
| 49. | *tho /*θo/ | *tho /*θo/ | *mbaa /*mba:/ | disgust |
| 50. | *mayo /* majɔ:/ | *mayo /*majɔ:/ | *mamawe /*mamaɯe/ | surprise |
| 51. | *jowa /*ɟɔ:ɯa/ | *jowa /*ɟɔ:ɯa/ | *bandu befwe /* βa:ndu βɛfue/ | our people |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 52. | *ero* /erɔ/ | *ero* /erɔ/ | *mbwo* /ŋbʊm/ | yes, that way for 'approval' |
| 53. | *donge* /doŋge/ | *donge* /doŋge/ | *sikali mbwo* /si:ka:ʄɪ mbuɔ/ | isn't it so?/ that way? |

Most of these loanwords retain their orthographical and phonological features except for *donge* /doŋge/ that may be pronounced as /toŋge/ by some of the Lunyore speakers from the Northern part of Emuhaya sub-county and Eastern part of Luanda sub-counties due to their being relatively distant from the native Dholuo speakers and the fact that /d/ does not exist in the Lunyore phonemic inventory of consonants.

From a keen study of the rest of the loanwords considered to be direct loans, it would be discovered that the adaptations that these lexical items undergo to conform to the phonological structure of Lunyore can be phonologically and morphologically explained. For example, lexical items in Dholuo that contain sounds that do not exist in the Lunyore phonemic inventory, were either retained or replaced by those closer or related in the Lunyore dialect of Luhya language. This is exemplified by the direct loans below.

| | **Dholuo** | **Lunyore Borrowed** | **Lunyore Original Synonym** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 54. | *gwedho* /ɡueðo/ | *okhugwedha* /oxuɡueða/ | *okhulabia* /oxʊʄaβɪa/ | to bless especially by god |
| | | *okhukwecha* /oxukuetʃa/ | *okhwichusia* /oxʊɪtʃʊsɪa/ | |
| 55. | *dhialo* /ðɪalɔ/ | *okhudhiala* /oxuðɪala/ | *okhutembelesia* /oxutembeʄɛsɪa/ | to be lenient especially to a child |

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okhuchiala
/oxutʃiaɭa/

| 56. | hadho /ha:ðɔ/ | okhukhacha<br>/oxʊxɜ:tʃɑ/ | okhuuba<br>/oxʊ:βa/ | to eat vegetables in<br>a hurry especially<br>without ugali |
| 57. | dwanyo /dʊaɲɔ/ | okhudwanya<br>/oxʊdʊaɲa/<br><br>okhutwanya<br>/oxʊtʊaɲa/ | okhuchabia<br>/oaʊtʃa:βɪa/ | to misbehave in<br>a manner that makes<br>one lose self respect |
| 58. | duodo /duodo/ | okhuduoda<br>/oxʊdʊoda/<br><br>okhutuota<br>/oxʊtʊɔta/ | okhutundania<br>/oxʊtʊndanɪa/ | to twine an animal<br>with a rope in order to<br>fell it |
| 59. | rudho /ru:ðo/ | okhurudha<br>/oxʊrʊ:ða/<br><br>okhuruta<br>/oxʊrʊ:ta/ | okhusisa<br>/oxʊsi:sa/ | to scrab clean |
| 60. | yiengo /jɪeŋgo/ | okhuyienga<br>/oxʊjɪeŋga/ | okhuletella<br>/llaʊɭɛ:tella/ | to lean something<br>on onother |
| 61. | yuoro /jʊɔrɔ/ | okhuyuora<br>/oxʊjuɔra/ | okhuongula<br>/oxʊɔŋgʊɭa/ | to offer unexpected<br>assistance with chores |

for free

| 62. | *tholo* /θɔ:lɔ/ | *okhuthola* /oxʊθɔ:la/ or *okhuchola* /oxʊtʃɔ:la/ | *okhusika* /oxʊsi:ka/ or *okhusamba* /oxʊsa:mba/ | to roast meat for the purpose of preserving |
|-----|----------------|---------|---------|---------------------------|

From the examples given above, it was realized that most verbs in Dholuo end in vowel sound /o/ while those in Lunyore end in /a/.Therefore in order for these borrowed lexical items to conform to the Lunyore phonological system, the /o/ is deleted and replaced with /a/. In order to adopt the borrowed lexical items of the verb type into Lunyore grammatical structure, the verbs receive the bound morpheme {okhu} as a prefix which is an equivalent of the 'to' in English which indicates that the verb is an infinitive in Lunyore.

As mentioned earlier, it was also noted that verbs with sounds that are non-existent in the Lunyore phonemic inventory such as dh /ð/ and th /θ/ are either pronounced as the original word or with the sound transformed into ch /tʃ/. This discrepancy is determined by the region of Bunyore from which the speaker comes and also the fact that the two sounds are strange to the Lunyore speaker's phonemic inventory of consonantal sounds.

Some verbs also taken up as direct loans, but with sound /d/ are either pronounced with the original sound or with /t/ depending on the locality of the Lunyore speakers. It was also discovered that most of the Lunyore speakers who pronounce these loan words with their original phonological features are bilinguals of the donor and the recipient language while those that are likely to transform it to /t/ are speakers of the Lunyore dialect of Luhya language who do not speak Dholuo as a second language.

Other examples of direct loans in support of the explanation above include:

| | Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 63. | *dewo* /dɛ:ɯɔ/ | *okhudewa* /oxʊdɛ:ɯɑ/ | *okhuendella* /oxʊendella/ | to mind or care about something |
| | | *okhutewa* /oxʊtɛ:ɯa/ | | |
| 64. | *pado* /pa:dɔ/ | *okhupada* /oxʊpɜ:da/ | *okhuala oluhi* /oxʊa:ɭa oɭʊhɪ/ | to slap |
| | | *okhupata* /oxʊpa:ta/ | *okhupa oluhi* /oxʊxʊpɑ oɭʊhɪ/ | |

Most of the nominal lexical items borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore dialect of Luhya also qualify as direct loans though with slight modifications for some of them. The following list presents some of the borrowed nominal lexical items.

| | Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 65. | *opao* /opa:ɔ/ | *esipao* /esi:paɔ/ | *esitiyo* /esɪti:jɔ/ *esitiyilo* /esɪtɪji:ɭɔ/ | a spade |
| 66. | *Nyasaye* /ɲasɑje/ | *Nyasaye* /ɲasa:je/ | *Wele* /ɯɛ:ɭɛ/ | God |
| 67. | *dani* /dʒ:nɪ/ | *dani* /dʒ:nɪ/ | *kukhu* /kʊxʊ/ | grandmother |
| 68. | *ndara* /nda:rɑ/ | *indara* /ɪnda:ra/ | *ebarabara* /ebarabara/ | a road |

*eparapara* /eparapara/

*injila* /ɪnjɪɭa/

*olwebo* /oɭʋeβo/

| | Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 69. | *kube* /kʊ:bɛ/ | *ekube* /ekʊ:bɛ/ *esikube* /esikʊ:bɛ/ *omutungi* /oɱʊtʊŋgɪ/ *ekupe* /ekʊ:pɛ/ | *esibuyi* /esibʊji/ | a five-litre jerrican |
| 70. | *okumba* /ɔkʊ:mbɑ/ | *esikhumba* /esɪxʊ:mba/ | *ingabo* /ɪŋgaβɔ/ | a shield used in war |
| 71. | *samba* /si:mba/ | *esimba* /esi:mba/ | *etisi* /eti:sɪ/ | a young man's hut especially one still living in his father's homestead |

Other nominal lexical items that qualified as direct loans included names of types of fish. Most of these items did not have their equivalent in the native Lunyore language as shown below:

| | **Dholuo** | **Lunyore Borrowed** | **Lunyore Synonym** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 72. | *mbuta* /mbʊ:ta/ | *imbuta* /ɪmbʊ:tɑ/ | # | nile perch |
| 73. | *omena* /omɛ:na/ | *imena* /ɪmɛ:na/ *emena* /emɛ:na/ | # | sadines |
| 74. | *ngege* /ŋgɛ:gɛ/ | *injeche* /ŋgɛ:tʃɛ/ | # | tilapia |
| 75. | *ohulu/ ofulu* /ɔhʊ:lʊ/ /ɔfʊ:lʊ/ | *lifulu* /ɭi:fuɭʊ/ | # | fingerlings/ small/young fish |

A closer study of these nominal lexical items revealed that those that referred to inanimate things were preceded by the morpheme {e} /e/ which indicates singularity. When the morpheme is followed by {si}, it indicates that the lexical item refers to an inanimate object. Plurality would be indicated by infixing the bound morpheme {chi} / tʃɪ/ between {e} and the borrowed root of the lexical item.

It should also be noted that if the nominal lexical item has a prenasalised consonant in the word initial position as in the examples given for names of fish, then the bound morpheme {i} /ɪ/ is used as a prefix indicating singularity. The bound morpheme {chi} /ʧɪ/ would then be used to indicate plurality as expected in the Lunyore phonological and morphological structure.

Most of the adjectives borrowed into Lunyore from Dholuo were also considered as direct loans. Most of them were also realized as adjectives of colour and took up the bound morpheme {e} /e/ as a prefix which indicated singularity with the view that the colours were also used to describe livestock especially cattle. Some of these examples are presented below:

| | Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 76. | *rabuor* /ɾabuor/ | *erabuor* /ɾɑbuor/ | *esiloba* /esɪɔβa/ | dark brown colour |
| 77. | *dichol* /dɪcɔ:l/ | *edichol* /dɪtʃɔ:l/ | *imwamu* /ɪmʊamʊ/ | black colour of cattle |
| 78. | *thuolo* /θʊolɔ/ | *thuolo* /θʊolɔ/ | *omulakhule* /omʊɟɜ:xʊ:ɟe/ | state of being free or eligible for a particular |
| | | | *omweyangu* /omʊejaŋgʊ/ | duty/ event |
| 79. | *lando* /ʌa:ndɔ/ | *elando* /ela:ndɔ/ | *indabillu* /ɪdabɪl:lu/ | light brown |

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The only adverb, that is, an adverb of emphasis that was discovered, also qualified as a direct loan as indicated below:

| | Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 80. | *ndi* /ndɪ/ | *ndi* /ndɪ/ | *po* /pɔː/ | so much/very |

The only conjunction discovered to have been borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore is *koro* which is taken up as a direct loan. This word is pronounced as *koro* /koːːrɔ/ with the original Dholuo orthographic representation by most of the Lunyore speakers in very close contact with Dholuo speakers while the 'r' is replaced with 'l' in the orthographic representation as *kolo* /koːɭɔ/, by those within the interior parts of Bunyore. This discrepancy in the pronunciation of the word could be attributed to the fact that very few words in Lunyore contain the consonant sound /r/ in comparison to the liquid /ɭ/.

It should be noted that the use of this word is more in common use among Lunyore speakers in frequent interaction with the Dholuo speakers than those within the region relatively distant from the native Dholuo speakers.

| | Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 81. | *koro* /koːrɔ/ | *koro* /koːrɔ/ | *mana* /maːne/ | *then* |
| | | *kolo* /koːɭɔ/ | *bulano* /βʊɭaːnɔ/ | *now* |
| | | | *khe* /xe/ | *so* |

## 2.2.2 Loan Translations

Loan translations occur when elements of a word from the source language are translated directly into the borrowing language. These loan translations are also referred to as calques. According to Falk (1978), a new item of vocabulary is created as a result of translating the borrowed lexical

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item into the native form. The parts that make up a word are separately translated in order to form a new word instead of borrowing a word as a whole (Crystal, 1987). Just like the other borrowing mechanisms, it should be noted that this process occurs with varied degrees of accuracy. It therefore follows that some loan words formed as a result of loan translation reflect a word-for-word relationship while others do not.

Some of the loanwords that meet the above criterion are presented below:

| | Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Original Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 82. | goyo ligala /gɔjɔ lɪgɜ:la/ | okhukhupa olukala /oxʊxʊpa oʟʊka:a/ | okhuinia esianyi/ hango /oxʊɪnɪa esɪaɲɪ/ / ha:ŋgɔ/ | to establish a new homestead |
| 83. | wuon ot /ɯuon ɔ:t/ | mwene nyumba /mʊene ɲumba/ | omukhaye /oɱʊmɜ:je/ | owner of the house (a wife) |
| | | | wene nzu /muene nzʊ/ | |
| 84. | wuon dala /ɯʊon da:lɑ/ | mwene litala /mʊene ʟɪaɜ:ʟɑ/ | omukhulundu /omʊhʊʟʊndʊ/ | the owner of the home "the old man" |
| | | | mwene hango /aʊene hɜ:ŋgɔ/ | |

A keen study of these loan words reveals that both the SL lexical item in Dholuo and the loan word translated into the recipient language, that is, Lunyore dialect of Luhya are basically metaphorical in their endeavour to reflect the Luo domestic culture which in practice is related to what also occurs among the Banyore.

### 2.2.3 Loan shifts

Loan shifts come into existence when a native lexical item's meaning is extended in order to correspond to that of the borrowed idea or object in the source language (Haugen, 1953). The native lexical item does not necessarily lose its original or old meaning but extends to cover the meaning of the borrowed concept too (Burton, 2002; Haugen, 1953). The new idea or concept that is considered to be in a certain logical association with the native lexical item is therefore deemed borrowed by virtue of shifting the meaning of the native lexical item.

Some of the words considered appropriate for these mechanism include the native Lunyore words, *isuche, okhufwabia* and *obulakhule*.

The Lunyore nominal lexical item 'isuche' originally refers to fish in general but with the arrival of new species of fish such as *mbuta* the Nile perch, the term extends to cover any other kind of fish. This could be as a result of individual speaker's attitude towards certain types of fish. At the end of it all the Lunyore native speakers use such a lexical item with the meaning of the new item inclusive.

From the Lunyore nominal lexical item *obulakhule* which means 'freedom', the adjective *okhuuba omulakhule*, that is, 'to be free', which is an equivalent of *thuolo* in Dholuo is borrowed. This adjective has further extended its meaning to incorporate the meaning of *thuolo* which implies being free enough or not bound by tradition to perform or engage in a certain rite or traditional practice.

In addition to these examples, the native Lunyore verb *okhufwabia* originally has the meaning 'to ashame', an equivalent of the borrowed lexical item 'dwanyo'. It should be noted that the meaning of this word has extended to cover the borrowed sense of speaking or engaging in actions that not only shame one but also call for criticism.

### 2.2.4 Clipping

Clipping as a lexical borrowing process occurs when part of the borrowed or string of words is omitted. An example that fits this mechanism is a nominal lexical phrase '*atek to agwari*' that

refs to '*lantana camara*', a plant usually considered as a weed but also used as a feed for goats as well as a plant for making hedges in both the Luo and Luhya (Bunyore) communities.

| | **Dholuo** | **Lunyore** **Borrowed** | **Lunyore** **Synonym** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 85. | *atek to agwari* /atɛːk tɔ aguarɪ/ | *ateki* /atɛːkɪ/ | *esimemenwa* /esɪmenenʋa/ | *lantana camara* |

The name of this plant has been clipped to *ateki* with *to agwari* having been left out. The adding of the vowel sound /ɪ/ after *atek* makes it conform to Lunyore's phonological structure since all words in Lunyore end in vowel sounds unlike in Dholuo lexical items in which some words especially verbs end in vowels while others like some adjectives and nouns end in consonant sounds.

## 2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the identification and classification of the lexical items borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore in their appropriate lexical categories. This is in line with the assertion by the Cognitive Lexical Semantics theory that equates lexical categories to grammatical categories. Therefore, the collected lexical material had to be categorized as per their grammatical use and semantic values that matched the already known nine grammatical categories or parts of speech expected within natural languages. This was also with the view that languages share a lot of universal features, among them: the common classification of lexical material into their appropriate, grammatical categories. This lead to a clear realization that due to both core and cultural borrowing, the Lunyore dialect of Luhya has borrowed vastly from various lexical categories of lexical items with verbs leading, followed by nominal lexical items, adjectives, exclamatives, and adverbs as the least. Worth noting is that adverbs and conjunctions were the least borrowed with only one item discovered for each category as *ndi* and *koro* respectively. Both words were borrowed as direct loans. It has further identified and with illustrations presented explanations that support the mechanisms that Lunyore speakers employ in the course of borrowing words from Dholuo. Various phonological and morphological

adaptations among other nativisation processes have been identified and highlighted as appropriate. It was realized that most of the Dholuo loanwords are received into Lunyore as direct loans. Direct loans as exhibited by exclamatives such as *yawa, jowa, ero* and *donge* among others are likely to have been taken up in this form in order to help effectively and accurately express the meaning of the emotions they are meant to express. Effective communication is the essence of any human language. So does the essence of lexical borrowing: the desire to communicate not only economically but also effectively. A few other loanwords are received as loan translations and loan shifts. Some of the lexical material borrowed as loan translations include *woun ot, wuon dala* and *goyo wuui* among others. These expressions were translated word-for-word and nativised as *mwene nyumba* or *mwene nzu*, *mwene litala/hango* and *okhukhupa wuui/ ekhwisi* in Lunyore. The motivation behind this word-for word translation could also be just as for the direct loans: the desire to communicate the meaning and the importance attached to the first two expressions: the 'owner of the house- the woman' and the 'owner of the home- the man' that refer to domestic responsibilities and positions in the setting up of a home as per the Luo culture. Only one lexical item: '*ateki*' was discovered to have been borrowed through clipping from the Dholuo term '*atek to agwari*' which refers to the '*lantana camara*' plant while no example was reached as having been acquired through coinage and loan creation.

# CHAPTER THREE

## SEMANTIC CHANGE IN WORDS BORROWED INTO LUNYORE FROM DHOLUO

### 3.0 Introduction

According to Fromkin (2003), it is a natural linguistic occurrence that all human languages are considered living and that they do change over time. These linguistic transitions are usually exhibited in virtually all the grammatical structures of the language in question among them, the morphological, phonological, syntactic, semantic and the general lexical inventory of the language. Lunyore dialect of Lunyore is therefore, in this respect, bound to undergo most of these transformations in general by virtue of being a dialect of a natural language. Of great importance to this study at the moment, is the identification and discussion of any semantic transformation that lexical items borrowed from Dholuo undergo once accommodated in Lunyore. This Chapter therefore identifies and, with relevant examples from the data collected, discusses the various semantic changes that the lexical items borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore undergo. These semantic changes include: Zero semantic change, Semantic Broadening, Semantic narrowing and Semantic Shift.

### 3.1 Zero Semantic Change

Zero semantic change occurs when the borrowed lexical items are borrowed along with their original meaning from their SL: Dholuo, and retain this meaning in the recipient language: Lunyore. Winter-Froemel, (2000), states that such lexical items are borrowed with their 'correct' source language meaning. During the analysis of the semantic value of the borrowed lexical items both in Dholuo, the SL, and Lunyore, the RL, it was discovered that most of the words that exhibited zero semantic change are the direct loans. It is also worth reiterating that most of the borrowed lexical items were also taken as direct loans. Most of the words in such a case are accommodated into Lunyore with very few phonologically based modifications (Haugen, 1950). The modifications that they undergo are basically reflected in their sound system as they are naturalized to the phonological structure of Lunyore as illustrated in Chapter 2, though their semantic value remain unaltered.

Some of these lexical items that exhibit zero semantic change include some nouns and verbs as indicated below.

Borrowed Dholuo nominal lexical items that exhibit zero semantic change:

| | **Dholuo** | **Lunyore Borrowed** | **Lunyore Synonym** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 86. | *hera* / hɛːra/ | *obuheri* /hɛː ʟɪ/ | *obulalilo* /oβʊʟaʟɪʟɔ/  *obuyanji* /oβʊjaːnjɪ/ | God's will/love |
| 87. | *amaki* /amaːkɪ/ | *limaki* /ʟiːmaːkɪ/ | *likamata* / ʟɪkamata/ | a metallic or wooden implement used to hold a sufuria in place or still while cooking derived from the Dholuo verb 'maki'; meaning 'to hold' |
| 88. | *ang'we* / aŋʋe/ | *ang'we* / aŋʋe/ | *liunyi* / ʟɪʊɲɪ/ | medicinal herb with a characteristically strong unpleasant smell |
| 89. | *maro* /maːrɔ/ | *maro* /maːrɔ/ | *nyakhusala* /xaxʊsɜːʟa/ | mother-in-law |
| 90. | *yawo* /jaɯo/ | *liyabo* /ʟɪjɜːβɔ/ | *litubango* /ʟɪtʊβɜːŋgɔ/ | a dam or an open field from where a lot of soil has been scooped |
| 91. | *nyar* /ɲaːr/ | *nyaa* /ɲaː/ | *omukhana wa* /omʊxɜːna ɯa/ | a girl or daughter of a place or somebody |

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| 92. | *pap* | *esipapi* | *esikuri* | a large play ground or field |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | /pap/ | /esɪpapɪ/ | /esɪkʊ:rɪ/ |  |
| 93. | *ligala* | *olukala* | *esianyi* | a new homestead especially |
|  | /lɪga:la/ | /olʊkaḷa/ | /esɪaɲɪ/ | one that belongs to a young |
|  |  |  |  | man who has moved away |
|  |  |  | *hango ayia* |  |
|  |  |  | /ha:ŋgɔ ajɪa/ |  |
| 94. | *dana* | *dani* | *kukhu* | my grandmother |
|  | /da:nɪ/ | /da:nɪ/ | /kʊ:hʊ/ |  |
| 95. | *kwaru* | *kwaru* | *kuka* | my grandfather |
|  | /kuarʊ/ | /kuarʊ/ | /kʊ:ka/ |  |

It is however worth noting that, when two languages come into contact with each other, lexical borrowing which is usually a mutual linguistic process, comes into existence and that words are borrowed with the meaning that correspond to the original meaning in their SL. With this reasoning from Winter-Froemel (2000), it therefore follows that there must be lexical items that Lunyore is bound to have borrowed from Dholuo with their original Dholuo meaning that has still been maintained in Lunyore.

When there is no change in the semantic value of the borrowed lexical items, then it is valid to say that there has been zero semantic change. In cases where the meaning of the borrowed lexical items is realized to have changed in the meaning from that in the donor language to whatever extend, it is therefore valid to assert that a semantic shift has taken place with the borrowed lexical item. Any semantic shift evident with any lexical item has a valid explanation behind the process.

Some of the borrowed Dholuo verbs that exhibit zero semantic change include:

| | **Dholuo** | **Lunyore Borrowed** | **Lunyore Synonym** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 96. | *kowo* /kɔ:ɯɔ/ | *okhukoba* /oxʊkɔ:βa/ *koba* /kɔβa/ | *okwelekha* /oxʊeʟeha/ | to escort |
| 97. | *kuno* /kʊ:nɔ/ | *okhukuna* /oxʊku:nɑ/ | *okhurumba* /oxʊrʊmbɑ/ *okhwerimula* /oxʊerɪmʊʟa/ | to avoid doing something because one is annoyed |
| 98. | *rudho* /ru:ðɔ/ | *okhurudha* /oxʊrʊ:ða/ *okhuruta* /ɔxuru:ta/ | *okhusisa* /oxʊsi:sa/ | to scrub clean |
| 99. | *tang'* /taŋ/ | *okhutang'a* /oxʊtaŋa/ | *okhurililla* /oxʊerɪʟɪɫa/ | to be or look fearful |
| 100. | *rwenyo* /rʊeɲɔ/ | *okhurwenya* /ɔxʊrʊeɲa/ | *okhukhumbula* /oxʊxʊɱbʊʟɑ/ | to be unrecognizable |
| 101. | *wilo* /ɯɪ:lo/ | *okhuwila* /oxʊɯɪla/ | *okhusilania* /oxʊsi:ʟɜ:nɪa/ | to exchange |
| 102. | *loko* /lɔ:kɔ/ | *okhuloka* /oxʊʟɔ:ka/ | *okhukulania* /oxʊkʊʟanɪɑ/ *okhukusania* | to buy and sale or to trade in something |

/oxʊkʊsanɪa/

| 103. | *winjore* | *okhuwinjana* | *okhuulisania* | to be in agreement or |
| | /ɯɪnjore/ | /oxʊɯɪnjana/ | /oxʊʊllɪsanɪa/ | in harmony with somebody |

| 104. | *nuoyo* | *okhunuoya* | *okhukalukhila* | to repeat |
| | /nʊɔjɔ/ | /oxʊnʊɔjɑ/ | /oxʊkaⱡʊhɪⱡa/ | |

| 105. | *juko* | *okhujukilla* | *okhunyolella* | to ambush |
| | / jʊkɔ/ | /oxʊjʊki:lla/ | /oxʊɲɔ:ⱡɛ:lla/ | |

| 106. | *rao* | *okhurawa* | *okhubirra* | to pas-by in order to pick |
| | /raʊ/ | /oxʊaa:ɯa/ | /oxʊβɪra/ | someone for a journey |

| 107. | *kwako* | *okhukwaka* | *okhufumbella* | to hug |
| | /kʊakɔ/ | /oxʊkʊaka/ | /oxʊfʊ:mbɛ:lla/ | |
| | | | *okhwechumba* | |
| | | | /oxʊɛtʃʊ:mba/ | |

It is important to note that from the examples given above, lexical items that exhibit zero semantic change belong to various lexical categories and semantic domains. For instance verbs, nouns and adjectives exhibit this zero semantic change since they still refer to the same objects, actions or states considered similar to those from the donor language.

Although according to Taylor et al (2001), there is the presumption that every word of a language is associated with a fixed and determined meaning, it is worth noting that with the sense of polysemy, one word may have more than one meaning. However, during the borrowing process, only one of the associated meanings is immediately borrowed with the loan word in the mind of the borrowers. It is worth noting that, though some sounds may be considered as non-native during phonological adaptation of the borrowed lexical items, meaning is never referred to as non-native (Winter-Froemel, 2000). Meaning is borrowed along with the word but can change due to factors and processes that are bound to influence the same.

The other lexical items borrowed as loan translations with a clear word-for-word relationship to their counterparts in the source language also exhibit zero semantic change. Most of these loan translations are motivated by the desire to accurately convey and maintain the semantic value of the borrowed lexical material for effective communication among *Lunyore* speakers. As a result, the meaning of the loan translations remain unchanged thus a zero semantic change is evident. Some of these loan translations that exhibit zero semantic change include the following examples:

| | **Dholuo** | **Lunyore Borrowed** | **Lunyore Synonym** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 108. | *goyo ligala* /gɔjɔ lɪga:la/ | *okhukhupa olukala* /oxʊxʊpa oɭʊkaɭa/ | *okhuinia esianyi/* /oxʊɪnɪa esɪaɲɪ/ *hango ayia* /ha:ŋgɔ a:jɪa/ | to establish a new homestead |
| 109. | *goyo wuui* / gɔjɔ ʊ:ɯɪ / | *okhukhupa ekhwisi* /oxʊxʊpa exʊɪsɪ/ *okhukhupa uui/* /oxʊxʊpa ʊ:ɯɪ/ | *okhwekhula* /oxʊexʊ:ɭa/ | to scream in a mournful manner due to pain, danger or a loss |
| 110. | *nyono dala* /ɲɔ:nɔ dala/ | *okhusena hango/* or *litala* /oxʊsɛ:na ha:ŋgɔ/ or /ɭɪta:ɭa/ | *okhwikula hango* /oxʊɪkʊɭa ha:ŋgɔ/ *litala liyia* /ɭɪtɜ:ɭa ɭɪa/ | to establish a new homestead |
| 111. | *goyo abal* /gɔjɔ aba:l/ | *okhukhupa abal* /oxʊxʊpa aba:l/ *okhukhupa eliabali* /oxʊxʊpa eɭɪaba:lɪ/ | # | to swim in a water body such as a river or a lake |
| 112. | *wuon ot* | *mwene nyumba* | *omukhaye* | owner of the |

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| /ɯuon ɔ:t/ | /mʊene ɲuɱba/ | /omʊxa:je/ | house (a wife) |
|---|---|---|---|

*wene nzu*

/muene nzʊ/

| 113. | *wuon dala* /ɯuon da:la/ | *mwene litala* | *omukhulundu* /omʊxʊ ʃʊndʊ/ | the owner of the home "the old man" |
|---|---|---|---|---|

*mwene hango*

/mʊeɴe ha:ŋgɔ/

It should be noted that some of these loan translations such as "*wuon ot, wuon dala, goyo ligala and nyono dala*" have strictly gone by word-for-word translation. This phenomenon must have been motivated by the desire to accurately express the seriousness with which tradition and culture should be adhered to among both the members of Dholuo and Lunyore speech communities.

One of the borrowed lexical items acquired through clipping, that is, **'ateki'** /ɑtɛ:kɪ/ also exhibit a zero semantic change since it still refers to the same plant '*lantana camara'* or "esimenenwaˀ /esɪɱenenʊɑ/ in Lunyore that it still refers to in *Dholuo.* The clipped lexical item is basically from a direct loan '***atek to agwari'.***

The only adverb that was discovered to have been borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore as a direct loan '*ndi'* with the meaning of 'very much or so much'*,* as an adverb of emphasis, also qualifies as a lexical item that has undergone zero semantic change.

It will however be noted that a few other direct loans and the majority of lexical items borrowed through the other borrowing mechanisms such as loan shifts are likely to provide evidence of semantic change that is discussed in the next parts of this chapter. Some of the types of semantic transformation processes include broadening, borrowing and meaning shift (Craft, 2000; Winter-Froemel, 2000 and Fromkin, 2003). Hock (1986) and Antilla (1989) assert that metaphorical change is the other type of semantic change that the borrowed lexical material is bound to

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undergo. In order to determine the process, existence and the extent of any semantic change for any borrowed lexical material, then it is necessary to compare their current meaning in their recipient language, to their original meaning in their donor language, that is Dholuo and Lunyore dialect of Lunyore respectively.

**3.2 Semantic Broadening**

Semantic broadening exists in cases when a borrowed lexical item or a native word that is used to refer to borrowed objects or ideas do change by expanding its semantic representation (Fromkin 2003). The borrowed lexical item therefore means more in Lunyore than what it originally did in its SL**: Dholuo.** In line with the Cognitive Lexical Semantics theory, it is worth noting that the meaning of a lexical item is determined by the speakers' perception with the influence of the speaker's socio cultural and historical environment, it is important to note that the meaning of a lexical item is bound to spread and cover other aspects of life. Semantic broadening can therefore be determined by comparing the original S.L. meaning of the word to the current meaning of the lexical item.

Cases in which the Lunyore native words have had their meaning expanded or broadened to include other related concepts include the Lunyore word *isuche* /ɪsʊtʃe/ which refers to fish in general that any Lunyore speaker may not have a ready lexical item to use such as *mbuta* which refers to the *Nile perch* a kind of fish that was introduced in lake Victoria in the early 1980s. This general or broadened reference to any kind of fish as *isuche* with *mbuta* inclusive is attributed to the attitude of dislike that some *Lunyore* speakers have towards the strong characteristic smell that accompanies the Nile perch especially when not handled very carefully.

The nominal lexical item '*nyadhi*' was borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore with the meaning *'pride and style'*. This lexical item has had its meaning broadened and does not only express its original meaning but also covers '*arrogance*' and '*showing off*'as used in Lunyore. The native terms for '*arrogance and showing off*' in Lunyore are '*injinia*' and '*okhwelola*' or '*obweloli*'. Threfore when a Lunyore speaker is heard saying:

114.    Lunyore:             *Omukhwe wefwe no we enyadhi*.

/omʊxʊe ɯefue nɒ ɯe eɲaːðɪ/

115.    Direct Transl.:        Our brother-in-law is of style.

116.    Literal Transl.:       Our brother-in-law is a man of style.,

the speaker is interpreted to mean a variety of qualities. I will therefore be valid to understand that, '*our brother in-law*' referred to in the assertion above, is not only proud but also arrogant and fond of showing off.

This Dholuo lexical item '*nyadhi*', which is borrowed into Lunyore and nativised as '*enyadhi*', was realized to have undergone semantic broadening in the course of the interaction between the Dholuo and Lunyore speakers.

The other borrowed lexical item that has basically undergone semantic broadening is the Dholuo verb '*tang*'. This verb has been nativised in Lunyore as '*okhutang'a*. It was borrowed with its source language meaning as '*to be careful*' which is equivalent in meaning to '*okhurililla*' in Lunyore. The meaning of this lexical item has shifted from just being careful to being fearful or scared especially due to guilt. For instance, in Dholuo the word would be used to illustrate the sense of being careful as presented below:

117.    Dholuo:        *Tang'ne dendi.*

/ tɜːŋne dɛːndɪ/

118.    Lunyore:       *Otang'ile omubili kwo.*

/otɜːŋɪ̩ɛ omʊβiːḽɪ kuɔ/

119.    English:       Be careful with your body.

The expression above would also be used to mean 'fear for your body'. This sense of meaning then broadens to cover the fear that one would have when guilty and is scared of arrest or apprehension. In such a case for instance, a Lunyore speaker would say:

120.    Lunyore:       *Atoli utang'ile okhwicha ingo*.

/Atoḽɪ utɜːŋɪ̩ɛ oxʊɪtʃa ŋgɔ/

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121. English:       Atoli is scared of/ fears coming home.

This lexical item's meaning has therefore been broadened in comparison to the original source language meaning.

The nominal lexical item *rang'i* / raŋɪ/ has been borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore as a direct loan. Its original source language meaning refers to a mirror. The borrowed lexical form in Lunyore is *esilang'i* /esɪɭaŋi:/ in singular and *ebilang'i* /eβɪɭaŋi:/ in plural. It was discovered that this word was borrowed for its original source language meaning but has over time with the day to day interactions between Lunyore and Dholuo speakers; its meaning has expanded to cover other types of glasses such as a pair spectacles originally referred to as *ameeba* in Lunyore. It also refers to window panes which are usually referred to as *esikieyo* /esɪkɪejɔ/ in singular or *ebikieyo* /eβɪkɪejɔ/ in plural in the native Lunyore as commonly used by most Lunyore speakers boorn and or brought up in the northern and eastern parts of Bunyore. Therefore, the semantic value of the borrowed lexical item *rang'i* for a mirror in Dholuo language: has been broadened to not only refer to a mirror but also a pair or pairs of spectacles and window panes.

Other borrowed lexical items that exhibit semantic broadening include the exclamatives which are also used as channels or discourse markers by Lunyore speakers. It is common to hear a Lunyore speaker with or no conscious knowledge of the original meaning of exclamatives such as *mayoo* and *yawa* which are basically meant to express surprise, but use them as ordinary channels or discourse markers in a conversation in which they not only express their semantic value but also play their function as discourse markers. In such cases, it is valid to say that these borrowed lexical items have been semantically broadened.

### 3.3 Semantic Narrowing

Crystal (1987) asserts that semantic narrowing occurs when a word becomes specialized in meaning. It is basically the opposite of the Semantic Broadening. It is a further semantic restriction on the borrowed word (Fromkin, 2003). This restriction therefore makes a word to adopt a semantic value that is different and thus more specific in comparison to the original one. This semantic narrowing can affect both a borrowed lexical item and a native word used to refer to a borrowed concept or object. Therefore the meaning of a borrowed lexical item in such a case

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becomes less general or less inclusive than the original or earlier source language, that is, Dholuo meaning.

This semantic specialization or restriction is usually a slow process. However, it should be noted that by varied degrees of narrowing, a word with a general meaning ends up being applied to something or a concept that is more specific (Sol-Steinmetz, 2008). These words however, do not completely lose their original source language meaning.

From the data collected, some of the borrowed words that were acquired as direct loans such as *ayara* /aja:ra/ and *odaso* /oda:sɔ/ are good examples of words that have undergone semantic narrowing. This is evident in the sense that the lexical item *ayara* which is used as a noun in Lunyore was adapted from the Dholuo verb *yaro* /ja:rɔ/ nativised as *okhuyara* /oxʊja:ra/ in Lunyore. The lexical item *yaro* in Dholuo basically refers to the process of spreading of especially the top layer of soil in order to discover something like what chicken does when seeking for food or edible substances from the ground or what one is expected to do when spreading cereals or grains to dry in the sun. The meaning of this word has over time been restricted to the process of turning and spreading about various pieces of stone in order to discover those that contain gold deposits in the preparation for crushing. It is therefore common to hear a Lunyore speaker say; for instance:

122. Lunyore:               Odongo *uchiye mu ayara*.

                            /Odoŋgɔ utʃi:jɛ ɱu ɑjɜ:ra/


123. Eng. Direct Transl.    Odongo has gone in *ayara*.

124. English Literary Transl.   Odongo has gone to practise the process of

                            spreading pieces of stone to discover and pick those

                            with gold traces.

The other borrowed nominal lexical item is *odaso*. This word *odaso* was also borrowed as a direct loan from the word *daso,* a verb, which generally means the process of striving to look for or acquire something that is, with difficulty and or acquired in little quantities. For instance, in

Dholuo the lexical item *daso* could be used to refer to the difficulty that a couple could have in struggling to get children that they manage to get very few. It can also refer to the process of searching for possible remnants of farm produce like groundnuts or maize, from the field especially after harvesting has been done. The lexical item eventually adapted from this Dholuo lexical item *daso,* which is basically a verb, is the nominal form *odaso*. *Odaso* is used in Lunyore in a restricted sense to refer to the process of digging out and cleaning soil deposits in a river or from the banks of a river in order to find any particles of gold usually believed to be available in very little quantities. These gold particles or dust are accumulated though little by little until it is worth selling for subsistence up-keeping.

From the two examples *ayara* and *odaso*, it is worth noting that these two lexical items are direct loans derived from the gold mining semantic field which is a common economic activity in and around rivers along the borders shared by the Lunyore and Dholuo speakers in the south-west and southern parts of Luanda sub-county. It should also be borne in mind that the lexical items from which these nominal lexical items are derived are originally verbs. It was also discovered during the research that the speakers of Lunyore dialect of Luhya language did not have their original lexical items that could be used to refer to these two processes.

Just like *ayara* is used, it would be valid to hear a Lunyore speaker say:

125.    Lunyore:            Odongo *wayanja okhuchia mu odaso.*

        /Odoŋgɔ ɯɑjanza oxʊtʃɪa ŋʊ oda:sɔ/


126.    Direct Transl.:     Odongo loves going in *odaso*.

127.    Literary Transl.:   Odongo loves going to participate in the process of searching

                            for gold particles or dust from the river.

### 3.4 Meaning Shift

According to (Crystal, 1987), meaning shift comes into existence when the meaning of word in the source language moves from one set of circumstances to another. Though occurring at various degrees the meaning is realized to have significantly shifted in comparison to the original in the source language.

A few of the examples that exhibit this phenomenon include the Dholuo word **samba** /si:mba/. This word refers to a hut usually located at the centre of a Luo traditional homestead and basically meant for the old man of the home, that is, the owner of the home. This hut belongs to the male owner of the homestead since according to the Luo people's culture, homes or homesteads belong to the man whereas houses belong to the women.  Among the Bunyore people, the old man's or owner of the home's hut is known as *esipila* /esɪpɪḻa/. The borrowed lexical item *simba* which is nativised as *esimba* /esi:mba/ in Lunyore is used to refer to a young man's hut, that is, one who still resides in his father's compound or homestead. Originally such a hut is referred to as *etisi* in Lunyore. It is therefore realized that meaning of the borrowed lexical item has considerably shifted from the original or source language meaning to refer to a different concept in Lunyore dialect of Luhya.

The Dholuo lexical item '*chwero*' /cʊɛ:ro/ considered as a verb since it refers to the action of scrapping a surface clean was borrowed with the same source language meaning in mind. The Lunyore synonym with the same meaning is '*okhukhura*'.  It was realized that after nativisation of this verb to '*ochwera*'  /otʃʊɛ:ra/  in Lunyore, it is currently used as a nominal lexicial item referring to the manual work that  involves the scrapping off of the top surface or layer of soil in or near a river for thorough and careful cleaning with water in order to get gold deposits. This practice of acquiring gold deposits or dust is very common along rivers shared by Lunyore and Dholuo speakers such as rivers Dhene and Ekhalakhala and in other places where gold is mined like in the southern and north -western parts of Bunyore.

The only conjunction discovered to have been borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore is '*koro*' which is taken up as a direct loan. This word is pronounced as  /ɔ:rɔ/ with the original Dholuo orthographic representation by most of the Lunyore speakers in very close contact with Dholuo speakers while the 'r' is replaced with 'l' in the orthographic representation as *kolo*  /kɔ:ḻɔ/ by

those within the interior parts of Bunyore. This discrepancy in the pronunciation of the word could be attributed to the fact that very few words in Lunyore contain the consonant sound /r/ in comparison to the liquid /l/. Originally, this Dholuo lexical item was borrowed with the meaning equivalent to '*mana*' or '*bulano*' in Lunyore which is translated into English as *now* or *so* or *then*. Over time, the meaning of this conjunction has shifted from linking expressions to being used as a greeting in Lunyore. When used as a greeting, in Lunyore, this lexical item has the meaning equivalent to: *How are you?* The generally expected response to this greeting is: *Am fine*. It is therefore not surprising to hear expressions such as the ones presented below.

128.   Lunyore-            Ndakhabalolakho, *koro* ngalukhe ingo.
                          /ndahaβalɔlahɔ korɔ ŋgalʊhe ɪŋgɔ/


129.   Lunyore Synonym-   Ndakhabalolakho, *bulano* ngalukhe ingo.
                          /ndahaβalɔlahɔ βʊlɜːnɔ ŋgalʊhe ɪŋgɔ/


130.   English Transl.    I have already seen you, *now* I should go back home.


131.   '*Koro*' /kɔːrɔ/used as a greeting in Lunyore.

132.   Lunyore-            Achupa: Bulimo, *koro*?
                                  /βʊlɪmɔ koːro/
                          Bulimo:  Amalayi.
                                  /amalajɪ/


133.   Lunyore Synonym-   Achupa: Bulimo, *mbwena*?
                                  /βʊlɪmɔ mbʊenʊa/
                          Bulimo:  Amalayi.
                                  /amalajɪ/


134.   English Transl.    Achupa: Bulimo, *how are you*?
                          Bulimo:  Fine.

It was discovered that this lexical item had also shifted to semantically refer to a greeting in the same manner in Dholuo. This semantic shift was attributed to the semantic value of the Kiswahili slang word '*Sasa*' /sɜ:sa/ which is also used as an informal greeting. It was however not easy to establish whether the lexical item shifted its meaning while still in Dholuo, its S.L. or after having been borrowed into Lunyore as a direct loan. It should be noted that the use of this word is more in common use among Lunyore speakers in frequent interaction with the Dholuo speakers than those within the region relatively distant from the native Dholuo speakers.

Although such a lexical item cannot be said to have totally lost its original source language meaning, it qualifies to have undergone a semantic shift.

## 3.5 Conclusion

From the discussion of the various semantic changes that are bound to be experienced by the lexical items borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore, it is valid to state that the majority of these lexical items maintained their source language meaning thus exhibiting a zero semantic change. The majority of these lexical items that retained their S.L. meaning were nouns and verbs. Some of these nominal lexical items include item No. 86 *hera* which refers to love, item No. 88. *ang'we* which refers to a medicinal herb usually with a characteristically strong unpleasant smell and item *No. 89. maro* which refers to either a mother or father-in-law. It was realized that most of these lexical items that underwent a zero semantic change had also been borrowed as direct loans. This occurrence is likely to have been occasioned by the fact that these items refer to concepts that do not easily change. Thus the maintenance of their meaning enhances an accurate representation of their meaning. It is however; worth noting that a few examples exhibited semantic shifts namely: semantic broadening, narrowing and metaphorically related change as exemplified with some of the items from the data collected. For instance, lexical items such as the Dholuo verb item No. 114 *tang',* nativised as *okhutang'a* in Lunyore and the exclamative item No.*26 yawa* underwent semantic broadening as illustrated in the discussion. This semantic change could be attributed to the fact that these terms refer to human dynamism that is characteristic of the ordinary human interactions. Other lexical items that underwent lexical narrowing include nominal items that refer to processes in the gold-mining economic activity such as *yaro, daso* and *chwero* which have become nativised as *ayara, odaso*

and *ochwera*; and finally specialised to refer to more specific procedures in the gold mining endeavour.   It is therefore valid to assert that both zero semantic change and a variety of semantic changes are some of the very common and immediate results of linguistic contact in general and lexical borrowing in particular.

The next chapter is therefore set to identify and discuss the factors that influence the already discussed lexical borrowing, semantic shift and highlighting the overall effect that Dholuo is bound to have on Lunyore dialect of Luhya language due to this linguistic contact.

## CHAPTER FOUR

## FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE LEXICAL BORROWING AND SEMANTIC CHANGE FROM DHOLUO INTO LUNYORE DIALECT OF LUHYA

### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a vivid identification and discussion of factors that influence borrowing from Dholuo into Lunyore with any possible occurrence of semantic change with the borrowed lexical items over time. The factors that have and still influence lexical borrowing from Dholuo into Lunyore are basically divided into two main categories: social factors and psychological factors. These two factors are discussed with appropriate examples in line with the semantic domains that correspond with these factors from the data collected. According to the Lexical Semantics theoretical framework, it is important to understand that the semantic value of any lexical material is a cognitive conceptualization of the idea or object of reference in a contextualised setting. Therefore the social and psychological factors that influence the interaction between the Lunyore and Dholuo speakers are bound to be identical to those that eventually influence lexical borrowing and any subsequent semantic change that would be realised.

Language and language use is a very important and integral part of any interaction in the human society. For effective communication, therefore language becomes a very valuable tool in the enhancement of the co-existence that would exist among people of the same or different speech communities such as the Dholuo and Lunyore speakers who come into contact with each other. As it has been realized in this study, linguistic contact is bound to result into lexical borrowing that is beyond doubt mutual. In the case under study, as indicated earlier, and exemplified in chapters two and three, Lunyore exhibits the presence of loanwords of Dholuo origin and varied degrees of semantic shift among some of the borrowed lexical items. Having realized that there is beyond doubt, lexical borrowing of various categories of lexical items from Dholuo into Lunyore with varied degrees of semantic shift, it is therefore inevitable to identify and discuss the factors fundamentally behind these linguistic phenomena.

It is worth noting that among the factors that influence lexical borrowing and the potential semantic shift are socially and psychologically based. Social factors have been realized to play a great role in influencing the quality and quantity of borrowing (Treffers-Daller, 2007). Languages are affected by social, political, economic, cultural and technical change. Social factors can influence even structural features of linguistic units. Factors accounting for semantic changes may be roughly subdivided into two groups: extra linguistic and linguistic causes.

Extra linguistic causes include various changes in the life of the speech community, changes in the economic and social structure, changes in the ideas, scientific concepts, way of life and other spheres of human activities as reflected in word meanings. Objects, institutions, concepts and ideas among other human aspects change in the course of time. In many cases, the sound form of the words which denote them is retained but the meaning of the words is changed.

There are various social and cultural contexts in which borrowing takes place. According to Apple and Muysken (1987), these different social and cultural contexts may include invasions, conquest and domination by a majority culture, limited culture contact, limited immigration and economic dependence and coexistence in a colonial setting among others. In whichever case, it should be noted that the extent, type and sociolinguistic effect of borrowing to the recipient language is different. It is important to note that, for this study, Dholuo and Lunyore dialect of Luhya language have coexisted and been interdependent for a long time since the two groups came into existence in the Western region of Kenya to date as indicated in their speakers' daily conversational interactions in various social and cultural contexts.

## 4.1 Social Factors

Language contact in general and lexical borrowing which is the most common outcome is in itself a social factor. It is the social interaction of members of any given communities that that bring into existence the influence that their languages are bound to have on each other (Matras, 2009). Among the social factors identified as having influenced lexical borrowing and semantic change of lexical material from Dholuo into Lunyore include: cultural practices exemplified by intermarriages and the ceremonies that accompany them, religion and religious beliefs and socio-economic factors such as trade and other economic activities geared towards the speakers' unending desire to earn a living .

### 4.1.1 Socio-Cultural Factors

Language is considered as a very important medium of expressing a people's way of life as exhibited in the speech community's customs, traditions and religion and the practices associated with it. It is important to note that when two speech communities come into contact, it is beyond doubt that their media of expression, that is, their languages definitely come into contact. One of the major social results of any given two speech communities is cultural exchange. The introduction of cultural items, bring forth the need to name them. Therefore the importation of new culturally related ideas, objects or concepts is accompanied by the term that refers to the same (Haspelmath, 2008).

In this case, culturally borrowed lexical items reflect a variety if not all semantic domains within the Lunyore speech community. It should be taken into consideration that core borrowing is very evident in such cases since the Lunyore speakers borrow and use lexical items for items and concepts that they still have alternative or original lexical items for.

For instance, during the religious interactions such as in churches as witnessed in Esitsimi P.A.G. in south-west Bunyore and Attiko A.C.K. Church in Luanda town, lexical items such as *'Nyasaye*, *obuwinjani* and *esikhumba*" among others were realized in common use. These words are basically Dholuo in origin. '*Nyasaye'* is the Dholuo term for God which has its equivalent as '*Wele'* in Lunyore. The majority of speakers in this region of Bunyore therefore prefer using '*Nyasaye'* as part of the means of accommodating both Dholuo and Lunyore speakers among their congregations. It was not surprising to realize the majority of the younger Lunyore speakers did not know that God was referred to as '*Were'* or '*Wele'* in Lunyore since they are used to hearing and using '*Nyasaye'*.

The term '*obuwinjani'* is used to refer to *being in harmony* or *in agreement* with someone. This word is also used in the Biblical '*Grace of God'* which is usually part and parcel of most prayers made in these churches and religious occasions. The Lunyore term that is synonymous to '*obuwinjani'* is '*okhuuchilisania'*. '*Obuheri'* is the Lunyore nativised version of the Dholuo term '*hera'* which means '*love'*. It is used to refer to the love that is expected from God and to exist among human beings.

'*Esikhumba*' is the other word nativised in Lunyore from the Dholuo term '*okumba*' which refers to *a shield* that could be used in war. It is equated to the Lord Jesus Christ who acts as a shield to all human beings who prescribe to the Christian faith. It is therefore common to hear the term '*esikhumba*' used in religious songs and in conversations in which the Lord Jesus Christ is considered as a shield to the Christian faithful.

The Lunyore word '*obuwinjani*' is a nominal lexical item which is a derivation from the Dholuo verb '*winjore*' which means to be in agreement or in harmony with someone or one another. '*Obwatieli*' is a Lunyore lexical item basically borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore having been nativised from the Dholuo original term '*adieri*' which means '*truth*'. The truth is a phenomenon that is commonly talked about in religious settings. It is therefore valid to say that the borrowing and nativisation of this word into Lunyore is socio-culturally influenced.

Social interaction between the speakers of Dholuo and Lunyore has evidently been brought about by intermarriages that take place between members of the same speech communities. This marriage-based bond does not ignore the fact that language is a very important tool for any meaningful and effective communication between the interactants. With intermarriages, lexical items that refer to family relations or kinship have been borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore. Such lexical items include: '*dani*' and '*maro*' which in Dholuo refer to '*your grandmother*' and '*mother-in-law* or *father –in-law' respectively*.' '*Dani'* is used to refer to one's grandmother though in Dholuo when one refers to his or her grandmother the term '*dana*' which means '*my grandmother*' is used. The other nominal lexical item borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore in the same line is '*kwaru*' which means '*your grandfather*' but means both '*your grandfather*' and '*my grandfather*' in general in Lunyore. This is summarized below.

| | **Dholuo** | **Meaning in Dholuo** | **Meaning in Lunyore** | **Lunyore Synonym** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 135. | *dani* /danɪ/ | your grandmother | grandmother | *kukhu* /kʊːxu/ |
| 136. | *kwaru* /uarʊ/ | your grandfather | grandfather | *kuka* /kʊːka/ |

| 137. | *maro* | mother-in-law | mother-in –law | *nyakhusala owesikhasi* |
| | /maːro/ | | | /ɲɜːxʊsɜːʟa oɰesɪxasɪ/ |

| 138. | *maro* | father-in-law | father –in-law | *nyakhusala owessacha* |
| | /maːro/ | | | /ɲɜːxʊsɜːʟa oɰesɪsatʃa/ |

The borrowing of '*dani*' and '*kwaru*' and subsequent use in this form is attributed to the state in which a Luo lady married to a Lunyore speaker would send her child to the grandmother or grandfather as in the illustration below:

| 139. | Lunyore- | *Chia olole 'kwaru'.* |
| | | /tʃɪɑ oʟoʟe kuarʊ/ |

| 140. | English- | Go and see your grandmother. |

The child goes on using the word '*kwaru*' to refer to his or her grandfather at any other moment without necessarily inflecting the word in a way such as '*kwara*' to mean 'my grandfather'. The child maintains the form of the word used by the mother who is originally a Dholuo speaker.

Other words borrowed from Dholuo and used in the same vein include '*wuon ot*' and '*wuon dala*' which are loan translations referring to the '*owner of the house*' that is, the '*wife or woman of the house*' and '*the owner of the home*' that is, *the husband* or *man who owns the homestead*. These terms reflect the culture of the Luo people in relation to how they define and differentiate a husband from his wife. These two terms are translated as '*mwene nzu* or *mwene inyumba*' and '*mwene hango*' respectively in Lunyore. These terms are commonly used in semantic domains associated with marriages, weddings and social visits by relatives and friends among others.

Due to intermarriage lexical items that have been borrowed from Dholuo and are in common use include: '*pap*' which is nativised as '*esipapi*' in Lunyore. This term refers to a large playground such as a football pitch. It is therefore common to hear Lunyore speakers refer to the Dholuo speakers as '*in-laws*' when competing in sport such as football. It is also common to hear

speakers use the word 'okhurada' and 'esipapi' in the sports semantic domain. 'okhurada' is the Lunyore lexical item nativised from Dholuo 'rado' which means 'to meet in a competition or confrontational manner'. A Lunyore speaker would say an expression such as:

141.    Lunyore:              *Khuchichanga 'okhurada' 'musipapi'.*
                              /xʊtʃɪtʃaːŋga oɣʊraːda mʊsɪpaːpɪ/


142.    Lunyore Synonym:      *Khuchichanga 'okhubukana' 'musikuri'.*
                              /xʊtʃɪtʃaːŋga oxʊβʊkaːna mʊsɪkʊːrɪ /


143.    English:              We are going to meet in the playground.


|        | **Dholuo** | **Lunyore Borrowed** | **Lunyore Synonym** | **Gloss** |
|--------|------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| 144.   | *rado*(v)  | *okhurada*           | *okhubukana*        | to meet face to face in a competition |
| 145.   | *pap*(n)   | *esipapi*            | *esikuri*           | a playground or field such as a football pitch |

Other lexical items borrowed by Lunyore from Dholuo as a result of cultural influence include terms that refer to the traditional setting of a homestead and the terms that refer to its parts. For instance, expressions such as ' *goyo ligala'* and '*nyono dala'* have been borrowed and nativised in Lunyore as ' *okhukhupa olukala'* and ' *okhusena hango'* as loan translations that refer to the practice of establishing a new homestead especially by a young man who moves away from his father's homestead as a reflection of maturity and independence.

The term '*simba* ' is also borrowed from Dholuo and nativised as '*esimba'* to refer to a young man's hut which is usually referred to as '*etisi'* in Lunyore. These two items therefore refer to the same object among the members of Lunyore speech community. It should be noted that this term '*esimb*a' undergoes meaning shift since in Dholuo, it is used to refer to the hut of the man

who owns a homestead, the old man of the home. This lexical borrowing and semantic shift has been occasioned by cultural factors.

The nominal lexical item 'a*rungu*' is borrowed from Dholuo and nativised in Lunyore as '*erungu*'. It then becomes a synonym to the Lunyore lexical items '*esikulume*' and '*esikong'o*' which refer to a club usually used as a weapon or a prop during Luo traditional dances. Culturally influenced, this term is frequently used and must have been borrowed during hunting escapades in which Dholuo speakers could interact with their Lunyore speaking counterparts. This lexical item may also have been borrowed during Dholuo speakers' dances and in mock fights usually characteristic of the '*tero buru*' dance usually held as a form of mourning at funerals of prominent Luo elders. Lunyore speakers therefore use this term '*erungu*' to refer to any other kind of club whether used as a weapon or a prop in a dance.

Another word borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore as a result of the social interaction between Dholuo and Lunyore speakers is '*osiep*' nativised as '*obusiepi*' to refer to friendship. Friendship is usually referred to as '*obulina*' in Lunyore. It is therefore not surprising to hear a Lunyore speaker say:

146.    Lunyore:    *Obusiepi bwefwe bwachiaka khale*.

        /oβʊsɪepɪ βʊefʊe βʊatʃɪaka haɭe/

147.    English:    Our friendship began long ago.

From the examples identified and discussed in this section, it is clear that socio-cultural factors such as intermarriages and religion among others have played a great role in the borrowing and influencing the subsequent semantic change of lexical items from Dholuo into Lunyore dialect of Luhya.

### 4.1.2 Socio-Economic Factors

In a bid to earn a living, Dholuo speakers and Lunyore speakers undoubtedly come into contact on a daily basis. This contact is thus an obvious precondition for linguistic contact which brings about lexical borrowing and semantic change with varied degrees of accuracy in order to

enhance effective communication. Lexical borrowing and  semantic change  that is socio-economically  influenced has basically  been facilitated by the interaction of members of these two speech communities  to a large extent from the Luanda open air market  and in other income generating activities such as gold mining in the western  and south-western parts of Bunyore .

This socio-economic influence was discovered evident in semantic domains such as gold mining and farm work among other situations. As explained earlier in chapters two and three, terms such as 'o*chwera*', '*ayara*'  and '*odaso*'  are associated with and brought about by  the existence of the mining and selling of  gold in order to earn a living. *Ayara* refers to the process of sorting and picking pieces of stone that contain gold while '*odaso* and '*ochwera*' refer to the processes of scooping and thoroughly washing or cleaning soil from the  river in order to get gold particles or dust that is eventually  sold to earn a living for the participants. There are many Dholuo and Lunyore speakers who participate in this occupation as an economic activity. Some other people participate by selling other merchandise such as food, tools and equipments used in this activity. For instance the original Lunyore term for a spade is '*esitiyo* or *esitiyilo*' but due to the linguistic contact between the Dholuo and Lunyore speech communities, the nominal lexical item '*opao*' has been borrowed and nativised into Lunyore as '*esipao*'.

The results of the interaction of Dholuo and Lunyore speakers at the Luanda open air market cannot be ignored. It is from this place that a lot of vocabulary is used, borrowed and accommodated in Lunyore from Dholuo. For instance, most of the Dholuo nominal lexical items that refer to various types of fish are borrowed from the speakers' interaction in trade at this market. Lexical items borrowed or acquired from this business interaction are carried back home and delivered through verbal interactions.

Adjectives that refer to colors of livestock especially cattle borrowed from and for business interactions that take place in such transactions carried out in this market. These include terms such as '*opilu, rabuor, dichol*, *rabuor* and *lando* among others.

Other lexical items include '*yiero*' a verb which has been nativised as '*okhuyiera*' or '*okhuyiela*' to refer to the process of choosing an item of one's preference .This is a process  that most buyers of items in businesses take part in during  negotiations in business interactions. The term '*okhuloka*' nativised from the borrowed Dholuo verb '*loko*' has been borrowed due to an economic influence. '*Wilo*' is another lexical item which has, been used, borrowed and nativised

as '*okhuwila*' in Lunyore. This lexical item refers to the process of '*exchanging an item for another*'. It comes into existence in a case where a buyer buys an item but due to one reason or another, wishes to take it back to the seller in exchange for a better one. Instead of using the Lunyore synonym '*okhusiliana*', one would easily use the borrowed Dholuo lexical item '*okhuwila*' for easier and more effective communication.

'*Otong'o*' is another nominal lexical item that is a direct loan that undergoes zero semantic change as it is accommodated into Lunyore from Dholuo. It refers to the practice of participating in casual manual work especially on a farm in order to earn a living. Some of these manual or casual labours include slashing, tilling land, planting, weeding and harvesting. The borrowing of this lexical item comes in Lunyore as a result of economic influence.

## 4.2 Psychological Factors

Psychological factors such as prestige and attitude play a very pivotal role in the borrowing and semantic shift of lexical items from Dholuo into Lunyore. Since the theory used to account for this phenomenon in this study is the Lexical Cognitive Semantics theory, it goes without saying that the psychological aspect as a factor that is behind the Dholuo to Lunyore direction of lexical borrowing and the potential semantic shift that accompany this process is worth highlighting.

As it has been already established that intermarriages have facilitated the continuous borrowing of lexical items from Dholuo to Lunyore, it was also realized that most of the Luo ladies married to Lunyore speaking men tend to keep Dholuo lexical items in their day to day interactions with their husbands, children, extended family members and other Lunyore speakers. This phenomenon could be attributed to the Luo women's pride and love of their first language. This pride was also seen as a means of proving that they were loved and valued by their Lunyore speaking husbands and kins in the Lunyore speaking speech community. In a bid to satisfy this psychological need, Lunyore speakers are compelled to borrow and adopt the use of Dholuo lexical material in their daily verbal interaction.

In relation to the phenomenon presented above, it should be noted that since the Lunyore speaking men and their relatives tend to love and appreciate their Dholuo speaking kins, their desire to learn, borrow and accommodate Dholuo lexical items in Lunyore is heightened. They therefore perceive the borrowing and use of Dholuo lexical items as prestigious. This confirms

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the assertion of (Haspelmath 2009, Haugen, 1953) that the borrowing and use of items for which the recipient language already has lexical items for, is attributed to the borrowers' attitude. This is basically a psychological influence that results into core borrowing.

Some of the Dholuo items borrowed and used to refer to a variety of phenomena during the social interactions among the Dholuo and Lunyore speakers include '*kwako*' nativized as '*okhukwaka*'. This is a gesture presumed to indicate closeness or love between the people that engage in it. The Lunyore word that refers to the same phenomenon is '*okhwechumba*' or '*okhufumbella*' but it is common to realize a Lunyore speaker preferring to use the Dholuo term to any of the Lunyore synonyms.

Other lexical items that have been borrowed and used as a result of the Lunyore speakers' attitude towards their Dholuo speaking friends in general and love for the Dholuo language in particular include discourse markers or channels which are commonly used by Lunyore speakers with Dholuo speakers or amongst them. Some of these discourse markers as mentioned earlier in chapter two include *'jowa' 'ero' 'yawa', 'donge'* and '*mayo*' among others. '*Yawa*' and '*mayo*' are some of the lexical items that are commonly used to create a kind of rapport that enhances continuous and effective verbal interaction between members of these two speech communities. It is further interesting when such discourse markers are used by Lunyore speakers among themselves without the slightest knowledge of the original meaning of these two words. These are some of the lexical items that have become part of the Lunyore lexical inventory as realized in various discourses of day to day interaction. The reasons behind the borrowing of such lexical items and the semantic change that such discourse markers have undergone as explained in chapter three, are fundamentally psychological.

The other word borrowed as a direct loan is '*masira*' which is nativised in Lunyore as '*amasira*' or '*amasila*'. It refers to an accidental occurrence such as bereavement, the burning of a house, a road accident or any other disaster. This lexical item is comfortably used by Lunyore speakers instead of using their original synonym '*amanyakhano*'. This is done in order to help express their passionate feelings and subsequent sympathy for the affected individual. It is considered more sensitive and creating a closer connection between the condoling individual and the bereaved for instance, in the case where one has lost a loved one. It is even more effective when

Lunyore interactants use the term in the presence of the affected individual. The borrowing of such a term is therefore psychologically influenced.

## 4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a clear discussion of the factors that influence borrowing and semantic change of lexical material from Dholuo into Lunyore. It has been realized that language in itself is a social phenomenon in which lexical borrowing and semantic change is part and parcel, especially in cases in which two speech communities come into contact as the case under study. The factors that influence this linguistic phenomenon were easily identified and discussed within the theoretical framework of the Cognitive Lexical Semantics Theory that grammar allows for the conception or understanding of the world that is contextualised as the users of the borrowed lexical items interact. It was discovered that social factors such as socio-cultural factors characterised by intermarriages, religion and practices associated with it and socio-economic factors such as business or trade and work such as gold mining and casual manual labour have been major factors behind this phenomenon. For instance lexical items such as No.94 *dana*, No. 89 *maro* and No. 95 *kwara*: nativsed as *dani, maro* and *kwaru:* are all acquired within a family setting context. Thus such a lexical borrowing process and semantic change is definitely influenced by a socio-culturally related phenomenon. Others which refer to income generating activities such as *otong'o, odaso, ayara* and *ochwera* qualify to have been acquired through a socio-economic influence within the interaction of Dholuo and Lunyore speakers. Psychological factors such as attitude and prestige were also discovered to have played a role in this lexical borrowing and semantic change. Therefore by virtue of being a social and psychological aspect of human life and interaction, language use in contact situations is bound to bring forth lexical borrowing and semantic change that is influenced by social and psychological factors.

The next chapter which is also the final part of this project report presents the summary and conclusion of this study.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

### 5.0 Introduction

As reflected in the objectives of this study, this research targeted the discovery of the effect of lexical borrowing from Dholuo into Lunyore dialect of Luhya. Operating within the framework of the cognitive lexical semantics theory- C.L.S.T., it focused its attention on the identification and classification of the lexical items borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore into their appropriate lexical categories, establishment of the borrowing mechanisms and processes by which these words are adopted into Lunyore, identification of any semantic change that these borrowed lexical items are bound to undergo in Lunyore and determining the social and psychological factors behind this lexical borrowing and semantic change that is undoubtedly evident with some of the borrowed material. A thorough scrutiny of these aspects of the research would then culminate into the identification of the overall effect that Dholuo has and is bound to have on Lunyore in the course of time as speakers of both languages continued with their social interaction.

This chapter therefore gives a summary of the findings that were made from the discussions of the data collected in correspondence with the earlier set four research questions. This section further highlights the contributions of this research with its findings without ignoring recommendations for future studies. It finally establishes the conclusion drawn from the findings on the effect of lexical borrowing and semantic change from Dholuo into Lunyore.

### 5.1 Summary of Findings

After a thorough study of the data collected on the borrowed lexical items, a variety of facts were discovered. It was evident enough that the linguistic contact between Dholuo and Lunyore dialect of Luhya speech communities was a very productive linguistic phenomenon as far as lexical borrowing is concerned. There was a further proof that lexical borrowing, with lexical borrowing mechanisms and processes are universal and affected the languages in this study as revealed in the discussions and presented in this summary.

To begin with, in a bid to get answers to the first research question: 'What kinds of lexical categories are borrowed from Dholuo by the Lunyore dialect of Luhya?', this identification and classification was done with the notion that the Cognitive Lexical Semantics Theory that classifies lexical categories in a similar manner as grammatical categories. It was then realized that among other lexical categories, Lunyore borrowed lexical items classified as nominal, verbal, adjectival, adverbial, conjunctions and exclamatives or interjections; and idiomatic expressions as elaborately presented in the first part of Chapter Two. Due to both core and cultural borrowing, Lunyore borrowed lexical items from virtually all the lexical categories. It was therefore revealed that the majority of lexical items borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore are verbs that constituted the majority of the data collected. The verbs were closely followed by nouns. This implies that a lot of actions or activities characterize the contexts within which Dholuo and Lunyore speakers interact with their languages. Few adjectives and exclamatives were also discovered. It should be noted that adverbs and conjunctions were the least borrowed with only one example realized for each of these categories. This was the Dholuo world '*ndi*' used as an adverb of emphasis both in Dholuo and Lunyore.

Secondly, in line with the second research question: 'Which lexical borrowing mechanisms do the borrowed lexical items undergo during the nativasation process?', it was also discovered, as it would be naturally expected, that borrowing mechanisms and processes do exist in instances of linguistic contact as presented in the second part of Chapter Two. For the case of Lunyore and Dholuo, it was discovered that at least four (4) evident mechanisms and processes of word borrowing, that is, direct loans, loan shift, loan translations and clipping were effectively put into practice. The majority of the lexical items acquired by Lunyore from Dholuo are direct loans. A few other loan words are received as loan shifts and loan translations with clipping providing the least as exemplified by the term '*ateki*', nativised and clipped from the Dholuo '*atek to agwari*' which refers to the '*lantana camara*' plant otherwise referred to as '*esimenenwa*' as the original Lunyore term. It should be noted that unlike Njagi (2016) discovery, in the case of Kikuyu lexical borrowing from English, for this study no lexical item was discovered to have been acquired through coinage, loan-blends and loan creations among other borrowing mechanisms and processes.

The third research question: 'Which semantic changes do the borrowed lexical items undergo?' was answered with the C. L. S. T. notion that the meaning of a lexical item is bound to be modified depending on the environment and socio-cultural setting within which its users interact. In order to fully adapt and accommodate the lexical items of Dholuo origin into Lunyore for effective communication due to their semantic value, an effective identification and discussion of possible lexical semantic change was done. This discussion discovered that most of the lexical items especially those borrowed as direct loans retained their source language: Dholuo meaning. These lexical items that underwent a zero semantic change virtually cut across all the lexical categories from which lexical items were borrowed. For instance, most verbs and exclamatives retained their source language meanings.

Due to the fact that the meaning of a lexical item is bound to change as determined by the user's perception and social cultural context, it was realized that a few other lexical items exhibited semantic change in accordance with the situations in which they were used. Thus some of the lexical items underwent semantic broadening or expansion while others underwent semantic narrowing. It should however, be noted that the majority of the borrowed lexical items underwent zero semantic change. This was attributed to the fact that most of the same lexical items were borrowed as direct loans. Very few lexical items exhibited meaning shift. Some of the lexical items affected by semantic change include '*ayara*', '*odaso*, '*ochwera*' and '*esimba*' among others as identified and discussed in Chapter Three.

The fourth and final research question of this study was: 'What are the factors responsible for the lexical borrowing from Dholuo to Lunyore dialect of Luhya language?' Since this study utilizes the cognitive approach to the study of lexical semantics as its theoretical framework, it is worth noting that the speaker's perception of ideas or concepts within their social and cultural settings is paramount in this study. Human cognition is therefore very important in perception of the meaning of ideas and concepts in context. It was therefore worth identifying the factors that influence this lexical borrowing and the subsequent semantic shift that could be noted in some instances. It was discovered that there were social and psychological factors that facilitated the existence of this phenomenon as Dholuo and Lunyore speakers interacted with one another.

These social factors include socio-cultural factors characterized by language contact itself, intermarriages; religion and practices associated with it; sporting activities; and socio-economic factors such as business or trade and work such as gold mining and casual manual labour. Psychological factors such as attitude and prestige as exhibited in the interaction among the Dholuo and Lunyore speakers also influenced the borrowing and subsequent semantic change of some lexical items from various semantic domains such as kinship relations, sporting activities and economic endeavours among other social interactions.

As far as psychological factors such as prestige and attitude are concerned, it should be noted that whereas Njagi (2016) in his similar study of lexical borrowing from English into Kikuyu, discovered that the Gikuyu borrowed so much from English by virtue of considering English as a language superior to Kikuyu in the domains of Science and Technology among others. It should be clearly understood that the case of Lunyore borrowing from Dholuo seemed to have been influenced by the love and desire to appreciate their Dholuo friends and kins and strengthen the bond established by way of intermarriages and respect strengthened with the fear of disappointing or embarrassing in-laws who should be accorded the highest unwavering respect as per the traditions of both Banyore and Luo communities in social interactions.

From the summary of findings as presented in this chapter, it is imperative to acknowledge that the C. L .S. T. provided an effective theoretical framework for the discussion and analysis of the data collected in this research. Since it is based on the speaker's perception of concepts and ideas in relation to their socio-cultural setting, it was adequate in analyzing lexical borrowing with the semantic changes and the social and psychological factors that influence this phenomenon.

## 5.2 Recommendations for further Research

This research sought to establish the effect that lexical borrowing from Dholuo into Lunyore has had on the natural growth and use of the recipient language. This is a linguistic process that has been established as continuous with no predictable possible end. Therefore it would be equally interesting for one to carry out a study that would also find out the effect that Lunyore is bound to have on Dholuo as a borrowing language. This is in line with the notion that linguistic borrowing in general and lexical borrowing in particular is a fundamentally mutual process.

According to this study, as exhibited in native Lunyore words, it has been realized that Lunyore dialect of Luhya has only five (5) short vowels. This is contrary to Malanda (2005) in his study 222 which indicates that Lunyore has five (5) short vowels with their corresponding long counterparts that make up a total of ten (10) vowels. For example, it was discovered that some vowel sounds which are non-native in Lunyore such as /o/ have been borrowed from Dholuo into Lunyore since they only occur in Lunyore lexical items borrowed from Dholuo such as *thuolo* /θuolo/. Therefore this phenomenon calls for a thorough phonological based study of the vowel phonemic inventory of Lunyore in order to iron out such a controversy and any other that is bound to arise in future due to this continuous Lunyore – Dholuo contact.

From this research, it was established that Lunyore has acquired non native sounds especially consonants such as dh /ð/as in the words *gwedho, okhuchodha*; and th /θ/as in the exclamative *tho* and the verb *okhuthing'a*. It would be interesting to carry out a study that could establish the effect of such non-native sounds to the Lunyore phonemic inventory and further establish if any native lexical items lose their sound features in favour of the borrowed ones.

In relation to this increase in the Lunyore phonemic inventory of the consonant sounds, it should be borne in mind that this research concentrated on the effect of lexical borrowing from Dholuo into Lunyore. Therefore it is recommended that a study be conducted to thoroughly investigate the Lunyore phonemic adaptation methods in the course of its interaction with Dholuo language.

During this study it was also discovered that there were some expressions in Lunyore which failed to qualify as borrowed expressions since they contained lexical items that seemed to be blends of Dholuo and Lunyore. Such words include *'apenji ni khureba'* made up of Dholuo '*apenji*' and Lunyore '*khureba*'. Interestingly, both words have the same meaning: *'I ask you'*. Another example is *'awacho ni khubolla'*. *'Khubolla'* is a Lunyore word which means: '*I am telling you*' while '*awachoni*' is a Dholuo word that means the same. The third example was '*chia dhiyo'* made up of two words '*chia*' which is a Lunyore verb and '*dhiyo'* a Dholuo verb which also means '*go*'. Interestingly, in most of such expressions the structure seemed predictable that the Lunyore lexical items preceded the Dholuo ones. The researcher could not establish whether they were outcomes of languages in contact. Therefore, one can also venture

into identifying more of such expressions and establishing the motivation behind such formations or constructions in Lunyore dialect of Luhya.

## 5.3 Conclusion

While operating within the theoretical framework of the C.L.S.T., this study's main target was to establish the effect of lexical borrowing and the subsequent instances of semantic change from Dholuo to Lunyore dialect of Luhya. After a thorough analysis of the data collected, it was confirmed that indeed lexical borrowing took place and would still be expected to go on from Dholuo into Lunyore since this was a natural phenomenon in cases of language contact. It was also established Lunyore borrowed lexical material representative of virtually all lexical categories that the C.L.S.T. equally refers to as grammatical categories and that some of the borrowed lexical material underwent certain degrees of semantic change while others retained their original S.L. meanings. Factors behind this lexical borrowing and semantic change were established as socio-cultural, socio-economic and psychological factors that prevailed within the varied semantic domains and contexts within which Dholuo and Lunyore speech communities interacted.

The overall effect as in the case under study of lexical borrowing from Dholuo into Lunyore is that Lunyore is bound to relatively increase its lexical inventory if it were to be compared to its original structure as a result of the increased and continuous lexical borrowing mechanisms and semantic shift processes. A variety of lexical items have been added to the present lexical inventory making Lunyore to have relatively many synonyms if it were to be compared to the other Luhya dialects. In line with this fact, it is valid to assert that Lunyore has become and would still be expected to grow stronger in the sense of synonymy. This phenomenon has also beyond doubt, diversified the Lunyore speakers' ability to express themselves in the language. On the other hand, it is prudent to clearly state that the flooding of Lunyore with lexical items from Dholuo is bound to dilute the original Lunyore dialect of Luhya. Consequently, Lunyore, over time bearing in mind that lexical borrowing is a continuous process, this dialect of Lunyore is likely to lose its original identity and mutual intelligibility with the other Luhya dialects while there is also the likelihood that another variety of Lunyore which could be geographically defined as the Western and South-Western variety of Lunyore may come into existence.

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# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX:  DATA COLLECTED
## BORROWED LEXICAL MATERIAL

### DHOLUO NOMINAL MATERIAL BORROWED INTO LUNYORE

| | **Dholuo** | **Lunyore Borrowed** | **Lunyore Synonym** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *opao* | *esipao* | *esitiyo* *esitiyilo* | a spade |
| 2. | *gine* | *eginane* | *esinekhane* *inindu* *esinini* *inekhane* | an unspecific thing/a thing |
| 3. | *ndara* | *indara* | *injila* *olwebo* *ebarabara* | a road |
| 4. | *okumba* | *esikhumba* | *ingabo* | a shield used in war |
| 5. | *agwata* | *esigwata* | *essanda* | a calabash |
| 6. | *kube* | *ekube* | *esibuyi* *omutungi* | a five litre jerrican |
| 7. | *chira* | *isila* | *esiluchi* | a curse or illness due to the violation of a taboo |
| 8. | *mbuta* | *imbuta* | # | nile perch fish |
| 9. | *ngege* | *injeche* | # | tilapia fish |
| 10. | *ohulu/ofulu* | *lifulu* | # | fingerlings or very young fish (small fish) |

| 11. | *Nyasaye* | *nyasaye* | *Wele* | God |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12. | *dani* | *dani* | *kukhu* | grandmother |
| 13. | *kube* | *ekube* *esikube* *ekupe* | *esibuyi* *omutungi* | a five-litre jerrican |
| 14. | *simba* | *esimba* | *etisi* | a young man's hut especially one still living in his father's homestead |
| 15. | *mbuta* | *imbuta* | # | nile perch |
| 16. | *atek to agwari* | *ateki* | *esimemenwa* | *lantana camara* |
| 17. | *hera* | *obuheri* | *obulalilo* *obuyanji* | God's will/love |
| 18. | *amaki* | *limaki* | *likamata* | a metallic or wooden implement used to hold a sufuria in place or still while cooking derived from the Dholuo verb 'maki'; meaning 'to hold' |
| 19. | *ang'we* | *ang'we* | *liunyi* | medicinal herb with a characteristically strong unpleasant smell |
| 20. | *maro* | *maro* | *nyakhusala* | mother or father in law |
| 21. | *yawo* | *liyabo* | *litubango* | a dam or an open field from where a lot of soil has been scooped |
| 22. | *nyar* | *nyaa* | *omukhana wa* | a girl or daughter of a place or somebody |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 23. | *pap* | *esipapi* | *esikuri* | a large play ground or field |

| 23. | *pap* | *esipapi* | *esikuri* | a large play ground or field |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 24. | *ligala* | *olukala* | *esianyi hango ayia* | a new homestead especially one that belongs to a young man who has moved away from his father's homestead |
| 25. | *dana* | *dani* | *kukhu* | my grandmother |
| 26. | *kwaru* | *kwaru* | *kuka* | my grandfather |
| 27. | *pap*(n) | *esipapi* | *esikuri* | a playground or field such as a football pitch |
| 28. | *otong'o* | *otong'o* | # | manual labour meant for pay especially on someone else's farm |
| 29. | *afuong'o* | *esifwong'o* | *esibunguyu* | a big pair of shorts especially one worn by old women as an underwear |

## DHOLUO VERBAL MATERIAL BORROWED INTO LUNYORE

| | **Dholuo** | **Lunyore Borrowed** | **Lunyore Synonym** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *laro* | *okhulara* | *okhufunana* | to fight for/compete for something |
| 2. | *thing'o* | *okhuthing'a* | *okhufundesia* | to disgust someone with a foul smell |
| 3. | *chiel* | *okhuchiela* | *okhuchiela* | to fry |

| 4. | *rado* | *okhurada* | *okhurada* | to meet somebody especially for a competition or in a confrontational manner |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | *teng'* | *okhuteng'a* | *okhubungulla* | to shake |
| 6. | *lawo* | *okhulawa* | *okhuchunguchula* | to rinse |
| 7. | *bwogo* | *okhubwoga* | *okhukosa* | to scare |
| 8. | *dwanyo* | *okhudwanya* | *okhufwabia* | to misbehave in a manner that is shameful |
| 9. | *lwoko* | *okhulwoka* | *okhusaba* | to wash |
| 10. | *gwedho* | *okhugwedha* *okhukwecha* | *okhulabia/ okhwichusia* | to bless especially by god |
| 11. | *dhialo* | *okhudhiala* *okhuchiala* | *okhutembelesia* | to be lenient especially to a child |
| 12. | *hadho* | *okhukhacha* | *okhuuba* | to eat vegetables in a hurry especially without ugali |
| 13. | *duodo* | *okhuduoda* *okhutuota* | *okhutundania* | to twine an animal with a rope in order to fell it |
| 14. | *rudho* | *okhuruda* *okhuruta* | *okhusisa* | to scrab clean |
| 15. | *yiengo* | *okhuyienga* | *okhuletella* | to lean something on onother |
| 16. | *yuoro* | *okhuyuora* | *okhuongula* | to offer unexpected assistance with chores for free |
| 17. | *tholo* | *okhuthola* *okhuchola* | *okhusika* *okhusamba* | to roast meat for the purpose of preserving |

| 18. | *dewo* | *okhudewa* *okhutewa* | *okhuendella* | to mind or care about something |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19. | *pado* | *okhupada* *okhupata* | *okhuala oluhi* *okhupa oluhi* | to slap |
| 20. | *kowo* | *okhukoba* *koba* | *okwelekha* | to escort |
| 21. | *kuno* | *okhukuna* | *okhurumba* *okhwerimula* | to avoid doing something because one is annoyed |
| 22. | *tang'* | *okhutang'a* | *okhurililla* | to be or look fearful |
| 23. | *rwenyo* | *okhurwenya* | *okhukhumbula* | to be unrecognizable |
| 24. | *wilo* | *okhuwila* | *okhusilania* | to exchange |
| 25. | *loko* | *okhuloka* | *okhukulania* *okhukusania* | to buy and sale or to trade in something |
| 26. | *winjore* | *okhuwinjana* | *okhuulisania* | to be in agreement or in harmony with somebody |
| 27. | *nuoyo* | *okhunuoya* | *okhukalukhila* | to repeat |
| 28. | *juko* | *okhujukilla* | *okhunyolella* | to ambush |
| 29. | *rao* | *okhurawa* | *okhubirra* | to pass-by in order to pick someone for a journey |
| 30. | *kwako* | *okhukwaka* | *okhufumbella* *Okhwechumba* | to hug |
| 31. | *jaro* | *okhujara* *okhuchara* | *okhuchekhella* | to deride, jeer or mock |
| 31. | *daso* | *okhudasa* | *okhuruluma* | the process of striving to look for or acquire something that is, with difficulty and or acquired in little quantities |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 32. | *chwero* | *ohkuchera* | *okhukhura* | the process of scrapping the top layer of soil in a river or near a river in order to wash in clean in search for pieces of gold or gold dust |
| 33. | *yaro* | *okhuyara* | *okhubakala* | the process of spreading of especially the top layer of soil in order to discover something like what chicken does when seeking for food. |

## DHOLUO ADJECTIVAL MATERIAL BORROWED INTO LUNYORE

| | **Dholuo** | **Lunyore Borrowed** | **Lunyore Synonym** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *opong'* | *opong'ele* | *okhelle* *okhulle* *owichuye* | mature or of age especially as a young adult |
| 2. | *lich* | *okhulichikha* | *okhuyungubasia* | to look or appear scary/ grotesque |
| 3. | *rabuor* | *erabuor* | *esiloba* | dark brown colour |
| 4. | *dichol* | *edichol* | *imwamu* | black color especially of cattle |
| 5. | *lando* | *elando* | *indabillu* | light brown |
| 6. | *thuolo* | *thuolo* | *omweyangu* *omulakhule* | free enough or to have the freedom or legibility of doing something especially one controlled by traditions |
| 7. | *thuolo* | *thuolo* | *omulakhule* | state of being free or eligible |

| | | *omweyangu* | | for a particular duty/ event |
|---|---|---|---|---|

## DHOLUO EXCLAMATIVE MATERIAL BORROWED INTO LUNYORE

| | Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *yawa* | *yawa* | *baane* | indicating surprise or disappointment |
| 2. | *tho* | *tho* | *baane* | indicating disgust or annoyance due to a lot of a disgusting phenomenon |
| 3. | *mayo* | *mayo* | *mamawe* | indicating surprise |
| 4. | *jowa* | *jowa* | *bandu befwe* | indicating surprise with The meaning "our people" |
| 5. | *ero* | *ero* | *mbwo* | used for approval meaning "yes, that way" |
| 6. | *donge* | *donge* | *sikali mbwo* | isn't it so? **for seeking affirmation** |

## DHOLUO PERFECTIVE ASPECT MATERIAL BORROWED INTO LUNYORE

| | 'se' Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *se* *(ise, ase, seko)* | *okhuseka* *sekele* Usekele | *mala* | "already done" placed before a verb to indicate the perfective aspect |

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## DHOLUO ADVERBIAL MATERIAL BORROWED INTO LUNYORE

| | Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *ndi* | *ndi* | *po* | very |

## DHOLUO IDIOMATIC/ METAPHORICAL MATERIAL BORROWED INTO LUNYORE

| | Dholuo | Lunyore Borrowed | Lunyore Synonym | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *goyo ligala* | *okhupa olukala* | *okhuinia esianyi/ hango ayia* | to establish a new homestead |
| 2. | *goyo wuui* | *okhupa ekhwisi* | *okhwekhula* | to scream in a mournful manner due to pain, danger or a loss |
| 3. | *nyono dala* | *okhusena hango/ litala* | *okhuinia esianyi/ hang ayia* | to establish a new homestead |
| 4. | *wuon ot* | *mwene nyumba wene nzu* | *omukhaye* | owner of the house (a wife) |
| 5. | *wuon dala* | *mwene litala* | *omukhulundu mwene hango* | the owner of the home "the old man" |
| 6. | *goyo abal* | *okhukhupa abal okhukhupa eliabali* | # | to swim in a water body such as a river or a lake |

**DHOLUO CONJUNCTION BORROWED INTO LUNYORE**

|  | **Dholuo** | **Lunyore Borrowed** | **Lunyore Synonym** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *koro* | *koro* | *mana* | *then* |
|  |  | *kolo* | *bulano* | *now* |
|  |  |  | *khe* | *so* |