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THE ROLE OF SWAHILI IN A MULTILINGUAL
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Stanford University, Ph.D., 1975
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THE ROLE OF SWAHILI IN A
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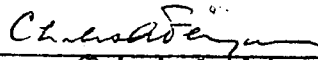
A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE ON LINGUISTICS
AND THE COMMITTEE ON GRADUATE STUDIES
OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

James Joseph Duran

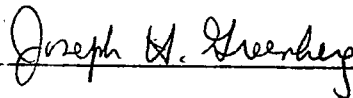
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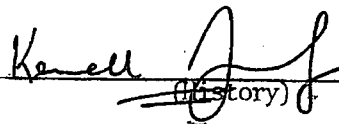


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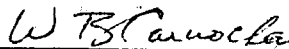
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PREFACE

In carrying out an investigation of this sort, one receives a great deal of help, encouragement, and advice from a great many individuals. My thanks go first to the committee for my dissertation: to Dr. Charles Ferguson, my adviser and chairman, and to Dr. Joseph Greenberg, both of the Department of Linguistics at Stanford University, and to Dr. Kennell Jackson, of the Department of History. My thanks go also to two other individuals who kindly consented to read the first draft of my dissertation and to offer their comments during and after the oral defense of my dissertation: Dr. Will Leben of the Department of Linguistics at Stanford and Dr. Gilbert Ansre of the University of Ghana.

I remember with appreciation the help given before beginning fieldwork by Dr. Joshua Fishman and Dr. Robert Cooper of Yeshiva University and by Dr. Richard Tucker of McGill University. My way overseas was made smoother by Dr. Joan Maw of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and especially by friends at the University of Nairobi: Dr. Mohammed Abdulaziz, Dr. Thomas Gorman, Dr. Bernd Heine, Dr. John Sharman, and Dr. Derek Elderkin. My thanks go also to Dr. Edgar Polomé of the University of Texas, Austin, for his earnest efforts to help me carry out my research in Tanzania.

I remember with great affection my friends and colleagues in Lumbwa: Mr. Herbert Aura, Secondary School Headmaster, who first

introduced me to the town, Mr. Joram Mukabi, my interviewer and mentor, Mr. Kimutai Arap Lang'at, my tutor in Kipsigis, Mr. Laban Amuyonzo, Mr. Wilson Arap Kenduiywa, Subchief, Mr. Matthew Ole Turere, District Officer, and many, many others -- African, Asian, and European -- who received me with kindness and hospitality. "Mungu akitujalia, tutaonana tena."

I remember also with affection other friends in Kenya, especially Dr. Peter Hopcraft of the Institute of Development Studies, University of Nairobi, and his wife Maeve, and Mrs. Jamini Davies (née Vincent), whose hospitality and encouragement came at a crucial time. It was she who first suggested seeking out the beautiful area around Lumbwa as a possible research site. My thanks go also to Dr. George Bowman of the Ministry of Education, and to Dr. Blevins, Educator Inspector for Rift Valley Province, for their advice when first scouting out Lumbwa as a research site. May I extend my thanks also to my friends Phil and Lynn Sedlák for their insights and suggestions during and after my stay in Kenya.

I must express my appreciation also to the National Science Foundation for the financial support given me for travel and equipment, to the U.S. Office of Education for the support given me for two summers, and to Stanford University for the support given me during the academic year. I appreciate also the help given me by the Department of Linguistics and African Languages during my stay in Kenya, and especially to Dr. Abdulaziz, Chairman of the Department. I must express special thanks also to the officials of the government of Kenya, who unfailingly gave me courteous and prompt assistance at crucial times.

My deepest thanks, however, go to the late Dr. Wilfred Whiteley, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, who kindly took the time to give me advice and encouragement at a time when I sorely needed both; the field of African linguistics is much the poorer for having lost him.

To him, to Gerry, for her patience and help, and to the people of Kenya this study is dedicated.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND TO THE FIELD INVESTIGATION

The Original Proposal

This investigation is an outgrowth of a dissertation proposal made in the year 1969 to do a sociolinguistic field study in a setting somewhat different from settings in which past investigations had been carried out. The original object of the dissertation was to have been a study of the role of Swahili as a contact language in a rural African setting -- specifically, in a small rural community in a non-coastal area of Tanzania. As it turned out, the site for the investigation had to be shifted and details of the methodological framework had to be altered. However, as will be seen, the investigation, when completed, followed the original theoretical and methodological guidelines with surprising faithfulness, though the fieldwork procedures turned out to be more modest in scope than originally envisioned. The specification "non-coastal" was made so as to exclude communities where Swahili is predominantly the mother tongue rather than a contact language. A small, relatively rural community was specified since it would be of the size (say, 5000 inhabitants or less) which might be most easily investigated by a single researcher.

The original goal of the study was to have been an "ethnography of communication" in a rural community where Swahili had been introduced as a second or third language among the population. Working within the theoretical framework employed by such sociolinguists as John Gumperz, Dell Hymes, and Joshua Fishman,¹ the "speech community" (here, the town and its environs) was to have been described, along with the "linguistic repertoire" of that community -- i.e., the listing of linguistic codes and subcodes (languages, dialects, and contextual styles) employed within the community -- together with a description of the distribution of linguistic varieties among defined social groups or in specified social contexts. Particular attention would be paid to the role of Swahili in such a communal "code matrix." An effort was also to have been made to investigate attitudes toward both given linguistic varieties -- especially Swahili -- used in the community and toward given social groups marked by linguistic differences. If several varieties of Swahili were heard in the community, the reaction of individuals interviewed to specific linguistic variables heard in those varieties would have been of interest.

In short, the study was to have been an investigation of language use in the various social networks of the community: governmental and non-governmental, public and private, educational and occupational. The aim was to see how Swahili and various other languages complement each other or conflict with one another in various social relationships and social situations. Determining factors affecting the spread of Swahili and of local languages would be of especial interest.

The techniques employed for noting linguistic behavior were to have been primarily those of direct observation of language usage in specific social situations and of interviewing members of the community about their language use. Attitudes toward linguistic varieties and toward social groups marked by linguistic differences might possibly have been explored through a test of the matched-guise variety (Lambert et al, 1960). Attitudes toward specific linguistic variables might have been probed through a technique similar to that employed by Labov (1966) to elicit subjective evaluations of linguistic variables.

It was hoped that the investigation might be fruitful in a number of ways. First, it would provide an opportunity for the use of research techniques in settings where they had not been used previously. Second, it might cast some light on the manner in which a contact language spreads within a community or region. Third, if pidginized varieties of Swahili were used in the community, such an investigation might yield useful information on the structure and formation of pidgins and/or creoles based on an African language. Fourth, such an investigation might provide data on language policy and its implementation which would be of use both to Tanzanian government officials and to scholars concerned with such problems. In sum, a picture of linguistic behavior and linguistic attitudes might emerge which would be generalizable to other communities with similar sociolinguistic characteristics, both in Africa and in other areas of the world.

This, then, was the substance of the research proposal which I submitted to the University of Dar es Salaam in January 1970.

Preparations for Fieldwork in East Africa

After nine and a half months of waiting for research clearance, I flew to Tanzania to get a clearer picture of the research situation. I was told that my research proposal had been turned down. At that point I inquired about the possibility of carrying out my research in Kenya, and was given an encouraging reply from scholars at the University of Nairobi, particularly Mr. Mohammed Abdulaziz, Chairman of the Department of Linguistics and African Languages at the University, Dr. Berndt Heine, Mr. Derek Elderkin, and Mr. Thomas Gorman, who had all been connected with the recently completed Language Survey of Kenya. I had previously made contact with the late Dr. Wilfred Whiteley of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, who had headed the Kenyan survey, and I had been encouraged by him to look into the possibilities of carrying out my project in Kenya. I therefore set about familiarizing myself with the broad sociolinguistic situation in Kenya, choosing a suitable site for the project, and securing government approval of my research proposal. As I was at this time in Kenya, I found it a good bit easier to accomplish all three objectives than would be the case had I remained in the United States. There is something to be said for looking over a country and talking over research possibilities with local people in a relaxed way before seeking research approval, contrary to a good deal that has been written about research clearance protocol.

In choosing a site for the investigation, I had decided that the most suitable site would be one which would be: (1) small in size,

with perhaps 5000 persons or less, which would allow a single researcher a reasonable chance of describing the community with some degree of completeness; (2) ethnically heterogeneous, with from two to four vernaculars spoken in addition to Swahili and perhaps English, which would allow a reasonably, but not hopelessly, complex code matrix to be described; (3) a community in which at least one variety of Swahili was employed in daily interaction outside the educational institutions of the community; and (4) a community with at least one school actively teaching Standard Swahili to a portion of the community's school-age population. This last stipulation would allow a rough judgment to be made of the efficacy of the school system, often a prime promotor of Standard Swahili, in affecting the community's language habits.

In selecting a community which would manifest the characteristics just outlined, I found that officials in the Ministry of Education, particularly Mr. George Bowman, were of great help since they seemed to have an intimate knowledge of rural areas far from the capital city, Nairobi. It was further suggested that I introduce myself to local education officials in the areas where I might be scouting out possible research sites. One helpful official, the Educational Inspector for Rift Valley Province, Mr. Blevins, suggested that I offer to teach part-time in a local school in whatever community I might choose to settle in, in order both to familiarize myself with local problems in greater depth and to provide a comprehensible and acceptable role for myself in a community not accustomed to the presence of researchers -- a valuable bit of advice as it later turned out. I eventually selected

Lumbwa (Kipkelyon) in Kericho District as my research site,² partly because of the encouragement of Mr. Herbert Aura, headmaster of the local secondary school and a very helpful friend in the course of my later stay in the town. Lumbwa is a railroad town of some 2500 people divided roughly into four major ethnic groups -- Kikuyu, Kipsigis, Luyia (Luhya), and Luo -- with a very few individuals remaining of a once-large European and Asian population. Swahili is widely used in the town as the principal medium of inter-tribal communication, and the town's single primary and its single secondary school were actively teaching the standard form of Swahili as an important subject in the curriculum.

Having selected Lumbwa as a promising site for research, I submitted my formal request for research approval to the Permanent Secretary in the Office of the President of Kenya. I was sponsored directly by the Department of Linguistics and African Languages of the University of Nairobi rather than by the usual research institutes affiliated with the University. The research proposal submitted was a highly edited but almost verbatim abstract of my original NSF grant proposal, altered slightly to include a specific reference to Lumbwa and with the new title, "The Role of Swahili in a Multilingual Rural Community in Kenya." I received the approval of the Permanent Secretary with surprising speed and then applied formally to the University for a Pupil's Pass and for affiliation as a research associate, a process which took a good deal longer but which in no way affected the progress or my research in Lumbwa, since the Permanent Secretary's approval as the all-important criterion there.

In the Field

I began research in Lumbwa in mid-January 1971, at which time I began teaching quarter-time³ in the local self-help (Harambee) secondary school. I offered to teach free of salary as a goodwill gesture, but the school officials insisted on providing accommodation by way of thanks and set me up in a house close to the town which was almost ideal for research purposes. The next few months were spent in making myself as public a figure as possible, so that the whole town might come to be familiar with me and my work. Strangers in town without a locally credible reason for being there were often suspected of being undercover police agents (C.I.D.) of the Kenyan government or thieves, but I encountered little difficulty in my role as teacher cum language researcher from the University of Nairobi. In fact, as a "European" from "America," my main problem lay in overcoming people's shyness, whereas a Kenyan researcher might have had serious problems of hostility and distrust as a member of a local ethnic group in a situation with strong, though latent, ethnic frictions.

While reconnoitering the township for the first five months, the framework of the investigation worked itself out in greater detail. Originally, the research plan approved by the Permanent Secretary's office had mentioned "direct observation" and "interviewing" as the techniques to be used, with little elaboration. By mid-April, it seemed feasible to administer two questionnaires to a small sample of the population. The first questionnaire would elicit an individual's personal history and a good deal of information as to which languages the

individual had learned; how, when, where, and why he or she had learned each language; the functions filled by each language; and his or her attitudes toward each language. The questions would be designed to elicit free-flowing responses in Swahili, and the entire interview would be tape-recorded. In this way, not only broad information of a sociological or sociolinguistic nature might be collected, but also speech samples of representative members of the community containing linguistic features which would yield further sociolinguistic information after analysis. The second questionnaire, to be administered a month or two later, was to have two parts. Both parts would focus on linguistic features (or "linguistic variables" to use Labov's term) which had cropped up in the taped responses to the first questionnaire. The first part would have the respondent either translate certain sentences into Swahili -- perhaps from his own vernacular -- or perform simple syntactic operations on Standard Swahili sentences. The second part would be a speech identification test similar to a matched-guise test wherein the respondent would be asked to identify certain social characteristics of anonymous tape-recorded individuals speaking Swahili of several varieties.

By June, the first questionnaire had been completed, based partly on language questionnaires used in other areas of the world but strongly tailored for use in Lumbwa. The questions, to be asked by the interviewer in Swahili,⁴ were in Standard Swahili but were carefully checked for intelligibility, unambiguity, and inoffensiveness. From this point on, however, a series of changes were made in the fieldwork

design as originally conceived (whether or not set down in writing) due to the exigencies of the local situation. First, all ideas of a random sample of the town's population were quickly abandoned since I found it far easier to interview individuals from my own friendship network than to try to interview comparative strangers. Since after five months in the community my network of friends and acquaintances stretched rather widely over the community, I found it rather easy to fill spaces in an interview matrix consisting of an array of ethnic groups, each spread over a socioeconomic continuum, a matrix which informal observation had shown might best reveal the broad outlines of the sociolinguistic situation in Lumbwa. In this way also, representatives of now small but once numerous -- and important -- ethnic groups such as Asians and Europeans could easily be fitted into the matrix, whereas in a random sample they might have been missed. Similarly, key figures in the town's social structure were also included who might have been overlooked entirely in a random sample. A further benefit of interviewing largely friends or friends of friends was the possibility of checking the reliability of personal data given by the respondent; puzzling questions regarding the sociolinguistic history of at least one individual were laid to rest once it was understood that the facts in question were a polite fiction to cover an embarrassing period of personal history.

A second change was that the notion of interviewing a number of individuals of different ages and of both sexes in a given household was discarded. After relative failure to secure relaxed, open interviews with women and children, mainly adult male household heads were

interviewed, supplemented by partial interviews with more cooperative women and children. The main problem with women was that of shyness before the tape recorder, while that of children was that of excessive politeness and shyness in the same situation.

A third change resulted from the fact that time did not allow the re-interviewing of individuals with the proposed second questionnaire. Instead, a written translation test (from English to Swahili) specially designed to elicit a large number of linguistic features was administered to pupils of selected levels in the local primary and in the local secondary school, followed by a speech identification test which requested the students to identify the ethnic group (or "tribe"), the occupation, and the level of education of anonymous tape-recorded individuals speaking different varieties of Swahili. Though these tests conducted among school children could not yield precisely the kind of data originally envisioned, such data could supplement personal histories and histories of language acquisition written earlier in Swahili by these same children. Samples of written Swahili, it may be mentioned, tended to reflect rather accurately and ambiguously the spoken Swahili of the writer, despite occasional problems of legibility.⁵

I might mention here that I had originally considered the possibility of making a rough language census of the township, but the timely publication of the 1969 Census Figures for Lumbwa Township made this unnecessary. The figures for different ethnic groups were given by the census figures -- and since ethnic intermarriage is infrequent in Lumbwa (save between Luyia and Luo), a rather clear picture of the

proportions of speakers of different vernaculars was obtainable from these figures for tribal membership.

From June to the first of December, the pace was rapid with periods of frenetic activity now and then. Public relations work was constant and took a good deal of time and effort to maintain. Scheduling interviews proved to be a major problem and failure of interviewees to keep appointments was a major vexation. It must be admitted, however, that this interviewer himself often found it difficult to reach any place in the township on time due to encountering friends and acquaintances on the way. As regards participant observation, I was welcomed as a participant in many of the town's activities, though my inability to be in two or more places at once made it impossible to attend many of the town's events. Furthermore, my roles as school teacher and church member made it difficult to move easily in those contexts where school teachers and church members were not expected to be present -- for instance, in the town bars and beer halls. Finally, even where it was possible to be present, I was anything but unobtrusive. I rapidly abandoned the notion that I could ever sit off to the side in a social situation and observe the social scene unnoticed: a "European" can be spotted literally a half-mile away, and behavior will often be altered accordingly. For example, an English friend of mine who taught at the local secondary school and who knew neither Swahili nor any other African language was invited to attend a local church. He was told later by a friend that no sooner had he stepped through the church door than the pastor switched abruptly from Kikuyu to Swahili;

the presence of a single European in the congregation occasioned an immediate code switch.

A word might be appropriate here about my personal adjustment to the language situation in Lumbwa. I had had some ten years' exposure to Swahili and other Bantu languages before coming to East Africa, but I found it a bit difficult at first to adjust to local varieties of Swahili. After five months in Lumbwa, however, I found no difficulty in conducting interviews in a kind of carefully edited Standard Swahili which would be comprehensible to local respondents. My friend and assistant, Joram Mukabi, was of great value in steering me through the shoals of interviewing.

Problems notwithstanding, by December I had completed about sixty fully taped interviews with (largely) heads of households, running from a half-hour to an hour in length, plus twenty or so partial interviews with other household members. I had also collected a mass of written material -- and some tapes -- from school children, described above. In addition, I had done a good bit of work of Kipsigis phonology and tonology in order to have more solid information on patterns of inference in the spoken and written Swahili of Kipsigis speakers. For speakers of Luyia, Kikuyu, and Luo, published materials were, to a large degree, sufficient for identifying sources of interference in their spoken Swahili. By January 1972, my fieldwork was complete and 20 January I left Lumbwa for Nairobi, where I spent nearly another month at the University. On 10 February 1972, I left Nairobi for London, and home.

Since returning home, I have written an article describing in some detail ethnic relations in and around Lumbwa (Duran, 1974a), and another (as yet unpublished) describing the varieties of Swahili found in Lumbwa (Duran 1973). A third paper -- a detailed analysis of the written Swahili of Standard Seven schoolchildren in Lumbwa -- was completed in December 1974 (Duran 1974b).

It must be stressed that this study is not a description of just how language works in Lumbwa: it is an attempt to sketch a crude outline of the language situation in Lumbwa and to get some idea of the relative suitability and efficacy of investigative techniques in such a setting. It is therefore more in the nature of a pilot study than of a definitive statement of linguistic reality. It could not be otherwise, considering the constraints under which the investigator operated while in the field. Some of the physical and social constraints have been mentioned above; the investigator was a young male Catholic "European" school teacher/researcher, and was generally expected to behave in accordance with the general stereotypes associated with such roles. Naturally, to an incumbent of such social roles, some doors were automatically opened while other doors were automatically closed. Doors were opened on the basis of personal trust based, in turn, partly on people's personal experience of the investigator over a period of some months and partly on people's feelings of social ease with a particular kind of individual represented by the investigator in the community's conception of the social matrix. Attempts to explore social sectors normally declared "off-limits" to individuals of certain social categories aroused a measure of distrust -- and in a small community word gets around fast of any social boundary crossings. The only conceivable role for a "European" in the town itself was that of "school-teacher"; no other role was available to Europeans in the post-independence era. The role of "researcher", though socially more neutral perhaps, would have aroused a good deal of suspicion. A person free

to wander throughout the town gathering information from all and sundry would be viewed widely as some new form of government intelligence agent, equivalent to --or part of -- the local C.I.D. apparatus. The same activities, however, united with the widely understood and accepted role of "school teacher" excited little suspicion; such activities then could be considered part of some university "homework" congruent with his or her role as "school teacher." Once cast as "school teacher," of course, one's behavior was expected to be exemplary and association with the "wrong kind" of people or in the "wrong kind" of social context -- particularly where alcoholic beverages were being drunk -- was discouraged.

In the religious area, a good deal of important language activity took place in the churches of the town. The investigator was hampered by not only the physical impossibility of being in two churches at the same time on Sunday mornings, but also by the fact that, as a Catholic, he was not expected to miss the only Mass offered on Sunday morning so that he might visit all the other churches in Lumbwa. The investigator tried to sit astride both stools, but often fell between them.

In the area of intra-ethnic social events, the investigator -- being a "European" and therefore considered relatively neutral in the post-independence political context -- felt welcome to attend many social functions of particular ethnic groups. By force of circumstances, however, the investigator associated more with Luyia than with any other ethnic group. The investigator's association with Kipsigis was also

rather close and a good deal closer, on the whole, than with Kikuyu or Luo individuals. This imbalance in the investigator's association with the main ethnic groups of Lumbwa has no doubt influenced his perceptions of social reality in Lumbwa -- especially since he relied strongly on personal accounts of life in Lumbwa in forming an "emic" conception of the town.

Another factor which undoubtedly skewed the investigator's entrée to individuals and social groups was that of age; being a "European" perhaps gave easier entree to older individuals than would be accorded to African colleagues of my age. In relating to children, however, my being a "European" undoubtedly increased the politeness of African children normally directed to older individuals and to strangers.

The most serious factor constraining my field activities, however, was that of sex. The strong division of male and female roles in Lumbwa and the constraints on free interaction between males and females applied at least doubly to a young, unmarried male European school teacher. Unfettered observation of language activity among women in Lumbwa was therefore impossible, and the frank presentation of women's viewpoints toward language and social life in Lumbwa was difficult to obtain. Adding to this difficulty was the general reluctance of women -- even those who knew me best -- to speak into a tape recorder. The investigator's perceptions of linguistic reality in Lumbwa are therefore strongly male-biased. The implications of this bias for the description of linguistic reality in Lumbwa may be partially seen in the sharp differences in the realization of certain key

linguistic variables between male and female members of a given ethnic group -- as will be seen when we examine the written Swahili of Lumbwa school children.

Aside from the constraints enumerated above, there were yet others. The most important general constraint was that I was a guest of the people and government of Kenya. My freedom to gain access to individuals -- both public and private -- and to government records was understandably restricted. Official permission from the Office of the Permanent Secretary of Kenya was necessary to gain access to many government records, and my research plans and research instruments -- including questionnaires -- had to be approved in advance by that office. Nevertheless, I received the fullest and friendliest cooperation from all government officials from the top down during my stay in Kenya, which only made me resolve all the more firmly not to abuse the hospitality extended to me. I therefore did not intrude in home, office, or classroom unless I was reasonably welcome there. Needless to say, my data "leaks." There is little of the apparent solidity of data based on government records; description of the town and its institutions rests on personal observation -- made rather closely and systematically -- and on the verbal accounts of townspeople. Even the census figures, taken barely a year and a half before the present investigation, do not reflect the influx of perhaps a couple of hundred refugees (mainly Kikuyu) expelled from surrounding farms during the "troubles" of September 1969.⁶ The investigator would be happy, therefore, if the following description were accepted merely as

a pilot sociolinguistic study -- a test probe for further research in the area and a means of testing survey instruments -- with its marked but largely unavoidable biases and lacunae freely acknowledged.

CHAPTER II
THE ECOLOGICAL SETTING

As mentioned in the last chapter, Lumbwa (or Kipkelyon) is a railroad town of some 2500 people situated in a valley on the western slopes of the Mau Escarpment in west-central Kenya.¹ Situated nearly 6500 feet above sea level, it enjoys a warm, mild climate the whole year round and its deep, rich clay loam soil supplies an abundance of maize and other crops. Settlement is largely restricted to the township boundaries, the bulk of it concentrated close by the railroad depot and railway line which follows the course of the Kipchorion (or upper Nyando) River. Steep, rounded hills rise some 600 feet on either side of the river and railway line; on the lower slopes, within the township boundaries, small clusters of huts stand on plots of ground rented at a small fee from the township. Others stand in areas called "Shauri Yako" (or "at your own risk" in local Swahili), where people in need are allowed to live and cultivate temporarily. Many of these people are refugees -- mainly Kikuyu -- driven from surrounding farms during the ethnic conflict between Kipsigis and Kikuyu in 1969.² On the upper slopes of the hills, one sees the pasture and brushland characteristic of the surrounding area: the large rural hinterland for which Lumbwa serves as a "central place" where goods and services largely unavailable for a dozen miles or so in any direction may be

obtained. In addition to the railway line, along which all goods and passenger traffic between Lake Victoria and the Indian Ocean must pass, there is a partially paved road running roughly to the south for some eight miles to join the main highway which runs from Nakuru to Kericho, the nearest large urban center, some 22 miles to the southeast. Two unpaved roads running to the north and northeast, respectively, link Lumbwa to the unpaved highway from Fort Ternan to Londiani, Lumbwa's slightly larger competitor, some 13 miles to the east. Though such unpaved roads present problems during the rainy season, travel between the towns is not a problem since all three towns are on the railway line. Traffic is considerably heavier on the road which runs south -- especially between Kericho and Lumbwa. Heavy vans travel the road constantly, bringing tea to the railhead at Lumbwa from the large tea plantation areas around Kericho, Sotik, and other points to the southwest. Returning trucks bring fertilizer and petroleum products from the railhead at Lumbwa to the plantation areas and to the urban centers which serve them. For these areas, Lumbwa is still the nearest point of access to the railway. Thus, the tea traffic which is to go to Mombasa, from whence it is shipped all over the world, and petroleum products which come via Mombasa must still pass largely through Lumbwa despite the existence of the Nakuru-Kericho highway. Passenger traffic -- especially between Lumbwa and Kericho -- is also reasonably heavy on the south road. Buses and Peugeot taxis (seating eight people) leave from Lumbwa several times a day.

Traffic on the roads running north and northeast is considerably lighter and consists largely of local traffic. Much of the traffic

is accounted for by population from the large-scale farms and cooperatives to the north of Lumbwa coming into Lumbwa to transact local business. A road running north to the Tinderet Mountains from the Fort Ternan-Londiani road connects Lumbwa with this rather densely settled rural area. Once an area of large-scale European commercial farms shipping their produce out through Lumbwa, ownership has largely passed out of European hands. Especially noteworthy are "Tinga Farm," a large modern farm operated by Trappist monks on the edge of the Tinderet Forest, "Nyagacho," a cooperative settlement consisting mainly of Kikuyu and Kisii, and two large European-owned farms operated by families related by marriage. Sizeable African populations exist on the European farms. No figures were gathered for "Tinga Farm," but populations of 923 individuals and 504 individuals were recorded for the two last-mentioned European farms. The significance of these figures in the general sociopolitical context is discussed in Duran (1974a) and will be discussed shortly as it relates specifically to the linguistic geography of the area. As for "Nyagacho," it is difficult to get a clear idea of just how many people are presently living on the farm, but certainly hundreds of people are involved. The remaining area is largely in Kipsigis hands now, held either individually or cooperatively and devoted largely to dairy farming.

Looking more closely at the township itself, a number of sites catch our attention. We note first the railway depot itself, the hub of activity in Lumbwa and employing perhaps as many as 100 workers, some 40 in the station itself and others at one of the other two loading points within the township boundaries.³ Together with their dependents,

this group constitutes a sizeable nucleus of the town's population. To the north, facing the railway depot across the town's main street, stands a row of Asian-built shops now almost entirely in African hands. To the west along the town's main axis stands a tight cluster of semi-permanent houses, most with tin roofs and mud walls, with a row of tiny, similarly constructed shops between the houses and the street. This is "mjini," the African quarter in colonial days, and still a major hub of activity in the town. To the west of "mjini" stands the government-operated primary school serving an estimated 600 pupils. To the south of "mjini," across the road, stand the permanent houses of the County Council housing development. To the east of the County Council housing stands a small dispensary which serves Lumbwa's medical needs as best it can -- the nearest hospitals are at Londiani and Kericho. To the south of the County Council housing stand the police lines, housing some 22 police officers and their families. These serve a wide area around Lumbwa. To the west, beyond the police lines, stand the district officer's office and the subchief's office. The district officer and the subchief are jointly responsible for the administration of the area and for the settlement of local disputes. To the east of the last-mentioned sites stand the post office, an Asian-owned general store, a butchery, a large Kenya Farmers' Association outlet employing some 18 workers, and a large warehouse for storing maize employing some nine workers, run by the government-operated Maize Marketing Board. Following the curve of the railway and river back to the railway depot to the northeast, one encounters the African Highlands Produce warehouse where tea is stored for shipment to Mombasa. Across the railway to

the south lie a petroleum depot, an Asian-owned candy factory with a couple of employees, and the town water works. Far to the east, close to the township boundary, St. Peter's Church, an Anglican church once reserved exclusively for the European settler community, can be seen on a low hilltop. Beyond St. Peter's lies a construction camp of men engaged in road repair, while closer to town on the same northeast road lies a small building where government veterinary and agricultural services are provided. At least a half-dozen other denominations, besides the Anglican, hold religious services in Lumbwa, though only five church buildings (including St. Peter's) were noted by the investigator. Certainly other sites of relevance might be described for the town, but those already cited will perhaps provide a clear enough picture of the skeletal structure of the town itself.

Just beyond the northern boundary of the town stand two very important sites whose relationship to the town is quite significant. One is the Soil Conservation camp, serving a large area of western Kenya, and employing a total of 54 workers who live there together with their families. The other is the local Harambee ("self-help") secondary school, where approximately 200 students from a large catchment area in western Kenya study, served by some eight teachers. Such, then, is the physical setting for the linguistic matrix in Lumbwa.

Turning specifically to the human component in Lumbwa, we note that its once large population of Asians, who controlled wholesale and retail trade within the township, and of Europeans, who controlled large-scale farming -- principally dairy farming -- in the surrounding hinterland, has virtually disappeared since independence. Its

population is now nearly 98% African in composition, with Kikuyu, Kipsigis, Luo, and Luyia representing by far the largest ethnic groups. If we may reinterpret the 1969 census categories on the basis of on-the-spot observation, we might say that Kikuyu ("Central Bantu") form at least 43% of the African population, followed by Kipsigis ("Nilo Hamitic: Kalinjin-speaking") who form about 23% of the African population. Luo ("Nilotic") and Luyia ("Western Bantu")⁴ each form approximately 15% of the African population. Lumbwa is therefore characteristic of many other towns in the former "White Highland" areas of Kenya -- the "scheduled" areas or areas restricted to European settlement. As in other "White Highland" areas, large numbers of Africans have come in from the "reserves" (areas reserved for African settlement during the colonial period) seeking to fill the vacuum left by departing Asians and Europeans.

If we might crudely characterize the participation of these groups in the town's social life, we may divide the groups roughly into "locals" and "outsiders." "Locals" consist mainly of Kikuyu and Kipsigis. The Kikuyu tend to be town-based and town-oriented, though many retain ties with relatives on the nearby farms. The Kipsigis are largely hinterland-based, but have a more diffuse orientation; that is, though Kipsigis tend to live either in the surrounding farmland or on the outskirts of the township, they are taking an increasingly active interest in the affairs of the town.

"Outsiders," on the other hand, consist mainly of Luo and Luyia. These tend largely to be government workers -- either manual or clerical -- and their families sent to serve for a period of time

in Lumbwa. The railway depot and the soil conservation camp tend to be the largest employers of such individuals. They regard their stay in Lumbwa as temporary and retain active ties with their ethnic homelands -- the "reserves" -- and with co-ethnics in Lumbwa. In fact, the only active ethnic association in Lumbwa is the Abaluyia Association, a non-political association for mutual aid and solidarity for Luyia in the town.⁵

Not only have the expected demographic changes taken place within the township itself but also, in the surrounding countryside, demographic change of a different sort is taking place on a large scale. For a number of reasons, farms once held by Europeans are passing into Kipsigis hands. As this happens, large enclaves of non-Kipsigis workers and their families tend to be forced off the farms where they worked when the farm was under European ownership.⁶ Thus, rural areas which once had a large linguistically heterogeneous population of Kipsigis, Kikuyu, and, to a lesser extent, Luyia ("Maragoli"), Luo, and Kisii are rapidly becoming linguistically homogeneous (i.e., Kipsigis) areas. If we turn to the two European farms closest to Lumbwa, we can see quite clearly the implications of the sale of a single farm to Kipsigis ownership. As mentioned above, a total population of some 1427 individuals (including workers with their dependents) exists on the two farms -- 923 persons on one farm and 504 on the other. On the first farm,⁷ an estimated one-third of the workers are Kikuyu and the rest Kipsigis. Assuming that the same proportions hold among the dependent population, one may calculate that some 308 Kikuyu live on the farm.

In the event of a sale to Kipsigis owners -- particularly to a dairy cooperative where Kikuyu workers are little needed -- one can easily imagine the displacement of 308 Kikuyu speakers from that one farm. Assuming that roughly the same proportions of ethnic groups among the workers are on the other farm, one might expect a further displacement of some 168 Kikuyu -- a total of 476 individuals on two farms!

Still, while allowing for the possibility of sweeping demographic, and hence linguistic, change in the rural hinterland around Lumbwa, one cannot confidently predict the pace, or even the direction, of such change. The factors inducing such change, their relative strength and direction of thrust, can be isolated easily enough; the saliency of the various factors, however, often depends on events happening on the national scale, far from Lumbwa and its hinterland.

Will the Kenyan government approve the citizenship applications of the European farmers and allow them to stay on? Will the government stand behind the Nyagacho Cooperative Society and guarantee its security in a rural area felt by the Kipsigis to be their own? Will the Trappist monks be allowed to operate their large-scale farm for the near future?

The decisions on these matters will be made in Nairobi, not in Lumbwa, on the basis of stated policy and pragmatic politics. If the answer to the questions above is "yes," it is likely that the demographic situation -- at least in the specific areas mentioned above -- will remain relatively stable. If the answer is "no," it will then be difficult to resist the pressure of Kipsigis buyers to purchase back what they feel is part of their ancestral land, alienated to the Europeans 70 years ago. Kikuyu objections that they have no place to go -- that

they were born on the European farms or came long ago with the European owner and hence have no homeland to which to return -- would, in that case, be answered no doubt by the assertion that, as Kikuyu have taken for themselves the former European areas in the eastern Rift Valley and eastern Highlands area, surely the Kalenjin have a right to take back the western Rift Valley Highlands for themselves. The "land issue" -- as many might call it -- is as important an issue today as it was during the period of colonial rule, and the situation in Lumbwa finds echoes all over the western "White Highland" area.

Within the township boundaries, however, a somewhat different situation exists. Lumbwa is regarded by both government officials and by the townspeople in general as a microcosm of Kenya as a whole. Within Lumbwa's boundaries, no ethnic group is considered to have the right to dominate other ethnic groups -- an ethos promoted strongly by government officials and by churches alike, and backed by the threat of force on the part of the government. In fact, however, as we have noted above, Kikuyu -- not Kipsigis -- are by far the town's largest ethnic group. Moreover, Kipsigis have preferred to remain in the surrounding countryside, using Lumbwa as a central place for obtaining goods and services and not regarding themselves as part of the town specifically, although they certainly regard themselves as part of the local area. This is changing somewhat as expanded educational opportunities for young Kipsigis men and women back in the reserve areas have made available a significant number of young Kipsigis for government and white-collar commercial posts within the township. It is

likely that the near-monopoly hold of Luo and Luyia on such posts will give way to a much higher proportion of Kipsigis in the near future. Pressures for increasing "Kipsigization" have already been felt in the local schools. As for local Kikuyu, their general poverty and consequent lack of higher education may effectively exclude them from town posts in the future, especially as the pressure from young Kipsigis graduates becomes greater.

In the commercial area, the economic power of the Kipsigis is growing rapidly. Capital from surrounding rural enterprises -- especially dairy operations -- is being reinvested in town businesses. The Kipsigis still are far from dominating the commercial life of the town, but their economic pressure is being felt.

In sum, demographic change within the township is not likely to be as rapid or dramatic as in Lumbwa's rural hinterland. Through the national government's guarantee of ethnic fair-play within the township, and through its control of many of the key wage-earning posts within the town, it is likely that the "natural" expansion of Kipsigis economic and political power within the township will be somewhat contained.

CHAPTER III

THE LINGUISTIC MATRIX

People in Lumbwa tend to be pragmatic about learning and speaking languages other than those of their particular ethnic group. In regard to the language spoken by an individual's own ethnic group, however, language loyalties run deep. Those co-ethnics who cannot speak the language of his or her ethnic group are likely to be regarded as abnormal individuals who have abandoned their ancestral heritage. Those Luyia, for instance, who have been raised speaking Swahili instead of Luyia, and have lost contact with their ethnic homeland, are regarded by other Luyia as "Wa-Swahili" -- untrustworthy individuals who are likely to be thieves, prostitutes, or brewers of "changaa," illegal Nubian gin. On the other hand, Luyia who have been raised in Nairobi speaking only English (e.g., children of high government officials) are regarded as "Black Europeans" who would be embarrassed and ashamed by a visit from poorer rural relatives.¹ In general, such cases are regarded as exceptional.

Ethnic intermarriage, a situation which would probably lead to the use of Swahili as the language of the household, is still rather rare in Lumbwa,² and language shifts from the vernacular to Swahili or English are still not occurring within ethnic groups. True, some years ago educated Luyia were tending more and more toward the use of Swahili and English in place of Luyia -- even in the ethnic homelands -- but

the rise of ethnic consciousness among the Luyia in the wake of post-independence events has halted -- or perhaps even reversed -- that trend. Instead, educated Luyia and, in fact, the broad mass of the population across all ethnic groups, have internalized a tripartite view of language use which, to a large degree, reflects the ideology -- both idealistic and pragmatic -- of Kenyan nationalism. English is looked upon as the language of education, governmental and commercial activity, and of relating to foreigners in Kenya, especially tourists.³ Swahili, on the other hand, is looked upon as the language of work, especially manual labor, of inter-ethnic communication, and of African solidarity and self-pride. It is, by definition and in fact, the language of community life in Lumbwa; the "baraza" (town meeting) is conducted in Swahili and the use of other languages there is not normally sanctioned. The vernacular, nevertheless, retains a firm place within the scheme; it is not only the language of the household, wherever the family may live, but also of interaction with co-ethnic friends and acquaintances wherever one may meet them -- in public or in private. Of course, it goes without saying that the vernacular is the normal medium of interaction back in the ethnic homelands. It seems safe to say that the government-operated Voice of Kenya radio service's policy of broadcasting in the major vernaculars as well as in Swahili and English has probably contributed both to the feeling that one's vernacular can be an effective medium of communication for discussion of contemporary events and to the shoring up of the position of the vernacular in the de facto tripartite scheme of

things. The opportunity to hear some 45 minutes of news commentary, music, and items of general interest in one's own language not only provides some form of legitimation of the use of the vernacular in a national context, but also contributes directly to language development and, hence, to a further strengthening of the functional position of the vernacular. Unintelligible neologisms can be clarified by listening to a later Swahili broadcast in which the same new items will again be heard. Through parallel language services with a controlled content, as well as through queries about new terms directed to friends, modernization of the lexicon can occur relatively rapidly throughout a vernacular speech community. One point must be stressed here, however. Since vernacular radio programs are directed to the particular ethnic homelands concerned, radio reception is weak or non-existent in Lumbwa. Reinforcement via radio of the functional role of the vernacular is therefore only indirect in Lumbwa.

Within such a framework there is little functional displacement and it seems likely that this arrangement -- both in fact and in theory -- will endure without substantial change for some time to come, barring shifts in government policy. Even such erosion as has occurred in the position of the vernaculars has not gone unnoticed; school children are aware that they cannot understand well the "deep" Luo or the "deep" Kikuyu of their grandparents, and show some concern for their weakness in control of the vernacular in interaction with their elders in the ethnic homelands. Whether such awareness and concern will establish a firmer position for the vernaculars in the decades

to come remains to be seen. At the moment, the existence of large, compact ethnic homelands and of strong ties and frequent contacts with those homelands strengthens the position of the vernaculars within the overall tripartite scheme of language use. Where individual ties with the ethnic homeland -- or with a sizeable ethnic enclave outside that homeland -- are weak, however, the position of the vernacular within an individual's linguistic repertoire may be seriously weakened. For instance, a close Luyia friend has noticed that his children have a strong preference for Swahili over Luyia, despite his constant admonitions to use their mother tongue. It appears that the children are undergoing an experience similar to that of the children of immigrants in the United States: their contact with the ethnic homeland is slight, they live in a mixed ethnic neighborhood (the center of town) and attend a government school with a heavily mixed student body, and their play-group is ethnically mixed. In such circumstances, use of Luyia by their elders in the household seems an insufficient inducement to use the vernacular actively. One can imagine the children associating the vernacular largely with the "old country," a world which their parents knew but with which they themselves have had little experience. It must nevertheless be emphasized that such situations are not necessarily representative of Lumbwa in general: individuals living in ethnic clusters on the outskirts of the township -- notably Kipsigis and Kikuyu -- no doubt feel freer to use the vernacular outside the immediate household.

Let us now look at some of the broad patterns of language use within the town. We have already had an "etic" look at the town and its environs; it might help considerably to simplify the description.

of language activity in all the varied settings described earlier if we moved to an "emic" view of things. Utilizing the concept of "domains" developed by Joshua Fishman,⁴ we find that we can both simplify our descriptive material and move toward a view of language use within and around the town as seen through the eyes of the townspeople themselves. The domains I am about to set out have not been formally established by an empirical device, but instead are Swahili terms used by townspeople habitually to refer to key areas of social interaction. Since the terms are deeply embedded in the Swahili language itself -- that is, since such terms would be employed throughout the Swahili-speaking area in East Africa -- and since, as we shall see, Swahili is the language of town life, the perceptual framework implied by these terms has a strong claim to validity, and at the least provides a convenient framework for description which is congruent with the language behavior of individuals in Lumbwa. In fact, in discussions with Lumbwa townspeople of language behavior, constant reference is made to language behavior in reference to these domains.

The largest domain around Lumbwa is the town itself:

(Kwa)taun.⁵ Taun may be distinguished from the surrounding hinterland, (ma)shambani. The singular term shambani is ambiguous and may also refer to an individual's cultivated plot within the township boundary, whereas the plural term, mashambani, is often used -- especially by Kikuyu -- to refer to the ex-European farming areas, both around Lumbwa and elsewhere in the former "White Highlands." Another term, (Kwa)faam, is used to designate individual European farms in the surrounding

hinterland. The other important domain outside Lumbwa besides mashambani is Kwetu ("our ethnic homeland") or rizavuni or (Kwa)rizaav ("[in] the reserve"). For many individuals, taun (Lumbwa) and Kwetu ("our ethnic homeland") may be considered poles on a continuum, with the rural hinterland around Lumbwa (and, indeed, many other urban centers outside of the reserve areas) may be seen as one end -- the European end -- of a cultural continuum, with the reserves, bulwarks of traditional life, at the other end, the intervening rural areas in the former "White Highlands" representing mixtures of traditional African and European ways. This is, in fact, a conception of cultural reality which reflects the colonial era of Kenya's history, but a conception which seems to still have a strong psychological reality for both Africans and non-Africans alike.

In reality, much has changed in the past two decades and the reserves, through dramatically improved educational facilities and other signs of modernization, in many cases offer a less traditional way of life than do more remote and impoverished areas of the former "White Highlands." Thus, it is in the former European farmlands around Lumbwa -- not in the heart of the Kipsigis reserve -- where you will still find the traditional Kipsigis herder who has used his government loan to pay the bride-price on several wives rather than use the money on farm improvements, and who stocks his farm with indigenous cattle rather than with government-recommended breeds. In contrast, the "improving farmer" is often characteristic of the heart of the Kipsigis reserve,

with a substantially-built house, often of stone, a motor vehicle, and substantial investments in farm improvements. Nevertheless, in discussions of social behavior, including language behavior, the reserve -- the ethnic homeland -- still preserves an almost religious sense of "heimat" with strong clusters of deep traditional values attached to it. Lumbwa, in that light, stands by contrast as a totally "secular" zone -- a profane, modern, and foreign counterpart to the sacred and indigenous ethnic homeland. Even among traditional Kipsigis who have settled around Lumbwa, it may be said that the modern world -- the world represented by the Swahili language and the sociocultural domain definitions which spring from that language -- ends at the township boundaries. Within the township boundaries occur Christian ceremonies, the world of the Kanisa ("church") and its attendant activities; outside of the township boundaries occurs the tumin, the highly important traditional circumcision ceremony.

In the light of this contrast between Lumbwa township and the ethnic homeland, language behavior can be, and is, more pragmatic in Lumbwa than it is in the ethnic homeland. It may be that I am making too much of this dichotomy, that in fact for many individuals the poles are not nearly so far apart. Whatever the case, it seems to be a fact that the opposition between these two large domains -- Lumbwa, the (former) European town, on the one hand, and the ethnic homeland on the other -- provide the key to a good deal of language behavior by Lumbwa townsfolk.

Within the domain of taun (Lumbwa itself), one may easily identify a number of constituent domains, all of which imply some sort

of appropriate language behavior. The following list, intended to be open-ended, sets out the key domains.⁶

<u>nyumbani</u>	"in the household" "on the homestead"
<u>shambani</u>	"in the field" [here, one's cultivated plot within the township boundary]
<u>barabarani</u>	"on the road"
<u>sokoni</u>	"at the [open-air] market"
<u>dukani</u>	"at the shop"
<u>kazini</u> or	"at work"
<u>(Kwa)Kazi</u>	"at one's wage-paying job"
<u>kanisani</u>	"at church"
<u>shuleni</u> or	"at school"
<u>skulini</u>	

Yet other domains can be identified, such as barazani (or, in normal usage, kwa baraza, "at the town meeting," or baraza), kwa dispénsari ("at the dispensary, or clinic"), and kwa póst ofis ("at the post office"), but since such domains are rather restricted in time or space, they are omitted from the list of key domains. A baraza, for instance, is called by the subchief and the district officer rather infrequently, as important issues arise. Insofar as such domains affect language behavior, they will be discussed, but not as separate domains.

As for the linguistic varieties used in specific domains, it is convenient to use the terms "English," "Swahili," and "the vernacular" in accordance with the trichotomy set out in the beginning of this chapter. "The vernacular" will refer to the vernacular of one's ethnic group,⁷ unless otherwise specified. In most cases this means Luyia (including Lu Ragoli, the dialect of the Maragoli), Luo, Kipsigis, and Kikuyu. As for English and Swahili, they are mother tongues for virtually no one in Lumbwa; thus, the term "vernacular" will be understood by definition to exclude English and Swahili. For our purposes also, no reference will be made to linguistic varieties within particular languages, e.g., varieties of English or of Swahili. Since the focus of this dissertation is on Swahili itself, the subject of variation within Swahili will be dealt with in a later chapter. Variation within English or within each of the vernaculars, however, is beyond the scope of the dissertation and hence will be treated only in passing.

To begin with nyumbani ("in the household," "at the homestead"), one finds that the vernacular is the normal language employed for all activities. Only in the case of the "Wa-Swahili" mentioned earlier, where the ethnic ties are dissolved, does one encounter households where Swahili is the normal household language. The presence or

absence of older relatives, e.g., grandparents, does not seem to be a factor since most families in Lumbwa seem to be nuclear families, with older relatives left back in the ethnic homeland. This is certainly the case with government-allocated quarters such as the railway quarters, the soil conservation camp, and the police lines. It is also true of County Council housing and of housing in "mjini," the old African quarter, though simple lack of space is usually the reason. Even in "shauri yako" and the rented plots near the outskirts of the township, limited space and first-come, first-serve allocation of land prevents the accumulation of relatives and, in fact, the formation of ethnic clusters or ethnic neighborhoods.⁸

Shambani, "in the cultivated field," is a domain in which only the vernacular would normally be employed unless workers not of one's ethnic group were engaged in a common task. Thus, where Luo agricultural laborers are assisting a Kipsigis farmer in clearing his land, Swahili should be used. Such operations, however, would not normally be found within the township boundaries, where only family subsistence plots -- with no livestock other than chickens -- are allowed.

Barabarani, "on the road," constitutes a separate domain since, as in many rural societies, highly rule-governed language behavior

of a specific sort is often expected in that setting.⁹ This is the domain within which greeting formulas are often employed: one begins with the actual greeting -- usually an inquiry as to the hearer's state of health -- and goes on to inquire about the hearer's destination and the place from which he or she has just come. Further inquiries about the health of the hearer's family, or the general state of things in the place from which the hearer has just come, may then be in order. Usually relatives, friends, or acquaintances are greeted in this way, but not necessarily so. From my own experience, it seems as though adults -- male or female -- may feel free to greet and interrogate, in a friendly way, strangers on the road who are a good deal younger than they.

When greeting and conversing, it seems to be the rule that co-ethnics will use their vernacular. When the interlocutors are not of the same ethnic group, Swahili will be used unless both interlocutors have a good command of English, in which case English, or both Swahili and English, may be used. Respect for elderly people -- male or female -- by a younger adult of another ethnic group may be shown by initiating greetings in the vernacular of the older person. Conversation will then shift almost immediately into Swahili -- often of a highly pidginized variety -- since the greeter's command of the hearer's vernacular rarely extends beyond greeting formulas and the greeter presumes that the hearer speaks no English, sometimes an incorrect assumption.

Sokoni, "at the [open-air] market," is a linguistic free-for-all in which transactions are brisk and one employs the linguistic

variety most suitable at the moment. Business is usually conducted with the seller, usually a woman, seated on the ground and the prospective buyer standing. Furthermore, at a busy Sunday market prospective buyers are usually meandering among the sellers, pricing goods and examining their quality and, hence, not committing themselves to buy an item until they have examined the wares of other sellers. Under such circumstances, extended conversations are difficult, so dialogues tend to be brief and transactional. Swahili is most often used in such circumstances: it suits the rapid pace and confusion of the situation and keeps bargaining on a transactional -- rather than a personal -- level.

Dukani ("at the shop") is quite a different domain than sokoni. Personal relationships in addition to purely transactional ones are often encouraged by the shopkeeper in an effort to win regular customers. Since most shops sell essentially the same assortment of goods, though with different emphases on different goods, competition to win and keep customers is rather keen, though good-mannered. In consequence, an atmosphere is created wherein customers are encouraged to relax and chat, both with the shopkeeper and with other customers. Benches are often provided where customers can sit and pass the time of day and inadvertently attract passing friends into the shop. The soft drinks and other sweets which are often sold also help convert the shop front into a small social center -- the only social centers which all townspeople, young and old, can frequent, since bars and drinking clubs are not considered suitable social centers by many townspeople.

Swahili is the language normally used in the shop, though a vernacular may be used between co-ethnics with no sense of embarrassment. English, also, may be used between those who have a command of it -- particularly students from the secondary school or white-collar employees. As will be seen later, shop owners often have a particular bent for learning local vernaculars, so as to encourage monolingual individuals who are not of their ethnic group to come into the shop and purchase. If the shopkeeper is especially ambitious, he or she will go beyond the few functional phrases of the language needed for the commercial transaction to a fuller command of the language needed for polite social conversation. It is felt that here, too, converting a transactional relationship into a personal one, or something approaching this, helps convert an occasional purchaser into a regular customer. For the ambitious shopkeeper, attracting customers beyond one's ethnic group is the key to expanding one's trade.

Kazini or (kwa)Kazi, "at work," is perhaps the most difficult domain to describe owing to the varied work situations in Lumbwa, some of them included within the other domains listed. If we restrict our discussion to wage-paying jobs not included within other domains, we find the conventional division between clerical and administrative jobs on the one hand and manual labor jobs on the other rather useful. English is still by and large the language of written records and correspondence in Kenya, and clerical/administrative jobs are therefore restricted to those who have a reasonable command of English. For these two reasons, verbal interaction in the office situation is often

carried on in English when business or technical matters are being discussed. For camaraderie within the office or for discussion of personnel problems, either Swahili or the vernacular -- when the verbal interaction is between co-ethnics -- may be used. In manual labor jobs, usually only Swahili and the vernaculars are used -- Swahili in a mixed ethnic situation and the vernacular when co-ethnics are interacting. English may be used in bantering among those laborers who have some knowledge of it, but the language of serious work is Swahili. In an afternoon of note-taking at the local tea warehouse, while tea was being unloaded from trucks, the writer noted little verbal interaction of a transactional sort. While trucks were in the process of being unloaded, movement was rapid and verbal activity consisted mainly of instructions in rapid Swahili given by clerks and the foreman to the porters, truck drivers, and turnboys. Occasional queries in Swahili were made by those unloading the tea to their supervisors. In lulls of activity, however, when a truck had been unloaded and there was little to do but sit and await the arrival of the next truck, the verbal activity changed significantly both in quantity and character. A good deal more verbal activity occurred than in the preceding period -- mainly good-natured bantering and occasional disputes, but in a generally low-key, relaxed manner. A good deal of Swahili was used, but now the vernaculars were used also among co-ethnics. The Luyia head clerk, who has become rather fluent in Kipsigis, used the opportunity to demonstrate his knowledge of Kipsigis in banter with the Kipsigis truck drivers. Even then the language of urgent communication

seems to be Swahili: the Luyia head clerk shouted his warning in Swahili, not Kipsigis, when a Kipsigis truck driver was about to back his truck into a warehouse door.

A note is perhaps appropriate here on the character of verbal interaction between the various ranks of the occupational hierarchy in the average work situation in Lumbwa. In contrast to an American work situation in which verbal interaction is often highly restricted between ranks, not often extending beyond the briefest pleasantries, a good deal more banter and conversation seems to go on between persons of highly unequal rank in Lumbwa. This entails more use of Swahili, in turn, and of the vernaculars by clerks and administrators than would otherwise be the case. The American rule that "one is paid to work, not talk" on the job is also not observed nearly so much by workers in Lumbwa; the feeling seems to be that talk is fine so long as it does not interfere seriously with work. This also encourages greater freedom of language use within the work situation. As in the domain of dukani, "at the shop," the greater scope allowed to personal interaction within a nominally transactional situation allows a greater discretionary use of language.

Another factor which affects strongly the use of language in the work situation, besides the basic division between clerical/administrative and manual work, is that of the degree of contact with the general public -- particularly the monolingual vernacular-speaking public. Situations in which an employee must often communicate with a member of the public in a vernacular (for example, a bus conductor,

a railway ticket seller, or a shopkeeper's assistant) are fundamentally different work situations than those in which an employee must communicate only with his co-workers. In larger work operations, the problem of dealing with a member of the public who speaks only a vernacular can be dealt with by calling in an employee of the same ethnic group, who can then either transact the business himself, or act as translator in the transaction. In small operations, or where calling in someone else would be inconvenient, as in the occupations given immediately above, the employee him- or herself must perforce have some command of the vernacular concerned. Another solution, of course, is for the monolingual person to bring along a co-ethnic friend or a relative to the transaction to act as interpreter. In shops in Lumbwa, for instance, one often sees a young Kipsigis girl with some knowledge of Swahili accompanying her mother or grandmother to act as interpreter in the course of making purchases.

One of the government agencies most beset by this kind of problem is the police force. To cope with the situation, an effort is made to have a wide range of ethnic groups and languages represented at the Lumbwa police lines. Out of a force of some 22 policemen, roughly seven are Kalenjin¹⁰ while three or four individuals each represent the Kikuyu, Luo, Luyia, and Kisii ethnic groups and a single individual each represents the Maasai, Somali, and Kamba.

At the dispensary also, an effort is made to keep a variety of ethnic groups on the small staff, especially to serve monolingual vernacular-speaking women who have accompanied their husbands to Lumbwa.

According to a patient at the dispensary, a monolingual Luo woman had had considerable difficulty in explaining her ailment in the hospital at Londiani a short time before because there was no Luo on duty at the hospital at that particular time.

A work situation with particular problems is that of the Lumbwa post office. Not only are stamps bought there and letters and parcels sent and received, but also postal and money orders are purchased and redeemed there and a small savings bank is operated for the general public. In addition, the town's telephone service is operated through the post office. According to a Luyia postal clerk, there are the usual language problems with monolingual Luo children and with elderly women of the Kikuyu and Kipsigis ethnic groups. Elderly Kikuyu women and elderly Kipsigis men seem to have particular trouble using the telephone:¹¹ Kipsigis men in particular seem to have trouble hearing -- especially when being told how much money to insert [sic!]. Literacy problems are very important, especially when they concern money transactions, as in buying and redeeming postal and money orders, or in depositing or withdrawing money from a savings account. Postal clerks must fill out forms for illiterate individuals. If such individuals cannot sign their names, they must leave a fingerprint. Postal and money orders are not such a problem since few individuals use them, but savings bank transactions are a real problem. Here again, savings deposits are little problem, but savings withdrawals are major ones due to the problem of identification. Cultural problems can compound the problem of identification. For example, redeeming postal and money

orders for Kipsigis women can be a problem when they give only the Christian name, and not the traditional name, of the husband or parent who sent the money order. Even for those individuals who can read, a major obstacle is that most forms are printed only in English. Here again, the clerk must fill out the forms. Finally, in regard to money transactions in general, a third party cannot be called in to interpret; the transaction must be directly between clerk and customer to avoid deceptions. Hence, someone on the post office staff who commands the vernacular of the monolingual customer must transact the business with the customer -- otherwise the transaction cannot be completed.

Kanisani, "at (Christian) church," is an important domain in Lumbwa, and one in which, as in shuleni, "at school," language plays a vital role. There are over half a dozen churches in Lumbwa serving a large number of townspèople. All reportedly use Swahili as the normal language of worship services except for two churches. One is the local congregation of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, which has a heavily Kikuyu congregation and consequently uses Kikuyu as the normal language of church services. The other is the Africa Inland Church (formerly the Africa Inland Mission), which uses Kipsigis normally unless a number of non-Kipsigis are present on a particular occasion, at which time the service is translated into Swahili for the benefit of the guests. A vernacular language is heard from time to time in the other churches as well, though usually restricted to hymns, short prayers, or spontaneous testimonies. When large ethnic blocs are present in the congregation, including individuals whose control over

Swahili is weak, sermons in the language of that ethnic bloc may be preached along with sermons in Swahili, or else a sermon in Swahili is preached by one individual while another individual gives a phrase-by-phrase "interlinear translation" of it in the vernacular. At least one individual has noted general ethnic pressure in various parts of Kenya to increase the use of the vernacular in church services so as to increase church membership among particular ethnic groups. This tends to produce "tribal churches," but it also creates a large, loyal membership and a better financial base for the church.

English finds almost no place in church services except among student religious groups at the secondary school. As a language of worship, it is almost exclusively identified with character building among Christian students. As such, it is found only in exceptional religious contexts such as in Sunday morning worship services for students at the secondary school. In a sense, it can be seen as perhaps the single instance in Lumbwa of an elite language being used in worship by an aspiring elite group.

Shuleni (or skulini), "at school," is the other context where language activity assumes a prime role. As mentioned earlier, some 600 school children attend the primary school, while some 200 pupils attend the secondary school. In both primary and secondary school, English is the language of instruction. In the lower primary grades (Standard I and II), Swahili is used for explanations, but in the upper primary grades (Standard IV-VII), all instruction, including explanations, must be given in English. Children raised in the township create few problems

in the lower primary grades since nearly all have some knowledge of Swahili before starting school. Children newly arrived from the ethnic homelands -- the reserves -- however, constitute a problem since they often know only the vernacular of their ethnic group. In such cases, the newly arrived children are each paired off with a Swahili-speaking (or English-speaking) child of their ethnic group. The Swahili-speaking co-ethnic can then function as interpreter and slowly ease his or her fellow pupil into the classroom routine and eventually into Swahili and English. No separate classes or separate groups are formed to deal with the language problems of a particular ethnic group, or of ethnic groups as a whole.

Within the classroom in general at the primary school, the vernaculars are not normally allowed; only Swahili and English are permitted for communication between pupils. On the playground, restrictions against the vernaculars have been lifted, but the use of Swahili is encouraged.

Swahili is taught as a subject in the primary school, but here the medium of instruction is also Swahili. Even grammatical explanations are made in Swahili. Story-telling in Swahili and folktales read in Swahili form a good deal of the content.

In the secondary school, as mentioned above, English is the language of instruction. Swahili is taught as a subject -- as in the primary school -- but it appears that a good number of pupils, particularly Kipsigis students from the Kipsigis reserve, have more difficulty with Swahili than with English. In extracurricular situations,

such students prefer to speak their own vernaculars with co-ethnics and English with members of other ethnic groups, in contrast to the vernacular-cum-Swahili extracurricular pattern of the primary school pupils. A further contrast is in the proportions of the different languages spoken. Swahili is perhaps the strongest of the three categories in extracurricular activities at the primary school, with English probably the weakest, while at the secondary school the vernaculars are most often used in comparable contexts, with Swahili used less frequently than English. The reason for this situation has little to do with age; as suggested above, it has more to do with the fact that secondary school pupils are drawn from a large catchment area, with only a small minority drawn from Lumbwa, and that a good number of these pupils come from the Kipsigis reserve, where school children are often more exposed to English than to Swahili. Here again, as with religious activities, we see that the secondary school tends to be rather atypical of the general language situation in Lumbwa.

One last social event in Lumbwa deserves mention: that of barazani or kwa baraza, "at the town meeting," mentioned earlier in this chapter. This is one situation in which the unity and equality of all townspeople is strongly stressed. Only Swahili is used; English would be understood by only a minority of those present and the use of vernaculars would suggest ethnic divisions among the townsfolk. Even when questions are invited from the crowd following addresses by local officials, they must be asked in Swahili. On one occasion an elderly Kipsigis man asked the subchief (also Kipsigis) in Kipsigis whether he

might pose his question in Kipsigis. The subchief replied in Swahili that he must either ask his question in Swahili or remain silent. The man then asked his question in fluent local Swahili.

These, then, are the broad patterns of language use in Lumbwa.

As the language use patterns of individuals are examined in a later chapter, a more detailed picture of the linguistic matrix in Lumbwa will emerge.

CHAPTER IV

VARIETIES OF SPOKEN SWAHILI IN LUMBWA

As stated in Chapter I, one of the original objectives of the field work was to gather information on the varieties of Swahili which might be spoken in a multilingual rural community such as Lumbwa. The objectives at that time were:

- (1) to note all non-standard variants of elements of the Standard Swahili phonological, grammatical, and lexical systems; and
- (2) to note the distribution of such features over social groups.

Accordingly, as mentioned in Chapter I, in addition to informal notation of non-standard Swahili, features heard in the course of normal participant-observation and tape-recorded interviews, a sizeable corpus of written materials was collected from schoolchildren and some 60 full taped interviews and some 20 partial taped interviews were made for analysis after return from the field.

In fact, only the written translation tests¹ of the Standard Seven pupils in Lumbwa were subjected to a detailed analysis, but this alone required nine months of half-time work. Of the tape-recorded materials, only 35 interviews were scanned for linguistic data, after

the analysis of the translation tests. The other material remains, as yet, unanalyzed.²

The translation test yielded information on a whole range of phonological features, on some 60 grammatical features, and on a number of lexical items, including 17 verb stems, and an indeterminate number of noun forms. Perhaps a hundred separate features in all were examined per questionnaire. As high as 60 separate occurrences of a feature per questionnaire (in the case of verbal subject markers) had to be examined; as many as a dozen or more variants of a feature had to be tabulated. Scores for each feature were marked on individual score sheets for each student, though tabulation was done only by ethnic group and by sex groups. No tabulation was made by age group.

No comparable exhaustive analysis was done of the taped material, but the 35 interviews mentioned above were all subjected to a rather thorough scanning, in an effort to verify in the spoken corpus the patterns already noted in the written corpus, and to isolate further non-standard features which had not occurred in the written materials. Of course, one would expect that the written corpus would reflect the spoken language only in an indirect way -- nevertheless, it was found that the written materials reflected nearly all of the non-standard features to be heard in the spoken Swahili of Lumbwa. In the case of a few non-standard features, though the features concerned did occur in the written materials, they occurred far less frequently than in the spoken Swahili of Lumbwa; these are of special interest and will receive special mention later. Though one would expect a good deal of conscious editing of written materials on the part of the students, it appears that

the length of the translation exercise left many students barely enough time to complete the test -- according to their own comments -- and hence less time to perform corrections on their completed tests.³

In general, the written tests proved useful for the systematic investigation of subsections of the grammars internalized by individuals⁴ though they were certainly less trustworthy as evidence of the phonological systems employed by such individuals. On the other hand, the taped interviews, though invaluable as direct evidence of the variety or varieties of Swahili spoken by an individual and hence as a check on the representativeness of the written material, were poor in terms of the systematic attestation of forms -- particularly of members of grammatical paradigms. In other words, the occurrence of given grammatical categories in texts is often a matter of chance. Here, written evidence used judiciously may prove helpful. Theoretically, a systematic oral test might have overcome both difficulties, but here again the interview situation would hardly have been a natural speech situation for the informant and thus hardly likely to allow casual speech.

Sampling in the case of both the written translation tests and the taped interviews was far from ideal. The Standard Seven tests were submitted by three male Luo pupils,⁵ seven male Luyia pupils, thirteen male Kikuyu pupils, seven female Kikuyu pupils, ten male Kipsigis pupils, and seven female Kipsigis pupils.⁶ Thus, female students in general were underrepresented, while in the case of two ethnic groups -- the Luo and the Luyia -- no figures were available for female students of those groups. As for ethnic groups, certainly the Luo are not well represented in the sample. Though, as we shall see later, the rate of

completion for the speech identification test was slightly higher, the sexual and ethnic biases remained.

In regard to the 35 taped interviews scanned, of the 35 individuals examined -- all adults -- there were five male Luo, one female Luo, seven male Luyia, three female Luyia, six male Kikuyu, two female Kikuyu, nine male Kipsigis, and two female Kipsigis.⁷ Thus, though the ethnic bias in the sample is less apparent, the sex bias is still marked. In terms of the socioeconomic status of the males in each of the ethnic groups represented, however, differences in varieties of Swahili characteristically spoken, in level of education acquired, and in work experience gained were rather well represented for each ethnic group.

It should be noted also that an attempt was made to weed out "incipient bilinguals" -- or individuals whose Swahili represented a beginner's attempts at speaking the language. While there was little chance of incipient bilinguals occurring in the Standard Seven sample, the problem had to be faced in the tape-recorded interviews. As it turns out, nearly all the individuals interviewed had spoken Swahili for at least a decade or so.

Thus, though the extremely small size of the sample itself and the biases contained within the sample in the case of both the written corpus and the tape-recorded corpus allowed for no conclusive results regarding any of the sex groups, age groups,⁸ ethnic groups, or socioeconomic groups, nevertheless a broad and remarkably consistent picture of variation in the spoken Swahili of Lumbwa, and of the distribution of variant forms over social categories in Lumbwa, emerged from the data.

Thus, the original goal of documenting in crude terms the extent and nature of variation in the spoken Swahili of Lumbwa may be said

to have been achieved, though, as we shall see, an immense amount of work remains to be done, both in noting the social and contextual correlates of linguistic variation, and in noting the complex linguistic roles played by each of the variants in the phonological, grammatical, and lexical systems of individuals in Lumbwa. As for attitudes of Swahili speakers in Lumbwa toward specific variant forms, the investigation described in Chapter V represents only the barest beginnings.

On the basis of field observation, and of the written and taped data mentioned above, it seems rather clear that variation in spoken Swahili in Lumbwa may be viewed as the product of the intersection of two dimensions: the dimension of ethnic markedness and the dimension of pidginization.⁹ The first dimension reflects the degree of linguistic interference from an individual's vernacular manifested in that individual's spoken Swahili; the second dimension reflects the degree to which an individual's spoken Swahili is "pidginized" -- that is, the point at which that individual's variety of Swahili may be placed on an imaginary scale running from Standard Swahili¹⁰ to the most "pidginized" (or radically simplified) forms of Swahili extant. "Ethnic markedness" has to do almost entirely with the area of phonology, while "pidginization" has to do with the areas of grammar and -- to a lesser extent -- the lexicon. In other words, "ethnic markedness" refers almost entirely to the ethnic "accent" with which an individual speaks Swahili, whereas "pidginization" refers largely to the degree to which the complex morphology and morphophonemics of Standard Swahili have been discarded by an individual in favor of morphologically simpler and often invariable word-forms. In relation to Swahili, then, pidginization implies a

shift from language characterized by complex, redundant, "agglutinative" word-structure to one characterized by morphologically simple, non-redundant, "isolating" word-structure.

There seems to be a strong degree of positive correlation between the two dimensions. Individuals speaking a variety of Swahili with a heavy ethnic accent will normally exhibit a substantial number of non-standard grammatical features, while individuals speaking a highly standard form of Swahili will most likely exhibit little or no ethnic markedness. The fact that an individual speaks a highly pidginized form of Swahili with little or no apparent ethnic markedness usually means that the sound system of that individual's vernacular conforms more closely to that of Standard Swahili, and hence allows little scope for strikingly non-standard pronunciation. Thus, Luo and Luyia speakers of Swahili have, perhaps, less scope for phonologically divergent forms of Swahili than do Kipsigis and Kikuyu. Nevertheless, certain individuals do seem to manifest a certain degree of independence between the two dimensions. For instance, as mentioned below, the female Kikuyu students -- as a group -- showed the least ethnic markedness of any group when phonologically related phenomena were tabulated for the written test, while male Kikuyu students showed a good deal more ethnic markedness. Furthermore, the female Kikuyu students showed themselves least marked by those features most strongly associated with Kikuyu-marked Swahili. On the other hand, female Kikuyu ranked in general much more closely with male Kikuyu in the area of non-standard concordial agreements.¹¹ While it would be dangerous to argue that this reflects the spoken Swahili of male and female Kikuyu students, nevertheless the written

data suggests that reference to an individual's position in regard to the dimension of ethnic markedness may not always allow one to predict his or her position in regard to the dimension of pidginization. Interestingly enough, the male Kikuyu students produced almost exactly the same percentage of non-standard forms both in regard to concordial agreements and in regard to phonologically-related phenomena -- giving strong support to the opposite thesis: that one can predict grammatical performance from phonological performance, or vice versa.

A further difference between the two dimensions is that the pidginization dimension seems to represent a single, unbroken grammatical continuum, extending from a single, highly uniform variety of pidgin Swahili at one end of the scale through intermediate forms to Standard Swahili at the other end of the continuum. The dimension of ethnic markedness, however, seems to consist of a number of continua, each with a form of Swahili heavily marked by the phonological features of a vernacular at one end of the scale and Standard Swahili at the other.

Nothing in the data implies the existence of ethnic varieties of Swahili in Lumbwa -- or, in fact, discrete varieties of any other sort. Even diglossia does not seem to exist in Lumbwa. On the other hand, in regard to neither pidginization nor ethnic markedness could one say that any Swahili variety spoken by an individual was the result of random interference of polar varieties.¹² It seems, then, that the classic "post-creole continuum" or "creole continuum" situation described for the Caribbean in De Camp (1971) and in Bickerton (1973) exists in Lumbwa except that in Lumbwa ethnic variation in the area of phonology is much more complex.

Is this to say that on the basis of the present data one can say definitely that such a continuum exists in Lumbwa? Not at all. As pointed out in De Camp (1973) and in Bickerton (1973), the task of describing such a continuum is immense, and as further pointed out in Rickford (1973), no one has so far attempted to fully describe one. When one considers not only the problems of describing inter-personal variation on a continuum, but also that of describing intra-personal variation for the individuals on that continuum, the thought is sobering. Even were the data adequate, the task could hardly be accomplished within the confines of the present chapter. In fact, as pointed out earlier in this chapter, the data so far analyzed can only serve to reflect the language situation in the crudest way.

For this reason, then, we must stress that though the data strongly suggest the existence of continua of the sort outlined above, the data is clearly inadequate either for demonstrating the existence of such continua or for describing their nature in any detail.

It might be appropriate at this point to ask how people in and around Lumbwa seem to perceive linguistic variation in and around the township. The varieties of Swahili spoken by incipient bilingual individuals are called "Kiswahili cha kuomba maji" ("Swahili for begging water"). At the other end of the scale lies Standard Swahili, called "Kiswahili safi" ("pure Swahili") or "Kiswahili garama" ("grammatical Swahili"). This is looked upon as "correct" Swahili and is almost universally associated with the variety taught in the local school system, and secondarily with written material and the Voice of Kenya radio service. The Swahili of Mombasa and the coast in general, on the

other hand, is termed "~~Kiswahili~~ cha ndani" ("inner Swahili"), and is regarded as an esoteric code largely unintelligible even to speakers of Standard Swahili. As we shall see in Chapter VI, learning coastal Swahili -- even of a highly standard variety -- is regarded as learning a foreign language, a language largely irrelevant to the needs of life in Lumbwa, and characteristic of an area beyond the geographical reach and experience of most people in Lumbwa.

Proficiency in Swahili is marked by adverbial expressions on a crude scale running from "Kiswahili cha kuomba maji" to "Kiswahili safi." Close to, or coordinate with, "Kiswahili cha kuomba maji" one finds "kusema Kiswahili moja-moja" ("to speak Swahili in an elementary way"), or "kusema Kiswahili kidogo-kidogo" ("to speak only a little Swahili"). The expressions "kusema Kiswahili kidogo" ("to speak a little Swahili") or "kusema Kiswahili vibaya" ("to speak Swahili badly") may be used synonymously for the above expressions or it may be used to characterize not incipient bilinguals but individuals fluent in highly pidginized varieties of Swahili. Similarly, "kusema Kiswahili nusu-nusu" ("to speak Swahili half-and-half") may refer to a fluent speaker of a highly pidginized variety of Swahili, or else an individual farther along the scale to Standard Swahili, but still at a distance from it.

The express "kusema Kiswahili vizuri" ("to speak Swahili well") -- as one might surmise -- is used to characterize an individual who speaks either Standard Swahili or a close equivalent. In brief, the scale makes broad reference to degrees of competence rather than to discrete varieties of Swahili. Even "Kiswahili safi" is a term for a variety of Swahili promoted by the educational system, and by media

of mass communication rather than a label for the variety of Swahili spoken by any group of individuals in Lumbwa.

Expressions such as "kusema Kiswahili Kama Mjalu" ("to speak Swahili like a Luo") or "kusema Kiswahili Kama Mkikuyu" ("to speak Swahili like a Kikuyu") usually refer only to phonological interference, and do not imply any other form of ethnic markedness. The form "to speak Swahili like a Luo" can also connote that the individual speaks a highly pidginized variety of Swahili -- since Luo people are often stereotyped as speakers of pidgin Swahili -- but this does not imply that any grammatical or lexical interference from the Luo language is discernible in his speech.

The most salient features associated with ethnic markedness in the varieties of Swahili spoken by members of the main ethnic groups in Lumbwa -- the Luo, the Luyia, the Kikuyu, and the Kipsigis -- may be summarized briefly as follows. First, we note a fundamental division into two rough "sprachbund" groups: the "Lake" group, comprising Luo and Luyia, and the "Central Kenya" group, comprising the Kikuyu and the Kipsigis.¹³ The sound system of the "Lake" group conforms much more -- at least in the area of segmental phonemes -- to the phonology of Standard Swahili than does the sound system of the "Central Kenyan" group. In the case of Luo-marked Swahili, the collapse of the Standard Swahili phonemes /ʒ/, /z/, and /s/ into a single phoneme /s/, and the lowering of the Standard Swahili high vowels /i/ and /u/ to /e/ and /o/, respectively, in unstressed position, are especially salient features. In the case of Luyia-marked Swahili, a wider range of non-standard features is possible due to the pronounced dialect diversity in the Luyia area. Not

only may the features noted above for Luo-marked Swahili be noted in certain dialectal varieties of Luyia-marked Swahili, but also other features, depending on the dialect of Luyia spoken by the individual in question. A speaker of the Isukha dialect of Luyia, for instance, might well manifest the following features in his spoken Swahili: the collapse of Standard Swahili phonemes /r/ and /l/ into a single phoneme /r/ (an alveolar flap); the collapse of Standard Swahili phonemes /k/ and /c/ into a single phoneme /c/; and the devoicing of voiced consonants. In general, however, few Luyia speakers of Swahili in Lumbwa exhibit ethnically-marked non-standard features, however recent their arrival from the reserve.

Turning to the members of our "Central Kenyan" group -- speakers of Kipsigis-marked Swahili and Kikuyu-marked Swahili -- one finds both a greater range of non-standard features exhibited, and a greater degree of phonological deviance from Standard Swahili in both quality and quantity in regard to the features exhibited. In Kikuyu-marked Swahili, one finds both the lowering of unstressed high vowels described above for Luo and the collapse of Swahili /l/ and /r/ into the phoneme /r/, described above for the Isukha dialect of Luyia-marked Swahili, but characteristic of the spoken Swahili of speakers of other Bantu languages as well -- notably the Kisii. In Lumbwa, however, this use of the alveolar flap is regarded as especially characteristic of Kikuyu speakers of Swahili. One may also note a strong tendency to replace the syllabic bilabial nasal consonant /m/ with the sequence /mu/, characteristic of other groups as well, but apparently especially characteristic of Kikuyu speakers of Swahili.¹⁴ Especially characteristic

of Kikuyu-marked Swahili, however, is the placement of a homorganic nasal consonant before a voiced stop or a voice affricate, or the reverse -- the deletion of a homorganic nasal consonant in such environments. Equally striking is the replacement of the Standard Swahili sequence /nz/ by the sequence /nj/ -- or simply /j/.

Turning briefly to Kipsigis-marked Swahili, we note similar difficulties with homorganic nasal consonants preceding voiced stops and voiced affricates. By far the most salient characteristics of Kipsigis-marked Swahili, however, is the replacement of Standard Swahili voiced consonants with unvoiced consonants and, to a lesser extent, the replacement of Standard Swahili unvoiced consonants with voiced ones. Optional devoicing of a voiced consonant in the presence of a preceding homorganic nasal consonant distinguishes Kipsigis-marked Swahili from Kikuyu-marked Swahili.

Other features of Kipsigis-marked Swahili include both deletion of Standard Swahili /h/ in word-initial position and the addition of /h/ to Standard Swahili words beginning with a vowel. Though deletion of /h/ in word-medial position is general in the varieties of Swahili spoken in Lumbwa, its deletion in word-initial position is a heavily Kipsigis-marked phenomenon. The addition of /h/ in word-initial position is almost exclusively a phenomenon of Kipsigis-marked Swahili. A feature of both Kikuyu-marked Swahili and of Kipsigis-marked Swahili is the manifestation of Standard Swahili /f/ as a bilabial voiceless fricative, but it is more prominent in Kipsigis-marked Swahili. Especially characteristic of the latter is the frequent conversion of the bilabial unvoiced fricative and its voiced counterpart into stops, thus collapsing the Standard Swahili phonemes Standard Swahili /f/ and

/p/ on the one hand and Standard Swahili /v/ and /b/ on the other into /p/ and /b/, respectively.

Certain purely phonetic features -- in addition to the manifestation of Standard Swahili /p/ as a bilabial voiceless fricative -- characterize both Kikuyu-marked Swahili and Kipsigis-marked Swahili. One feature is the manifestation of Standard Swahili /t/ and /d/ as dental consonants, rather than alveolar consonants. Another feature is the marked backing or retraction when articulating the Standard Swahili velar consonants /k/ and /g/. It seems that -- of these purely phonetic features -- the realization of Standard Swahili /t/ and /d/ as dental consonants is retained longest as Kipsigis and Kikuyu approximate their speech to the phonology of Standard Swahili.

The sources of such phonological interference in the varieties of Swahili spoken by the main ethnic groups in Lumbwa do not seem particularly difficult to locate. The collapse of the Standard Swahili phonemes /ʒ/, /z/, and /s/ into a single phoneme /s/ in Luo-marked Swahili can be explained by the fact that only a single sibilant (/s/) exists in the sound system of the Luo language.¹⁵ The confusion of Standard Swahili voiced stops and affricates with their unvoiced counterparts in Kipsigis-marked Swahili can be explained by the lack of such a contrast in the sound system of Kipsigis. Similarly, the problems arising with Standard Swahili /h/ and /f/ in Kipsigis-marked Swahili can be explained by the lack of corresponding phonemes in the sound system of Kipsigis, while problems with Standard Swahili /v/ and /b/ can be seen as a product of both phenomena. The problems mentioned above for Kikuyu speakers of Swahili with Swahili /l/ and /r/ may like-

wise be explained by the absence of a counterpart for /l/ in the sound system of Kikuyu; problems with /f/ may be explained by the absence of a counterpart of Swahili /f/ in the sound system of Kikuyu. Similarly, the lack of a counterpart of Standard Swahili /m/ in Kikuyu apparently accounts for the substitution of the sequence /mu/ for /m/ in Kikuyu-marked Swahili, and the same could be said for the other ethnic groups as well; interlingual identification of Standard Swahili morphemes of the shape /-m-/ with their cognates of the form /-mu-/ in other Bantu languages seems to have helped the process.

The problems related to the addition or deletion of a homorganic nasal consonant before a voiced stop or voiced affricate mentioned above in regard to Kikuyu-marked Swahili also seem to find their explanation in the sound system of the Kikuyu language. There are no counterparts in Kikuyu to the Standard Swahili phonemes /b/, /d/, /g/, and /j/; instead, one finds the series /mb/, /nd/, /ng/, and /nj/ in which the nasal segment is often weakly pronounced -- and in certain contexts is nearly inaudible.¹⁶ The manifestation of the Standard Swahili sequence /nz/ as /nj/ may be seen as related to the fact that no counterpart for Standard Swahili /z/ exists in the sound system of Kikuyu, while the manifestation of /nz/ as /j/ may be seen as further complicated by the deletion of the nasal consonant.

As for vowels, lowering of Standard Swahili /i/ and /u/ to /e/ and /o/, respectively, in unstressed positions in Luo-marked Swahili seems to be accounted for by a similar rule in Luo.¹⁷ The same phenomenon in Kikuyu-marked Swahili, on the other hand, may be due to linguistic identification of Standard Swahili lexical items with cognate

forms in Kikuyu, e.g. Kikuyu /mwarimo/, "teacher" (cf. Standard Swahili /mwalimu/, "ditto").

The purely phonetic features mentioned above in the case of Kipsigis-marked Swahili and of Kikuyu-marked Swahili, i.e. the manifestation of the Standard Swahili alveolar stops as dental stops (or at least "dental-alveolar" stops)¹⁸ and the retraction of the velar stops are a rather straightforward reflection of the sound systems of the two vernaculars.

Many questions can be given no ready answer. For example, what precisely is the source of difficulty for speakers of Kipsigis in regard to combinations of nasal consonant and stop or affricate, since nasal consonants in such contexts in Kipsigis are not weakly voiced? Why is it that problems with the Standard Swahili sibilant /s/ are not more salient in Kipsigis-marked Swahili since Kipsigis, like Luo, has only a counterpart for Standard Swahili /s/? In fact, the whole area of sibilants and affricates -- especially in Kikuyu-marked Swahili -- could be usefully explored. As for Luyia-marked Swahili, the complexity of the dialect problem and the lack of published material on Luyia dialects precludes discussion of such Luyia-markedness as does occur in varieties of Swahili spoken by Luyia speakers in Lumbwa. For the present, the above discussion must be regarded only as a brief sketch of the most salient features of ethnically-marked varieties of Swahili heard in Lumbwa, and of their most likely provenience.

Before closing this brief discussion of the dimension of ethnic markedness in the major varieties of Swahili spoken in Lumbwa, a caveat must be given in regard to the assumption of uniformity between

the sexes of a given ethnic group in regard to the manifestation of ethnically-marked features. In the analysis of the phonologically-related features of the written Swahili of Standard Seven schoolchildren in Lumbwa described in Duran (1974b), it appears that female Kikuyu not only showed themselves to be less deviant than any other group -- including male Luo, male Luyia, male Kikuyu, and Kipsigis of both sexes -- but also showed themselves least characterized by those features most strongly associated with Kikuyu-marked Swahili: the collapse of Standard Swahili /r/ and /l/ into /r/ (or sometimes /l/)¹⁹ and the placement -- or deletion -- of homorganic nasal consonants before voiced stops and affricates. By contrast, of all the ethnic groups, only male Kikuyu showed the expected confusion between /l/ and /r/. They also placed highest in the placement of homorganic nasal consonants before voiced stops and voiced affricates, though they ranked slightly below both male and female Kipsigis in the deletion of homorganic nasal consonants in such environments. It is not clear as to what this means in regard to the spoken Swahili of the Kikuyu students, but it seems clear that no hasty judgments should be made in regard to ethnic markedness until the speech of both sexes is examined.

As for the performance of all five groups vis-a-vis one another, it appeared that the written Swahili of the two groups of girls constituted the extremes, with female Kikuyu showing least ethnic markedness and female Kipsigis showing the most ethnic markedness. Male students fell between the poles, with male Luo and male Luyia students showing less ethnic markedness as groups than male Kikuyu students, while male Kikuyu students in turn showed themselves to be less ethnically-marked as a group than the male Kipsigis.²⁰

Moving now from the dimension of ethnic markedness to the dimension of pidginization, it might be appropriate to begin with a summary of the main pidgin features set forth in Bernd Heine's excellent description of "Kenya Pidgin Swahili."²¹ Reference will be only to the "minimal phonological system" and to the "minimal grammatical structure." Features which approach the standard language more closely will be left for the discussion of intermediate forms later in the chapter.

Turning first to the phonological systems of the most pidginized varieties of Swahili, Dr. Heine finds three features which seem to occur generally, irrespective of the ethnic markedness manifested in a particular speaker's pidginized Swahili. The first feature is a devoicing of the Standard Swahili phonemes /v/ and /z/, which abolishes the phonemic contrast between Standard Swahili /v/ and /f/, and /z/ and /s/, respectively. The second feature is the manifestation of Standard Swahili /š/ as [s], thereby eliminating the phonemic contrast between Standard Swahili /š/ and /s/. The third feature is the general deletion of the Standard Swahili phoneme /h/ (presumably from word-medial positions more often than from word-initial positions).

Turning to the morphology of Kenya Pidgin Swahili, Dr. Heine finds a reduction of the Standard Swahili noun-class system to three pairs of noun-classes: a class corresponding to the Standard Swahili Noun Classes One and Two (consisting of human beings); a class corresponding to Standard Swahili Noun Classes Five and Six (consisting of both human beings and other entities); and a class of invariable nouns with no formal singular/plural distinction. This latter class

includes forms apparently derived from singular Standard Swahili forms, as well as from plural standard forms. The forms seem to derive from a rather wide range of Standard Swahili noun classes.

One finds a similar simplification of forms for other elements of the noun phrase. Demonstratives are reduced to the invariable forms hii ("this") and ile ("that"), apparently derived from their Standard Swahili Class Nine counterparts.²² Adjectives are also invariable, with fossilized concords deriving mainly from Standard Swahili Classes One, Five, or Nine. Numerals are also invariable, with fossilized Class Nine concords. The possessive particle is reduced to the invariable particle ya, with the allomorph y- used with possessive adjectival stems, also apparently derived from the Standard Swahili Class Nine concords. Notable also are the diminutive prefix ka- (used only with a few nouns in Standard Swahili) and the prefix ki-, used to form names of languages.

The Kenya Pidgin Swahili verb -- morphologically the most complex part of the Standard Swahili sentence -- is drastically simplified in structure. The Standard Swahili subject-marker disappears, replaced by a noun or by a pronoun apparently derived from the Standard Swahili absolute pronouns, with the forms nyinyi and hawa substituted for the Standard Swahili forms ninyi and wao (second person plural and third person plural, respectively). These pronouns can also follow the verb and take the place of the object-markers (direct and indirect) which, like subject-markers, do not exist in pidgin verb-forms. Short forms of the pronouns occur and, from my own observations in Lumbwa, are used mainly as subject-markers. These, except for the second and

third person forms nyinyi and hao, respectively, consist of only the first syllable of the longer pronominal form.

As for the tense and aspect markers of the verb, only fragments of the Standard Swahili system exist: the marker na- may indicate the present continuous, or the general present, while the marker ta- indicates the future, as in Standard Swahili. The form kwisha (< St.Swa., -(kw)isha, "to end," "to finish") indicates the past (and presumably the perfect as well). Frequently, however, the marker -na- is used as a semantically empty form marking a finite verb and is then available for use -- without any accompanying tense or aspect marker -- in any temporal or aspectual context.²³ Negative verb-forms retain none of the Standard Swahili tense and aspect markers. Positive verb-forms with the marker na- have a negative counterpart with the form hapana (< St.Swa. hapana, "no!"); verb-forms with kwisha have a negative counterpart with the form bado (< St.Swa. bado "[not] yet"); and forms with ta- have negative counterparts with the forms hawezi (< St.Swa. hawezi, "he/she cannot ...") or hapana weza (lit., "no able").

Past and Future progressive tenses roughly paralleling the Standard Swahili forms are created with the markers li- and ta-, respectively, plus the verb stem luwa, followed by the main verb with the marker na- (if a positive verb-form). Subjunctive clauses are formed by an introducer form mzuri (< St.Swa. mzuri, "good") followed by a noun or pronoun plus a verb-form with the marker na-. Imperative clauses (involving other than the second person singular or plural) are similarly formed, but with lazima as an introducer. Conditional clauses are formed in the same manner but with kama as an introducer.

Negative commands (singular or plural) are formed with the form hapana and a verb-stem. A polite command is expressed with a verb stem and a suffix -ko: this particular form is not used, at least not widely, in Lumbwa.

In the area of verbal extensions, only the directive (or applicative) extension -i-, the passive extension -w-, and the (non-standard) habitual extension -ang- are really operative; the other extensions seem to have become lexicalized into the verb-stem itself. As for the directive extension, the Standard Swahili rules of vowel harmony no longer apply automatically. The particle -ku-, which occurs with monosyllabic verb-stems in certain contexts in Standard Swahili is also lexicalized into the verb-stem in Kenya Pidgin Swahili (and in intermediate varieties as well). As for the infinitival form of the verb, Dr. Heine notes the frequent deletion of the infinitive-marker ku-.

In addition to the Standard Swahili forms of the copula, Kenya Pidgin Swahili uses the invariable form iko, apparently derived from the Standard Swahili locative predicative particle -ko, with a Class Nine subject marker. The negative copula is invariably formed of hapana plus iko. Both positive and negative forms of the possessive clause construction also make use of iko exclusively, and once again hapana is used as a negative marker. A striking feature of such possessive constructions is that the comitative particle na, which is obligatory in Standard Swahili constructions of a similar sort, is optionally deletable in Kenya Pidgin Swahili -- a situation which can create ambiguity with otherwise indistinguishable non-possessive constructions also employing the iko copula.

Turning to adverbial constructions, one notes the absence of the Standard Swahili form vi-, prefixed to certain adjectival stems to form adverbs of manner. In Kenya Pidgin Swahili, simple invariable adjectives are used, post-posed to the verb. One notes also the use of the particle na (cf. the Standard Swahili comitative particle na) as a preposition in instrumental adverbial phrases, in place of the Standard Swahili particle kwa. More striking, however, is the use of the locative particle kwa to form locative adverbial phrases, e.g., kwa duka, "at the shop," in place of the Standard Swahili construction of a noun plus the post-clitic -ni, e.g., dukani ("ditto"). An equally important use of the particle kwa (or a homophonous preposition) is to form indirect-object constructions -- particularly benefactive prepositional phrases -- without resorting to the directive form of the verb. Though not mentioned specifically in Heine (1973), this construction is extremely widespread in Lumbwa, both in pidgin and in intermediate forms of the language, e.g., walinunua n!ombe kwa yeye (or kwake), "they bought a cow for him."

Also widespread in Lumbwa is the use of analytic constructions formed of na plus pronoun to form comitative constructions in place of the synthetic construction found in Standard Swahili, e.g. na yeye, "with him" (cf. Sta.Swa. naye, "ditto").²⁴ Similar constructions are formed with the preposition kwa and a following pronoun, e.g., kwa yeye, "for him."

Turning very briefly to the area of the relative clause, we note the absence of any relative form of the verb. In addition to the widespread use of indicative clauses with no relative marker at all as

relative constructions modifying nouns, one notes the use of the demonstrative particle ile ("that") as a relative pronoun, either preposed or post-posed to the noun. Since the demonstrative itself can be either preposed or post-posed to the noun in both pidgin and intermediate varieties of Swahili, it is not always clear whether such a form is a demonstrative or a relative pronoun. In such cases, both the demonstrative and the relative pronoun may occur, one preposed to the noun, the other post-posed to the noun. From the written data gathered from the Standard Seven schoolchildren mentioned earlier, it appears that the preposed form normally functions as the demonstrative while the post-posed form functions as the relative pronoun, e.g., huyu mwanafunzi yule alisoma sana ... ("this student, who studied hard").

Dr. Heine's description of Kenya Pidgin Swahili, as sketched above with certain slight emendations, may be taken as characteristic of the most pidginized varieties of Swahili spoken in Lumbwa. As Dr. Heine found for Nairobi, so in Lumbwa speakers of "pure" pidgin Swahili are not encountered frequently. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, most individuals in Lumbwa speak varieties of Swahili which are neither pidgin varieties of the sort just described nor Kenya Standard Swahili. Townspeople as a whole are exposed to a whole range of varieties in their daily interactions within the township. Town dwellers within the township who speak the most pidginized varieties seem generally to be older individuals with little or no education -- often Luo or Kipsigis. For the most part, however, pidgin Swahili is spoken by minimally educated Kipsigis visitors to the township who come either from the reserve itself or from the hinterland around

Lumbwa. It is not clear always, however, whether such visitors -- particularly older women -- constitute fluent, experienced speakers of pidgin Swahili, or merely incipient bilinguals who will eventually speak less pidginized varieties with greater exposure to the language.

At the other end of this range of varieties lies the Swahili of educated individuals of various ethnic groups, including Kipsigis who have come to Lumbwa to teach or perform other white-collar jobs. Their number is apparently being augmented by those young individuals educated through the local schools -- Lumbwa Township Primary and Lumbwa Harambee Secondary -- who started school speaking an intermediate variety of Swahili but who developed a liking for the standard language and eventually approximated their speech to it. Such individuals find themselves forced to modify their Kenya Standard Swahili in the direction of intermediate varieties of Swahili, partly for reasons of intelligibility and partly for general social acceptance. Even a Digo man from the coast living in the nearby town of Londiani told me that on every trip home to the coast, he would be laughed at for his "up-country" speech mannerisms for a week or two after arrival, until he had an opportunity to readjust his Swahili again to the coastal variety.

Thus, the whole range of varieties of Swahili within the township boundaries seems to represent a cline without discernible clusters or breaks. Even the individuals -- let alone the groups -- within the township seem to represent ranges on the cline since, as mentioned above, adjustments of one's idiolect to that of one's neighbor is a prime value in Lumbwa. One of the most fluent speakers of Kenya Standard Swahili in Lumbwa, the former headmaster of the secondary school, is not above

using a pidgin construction with another speaker of Standard Swahili when the situation is appropriate. For instance, when emphasizing in a tape-recorded interview the fact that Luo was never spoken in a given social situation, he used the "pure" pidgin construction "kijaluo hapana ongewa!", though few, if any, non-standard features were apparent in the entire interview.

To take a little closer look at intermediate varieties of Swahili in Lumbwa, it might be useful to examine data collected from the written questionnaire of the Standard Seven schoolchildren, mentioned above, as well as the spoken Swahili of the tape-recorded interviews. As pointed out earlier in the Chapter, and in Duran (1974b), analysis of the "scribal errors" of written Swahili can be a useful addition to information derived from oral data, especially when information has been elicited systematically on a number of key features. In addition, the respondents constituted a key group in regard to the nature of Swahili in Lumbwa. Many of them were raised in or around Lumbwa and thus reflect the linguistic usage of the township; on the other hand, being a young age group they may well represent linguistic trends in Lumbwa.

Looking at the written data, one notes the widespread occurrence of non-standard forms, despite the editing process which one expects when a student attempts to write Standard Swahili. On the other hand, certain key features occur very rarely so that one suspects that they have become shibboleths in the classroom situation and, hence, are prime targets for editing.

Looking first at the noun phrase and its constituents, one notes many of the same features already noted for pidgin Swahili,

though of far less frequent occurrence. As regards nouns, one notes the extension of the Class Six prefix ma- to plural nouns of other classes, especially those of Class Ten which carry no nasal prefix. Assignment of plural concords to mass nouns such as dawa, "medicine," and chakula, "food," was also noteworthy. The addition or deletion of a nasal prefix in the case of nouns of Classes Nine and Ten occurred, though this seems to be merely a by-product of ethnic markedness, since it is a feature associated mainly (but not entirely) with male Kikuyu and with Kipsigis.

Demonstratives showed three kinds of deviancy: assignment of an incorrect degree of proximity; assignment of non-standard concords (especially of Classes Nine and Ten to nouns of other classes); and use of singular concords (especially of Class Nine) instead of plural ones. Also, the Class Eighteen locative demonstrative form humo ("there inside") was little used.

There was some use of the familiar invariable adjectives and numerals of pidgin Swahili, and a use of singular nouns with numerals other than "one," e.g., mwezi mbili, "two months," a phenomenon which occurs widely in spoken intermediate varieties of Swahili, particularly in reckoning months or years.

As regards possessive constructions, one would expect particular difficulties with nouns of Classes Nine and Ten which denote human beings or animals, and they, in fact, occurred. Class Nine concords were often used instead of Class One concords with nouns denoting animals, while many (especially Kikuyu) used Class Two concords instead of Class Ten concords for plural (Class Ten) nouns denoting human beings

or animals. Class Nine concords were used by many Kikuyu and Kipsigis with singular inanimate nouns of other classes. The Kipsigis in particular showed a strong tendency to use Class Nine (singular) concords for plural nouns of all three categories, thus following pidgin Swahili usage.

As for the structure of the verb, let us examine first the subject-markers of the verb. In regard to subject-markers with human referents, one notes that Kipsigis students in particular produced non-standard forms. A good part of the difficulties stem from a problem of ethnic markedness, in that the Kipsigis habit of adding and deleting word-initial /h/ wreaked havoc with the singular positive and negative subject-markers, since the presence or absence of word-initial /h/ is often the only difference between positive and negative second and third person singular verb forms. Problems with the habitual aspect-marker hu- are probably not as severe since the habitual aspect is more often expressed in other ways in intermediate varieties of Swahili. A number of Kipsigis also used the Class One (third person singular) subject-marker a- in place of the Class Two (plural) subject-marker wá- for third person plural subjects. One may note also the use of the second person singular subject-marker u- in place of the second person plural subject-marker m-, in the case of two male Kikuyu and some Kipsigis students.

In regard to the subject-markers of inanimate referents, female Kipsigis in particular seemed to show unusual concordial agreements. Beyond this, one notes:

- (a) instability of concord for nearly a quarter of the students; that is, these students used a different class-concord in the subject-marker of the positive verb-form from that used in the negative verb-form for the same referent in the same sentence;
- (b) use of Class One and Class Two ("human") concords in subject-markers by a sizeable number of Kipsigis students;
- (c) use of Class Nine (singular) concord in the subject-marker for Class Ten (plural) referents by a small number of students;
- (d) apparent generalization of the Class One third person singular negative subject-marker ha- as an invariable negative subject-marker applicable to all noun classes, whether singular or plural, by a considerable number of Kipsigis students;
- (e) use of the pidgin Swahili unmarked verb-form (with no subject-marker) and the ambiguous na- tense/aspect marker by the same number of Kipsigis;
- (f) use of the Class Nine (singular) subject-marker for plural inanimate referents of mixed noun classes by a number of Kikuyu and Kipsigis students.

Regarding the tense and aspect markers of the verb, one notes a tendency by nearly all students to extend the use of the Standard

Swahili present continuous marker -na- to inchoative verbs which normally carry the perfect aspect-marker -me- (e.g., amejua, "he knows," "he has come to know") and to verbs which normally carry the habitual aspect-marker hu- in Standard Swahili. Only a single male Kikuyu used the -a(n)g- habitual suffix, which is heard so widely in the pidgin and intermediate varieties of Swahili in Lumbwa. As mentioned earlier, this non-standard suffix may be a prime target for eradication in written Swahili.

The consecutive form of the verb (with the marker -ka-) was preceded by the connective particle na in the case of nearly two-thirds of the students, while at least two-thirds of the students used simply the particle na plus a past indicative form of the verb to express consecutive action.

There were no problems in the use of the participial form of the verb (with the marker -ki-) nor with the use of the conditional form of the verb (also with the marker -ki-). With the hypothetical forms of the verb, both present and past, however, there were widespread difficulties. Of many constructions used,²⁵ perhaps the most interesting was the use of the apparent fused form -ngeli-²⁶ in both the present and past hypothetical modes by a full third of the students -- nearly all males. Another apparent fused form, -ngesha-, was also used by four male students. Also of interest was the use of the Standard Swahili past hypothetical marker -ngali- in a present hypothetical context, and the converse, the use of the Standard Swahili present hypothetical marker -nge- in a past hypothetical context, by a substantial number of students.

Regarding the object marker of the verb, we note that with verbs requiring direct-object markers, substitution of a post-posed absolute pronoun for the direct-object marker was very infrequent; only four Kipsigis students -- three of them female -- used the construction. On the other hand, a number of students had problems with the concordial agreements of the direct-object marker; use of Class Nine concords for Class Seven referents was the most widespread of non-standard concordial agreements.

In the case of indirect-object markers, the use of both a post-posed absolute pronoun and the indirect-object marker with a directive form of the verb was general, but well over a third of the students (including two-thirds of the Kipsigis) used the post-posed absolute pronoun alone. As for the form of indirect-object markers, the use of the form -mu- for the second person plural marker by more than a third of the students (including over half of the male Kikuyu students) is of particular interest.

Regarding the verbal extensions, one notes in particular the widespread use of the hypercorrect verb-stem -pea ("[to] give") in place of Standard Swahili -pa -- especially by female Kipsigis. Also noteworthy is the use of the pidgin Swahili prepositional (benefactive?) construction, consisting of the preposition kwa plus noun or absolute pronoun, following a non-directive form of the verb by eight of the students. Three other students -- a male Luo, a male Luyia, and a male Kikuyu -- used a modified form of the construction, with the Standard Swahili synthetic form kwake in place of the non-standard analytic form kwa yeye, ("for him/her"). One would expect a greater frequency of

occurrence on the basis of spoken Swahili in Lumbwa, so perhaps this construction also is marked for eradication in written Swahili.

As for the non-standard habitual extension -a(n)g-, as mentioned earlier, only one male Kikuyu manifested the form.

Regarding non-indicative forms of the verb, one notes the difficulties of some Kikuyu and Kipsigis students with the present subjunctive verb-form. Three students used a verb-form ending in -a (instead of -e) -- a form noted also for four individuals in the taped interview corpus -- while another three used a future indicative verb-form in its place, and a couple of students used the present continuous verb-form in the same context. The consecutive subjunctive verb-form (with the additional marker -ka-) was used by only a single student -- a female Kipsigis.

As for second person imperative verb-forms, nearly half the students used a singular imperative verb-form in place of a plural form, as in pidgin Swahili.

Regarding relative forms of the verb, roughly two-thirds of the students used a simple indicative verb-form without an amba- relative pronominal form in place of the relative form of the verb -- as in pidgin Swahili. With the temporal relative verb-form (with the marker -po-), however, only eight students used the pidgin form. Interesting hypercorrect forms, with both the amba- form and the relative form of the verb in the same clause, were produced by a couple of students.

Problems of concord in the case of relative markers and of amba- pronouns of objects of the verb were exhibited by nearly half

the students. In particular, one notes the use of Class One (+ human) and Class Nine concords with the Class Seven noun kisu ("knife") and the use of Class Two (+ human) and Class Ten concords with the (plural) Class Eight noun vyakula ("food[s]"). With the Class Seven mass noun chakula, given its singular and plural interpretation, mentioned earlier, all four concords given above were used, as well as the Class Eight (plural) concord. Finally, one may note the use of Class Nine concords with Class One (+ human) referents by two female Kipsigis.

Examining negative verb-forms, one may recall the problems with negative subject-markers described earlier. There are few other problems exhibited by indicative verb-forms, however. A single student -- a Luo -- selected the terminal vowel -a instead of the standard -i in a negative present indicative verb-form; in the taped corpus, likewise, only a single individual -- a male Kipsigis -- used a similar form in a couple of instances. The negative conditional verb-form (with the marker -sipo-) was used by only ten students, with not a single Kikuyu student among them. The negative imperative (excluding second-person verb-forms) caused by far the most problems. For the Standard Swahili form wasile ("they must not eat ...") one Luyia student used the interesting form sio wakule, with a negative particle preceding the verb. Two students used a negative particle preceding the construction lazima wale to produce a construction with an entirely different meaning, e.g., si lazima wale (lit., "it is not necessary that they eat"). Nearly a fifth of the students (mainly Kipsigis) simply substituted a negative future indicative verb form for the imperative -- apparently used in a predictive sense. One of them, a female Kipsigis, placed the form lasima (sic) before the indicative verb-form.

As for the particle -ku- which occurs prefixed to monosyllabic verb-roots, fully two-thirds of the students incorporated the particle into the root, as in pidgin Swahili. Five students -- four Kikuyu and one Kipsigis -- used apparently hypercorrect forms, with the particle -ku- deleted in environments where it is obligatory in Standard Swahili, e.g., wanala (for wanakula, St.Swa. hula, "[they] habitually eat ...").

In regard to the copula, one notes the non-locative predicative use of the particle -ko by nearly all the students; here, however, all such students -- with the exception of a single male Kikuyu -- used only the standard conjugated forms of the -ko copula, rather than the invariable iko copula of pidgin Swahili. The Kikuyu student used the form iko somewhat ambiguously with the subject noun rangi, "colors," which should have taken the Class Ten (plural) subject-marker zi-, but which may have been interpreted as a singular noun, and hence given the Class Nine (singular) subject-marker i-. The student also used the Class One subject-marker a- with the particle -ko, instead of the Standard Swahili form yu-; an adult male Kikuyu did the same on one of the interview tapes. In most cases, non-locative predicative uses of the -ko copula were used only with the adjective tayari, e.g. ...mko tayari..., ("...you (pl.) are ready..."), an adjective which, when used predicatively in Standard Swahili, requires a zero copula preceded by a subject-marker, e.g., m tayari. A male Kipsigis and the Kikuyu student mentioned above also used -ko with other predicate adjectives. Six Kipsigis students and the Kikuyu student also used the -ko copula to form possessive predicative constructions of the form described above for Kenya Pidgin Swahili.

Forms with -ko were also used in place of the forms with the locative particle -mo by more than half of the students; more than a quarter of the students used -ko even when the copula was accompanied by locative demonstratives of Class Sixteen or Class Eighteen.

Pronominal post-clitics in possessive predicative constructions were used in a deviant way by a few students. Such post-clitics are used in Standard Swahili to refer to definite possessed objects -- not to the possessor -- and they must be assigned proper class concords. One student used a post-clitic for indefinite possessed objects, and three other students did the same but used the Class One concord -ye in place of an expected Class Two concord, e.g., Peter anaye marafiki wengi ("Peter has many friends"). One might interpret the occurrence of the post-clitic -ye as a redundant reference to the subject "Peter" but it is at least as likely that the particle -ye is an invariable post-clitic which occurs in certain other environments,²⁷ and here has no clear semantic value. For instance, in the tape-recorded interviews of two educated male Kipsigis, speakers of Kenya Standard Swahili, one notes similar constructions, such constructions as ninaye shamba kidogo... ("I have a little field...") or tunaye Wakisii... ("We have Wakisii..."). One may note the Class One post-clitic -yo, an apparent variant of -ye which also occurs in the speech of one of the two individuals, e.g., ninayo watoto ("I have children..."). I suspect, though I certainly cannot prove the claim, that the use of post-clitics in this particular context represents an unsuccessful attempt to employ "safi" ("pure") forms of Swahili in one's speech so as to achieve a certain elegance.

In regard to the conditional form of the copula, not a single student used the form, though a female Kipsigis student produced a deviant version of the form, e.g., mkuwa (representing the Standard Swahili form mkiwa, "If you [pl.] are ..."). Similarly, the emphatic form of the copula was not used by any student, though here again a male Kipsigis student produced a deviant version of the form, e.g., ndeyo (representing the Standard Swahili form ndiyo, "[x] is indeed ..."). The durative form, with the stem -ngali, was used by less than a quarter of the students, with no Luo or female Kipsigis among them.

Regarding relative forms of the copula, nearly two-thirds of the students used simple forms of the copula, without the amba- relative pronominal form. For the relative possessive construction, five Kipsigis students (four of them female) used the particle na in place of the particle -li- in the relative form of the copula, e.g., mnyayo vitabu (for Standard Swahili mlio na vitabu, "you [pl.] who have books"). In only one of the five cases, however, can the clitic following na be said to have concordial agreement with the possessed object, and even here the concords are non-standard, e.g., vitabu zile mnyazo, "those books which you [pl.] have ..." [sic]). Finally, one may note the deletion of the verb-stem -kuwa in the relative form of the past indicative copula by three students, e.g., aliye kisiwi (for Standard Swahili aliyekuwa kisiwi, "... who was deaf [sic]") or kisu nilicho nacho (for Standard Swahili kisu nilichokuwa nacho, "the knife which I had"). Such non-standard forms are indistinguishable from their present tense counterparts in Standard Swahili.

As for the concords of the relative markers of the relative copula, only one deviant relative marker was noted, the Class Nine

marker -yo- used for a Class Seven referent. With the amba- relative pronominal form, however, a small number of non-standard concords were used: Class One concords in place of Class Seven concords by three students, Class Two (plural) concords in place of Class One (singular) concords by one student, and the converse of the latter by another student. Three Kipsigis students assigned either Class One or Class Nine concords for the relative markers of the second person plural (which required a Class Two concord in Standard Swahili).

Regarding negative forms of the copula, the pidgin Swahili negative marker hapana was used by only a single male Kipsigis. Here again, a form which is widespread in the intermediate varieties of Swahili in Lumbwa is only rarely manifested in the written Swahili of the schoolchildren. This form, too, is an apparent target for eradication in school classrooms.

Turning to syntax, one notes the widespread occurrences of many pidgin Swahili features. Nearly all the students used demonstratives preposed to the noun, and at least a third of the students used a post-posed "distant" demonstrative (with the stem -le, "that yonder") as an apparent relative pronoun together with a preposed demonstrative as well. This last feature corresponds, of course, to the optional use in pidgin Swahili of the invariable form ile. As for the cases where only a single demonstrative accompanied the noun, it was not clear whether the demonstrative functioned as a simple demonstrative or as a relative pronoun.

In regard to locative constructions, the pidgin Swahili locative construction of the preposition kwa plus noun was used by nearly two-

thirds of the students, including all the female Kipsigis, and nearly all the female Kikuyu. The preposition kwa was also used with both the locative forms of nouns and with place names by roughly a half-dozen students each, nearly all of them Kipsigis, e.g., kwa dukani (representing Standard Swahili dukani, "at the shop") and kwa Nairobi (representing Standard Swahili Nairobi, "in/to Nairobi"). Two male Kikuyu used the preposition katika with a locative form of the noun, e.g., katika dukani (representing Standard Swahili katika duka or dukani, "in the shop"). The noun phrase nyumba yangu ("my house") was also used as a locative construction without any overt marking by a half-dozen students, all of them Kikuyu or Kipsigis.

The pidgin Swahili instrumental construction with the preposition na was used by nearly all the students; only two female Kipsigis students used Standard Swahili construction with the preposition kwa. Similarly, the manner-adverbial construction of Standard Swahili, which also employs the preposition kwa, also had the particle na substituted for the standard kwa by a majority of the half-dozen students who used the construction, e.g., na bidii (representing Standard Swahili kwa bidii, "with effort").

Turning to the topic of synthetic vs. analytic constructions in the use of the prepositions kwa and na, raised earlier in the discussion of pidgin Swahili, one notes two phenomena. One is the use of analytic forms, consisting of the preposition na plus absolute pronoun, by nearly two-thirds of the students -- hardly a surprising revelation. The other phenomenon consists of an apparent distinction between analytic and synthetic forms made on the basis of referent

referred to by the pronoun. In other words, well over a third of the students used the analytic construction na yeye (representing Standard Swahili naye, 'with him/her') for human referents, but a synthetic construction -- either naye, nayo, or a similar form -- for inanimate referents. The use of the form naye, with the apparent Class One concord -ye, by nearly a quarter of the students -- most of them Kipsigis -- is especially interesting. It would appear that the form naye here has nearly the opposite semantic values (save for the singular/plural dimension) as Standard Swahili homophonous form. It is still not entirely clear whether the selection between analytic and synthetic constructions -- and the particular concordial agreements of the synthetic form -- was made purely on the basis of the semantic categorization of the referents or whether other factors came into play, e.g., whether the prepositional phrase was a comitative vs. an instrumental construction. As for pronominal post-clitics in general, it would seem that they constitute a fertile field in the investigation of non-standard Swahili forms. The investigation of the widespread use in spoken Swahili of Class One concord -ye as opposed to the Class Nine concord -yo might prove especially interesting.

In closing this discussion of pidgin and intermediate forms found in the written Swahili of Standard Seven schoolchildren in Lumbwa, one notes that use of an invariable adjective as an adverb of manner -- without the adverbial prefix vi- -- was restricted to three students, one of them a male Kikuyu and the other two Kipsigis. It would appear that this feature also, widespread in the spoken Swahili of Lumbwa, is also a shibboleth in the classroom.

In closing this discussion of non-standard forms in the written Swahili of the Standard Seven pupils, it should be pointed out that nearly all of the forms and constructions mentioned have been heard by the writer in the spoken Swahili of Lumbwa, on the interview tapes, or in both contexts.²⁸ In three instances, however, forms were manifested by a number of students on the written tests which the writer cannot clearly recall having heard in the spoken language in Lumbwa. First, the -mu- second-person plural object-marker, used by more than a third of the students. Second, the non-standard forms used for the past and present hypothetical moods -- especially the form -ngeli-. Third, the relative possessive construction with the infix particle -na- in place of the standard copula -li-, e.g., mnayo X (for Standard Swahili mlio na X, "you [pl.] who have X"). This is not to say that such forms or constructions do not exist in the spoken language; it is only to say that their existence in spoken varieties of Swahili in Lumbwa must be demonstrated.

As may be seen from the preceding discussion, almost all the forms and constructions found in Kenya Pidgin Swahili may be found at least occasionally in intermediate varieties as well -- even in written Swahili. This is even clearer in the case of the taped interviews, where the apparent gaps between speakers of intermediate varieties and those of "pure" pidgin Swahili are not at all apparent. For example, the use of conjugated forms of the -ko copula in the written intermediate varieties contrasts with the use of the invariable copula iko by "pure" pidgin speakers. On the tapes, however, one can hear the form iko used at least occasionally by speakers of rather standard varieties

of Swahili -- particularly as an existential locative predicative form corresponding to Standard Swahili kuna ("there is/are").

Speakers of more heavily pidginized varieties of Swahili -- in particular, Kipsigis with minimal education -- speak forms of Swahili which are distinguishable from "pure" pidgin Swahili mainly in the use of at least some of the Standard Swahili subject-markers and tense/aspect markers, though even these are often used together with pidgin forms. One speaker, for instance, consistently used pidgin forms such as mi-, si-, we-, and wao in place of their Standard Swahili counterparts ni-, tu-, u-, and wa- as subject-markers when the verb-form contained the tense/aspect marker -na-, but used the standard forms with other forms of the verb. It seems in this case as though the individual used the pidgin forms in those contexts which at least superficially resembled the pidgin construction of pronoun-plus-dummy marker na- described earlier, but used the standard subject-markers in other environments, environments which had no parallel in "pure" pidgin Swahili. A tendency to use the pidgin forms with verb forms containing -na- seems to exist among other individuals as well, but the data are not conclusive. The reader will recall, however, that the use of the pidgin zero subject-marker in the written data also occurred only with verb forms containing the tense/aspect marker -na-.

One conclusion which may perhaps be drawn from all this is that it is not enough to say whether certain non-standard forms exist or not in the speech of an individual, or even to quantify the occurrence of the non-standard forms in relations to their standard counterparts in that individual's speech. The precise grammatical environments must

also be specified, a point made strongly by Bickerton,²⁹ otherwise the complementary distribution of standard and non-standard forms might be seen only as the product of random occurrence, with both standard and non-standard forms having a (possibly quantifiable) possibility of occurrence in all the relevant grammatical environments.

Another characteristic of at least some "borderline" pidgin Swahili speakers besides at least occasional use of pidgin forms for verbal subject-markers is the use of non-standard negative subject-markers, particularly a form of the Class One (or occasionally Class Nine) negative subject-marker which is apparently generalizable to all persons of the verb., e.g., hakupata (for Standard Swahili sikupata, "I did not get") or haijakwenda (for Standard Swahili hawajakwenda, "they have not gone"). One may recall also the similar use of ha- as an apparent invariable negative subject-marker by a number of Kipsigis students in our discussion of non-standard forms in written Swahili. A good deal more evidence should be gathered on this point, however, before any conclusions can be drawn as to the grammatical status of these apparently invariable negative subject-markers.

The question of concordial agreements in intermediate varieties of Swahili -- both spoken and written -- is a complex one, as one may imagine from the discussion earlier of non-standard concords in the written Swahili of the Standard Seven pupils. One notes in general in both the written and spoken varieties of Swahili a tendency to generalize Class Nine concords to referents of other classes -- even animate -- which reflects the invariable Class Nine agreements of Kenya Pidgin Swahili. Some Kipsigis seem to show an opposite tendency -- noted above

for written Swahili -- to generalize Class One and Class Two (animate) concords to inanimate referents. One notes a further tendency to use singular concords -- particularly of Class Nine -- with plural referents. Nevertheless, the picture is rather confused. As mentioned above, a considerable number of students used a different class concord in the subject-marker of a positive verb-form from that used in the negative verb-form for the same referent in the same sentence; no consistent pattern emerged, however, in the forms used. It is possible that a good deal of intra-personal variation is occurring, particularly for speakers who have not yet mastered the standard concord system. For instance, one male Kipsigis speaker recorded showed surprising variation in the concords employed for particular noun classes -- often different concords were used at different times for the same noun. For example, he used Class One concords for Class Nine referents, e.g., biashara wao (for Standard Swahili biashara yao, "their trade") or kazi gani ndani yake anaweza fanywa (for Standard Swahili kazi gani inayoweza kufanywa ndani yake, "what work could be done in there?"). On the other hand, he used Class Nine concords for Class One or Class Two referents, e.g., mtoto ... ijue kiswahili ... (for Standard Swahili mtoto ... ajue kiswahili, "so that the child ... may know Swahili"), or (watoto) ifundishwe (for Standard Swahili (watoto) wafundishwe, "so that the children might be taught"). In virtually the same sentence he used the Class Nine and the Class One subject-markers for the Class One noun mtoto ("child"); similarly, the Class Nine and Class One subject-markers were each used on different occasions with the Class Two pronominal referent wengine ("some [people]"). Whether such intra-personal variation is charac-

teristic for other speakers of more pidginized intermediate varieties of Swahili is not at all clear, however.

Hypercorrect forms seem to occur only sporadically -- even in the written data, as we have noted. The one widespread hypercorrect form noted was the verb-stem -pea (for Standard Swahili -pa, "give"), which has been given a directive form to match its ditransitive function. Some non-standard forms may be due to a reaction to the generalization of Class Nine concords noted earlier. For instance, one male Luo speaker on an interview tape used Class Ten (plural) relative concordial agreements for a Class Four (plural) referent, e.g., miaka sita zilizopita (for Standard Swahili miaka sita iliyopita, "six years ago"). One explanation may be that since the Class Four concords were indistinguishable from Class Nine (singular) concords, the speaker sought at one and the same time to indicate unambiguously the fact that the referent was plural, and also to avoid a stigmatized form.

A similar reaction to stigmatized forms may explain the use of Class One concords in place of the standard Class Nine and Ten concords in other contexts. For instance, one notes the occurrence of such forms as the following in the recorded speech of several individuals:

- anaye (for Standard Swahili anayo, "he has it")
- naye (for Standard Swahili nayo, "with it")
- ambaye (for Standard Swahili ambazo, "which [inanimate, pl.]")

Such a phenomenon may help explain the generalization of the Class One form -ye noted earlier, particularly as a post-clitic.

Regarding ethnic markedness, the only clear case of ethnic markedness known to the investigator which has to do with the grammar, rather than the phonology, of Swahili, is the use of the subject-marker a- for the first person singular, especially in past-tense verb-forms, by Kipsigis speakers of "borderline" pidgin Swahili. This is apparent interference from the pronominal usage in the Kipsigis language, since the subject-marker of the first person singular, also prefixed to the verb, is a- in Kipsigis. Since such forms usually occur without the accompanying pronoun mimi, it would be difficult to maintain that the particle a- is merely the fossilized third person singular subject-marker sometimes found prefixed to the tense or aspect marker in forms of pidgin Swahili.³⁰ The Kikuyu subject-marker for the third person plural (ma-) was consistently substituted for its Swahili counterpart in the intermediate variety of Swahili used by an older Kikuyu woman interviewed, but her case was perhaps atypical. Use of the subject-marker /o-/ for the Swahili second person singular by certain Luyia may constitute another case of ethnic markedness in the grammar, but it is not certain whether it could not be regarded as a phonological phenomenon with equal justice.

One example of a grammatical form which is apparently sexually marked -- at least in written Swahili -- is the past or present hypothetical form -ngeli- mentioned earlier, which was used by a full third of the students, nearly all male. More information should be gathered on this form, particularly since examples have not yet been attested from spoken Swahili.

Before closing this discussion of variation in the spoken Swahili of Lumbwa, it seems appropriate to make a few brief remarks on lexical variation in Lumbwa. If one may avoid the complex area of the meanings of lexical items and concentrate only on the forms of the lexical items, one may make a number of tentative generalizations. First, incorporation of lexical items from local vernaculars is minimal, despite occasional assertions to the contrary. There are a few items -- mainly from Kikuyu -- which are apparently used by children growing up in the town. One lexical item in particular which this writer has heard used by a number of Kipsigis is the term ndau ("young calf") borrowed from Kikuyu, which has apparently replaced its Standard Swahili counterpart, ndama. Since young Kipsigis often first acquire Swahili while herding cattle together with young Kikuyu on local European farms, it is not surprising that such a Kikuyu term comes to be a characteristic lexical item in the spoken Swahili of local Kipsigis. Second, incorporation of English lexical items does not seem to extend much beyond those items encountered in the Standard Swahili generally spoken in up-country Kenya, especially those varieties heard on the Voice of Kenya radio service. Certainly more pidginized varieties of Swahili spoken in Lumbwa do not seem to be markedly more anglicized than their more standard counterparts, particularly when the setting and the topic are largely the same. Nevertheless, degree of anglicization in the varieties of spoken Swahili in Lumbwa, however, is a matter which deserves a systematic investigation.

There are two phenomena which occur with verb stems, which seem to be of special interest. The first is the dropping of the initial

syllable of the stem in the case of certain lexical items, e.g. -sirika (for Standard Swahili -kasirika, "be (come) angry") or -sanya (for Standard Swahili -kusanya, "collect, gather [tr]"). Both items are widespread in the spoken Swahili of Lumbwa; in the written Swahili tests, each of the two forms was used by about a third of the students. In the case of the second stem mentioned, it is possible that the initial syllable of the standard form has been reinterpreted as the infinitival prefix ku-.

The other phenomenon is the prefixing of an apparently fossilized object-marker to a verb-stem, e.g., -mambia (for Standard Swahili -ambia, "tell") or -nipa³¹ (for Standard Swahili -pa, "give"). Such forms are much less widespread and apparently confined to the more pidginized varieties of Swahili.

A common phenomenon, the result of ethnic markedness, is the phonological distortion of Standard Swahili lexical items -- sometimes beyond easy recognition -- e.g., -ongocha and -gonja, forms given by Kipsigis students on the written test for Standard Swahili -ngoja, "wait."³²

Two cases of a double-prefix on nouns occurred in the tape-recorded corpus, e.g., mamiji (for Standard Swahili miji, "towns") and wavijana (for Standard Swahili vijana, "youths"). The first form, used by a male Luo head clerk, contains a Class Six nominal prefix prefixed to the standard Class Four nominal prefix. The second form, used by a male Kipsigis schoolteacher, has a Class Two nominal prefix prefixed to the standard Class Eight nominal prefix.

Such, then, in broad outline, is the nature of variation in the spoken Swahili of Lumbwa, insofar as it is shown by the written and tape-recorded data analyzed so far.

CHAPTER V

PERCEPTION OF LINGUISTIC FEATURES IN SPOKEN SWAHILI BY LUMBWA SCHOOL CHILDREN

We have discussed the main features associated with the dimension of ethnic markedness and the dimension of pidginization. The question may now be raised: "How are such features perceived by Lumbwa townspeople?" A short test was devised and administered to selected grades of school children in both the primary and the secondary schools in order to test their perception of ethnically marked features, as well as features associated with pidginization. The purpose was not only to see how well various subgroups of the school-age population could identify members of particular ethnic, occupational, and educational categories by such features, but also to see what correlations lay in pupils' minds between perceived linguistic features and social categories or stereotypes. Unfortunately, so far only the results for the Standard Seven pupils have been analyzed. Since this is the same group of pupils whose written Swahili was discussed earlier, however, their responses to the test may be of special interest. A slightly larger number of pupils completed the speech identification questionnaire (54 pupils) than completed the translation test for written Swahili (48 pupils),¹ but the ratios of the sex and ethnic groups remained roughly the same for both questionnaires.

In the speech identification test, students were given instructions in both Swahili and English. They were told that the purpose of the test was to see how well students could identify the ethnic group ("tribe"), the occupation, and the level of education attained by a person merely by hearing his or her taped voice speaking Swahili. A number of ethnic, occupational, and educational categories were suggested, both to give examples of the kind of response desired and to stimulate the imagination of the pupils, and also to help pre-codify responses -- especially as to level of education attained. A (roughly) 30-second segment of tape was then played for the pupils (as practice) and repeated. The pupils were then encouraged to respond orally with their guesses as to the ethnic group, occupation, and level of education of the speaker. The speaker was then identified as one of the teachers in the primary school.

Following the practice elicitation, the students were told to listen to the next 11 speakers on the tape and to make their guesses in writing -- without consulting their fellow pupils. They were also told that if they managed to identify a particular speaker, they should write in his or her name as well. This last measure was calculated to eliminate those students who were acquainted with the speaker and recognized his or her voice, and thus were able to identify the social characteristics from personal knowledge. Taped segments of natural, unrehearsed Swahili conversation² of roughly 30 seconds' duration were played and repeated for each of the eleven individuals to be identified; each individual was clearly identified by a number and care was taken

so that the numbers of the different individuals would not be confused by the students. The topic of conversation on the tapes -- the best way to learn "safi" ("pure") Swahili -- was held constant for all speakers; care was taken that the segments contained no contextual information which would help identify the individual.

The individuals on the taped segments included a wide variety of ethnic groups:³ a Luo, a Luyia (Isukha), three Kikuyu, three Kipsigis, a Kisii, an Asian, and an Englishwoman. The Englishwoman was the only woman included among the taped speakers. A wide spectrum of occupations was represented by the speakers, from the lowest ranks of Lumbwa's occupational hierarchy to the highest ranks. The range of education similarly ranged from "hana elimu" ("no schooling") to "elimu ya juu" ("university and beyond"). The three Kikuyu and the three Kipsigis especially were selected to represent the lowest and the highest occupational and educational levels at which members of these groups -- so numerous in the local area -- may be found.

The kinds of Swahili heard on the segments likewise tend to represent the extremes of ethnic markedness and of pidginization. As one might expect, the two individuals who speak the most standard varieties of Swahili speak the least ethnically marked Swahili of all the individuals taped. One of the two individuals, a university-educated Kikuyu agricultural officer, retains the dental /t/ of the Kikuyu and Kipsigis speakers, but the other individual, a Kipsigis assistant stationmaster with three years' work experience in Tanzania, has eliminated even this feature from his speech. All

the other speakers speak varieties of Swahili which are heavily marked ethnically. Two individuals, however, a Kikuyu and a Kipsigis, do not manifest certain key ethnically marked features in the course of their 30-second segments; as we shall see later, students had difficulty assigning these two individuals to their proper ethnic group. The Kikuyu individual -- a casual laborer -- manifests the flapped /l/ and the dental /t/ characteristic of Kikuyu speakers of Swahili, but exhibits no problems with nasal consonants before voiced stops: his speech is therefore not very different in terms of segmental phonemes from that of the Kisii individual or of the Luyia (Isukha) individual. Similarly, the speech of the Kipsigis individual -- a young ex-shopkeeper -- manifests the dental /t/ and bilabial /f/, but only one example of a devoiced consonant -- one which is perhaps not very audible -- and no examples of any problems with the phoneme /h/.⁴ In terms of segmental phonemes, it is difficult to distinguish him also from the individuals mentioned above.

In terms of pidginization, the Englishwoman, the Asian individual, the Luo individual, and one of the Kipsigis speak clearly pidginized varieties of Swahili. An intermediate variety Swahili with abundant pidgin features is spoken by the Luyia individual while a similar variety is also spoken by one of the Kikuyu -- a church warden. Less pidginized varieties are spoken by the Kikuyu casual laborer and the Kipsigis ex-shopkeeper mentioned above, and by the Kisii individual. Standard Swahili is spoken by the Kikuyu agricultural officer and the Kipsigis assistant stationmaster mentioned earlier.

The test results were interesting. First, more students recognized and named the speakers than anticipated. Second, many students seemed to know the speaker though they did not know his or her name; such students usually gave unusually accurate descriptions of a person's particular place of work, usually naming the specific company or agency. This second category proved rather troublesome, since it was not clear whether such students had recognized the speaker or not. When results were tabulated, such students were lumped with the first group and eliminated from consideration. Thus, only the scores of those students who had guessed correctly but were apparently not acquainted with the speaker and those who did not guess correctly were tabulated.

In terms of identifying the speaker's ethnic group, the speakers with the greatest ethnic markedness -- and who were members of the most numerous ethnic groups in Lumbwa -- were by far most easily identified.⁵ The two elderly Kipsigis and Kikuyu individuals who manifested the most ethnically marked Swahili of their ethnic groups among the taped speakers were identified ethnically by 100 percent and by 83.25 percent of the students, respectively. The Luo, whose Swahili was as ethnically marked as one could expect Luo Swahili to be, was recognized by 92.5 percent of the students. Speakers of the less numerous ethnic groups in Lumbwa, however, were not nearly so easily identified, though their Swahili was at least as ethnically marked. The Kisii individual was recognized by only 35.5 percent of the students, the Asian by 35.75 percent of the students, and the

Englishwoman ("European") by only 32 percent of the students. The Luyia (Isukha) individual was recognized by only 14 percent of the students. The Kikuyu casual laborer mentioned above who did not manifest key Kikuyu-marked features was also recognized by a mere 14.75 percent of the students. In fact, he was identified as a Luyia by seven of the eight Luyia students, by ten of the 15 male Kikuyu, by four of the seven female Kikuyu, and by nine of the 14 male Kipsigis. The Kipsigis ex-shopkeeper mentioned above who likewise did not manifest certain key Kipsigis-marked features, however, was identified as Kipsigis by 29.5 percent of the students. However, in his case also, half of the male Kipsigis students identified him as a Luyia, while over half (eight) of the male Kikuyu students identified him as a Kikuyu. It would appear from the cases of the last two individuals that members of a given ethnic group do not necessarily have the advantage in recognizing members of their own group speaking Swahili.

The two individuals with the least ethnic markedness -- the Kipsigis and Kikuyu speakers of Standard Swahili -- show interesting differences in the degree to which they were successfully identified. The Kipsigis individual with no trace of ethnic markedness was identified by only 15 percent of the students -- hardly better than in the cases of the Luyia individual or the Kikuyu individual mentioned earlier who failed to manifest certain key features. In the case of the Kikuyu speaker of Standard Swahili, who retained dental /t/, 20.25 percent of the students identified him as a Kikuyu.

Though it would be difficult to test the figures for statistical validity, drawn as they are from such a small population of

respondents, it might nevertheless be useful to draw some tentative conclusions from the percentages given above. First, the ethnically marked Swahili of members of the largest ethnic groups is most easily identifiable by school children; presumably the children's exposure to such varieties of Swahili is quantitatively greater. Second, a number of key ethnically marked features must be simultaneously present in the speech of an individual for him or her to be successfully categorized; some kind of "profile" or configuration of features must be discernible in order for the speaker to be distinguished from speakers of other ethnic groups. Otherwise, ethnically marked features shared between ethnic groups may only confound the hearer. Third, persons of the speaker's ethnic group are not necessarily more adept at recognizing the speaker of their own group than are persons of other ethnic groups, especially when the speech of the speaker is not clearly marked by a full configuration of ethnic features. Fourth, the "etic" characterizations of the linguist as to what constitute the diagnostic features of ethnically marked speech need to be checked against the "emic" systems actually employed by people in categorizing people by their speech. Widely accepted shibboleths may be misleading as indications of features actually employed by people in such categorization: thus, the failure to distinguish between Standard Swahili /l/ and /r/, often cited as a key feature of Kikuyu-marked Swahili, was of no help in identifying the Kikuyu casual laborer mentioned earlier from the Kisii or the Luyia. On the other hand, despite the closeness of the phonemic systems of Luo and Swahili, students had

little trouble in identifying Luo-marked Swahili. Certainly features other than segmental phonemes must have been taken into account in that case, but just what features these were remains unclear.

As for identifying the occupation and the level of education attained, a simpler procedure was followed. First, two individuals who represented widely differing degrees of pidginization but who showed least ethnic markedness were selected for analysis. This was to ensure that considerations of the speaker's ethnicity would not bias judgements of his or her occupational and educational status. The two individuals selected were the Kikuyu casual laborer and the Kipsigis assistant stationmaster. The Kikuyu had had no schooling, while the Kipsigis had had formal schooling to Standard Seven and government training beyond that point.

Next, student responses were coded into those broad categories thought most useful by the investigator. The categories used for tabulation of occupations included:

- I. Manual Worker (including mkulima ["farmer"], mfanya kazi ya mikono ["manual worker"], and kibarua ["casual laborer"])
- II. Trader (mfanya biashara)
- III. Preacher (mhubiri)
- IV. Clerical/Professional Worker (including karani ["clerk"], mwaliimu ["teacher"], bwana mkubwa wa kampuni ["business executive"], and afisa wa serikali ["officer of the government"]).

Broad categories used for categorization of speakers by level of education attained⁶ included:

- A. Hana elimu ("no schooling")
- B. Standard Four
- C. Standard Seven
- D. Form Two
- E. Form Four
- F. Elimu ya juu ("university or beyond")

Examining first the figures for occupational categorizing,⁷ it was found useful to exclude responses in categories II and III from consideration. The reason for this was that a broad range of varieties of Swahili, extending from pidgin Swahili to Standard Swahili, could be characteristic of a trader, depending on the nature and size of the commercial business. Similarly, preachers can -- and do -- speak varieties of Swahili, extending from intermediate varieties to Standard Swahili, depending on the individual and on the nature of the ministry. Furthermore, a number of individuals in Lumbwa who may be considered as belonging to other occupational categories are part-time traders, part-time preachers, or both.

Hence, little clear indication of the association of specific varieties of Swahili with specific levels of the occupational hierarchy⁸ in Lumbwa could be expected from such categories. Only the figures for Categories I (Manual Worker) and IV (Clerical/Professional Worker) were therefore examined for correlation of degree of pidginization and level of the occupational hierarchy.

Figures for the Kikuyu casual laborer show that nearly half of the students (49 percent) identified him as a manual worker. A quarter of the students (25.5 percent), however, identified him as a clerical/professional worker, which would be unlikely but certainly possible.⁹ Figures for the Kipsigis assistant stationmaster, on the other hand, show that over two-thirds of the students (68.5 percent) identified him as a clerical/professional worker, while less than a fifth (17 percent) identified him as a manual worker. Clearly, more standard varieties of Swahili are generally associated with higher levels of the occupational hierarchy.

As for the figures for categorizing the level of education attained,¹⁰ figures for the Kikuyu casual laborer show that a fifth of the students (21.75 percent) guessed that he had had no schooling, another fifth (21.75 percent) that he had reached Standard Four, and over a third (34.75 percent) that he had reached Standard Seven. Another 10.75 percent of the students guessed that he had reached Form Two, while yet another 10.75 percent guessed that he had attained Form Four or higher. In short, over three-quarters of the students guessed that he had attained no more than Standard Seven schooling, while nearly half (43.5 percent) guessed that he had no schooling beyond Standard Four.

As for the Kipsigis assistant stationmaster, over a fifth of the students (22.25 percent) guessed that he had at least a Standard Seven education, almost a quarter (24.5 percent) that he had completed Form Two, 15.5 percent that he had completed Form Four, and nearly a

quarter (24.5 percent) that he had at least university-level education. Thus, well over three-quarters of the students (86.75 percent) thought that the speaker had attained a Standard Seven education or above. Only a single individual guessed that he had completed only Standard Four, while some five students (11 percent of the total) guessed that he had had no schooling.

In sum, though the level of education tends to be overestimated for both the Kikuyu and the Kipsigis speaker, there is no doubt as to the clear positive correlation between higher levels of education and more standard varieties of Swahili in the minds of the students.

Turning now to the students themselves, let us now look at the abilities of the different groups of students to perceive ethnic differences in spoken Swahili and to associate varieties of Swahili characterized by varying degrees of pidginization with occupations and levels of education. Since, in the previous chapter, we had an opportunity to observe differences in the students' written Swahili, now we will have the opportunity to compare such differences with differences of perception in virtually the same groups of students.

Examining first the perception of ethnic differences, we note that the (male) Luo scored highest, with guesses that were correct 52.5 percent of the time. Female Kikuyu scored next highest (46.5 percent) while (male) Luyia trailed at 40.5 percent. Male Kikuyu and male Kipsigis came close behind at 38.5 percent each, while female Kipsigis did poorest (33.25 percent). Thus, in comparison to the figures for phonologically-related errors in written Swahili, one

sees here that the Luo are doing unusually well and that the Luyia are not doing very well. Female Kikuyu have lost first place to the Luo, and the Luyia are close to being overtaken by the male Kikuyu and the male Kipsigis, who are now tied for fourth place. The female Kipsigis hold last place, as before. Thus, though the relationships between the groups have shifted in this second set of figures, reversals in ranking have not occurred with the exception of the female Kikuyu and the Luo.

Going on to the figures for occupational and educational categorization, however, the differences between female Kikuyu, Luo, and Luyia on the one hand, and male Kikuyu, male Kipsigis, and female Kipsigis on the other hand, once again reappear. If we restrict ourselves to the clearly "wrong guesses," the differences will be seen with especial clarity. For instance, of the 25.5 percent of the students who guessed that the Kikuyu casual laborer was a clerical/professional worker, every student was either male Kikuyu, male Kipsigis, or female Kipsigis. Again, of the 21.5 percent of the students who guessed that the Kikuyu speaker had higher than a Standard Seven education, all except one student -- a Luyia -- were male Kikuyu, male Kipsigis, or female Kipsigis.

As for the Kipsigis assistant stationmaster, of the 17 percent who guessed that he had had no schooling, all were male Kikuyu or male Kipsigis, except for a single Luyia. Here, however, three of the four female Kipsigis who guessed his occupation guessed correctly. As for his level of education attained, of the six individuals who

guessed that he had either no schooling or had completed only Standard Four, all were male Kikuyu, male Kipsigis, or female Kipsigis.

Clearly, then, Luo, Luyia, and female Kikuyu show a generally keener appreciation of the positive correlation between more standard varieties of Swahili on the one hand and higher occupational and educational levels on the other hand than do male Kikuyu, male Kipsigis, or female Kipsigis. Whether such awareness is a result of their greater facility with Standard Swahili or whether their greater facility stems from greater awareness and hence greater motivation to master Standard Swahili is not yet clear.

A final question was asked of the students following the speech identification test: is it better to speak Swahili without an ethnic accent, or is it better to speak Swahili with an accent so that people will know of what tribe you are? Though many Kipsigis students seem not to have understood the question, the response of the students as a whole was overwhelmingly in favor of speaking Swahili without any ethnic markedness. Only two students -- a Luo and a male Kikuyu -- thought it best to preserve one's accent, if I have interpreted their responses correctly. The most widespread reasons given for suppressing ethnic markedness were:

- (a) for intelligibility
- (b) to show respect for the nation
- (c) to avoid tribalism

More negative reasons given were:

- (a) avoiding ethnic favoritism at work
- (b) avoiding vilification as a member of a given ethnic group when in a hostile area
- (c) avoiding being killed because of one's ethnic affiliations

Clearly, then, to the overwhelming majority of Standard Seven students, mastering Standard Swahili means mastering the standard phonology as well.

CHAPTER VI

SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN LUMBWA: STRATEGIES, MOTIVATIONS, AND ACQUISITION PATTERNS

Learning another language besides one's own vernacular is the rule in Lumbwa. At the very least, a person must know some form of Swahili to participate in town life. Beyond Swahili, a person with any desire for formal schooling must sooner or later acquire a reasonable proficiency in English since the medium of instruction in both the local schools is English. Beyond Swahili and English, learning another language -- nearly always another African vernacular -- is entirely at each individual's discretion. For this reason, acquisition of vernaculars other than one's own is of special interest since many subtleties of individual and town life may be revealed through patterns of second-vernacular acquisition.

One may divide language learning into two types: (1) formal instruction within the school classroom; and (2) informal language acquisition outside the classroom. English and the more standard varieties of Swahili may be seen as falling squarely within the first category. Intermediate and pidgin varieties of Swahili, as well as all the vernaculars, may be seen as falling into the second category. Informal language acquisition may be further subdivided into two categories: (1) casual acquisition from peers, with friendship as the prime motivation; and (2) deliberate, systematic acquisition from willing speakers

of the target language, with a much more pragmatic motivation. The first category is characteristic of language acquisition patterns among children in Lumbwa, while the second is characteristic of adults in Lumbwa -- primarily shopkeepers and secondarily preachers and catechists.

Formal language instruction within the classroom, insofar as it has to do with English, is perhaps best mentioned only in passing since the topic is complex and a bit distant from the main focus of this paper -- the learning of an African trade language in a multi-lingual African context. Formal instruction in Swahili, however, which was described briefly in Chapter III, deserves, on the other hand, a more detailed treatment.

As mentioned in Chapter III, formal instruction in both English and Swahili begins in Standard One. Though English is now the medium of instruction, Swahili is taught as a subject and, in addition, is used as an auxiliary language in the lower primary grades to explain more difficult concepts in English to those children who already have a working knowledge of Swahili. As for the children themselves, most children who come from the township itself already have at least a rudimentary knowledge of Swahili -- usually of the less standard varieties. Kipsigis children from the surrounding hinterland may have little or no knowledge of Swahili. Until recently, Kipsigis children of up to 12 or 14 years of age were strongly discouraged from wandering near the township or from developing a fluency in Swahili, since both towns and Swahili are associated in Kipsigis'

minds with the erosion of traditional values -- an association shared by other ethnic groups as well.¹ Such children are apparently now sent to a nursery school (násari) for one or two years, until they have learned the rudiments of Swahili. Then they are placed by their parents in the primary school.

As mentioned in Chapter III, children recently arrived from the reserves constitute the most serious problem in the lower primary grades, since they come with neither English nor Swahili. As mentioned earlier, they may acquire the rudiments of English and Swahili through being paired off with a Swahili and/or English-speaking co-ethnic. Even when the rudiments of Swahili have been mastered, however, such students are often the butt of ridicule from students raised in the township, ever ready to point out the lack of facility in Swahili demonstrated by their "country cousins." At this point, advanced learners of Swahili are often separated from beginners in the same grade; the advanced speakers of Swahili are set some task which keeps them both entertained and productively occupied, while the teacher concentrates on the learning problems of the slower pupils. In the area of teaching literacy in Swahili, however, the problem between slow and fast learners of Swahili is considerably muted since some of the most fluent speakers of Swahili may have serious reading problems, while the less fluent may demonstrate greater reading skills.

By the time the students reach Standard Seven, they generally have few serious problems in speaking, understanding, reading, or writing Swahili, though non-Bantu students (Luo or Kipsigis) still

tend to have a greater share of problems with Swahili. Few students -- if any -- recently arrived from the reserves are encountered in a Standard Seven class; nearly all the students have studied at the primary school for the preceding four or five years. When a newcomer from a reserve does enroll in a Standard Seven class, however, he or she constitutes a serious problem for the teacher of Swahili.

At the secondary school, pupils from the township school, whether Bantu or non-Bantu, are outstanding in Swahili in relation to students educated in other schools. As for the other students, who come from a wide area of western Kenya, the Luo and the Kipsigis have the most serious problems with Swahili. Luyia and Kikuyu students not only speak vernaculars related to Swahili, i.e., Bantu languages, but also have made some use of Swahili in their areas of origin. Luo and Kipsigis, on the other hand, speak vernaculars completely unrelated to Swahili and, furthermore, have often made little use of Swahili in their reserve areas.

Pupils who come to the secondary school with little preparation in Swahili must be taught the rudiments of the language in a manner not very different from that of a teacher of Swahili in the lower primary grades. A Form One -- or even Form Two -- Swahili class usually, therefore, constitutes an extremely difficult teaching situation, with the extremes of proficiency in Swahili represented in the classroom population, and all the intermediate levels of proficiency as well. The teacher of Swahili in Form One or Form Two must, therefore, entertain and occupy the advanced learners of Swahili while he

or she imparts the rudiments of the language to the beginners in hopeful preparation for the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination at the end of their second year of secondary school. The problem with the beginners is twofold: helping to foster a motivation for learning Swahili (often weak) and practical drilling of essential points of grammar.

By the time students have reached Form Three and Form Four, however, such problems have largely subsided and students may settle into a more comfortable routine of reading, composition, and translation exercises (from Swahili to English and from English to Swahili).

Problems with instructional materials constitute a serious problem in both the primary and the secondary school. Sheer lack of textbooks is the main problem in the primary school; in the lower primary grades, a single copy may have to be shared among 50 to 80 students. At the secondary school, Ashton's grammar of Swahili (Ashton [1947]) is not suitable for ready-reference by the teacher of Swahili, and no other suitable grammar exists for higher levels of Swahili. In the area of reading materials as well, dialect material in such works as the autobiography of Tippu Tib or the non-literary or colloquial register of Swahili used in such works as Hekaya za Abunuwas constitute problems in the grading and selection of materials suitable for secondary students.

Motivation for learning Swahili does not seem to be a problem in the primary school. The Swahili period is meant to be a period of relaxation and enjoyment of the language. Pupils in the lower primary grades are encouraged to recite vernacular folktales in Swahili,

while older pupils are encouraged to read whatever they enjoy reading from among the books -- fiction or nonfiction -- available at school.

It seems that fluency and a love for the language, rather than careful approximation to the norms of the standard language, are the prime goals of the primary school. It is all the more fitting, therefore, that the level of competence in Standard Swahili demonstrated by the ^{**}teacher of Swahili tends to rise (though not in a one-to-one correlation) as one moves from the lowest primary grades to the upper primary and secondary grades. The teacher of Swahili in Standard Four and Five of the primary school, for instance, is a speaker of the intermediate variety of Swahili; however, this is precisely what the more advanced pupils in her class speak and probably what the less advanced students are aiming at, despite the prescriptions of the grammar books. She sees her main task as motivating the pupils and helping the less advanced pupils to overcome their timidity in the face of ridicule from more advanced pupils. In such a situation, the niceties of Standard Swahili are best left for later years and other teachers.

In the secondary school, on the other hand, a main focus must not only be on motivating students from the reserves but also on preparing students for the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination, so strong emphasis is placed on acquiring the forms of the standard language in Form One and -- especially -- in Form Two.

Having discussed formal instruction in Swahili, let us now pass on to informal language acquisition outside the classroom. In

the case of casual language acquisition from peers, one can say little of the mode of acquisition; the learner simply learns useful phrases in the target language from his or her friends. When learning Swahili from peers, co-ethnics will act as reference persons in translating often-heard Swahili phrases and idioms. When learning a vernacular however, the child's interaction is usually directly with a speaker of the target language, and the medium of instruction is invariably Swahili. In such cases, children may "trade" their languages to one another, especially in dyadic relationships. In both cases, apparently, a simple stock of greeting formulas and useful phrases is the beginning-- and perhaps the end -- of the learning process.

In the case of deliberate, systematic language acquisition, however, the relationship between the language learner and the language tutor is not unlike that between a linguist and his informant. In that case, a speaker of the target language is looked upon as a linguistic resource so that the learner skillfully extracts what he or she needs to manipulate the forms of the language. In such a view -- most characteristic of shopkeepers -- both the informant and the language are means to other ends: one extracts the forms of the language from the informant through cleverness and skill and one then uses the language as a means of attracting customers to one's shop, or some other social end. In one of the most explicit schemata for language learning given the investigator by individuals in Lumbwa, a shopkeeper outlined his method for learning a vernacular from customers. First, he listens carefully to the conversation of others. He notes greetings made in a given vernacular to himself or others and then

asks for explanations of greeting formulas or translation equivalents of them. He continues his habit of eavesdropping on conversations in the vernacular and tries to get the gist of the conversation. He notes carefully the phrases used by monolingual customers as they point out the items they want. Since, as mentioned in Chapter III, such customers are often accompanied by a Swahili-speaking co-ethnic, learning key phrases is often easy. After a couple of days, he compiles a list of stock phrases for use with customers. The bits of the language learned initially include:

- (a) greeting formulas and forms for respectful address;
- (b) names of items sold in the shops;
- (c) terms for measurement, i.e., weights, quantities, numbers;
- (d) instrumental phrases particularly useful to merchants -- particularly the interrogative frames such as "Do you want 'X'?", along with their declarative counterparts used by the customers.

The shopkeeper in question tries to master the phonology of the language as well -- a reflection of the general pride felt by African learners of vernaculars in general in Lumbwa in being able to speak another's vernacular so well as to pass for a member of that ethnic group.

From such beginnings, the shopkeeper may make deeper inroads into the language, developing a line of pleasant patter to better win the customer. Here, as mentioned above in Chapter III, the line between

personal and transactional relations between shopkeeper and customer begins to blur a bit.

Not all adult language learning, however, is as instrumental in motivation or as programmed in mode of acquisition as the scheme just outlined. An adult may simply have an affection for a vernacular or for the ethnic group which speaks it, and seeks to develop a familiarity with the language over time. For such language learning outside the shop, a very young child is often considered the best of tutors. First, the small child is available for instruction and practice conversation at the language learner's own convenience. Second, the child is naturally inclined to the "direct method" of language instruction and will not tire of pointing out endless objects and naming them in his vernacular. Third, the small child's seemingly inexhaustible patience is also valuable in asking for repetitions of words or phrases: the child is unperturbed when the adult language learner forgets a word or phrase taught only a short time before.

Of course, it goes without saying that the simplicity of the grammatical structure and of the lexicon used by the child tends to provide the adult language learner with perhaps the optimal corpus of language data for a beginner in the language.

Most importantly, however, the child will not be suspicious of the motivations of the language learner in learning a vernacular other than his or her own. With adults, however, impatience with the slow progress of the language learner or with the impositions of the language learner on the informant's free time is often combined with

a suspicious attitude toward adults who wish to develop a firm command of the informant's vernacular. If tensions exist between the ethnic groups to which the learner and the informant belong, respectively, then serious language learning may be discouraged. A certain tension seems to exist, therefore, between wishing to share one's language and culture with others, on the one hand, and wishing to preserve one's language and culture as a semi-private area, where members of one's ethnic group can share information and feelings without being overheard by others.

Having discussed briefly modes of second language acquisition both inside and outside the classroom, let us go on to examine the second language acquisition patterns of both children and adults of the township.

Turning first to Lumbwa schoolchildren, let us examine the results of a number of essays written by Standard Seven schoolchildren. Only 21 students submitted the essays ("Lugha Nizijuazo," "The Languages Which I Know"), which constituted personal language histories, and the essays themselves are often vague on key points; nevertheless, some interesting patterns are discernible in the data. Four male Luo, five male Luyia, five male Kikuyu, four male Kipsigis, and one female Kipsigis, represented the contribution of Lumbwa's main ethnic groups.² In addition, a female Maasai raised as a Kikuyu by Kikuyu foster parents, and a male Nandi contributed essays.

It seems that in the case of all the students, Swahili was learned largely at school, and English entirely so. The Kipsigis students

were unique in that roughly half reported having difficulty with Swahili (and English, of course) on entering school, maintaining that two or three years passed before they developed a rough command of the language; this bears out the stereotypes of Kipsigis children's difficulties with Swahili. As for learning other vernaculars, all of the Kipsigis who had lived in Lumbwa for some time (two male students and a female student) had learned at least some Kikuyu; one Kipsigis in fact enjoyed passing himself off as a Kikuyu among Kikuyu children who were not acquainted with him. Luyia students, also, were strongly inclined to learn other vernaculars. Three reported a knowledge of Kikuyu; one, a "town Luyia," reported that his parents also knew "only Kikuyu" (presumably in addition to Swahili and Luyia). Three reported a knowledge of Luo, two reported a knowledge of Kipsigis, and one reported a knowledge of a little Kisii. Of the four Luo, one reported a knowledge of Kipsigis, while another reported that he was acquiring a substantial proficiency in Luyia at the expense of his own vernacular. In the case of the Kikuyu, one reported having learned a little Luyia and a little Luo through having lived in areas outside Lumbwa where these languages are widely spoken. Another Kikuyu student reported having learned a good deal of Kamba and a little Meru (both Central Bantu languages) through having lived in the town of Nakuru, where he was born and raised. None of the other three Kikuyu, however, reported having learned another vernacular. The Maasai girl who was raised as a Kikuyu reported a knowledge of both Kipsigis and Luyia, while the Nandi boy reported a knowledge of Kikuyu. He also claimed that his father had a knowledge of Kikuyu through living with Kikuyu long ago.

It is difficult to assess the truth of these claims; certainly it is difficult to estimate the degree of proficiency achieved by a given student in a given language. Nevertheless a rather clear picture emerges both of the vernacular most widely learned, and of the language-learning proclivities of the various groups of students.

Kikuyu is certainly the most widely learned second vernacular, with seven students reported having learned some. It is followed by Luo and Kipsigis (with four students each) and then by Luyia (with three students). Kisii, Kamba, and Meru were each learned by no more than a single student. If one refers to census figures on ethnic groups in Lumbwa, the proportions of the vernaculars learned as second languages are roughly equivalent to the proportions of the different ethnic groups in the town's population.

As for the language-learning tendencies of the different groups,³ the Luyia are apparently the most avid learners of other vernaculars; a total of nine instances of second-language acquisition occur among the five Luyia students. In terms of the major vernaculars of Lumbwa, their language-learning efforts have been turned primarily to Kikuyu and Luo (three instances each), and secondarily to Kipsigis (two instances), though perhaps it would be fairer to say (owing to the roughness of the sample) that their efforts were rather well distributed throughout the town's major vernaculars. Of the Kipsigis students, only the three who were apparently raised in Lumbwa added other vernaculars; these three, however, acquired only Kikuyu. The Luo reported even less language learning, with one acquiring Kipsigis and another acquiring Luyia at the

expense of his own vernacular. The Kikuyu reported no language learning in Lumbwa; as we have seen, the two students who reported having acquired vernaculars other than their own stated that they had learned them outside the Lumbwa area.

In sum, then, though the overall pattern of vernaculars learned reflects roughly the numerical strength of the respective ethnic groups in the town's population, the language-learning patterns of the main ethnic groups represented among the students are markedly different. Luyia students show a more or less balanced attitude toward the other main vernaculars, while Kipsigis students, much less avid language-learners, are drawn only to the Kikuyu language. The Kikuyu show little interest in the other vernaculars of the town. One notes particularly the lack of male Kikuyu interest in the Kipsigis language, despite the rather strong interest among Kipsigis students in the Kikuyu language. One may note also that Luyia interest in the Luo language is considerably stronger than the interest of Luo students in the Luyia language.

Surely the figures given immediately above have no statistical validity; they are, however, suggestive of ongoing trends in the town which could bear closer investigation.

As for the circumstances in which other vernaculars are learned, it would appear that within the township children's playgroups are the main area, and often individual playmates and companions are mentioned as tutors over a span of time. In the hinterland, on the European farms, on the other hand, pastures where Kipsigis and Kikuyu children herd together are the most commonly cited areas where children

learn a bit of each other's vernacular. Most often, however, it seems that Swahili is learned and used, rather than the vernaculars, in such common herding activities.⁴

Common motivations for learning other vernaculars are:

- (1) being able to meet one's basic needs when travelling in another ethnic area;
- (2) being able to detect slander directed at one's person in another vernacular;
- (3) being able to overhear plans of members of other ethnic groups to rob or kill one;
- (4) being able to interact with people of other ethnic groups in a mixed ethnic community -- including sweethearts, friends, and elderly people.

Further information on children's language acquisition patterns came from the taped interviews. Nearly all of this information, however, was indirect, since only in one interview session did the children of the household overcome their timidity and give some information on their language learning patterns and those of their peers. Almost all information, therefore, came from adults, most of them male. Furthermore, many of the adults interviewed had either no children as yet, or else children who were just learning to talk. In other cases, the question regarding children's language acquisition had not been asked -- usually through oversight. In sum, then, information on children's language acquisition patterns came only from about a third of the interviewees, and nearly all of it was indirect testimony.

Rather clear patterns emerge from this data, despite its incompleteness. All the children first learned the vernacular of their particular ethnic group, which was in all cases the language of the household. This was often followed soon after by at least the rudiments of Swahili -- always a non-standard variety -- acquired in children's mixed-ethnic playgroups. Later, on entering school, the child received his first instruction in both Standard Swahili and English. Only in one case did a parent report that his child was learning another vernacular;⁵ in that case the child was a three- or four-year-old male Kikuyu who was acquiring the rudiments of Kipsigis from his playmates.

In retrospect, considering both the written data and the data from the taped interviews, it seems as though language behavior in children's playgroups is of special importance. In the only case where the children were interviewed directly, it seems to be the case that acquisition of Swahili is necessary in many cases for extending the range of one's playgroup. In that particular case, alluded to in Chapter III, expanding one's playgroup meant the inclusion of non-Luyia playmates. This, in turn, meant acquiring Swahili and not using the Luyia they had already learned -- at least while among their playmates. For that reason, as mentioned earlier, the father of the children was concerned over the possible loss of the vernacular over time.

Regarding the language acquisition patterns of adults, we must rely entirely on the data derived from the thirty-five tape-recorded interviews. Full interviews were conducted, and all the data analyzed, in the cases of 26 of these individuals. These included five

male Luo, five male Luyia, one female Luyia, six male Kikuyu, one female Kikuyu, seven male Kipsigis, and one female Kipsigis. Partial interviews were conducted with six other individuals: one female Luo, two female Luyia, one male Luyia, one female Kikuyu, and one female Kipsigis. Partial analyses of full interviews were made in order to get specific information in the cases of the remaining three individuals: one male Luyia, and two male Kipsigis.⁶ Further information was obtained from nearly all of the married men on the linguistic repertoires of their wives and, as mentioned above, of their children.

As mentioned earlier, the individuals and their families represented only the four main ethnic groups of Lumbwa, were overwhelmingly male, and represented rather fairly the whole range of educational and occupational categories within the township. All the respondents spoke Swahili only during the interview, since, as mentioned in Chapter I, this was a condition of the interview. In general, the lower the individual's position on the occupational and educational scales, the more non-standard his or her Swahili. Admittedly, this is only a subjective evaluation, since no objective mode of rating the variety of Swahili spoken by the different individuals could be readily found.

Turning first to the question of how these individuals and the members of their household acquired their knowledge of Swahili, we find that the respondents fall into two groups: those born and raised in the reserves, and those raised on European farms with a mixed ethnic population. Males in the first group with little or no education acquired their first knowledge of Swahili only after leaving the reserve in late adolescence to seek work outside, often as a tea-plucker but

also as a kitchen-boy in a European household. Three of the four individuals who did such kitchen work reported learning their first Swahili from an Asian cook; the fourth individual reported learning it from the European household head himself. In at least some of the cases, it appears that co-ethnics employed in such household service served as interpreters in the earliest stages of language learning, so it is not altogether clear as to which variety of Swahili the individual was really learning at the time; the same may be said of workers who learned their Swahili on the tea plantations, and who were introduced to Swahili through informal interpreters of their own ethnic group.

Those raised in the reserves who had at least completed Standard Seven usually had some exposure to Swahili in the local school though the quantity and quality of instruction in Swahili depended heavily on the school itself. Virtually no use seems to have been made of Swahili outside of the classroom itself, however. Likewise, many of the women who were raised in the reserve did not learn Swahili until after leaving the reserve, usually after marriage in order to join their husbands at their place of work outside the reserve. Those with at least some schooling appear, like the men, to have received some instruction in Swahili through schools in the reserves, though again this was not always the case.

Those men and women raised on European farms -- in our sample, Kipsigis or Kikuyu -- invariably learned Swahili first from playmates of other ethnic groups. As mentioned earlier, herding in common on a European farm was also frequently mentioned as a specific context in which the rudiments of Swahili were learned by young children of both

sexes. Those individuals who went on to acquire formal schooling were later exposed to Standard Swahili.

One interesting fact that emerges is that despite the fact that the parents of many individuals raised either in the ethnic homelands or outside them knew at least rudimentary Swahili, they did not usually teach any Swahili to their children. Only three individuals stated that they were instructed in Swahili by a parent. In most of the other cases, the respondent stated that the parents either did not know enough Swahili to teach it, or else had forgotten what they had once known after returning to the reserve from employment outside. It seems to be the case, however, on the basis of evidence from the interviews as well as from general observation in Lumbwa, that there is a widespread parental feeling that a child will learn whatever language he or she needs -- outside of the vernacular -- either from peers or in school. This perhaps reflects the widespread attitude that the household (nyumbani) and the ethnic homeland (rizavuni) are not suitable contexts for the use of languages other than the vernacular of one's ethnic group. It seems reasonable to assume that such attitudes also play a part in discouraging parents from teaching Swahili to their children.⁷

Further information on the constraints imposed on the learning and speaking of languages other than the vernacular in the contexts of homestead and ethnic homeland were provided by responses to questionnaire items on language use in those two contexts. As mentioned in Chapter III, it appears that use of a language other than the vernacular in those contexts is infrequent. In the reserves, educated people may use

English at times when among their educated peers, or workers who have been outside the reserve may use Swahili at times, either when relaxing by themselves or when exhibiting their linguistic skills in the presence of monolingual peers or inferiors, so as to impress their audience. But such displays in the presence of elders are highly discouraged. The reasons usually given for such constraints are that the use of a language other than the vernacular effectively excludes monolinguals -- or near monolinguals -- from the conversation, and that use of such a language before elders further implies contempt for traditional values. In the household outside the reserve areas, the vernacular is also given clear pre-eminence, through fear that the language and its associated ethnic traditions will otherwise be lost to the children.

In sum, then, it appears that in the cases of nearly all the respondents and their wives that their particular varieties of Swahili were learned in "up-country" contexts -- contexts in which native speakers of Swahili were entirely absent or nearly so. Only one individual spent at least a portion of his childhood in an area with a considerable number of native Swahili speakers. This individual, the child of a Luyia soldier stationed in Mombasa, obtained at least his upper primary education there, and took certain pride in mastering Standard Swahili at least as well as his fellow pupils from the coast.

A number of individuals, however, did spend time in Swahili-speaking areas after having learned Swahili in "up-country" areas. Of the twelve individuals who had travelled outside west or central Kenya, seven had gone to the coast at least once and five had gone to Tanzania.⁸

Of those who had gone to the coast, in addition to the individual mentioned above, a Luo man and two Luyia men went to Mombasa to either work or receive occupational training. Three male Kikuyu went to the coast as brief visitors or tourists. Those who had gone to Tanzania included the Luyia man raised in Mombasa, his wife, the Luo just mentioned, a male Kipsigis, and one of the male Kikuyu mentioned above. The male Kikuyu had visited Zanzibar -- apparently only briefly; the other men were employed in Tanzania by the East African Railway Corporation. With the exception of the Luyia man raised in Mombasa, only the Kipsigis man had spent very much time in an area with many native Swahili speakers; he had spent a total of three years in coastal Tanzania and attributed his fluency in Standard Swahili largely to his stay there.

In regard to languages other than Swahili acquired by the adult respondents and their wives, English was by far the most commonly learned language. In contrast to the situation in regard to Swahili, however, no one had begun learning English outside of school. There was therefore no informal acquisition of English before entering school comparable to that of non-standard Swahili or of the vernaculars.⁹

In regard to the learning of the vernaculars of other ethnic groups, many individuals reported learning greeting formulas and very basic phrases of one or more vernaculars. A substantial minority -- 16 individuals in all -- reported having (or were reported as having, in the case of many of the wives of respondents) a reasonable command of at least one other vernacular. Luyia once again showed themselves the most active language learners as a group: eight Luyia had learned

at least one other vernacular. One Luyia -- a "town Luyia" -- born and raised in Lumbwa, had in fact only a passive knowledge of Luyia, but apparent fluency in Kikuyu. Even his Swahili was marked with a strong Kikuyu "accent."

In terms of the languages most commonly learned, Luo appeared to be easily the most frequently learned (nine instances) followed by Kikuyu (four instances), Kipsigis and Lu Ganda (two instances each) and Kurkana, Luyia, Kisii, Teso, and Kamba (one instance each). In only four instances were the languages learned in or around Lumbwa. Most were learned in or close to the reserves where the respondent encountered substantial numbers of speakers of the language which he or she eventually learned. Five of those who had learned Luo -- three Luyia and two Kipsigis -- had grown up near the border of the Luo reserve. In the case of the Luyia intermarriage and other social contacts with the Luo created a situation favorable to learning Luo even in ethnically unmixed households.¹⁰ In the case of the Kipsigis, the hiring of Luo laborers to work in the Kipsigis reserve -- either on tea plantations or on small farms -- also created a situation favorable to the learning of Luo.¹¹ In the other instances, the learner had had to deal with monolinguals of that group in the context of work or of evangelization, or else had gone to school in an area where a great many schoolmates had been members of that ethnic group.

In all instances except one, the individuals had learned the vernacular informally; in the case of the remaining individual he had been formally instructed in at least some of the languages which he had learned for purposes of evangelization.

Two individuals (both Luyia) claimed a competence in as many as three vernaculars other than their own while three others (two of them Luyia) claimed a knowledge of two other vernaculars. The majority claimed a knowledge of only one other vernacular.

One brief comment might be made before ending this discussion of language acquisition. In general the respondents showed themselves markedly more multilingual than their parents. In regard to Swahili, in the case of nine individuals neither parent knew any Swahili. In the case of another four individuals, only the father knew Swahili.¹² In the case of fifteen individuals, both parents spoke Swahili. In almost all cases where one or both parents spoke Swahili, however, their competence was rated by the respondents as minimal. As for English, only two individuals reported their father as being able to speak some English. In regard to vernaculars, only four individuals (three of them Luyia and one of them Kipsigis) claimed a fair competence for their parents in another vernacular. In the cases of two of the Luyia, both parents spoke at least one other vernacular. In one of the latter two cases, the father spoke both Kikuyu and Kamba. In all the other cases, the parents spoke only one other vernacular: Luo, and had learned that vernacular through growing up on the border of the Luo reserve. In all instances except one, the respondent reported a competence in the same vernacular that the parent or parents had acquired; even in the case of the exception, the respondent had acquired the rudiments of the language.

In order to probe a bit deeper regarding attitudes toward different languages, respondents were asked which languages they would

like to learn in addition to those they had already learned, and why they wished to learn them. Though space precludes a full discussion of the responses, the following may provide a rough outline of the language choices made, and the reasons given for making them. Four individuals simply declared that they were either too old to learn, too busy to learn, or that they knew enough languages already. Four replied that they would like to learn any language, given the opportunity, while another three said that they would like to learn the languages of the ethnic groups among whom they might live in the future.

In terms of specific languages mentioned, Kipsigis was mentioned most often (seven times). Other vernaculars mentioned were Luo (four times), Luyia (three times), Kikuyu (twice), Maragoli (once), Kamba (once), and Somali (once). Of the non-African languages mentioned, French was named most frequently (six times), followed by English (three times), and Latin (twice). Two individuals wished to improve both their Swahili and their English.¹³

A variety of reasons was cited for learning these languages. Those cited for learning "any language" included being able to get work in other ethnic areas, and to be able to converse with members of any ethnic group; the one cited for learning the language of the local ethnic group was that one can thus become friends. Kipsigis, Kikuyu, and Luo were cited as useful for commerce; a Luyia teacher also wanted to learn these languages to better assist monolingual pupils of those ethnic groups who were enrolled in his classes. Kipsigis, Kikuyu, Luyia, and Maragoli were also cited by a Luo as useful for asking one's way when lost. Kipsigis and Luo were also mentioned by a Luo as the

languages of neighboring peoples who had often taken the trouble to learn Luo, and he felt that he might like to reciprocate. Luo, on the other hand, attracted a Kipsigis woman because she thought that it was so easy to learn. Kipsigis was further mentioned by a Kikuyu catechist as useful for religious instruction, while Somali was mentioned as useful for purposes of evangelization by a Kipsigis preacher.

As for European languages, both French and Latin were mentioned as desirable for conversing with foreign visitors and for travel in Europe, and for the fact that they, like English, were spoken widely over the world. French was also regarded as desirable for the beauty of its pronunciation, and for its utility in travel throughout Africa. English was seen as desirable for conversing with foreigners and for work.

When the respondents were asked which languages they would prefer their children to learn, the respondents almost invariably mentioned English, Swahili, and the vernacular of their ethnic group. The reasons given were the ones mentioned earlier in Chapter III, and special stress was often put on the children learning the vernacular because it was "their language." Other languages were seldom mentioned. French was mentioned as desirable for their children by three of the individuals who chose the language for themselves. Luo was mentioned by a Luyia as useful for travel outside the Luyia area. Kipsigis was chosen by a Kikuyu because his children were growing up among Kipsigis in Lumbwa. Kikuyu was mentioned by a Luo as useful since the Kikuyu were a large ethnic group in Kenya. A half dozen respondents replied in effect that learning other languages was useful and that their children should be free to choose as they grew older.

Respondents were also asked which way was best for learning Standard Swahili. School, periodicals, books, radio programs, and travel to the coast were suggested as possible ways. Respondents were asked to select among the options or else suggest an alternative way. In most cases, respondents selected at least two or three ways of learning Standard Swahili; some of these stated explicitly that the mode of learning chosen would reflect the needs of the learner, and that there was no one best way for all learners. School was most frequently mentioned (10 times) as the best context for learning Standard Swahili; as more than one speaker explained, there the learner received prompt assistance from a person who knows the standard language well. Listening to speakers of Swahili and conversing with them received an equal number of mentions. Reading Swahili periodicals was mentioned eight times, while reading books (grammar books, specifically, in three cases) was mentioned nine times, or a total of 17 mentions for the use of written materials. Listening to the radio received only seven mentions -- two of which recommended specifically listening to Swahili lessons broadcast over the radio.

Travel to the coast received only one clear endorsement -- from a Kikuyu agricultural officer who had learned Hungarian in a similar "immersion process" in an area where the language was spoken. Several others, on the other hand, strongly opposed the idea, saying that people did not have the opportunity to go to the coast. One individual -- a Kikuyu schoolteacher fluent in Standard Swahili who had in fact visited Mombasa -- stated that it would be naïve to go there and to expect an "Arab" to teach you Swahili, and furthermore that coastal Swahili had a

heavily Arabicized vocabulary and a distinct pronunciation of its own.

In sum, then, written materials, school, and conversation with Swahili speakers in "up-country" (non-coastal) contexts were seen as the main ways to learn Standard Swahili. As for school, several individuals remarked that school was the logical place for children, but that that option was closed, of course, for those too old to attend school. Thus, it can be said that there is no perceptible orientation toward the coast or toward Tanzania as the sources of the most "safi" ("pure") forms of Swahili; on the contrary, people in general seem to feel that Standard Swahili can be learned adequately in a local context.

It might now be asked how the five schoolteachers in the sample analyzed responded to the question. It can be said briefly that their answers reflected the general consensus of the respondents closely, though the importance of school (as opposed to conversation with Swahili speakers in informal contexts) and of books (as opposed to periodicals) seemed to be more highly stressed.

Now that we have discussed the language acquisition patterns of the respondents, along with related topics, it might be appropriate to examine the uses to which the acquired languages are put by the respondents outside of ordinary conversation. The respondents were asked about their reading habits, their letter-writing, and their radio listening habits. Though it is difficult to summarize all the data received, nevertheless the following brief remarks may be made. In regard to reading books (other than the Bible), language preferences tended to reflect strongly both the language proficiencies of the readers, and the availability of works in a given language in the areas

of interest to that reader. Books published in Swahili are few in relation to those published in English, but those published in the vernaculars are even fewer. Of those with a command of English, Swahili, and their vernacular, those interested in technical information read mainly works in English, while those with an interest in religious discussions or in fiction (or folk-tales) read them in either Swahili, English, or their vernacular. Individuals with an interest in the traditions of their own ethnic group preferred to read works in their own vernacular. When a preference was expressed for either English or Swahili, English was invariably preferred to Swahili. Of the four individuals who expressed a preference for English, two maintained that written Swahili was too difficult for them. One explained further that English was briefer and clearer in its expression of concepts, while the other complained that not much was available in Swahili in his fields of interest.

Reading the Bible proved to be an interesting area for investigation. Here the same work was available to the respondents not only in English and Swahili, but also all four vernaculars of the respondents. Since the topic of interest was the same whatever the translation selected, and since all the translations were readily available to the respondents, the language preferences of respondents in regard to written materials could be more easily discerned. None of the three literate Luo read the Bible in Swahili. Only one of the three still read the Bible in Luo; the other two read the Bible in English. In the case of the Luyia, however, none of them read the Bible in English. All four read the Bible in Swahili, and one -- a preacher -- read the Bible in Kikuyu and in his vernacular (the Maragoli dialect of Luyia).

The fact that no Luyia read the Standard Luyia translation of the Bible may perhaps be explained by the remarks of yet another individual, a Luyia schoolteacher, who said that he preferred to read the Bible in any language other than Standard Luyia. He explained that dialect problems, especially in regard to vocabulary, made reading that translation very difficult.¹⁴

As for the Kikuyu respondents, the two individuals with little or no proficiency in English read the Bible in both Swahili and Kikuyu, but the three individuals who were proficient in English preferred to read the Bible in English. Two of them explained that they found it difficult to read Kikuyu; one, a schoolteacher, explained that the vocabulary and metaphors of the Kikuyu translation of the Bible were difficult for him.

The Kipsigis showed a strong preference for the vernacular over both English and Swahili. Seven of the eight Kipsigis read the Bible in Kalenjin (a literary standard embracing Kipsigis and closely related languages), and none reported difficulties with the written language. Two respondents preferred to read the Bible in Kalenjin only despite their fluency in both English and Swahili. Another respondent preferred to read the Bible in all three languages so as to compare the translations. Two other respondents preferred to read the Bible in Kalenjin and English only, while another, who spoke little or no English, read the Bible in Swahili and Kalenjin. The eighth individual, who made no mention of Kalenjin, preferred the English version to the Swahili version.

In regard to periodicals, there was a clear preference for English language periodicals over their Swahili counterparts among those who were proficient in both languages. The two respondents mentioned earlier who complained that literary Swahili was too difficult in regard to books made the same comments in regard to periodicals. One remarked also that he could understand only the headlines or isolated passages in Swahili newspapers. On the other hand, at least one respondent who read Swahili newspapers read them deliberately to increase his command of Swahili, and especially to gather new vocabulary items.

For most respondents, the periodicals read were restricted to the leading Kenyan newspapers: The Daily Nation, The East African Standard, Baraza, and Taifa Leo. No foreign periodicals were mentioned. Publications in the vernaculars are generally not available -- at least not in Lumbwa -- so it is hardly surprising that not a single respondent reported reading vernacular periodicals.

Inquiries regarding the writing of letters by respondents revealed a number of interesting facts. First, writing to elders of one's ethnic groups -- including parents -- is nearly always done in the vernacular. With peers of one's ethnic group who speak English, however, one may exercise the option of writing in English. Swahili is apparently not used (at least frequently) in writing to co-ethnics -- a point made explicit by one respondent, though the reasons for this non-use of Swahili were not stated by her. In correspondence with officials, also, English is favored over Swahili, though here Swahili -- but not a vernacular, apparently -- may also be used.¹⁵ In other cases, Swahili tends to be used only with individuals who are not co-ethnics and who

speak no English -- or else in a situation where the writer is replying to a letter written in Swahili. Swahili, therefore, seems to be a language of last resort in written correspondence. Even a Kipsigis who took pride in his Swahili maintained that he did not write in Swahili unless it was necessary to do so.

It is difficult to ascertain the reason for this reluctance to write letters in Swahili. One of the respondents mentioned earlier who complained of the difficulties of written Swahili explained that there was too great a gulf between the written and spoken varieties of the language. He did not command the written language, and the spoken variety was not suitable for writing; hence, whatever he wrote had to be proof-read by someone proficient in the written language. For him, English was "quick," a view held by at least two other respondents; one of these latter two, in fact, maintained that even his own vernacular -- Kipsigis -- was as "wordy" as Swahili in comparison to English.

Another point made in favor of English by two other respondents was that their education through English made correspondence easier through English than through any other language. In fact, four respondents claimed that it was easier for them to write in English than in their own vernacular; the individual mentioned in the last paragraph complained that it took him the entire day to compose a letter in Luyia to his mother.

In regard to radio listening habits, it was clear that nearly everyone who had a command of both Swahili and English listened to programs in both languages. News broadcasts -- particularly of world news -- were often listened to in English, while programs of every other kind

were usually listened to in Swahili. Only two individuals stated a clear preference for English language programs, while on the other hand at least seven respondents preferred Swahili programs over English ones. Vernacular broadcasts, as mentioned earlier, cannot be received very well in Lumbwa, so few individuals even try to tune into vernacular broadcasts. The Kipsigis broadcast, which can be heard with some clarity on certain days, is broadcast at a time when many Kipsigis are at work and therefore cannot listen to it.

No difficulties were expressed in regard to the variety of Swahili used on the Voice of Kenya radio service, except by one respondent, an incipient bilingual Luyia woman recently arrived from the reserve, who had problems in understanding the vocabulary. On the other hand, a Kikuyu preacher enjoyed learning new vocabulary on the Swahili broadcasts. He claimed that he could check the meaning of new terms with the translation equivalents employed in a later Kikuyu broadcast -- though this seems rather difficult to accomplish considering the difficulties of radio reception in Kikuyu in Lumbwa.

Only the Kenyan radio services are listened to, with the exception of one individual who preferred to get his world news in English via the Voice of America (VOA) or the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), another who enjoyed religious programs in Swahili broadcast from Ethiopia, and another who enjoyed Swahili broadcasts from Tanzania.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

In Chapter I, the original goals and research techniques were outlined, and the changes in both objectives and research methods which occurred in the course of the field investigation were then described and explained. Originally it was hoped that the investigation:

- (1) might prove to be an opportunity to use research techniques in new social settings;
- (2) might reveal something of the nature in which a contact language (i.e., Swahili) spreads within a community or region;
- (3) might provide information on the nature of pidginized varieties of African languages;
- (4) might provide information on language policy and its implementation which would be of use to government officials of the country concerned and to scholars interested in such issues; and
- (5) might provide a picture of linguistic behavior and linguistic attitudes which would be generalizable to communities both in Africa and in other areas of the world which manifested similar sociolinguistic characteristics.

How well the original objectives of the investigation have been met must be left to the judgment of the reader.

In Chapter II, a description was given of the town and of its hinterland. The Kikuyu, Kipsigis, Luyia, and Luo were described as the major ethnic groups in the town. We have seen that demographic changes affecting the size and relative importance of ethnic groups can be swift

and far-reaching. Independence brought about the virtual disappearance of a once numerous Asian and European population in the town and its environs, with Africans of the four major ethnic groups taking over their functions. Besides this "Africanization," so characteristic of much of post-independence Kenya, another rapid change seems to be taking place in the hinterland. European farms are being sold mainly to Kipsigis farmers, with large-scale displacements of non-Kipsigis farm-workers -- mainly Kikuyu -- as a result; as we have seen, even the sale of a single farm can affect the tenure of hundreds of individuals. Within the township, however, a more stable demographic situation seems to exist since representatives of the Kenyan government within the township seem determined to protect the right of every citizen to live and work within the town -- whatever his or her ethnic group. Such demographic change and stability, whether "Africanization" or "Kipsigization," must of course affect the language situation both within the township and in the surrounding hinterland.

In Chapter III, the language situation in particular was described. An apparently stable trichotomous situation was outlined, with English, Swahili, and a given vernacular -- either Kikuyu, Kipsigis, Luo, or Luyia in the case of the overwhelming mass of the town's population -- seen by most townspeople as exercising rather complementary communicative functions. English is seen as the language of education, of governmental and commercial activity, and of communication with foreign visitors. Swahili is seen as the language of work -- especially manual labor -- of inter-ethnic cooperation, of African solidarity and self-pride, and -- de facto -- of town life in Lumbwa. The vernacular of one's ethnic group, however, is the language of the home and of the

ethnic homeland, of ethnic solidarity outside the homeland, and of the deepest and most sacred traditional values, as opposed to the secular, "modern" values found in areas outside of the reserves and in urban areas in general, and characterized by both Swahili and English. We saw that this conception of the roles played by English, Swahili, and the vernaculars was clearly reflected in various domains of social activity in the township.

In Chapter IV, the varieties of Swahili spoken within the township were described. We saw that variation can be described as a product of the intersection of two dimensions: the dimension of ethnic markedness, which reflects in some way the effect of linguistic interference from an individual's vernacular on his or her spoken (or written) Swahili, and the dimension of pidginization, which reflects the degree to which an individual's Swahili is pidginized. Ethnic markedness is almost wholly confined to phonology, while pidginization is almost entirely restricted to grammar, including both morphology and syntax. The use of the form a- for the first person singular verbal subject-marker by some Kipsigis individuals was the only apparently widespread clear example of ethnic markedness in the grammar. We saw also that the use of the form -ngeli- in hypothetical verb forms by males of all ethnic groups in the written translation test may be an example of sexual marking, but it is not yet clear what the status of the form is in the spoken language. The two dimensions seem to be interrelated in that individuals speaking the most pidginized varieties of Swahili generally speak the most ethnically-marked varieties of Swahili as well -- or vice-versa. The degree of ethnic markedness manifested, of course, depends

also on the degree of linguistic interference possible in varieties manifesting a given kind of ethnic markedness; varieties reflecting a vernacular with a phonological system relatively close to that of Standard Swahili, such as most dialects of Luyia will have fewer possibilities of manifesting ethnic markedness than will varieties reflecting a vernacular with a phonological system much more different from that of Standard Swahili, such as Kipsigis or Kikuyu. Finally, no discrete boundaries between social groups were noted in either of the two dimensions. A situation seems to exist in Lumbwa which reflects closely the "creole continua" reported for the English-speaking areas of the Caribbean; the data, however, are insufficient either to demonstrate conclusively the existence of a continuum situation in Lumbwa or to describe it.

In Chapter V, the results of a speech identification test conducted among Standard Seven school children in Lumbwa were described. The object of the test was to explore the correlations made by students between linguistic features and social categories or stereotypes. We saw that members of the largest ethnic groups in Lumbwa who manifested the most ethnically marked varieties of Swahili were most easily identified as a member of that ethnic group. We saw also that identification may perhaps be made through recognition of a configuration of linguistic features rather than by isolated linguistic features, and that the "etic" features and configurations of features selected by the linguist may not be those used "emically" by Lumbwa townspeople in identifying an individual's ethnic group. It was also shown that co-ethnics are no more able to recognize a member of their ethnic group than are members of other ethnic groups.

In regard to correlations made between the degree of pidginization of an individual's spoken Swahili and his or her occupational level, or of his or her educational attainments, it was shown that students as a whole recognized the generally positive correlation between more standard varieties of Swahili and higher occupational and educational levels, though the male Luo, female Kikuyu, and the male Luyia showed a generally keener appreciation of the correlation than did male Kikuyu, male Kipsigis, or female Kipsigis. Finally, we saw that nearly all students claimed that mastering Standard Swahili means mastering the standard phonology as well as the grammar and the lexicon. Though language loyalties to one's vernacular may be strong, there seems to be no conscious attempt to manifest one's ethnicity by speaking Swahili with an ethnic "accent."

In Chapter VI, patterns of second language acquisition were examined. We saw that English and Standard Swahili were learned formally through the local school system, whereas non-standard Swahili and the vernaculars were learned informally, either (1) through casual acquisition from peers, with friendship as the prime motivation, or (2) through deliberate, systematic acquisition from willing speakers of the target language, with a much more pragmatic motivation. The first mode of informal acquisition was generally used by children, while the second is employed only by adults, usually shopkeepers or evangelists.

The data on children showed further that the learning of vernaculars other than their own reflected the numerical strength of the main ethnic groups in the town's population, with Kikuyu being the most frequently learned second vernacular. Luyia children, however, showed

themselves to be particularly avid learners of other vernaculars. We saw also that children's playgroups were the usual contexts for second language acquisition by children in Lumbwa.

The data for adults showed that individuals raised in the reserve with little or no education learned their first Swahili after leaving the reserve; those who had received at least a moderate amount of education in the reserve were often (but not always) first exposed to Swahili in the classroom. Those raised on European farms with a mixed (African) ethnic population learned their first Swahili through mixed ethnic playgroups or through common herding activities with children of other ethnic groups; those who later attended school were then exposed to Standard Swahili in the classroom. Though most of the parents knew a little Swahili, almost none taught any Swahili to their children -- or even spoke it in the home. We saw also that, with the exception of a single person, everyone had learned Swahili in an "up-country" (non-coastal) context, though some had later spent time in either coastal Kenya or Tanzania -- usually a very short period of time.

Besides Swahili, English was shown to be by far the most widely learned second language by the respondents. In regard to the vernaculars, many knew only the greetings and a few basic phrases of another vernacular, but a substantial minority reported (or, in the case of many wives, were reported as) having a reasonable command of another vernacular. Once again, the Luyia were the most avid learners of second vernaculars. Most of the second-vernacular learners learned them in -- or close to -- the reserves; five of the learners of Luo, for instance, were raised on the Luo border. We saw that Luo was by far the

most widely learned, followed by Kikuyu, with less than half the number of learners, and then by other vernaculars.

Respondents were shown to be more multilingual than their parents. Their parents usually had at most a minimal command of Swahili, and only a couple knew any English. Only four respondents reported a fair command of other vernaculars by their parents. The vernacular learned was nearly always Luo, and had been acquired through living on the Luo border; in nearly all cases, the respondents also claimed a reasonable competence in the vernaculars learned by their parents.

Statements by respondents of preferences for languages other than those which they already knew showed Kipsigis to be the most popular, followed at a distance by Luo and other vernaculars. This perhaps reflects the dominant position of the Kipsigis in the hinterland surrounding Lumbwa, a fact recognized by many shopkeepers who hope to attract Kipsigis customers.

In regard to non-African languages, we saw that French proved to be nearly as popular as Kipsigis, though English and Latin also received mention.

When parents stated the languages which they wished their children to learn, the familiar trichotomy of English, Swahili, and one's own vernacular was listed almost invariably, and the reasons given for the preferences were nearly all the familiar ones described earlier, though, as we saw, a number stated that their children should be free to choose for themselves, especially as they grew older.

In regard to the respondents' views on the best ways to learn Standard Swahili, it was shown that written materials, school, and conversation with fluent Swahili speakers in "up-country" contexts were most widely regarded by respondents as especially effective. Learning Swahili in a coastal context, as we have seen, was regarded almost universally as an unrealistic proposal.

In the final section of Chapter VI, the uses made of the languages known by the respondents for purposes other than those of conversation were examined. In regard to reading matter, English books and periodicals were generally preferred to Swahili ones; as we saw, some respondents explained this by reference to the unavailability of Swahili materials in their areas of interest, while others complained of difficulties in reading Standard Swahili. As we saw, books and periodicals in the vernaculars were in most cases unavailable. We saw also that English-speaking Luo and Kikuyu preferred to read the Bible in English, while Luyia preferred to read the Bible in Swahili, and Kipsigis preferred their Kalenjin version. As we noted, both Luyia and Kikuyu complained of difficulty in reading the Bible in their respective vernaculars.

We saw also that respondents almost invariably used the vernacular when writing letters to their parents, and with other co-ethnics, but used English with English-speaking friends, even when co-ethnics. Swahili was used as a language of last resort, when either the vernacular or English could not be used. We noted that some claimed in fact that writing in English was easier than in either their vernacular or Swahili, explaining this by reference to their school experience, or in terms of an alleged brevity of written communication in English.

Finally, in regard to radio listening habits, we noted that for those respondents with a command of both Swahili and English there was a strong preference for Swahili programs in general, but that they nevertheless preferred to hear broadcasts of world news in English. In regard to the vernaculars, we saw also that poor reception of vernacular radio programs in Lumbwa precluded a widespread audience for the Voice of Kenya's extensive radio service in the vernaculars.

Now that the main findings of the field investigation have been summarized, let us look briefly at what other researchers have found regarding the role of Swahili on other areas of Kenya and of East Africa. The findings of the Language Survey of Kenya, part of the larger Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa, are presented in Whiteley (1974a). The volume contains a number of essays of relevance to the topics which have been discussed or mentioned in the present study. The contributions by the late Dr. Whiteley on language use in rural Kenya, by Dr. Parkin on language use in the Kaloleni housing estate in Nairobi, and by Dr. Bujra on language use in the Pumivani housing estate, also in Nairobi, are perhaps of special interest.

A scanning of the material in the volume reveals rather quickly that the language situation described in Lumbwa reflects rather closely the language situation in general in "up-country" Kenya. Dr. Whiteley's essay¹ on rural language shows that the homestead and the reserve areas are major bulwarks of vernacular language usage, but that the familiar trichotomy of English, Swahili, and the vernacular recurs in many contexts, particularly in mixed-ethnic situations. One notes once again that degree of education, ethnicity, and age are of great

importance in selecting a language in more casual settings. In the reserve areas, with peers (or age-mates) of one's ethnic group who have been educated, English is often used, but only the vernacular is used with others -- especially elders -- of one's ethnic group. With those of other ethnic groups inside or outside of the reserves, one may again use English with educated interlocutors, but Swahili with others.

Dr. Parkin's investigations in Nairobi are also of interest. In the Kaloleni housing estate, which has a mixed ethnic population, children's playgroups are of special importance in the learning of Swahili and of other vernaculars, as in Lumbwa.² Swahili is generally used between neighbors, though the Luo, who are numerically dominant, and the Kamba, who are residentially clustered, use Swahili less frequently in their daily activities.³ Ethnic intermarriage is very low among Nairobi's four major ethnic groups,⁴ so that even in Nairobi the spread of Swahili through ethnic intermarriage seemed unlikely, despite ethnic co-residence in housing estates like Kaloleni. Parkin also notes the occurrence of some "vernacular 'adding'" (learning of vernaculars other than one's own) in Kaloleni and Bahati estates, but notes that it seems to be characteristic of the subordinate ethnic group in a dyadic "patron/client" relationship with another ethnic group.⁵ In the case of Nairobi's major ethnic groups, Kamba tend to learn Kikuyu, while Luyia tend to learn Luo. As in Lumbwa, linguistic affinity does not seem to be a factor in "vernacular 'adding.'"⁶

Dr. Bujra's study of the Pumwani housing estate is of special interest. There a compact Muslim African population -- unusual in "up-country" Kenya -- co-exists with a Christian (or nominally Christian)

African population. The Muslims -- whatever their ethnic origin -- have cut their ties to the rural areas and are strongly urban-oriented; the Christians, on the other hand, maintain strong ties with their respective reserve areas.⁷ Ethnicity, rather than religion, is of prime importance to Christians in their personal relationship, in contrast to the Muslims; this is shown clearly in the rate of ethnic intermarriage for both groups. Seventy-five percent of the married Muslims were married to a spouse of another ethnic group, whereas only 8.3% of the married Christians had married outside their ethnic group.⁸

The language situation in Pumwani clearly reflects this dichotomy. Since Swahili replaces the vernaculars in ethnically mixed households, but not otherwise, one would expect that Muslims use Swahili in the home much more often than Christians. This is in fact the case; 73% of the Muslims use Swahili with their children, whereas only 15% of the Christians do so.⁹

In regard to the varieties of Swahili used in Pumwani, one finds much more standard varieties spoken there than in other sections of Nairobi. This is primarily because descendants of the coastal Swahili who first settled in Pumwani still form the core of the community.¹⁰ Christian immigrants to Pumwani who came there when already mature may continue to speak non-standard varieties of Swahili despite decades of residence in Pumwani; their children, however, quickly learn the more standard varieties spoken there¹¹ through playing with their Muslim peers.¹²

Once again one finds the trichotomy of English, Swahili, and the vernacular. Here, however, English is used much less for communica-

tion within the community than for dealing with Nairobi city officials, who insist on the use of English in discussions despite the fact that they may be fluent in Swahili. English-speakers in Pumwani may thus find themselves placed in the position of "political brokers" by Pumwani residents anxious to secure their due from the city administration.¹³

It would be interesting to compare the data on "up-country" Kenya with data from the coast, the traditional Swahili-speaking area of Kenya. Unfortunately, little has been published on the present language situation on the coast; a dissertation by Dr. Sedláč describes the Gede Settlement Scheme, a mixed-ethnic settlement in a Giriama-speaking area on the coast near Malindi. There the English-Swahili vernacular trichotomy has now established itself, with no sign of change in the near future. The older conflict between English as the language of Christianity and Swahili as the (everyday) language of Islam has apparently resolved itself through acceptance of the secular or pragmatic view of the two languages held by people "up-country"; English has simply become the language of education and of relating to foreign visitors (principally tourists in coastal hotels and resorts), while Swahili has become the principal medium of inter-ethnic communication.¹⁴

The results of the Language Survey of Tanzania have not yet been published. Nevertheless, it seems safe to assume, on the basis of the stated policies of the Tanzanian government, that Swahili, already declared the national language, will continue to oust English from domains of power and prestige in the national life.¹⁵ The future role of the vernaculars in non-coastal Tanzania, however, is not easy to

foretell. In a study done in the village of Usangi, in the Pare District of north-eastern Tanzania,¹⁶ Dr. O'Barr found that Swahili indeed performed many of the functions that English normally would perform in Kenya, even in a reserve area comparable to the area in which Usangi was located. In Usangi, "the current relationship between Asu [the local vernacular] and Swahili is one of diglossia." Asu is "associated with home, farming, family, etc." while Swahili is "associated with government, schools, literacy, social services, etc."¹⁷ There is little room for English, which is in any event spoken fluently by only 3% of the population (comparable figures for Asu and Swahili are 99% and 79%, respectively).¹⁸

In Uganda, however, the situation seems to be very much like that of "up-country" Kenya. Despite official discouragement of the use of Swahili as a lingua franca and the bitter competition of LuGanda, Swahili has managed to become by far the most widely spoken second language in Uganda, with an estimated 35% of the population able to converse in it. It nearly matches in number of speakers its competitor LuGanda, even when the native speakers of Uganda (16% of the population) are included.¹⁹ In the capital city itself, Kampala, Swahili is in a similarly strong position.²⁰ With the apparent change recently in the government attitude toward Swahili, and the breaking of the power of the BaGanda within Uganda, it would seem that Swahili may play an even greater role in inter-ethnic communication in Uganda. There is thus a strong possibility that Uganda may follow the example of Kenya within the next decade, and establish de facto, if not de jure, the trichotomy characteristic of her close neighbor.

As for the role of Swahili outside East Africa -- in the Republic of the Congo, in Rwanda, in Burundi, in Lambia, and in Angola and Mozambique, such questions lie far beyond the scope of the present study.

Before closing, I would like to suggest a number of areas which might be fruitfully explored by scholars interested in the topics discussed in this study. First, it might prove useful to do a number of community studies of the type done in Lumbwa, and in the Kenyan communities mentioned earlier in the chapter. Communities in different areas of Kenya might be studied: communities in the reserve areas, farm populations in the former "White Highlands," neighborhoods in both smaller and larger urban centers, and communities on the coast itself. A larger and more systematic sampling of both sexes and all age groups would certainly be desirable, though the size of the sample need not be too large.²¹ It would be best not to attempt to investigate too many factors at one time; if one is investigating variations in language behavior in regard to sex, age, and level of formal education acquired, then it would probably be wise to restrict one's study to a single ethnic group.

In regard to inter-personal variation in spoken Swahili, detailed studies should be made of the dimensions of pidginization and of ethnic markedness, and the existence of speech continua verified and described in detail; where discrete varieties of Swahili do exist, the isoglosses which mark them off from other varieties of Swahili should be plainly stated. As mentioned earlier in Chapter IV, the work of describing a speech continuum in any community is an enormous task and will probably require a team of researchers rather than a single investigator.

Though, as mentioned in Chapter IV, written materials can be useful in an initial probe of variation in the spoken language, in the final analysis tape-recorded data systematically gathered is of crucial importance. Perhaps a tape-recorded test similar to the written translation test used in this study might be administered orally in the respondent's vernacular by an interviewer of the respondent's ethnic group. The respondent would be asked simply to give (orally) the Swahili equivalents of a standard set of sentences in the vernacular read aloud by the interviewer. The interview situation would hardly be informal or natural, but perhaps some of the difficulties inherent in both written tests and in unstructured corpii of tape-recorded data might be overcome. What the interview would lose in naturalness it might gain in systematic exploration of the respondent's spoken Swahili, including full paradigms of grammatical features, rather than the incomplete paradigms so often encountered in running texts. The comparability of data across respondents would therefore be considerably greater than when unstructured tape-recorded corpii are used. As for intrapersonal variation, the variation inherent in the respondent himself or herself, including contextual and other variations, the topic would simply have to be the topic of yet another investigation.

In all such studies, the full participation of local scholars and of other local individuals deeply familiar with the area selected for investigation²² would be of great importance. The foreign scholar can perhaps contribute the perspective of one who has crossed a cultural boundary and sees afresh phenomena which local people may take for granted, but it is local people, raised in the local area, who will

have the deep insights and intuitions which can give such depth to any objective study of complex social reality.

CHAPTER I

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. especially Gumperz, Hymes, and Fishman, respectively, in Gumperz and Hymes (1972).
2. Maps of Kenya and of Lumbwa itself are included in Appendix I.
3. Teaching half-time would definitely be too heavy a load for a researcher, since one's de jure quarter-time teaching and administrative load frequently stretches to a de facto half-time load due to the many crises which tend to occur in a Harambee school.
4. This investigator was present at all interviews and was often the only interviewer present.
5. By far the most easily collected and comprehensive mass of data collected in Lumbwa consisted of school children's written work in Swahili; I can highly recommend the use of such data to other researchers.
6. Cf. Duran (1974a). If accounts given in the Daily Nation of September 19th and 20th are correct, the figures of refugees given in Duran (1974a) must be greatly exaggerated. It now seems more likely that only 500 refugees -- not 2500 -- were expelled in the general area.

CHAPTER II

FOOTNOTES

1. For a fuller description of the town, together with a description of ethnic relations within the town, please see Duran (1974a). Population figures are taken from the Kenya census of 1969, Vol. II, pp. 18 and 56. See also Chapter I, Footnote 5.
2. See Chapter I, Footnote 5.
3. Once again, it must be stressed that such figures, given verbally by responsible figures within the agency or institution, may be wide of the mark.
4. Kisii, the other large population of Western Bantu found in Kericho District, are very few in Lumbwa township, according to the reports of Kisii living in Lumbwa.
5. Ethnic organizations in Lumbwa tend to be frowned upon by government authorities due to the dangers of fanning ethnic enmities. Perhaps only the relatively pacific character of the Luyia population made possible the infrequent gatherings of the association.
6. This process is more fully described in Duran (1974a). Reasons for the displacement of farm families include economic ones as well as ethno-political ones.
7. I have no breakdown by ethnic groups for the second farm.

CHAPTER III

FOOTNOTES

1. There is a persistent story -- probably apocryphal -- of an old monolingual Luyia woman who came to Nairobi to visit her son and his family. On reaching the house, the woman found that her son was not home. The daughter-in-law, disdaining the shabby clothing of the poor rural woman, directed her to sit in the kitchen and wait, as though she were a household servant. When the grandchildren came home from school and discovered the old woman -- to whom, of course, they could not speak -- they asked their mother (in English), "Mummy, who is that bush-woman in the kitchen?"
2. For a more extensive discussion of the factors affecting ethnic intermarriage in Lumbwa, see Duran (1974a). There is some intermarriage between Luo and Luyia, but I have no specific data on the matter.
3. The story is told of the amazement of the townspeople when they discovered that a group of Czechs repairing a local road could not speak English. "Ilawakujua kusoma Kizungu!" ("They [the Europeans] did not know how to speak European!"), was the surprised comment.
4. Cf. Fishman (1972).
5. The expected Swahili term mjini ("[in] town") is ambiguous in Lumbwa; it is usually used to refer specifically to "mjini," the old African quarter of the town. A third meaning is also possible, as in the phrase (used of a woman) "amewenda mji(ni)," literally, "she has gone to town," but with the connotation that she has abandoned her home and has given herself up to dissipation.
6. Standard Swahili forms will be used to describe domains, though in fact some domains would be expressed by the koine construction of locative kwa plus noun, e.g., kwa kazi, or simply huko kazi, "at work," instead of Standard Swahili kazini. Forms using the stem -enye are rarely employed; thus, one does not usually hear kwenye kazi.
7. One should bear in mind that ethnic intermarriage -- except between Luo and Luyia -- is relatively rare in Lumbwa; hence, mixed ethnicity presents little problem. In the event of children born through an informal liaison, e.g., of a Kikuyu mother and a Kipsigis father, it seems to be the case that usually the child will assume the ethnic identity of the mother.

CHAPTER III. FOOTNOTES (continued)

8. There is one definite "ethnic neighborhood" in Lumbwa. This is the cluster of homesteads on the southern township boundary occupied by the laiboni ("laibons" or traditional Kipsigis priests). These wa-laiboni and their families are regarded by the townspeople as sorcerers and interaction with them is limited, though not unusual. Even local Kipsigis regard them with misgivings and apparently do not intermarry with them. They apparently constitute a local pariach group, but one whose members are feared for the evil which they can inflict.

9. It seems important to stress the importance of treating this domain as separate from any other. It is the domain often cited by individuals -- for instance, the schoolchildren described in Chapter VI -- as one in which being able to speak a language other than one's own vernacular may be necessary, particularly when one is travelling "on the road" outside his or her own ethnic area. In the latter situation -- particularly in a hostile ethnic area -- getting lost on the road or simply travelling on the road can cause anxiety. In such a situation, ability to speak Swahili without an accent or to command the local vernacular so as to pass for a local inhabitant is looked upon by schoolchildren as a distinct advantage. Within the township, "on the road" is one domain where unwanted verbal interaction with acquaintances may be unavoidable, since one can neither "get lost" within a crowd nor hide behind a tree. On the other hand, it is a domain which offers the most complete privacy when one does wish to communicate with another person.

10. The larger ethnic grouping which includes Kipsigis, Nandi, Tugen, Elgeyo, Marakwet, Pokot, and Sapiny.

11. Kipsigis women do not usually use the telephone.

CHAPTER IV

FOOTNOTES

1. These tests are referred to later in this chapter; they are more fully described in Duran (1974b).
2. The taped interviews have all been archived at the Language Laboratory at Stanford University and are available for use by interested students.
3. Nevertheless, nearly every test submitted was completed.
4. Here I use the term "grammar" in the broad sense, as used by generative grammarians.
5. The fact only two of the Luo completed the test fully renders the data for Luo highly inconclusive.
6. A Nandi girl also completed the test, but her results were not tabulated since the focus of the paper was on the performance of the four major ethnic groups in Lumbwa.
7. Further information on the individuals concerned is given in Appendix III.
8. Time did not allow the tabulation of the Standard Seven pupils' scores in relation to age.
9. Cf. Duran (1973).
10. The concept of "Standard Swahili" in Lumbwa should, of course, include not only the materials used in the school system but also the variety used in Kenyan Swahili newspapers and on the government-operated "Voice of Kenya" radio service. For the most part, it is that form of Standard Swahili spoken "up-country" in Kenya rather than the Standard Swahili of the coast or of Tanzania, which most -- if not all -- people in Lumbwa regard as the standard language.
11. Leaving aside the Luo students, only two of whom completed the written test, the female Kikuyu students produced nearly twice as many non-standard concordial agreements (13.5% of deviant forms) as did male Luyia (7.5%), though both constituted 15% of the Standard Seven respondents. Male Kikuyu, however, produced 21.5% of the non-standard agreements, a percentage which nearly matches their percentage of

CHAPTER IV, FOOTNOTES (continued).

- (11.) non-standard phonologically-related "errors." Once again, the Kipsigis male and female students showed the greatest degree of pidginization, producing 25% and 26% of the non-standard concords, respectively. Compare the figures for Luyia, female Kikuyu, and male Kikuyu with those of the charts in Appendix IVa and IVb.
12. Cf. especially Bickerton (1973).
 13. Cf. Durāñ (1973).
 14. Cf. Duran (1974b).
 15. Cf. Gregersen (1961), p. 27.
 16. Cf. Armstrong (1940), p. 30.
 17. Cf. Gregersen (1961), p. 27.
 18. The term "dental" used for Kikuyu /t/ in Benson (1964), p. xii, seems preferable to Armstrong's "alveolar, unaspirated" (cf. Armstrong [1940], p. 33), since Polomé also uses a term corresponding to that of Armstrong to characterize Standard Swahili /t/. Kikuyu /t/ is much more dental than Standard Swahili /t/.
 19. A single female Kikuyu manifested the feature.
 20. See charts in Appendix IV.
 21. Cf. Heine (1973). Unfortunately, I did not have time to do a similar systematic study of pidgin Swahili in Lumbwa. The forms given in Dr. Heine's description, however, match those which occur in the tape-recorded interviews almost exactly. At least three fluent speakers of pidgin Swahili, including two male Luo and a male Kipsigis, are represented among those interviews selected for analysis (see Appendix III). Further corroboration of the use of Dr. Heine's pidgin forms in Lumbwa come from the speech of speakers of heavily pidginized (but not "pure" pidgin) varieties of Swahili (nearly all male Kipsigis) and from two incipient bilinguals: a female Luyia and a female Kipsigis. Any differences noted between forms or constructions given in Dr. Heine's description and those noted by myself in the data will be mentioned in the course of the description.
 22. Where the same concords (i.e., homophonous concords) exist for several noun classes, a Standard Swahili noun class number will be selected to represent that set of concords for convenience of reference. This does not mean, however, that concords need necessarily be regarded as deriving historically from that particular Standard Swahili noun class as opposed to the other noun classes with concords of the same shape.

CHAPTER IV, FOOTNOTES (continued)

23. This temporarily unmarked form and its negative counterpart are most prominent in the pidgin Swahili of Lumbwa.
24. As we will see later in our discussion of intermediate forms in Lumbwa, instrumental constructions perhaps retain their synthetic form.
25. Cf. Duran (1974b) for more explicit details.
26. Phonological variants of these deviant forms are not given here; they are included, however, in the tabulation of their cognate forms, which are listed here.
27. See especially the section below on instrumental adverbial phrases with the particle na.
28. Conversely, little was heard when scanning the tapes that did not appear in the written material. What did not appear in the written material, however, will receive due mention.
29. Cf. especially Bickerton (1973).
30. Cf. Heine (1973), pp. 90-91, footnotes 43 and 44. It occurs in the Swahili of at least one Asian in the corpus of taped interviews.
31. The first form occurred in the written corpus, while the second occurred in the taped material.
32. For a fuller discussion of such phonological distortion in the written corpus of the Standard Seven pupils, please see Duran (1974b), pp. 67-68.

CHAPTER V

FOOTNOTES

1. Only 47 questionnaires were included in the tabulation. The single student who was not a member of Lumbwa's four main ethnic groups -- a Nandi girl -- was deliberately excluded so as to restrict the discussion to the major ethnic groups. Her responses to the speech identification test were also excluded from that tabulation.
2. The segments were extracted from the tape-recorded interviews mentioned in Chapter I.
3. Cf. Appendix V.
4. The rest of the taped speech of these individuals (not heard by the students, of course) was replete with examples of the sort mentioned.
5. Cf. Appendices VIa and VIb.
6. In fact, at the time of the test students were asked to categorize speakers by reference to this code.
7. Cf. Appendices VIIa and VIIb.
8. No formal test was devised for ranking various occupations into a general hierarchy on the basis of social prestige or of personal preference. It is clear from my experience in Lumbwa, however, that clerical/professional work -- as in so many other parts of the industrial and industrializing world -- is considered more prestigious and desirable than manual labor.
9. A Meru soil conservation officer and university graduate in Lumbwa who was educated entirely in English in the Central Province, for instance, speaks roughly the same variety of Swahili.
10. Cf. Appendices VIIIa and VIIIb.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER VI

1. Note the reference to the "Wa-Swahili" made earlier.
2. Once again, the representation is overwhelmingly male.
3. The Maasai girl and Nandi boy are here excluded from consideration.
4. The essays themselves referred only to interaction situations within the township; interaction situations on European farms were never referred to specifically, though frequent references were made by adults in the taped interviews. Many of the adult Kipsigis and Kikuyu had learned their first Swahili in such common activities on European farms.
5. Since learning another vernacular is usually looked upon as an accomplishment, and since learning at least the rudiments of the vernacular of one's playmates is regarded as normal children's behavior, it is unlikely that parents knowingly concealed such behavior from the interviewer.
6. A list of the individuals interviewed, along with a few items of general information regarding each individual, is given in Appendix III.
7. It should be mentioned that in no case was any parent reported as explicitly discouraging a child from learning Swahili or any other language.
8. Only Uganda (in the case of at least eight persons) and Europe (in the case of a single person) were listed as destinations besides the coast of Kenya and Tanzania.
9. The Luyia man raised in Mombasa had augmented his knowledge of English through conversation with adult native English speakers on the army base who had befriended him. In his case also, however, his initial contact with English occurred in the local school.

CHAPTER VI, FOOTNOTES (continued)

10. One of the Luyia had a Luo mother. One does not necessarily speak the vernacular of one's mother, however. Another Luyia was forbidden by his Maragoli father to learn the Luo vernacular of his mother; since both he and his mother lived with the father in the Maragoli reserve, learning Luo would in any case be difficult.
11. Whether these situations were not equally favorable for the learning of Luyia and Kipsigis by Luo speakers remains a moot point.
12. In another case, the father had died before birth, leaving only one parent who spoke Swahili.
13. It is interesting to compare these figures with those gleaned from the schoolchildren's essays -- particularly in regard to learning Kipsigis and Kikuyu. This seems to reflect greater appreciation of the economic and social importance of the Kipsigis people in Lumbwa by adults -- a feeling expressed explicitly by several Kikuyu who learned or wished to learn Kipsigis.
14. The problems with the Standard Luyia experiment, an attempt to create a standard literary dialect out of 17 spoken dialects, is described in Itebete (1974).
15. Only in the case of a Luyia respondent employed by an evangelical organization did a respondent report having to use Swahili for official correspondence as a matter of policy.

CHAPTER VII

FOOTNOTES

1. Whiteley (1974b).
2. Parkin (1974b), p. 168.
3. Ibid., p. 197.
4. Parkin (1974a), p. 141.
5. Parkin (1974b), p. 177 ff.
6. Ibid., p. 185.
7. Bujra (1974), p. 221 ff.
8. Ibid., p. 236.
9. Ibid., p. 245.
10. Ibid., pp. 233-34.
11. Ibid., p. 253.
12. Ibid., p. 227.
13. Ibid., p. 240 ff.
14. Sedlák (1975), pp. 106-07.
15. Cf. Whiteley (1969).
16. O'Barr (1967).
17. Ibid., p. 298.
18. Ibid., p. 290.
19. Ladefoged, Glick, and Criper (1971), p. 25.

CHAPTER VII, FOOTNOTES (continued)

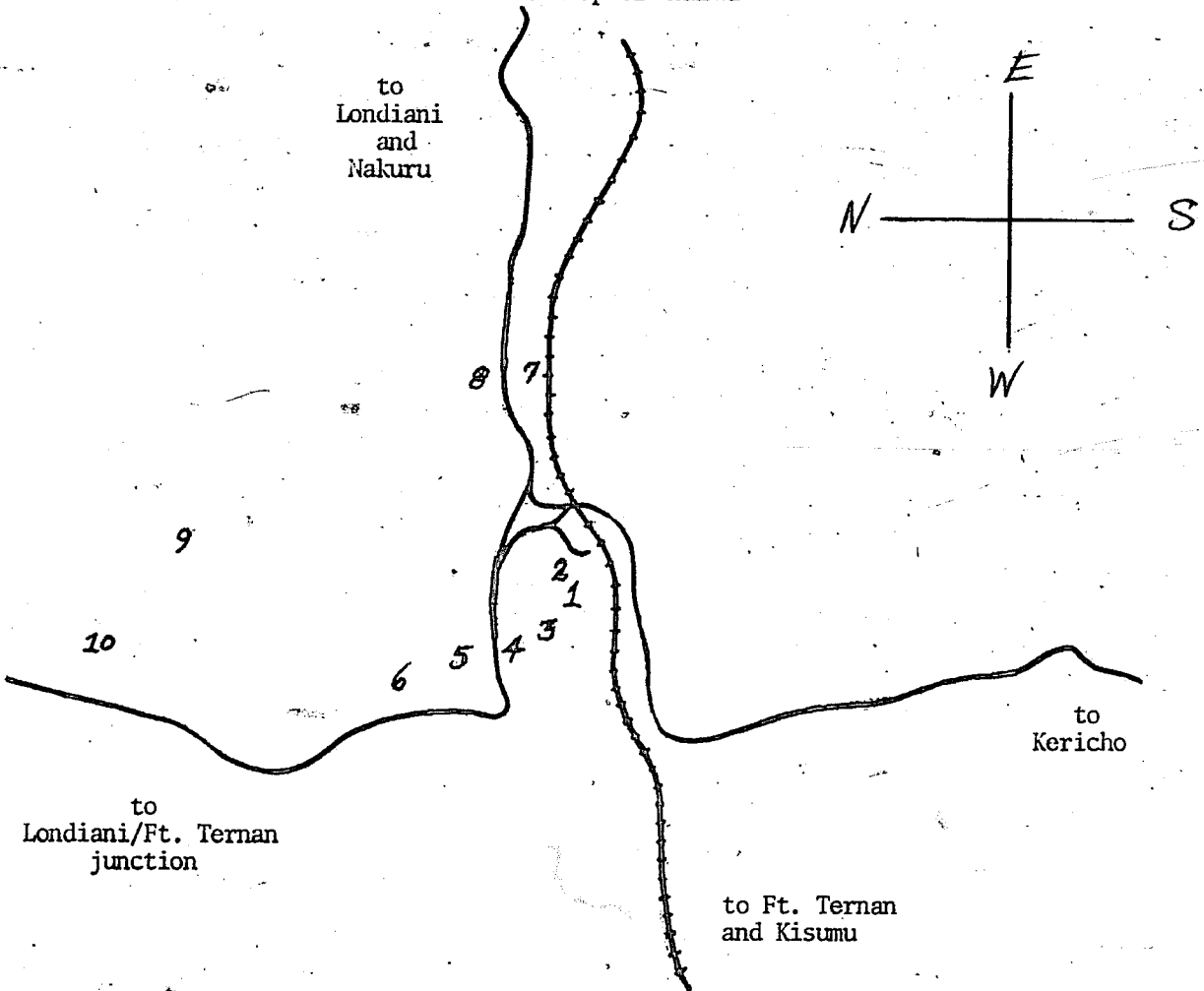
20. Scotton (1972), p. 129 ff.

21. Cf. Sankoff (1972), p. 9.

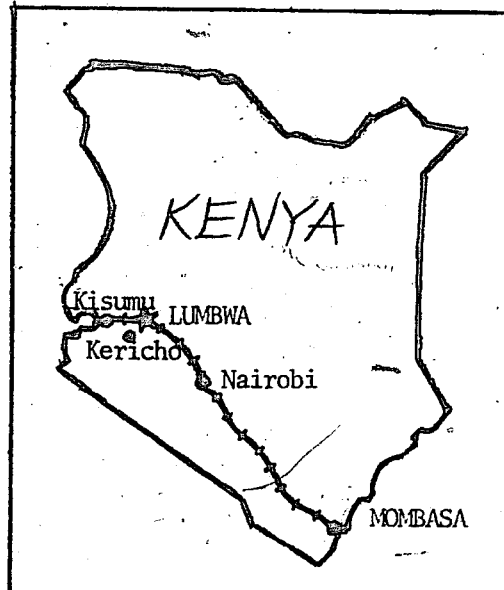
22. It goes without saying that local scholars, local government officials, and other interested individuals of the host country should have a prime role in selecting the area itself.

APPENDIX I

Sketch Map of Lumbwa



1. District Officer's Office
2. Sub-Chief's Office
3. Police Lines
4. County Council Housing
5. 'Mjini'
6. Primary School
7. Railroad Station
8. Former Asian "dukas"
9. Soil Conservation Camp
10. Secondary School



APPENDIX IIa
LINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE

A. (For the father of the family)

1. Demographic Facts (Personal History)

- a. Ulizaliwa wapi?
- b. KatiKa maisha yako, umeishi wapi?
- c. Ulikwenda skuli?
- d. Ulisomea wapi?
- e. Ulisoma mpaka kilasi gani?
- f. Umeifanya kazi wapi?
- g. Ulifanya kazi huko?
- h. Umesafiri wapi katika maisha yako?
- i. Wewe waenda kwenu kuona jamaa zako?

2. History of Individual Language Use

(For each language which the respondent knows, especially Swahili)

- a. Unaweza kuzungumza kwa lugha ngapi?
- b. Umejua lugha ya [] vizuri, nusu-nusu, au kidogo tu?
- c. Nani aliyekufundisha lugha hiyo?
- d. Ulijifunza wapi lugha hiyo?
- e. Ulikuwa na miaka mingapi wakati ulipojifunza lugha hiyo?
- f. Ulijifunza lugha hiyo kwa sababu gani?
- g. Ulijifunza lugha hiyo kwa njia gani?
- h. Wazazi wako walisema lugha ngapi?
- i. Wakati unapokwenda kwenu kuona jamaa, wewe wazungumza kwa lugha gani na jamaa hao?
- j. Watu wanaokaa karibu na nyumba hii yako wanasema lugha gani nyumbani?

3. Strategies for Language Use

- a. Ukiona mtu ambaye humjui, lakini unataka kusemezana naye, basi utasema lugha gani? tena, utajua kwa njia gani kusema naye kwa lugha hiyo?
- b. Kuna mahali mbalimbali nje ya nyumbani ambapo hufaa kuzungumza kwa lugha yako ya nyumbani? Mahali gani?
- c. Kuna mahali mbalimbali ambapo haifai kuzungumza kwa lugha yako ya nyumbani? Hapo utazungumza kwa lugha gani?

4. Actual Language Use

- a. Ulizungumza kwa lugha ngapi leo? Ulizungumza kwa lugha hizo wapi?

- b. Ulizungumza kwa lugha ngapi wiki hii? Ulizungumza kwa lugha hizo wapi?
- c. Ulizungumza kwa lugha ngapi mwezi huu? Ulizungumza kwa lugha hizo wapi?

5. Language, Literacy, and Mass Communications Media
(For each language)

- a. Unapenda kusoma vitabu vilivyoandikwa kwa lugha hiyo? Ikiwa hivyo basi, unapenda zaidi vitabu vya namna gani?
- b. Unapenda kusoma magazeti yaliyoandikwa kwa lugha hiyo? Ikiwa hivyo, magazeti gani hasa?
- c. Wewe waandika barua kwa lugha hiyo? Kwa kawaida, waandika barua hizo kwa nani? --yaani kwa jamaa, kwa rafiki, kwa maafisa wa serikali, kwa wafanya biashara, au watu wengine?
- d. Wewe wasikiliza vipindi vya redio kwa lugha hiyo? Vipindi gani hasa?

6. Language Preference

- a. Unataka kujua lugha nyingine? Lugha gani? Kwa nini?
- b. Unataka watoto wako wajue lugha gani? Kwa nini?

7. Acquisition of Standard Swahili Norm

- a. Nini ndiyo njia bora ya kujifunza kiSwahili safi?
 - 1. kujifunza skulini?
 - 2. kusoma magazeti?
 - 3. kusoma vitabu?
 - 4. kusikiliza redio?
 - 5. kwenda pwani, tuseme Mombasa?
 - 6. njia nyingine?

B. (For the mother of the family -- the questions asked above will be repeated, plus the following)

- a. Wewe wasema lugha gani sokoni?
- b. Ukienda madukani, utasema lugha gani?
- c. Wewe wasema lugha gani unapozungumzana na wanawake wanaokaa karibu na nyumba hii yako?

C. (For the children of the family)

1. Language Use at School

- a. Wewe wasema lugha gani katika madarasa (au makilasi) ya skuli?
- b. Wewe wasema lugha gani unapochezana na watoto wanafunzi wengine katika kiwanja cha skuli?

2. Language Use at Home

- a. Wewe wasema lugha gani na wazazi wako?
- b. Wewe wasema lugha gani na wazee wako wanaokaa nyumbani hapa au huko kwenu?
- c. Wewe wazungunza kwa lugha gani na ndugu zako wadogo?
- d. Wewe wazungunza kwa lugha gani na ndugu zako wakubwa?
- e. Wewe wazungunza kwa lugha gani na watu wanaokaa karibu na nyumba hii yako, yaani:
 - na wazee?
 - na watoto wenzio?
 - na vijana?
 - na watu wazima?

APPENDIX IIB

LINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE
(English Translation)

A. (For the head of the household -- usually the father of a nuclear family)

1. Demographic Facts (Personal History)

- a. Where were you born?
- b. Where have you lived in your lifetime?
- c. Did you ever attend school?
- d. Where did you attend school?
- e. What level did you reach in school?
- f. Where have you worked?
- g. What did you do there?
- h. Where have you travelled in your lifetime?
- i. Do you go home (i.e., to the ethnic homeland) to see your relatives?

2. History of Individual Language Use

(For each language which the respondent knows, especially Swahili)

- a. In how many languages can you converse?
- b. Do you know [Language X] well, tolerably well, or just a little?
- c. Who taught you that language?
- d. Where did you learn that language?
- e. How old were you when you learned that language?
- f. Why did you learn that language?
- g. How did you learn that language?
- h. How many languages did your parents speak? (Here, one can repeat questions 2.a-g for each parent and each language)
- i. When you go home (i.e., to the ethnic homeland) to see your relatives, which language(s) do you usually speak with them?
- j. What language(s) is/are spoken by the people who live close to this house?

3. Strategies for Language Use

- a. If you see a person whom you do not know but you wish to speak with him or her, which language will you use? Again, how will you know which language to use?

- b. Are there places outside of your house (in Lumbwa) where your home language should be used? Where?
- c. Are there places where it would not be appropriate to use the language of your home (in Lumbwa)? Which languages will you use there?

4. Actual Language Use

- a. How many languages did you speak today? Where did you speak them?
- b. How many languages did you speak this week? Where did you speak them?
- c. How many languages did you speak this month? Where did you speak them?

5. Language, Literacy, and Mass Communications Media (For each language known by respondent)

- a. Do you like to read books written in that language? If so, what kind of books do you like best?
- b. Do you like to read newspapers (and magazines) written in that language? If so, which newspapers especially?
- c. Do you write letters in that language? To whom do you usually write such letters -- in other words, to relatives, friends, government officials, merchants, or other people?
- d. Do you listen to radio programs in that language? Which programs especially?

6. Language Preferences

- a. Would you like to know another language? Which language? Why?
- b. Which languages would you like your children to know? Why?

7. Acquisition of the Standard Swahili Norm

- a. What is the best way of learning Standard Swahili?
 - 1. Learning it in school?
 - 2. Reading newspapers?
 - 3. Reading books?
 - 4. Listening to the radio?
 - 5. Going to the coast -- let's say, to Mombasa?
 - 6. Another way?

B. (For the mother of a nuclear family -- the questions asked above will be repeated, plus the following)

- a. What language(s) do you speak at the market?
- b. If you go to the shops, which language(s) do you speak?
- c. Which language(s) do you speak when you converse with women who live near this house?

C. (For the children of the family)

1. Language Use at School

- a. Which language(s) do you speak in class?
- b. Which language(s) do you speak when you are playing with other school children on the school grounds?

2. Language Use at Home

- a. Which language(s) do you speak with your parents?
- b. Which language(s) do you speak with your elderly relatives (wazee) who live at home here or in your ethnic homeland?
- c. Which language(s) do you speak with your older siblings?
- d. Which language(s) do you speak with your younger siblings?
- e. Which language(s) do you speak with the people who live near your house, e.g.:
 - with elderly persons?
 - with your playmates?
 - with adolescents?
 - with adults?

APPENDIX III

TAPE-RECORDED INTERVIEWS
ANALYZED FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

NAME	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION	LEVEL OF EDUCATION ACQUIRED
LLO				
1. J.J.	(55?)	M	Manual Laborer	St.2
2. M.N.	52	M	Manual Laborer	St.2
3. A.	29	M	Manager	St.7
4. B.M.O.	48	M	Telegrapher	Form 4
5. A.O.	32	M	Primary School Teacher	Teacher Training
*6. Mrs. M.	48	F	Primary School Teacher	?
LUNYA				
7. D.O.	(18?)	M	Manual Laborer	?
8. C.L.	43	M	Manual Laborer	None
9. J.M.	36	M	Chief Clerk/Shopkeeper	Form 2
10. A.L.	47	M	Preacher	St.7
11. A.A.	38	M	Primary School Teacher	Teacher Training
12. J.W.	34-36	M	R.R. Stationmaster	Form 4
**13. H.A.	(29?)	M	Secondary School Headmaster/Shopkeeper	Form 4
*14. Mrs. M.L.	?	F	Wife of #8	None
15. Mrs. E.M.	?	F	Shopkeeper (Wife of #9)	St.7
16. Mrs. Z.W.	?	F	Shopkeeper (Wife of #12)	("a little")
KIKIYU				
17. D.Ku	71	M	Church Attendant/Farmer	St.4
18. K.W.	55***	M	Manual Laborer	None
19. J.N.	29	M	Catechist/Shopkeeper	St.7
20. E.M.	(60?)	M	Preacher/Farm Foreman	St.3
21. D.Ki	30	M	Agricultural Officer	B.S.(?)
22. D.M.	24	M	Secondary School Teacher (son of #20)	Form 4
*23. Mrs. E.M.	(55?)	F	Wife of #20	None
24. R.N.	26	F	Shopkeeper (daughter of #20)	St.6
KIPSIKIS				
25. A.K.	(61?)	M	Watchman	None
**26. A.B.	34	M	Truck Driver	None
-27. A.C.	47	M	Farmer/Merchant	St.4
**28. A.L.	29	M	Shopkeeper/Farmer	None
29. W.A.K.	40	M	Subchief	St.7
30. A.C.C.	33	M	Primary School Teacher	Teacher Training
31. A.R.	40	M	Preacher/Teacher/Shopkeeper/Farmer/etc.	Form 2
32. F.A.C.	34	M	Assistant Stationmaster	St.7 (and gov't training)
33. M.	24	M	Shopkeeper	St.7
34. Mrs. A.B.	22	F	Wife of #26	None
35. R.M.	21	F	Secondary School Teacher	Form 4

*Partial Interview **Partially Analyzed Full Interview

***He appears to be in his mid-thirties.

APPENDIX IVa

PHONOLOGICALLY-RELATED ERRORS: WRITTEN SWAHILI

	LUO	LUYIA	KIKUYU		KIPSIGIS		TOTAL
	Male (N=3)	Male (N=7)	Male (N=13)	Female (N=7)	Male (N=10)	Female (N=7)	
1. Devoicing	2	1	17	6	60	37	123
2. Devoicing after N in NC					6	12	18
3. Voicing	2	4	5		28	23	62
4. Voicing after N in NC					1	2	3
5. Prenasalization	4	12	24	4	9	8	61
6. Denasalization	3	8	21	5	20	18	75
7. h → ∅	2	6	8	4	33	23	76
8. ∅ → h					11	5	16
9. l → r			7				7
10. r → l			8	1			9
11. m → mu	2	8	30	10	17	7	74
12. m → um	1	2	3	3	2		15
13. Frication (b/m → f; k → sh)	1				3	2	6
14. Defrication ($\begin{Bmatrix} f \\ v \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} p \\ b \end{Bmatrix}$)					4	11	15
15. Vowel Replacement	6	1	15	3	16	18	71
16. Miscellaneous	5	1	18	5	20	10	67
TOTAL	28	63	156	41	230	180	698

APPENDIX IVb

RANKING OF STUDENTS IN TERMS OF
PHONOLOGICALLY-RELATED ERRORS: WRITTEN SWAHILI

MOST STANDARD

↑ ↓	1. Female Kikuyu (N=7)	(15% of the students; 5.5% of the deviant forms)
	2. Male Luo (N=3)	(6.5% of the students; 4% of the deviant forms)
	3. Male Kikuyu (N=13)	(27.5% of the students; 22% of the deviant forms)
	4. Male Kipsigis (N=10)	(21% of the students; 32% of the deviant forms)
	5. Female Kipsigis (N=7)	(15% of the students; 25% of the deviant forms)

LEAST STANDARD

APPENDIX V

SPEECH IDENTIFICATION : LIST OF SPEAKERS*

SPEAKER	ETHNIC GROUP	AGE	SEX	OCCUPATION	LEVEL OF EDUCATION
1. A.K. (#25)	Kipsigis	61	M	Watchman	None
2. D.K. (#17)	Kikuyu	71	M	Church Attendant/ Farmer	St. 4
3. Mrs. H.	European (English)	(70?)	F	Farmer	
4. M.N. (#2)	Luo	52	M	Manual Laborer	St. 2
5. K.W. (#18)	Kikuyu	55(!)	M	Manual Laborer	None
6. G.L.	Kisii	(50?)	M	Foreman	St. 4
7. H.	Asian	(40?)	M	Shopkeeper	Form 4
8. A.L. (#28)	Kipsigis	29	M	Farmer	None
9. F.A.C. (#32)	Kipsigis	34	M	Ass't Stationmaster	St. 7 (+ gov't training)
10. C.L. (#8)	Luyia(Isukha)	43	M	Manual Laborer	None
11. D.Ki (#21)	Kikuyu	30	M	Agricultural Officer	B.S.(?)

*Numbers given within parentheses refer to the tape interview number of the respondent as listed in Appendix III.

APPENDIX VIa

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION: PERCENTAGE OF
CORRECT GUESSES PER SPEAKER*

SPEAKER	%
#4 (Luo)	92.5 %
#10 (Luyia[Isukha])	14 %
#2 (Kikuyu)	83.25%
*#5 (Kikuyu)	14.75%
#11 (Kikuyu)	20.25%
#1 (Kipsigis)	100 %
#8 (Kipsigis)	29.5 %
#9 (Kipsigis)	15 %
#6 (Kisii)	35.5 %
#7 (Asian)	35.75%
#3 (European:English)	32 %

*Rounded off to nearest .25%

APPENDIX VIb

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION: PERCENTAGES OF
CORRECT GUESSES BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP
OF STUDENT RESPONSES

(Male)Luo (N=3)	52.5 %
(Male)Luyia (N=8)	40.5 %
(Male)Kikuyu (N=15)	38.5 %
(Female)Kikuyu (N=7)	46.5 %
(Male)Kipsigis (N=14)	38.5 %
(Female)Kipsigis (N=7)	33.25%

APPENDIX VIIa

OCCUPATIONAL IDENTIFICATION: STUDENT RESPONSES
BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP TO SPEAKER #5

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY*	LUO	LUYIA	KIKUYU		KIPSIGIS		TOTAL
	Male (N=3)	Male (N=8)	Male (N=15)	Female (N=7)	Male (N=14)	Female (N=7)	
I	3	4	6	4	1	3	21(49%)
II		2	2	1	3		8(18.5%)
III		2		1			3(7%)
IV			2		7	2	11(25.5%)

APPENDIX VIIb

OCCUPATIONAL IDENTIFICATION: STUDENT RESPONSES
BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP TO SPEAKER #9

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY*	LUO	LUYIA	KIKUYU		KIPSIGIS		TOTAL
	Male (N=3)	Male (N=8)	Male (N=15)	Female (N=7)	Male (N=14)	Female (N=7)	
I		1	3		2		6(17%)
II					4		4(10.5%)
III						1	1(3%)
IV	1	4	7	4	5	3	24(68.5%)

*Responses coded according to the following scheme:

- I Manual Laborer (including mkulima ["farmer"], mfanya kazi ya mikono ["manual laborer"], and kibarua ["casual laborer"])
- II Trader (mfanya biashara)
- III Preacher (mhubiri)
- IV Clerical/Professional Worker (including karani ["clerk"], mwalimu ["teacher"], bwana mkubwa wa kampuni ["business executive"], and afisa wa serikali ["government official"])

APPENDIX VIIIA

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS: STUDENT RESPONSES
BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP TO SPEAKER #5

LEVEL OF EDUCATION ATTAINED*	LUO	LUYIA	KIKUYU		KIPSIGIS		TOTAL
	Male (N=3)	Male (N=8)	Male (N=15)	Female (N=7)	Male (N=14)	Female (N=7)	
a	1	3	2	3		1	10(21.75%)
b	1	3	4		1	1	10(21.75%)
c		1	2	3	8	2	16(34.75%)
d		1	2		2		5(10.75%)
e			2			1	3(6.5%)
f			1		1		2(4.25%)

APPENDIX VIIIB

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS: STUDENT RESPONSE
BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP TO SPEAKER #9

LEVEL OF EDUCATION ATTAINED*	LUO	LUYIA	KIKUYU		KIPSIGIS		TOTAL
	Male (N=3)	Male (N=8)	Male (N=15)	Female (N=7)	Male (N=14)	Female (N=7)	
a			2		2	1	5(11%)
b					1		1(2.25%)
c		3	2		3	2	10(22.25%)
d		2	4	2	3		11(24.5%)
e		2	2	1	1	1	7(15.5%)
f	1		4	4	1	1	11(24.5%)

*Responses coded according to the following scheme:

- a Hana elimu ("no schooling")
- b Standard Four
- c Standard Seven
- d Form Two
- e Form Four
- f Elimu ya juu ("university or beyond")

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