CODE SWITCHING AND MIXING AS A COMMUNICATION STRATEGY: THE CASE OF SWITCHING FROM LUBUKUSU TO ENGLISH AND MIXING THE TWO LANGUAGES

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR A MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND AFRICAN LANGUAGES, FACULTY OF ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
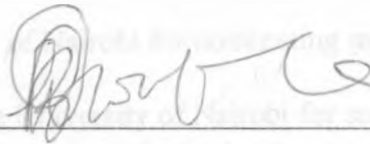
BY

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SEPTEMBER 2001

DECLARATIONS

This dissertation is my original work

and has never been submitted by anybody

for examination at any university.

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Barasa Wilber Wafula

This dissertation has been submitted for examination

with our approval as the candidate's supervisors.

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Dr. Francis Eshun

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A lot of work goes into a substantial academic undertaking such as this dissertation, more so if it is non-fiction. Throughout this project, I came to appreciate, more than ever before, how much we need others in doing anything. Many people were helpful, in one way or another, directly or indirectly. Since I may not be able to mention all of them by name, firstly, I wish to take this first opportunity to sincerely thank everyone who helped in any way to make this work a success.

Secondly, I would like to thank the Department of Linguistics and African Languages at the University of Nairobi for nominating me for a University Scholarship, and, I thank the University of Nairobi for subsequently awarding me a post-graduate scholarship to study linguistics. Were it not for their sponsorship, I would not have covered one more mile on the long journey of 'academia.'

Thirdly, I sincerely thank Dr. Alfred Buregeya, my main project Supervisor, for his no-nonsense, very informed and inspirational supervision of my work. From him, I learned four related virtues of scholarship: thoroughness, seriousness, carefulness and broad knowledgeability. Resourceful, he was. An academic mentor is what one can call him. If any mistakes or weaknesses are detected in this work, they are mine, not his. Here also, I salute Dr. Francis Eshun for coordinating post-graduate activities in the department.

Fourthly, I appreciate the commendable work always done by all the academic staff members of the Department of Linguistics and African Languages. I believe they are among the best in this country. I especially thank Mr. Oloo for being always there to answer the many questions related to the department, and for helping out in many ways despite his busy teaching schedule. If the University of Nairobi had twenty or more dedicated staff like him, in addition to Dr. Buregeya, Dr. Marete,

Prof. AbdulAziz and Mrs. Kiranga, it would have escaped the confusions that bedevil large public institutions in Kenya, and experienced a semblance of order in its operations.

To Josephat Lusuli and Elizabeth Nekesa, I owe gratitude for their being what they were during my working on this project. They always kept me from crossing over to insanity.

I cannot forget all those who helped with data (the likes of Martin, Charles, Morris, Ben, Abu, Mose, Chris, Cheloti, Halima and others), in typing and printing (Mary Muya), in photocopying and binding. Their parts were technically significant. This finished product would not have been possible without them.

Finally, all thanks be to God the Almighty, for this far He has brought me.

DEDICATION

To God, who alone gives meaning to all events, and, to Kellas and Renson

(my young brothers who make me 'think straight')

together with all those who Code mix.

ABSTRACT

A notable aspect of the speech behaviour of bilingual or multilingual people is that in informal situations they mix the languages they know when communicating with one another (a phenomenon referred to as Code Switching and Mixing, in the sociolinguistic literature). Taking this aspect of speech behaviour as a strategy of communication, this paper considers some of the sociopsycholinguistic factors that motivate it. This is done within the confines of psycholinguistic theory.

Some of the factors considered include economy of expression, conveyance of particular meanings and desire to talk about many things and experiences, attitudinal issues such as discomfort and impatience with one of the languages at play, and personality issues like confusion, embarrassment and nervousness.

The main objective of this paper is to unravel some of the sociopsycholinguistic motivations for Code Switching and Mixing.

The data used are derived from questionnaires (Appendix A), field notes taken by participant observation, and discourse chunks and pieces extracted from natural ethnographic conversations engaged in by/with the respondents.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1   RESEARCH BACKGROUND, REVIEW OF SOME RELEVANT LITERATURE, AND THE RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Lubukusu is a linguistic member of the Luhya group of dialects that constitute Luluhya, which in turn is a member of the Bantu family of languages. It is one of the dialects which segment most of Western Kenya into linguistic regions roughly corresponding to other cultural and ecological divisions. As elsewhere in Kenya where local independence and distinctness of folk culture are highly valued, the dialect enjoys great prestige in Bungoma and (parts of) Trans-Nzoia districts. This is because a person's native speech is regarded as an integral part of his family background, a sign of his local identity. By identifying himself as a dialect speaker both at home and 'abroad,' a person symbolizes pride in his community and in the distinctiveness of its contribution to society at large.

No human group of any permanence can exist without regular and frequent communication. Lubukusu speakers are no exception. But such communication does not necessarily imply monolingualism. Populations of widely different cultural and linguistic backgrounds live in close geographic proximity and socioeconomic interdependence. They co-operate in many respects. This is what prompted Whiteley to remark that:

> no group at the present time, nor at any recent historical period, has completely
> insulated itself from contact with other groups, and to the extent that contact was
> maintained and encouraged, even to the extent of group interpenetration as in
> Western Kenya, then some form of multilingualism could be expected at some
> level of society *(Whiteley, 1974:33).*

AbdulAziz is in agreement with this remark when he says that:

> in a rapidly changing situation of Africa, and in this context,
>
> Kenya, no speech community is truly homogenous with respect
>
> to language acquisition and use. Even in the remotest rural parts
>
> of Kenya, one is bound to find someone who has had contact with
>
> speakers of other languages. *(AbdulAziz, 1982:101)*.

The above remarks mean that people carry out their joint activities by means of not just one, but a variety of languages.

Thus, the majority (or at least a significant minority) of Lubukusu speakers (largely the Babukusu) can frequently communicate effectively in more than one language, and they alternate languages for various reasons, some of which this study will unravel. The other languages most Lubukusu speakers know are Kiswahili, English and some other Luhya dialects.

Although English and Kiswahili like any other language can be acquired informally, their great importance to kenyans require that they also be learned formally at school. The fact that Kiswahili is the national language, and English the official language in Kenya means that they are both taught as compulsory subjects in the kenyan public school system, and also as courses in colleges and universities. In addition, English functions as a medium of instruction right from standard one. In some schools, it is a medium of instruction even in pre-primary (nursery) schools. This confirms *Gorman's (1974)* assertion, while writing about the development of language policy in Kenya with particular reference to the educational system, that:

> the educational role of Swahili as a subject of instruction is being emphasized
>
> and that of English as a medium of instruction maintained, while less emphasis
>
> is being laid on vernacular languages. *(Gorman 1974, in Whiteley 1974:447)*.

This state of affairs is a consequence of the recommendations in the first part of the report of 1964, of the Kenya Education Commission that was established by the Minister for Education in 1963 and chaired by Professor S.H. Ominde of the then University College, Nairobi.

Therefore, any Lubukusu speaker who goes through the public school system in Kenya comes into contact with Kiswahili and English as their second languages. Since a considerable number of the younger generations of Lubukusu speakers have gone through school to the level of secondary school, most of them have attained a satisfactory level of both grammatical and communicative competence in Kiswahili and English.

Being the language of Kenya's former colonial power and a language of wider communication, English has a special status in the lives of kenyans because, as *Perren and Holloway (1965:10)* say, of 'its political, economic, social and educational use.' So the language is pursued by very many kenyans, among whom are Lubukusu speakers, because of its practical expediency and high functional value. More and more Lubukusu speakers are acquiring it and prefer it even to their native Lubukusu.

Modernity, technological and scientific advancement, the need for efficiency in communication, and so on, have heightened the importance of English as a second language, and as a necessary complement to Lubukusu among Lubukusu speakers.

Up to this point then, what should be noted is that the majority of modern Lubukusu speakers are multilingual. Lubukusu, Kiswahili, English, and two or three other languages constitute what we can call the Lubukusu speakers' linguistic repertoire, that is, the totality of linguistic resources which speakers may employ in

significant social interaction

It is with such a background that we can confidently say that one of the strategies adopted in the execution of a communicative act by bilingual or multilingual people like Lubukusu speakers is code switching and mixing.

In this paper, one should not be bothered by the possibility of a difference between code switching and code mixing the way *Kachru (1975)* was. Neither should one be bothered by the different kinds of code switching, an issue that preoccupied *Gumperz and Blom (1971)* and *Hudson (1980)*. Code switching, here, will be understood as it was defined by *Di Pietro (1977:3)*, that is, as 'the use of more than one language by communicants in the execution of a speech act.' This definition will also apply to code mixing, hence our putting together in the same title of the two notions of switching and mixing. Put in another way, code switching and mixing is the act of resorting to another language (in our case, English) and incorporating its items into another language (in our case, Lubukusu).

At a superficial level, this phenomenon seems too obvious to merit serious investigation. But if one may just pause and think about it, he or she will recognize that why certain speech forms such as those involving mixing of two languages are produced, and how they are understood in everyday communication involve complex mental processes related to rapid making of choices, none of which is fully understood yet. Specifically, one could argue that sociopsycholinguistic reasons for code switching and mixing are not yet fully known.

Nevertheless, there has been some effort made to describe or explain this phenomenon of code switching and mixing both theoretically and empirically. Some of the relevant literature along these lines include *Hudson (1980), Pride (1971),*

Wardhaugh (1998), Trudgill (1995), Gumperz (1964), Gumperz and Blom (1971), Heller (1978), Zentella (1976), Huerta (1977), Kachru (1975), Warie (1977), and Di Pietro (1977).

Hudson (1980) talks about code switching per se, concerning himself with the possible kinds of code switching along the lines of 'metaphorical code switching,' 'situational code switching' and 'conversational code switching,' *(pp. 56-57).* He mentions the phenomenon, alludes to the factors that trigger it, and suggests areas of research about the phenomenon that may be interesting. He does not psycholinguistically account for the phenomenon as it relates to communication as a speaker strategy. This leaves a theoretical gap, which this study intends to contribute to filling.

Pride (1971: 29) contends that code switching among or within languages demands constant judgement on the part of the language user, judgement which can easily go wrong. This judgement is what is considered in this study as psychic strategising (that is, thinking or reasoning) that happens with code switching and mixing during the accomplishment of various communication acts.

Wardhaugh (1998: 99-113), in trying to generally describe code switching and mixing, mentions things like 'a show of solidarity with listeners,' 'choice of topic,' 'perceived social and cultural distance,' and 'how one wants to appear to others,' as explanations for code switching and mixing, and agrees that this phenomenon may be a very useful social skill. The complexity of the phenomenon due to the number and variety of possible explanations highly dependent on the social context and intent of individual speakers renders Wardhaugh's account inexhaustive.

Trudgill (1995:107-108) pays tribute to social psychologists of language who pointed out that 'speakers are not sociolinguistic automata.' That is, as he goes on to point out:

> they can use switching for their own purposes: to influence or define the situation
> as they wish, and to convey nuances of meaning and personal intention, for instance,
> to make the conversation more intimate and confidential, or to signal two identities
> at once. *(Trudgill, 1995:107).*

However, Trudgill does not pursue this further since he is interested generally in language and social interaction and so focuses on conversational structure. This leaves the pursuit of the line of thinking followed by the social psychologists of language to the present study, to stretch their point a little bit further by adding more possibilities and illustrating them with empirical data derived from Lubukusu and English.

Huerta's (1977) interest in code switching in a bilingual situation was related to the acquisition of bilingualism in children, not as a calculated strategy for successfully efficient communication which is the task for this study.

Heller (1978: 2) notes that in the place of unconscious or semi-conscious use of language in everyday life, there is an extreme awareness of language, and a new way of holding conversations which involves the negotiation of language choice in every interaction. I agree with this, but rather than see this as negotiation for position in the community at large using strategies for seeking information about the others' mother-tongues and ethnicity, this study sees the negotiation in a different perspective. as involving a speaker's verbal and psychic strategies to maximize efficiency in communication. The verbal and psychic strategies are what make up code switching and mixing.

Zentella (1976) is interested in how specific interaction rules as perceived by the participants correlate with code switching. Focus is on children and how they develop code switching ability over the years. Factors that trigger code switching are mentioned as social, linguistic and situational variables, and purposes for it are mentioned that it is done for emphasis, addressee specification, elaboration and idiomatic expression. The present study is an addition to all this, as well as an extension of some of it.

Warie (1977: 32-33) explains the role of code switching as that of role identification, register identification, elucidation and interpretation. Similarly, *Kachru (1975: 83-84)* views mixing as a role – dependent and function - dependent linguistic phenomenon, contending that in terms of function, the specialized uses to which the given language is being put determine the code switching. The present investigation stretches this account further via another theoretical model and set of data.

Di Pietro (1977: 6-12) argues that all people, regardless of the languages they speak, possess certain verbal skills on which they rely to influence the outcomes of their conversations with others, and that code switching provides the basis of these strategies. In accounting for these strategies, he says that the strategies (verbal skills) are vital for the assertion of one's personality structure, for displaying group membership, for discussing topics that are exclusive, for warning, and for showing off of some ability. The present study gives another explanation for code switching and mixing.

Gumperz (1964) is interested in the comparative grammatical analysis of Hindi and Punjabi in describing code switching between the two languages. The

present study is not just a comparative and descriptive study. It is largely an explanatory study of code switching and mixing.

Gumperz and Blom (1971: 290-305) argue that code switching serves strong functions, and so is not only useful in demonstrating 'we-ness' and 'they-ness,' but also in 'expressing finer gradations of feeling for others,' 'involvement with the topic,' 'politeness to strangers,' and 'deference to officials.' The present investigation, while in agreement with this account, is an effort to add to the purposes for which code switching and mixing is done.

In the final analysis then, it can be noted that as perceptive as all of the above mentioned literature is on code switching and mixing, there are still many aspects of it which have so far escaped complete statement. We have only pieces of description and fragments of a theory of code switching and mixing as it relates to the communication process. For example, we know that speakers code switch and mix according to situation, topic, addressee, et cetera, which are sociolinguistic reasons for the act. But what exactly are the sociopsycholinguistic reasons for code switching and mixing according to situation, topic or addressee? In other words, why do speakers code switch and mix under these circumstances, even when these circumstances remain constant? This is one of the many questions that have not been exhaustively answered by anyone to the best of my knowledge. Explanations towards this end have been scanty and fragmentary In short, an exhaustive explanatory study is missing. This investigation is therefore an effort towards filling this lacuna as it focuses on why Lubukusu speakers with sufficient knowledge of English would resort to English thus incorporating English utterances in their Lubukusu speech even when they are conversing in Lubukusu and everyone present is Bukusu. It is on this basis

then that the study is justified.

More so, the implications of this study findings are very significant for both linguistic and communication theories. On the one hand, the study is useful for the understanding of linguistic change and the general organization of the grammars of the languages involved in any communicative act. On the other hand, the study is significant to the whole concept, practice and process of communication. It is an attempt at increasing the chances of success and efficiency in communication in everyday social interaction. At the same time, it is an attempt at protecting those who code switch and mix from being accused of disloyalty to their native languages, laziness, pride, ignorance, artificiality and so on, by portraying code switching and mixing as a necessary and strategic communicative device. In addition, the study is obviously important for a better understanding of the intelligence of speakers of a given language in terms of what they do with the linguistic resources in their linguistic repertoire It opens up new avenues for research on bilingualism and multilingualism. Here then, lies the rationale and significance of this study.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND, THE OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY

Since speakers resort to code switching and mixing for many reasons which may be sociopsychological, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, or sociopsycholinguistic,[1] this study is specifically an investigation into the sociopsycholinguistic reasons for the use of both Lubukusu and English in any piece of discourse, be it just an utterance or a bigger speech unit.

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[1] Sociopsycholinguistic reasons are those that have to do with language as it interacts with its speakers' minds taking social factors into consideration Psycholinguistic ones are those related purely to

Clearly then, the specific objectives of this investigation are:

1   To give sociopsycholinguistic reasons for code switching and mixing.

2   To show how speakers of a given language adapt their language to their

     communicative needs, and how the language lends itself to adaptation

     processes, thus contributing to the provision of the conceptual foundation

     for a theory of how languages adjust when they come under pressure to be

     efficient vehicles of desired successful communication

3   To show some of the basic linguistic differences between Lubukusu and

     English that encourage switching between the two languages and mixing

     them, and also to highlight some of the linguistic constraints on this

     code switching and mixing.

4.   To contribute to further research as well as spark interest in the field of

     sociopsycholinguistics and communication.

Aiming at the accomplishment of the above objectives then, this study's

general orientation will hinge on the premise that languages are different and all of

them are adequate for communication, but, these different languages accomplish the

same communicative functions in quite different ways- that is, speaking

sociopsycholinguistically. This is why a choice has to be made from among the

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language interacting with the speaker's mind in disregard of the social considerations. Sociolinguistic ones relate to the interaction of language and society in a broader sense, and sociopsychological ones have to do with the interaction of the individual mind with the society at large.

For code switching and mixing therefore. an example of each category of motives mentioned above will be as follows: A sociopsycholinguistic reason would be that code switching and mixing facilitates the attainment of precise but effective communication of messages to audiences by the speaker. a psycholinguistic one would be that it relaxes the speaker's mind and calms his nerves, a sociolinguistic one would be that it aids the speaker's adaptation to changing social situations. audiences and topics, and a sociopsychological one would be that an individual's participation in society are enhanced by it.

Note: Since individual personalities (minds) operate within society as they interact with language, there is a very thin line separating sociopsycholinguistic. sociopsychological and psycholinguistic motives. One can pass for another.

known codes to say something. The choice made does not necessarily have to be one code. They may be several, which are then mixed.

From my readings on the topic of this study, my personal observations and analyses, the following assumptions emerge:

1. Code switching and mixing is a speaker strategy for realizing economy of expression, thus using the least effort to communicate messages.

2. Speakers code switch and mix to convey particular meanings and talk about many things and experiences for which they have not acquired the appropriate vocabulary in their native language, or the vocabulary present in the native language is insufficient semantically or pragmatically.

3. Code switching and mixing is a speaker's indication of his/her impatience and discomfort with one of the languages at play.

4. Code switching and mixing is a speaker's way of dealing with mental confusion and general nervousness when pursuing an argument for which one lacks enough clear-cut and factual information (or evidence), or which is complex, foolish, delicate or embarrassing.

It is these assumptions that constitute the hypotheses for this study. That is, the study is designed to find out whether each of the four statements stated above can be supported by empirical and observational data.

1.3   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study draws upon early psycholinguistic theory, of which the most useful

version here is that which was developed by *Fodor, Bever and Garrett (1974)*, and

Leontiev (1969). This version of the theory is useful because of its consideration of

the interaction between language, (individual) mind, and social structure. Its tenets

that are of relevance are as expounded by the said theorists in the paragraphs that

follow:

Fodor et al (1974), in expounding their version of psycholinguistic theory

argue that:

> deciding upon an action typically involves using background information and current
>
> environmental inputs to determine which actions are likely to be possible, and then
>
> evaluating the various possibilities in light of some system of preferences. The action
>
> chosen is the one which achieves some sort of balance between estimated feasibility
>
> and estimated utility, *(Fodor et al, 1974:375)*.

This means that before the action of code switching and mixing, there is a

period of reasoning in order to make a reasoned, more feasible and useful choice

between code switching and mixing and not doing so. This reasoning can be very fast

taking just microseconds and involving what one may term 'thinking without

knowing.' This makes the move to code switching and mixing to be viewed as an

unconscious process sometimes, a view that cannot be dismissed as wrong, but which

cannot tone down the perception of the process as being largely conscious. This

taking of code switching and mixing as being conscious, in particular, presupposes

that the agent (speaker) has access to a system of representation in which the various

behavioural options can be formulated and assessed.

So far this points to the fact that:

human beings are largely self-determining systems whose actions (including

code switching and mixing) are typically calculated responses rather than

conditioned reflexes ... People act out of their construal of the situations in

which they find themselves, and such construals are normally the consequences

of very complicated perceptual and cognitive integrations. *(Fodor et al, 1974:513).*

The relevance of this quotation to the study of code switching and mixing as a

communication strategy is that speakers resort to these strategy when they think of the

language or communicative situation they are in as being deficient   So their adoption

of the strategy is a calculated response to a language or communication problem and

not a conditioned reflex.

Turning to *Leontiev (1969)*, his exposition of psycholinguistic theory is an

organization and summarization of the ideas of *Vygotsky (1962)*, and is closely related

to that of *Fodor et al (1974)*.

Leontiev starts with the claim that:

the strategy of speech behaviour is strictly governed by the

analysis of the concrete situation but that the actual tactics vary,

although only within the process of the realization of the plan, and

only owing to the fact that the results obtained fail to meet requirements,

(Leontiev, 1969:50).

He then proceeds to say that:

this then necessitates the search for a psycholinguistic theory that is heuristic

in type, that is, one which provides for a phase in which one chooses the strategy

of speech behaviour, which is generally flexible and permits of various different

forms of operation with utterances at the various stages of the generation (perception)

of speech, and which does not contradict the results obtained earlier when verifying

the psycholinguistic reality of other models. *(ibid).*

Paying tribute to L. S. Vygotsky, *Leontiev (1969)* says that the foundations of this heuristic psycholinguistic approach to the modelling of speech processes as laid down by Vygotsky can be summed up as follows:

1   Speech should be regarded as speech activity, which is part of the productive, cognitive, or other activity of man, and enables that activity to take place.

2   Activity as a whole (and speech activity as part of this) is governed by a motive or hierarchy of motives. It has a pre-assigned purpose and a dynamic structure, ensuring the optimum attainment of the aim.

3.   Speech activity must be taken in this connection as being similar to the solution of a cognitive problem as an intellectual act (in the broad sense of the term). If we treat speech as a process of solving a communication problem, we come naturally to the idea of the heuristic character of speech processes. Viewed from this angle, speech activity can be represented as a succession of phases, as follows: (a) orientation and planning, (b) execution, and (c) verification. Orientation may in turn be of two types: (i) orientation in the problem situation, leading to the revelation of the communicative intention, and (ii) orientation in the conditions of the communicative problem, culminating in programming.

4.   The orientation and planning phase may include the most complex orientation activity. Thus, the process of understanding the text (in the conceptual system under consideration) is the orientation

phase for the process of 'recounting in your own words.' The system of perceptive actions is the orientation phase for the verbal description of the results of perception ... At this stage, too, the speaker considers the functional aspect of what is being said. The actual speech behaviour is subordinated to the general organization of the process of solving the communication problem, and is determined in the course of the orientation activity.

5. This phase also includes the planning (programming) of the vocal expression. However, this programming is carried out, not in the linguistic code – not, that is to say, in the form of a "grammatical plan" – but in an inner speech code, using as supports, images and schemes, but not necessarily words or combinations of words.

6. In this view, a grammatical plan is part of the execution phase, and depends on the program adopted, which is embodied in the inner speech code. Thus, the choice of strategy in speech behaviour is linked to orientation and inner programming, whereas the choice of tactics is linked to the execution phase. *(Leontiev (1969) in Lenneberg and Lenneberg, 1975: 50-51)*.

Given this version of psycholinguistic theory *(Leontiev's and Fodor et al's)*, it can be said then that the theory is built on a certain account of how it is that certain utterances can serve as efficient vehicles of successful communication between speaker and listener. In other words, how speech is produced and understood in the context of everyday communication is the theory's central problem. The theorizing pictures the speaker/hearer as using what he knows about his language(s) to compute

a series of representations of the overt speech event on the one hand, on the other hand, as integrating his behaviour in the light of the results of such computations.

This psycholinguistic theory, which one may prefer to call sociopsycholinguistic theory because of its linkage to social factors as they work in the communication process, is highly idealized in such a way that one always chooses the best way of saying what one intends to say. The moral of this theory is that mentalists were right: people think, strategize and choose. There is no substitute for human intelligence. Speakers are intelligent enough to know that to ensure accurate and efficient communication between themselves and their audiences, they have to modify their verbal behaviour in a manner thought as appropriate and useful.

The theory is quite relevant to the study of code switching and mixing as a communication strategy since it is about verbal behaviour, making choices, motives and aims, solution of communication problems, thinking, planning and modifying speech forms and patterns in relation to the topics, audiences and situations.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

There are many and varied books on the various methods of data collection, recording, presentation and analysis. However, for this study, very basic but useful handbooks were consulted. They include works such as *Wamahiu and Karugu (1995:115-130)* on the qualitative research paradigm, participant observation and ethnographic interviewing, *Peil (1995:56-127)* on fieldwork, questionnaires and so on, *Samarin (1967)* on elicitation and related procedures, *Verma and Krishnaswamy (1989:348-349)* on contrastive analysis, and *Hughes (1995:131-140)* on conversational analysis.

The qualitative research paradigm will be adopted in this investigation. Information important to this study and the necessary data will be derived from both library research and fieldwork. Fieldwork involved the use of questionnaires and participant observation. The questionnaire (Appendix A) was served to twenty respondents who had sufficient knowledge of both Lubukusu and English. This was done in Nairobi, Kenya, and this partially explains why the study involved only 20 respondents – it was difficult to get more of the respondents who had the necessary characteristics and who were willing to participate. The other reason why only 20 respondents were involved via questionnaire method is that the topic of study was that which could be studied using any number of respondents. The most important thing was the data that could be derived from them, that is, utterances involving mixing of English and Lubukusu.

By the questionnaire, respondents were asked to give examples of utterances in which English expressions are inserted into their Lubukusu speech. They were also asked to give pure Lubukusu equivalents of those utterance examples they gave (that is, the utterance examples without incorporation of English items but retaining their messages). The respondents were then asked if it was because they wanted to use fewer words or shorter expressions, or to convey particular meanings, or to be happy, relaxed, confident and less confused when talking about complex topics, or to talk about many things and experiences for which they have not acquired the appropriate vocabulary in their mother-tongue, or because they disliked Lubukusu, or Lubukusu and English were different hence accomplishing certain communicative objectives differently, or they were tired, angry, mixed up and stressed, that they switch from Lubukusu to English and mix the two languages.

Participant observation as another method involved the researcher interacting with ten fellow Lubukusu speakers who also know English and five of whom filled the questionnaire also. This interaction was through ordinary conversations in Lubukusu on wide-ranging issues. From these conversations relevant discourse pieces and chunks were extracted and recorded in a notepad, and where these pieces and chunks of discourse exhibiting Lubukusu – English mixing occurred, ethnographic interviews were done incorporating some linguistic elicitation procedures informally. That is, subjects were asked by the researcher why they mixed English items into Lubukusu speech, where and when they did so. In the process, some reasons like to achieve economy of expression, to convey particular meanings, to talk about many things and experiences for which appropriate vocabulary have not been acquired in the mother-tongue or the mother-tongue is insufficient, to deal with confusion and nervousness when arguing complex, delicate, embarrassing, or foolish points, to indicate and deal with discomfort and impatience with Lubukusu weaknesses, were suggested to them so that they respond 'yes' or 'no' to them. Those subjects who were more co-operative were even asked to repeat the relevant utterances and urged to remember and say even those texts involving code mixing that they make elsewhere, and give reasons why they code mix.

This ethnographic interviewing was done on as many occasions as possible in Nairobi, Kenya, not with all the ten subjects together on every occasion, but involved one or two subjects on each occasion. While this interview was done, the progression of the communicative events (conversations or discussions) was carefully observed and relevant fieldnotes taken.

In addition to the above methods, constant data – from – self analyses were done by the researcher, an act called introspection. That is, the researcher's personal intuitions were useful since he also resorts to code switching and mixing in communicating with his fellow Lubukusu speakers.

The data, organized and presented in various kinds of texts will be analysed by comparing and contrasting obtained discourse pieces and chunks involving Lubukusu - English mixing and their pure Lubukusu communicative equivalents (some of which are given by the questionnaire respondents and others worked out by the researcher and some conversation subjects). At this stage, both inductive and deductive reasoning are vital assets.

As a conclusion to this section on methodology, emphasis is laid on the point that the significance of participant observation, as one of the methods used in collecting data for this study, lies in the fact that to achieve explanation for the phenomenon such as code switching and mixing, an investigator cannot merely confine himself to comparisons of mixed language utterances given by questionnaire respondents and repeated purely in one language. He must employ all the ethnographer's methods, the most important being this participant observation, for arriving at the rules and motives underlying the activity of mixing languages. The most rewarding thing in this regard, perhaps, is the analysis of tape recorded or transcripted natural conversations.

1.5   THE SCOPE AND STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The focus of this study will be on verbal communication in everyday social interaction, and in particular, on a speaker's strategy in speech production. That is,

how he goes about conveying messages to others through word of mouth. By strategy

is meant a verbal technique for communicating messages, in this case, the technique

of switching and mixing languages. The study will be interested in specific

sociopsycholinguistic motivations for this technique. So the intents of speakers who

use the strategy mentioned will be an important point of reference.

The study site has been in Nairobi, Kenya, a cosmopolitan region where over

50 linguistic groups are represented. Nairobi is Kenya's capital city and centre of

modernity with startling socio-cultural, linguistic, political and socio-economic

dynamics. It was chosen because of convenience considerations in addition to the

feeling that the respondents who reside in Nairobi, most likely, must have acquired

English in school to a satisfactory level. This turned out to be a limitation to some

extent, when it came to providing pure Lubukusu equivalents of the Lubukusu –

English utterances. It was difficult and required a lot of consulting, because some

Lubukusu words had been forgotten by the Lubukusu speakers residing in Nairobi.

This led to increased travelling, time wasting and increased expenditure.

The study is structured as follows:

Chapter One gives the study background reviewing some relevant literature,

rationalizing the study as it states the problem, objectives and hypotheses of the study.

Also, it expounds the theory relevant for the understanding of the study topic, details

the methods used in carrying out the study and outlines the scope of the study. All

these form this paper's introduction.

Chapter Two gives the manifestations of Lubukusu – English switching and

mixing and considers some of the apparent linguistic constraints on some of these

manifestations.

In Chapter Three, data are presented and discussed. It is here that the study hypotheses are examined in relation to data.

Finally, Chapter Four is where the general conclusion to this investigation is made. It is here that a statement is made about whether the hypotheses have been confirmed or not.

CHAPTER TWO: MANIFESTATIONS OF AND LINGUISTIC CONSTRAINTS ON LUBUKUSU – ENGLISH SWITCHING AND MIXING

2.1   MANIFESTATIONS OF LUBUKUSU – ENGLISH SWITCHING AND MIXING

Code switching and mixing can be manifested in various ways, such as unit insertion, unit hybridization, sentence insertion, idiom and collocation insertion, inflection attachment, and lexicalization. These processes will each be defined in the sections that follow. They will be referred to and understood as described and explained by Kachru (1975: 80-83). The only point of departure from Kachru will be in the data used for illustration. While this paper's data will come from Lubukusu speech incorporating English items, Kachru's came from Hindi incorporating English.

2.1.1   UNIT INSERTION

'This refers to the introduction of a grammatical unit above a word in a sentence of a given language from another language' *(ibid. p. 80)*. In the case of this paper, it is the introduction of an English grammatical unit above a word (for instance, the introduction of an English noun phrase (NP), verb phrase (VP), adjectival phrase (Adj. P), adverb phrase (Adv. P) and so on), in a Lubukusu sentence. Examples of this phenomenon abound. Some of them are the following extracts from the speeches of our respondents.

Adj. P insertion:

1 'Baba wange ali **very irresponsible** '

(My father is very irresponsible).

Adv. P insertion:

2 'Ninyokhe **very early** luno '

   (I woke up very early today).

NP insertion:

3. 'Khache wa **my sister** muchuli.'

   (I will go to my sister's (place) tomorrow).

VP insertion:

4 'Ndarush-a **home** ekoloba.'

   (I will rush home in the evening)

5 'Kachang-a **address** '

   (He/she changed the address).

2.1.2 UNIT HYBRIDIZATION

'This refers to the use of code mixing within a unit, say, a noun phrase (NP), verb phrase (VP), or even a compound verb (CV),' *(ibid, p. 80).* In this paper, it is the mixing of English and Lubukusu morphemes within a unit such as an NP, a VP or a CV. The following extracts from the respondents' speeches illustrate this process:

Mixing within an NP and a PP:

6. 'Omuntu **normal** oli mu**college** ...'

   (A normal person who is in college ...)

Mixing within an NP and a VP:

7 '**Agreement** yefwe erama **standing** '

   (Our agreement remains standing).

Mixing within an S and a VP:

8. 'Sendi**believ**-a omuntu lundi ta.'

(I will never believe a person again).

Mixing within V, S and VP:

9. 'Khua**gree**-a khukhuyeta se**mean**-a mbo aba na**accept**-e **liability** ta.'

(To agree to help you does not mean that I have accepted liability).

2.1.3 SENTENCE INSERTION

This is the 'insertion of a sentence of one language into another language,' *(ibid, p. 81).* The following extracts from the speeches of the respondents are illustrative of this process:

Insertion of English sentences into Lubukusu speech:

10 'Omanye, **Sarah is not bad.** Nekakhali wamunania, **you will see fire** '

(You know, Sarah is not bad. But if you disturb her, you will see fire).

11 'Bachaluo khabafwa sana mu**college** muno **These people need prayers**

'Busa ukimwi ekhabamale.'

(The Luos are dying so much in this college. These people need prayers.

Otherwise AIDS, will wipe them out).

12. '**This brother of mine is funny** Buli nga nekhwakanana kenya muwe chisenti

mala niye achumanga nese ta. '**I do not know what he thinks** '

(This brother of mine is funny. Every time we meet he wants money from me,

yet, he works and I do not. I do not know what he thinks).

2.1.4 IDIOM, PROVERB OR COLLOCATION INSERTION

This is the insertion of idiomatic expressions, proverbs and collocations of one language into another language, as is the case of inserting English idiomatic expressions, wise sayings, or collocations into Lubukusu discourse in the following extracts from our respondents:

13. 'Omusungu kelomela ali **charity begins at home** Yiyeta wamwene nio wunjete ese.

    (The Whiteman said that charity begins at home. Help yourself before you help me).

14 'Ndibisie **a bunch of keys** nga khutimile.'

    (I lost a bunch of keys as we ran)

15 'Olenyola **on the wrong side of the law** solasima ta '

    (You will get yourself on the wrong side of the law you will not like it).

16 'Khwekhale busa **fingers crossed** paka khubone**manager**.'

    (We are just sitting fingers crossed until we see the manager).

NOTE: It should be noted that the idiomatic expressions, proverbs or collocations can be sentences, NPs, VPs, Adj.Ps and so on. They have been considered here in an independent section because their transfer from English into Lubukusu is done carefully to preserve their special semantic and pragmatic effects. So they are lifted directly as units and incorporated into Lubukusu without any morphophonological and syntactic contamination.

2.1.5 INFLECTION ATTACHMENT

In this process, Lubukusu inflectional morphemes are attached to English items that have been incorporated into Lubukusu speech. For example, **chi**degree (degrees), **e**degree (a degree), **a**look-**anga** worried (He/she looks worried),

kagraduatile (He/she graduated), and so on.

Inflection attachment has to do with marking number, noun class, person, tense and so on From the examples from our respondents' utterances given, it can be noticed that 'chi-' marks plural and the noun class in which degrees fall, 'ka-' marks past tense and third person singular and '-le' marks recent past.

2.1.6 LEXICALIZATION

'This refers to lexical infusion in a language from a lexical source (or sources) not native to the particular language,' *(Kachru 1975: 82).* For this study, it is the infusion of English lexical items into Lubukusu speech, a process one might want to call "Englishization" of Lubukusu. Below are examples from the respondents' data.

17. 'Khu**handl**-a e**case** mu**court** khulume. **Lawyers** nkorwa bakholanga barie ta. Ese se**suit**-a mu**legal profession** ta.'

    (To handle a case in court is difficult. I do not know how lawyers do it. Me I cannot suit in a legal profession).

18. 'Khu**manag**-a e**family** engali khuli **complex.**'

    (To manage a big family is complex).

19. 'Li**week** lilondakho khukhabe nende e**tournament** ya **basketball**.'

    (Next week we shall have a basketball tournament).

20. 'Chi**programs** chili khu**computer** yange chili **outdated.**'

    (The programmes on my computer are outdated).

2.2   LINGUISTIC CONSTRAINTS ON LUBUKUSU – ENGLISH SWITCHING AND MIXING

Although code switching and mixing cannot be said to operate on absolute 'dos' and 'don'ts' due to its very dynamic nature and informal orientation, there are some linguistic constraints which seem to operate within certain manifestations of the process. These are linguistic constraints which appear to operate on code mixing within VPs, PPs, verbs and inflection attachments. That is they determine which item occurs in one language and which item in another (in the event of language mixing) within a given grammatical unit or manifestation of the process. Thus, the constraints constrain the making of choices between the codes at play in relation to the order and therefore pattern of mixing them.

2.2.1   CONSTRAINT ON CODE MIXING WITHIN A VP

In the event of code mixing within a VP, the head element, which is the verb, is usually in Lubukusu and its complements in English. Some of the respondents' utterances that exhibit this observation are:

21. (a) 'a-li **very irresponsible**.' (He/she is very irresponsible).

    (b) 'a-li **bright**.' (He/she is bright).

    (c) 'lia **fruits**.' (Eat fruits).

    (d) 'khupa **the kid**.' (Beat the kid).

    (e) 'ba **serious**.' (Be serious).

    (f) 'londa **tradition**.' (Follow tradition).

    (g) 'yima **firm**.' (Stand firm).

    (h) 'yikhala **tough**' (Sit/be tough).

Going by the emerging pattern in (21) above, the constraint on language

mixing within a VP seems to be the following:

'No verb from English subcategorizes complements from Lubukusu; it is verbs

from Lubukusu that subcategorize complements from English.'

This apparent constraint can be represented by a rule which can be formulated as

follows:-

1. (a) Pattern-like CM-VP ➔ Verb (in Lubukusu) + complement (in English)

   Where: 'Pattern-like' means 'generally normal'

   'CM-VP' means 'code mixing within a VP.'

   ➔ means 'is'

   + means 'followed by.'

A change in this rule so that a verb in English subcategories a complement in

Lubukusu makes the code mixing within a VP not pattern-like and therefore unusual.

That is,

   (b) * Pattern-like CM-VP ➔ Verb (in English) + Complement (in Lubukusu)

   is odd to many Lubukusu speakers from whom data in (21) above was

   obtained. For instance, to them, the utterances below (selected from those in

   (21) and subjected to rule 1 (b) above will be unusual:

   (c) *   **eat** kamatunda (eat fruits)

   (d) *   **beat** omwana (beat the kid)

   (e) *   **follow** kimila (follow tradition)

NB: '*' means odd/unusual/wrong.

2.2.2 CODE MIXING – WITHIN – A – PP CONSTRAINT

In code mixing within a prepositional phrase, the governor, which is the

preposition, is usually in Lubukusu and the other elements in English, that is, going

by the pattern exhibited by the extracts from respondents' speeches given in 22 (i) below. A change in these so that the governor is in English and the other elements in Lubukusu makes the expressions unusual. Infact nothing like this (expressions with a governor in English and other items in Lubukusu in 22 (ii) below happens in the speech of the respondents).

22. (i) (a) mu**corner** 'in a corner.'

    (b) mu**college** 'in college.'

    (c) mu**meeting** 'in a meeting.'

    (d) khu**market** 'on the market.'

    (e) khu**expert** 'to the expert.'

22. (ii) (a) * **in** ambotokho (in a corner).

    (b) * **in** sisomelo (in college).

    (c * **in** sikhasio (in a meeting).

    (d) * **on** soko (on the market)

    (e) * **to** omanyile (to the expert).

The condition seems to state that 'in mixing languages within a prepositional phrase, no governor (X) can be in English and the other elements (Y) in Lubukusu; a governor (X) can only be in Lubukusu and the other elements (Y) in English.'

This condition in formal notation will be:

2. (a) Pattern-like CM-PP → X (in Lubukusu) + Y (in English).

  (b) * Pattern-like CM-PP → X (in English) + Y (in Lubukusu).

Where,

       'Pattern-like' means 'usual/generally normal.'

'CM-PP' means code mixing within a PP

→ means 'is.'

X is the governor (preposition)

Y means 'other elements that occur with the governor (preposition)

* means odd/unusual/wrong/does not occur.

+ is a morpheme boundary marker meaning here 'followed by.'

2.2.3 CODE MIXING – WITHIN – A - VERB CONSTRAINT

In mixing Lubukusu and English within a verb, the infinitive marker 'to' that precedes verbs is usually in Lubukusu, that is 'khu-,' which is then attached to an English verb, following the Lubukusu rule whereby the infinitive marker is prefixed to the stem, unlike in English where it is a free morpheme. An alteration of this state of affairs so that the infinitive marker is in English, that is 'to,' and the verbs it precedes are in Lubukusu, does not occur at all in the speeches of this study's respondents. Below are two sets of data 23 (i) and (ii) to illustrate these observations:

23. (i) (a) **Khufly**-a 'to fly.'

(b) **Khuattend**-a 'to attend.'

(c **Khutreat**-a 'to treat.'

(d) **Khutravel**-a 'to travel.'

(e) **Khustud**-a 'to study.'

(f) **Khumanage**-a 'to manage.'

23. (ii) (a) * **to** burukha 'to fly.'

(b) * **to** bao 'to attend.'

(c * **to** silikha 'to treat.'

   (d) * **to** cha lukendo 'to travel.'

   (e) * **to** soma 'to study '

   (f) * **to** khwimelela 'to manage.'

These suggest a constraint on Lubukusu – English mixing within a verb which

seemingly (from the data pattern above) states that:

> 'In mixing Lubukusu and English within a verb, an infinitive marker, A, cannot be in
>
> English and a verb (stem). B in Lubukusu; only the reverse of this, that is A in
>
> Lubukusu and B in English occurs.'

This in formal notation would be,

$$3(a) \text{ L-E-M-V} \rightarrow \text{A (in Lubukusu) + B (in English)}.$$

$$(b) \text{ * L-E-M-V} \rightarrow \text{A (in English) + B (in Lubukusu)}.$$

Note:

Where, 'L-E-M-V' means 'Lubukusu – English mixing within a verb'

      A   is the inifinitive marker

      B   is the verb

      $\rightarrow$ means 'is'

      + means 'followed by.'

      * means 'does not occur.'

2.2.4 INFLECTION ATTACHMENT CONSTRAINT

    The inflections marking number, person, noun class and tense are usually from

Lubukusu and are attached to incorporated English items, not vice-versa. Examples

from the respondents' utterances are:

24 (a) chi**degree** 'degrees.'

(b) **edegree** 'a degree.'

(c chi**paper** 'papers.'

(d) **Kagraduat**ile 'He/she graduated '

There can be no occurrence of expressions such as '**he** rura-**d**' (to mean 'he

graduated),' or karatasi-**s** (to mean 'papers'), or '**a** karatasi' (to mean 'one paper)'

A rule for these observations can be formulated thus:

4 IA-LEMT ➜ inflections (in Lubukusu) attached to items from English.

Note:

Where, 'IA-LEMT'means 'inflection attachment as a Lubukusu – English

mixing tool

➜ means 'is.'

2.3   CONCLUSION TO CHAPTER TWO

It cannot be claimed that this paper has exhaustively considered the

manifestations of Lubukusu – English switching and mixing. There may be other

ways in which this phenomenon is manifested   Also, the issue of constraints has not

been exhaustively surveyed   Constraints on Lubukusu – English switching and

mixing can be of many kinds that include linguistic, social and psychological. In this

chapter, only some of the linguistic constraints have been stated. Therefore, more

research on these issues of manifestations of and constraints on Lubukusu – English

switching and mixing is needed to illuminate them even more.

CHAPTER THREE: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

3.1 MOTIVATIONS FOR CODE SWITCHING AND MIXING

The motivations for code switching and mixing may be social, linguistic or psychological. However, to a certain extent, these three factors tend to overlap and interact, with one another so much so that we have sociolinguistic, sociopsychological, psycholinguistic, or sociopsycholinguistic motivations. This paper will be concerned with sociopsycholinguistic motivations, that is, motivations that have to do with language as these languages are manipulated by individual speakers in their minds as well as in social groups.

Relevant data for this discussion will be derived from questionnaires and participant observation involving ethnographic interviewing. As a reminder, by the questionnaire, respondents were asked to give examples of the utterances they make mixing Lubukusu and English when their audience is Bukusu and pure Lubukusu would do as well. They were then requested to give the communicative equivalents for these examples of theirs in pure Lubukusu. A section was included that suggested to them that they might have switched and mixed the two languages in the examples they had given at the beginning probably due to the nature of the situation, topic or audience. Then they were asked if they did so to use fewer words or shorter expressions, convey particular meanings, talk about many things and experiences for which they have not acquired the appropriate vocabulary in their native language, or just because they disliked Lubukusu and felt it must be complemented by English, or

just because they were tired, angry, mixed up and stressed, the two languages were different and accomplished certain communicative objectives differently for them, or the code mixing made them happy, relaxed, confident and less confused even when talking about something complex. Finally, any other reason missed in the suggestions was welcome from these respondents.

Participant observation and accompanying ethnographic interviewing involved listening for the relevant utterances (those in which English was resorted to and its expressions inserted into Lubukusu discourse) and extracting them from the many conversations engaged in by the respondents in my presence. I participated in these conversations. On every hearing of a relevant utterance, subjects were asked why they had resorted to English expressions' insertion into Lubukusu discourse. Many reasons, relevant to the study, that covered those suggested in the questionnaire, were suggested to these respondents to allow for agreement or disagreement on each This was meant to make things easier for them.

In the sections that follow, the discussion, as opened at the beginning of this chapter, is continued with special consideration of what were this study's hypotheses in Chapter One, and the findings that have been made

3.1.1 ECONOMY OF EXPRESSION

To examine the hypotheses that code switching and mixing is a speaker strategy for realizing economy of expression (thus using the least effort to communicate messages), I specifically compared and contrasted the questionnaire

respondents'mixed Lubukusu – English utterance examples and their communicative

equivalents in pure Lubukusu the respondents had given. Also the relevant utterances

extracted from the conversation respondents' speeches were considered, their

communicative equivalents in pure Lubukusu worked out, and a comparison of these

sets made. All this was done with respect to the respondents' responses regarding the

use of fewer words or shorter expressions (in other words, economy of expression) as

the possible reason for Lubukusu – English switching and mixing. Both deductive

and inductive reasoning were done.

Below are some of the utterance examples given by the questionnaire

respondents (indicated by QR) and the extracts of discourse pieces from the

conversation respondents (indicated by CR), data set 1 (i), followed by their

communicative equivalents in pure Lubukusu, that is data set 1 (ii).

1 (i) (a) Ngendanga nende **empty wallet** (CR)

     (I walk with an empty wallet)

  (b) Wikhala mu**corner** mwesikuri newalola **football** bulayi (CR)

     (You sit in the corner of the field so as to watch footbal well).

  (c Omuntu o**mix**-a bulayi ne bubi ... (CR)

     (A person who mixes good and evil ...)

  (d) Khe**feel**-a sick (QR)

    (I am feeling sick)

  (e) Ndi **disturbed**. Semanya sila**happen**-a ta (QR)

    (I am disturbed. I do not know what will happen)

  (f) Ndi **busy** (QR)

    (I am busy)

(g) Nachile **eschool late** (QR)

    (I went to school late)

(h) **Meet-a nephew** wange nende **school-mate** wewe (CR)

    (Meet my nephew and his school-mate)

(i) Khwalinda **from dawn to dusk** (CR)

    (We waited from dawn to dusk)

(j) Khubone **manager** (QR)

    (We see the manager)

(k) Bali **in love** (QR)

    (They are in love)

(l) Nda**travel**-a muchuli (QR)

    (I will travel tomorrow)

In pure Lubukusu, the utterances above would be:

1 (ii) (a) Ngendanga nende <u>sibeti sitambamo esintu</u>.

    (b) Wikhala <u>mumbotokho</u> mwesikuri newalola <u>kumupira kwe bikele</u> bulayi.

    (c Omuntu <u>otubanisia</u> bulayi ne bubi …

    (d) Khe<u>niulila omulwale.</u>

    (e) Ndi<u>khenanisibwa</u> semanya sile<u>kholekhana</u> tawe.

    (f) Ndi <u>nende kimilimo kimikali</u>.

    (g) Nachile <u>esisomelo nenchelewe</u>.

    (h) <u>Yakanana nende omwiwana</u> wange nende <u>owasie niye asomanga naye</u>.

    (i) Khwalinda <u>khukhwama nga nebwasia paka nga nebwalabula</u>.

    (j) Khubone <u>omwimelesi/omukhongo</u>.

    (k) Bali <u>mubusimane</u>.

(1) Nd<u>acha lukendo muchuli.</u>

The clearest thing that arises from the comparison of the utterances in the two

sets of data above is that the English expressions that have been inserted into

Lubukusu texts are shorter compared to Lubukusu expressions that could have been

used instead. For instance, 'empty wallet' is shorter than 'sibeti sitambamo esintu,'

'footbal' shorter than 'kumupira kwe bikele,' 'omixa' shorter than 'otubanisia,' and

'in love' shorter than 'mubusimane.'

Also, given knowledge of the nature of the respondents and the study site, one

can infer that English is most frequently used in the daily activities of the respondents

than Lubukusu. The other frequently used language is Kiswahili. It is likely that if a

language is not frequently used, then some expressions in that language are forgotten

or are never known by some of its speakers, or the expressions just become very

remote, and so not readily available for exploitation in daily communication. A

typical case is 'mumbotokho,' a Lubukusu expression for Lubukusu – English

expression 'mucorner' in utterance (b) in the sets of data given above. Such like

Lubukusu expressions (wherever they were supposed to occur) did not readily

become available to the respondents. This could be observed from the respondents'

pauses, head-scratching and asking what the Bukusu say when they want to say things

like 'in a corner.' Even the questionnaire respondents would give a Lubukusu-

English utterance like 'Li-**week**' and its pure Lubukusu communicative equivalent as

'Liwiki,' forgetting that this is just a repetition of the same utterance. They have

forgotten that 'Li**week**' becomes 'Lisicha' in pure Lubukusu.

The above observation could be an indication that to recall some Lubukusu

expressions in fast and varied communicative events was difficult. It required a

'torturing' frantic memory search and help-seeking from other speakers. Therefore,

resorting to readily available (due to frequency of use) English expressions and

inserting them into Lubukusu texts, for instance, like in 'mu<u>corner</u>,' becomes the easy

way out of the taxing situation.

Thus, by switching from Lubukusu to English and inserting English

expressions into Lubukusu discourse, circumlocution, lengthy words, and difficulty

search for 'lost' Lubukusu expressions in order to communicate with other speakers,

are avoided Consequently, it can be argued that the physical and mental energy

expended on a communicative activity is minimized, and the speakers' audience's

patience in listening is not overstretched. This is because a shorter time is spend on a

communicative act. This is how code switching and mixing helps speakers to realize

economy of expression.

Since code switching and mixing is part of the process of man's linguistic

evolution or adaptation, the above arguments would make one to agree that:

> linguistic evolution may be governed by the permanent conflict between man's
>
> communicative needs and his tendency to reduce to a minimum his mental and
>
> physical activity. Here as elsewhere. human behaviour is subject to the law of
>
> least effort, according to which man gives of himself only so much as is
>
> necessary to attain the end he has in view, (*Martinet, 1964:167*).

Anttila (1972) shares these too when he talks about the linguistic and social

factors that contribute to language change. Conceding that these factors are mediated

by a psychological one, Anttila agrees that:

> the driving force (behind linguistic change, or code switching and mixing, if we may
>
> add) is the mental striving to adapt language for communication with least effort,
>
> that is, the psychological motive and the necessity of fulfilling the functions of speech.
>
> (*Anttila, 1972: 181*).

These efficiency – in – communication principles play a very important part in the daily conversations and discourses of people. From my own experiences and observations of others, an argument can be advanced that audiences have no time and patience to listen to speakers who use many or lengthy expressions and long periods to make their point. Many speakers recognize this fact, which has ensured that accuracy while obeying the 'economy of expression' principle (even if this calls for language mixing) is aimed at in most cases.

In fact, 72.2% of the questionnaire respondents (that is, 13 out of 18 respondents) answered 'yes' to the question of whether they switched from Lubukusu to English and inserted English items into Lubukusu speech in order to use fewer words or shorter expressions. 27.8% (5 out of 18 respondents) answered 'no.' However, looking at the English expressions (in utterance examples (d) and (g) in data set 1(I) above) and comparing them with their equivalents in data set 1 (ii), economy of expression in terms of shorter expressions cannot be ruled out as a subconscious motivation for code switching and mixing by the five questionnaire respondents. This is because, utterance examples (d) and (g) referred to were taken from them. It is noteworthy also that all the ten respondents that participated in the ethnographic conversations agreed that economy of expression was among the motivations for their mixing of languages.

Further support for this factor can be got from the data given earlier in 1(I) and (ii). It is noticeable that there is no insertion of English expressions into Lubukusu texts where a shorter Lubukusu expression would do to preserve speech economy. Where Lubukusu expressions are replaced by English ones even when the former

would be economical as well, one can only hypothesize that the speaker's intention was to achieve another aim. This other possibility is what we explore next.

3.1.2 CONVEYANCE OF PARTICULAR MEANINGS AND NEED TO TALK ABOUT MANY THINGS AND EXPERIENCES

To test the hypothesis that speakers use code switching and mixing to convey particular meanings and talk about many things and experiences for which they have not acquired the 'appropriate' vocabulary in their native language or whose native vocabulary is semantically and pragmatically insufficient, this study considered the meanings which English expressions inserted into Lubukusu texts conveyed. Also, how the respondents' utterances would have failed to mean what the respondents wanted to convey if they had used Lubukusu expressions in place of English ones making the utterances purely Lubukusu was considered. This was done keeping in mind the responses of the respondents about whether they mixed Lubukusu and English to convey particular meanings and talk about many things and experiences for which appropriate vocabulary has not been acquired in the native language or is simply semantically and pragmatically insufficient.

94.4% of the questionnaire respondents (17 out of 18 respondents) had responded 'yes.' So had done, all who participated in ethnographic conversations. Below, this study looks at some of the utterance examples given by the questionnaire respondents (QR) and the extracts of relevant pieces of discourse from the speeches of conversation respondents (CR) with respect to the hypothesis under examination.

2. (a) Nachile **eschool** (QR)

(I went to school).

(b) Ndikhencha mu**college** (QR)

    (I am going to college).

(c Ali mu**university** (CR)

    (He/she is in the university).

(d) Ali mu**polytechnic** (CR)

    (He/she is in polytehnic).

3. (a) Khuli nende e**conference** (CR)

    (We have a conference).

(b) Khencha mu**seminar** (CR)

    (I am going to a seminar).

(c Khencha mu**fellowship** (CR)

    (I am going to a fellowship).

(d) E**convention** yanja tare sita (CR)

    (The convention starts on 6th).

(e) Khwabele mu**rally** (CR)

    (We were in a rally).

(f) Khekhucha mu**workshop** (CR)

    (We are going to a workshop).

(g) Achile mu**meeting** (QR)

    (He/she went to a meeting).

4. (a) **Sister** wewe omulayi (CR)

    (His/her sister is good).

(b) **Daughter** wewe niye esang'i (CR)

    (His/her daughter is the villain).

5. (a) **Otranslate**la asi anano (QR)

(You do the translating below here).

(b) **Ochange**la **egear** khusinina (CR)

(You do the gear-changing up the hill).

In 2 above, all the English expressions (made bold) can be replaced by only one Lubukusu expression 'sisomelo.' This Lubukusu expression is too general and its semantic scope so broad that it encompasses any institution concerned with education. But these institutions are not the same, they are distinguished by the kinds and levels of education that is provided there. The Lubukusu expression cannot show these particular differences in any precise way. For instance, it cannot be known, without additional information, whether 'sisomelo' refers to a primary school, secondary school, nursery school, middle level college, polytechnic or university. Here is where the English expressions come in handy: they specifically refer to particular institutions concerned with education.

In 3, the specific connonations (in terms of the nature, composition, agenda and conduct of meeting) associated with each particular gathering as referred to by the emboldened English expressions, would not be conveyed if every gathering was referred to by the semantically broad Lubukusu expression 'sikhasio,' which covers all types of gatherings

In Lubukusu, one's sister is referred to as 'omukoko.' This same expression refers to one's daughter. So in 4 above, specific English expressions, one referring to sister in (a) and another to daughter in (b), are inserted into Lubukusu discourse to avoid the ambiguity.

Similar things can be said about the utterances in 5 and many other cases in daily social interaction where English inserted into Lubukusu discourse helps to make up for semantic and pragmatic insufficiences in Lubukusu speech.

It is these considerations that make one to see sense in the thesis that:

> speakers intend the utterances they produce to convey certain
>
> messages they intend to convey to their audiences ... When we
>
> speak to make ourselves understood, we code switch only so much
>
> as will ensure that what we say gets across *(Fodor et al, 1974: 507).*

The speaker's intended meaning and how this meaning is to be faithfully got by his audience, constitute one of the motivations behind that speaker's code switching and mixing.

Trudgill (1995:107), though he might have been interested in other things different from what is being discussed in this section, acknowledges this motivation and infact pays tribute to all social psychologists of language when he contends that indeed speakers use switching to convey nuances of meaning and personal intention

Clark (1980) also subscribes to this theory in the statement that:

> the processes of language comprehension and language
>
> production make different demands on the language user. In
>
> comprehension, listeners try to interpret what they have heard
>
> from speakers. In contrast, in production, speakers try to convey
>
> particular meanings to others. This process, unlike comprehension,
>
> receives no direct support from the setting since what is said depends
>
> on the speakers' intentions. Instead, it is supported by a person's ability
>
> to retrieve from memory the appropriate linguistic or non-linguistic
>
> devices for conveying what he wants to convey, *(Clark 1980: 164).*

In addition to all that has been said, it should be noted at this point that resorting to code switching and mixing to convey certain messages may also occur in lieu of appropriate words in the language of discourse of the communicants, in our case Lubukusu. This will be illustrated by the discourse pieces extracted from the conversation respondents (CR) and from the utterance examples given by the questionnaire respondents (QR) below in 6(a) – (f)

Going by this possibility, one can carry further the argument that, in a sense, code switching and mixing can be said to be motivated by a desire to talk about many things and experiences for which communicants have not acquired the appropriate vocabulary in their native language. Many things and experiences here refer to things that emerge with modern science, technology, economy, business and so on.

The following pieces of discourse from this study's respondents are perhaps typically illustrative of the above fact:

6. (a) Khencha mu**bank** khu**withdraw**-a chisenti Lelo ndi nende ATM Card. (QR)

   (I am going to the bank to withdraw money. Nowadays I have an ATM Card).

   (b) **Advocates** khucha mu**court** nebasaba **adjournment** ye chi**case** cha clients

   babwe nikhwo khu**delay**-a **justice**. (CR)

   (The advocates' going to court to ask for adjournments of their clients' cases

   is what delays justice).

   c) Lelo, **information technology** niyo **the way forward**. Sahi, soba mu**business**

   kabali sorumikhila **computers** nende **mobile phones** ta. **Infact satellite**

   communication yosi eli **crucial**. (CR)

   (Today, information is the way forward. Now, you cannot be in business if

   you do not use computers and mobile phones. Infact satellite communication

is also crucial).

d) Mukenya muno **democracy** se**change**-a sintu ta   Kenyekha **erevolution** busa (CR)

(In this Kenya, democracy cannot change anything. What is needed is just a revolution).

e) Ese sembona **econstitution** embia elayeta si ta. (CR)

(Me, I do not see how the new constitution will help).

f) Kenya khucha engelekha khusomela **Biochemistry**. Akhaenja e**passport**. (CR)

(He/she wants to go abroad to study biochemistry. He/she is looking for a passport).

The English expressions inserted into Lubukusu discourse have made it possible to easily talk about bank, withdrawal of money, ATM Card, advocates, case, adjournment, court, client, justice, information technology, computers, satellites, mobile phones, democracy, revolution, constitution, biochemistry, passports and so on. Whether one wants to see this phenomenon as that of borrowing or not does not matter here, since if the speakers had wanted, they could have found a way of talking about these things and experiences in Lubukusu, for instance, by circumlocution or even coining new terms in Lubukusu. But the cost in terms of physical and mental energy, and the risk of being misunderstood or not being understood at all, would have been high.

Considerations such as these make one to conclude that, instead of struggling to find new linguistic resources for communication, people make the most of their

existing resources for communicating, for instance, by supplementing one language with another.

Having arrived at that point, the investigation turns to the question of attitudes towards languages as a determiner of and therefore a reason for switching and mixing of languages.

3.1.3 IMPATIENCE AND DISCOMFORT WITH ONE OF THE LANGUAGES AT PLAY

Attitude being a manner of feeling, thinking or behaving, can be indicated by particular ways, such as, impatience and discomfort. Impatience simply means the inability to endure trouble, suffering or inconvenience caused by something or someone, and discomfort just means uneasiness of mind or body. With this introduction then, the hypothesis that 'code switching and mixing is a speaker's indication of his/her impatience and discomfort with one of the languages at play' will be considered here in relation to all that has been said in sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2.

The issue of attitude pervades all the sociopsycholinguistic explanations for code switching and mixing. *Hymes (1971)* comment on this issue is quite convincing. He notes that:

> the internalization of attitudes towards a language and its uses is particularly
> important, on priority of subjective evaluation, in social dialect and processes
> of change, as is internalization of attitude towards use of language itself
> (e.g. attentiveness to it) and the relative place that language comes to play in a
> pattern of mental abilities, and in strategies – what language is considered
> available, reliable, suitable for, vis-à-vis other kinds of code.
> *(Hymes 1971, in Pugh et al 1980: 89)*.

Attitude then is multifaceted. There are many aspects of it like liking or disliking, being at ease or struggling, feeling bad or good, thinking positively or negatively about something, and so on. So it influences the verbal behaviour of speakers, this behaviour including code switching and mixing, though these speakers may deny it. Therefore, it should be known that denial of one or two aspects of attitude in relation to code switching and mixing does not mean that other attitudinal elements did not influence the speakers' choices and manners in switching and mixing codes.

For instance, all the respondents of this study denied switching from Lubukusu to English and inserting English expressions into Lubukusu discourse because they disliked Lubukusu. But from the data under 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 and all that has been said about it, that these respondents code switched and mixed probably to achieve economy of expression, convey particular meanings and talk about many things and experiences is quite telling of their negative attitude towards their mother-tongue. These indicated that they were impatient and uncomfortable with Lubukusu, they having become familiar with English. They wanted to avoid circumlocution, time wasting, and use of more physical and mental energy in saying what they had to say, yet, as *Wardhaugh (1986)* puts it :

> it appears to be quite possible to talk about anything in any language provided a
> speaker is willing to use some degree of circumlocution. *(Wardhaugh 1986: 281)*.

Wardhaugh concedes, however, that some concepts may be more 'codable,' that is, easier to express, in some languages than others. In conclusion, Wardhaugh subcribes to the taking of bilingualism or multilingualism as a prerequisite for code switching and mixing saying that:

a speaker, of course, will not be aware of such circumlocution in the absence of familiarity with another language that uses a more succinct means of expression. *(ibid)*.

What is being said here then is that Lubukusu speakers, having gained knowledge of English, resort to inserting English expressions into Lubukusu discourse at some points probably because of their impatience with Lubukusu circumlocution and their discomfort at 'coding' (or expressing) some concepts in Lubukusu compared to doing so in English. This has nothing to do with liking or disliking, but it has all to do with practical expediency, that is, considerations of which language, between Lubukusu and English, expeditiously accomplishes the speakers' communicative objectives at given points in discourse.

Having briefly discussed impatience and discomfort with one of the languages at play as one of the attitudinal motivations for code switching and mixing, we now turn to the delicate issue of mental confusion and general nervousness during a communicative event as another possible reason for code switching and mixing.

3.1.4   MENTAL CONFUSION AND GENERAL NERVOUSNESS

One cannot be too ambitious about the examination of the hypothesis that 'code switching and mixing is a speaker's way of dealing with mental confusion and general nervousness when pursuing an argument for which one lacks enough clear-cut and factual information (or evidence), or which is complex, foolish, delicate, embarrassing or simply wrong,' on the basis of the limited observations that were made in the field. However, this cannot stop one from making a few comments about these observations as a call for more attention to this issue.

During ethnographic interactions, it was observed that respondents code switched and inserted more English expressions in Lubukusu discourse when justifying something unacceptable to others, or something for which enough clear-cut reasons and evidence were lacking. They also did so when talking about complex, foolish, delicate, confusing or embarrassing topics, such as, Kenyan tribal politics, strained family and interpersonal relations, gender issues and taboo matters, to people who were perceived as informed. The following pieces of discourse extracted from these respondents are perhaps illustrative of the above observations:

7. Omanye **sometimes people** khubechanga **confused**. Sekali bali aba **we are that bad, no**. Halafu **these women** bamisbehavanga **because they are strangers** muchingo nicho bagetanga **married into. They never become relatives to their husband's people** Kwanza **those from poor homes** nebamarra **into rich ones** babechanga **very bad actually. In fact they can kill.** Nono o**understand**-a busa tu. **It is the way of life**.

(You know sometimes we people are usually confused. It does not mean that we are that bad, no. And then these women misbehave because they are strangers in homes they got married into. They never become relatives to their husband's people. In fact, those from poor homes, when they get married into rich ones, they become very bad. In fact they can kill. Now, you just understand. It is the way of life).

8. Man: **I am feeling like business**, Caro. Mbe **edate. One of these fine days** nenya busa **spende a whole night on top of you**. Okhandona **down just because** wabone Barasa ta.

Woman (Caro): Okha**worra** ta my dear. Barasa seka**scare** ese ta. Khaunleashe **the**

goods in due course. Okhaba nende **much worry** ta.

(Man: I am feeling like business Caro. Give me a date. One of these fine

days I just want to spend a whole night on top of you. Do not done

me down just because you have seen Barasa.

Woman (Caro): Do not worry my dear. Barasa cannot scare me. I will unleash the

goods in due course. Do not be worried much).

(7) was said by an older brother to his younger brother whom he had

mistreated. He knew that his younger brother had been very offended. But that this

younger brother of his, now independent and not in need of him, kept quiet about the

mistreatment, made him (the older brother) uneasy It was said in the presence of his

wife who comes from a poor background, and me It was an attempt at defending

wrongdoing by himself and his wife, blaming the wife and defending her at the same

time, blaming people and no one in particular, making peace with the younger

brother, and so on. The conversation in (8) involving a lot of language mixing went

on in my presence, and yet it touched on the taboo matters of dating and sex.

Asked why they switched and inserted English expressions very much under

the prevailing circumstances (that is, in terms of people around, topic of talk and

general situation), the subjects said it made them feel better, that is, less embarrassed,

less confused, more relaxed and confident. Others added that it enabled them express

themselves coherently. 83.3% of the questionnaire respondents (15 out of 18

respondents) agree with these claims of the ethnographic interaction subjects.

Now, although the hypothesis as recalled at the beginning of this section

should be tested in a controlled manner, perhaps through experimental

psycholinguistics, the observations made warrant some comment here. This is

because, while there may be alternatives to my interpretation, we at least have here an explanation for language switching and mixing which is consistent with my suspicion regarding the motivation for the conscious or unconscious manipulation of available languages by many Lubukusu speakers in many communicative events.

I agree with Parkin, who observes that:

> when people interact, they try to judge, consciously or
> unconsciously, what mode of behaviour best suits the interaction.
> In any role relationship, even one occupying no more than a few
> minutes, there is a constant process of adjustment and counter-
> adjustment to each other's expectations by the role players. The
> values, stereotypes and symbols, of ethnic and socioeconomic
> status are just two of the many basic contours on the general
> cognitive 'map' within which these adjustments are made.
> In a total population of people who interact fairly frequently,
> there is inevitably something of a feedback process between
> the basic values and individually replicated interpersonal
> adjustments. *(Parkin 1974: 190).*

The conscious or unconscious mode of behaviour involved may be cheating, arguing for or against, presenting facts as they are, explaining things, dismissing others and so on. These behaviours may in turn involve other modes of behaviour such as switching from one language to another and mixing the two languages, pausing, hesitating and stammering, shouting or talking in low tones, talking fast or slowly, being orderly or disorderly in the presentation, engaging in 'baby-talk,' invoking supernatural powers, citing other sources and so on.

Code switching and mixing together with other verbal and non-verbal modes of communicative behaviour exercised in a given situation on a given topic to a given

audience appears to be a speaker's way of dealing with mental confusion, embarrassment and general nervousness This is to suggest that when a speaker feels intimidated by the audience, embarrassed and confused due to the nature of the topic, and nervous because of the situation, he will code switch and mix a lot to feel a little bit relaxed. Here, code switching and mixing becomes therapeutic, by giving the speaker some level of relaxation, steadiness and confidence.

It is these various components in any communicative event that indicate the usefulness of approaches such as sociopsycholinguistics. After all, this

> has to deal with non-linguistic factors too, which for example determine the
> emergence and choice of alternative linguistic forms. and it has to take into
> account the interaction of language and social structure (and individual
> personality structures too). Language manipulation cannot be explained
> satisfactorily without these components. *(Oksaar, 1975: 42)*.

It should be noted here that mental confusion, embarrassment and nervousness may also be caused by the inability to readily call to use terms in Lubukusu, or the absence of appropriate words in the language, thus the beginning of fumbling and nervousness. Resorting to another language whose terms are readily available, reliable and appropriate at this stage for incorporation into the Lubukusu discourse becomes a remedy and a big relief to a speaker.

3.2   CONCLUSION TO CHAPTER THREE

While we cannot deny that there may be many alternatives to my interpretation of the findings as presented, mine is not unfounded. Based on the fact that I also code switch and mix in various situations while talking to certain audiences about certain topics in certain situations, my personal intuitions about why I code

switch and mix under these circumstances are objective enough to supplement the

interpretation of the data from what the data 'speak' for themselves.

CHAPTER FOUR: GENERAL CONCLUSION

This paper was concerned with explaining why a speaker of a given language as his mother-tongue, but who has knowledge of another, would often switch from his mother-tongue to the other language in conversations. It was hypothesized that the reasons could be to achieve economy of expression, to convey particular meanings and talk about many things and experiences for which the appropriate vocabulary has not been acquired in the mother-tongue or the available vocabulary is just semantically insufficient, to indicate impatience and discomfort with one of the languages at play, or to deal with mental confusion and general nervousness when discussing confusing, complex, delicate, embarrassing and taboo topics.

In moving towards the confirmation or disconfirmation of the above hypotheses, the paper has argued that code switching and mixing is related to attitudes, values and motivations concerning languages and their features and uses, and is also integral with communicative competence. Of course, the attainment of such competence is fed by sociolinguistic experience, needs and motives, and issues in actual communicative activity which are themselves a new source of motives, needs and experience. In summary, the point has been that, in any descriptively and explanatorily adequate statement on code switching and mixing, the inter-relationship of its form and function and the personality states and intents of speakers together with their attitudes towards the languages involved, is very crucial.

The view of the communicative competence identified with in this paper is not that of relating it to a single language as if languages were never meant to be mixed. The view taken is that which has a bias towards espousing general communicative conduct in daily social life. The paper, thus, reports on code switching and mixing as

a communicational strategy following the psycholinguistic model that takes into account the social factors as well.

The paper has established that code switching and mixing is heuristically utilitarian, that is, it performs various functions for those who engage in it. These functions include the achievement of economy of expression, conveyance of particular meanings, talk about many things and experiences, indication of attitudinal issues of impatience and discomfort with one of the languages at play, and confrontation of confusion and nervousness. Therefore what were the hypotheses of the study have been confirmed by the study findings since the code switching and mixing functions as listed are the sociopsycholinguistic reasons/motivations for the activity.

In summary, the findings were: those English expressions inserted into Lubukusu speech were shorter than the Lubukusu expressions which can replace them, were specific in meaning, were readily available in the speakers' linguistic repertoire, were used when speakers wanted to avoid some inconvenience in Lubukusu, and so on.

As much as the confirmation of the hypotheses has been done, it must be noted that it is one thing to try to establish the motivations for code switching and mixing, it is quite another to exhaustively do so. So, many more explanatory studies, appropriately varied about code switching and mixing are highly recommended. These could be sociolinguistic survey incorporating quasi experimental and fully experimental methods. Purely psycholinguistic motivations of and constraints on code switching and mixing, as a topic, would be a good starting point.

Finally, this paper should be identified with the following message: if speakers are to be better equipped for accurate and efficient communication linguistically all over the world, it must be understood that a rich and varied language environment, which is an essential requirement, brings two inter-related benefits – better language resources and better communicative strategies. Therefore, old practice should be examined everywhere in order to discard those constraining linguistic attitudes which limit speakers' communicative achievements and confidence. As much as speakers need to be made aware of the various aspects of their specific language conventions, they should not be bound tightly with these conventions. To understand the usefulness of language mixing is not to neglect or despise the native languages, but is to bring them into the communicative arena full of other languages so that they can be watched in competition with others, be understood better and be developed further to meet all the present-day communicative needs of their speakers.

Speakers of any language need to be allowed to be confident, flexible and adventurous in their communication behaviour so that they do not become victims of communicative deficiencies. They need to exploit every state of linguistic tolerance that prevails at any one time and place to their full communicative advantage.

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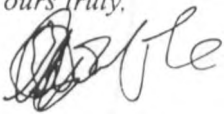
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QUESTIONNAIRE FOR KEY RESPONDENTS:

Dear Valued Respondent,

Thank you for accepting this questionnaire. It is for research on the topic: CODESWITCHING and MIXING (language switching and mixing) AS A COMMUNICATIONAL STRATEGY – The case of switching from Lubukusu to English and mixing of the two languages. I will be very grateful if you can assist me by filling in your responses as requested. Please base your responses on what you honestly think and feel is the case. Thank you in advance.

Yours truly,

Wilber Barasa Wafula
Graduate Student, Department of Linguistics, U. O. N.

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1. Switching from one language to another and mixing two or more languages is so common in the speech of many people. Please, give some examples of the utterances you do make mixing Lubukusu and English when talking to your fellow Lubukusu speakers who also know English. (For example, somebody would say something like 'Ngendile nende empty wallet nenja Muhospital').

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

2. If you were not allowed to switch and mix Lubukusu and English at all, how would you have said in pure Lubukusu, exactly what you wanted to say by the examples in (1) above?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

3. If you switch from Lubukusu to English and mix the two languages because of the nature of the situation, or the nature of the topic, or the nature and status of your listeners,

   a) Is it because you want to use a few words or shorter expressions in saying something? Yes/No

   b) Is it because you want to convey particular meanings to your audience/ listeners? Yes/No

   c) Is it because you just like it, want it, and enjoy doing it? In other words, does it make you happy, relaxed, confident and less confused, even when you are talking about something complex? Yes/No

   d) Is it because you are tired, angry, mixed up and stressed? Yes/No

   e) Is it because the two languages are different and they accomplish certain communicative objectives, like impressing, hurting, scaring and warning others, differently for you? Yes/No

   f) Is it because you want to talk about many things and experiences for which you have not acquired the appropriate vocabulary, for example Modern Science and Technology? Yes/No

   g) Is it because you dislike your Lubukusu and so must complement it with English if you must use it? Yes/No

4. Is there anything else you would like me to know about why you or anybody else would use more than one language, for example Lubukusu and English, in a single sentence or conversation? Yes/No

   If Yes, what is it?

Note: After filling in the questionnaire, keep it safely till I come to collect it.

ADDITIONAL DISCOURSE PIECES EXTRACTED FROM

CONVERSATION RESPONDENTS BUT NOT USED IN THE PAPER

- Khukhwama nga najoina **eco-operative** kha**apply**akho **for a loan** ta.

- **Ka**faile **e**driving test. Paka akha**succeed**e nio aenje **e**licence.

- **E**radio nende e**TV** nibio ebintu biramile khukula.
- Chris kacha busa **underground for six months** oli a**surface**-a ali nende eNissan Patrol.

- Oli nende e**stapler** nende e**paper punch**?

- Nenya banty**pile** e**chapter** endaayi.

- Nga ka**lack**-a **sponsorship** na**defer admission to the next academic year**.
- Lelo ndi **weak** ata sendi **able** khu**withstand**a **sudden extreme changes in weather** ta.

- Mbekho e**dictionary** yoho.

- Nenya **kerosene** chi**litre** chitaru nende **biscuit** li**packet.**

- Eli **wrong** khu**demand**e e**share** musintu nisio ohenyekha ta.

- Raya batilile omuntu wibanga babana bamukholela **mob justice. Before police** bole, **she was dead.**

- **Linguistics** eli **sophisticated for nothing**, khubela ekhu**enable**-a omuntu anyole e**job** eli **limited** sana. Onyala wamenya **years** nokhaulilakho **employer** yesiyesi neenya **linguist** ta. Nandi bakikhola busa yaba **part of the communication course.**

- Khencha khukhwikula **account** mu**KCB**.

- Ngendanga nende e**bible** yange.

- Lekha chi**story** chingali. E**point** yoho eli sina?