LEXICAL BORROWING AND SEMANTIC CHANGE:
A CASE OF ENGLISH AND GĨKŨYŨ CONTACT

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been submitted in any other university for the purpose of award of a degree.

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This project has been written under our supervision and submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

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DEDICATION

To my dear parents, Joseph and Ann Njagi,
They gave the foundation for my education;

To my dear wife, Susan,
She encouraged me to start it off;

To my lovely daughters, Precious and Hope,
They make life precious and full of hope;

To all my relatives and friends,
They make life worthwhile;

Above all, thanks to the Almighty God,
He made it all happen.

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ABSTRACT

In this research, an attempt is made to investigate lexical borrowing from English into Gĩkũyũ and the cases of semantic change. More specifically, the research aims to determine the mechanisms involved in borrowing English words into Gĩkũyũ; to explore whether the borrowed words retain their original source language meaning or they undergo semantic shift; and finally to investigate whether there exist socio-cultural and/ or psychological factors that influence borrowing and semantic change. This study hypothesized that Gĩkũyũ has extensively borrowed from English. It further hypothesized that the borrowed lexical items undergo semantic change. Another hypothesis is that there exist social and psychological factors responsible for borrowing and semantic change. The data for this research is based on an inventory of commonly used Gĩkũyũ words borrowed from English. They are drawn from across various semantic domains. These include ecology, material culture, social culture and social organization among others. Much of this qualitative analytical study was done through observation and interaction with native speakers of Gĩkũyũ in everyday conversations as well as in the media such as vernacular radio and TV stations. Public fora such as church sermons and public meetings were also used. Introspection or intuition and elicitation were also used when the need arose. The cognitive approach to Lexical Semantics was the theoretical framework used for this research. The study first explores the mechanisms used in the borrowing process. It then compares the source language (SL) meanings of the borrowed words with the meaning in the recipient language to determine if semantic change has occurred. Afterwards it investigates on the social and psychological factors responsible for what was observed. From this study, it emerged that Gĩkũyũ speakers have borrowed and nativised a significant number of words from English. This is the case with direct loans. Other mechanisms such as loan translations, loan shifts, loan creations, clippings and coinage were also used in the process of borrowing. Most of the borrowed words were noted to have retained the SL meaning, though there were also cases of semantic change noted. The processes involved in the case of semantic change include broadening, narrowing, meaning shift and metaphorical semantic change. There were also cases noted where there was no semantic change (zero semantic change). It was also noted that there are certain social and psychological factors that influenced borrowing and semantic change. These are prestige and attitude as well as other factors such as the kind of interaction the Gĩkũyũ speakers had with the British during the colonial period. Chapter one gives the background information to the study which includes the history of the Gĩkũyũ people and their interaction with the British. The various methods and mechanisms used during the borrowing process are discussed in chapter two while chapter three describes cases of semantic shifts. Chapter four discusses the various social and psychological factors that influence borrowing and semantic change. The research conclusion is given in chapter five.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS, ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CAL	Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary
Eng	English
Gĩk/Kik	Gĩkũyũ/Kikuyu
Lit.	Literally
N	Noun
Nat.	Native Language
OAL	Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary
Orig.	Originally
SL	Source Language
TL	Target Language
V	Verb

SYMBOLS

< coming from a certain language.

e.g. < Swahili (coming from Swahili language).

> going into another language

e.g. > Gĩkũyũ (going into the Gĩkũyũ language)

→ becomes / changes to

e.g. /l/ → /r/ (/l/ becomes /r/)

CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Linguistic borrowing is a common phenomenon in any language (Haugen, 1950). According to Hock (1968), languages do not exist in a vacuum. There is usually linguistic contact between speech communities. The interacting speech communities are likely to influence each other through linguistic borrowing. This happens when an impression is left on the affected language (Treffers-Daller, 2007). This phenomenon is one aspect of language growth and change. Most linguists believe that linguistic change is a natural phenomenon often influenced by underlying social and linguistic forces (Crystal, 1987). When languages change, they do so in various aspects including phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic components. Of these, semantic change is the most common (Crystal, 1987).

The concept of word borrowing and the related processes such as adaptation and integration have been studied since the time of Betz (1939) and Haugen (1950). Other prominent scholars and authors on this topic include Carstensen (1968), Schottman (1977), Blank (1995), Pepperkamp and Dupoux (2003) LaCharite and Paradis (2009) as well as Haspelmath (2008, 2009) among others. They view lexical borrowing as involving the process of integration of the borrowed forms into the recipient language. The extent of this integration is a matter of degree. The determining factor is the extent to which the borrowed items get adapted or integrated into the recipient language (Blank 1995). However, once integrated, the borrowed word belongs to the recipient language as much as the indigenous word.

According to Treffers-Daller (2007) the semantic content is more easily borrowed than the phonetic form, a view similar to that of Crystal (1987). To Treffer-Daller (2007), borrowing involves incorporation of features of one language into another. To him, the field of linguistic borrowing has been studied by researchers working in a wide range of areas from both a diachronic and synchronic perspective.

The study of semantic borrowing includes the general mechanisms involved. Haugen (1950) identifies a number of them such as direct loans, where both phonetic and semantic content are borrowed, often with varying degree of accuracy. There are also loan shifts where an indigenous form acquires a foreign concept and loan translations or calques where a new composite is created, based on indigenous elements. In loan creations, a new form is created to help translate a foreign concept. Falk (1973) also includes clipping and coinage as additional types of borrowing mechanism. The borrowing process discussed in this study involves two speech communities in contact: Gĩkũyũ and English. The former is basically the recipient language while the latter is the donor language.

Lexical borrowing happens between two languages where one language (the donor language) donates the words or concepts to be borrowed; while the other (the recipient language) borrows (Haspelmath 2008, 2009). In reality, any language can function as a donor language and a recipient language in any given situation. Typically, though, the donor language is usually the one with higher status and prestige than the recipient language (Haspelmath 2008, 2009). In most cases the language with higher status is often the language of the colonizing community. English is one such language.

According to Gatrovsek (2013) English enjoys a high-ranking reputation world-wide as a great lexical donor. He is of the view that it is the most dominant lexical donor language and which other languages extensively borrow from. English is a West Germanic language that was first spoken in the early Medieval England. Associated with one of the major colonial powers in history, the language has spread to various speech communities in the world. It is the most widely spoken language in the world, with close to 400 million native speakers (Baruah 1992). Over 200 million others use it as their second language. It is used as the first language in such areas as the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa. It is an important second language in many other countries in the world, including those in Africa and Asia.

The spread of English across the world has inevitably brought it into contact with many other languages and speech communities. According to Sankoff (2001) language contacts have taken

place historically as a result of conquests and colonialism among others. This has definitely been the case with English, having been a major colonial power in the world. The linguistic outcomes of the contact between English and other speech communities have been influenced mainly by the social, economic and political relations that English colonizers had with those communities. Besides being the language of the colonizer, English has more status and prestige (Haspelmath 2009). As such, many speech communities have borrowed lexical items from English. One such language is Gĩkũyũ. It is worth noting from the start that the two languages are not genetically related. Whereas English is a West Gemanic language whose roots are in Europe, Gĩkũyũ belongs to the Niger-Kongo group and has its origins in Africa.

As such, any resemblance among lexical items occurring in the two languages cannot be as a result of a common genetic origin. It can be due to accident or chance as well as a result of the two languages being in contact. Whereas many words came from English into Gĩkũyũ directly, there are others that entered indirectly via Swahili as an intermediary language.

In order to understand the phenomenon of linguistic contact between Gĩkũyũ and English, the resulting lexical borrowing and related processes, it is important to first study the history of the interaction between the two communities. The need for this is well captured by Falk (1973:34):

> To trace the history of linguistic borrowing is to trace the history of a people-where they settled, whom they conquered, who conquered them, their patterns of commerce, their religious and intellectual history and the development of the society

These words are echoed by Sankoff (2001) who asserts that linguistic outcomes of language contact are best discussed within a sociohistorical perspective, and within the context of historical forces involved in the language contact. The role of historical and socio-cultural factors is also recognized by Hock (2009) and Thomas and Kaufman (1988). The phenomenon of semantic change too is related to the community's literature and culture (Crystal 1987). The psychological aspect is also considered by scholars like Labov (2010). To help achieve this, it is necessary therefore, to study the Gĩkũyũ socio-cultural aspect and philosophy of life, as well as the context in which the Gĩkũyũ people came into contact with the English speakers.

Gĩkũyũ language belongs to the Eastern Bantu sub-group. The Bantu group is a member of one branch of Niger-Kongo language family. According to Cagnolo (1933) the Proto-Bantu emerged in what is today Nigeria and Cameroon by 2000 BC. By 1000 BC they had migrated and spread Southwards and Eastwards. The Eastern Bantus, to whom the Gĩkũyũ belong, are believed to have moved towards the Kenyan coast before migrating later towards Mount Kenya. This group included the Gĩkũyũ, Chuka, Meru, Embu and Kamba (Mũriũki, 1974). This group later on spread in different directions, with the Gĩkũyũ moving towards the present Mũrang'a – from where the Gĩkũyũ myth of origin begins. Today, the majority of the Gĩkũyũ have settled along Mount Kenya and in Central highlands including Nyeri, Mũrang'a, Kiambu, Kirinyaga and Nyandarua (the Aberdares) regions. The Gĩkũyũ speakers are also found in most of the Kenyan urban centres as well as in many rural areas in the Rift Valley.

Gĩkũyũ land is generally hospitable, well-watered and fertile (Mũriũki, 1974; Cagnolo, 1933). Consequently Gĩkũyũ are basically agriculturalists. They neighboured several other speech communities such as their cousins the Meru, Mbeere, Embu and Kamba; as well as the Nilotic Maasai-both the Purko and some remnants of the Laikipiak Maasai (Mũriũki, 1973). It is important to note that the two languages are not genetically related, since Maasai belongs to the Nilotic group, while Gĩkũyũ is a Bantu language. The Gĩkũyũ had very close relationship with the Maasai often trading and intermarrying. The result was a cultural fusion with long lasting imprint on the Gĩkũyũ (Mũriũki 1973). One such consequence was Gĩkũyũ borrowing some lexical items from the Maasai and they include the following: (Mũriũki 1973; Mwanĩki 2013).

1. Gĩk   *Igati*   < Maasai   *emakati*   'soda ash'
2. Gĩk   *Kĩmaramari*   <Maasai   *marmali*   'bandit'
3. Gĩk   *Kĩbaata*   <Maasai   *enkipaata* 'a traditional dance'
4. Gĩk   *tatane*   < Maasai   *tatene*   'the first batch of initiates
5. Gĩk   *Gĩtienye*   <Maasai   *kedianye*   'Second batch of initiates'

Some words like *igati, kĩmaramari* and *kĩbaata* are in common use even today. Apart from the Maasai and other neighbouring communities, Gĩkũyũ people had also extensively interacted with

the Arabs and Swahili in trade, long before the arrival of the English- speaking British colonialists. In the 19th Century the Gĩkũyũ had direct contact with the Arab and Swahili traders and no longer had to go through the Kamba middlemen (Mũriũki, 1973). Consequently many words entered into Gĩkũyũ language from Swahili and-by extension-from Arabic, Indian, Persian, Turkish and Portuguese It should be noted that although Swahili and Gĩkũyũ are related in that both are Bantu languages, Swahili is a combination of Bantu languages and other languages like Arabic, Portuguese, Indian and Persian (Iribemwangi, 2008). Examples include:

6. Gĩk   *kondi*   <Swahili   *kondi*   (Orig. Persian)   'rent'
7. Gĩk   *bangiri*   <Swahili   *bangili*   (Orig. Indian)   'bangle'
8. Gĩk   *mbahaca*   <Swahili   *bahasha*   (Orig. Turkish)   'envelope'
9. Gĩk   *randa*   <Swahili   *randa*   (Orig. Persian)   'Plane'
10. Gĩk   *karata*   <Swahili   *Karata*   (Orig. Portuguese)   'Playing Cards'

The Italian missionaries also contributed loanwords into Gĩkũyũ language and which-by extension-include Latin words. These are words like:

11. Gĩk   *batĩrĩ*   <Italian   *padre*   'Father/Priest'
12. Gĩk   *mitha*   <Italian   *misa*   'Mass'

Besides the above sources of loanwords in Gĩkũyũ, perhaps the greatest impact of foreigners on Gĩkũyũ culture and subsequently the language, happened with the coming of the British. This happened towards the end of the 19th century, with the granting of royal charter to the Imperial British East Africa in 1888 (Mũriũki, 1974: p.36).).

> It paved way for the subsequent establishment of British administration from 1895 onwards and thereby opened the way for all forces that were to influence the development of the Kikuyu

Once the British rule was established in Kenya and in particular among the Gĩkũyũ, the community was no longer the same. It was extensively exposed to outside influence which brought a new way of life and ideas. The Kikuyu had no option but to "adjust themselves to rapidly changing circumstances and environment" (Mũriũki 1974:136). At first the Kikuyu were

suspicious of the white men and even made attempts to resist. However, they were subdued in the course of time and according to Mũriũki (1974:167) "they (gradually) learnt to conform with and even accept British rule."

The impact that English language had on Gĩkũyũ, therefore, can be attributed to the acceptance by the Gĩkũyũ of the English culture. This happened partly voluntarily and partly through force. The Gĩkũyũ responded favourably to the Christian missionaries who introduced a new religion and way of life. They also readily accepted the western education, the new money economy and eventually changes in political system. This was to shape the community's history significantly. This fact is clearly captured by Mũriũki (1974:179).

> The manner in which the Kikuyu adjusted themselves (to)… the
> new system of government, economy, religion and education were
> to become the key issues of their modern history

The white man's influence on Gĩkũyũ culture was so great and fast after the first missionary set foot there in 1902. According to Cagnolo (1933:258);

> In three short decades the Agĩkũyũ community had progressed so
> far ahead that an observer could not imagine their condition of
> thirty years before.

It is against this background that the phenomenon of Gĩkũyũ speakers borrowing lexical items from the English language is discussed. The accompanying linguistic processes such as the borrowing mechanisms, semantic change and psychological factors are also included in the study.

According to Treffers-Daller (2007) borrowing involves incorporation of features of one language into another. In the real sense anything can be borrowed – words, sounds, meaning, inflections or even grammatical categories. Of these lexical items are the most prominent (Lehrer, 1974). They are one of the aspects of language that contribute to meaning. Most cases of lexical borrowing are culturally motivated (Haspelmath, 2008). This is so because borrowing a

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cultural object or concept is normally accompanied by the borrowing of a lexical item. This type of borrowing is usually the most common. There are however other cases of borrowing that were not motivated in such a manner. There are cases where a word already exists in the recipient language yet the speakers go ahead and borrow from the donor language (Haspelmath, 2008). The forces or reasons that would influence this kind of borrowing are also discussed later in the study.

History has it that the British administrators, settlers and missionaries settled among the Gĩkũyũ people. Many of the Gĩkũyũ speakers worked for the white people. There were also many more who readily accepted and received the western education and English was one of the major subjects taught. Christian religion was also introduced and many were converted. All this was part of the process of "civilizing" the Gĩkũyũ and it played a vital role in spreading the English culture among them. This interaction led to introduction of new cultural objects and concepts which the Gĩkũyũ adopted. Inevitably, lexical items were borrowed to refer to those foreign objects and concepts.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Any language undergoes change. It is "a natural and spontaneous phenomenon" (Crystal 1987: 364). Word borrowing and semantic change is one of the most common cases of linguistic change. Crystal (1987:330) views it as "perhaps the most obvious area of linguistic change." As such, this area should have received the major attention in the studies of word borrowings and other areas of comparative linguistics study. There are a number of publications of the semantic aspect of a linguistic borrowing from scholars like Haugen (1950); Blank (1995); Crystal (1987, 1995) Peperkamp and Dupoux (2003) and LaCharite and Paradis (2005). However, the semantic angle to linguistic borrowing has not received as much attention as would be expected. According to Treffers- Daller (2007) phonological integration in linguistic borrowing has received much more attention. (Some Linguistic scholars like Duckworth (1977) and Kiester (1993) do not even include the semantic level in their analysis of linguistic borrowing and integration).

From the reviewed literature a similar scenario unfolds in the case of studies of Gĩkũyũ linguistic borrowing. Most of the publications have focused on the phonological and morphological processes and integration. These include Iribemwangi (2012) who deals with phonology and orthography; Iribemwangi and Karuru (2012) on phonological adaptation; Karuru (2013) on morphological adaptation and Mwaniki (2013) on phonological simplication.

Based on the above fact, therefore, an attempt will be made in this research, to fill the gap. This study will focus on the semantic aspect of lexical borrowing of English words into Gĩkũyũ. It will investigate cases of semantic change in words borrowed from English into Gĩkũyũ. Specifically there will be investigation into whether the borrowed words come with the original source language meaning or there are cases of semantic change. An attempt will also be made to offer possible explanations for this, from a sociohistorical and psychological perspective.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What mechanisms are involved in borrowing English words into Gĩkũyũ?
2. Are there cases of semantic change among the words borrowed from English into Gĩkũyũ?
3. Are there socio-cultural and/ or psychological factors that influence borrowing and semantic change in the case of Gĩkũyũ – English contact?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1. To determine the mechanisms involved in borrowing English words into Gĩkũyũ.
2. To find out whether the words borrowed from English into Gĩkũyũ retain their source language meaning or they undergo semantic change.
3. To investigate if there exist socio-cultural and / or psychological factors that influence borrowing and semantic change.

1.5 Justification of the Study

Studies on linguistic change and in particular language contact and borrowing have been carried out by various scholars. This has mainly been on major European languages such as Greek, Latin, French, English and German. Asian languages like Chinese and several Indian languages

such as Sanskirt have also been studied widely (Bloomfield (1933); Betz (1939, 1949); Haugen (1950); Weinreich (1953); Thomason and Kaufman (1988); Blank (1995); among others). In Kenya, studies on linguistic borrowing have also been done. Those related to Gĩkũyũ language however have concentrated on phonological and morphological aspects. This study is therefore justified since it focuses on the semantic angle and includes the socio-cultural and psychological factors. It makes reference to a large corpus data drawn from across various semantic domains.

The findings of this research, it is hoped, will provide vital information on lexical borrowing, semantic change and the role of social and psychological factors that influence this linguistic phenomenon. The findings of this study will contribute to the pool of knowledge in language contact situation and linguistic borrowing, especially in the Kenyan context. The outcome of the research will hopefully be helpful to students of comparative linguistics, anthropology and sociology studies particularly those relating to African languages and contexts.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

This study falls within the broad area of contact linguistics and language change. More specifically, it deals with lexical borrowing. The term 'lexical borrowing' will be used in this study in the narrower sense that is often associated with Thomas and Kaufman (1988: 37). They view it as:

> the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language
> by speakers of that language.

These features are mainly the lexical items though other features relating to phonological, phonetic and syntactic elements may also be borrowed. For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on the semantic aspect in the analysis of lexical borrowing.

A lexical item will be used in the sense proposed by Haspelmath (2008) whereby he views loanwords as lexemes in the narrow sense of semantic units, not necessarily grammatical or phonetic 'words.' Units like phrases therefore are treated on the same level, semantically, with words. (Lehrer,1974) has a similar understanding of lexical items and so his view of lexical

borrowing as adoption of elements such as single words, phrases or idioms, has also been incorporated into the study.

Lexical borrowing is closely related to code-switching since both are consequences of linguistic contact situations. However, in this research the focus is on lexical borrowing of loanwords and not code-switching. Haspelmath (2009) gives a clear distinction between the two. Loanwords in lexical borrowing are used conventionally as part of the borrowing language whereas in code-switching they are not, and involve bilingual speakers alternating between the two languages.

The English language has several varieties that include British, American, Australian and even East African English (Kaye 1983). For the purpose of this research, British English is the one under study. This is the variety of English that Gĩkũyũ and East Africans in general were originally exposed to (Crystal 1995). The influence other varieties may have had on Gĩkũyũ has been recommended as a viable area for further research. Just like English, Gĩkũyũ language has several varieties including Nyeri, Mũrang'a, Kiambu and Kirinyaga. In this research, the data is drawn from across the dialects. The words under study are those found in standard Gĩkũyũ-English dictionary and also the variety associated with the Gĩkũyũ vernacular media- mainly the radio and TV broadcasts. These sources are assumed to offer standard Gĩkũyũ data.

Any language-including Gĩkũyũ-keeps growing and changing (Crystal 1987). It is not possible, therefore to come up with a complete inventory of the words borrowed from English to Gĩkũyũ. New words are being borrowed at a very high rate especially in this era of technological advancement; the world becoming a global village and English the main medium of communication. For this study, therefore a corpus data of just over 300 words have been used. These are words borrowed from English into Gĩkũyũ and are in common use by the majority of the native speakers. They are drawn from across various semantic domains such as ecology, material culture, social culture and social organization. Both core and cultural borrowings are considered.

1.7 Definition of Terms

Borrowing   This term has been used in the sense advocated by Thomas and Kaufman (1988). Borrowing is viewed as incorporation of certain elements on features of a foreign language into the speaker's native language.
The term is used in the general sense to refer to all kinds of transfer or copying processes (Haspelmath, 2008).

Lexical borrowing   The process of lexical borrowing is understood and used in the sense of advocated by Lehrer (1974). Adoption of elements such as single words, phrases or idioms.

Word   It is used in the narrow sense of a lexeme. Lexical phrases are viewed as single words. The term is used to refer to unanalyzable unit of form-meaning coupling with a distinct semantic role in an utterance (Lehrer,1974)

Loanword/   It is a word that at some point in the history of a language entered its
borrowed word   lexicon as a result of borrowing (Haspelmath, 2009). A loanword is created when one language takes a lexeme from another language (Crystal, 1995). In this study loanwords or borrowed words are those believed to have entered into Gĩkũyũ from English as a result of the interaction between the two languages.

Meaning   This refers to the concept a word or any other utterance expresses or represents. It is assumed that words are borrowed with one specific meaning at a given time (Blank, 1995). In this study the meanings of the Gĩkũyũ borrowed words will be compared with those of the English words to determine if the meaning has changed.

Semantic shift/ change	the process through which word meanings change in the course of time. This study will determine whether the words borrowed from English into Gĩkũyũ have retained the SL meaning or not.
Donor or Source	Language (SL) – the language from which words are borrowed (Haspelmath, 2009). In this study, English is the donor language.
Recipient/ Target Language (TL)	The language that borrows words from another (Haspelmath, 2009). Gĩkũyũ is target or recipient language in this study.
Gĩkũyũ/Kikuyu	The language, as well as the native speakers of the language. Agĩkũyũ is at times used to refer to the people or the community.
Core borrowing	A word is borrowed for which a native word already exists; there is duplication of meaning (Haspelmath 2009).
Cultural borrowing	A word is borrowed to designate a new concept coming from outside (Haspelmath 2009)

1.8 Literature Review

Much of the theoretical works on loanwords and integration are associated with Weiner Betz (1939, 1949), Einar Haugen (1940) and Uriel Weinreich (1953). Most of the later studies have built on the works of these scholars. Though over the years there have been modifications on the original views of these scholars, most of the terms they coined to express linguistic processes involved in loanwords and integration are widely used today.

One such term is 'loan translation.' Betz (1939) considers it as the exact translation, element by element of a foreign model. He gives the example of the German word *Wolkenkratzer* (from

English 'skyscraper'). However this example fails to conform to the above definition since it does not correspond element by element. *Wolken* refers to "clouds," not "sky," which is *Himmel,* in German. The literal German translation of skyscraper would therefore be *Himmelskratzer (Treffers-Daller 2000). Haugen (1970) adds the aspect of substitution. The borrower 'imports' a model if the loan is similar enough for the speaker to accept it as his own. If the model is reproduced inadequately, the speaker is said to have 'substituted' a similar pattern from his own language. Duckworth (1997) includes 'partial substitution' and helps translate most of the terms from German into English.

Some of the authors also differentiate between 'loanword' and 'foreign word' under 'importation.' A foreign word is regarded as a non-integrated word from a foreign language which is used and spelled as it is. Loanword, on the other hand, is an integrated word from a foreign language by adapting its phonetic and orthographic form. Much debate arose concerning the distinction between 'loanword' and 'foreign word.' Betz (1933) distinguishes the two respectively, as *Lehnwort* and *Fremdwort*. Some authors like Carstensen (1968), Duckworth (1997) and Kiesler (1993) among others use loanword in the restricted sense of assimilated loanword. Others like Haugen (1970) make no distinction between loanword and foreign word. To avoid confusion arising from the use of those terminologies, Duckworth (1997) and Kiesler (1993) propose the use of the terms *entlehnte wort* (borrowed word). However the term 'loanword' continues to be used in the general sense in most of the later and the current research. Such authors include Jacob and Gussenhoven (2000), Peperkamp and Dupoox (2003) and LaCharite and Paradis (2005). The term 'loanword' is used in this sense in this research and synonymously with the word, "borrowed word"

Another debate that arose concerns the issue of conformity between the Source Language (SL) and the Target Language (TL). The view was that non-native structures may be changed to conform to the TL system. Whereas the focus was mainly on phonological processes, there are several scholars who pay attention to the semantic aspect. Since this study is concerned mainly with the semantic aspect in lexical borrowing, our attention will shift to those authors. They include Falk (1973), Crystal (1987, 1995) Blank (1995) and Fromkin (2003), among others. These authors hold the view that languages change in various aspects, including the semantic

component. Crystal views semantic change as "perhaps the most obvious of linguistic change" (1987:330). According to Lehrer (1974) lexical items carry the bulk of semantic component and lexical changes seem to be the most noticeable and particularly in lexical borrowing (Falk,1973). The phenomenon of lexical borrowing and semantic change is a major concern of this study.

According to Blank (1995) words are always borrowed with one specific meaning at a given time. A similar view is expressed by Bloomfield (1933) who observes that each word has one central meaning and other marginal or occasional meaning. However the original source language meaning can change in the process of borrowing, a fact recognized by these authors. Other authors who have written extensively on semantic change include Croft (2000) and Winter-Froemel (2000). They categorize semantic change into broadening, narrowing, semantic shift and metaphorical change. This classification of semantic change is used in the study, and adequate examples given for the case of Gĩkũyũ – English contact.

As stated earlier on in the introduction, there are several works on the influence of social and psychological factors on the process of lexical borrowing and semantic change. Hock (1968) Falk (1973), Crystal (1987) and Thomas and Kaufman (1988) all support the view that history as well as socio-cultural factors greatly influence linguistic borrowing processes. This view is similar to that of Weinreich (1953) who cites socio-cultural factors as the reason for the fact that lexicon is so receptive to borrowing. He identifies the need to introduce new concept as a major reason for borrowing. This is clearly the case in Gĩkũyũ borrowing from English, as will be demonstrated in this research.

Not all cases however show words being borrowed due to the need to name new objects on concepts. Haspelmath (2008) observes that there are cases where words are borrowed even when it was not necessary to do so since a word already existed in the native language. Besides, he argues, any language has the capacity to create new expressions to refer to new objects and ideas, using its own resources. This fact is evident in this research. There will be cases demonstrated where Gĩkũyũ borrowed words from English when they already had their equivalents in their own language. Haspelmath (2008) is therefore of the view that besides the historical and socio-cultural factors, there exists another factor: the attitudinal or psychological aspect. In this

research both historical and socio-cultural factors on the one hand and psychological factors on the other are recognized as having significant influence on the process of lexical borrowing and semantic change.

Treffers-Daller (2007) observes that social factors influence the quality and quantity of borrowing. This is true concerning the case of Gĩkũyũ-English contact. The fact that Gĩkũyũ borrowed so extensively from English can be attributed to the nature of the former's interaction and reaction towards the contact. To Sankoff (2001), linguistic contact normally takes place under conditions of social inequalities often resulting from conquests and colonialism. This is clearly the case in the speech communities under study in this research. The English-speaking British conquered, colonized and settled among the Gĩkũyũ, leading to a linguistic contact situation.

Though linguists believe that borrowing can go either way between the languages in contact, Treffers-Daller (2007) is of the opinion that in most cases, it is one-sided. Borrowing will normally flow from the culturally, politically, and economically dominant language to the less prestigious one. This will be demonstrated to have been the case concerning Gĩkũyũ borrowing from English as discussed in this study.

Several authors have written on the English and Gĩkũyũ languages and cultures. Others have discussed the nature of the historical interactions between them. Crystal (1995) has written much about English as a language. Authors like Baruah (1995) have written about the status of English in the world. It is viewed as a prestigious language and a major linguistic donor to many other languages. There are also many publications on Gĩkũyũ language and culture and the interaction between the Gĩkũyũ people and the English speaking colonialists. The works of Routledge and Routledge (1910), Cagnolo (1933), Kenyatta (1938) and Muriuki (1974) have been cited in this research concerning the contact between the two speech communities. Not only have they provided vital information on the history and culture of the Gĩkũyũ but also they have shed light on the attitude the Gĩkũyũ had towards the British colonial administrators, the settlers and the missionaries. These factors had a major bearing on the process of linguistic borrowing. Cagnolo (1933) and Mũriũki (1973) observe that Gĩkũyũ quickly absorbed the western culture introduced

by the British colonialists and missionaries. They have also written much on the interaction between the Gĩkũyũ and their traditional neighbours.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework applied in this study is cognitive lexical semantics (Geeraerts 1995; Taylor (2001). It is typically used as a tool for lexical semantics and has been used by linguistic scholars such as Leonard Talmy (2000) Dirk Geeraerts (2010) John Taylor et.al (2001) and Carita Paradis (2012). This theory deals with three fundamental issues, among others: (Paradis 2012).

(i) What is the nature of meaning in language?

(ii) How are meanings of words learnt and stored?

(iii)How and why do meanings of words change?

It evolved as a research discipline in the 19th Century (Paradis 2012). During this period, word meanings were considered as mental entities. In the 20th century, a structuralist approach was introduced. It was associated with Ferdinand de Saussure (1959). To the structuralist, word meanings are not treated as psycholinguistic units. Instead they are viewed as relational and are defined in terms of what they are not. (Paradis 2012). At the end of the 20th Century there was a return to the previous view that word meanings involve psychological processes. In the 1980s the cognitive approach to the study of meaning emerged. It recognized the fact that there is no clear distinction between lexical and grammatical categories (Geeraerts 1995).

According to Taylor et al. (2001) cognitive lexical semantics became a full-fledged field of cognitive linguistic research in the early eighties. This fact is collaborated by Treffers- Daller (2000) who observes that towards the end of the eighties, lexical borrowing and code-switching started to be studied from a psychological point of view. The cognitive approach to lexical semantics is therefore a relevant tool for this study. It relates the cognitive processes to a socio-cultural and historical context. It can therefore be viewed as a socio-cognitive framework (Paradis 2015). This approach would therefore prove quite effective for this study which explores not only the historical and socio-cultural context of Gĩkũyũ borrowing lexical items

from English, but also the psychological factors involved. This is because as Paradis (2012) observes this socio-cognitive framework takes into consideration the speakers' perceptual and cognitive experiences within a cultural and historical context.

1.10 Research Hypotheses

The following predictions are made in the research:

1. Gĩkũyũ has extensively borrowed lexical items from English.
2. The words borrowed from English into Gĩkũyũ undergo semantic change.
3. There exist social and psychological factors responsible for borrowing and semantic change.

1.11 Methodology

This study is a qualitative analytical study of words borrowed from English into Gikũyũ. The lexical items to be studied are drawn from among words in frequent use by a cross-section of the native Gĩkũyũ speakers. The data corpus includes over 300 English loanwords, perceived by Gĩkũyũ speakers to be part of their vocabulary. These words relate to various semantic domains such as ecology, material culture, social culture and social organization (Newmark 1988). It also investigates instances of core borrowing in areas of kinship system, colours and numbering system.

To collect this data, several methods were used. First of all observation was extensively used. Like Crystal (1987:330) notes:

> innumerable examples can be found… simply by watching and listening to everyday usage.

The speakers' output-whether written or spoken-therefore offers an important source of data. In this study much of it is from spoken output. The importance of this type of data is also emphasized by Cruse (1986:8):

much insight into word-meaning is to be gained by observing the ways in which words are strung together by competent practitioners of the language.

While observing, the researcher would also at times involve participation. This was done by not only listening and noting the use of borrowed words, but the researcher would also sometimes take part in these conversations, being a native speaker of Gĩkũyũ language. The primary source of the data collected through observation and participation was mainly through various natural, everyday conversations. In the course of this study the researcher managed to attend and observe at total of fifteen church services on varying dates. The churches included PCEA Kĩrĩrĩchua church, Naromoru; PCEA Kanjũri church, Karatina; Kasuku Catholic Church, Nyahururu; and Victors' Chapel Church, Karatina. The services were conducted in Gĩkũyũ or involved English-Gĩkũyũ interpretation. Cases of loanwords from English were noted down. The social gatherings that the researcher attended and collected English loanwords included in two family get-together parties; two church weddings and three funerals. The venues included Mathira, Tetu and Naromoru within Nyeri County; Kandara in Murang'a County and Nyahururu in Laikipia County. A total of three political meetings- two in Karatina Stadium and one in Kamukunji Grounds, Nyeri town-were also observed. The researcher listened to various speakers who used Gĩkũyũ and noted down various English loanwords such speakers used. The researcher would join friends and relatives in spontaneous conversations and make mental or discreet note of loanwords used while speaking in Gĩkũyũ. Other situations include church sermons and social gatherings such as political and school meetings conducted in Gĩkũyũ language.

The media was also a significant source of data. Nowadays in Kenya there are many vernacular radio and TV stations that broadcast in standard local languages. The Gĩkũyũ vernacular radio and TV stations that provided data for this research include *Inoro, Kameme* and *Coro* radio stations as well as *Njaata* and *Inooro* TV stations. The vernacular radio programmes sampled include the following:

Inooro Fm
Cua cua reloaded
Racuria

Icenio ria thũgũri

Mugambo wa Mũrĩmi

Kameme Fm

Hũmũka

Mũiguithania

Arahũka

Coro Fm

Ũruru wa Kĩgooco

Rugendo rwa mbimbiria

Kwarĩra

Inooro Tv

Cama wa Riiko

Thimo Thimũre

Centrosinema

Njaata Tv

(News and Commercials)

The researcher would listen to the broadcasts and call-in conversations and note down the use of words borrowed from English. Besides observation and participation, the researcher's intuition is also useful in analysis of such data. Lehrer (1974) advocates the use of intuition especially where data is not forthcoming. It sometimes became necessary in the course of this study for the researcher who is a native speaker of Gĩkũyũ to use intuition. This included instances that involved differentiating between native Gĩkũyũ words and words borrowed from English.

However, sometimes all the above three methods may not be adequate. Cruse (1986:8) notes that observation is "limited" and the data to be observed is "largely beyond (the researcher's)

control." Labov (1971) is against too much reliance on intuition, and also recognizes the limitation of observation method. The researcher may sometimes fail to obtain the required feedback. To overcome this challenge one can use elicitation (Lehrer 1974). This may be necessary for a lexical semantics researcher who gets a large proportion of sound and syntactic patterns and very little semantic patterns. In such a case the researcher can successfully steer people towards a certain direction. According to Lehrer (1974:5); "A skillful investigator can combine observation and elicitation by getting people to talk about certain topics." This view is echoed by Cruse (1988:9),

> speakers' utterances can be made semantically more informative if the investigator is able to constrain their production in various ways – for instance by elicitation.

During this research some situation arose that made it necessary to use elicitation. The researcher would in such a case ask specific, deliberate questions that successfully produced results. Such situations included getting respondents into a conversation about foods on offer in a hotel. Inevitably they would get to use certain words to refer to types of food. This can be a good source of borrowed words. An ostensibly casual conversation in vernacular with a mechanic about the working of a car engine and the repairs he carries out will help the researcher note the use of borrowed words in this area. Many English loanwords referring to parts of a car were collected using this method.

Sometimes interviews were also used. The subjects were mainly competent native speakers who in most cases were elderly. The interviews were not really formal but bordered on casual conversations but with clear questions. It would also entail informing the interviewee about the research. Such respondents helped shed light on certain issues whenever the need arose. These include information on the interaction between the British and Gĩkũyũ speakers. They were also a good source of information on the native and non-native cultural objects and systems. Such individuals and who were used in this research are ninety-six-year-old Mzee Gacanja Kiriro and seventy-five-year-old Mzee Wang'ombe both of Mathira, Nyeri County.

Texts were also used to confirm certain information and verify particular data. Crystal (1987) and Labov (1971) recognize the role of texts in lexical semantics. Much of the data that was collected was checked against an English- Gĩkũyũ dictionary to confirm the lexical items are noted to have originated from English. However not all borrowed words were expected to be in the entries since only direct loans and some clippings from direct loans are likely to be in the entries. These are the only type of loanwords that would have a clear case of borrowed form and content. Besides there are many new loanwords getting into Gĩkũyũ language all the time and so are not in these dictionaries. Certain publications by authors like Kutik (1983) and Mwanĩki (2013) were also used as sources for some loanwords in Gĩkũyũ. Standard English dictionaries were also used especially when confirming the SL meaning of words that are thought to have been borrowed into Gĩkũyũ. This helped when investigating if such words had undergone semantic change. The dictionaries also helped in getting pronunciation of English words to compare with the pronunciation of the loanwords in Gĩkũyũ. The dictionaries were also used to find out English language itself had borrowed any lexical items from Gĩkũyũ.

The survey population where live conversations were observed, participated in or elicitation used was drawn mainly from within the Nyeri county. This is where the researcher resides and works. There are many native speakers in this region and all the four major dialects of Gĩkũyũ – Nyeri, Murang'a, Kiambu and Kirinyaga – are represented. The researcher's work station – Kanjuri High School in Mathira, Nyeri County – in particular, has all those four dialects represented. However, speakers outside the work station were also involved, for a more representative sample. The rural setting was drawn mainly from Mathira sub-county while the urban setting was Karatina and Nyeri towns.

The researcher also greatly relied on the data drawn from listening to media broadcasts in the radio and television stations. This source was even more reliable since it was drawn from across the entire country. The majority of these stations broadcasting in Gĩkũyũ cover most of the areas where the language is widely spoken. These areas include Mount Kenya and the Aberdares region as well parts of the Rift Valley, such as Nakuru. A significant sample of the Gĩkũyũ speaking population is accessible through the various call-in and discussion programmes that take place in those stations.

CHAPTER TWO
BORROWING MECHANISMS IN GĨKŨYŨ- ENGLISH SITUATION

2.1 Introductory Remarks

Borrowing is the process of incorporating features of one language into another (Treffers – Daller, 2007). These elements are then adopted by the borrowing language into a permanent part of its own system. Lexical items are borrowed into the recipient language through various mechanisms. In the process some words may retain the original SL meaning while others may change. Semantic change will be discussed in the next chapter. In this chapter we focus on the mechanisms or processes used when borrowing lexical items from English into Gĩkũyũ. These borrowing mechanisms are direct loans, loan translations (calques), loanshifts, loan creations, clippings and coinage. For each mechanism, a few examples will be given. Some brief explanations will also be given in case of peculiar observations noted such as phonological changes in the process of lexical borrowing.

2.2 Direct Loans

Direct loans involve cases where both form and content of a lexical item are borrowed into the recipient language (Haugen 1950). This often happens with a varying degree of accuracy (Haugen 1950, Field 2002). This means that some of the borrowed lexical items are closer to the SL lexical items in sound and spelling while others are not so close. The same case applied to meaning. Where the form is very close to the SL item, it is easy to immediately recognize the loanword and relate it to English, the source language. In such cases only slight modifications are done on the sound and spelling to make them conform to the Gĩkũyũ sound system.

This is necessary because as stated earlier, the two languages vary in many aspects including their phonological structure. This can be illustrated through the inventory of the two languages' sound systems as illustrated below:

Gĩkũyũ Consonants and Phonetic Transcription

b	/B/	r	/r/	ng	/^{N}g/
c	/Σ/	t	/t/	nj	/⊄dZ/
g	/Φ/	th	/Δ/	ny	/ʃ/
h	/h/	w	/w/	ng'	/N/
k	/k/	y	/j/		
m	/m/	mb	/^{m}b/		
n	/n/	nd	/^{n}d/		

Gĩkũyũ Vowels and Phonetic Transcription

a	/a/
e	/E/
i	/i/
u	/u/
ĩ	/e/
ũ	/o/

Source: Ngure (2005)   and Njagi (1982).

English Consonant Sounds.

/p/	/f/	/h/
/b/	/v/	/m/
/t/	/T/	/n/
/d/	/Δ/	/N/
/k/	/s/	/l/
/g/	/z/	/r/
/tΣ/	/Σ/	/j/
/dZ/	/Z/	/w/

English Vowel and Diphthong sounds

/I/	/i:/	/eI/	/Y↔/
/e/	/a:/	/↔Y/	
/Θ/	/∈:/	/aI/	
/□/	/□:/	/□I/	
/Y/	/u:/	/aY/	
/℘/		/e↔/	
/↔/		/I↔/	

Source: Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (2010)

Usually, English sounds that are 'foreign' to Gĩkũyũ sound system are replaced with those that are existent in Gĩkũyũ. Such replacements are phonologically related to the SL sounds.

A closer study reveals certain patterns that can be phonologically explained. Some of the modifications involve vowels. For instance words borrowed from English have the sounds /Θ/ and /eI/ changed to /ε/ when they enter into Gĩkũyũ language. Some examples are cited below:

13. Gĩk   *njemu*   /⊄dZεmu/   <Eng. 'jam'   /dZΘm/
14. Gĩk   *bengi*   /BεNgi/   <Eng. 'bank'   /bΘNk/
15. Gĩk   *njemu*   /⊄dZεmu/   <Eng. Dam'   /dΘm/
16. Gĩk   *keki*   /kεki/   <Eng. 'Cake'   /keik/
17. Gĩk   *tiree*   /tirε:/   <Eng. 'tray'   /trei/

From the above examples there are clear cases of vowel insertion at the end of the borrowed words. This is necessary because Gĩkũyũ words do not have word-final consonants but end in vowels. This is evident in examples above in words like:

18. Eng   'cake'   /keik/   > Gĩk   / kɛki/

19. Eng   'jam'   /dZΘm/   > Gĩk   /ȼdZɛmu/

20. Eng   'bank'   /bΘNk/   > Gĩk   /BɛNgi/

21. Eng   'dam'   /dΘm/   > Gĩk   /ⁿdɛmu/

Other examples include the following:

22. Eng.   'net'   /net/   >   Gĩk.   /nEti/

23. Eng.   'room'   /rYm/   >   Gĩk.   /rYmY/

24. Eng.   'shirt'   /ΣE:t/   >   Gĩk.   /Σa:ti/

25. Eng.   'term'   /tE:m/   >   Gĩk.   /ta:mu/

26. Eng.   'torch'   /t□:tΣ/ >   Gĩk.   /t□:Σi/

Phonological changes may also involve consonants. For instance /l/ - in English words is replaced with /r/ when the words enter Gĩkũyũ. Examples include:

27. Eng.   'lock'   /l□k/   >   Gĩk.   rooko   /r□:k□/

28. Eng.   'floor'   /fl□:/   >   Gĩk.   buroo   /Bur□:/

29. Eng.   'lift'   /lift/   >   Gĩk.   ributi   /rEButi/

As stated earlier, the sounds involved are phonologically related. For example,
/b/ /p/ /B/ and /m/ are bilabials and they interact across the two languages. /K/ and /Φ/ are velars while /tΣ/ and /Σ/ are alveolar – palatal sounds.

The English sounds /g/, /b/ and /d/ become pre nasalized. Examples include:

30. Eng   'bible' /baibl/   > Gĩk   *mbaimbũ*   /ᵐbaiᵐbo/

31. Eng   'gas' /gΘs/   > Gĩk   *ngasi*   /ᴺgasi/

Other consonant changes include:

32. Eng.   /S/   →   Gĩk.   /Δ/

33. Eng.   /K/   →   Gĩk.   /Φ/

34. Eng.   /f/   →   Gĩk.   /B/

35. Eng.   /v/   →   Gĩk.   /B/

36. Eng.   /b/   →   Gĩk.   /B/

37. Eng.   /p/   →   Gĩk.   /ᵐb/ or /m/

38. Eng.   /tΣ/   →   Gĩk   /Σ/

Examples for each of the above changes are listed below.

English		Gĩkũyũ	
39. 'socks'	/s□ks/	thogithi	/Δ□ΦiΔi/
40. 'market'	/ma:kit/	marigiti	/mariΦiti/
41. 'fees'	/fi:s/	biithi	/Bi:Δi/
42. 'driver'	/draiv↔/	ndereba	/ⁿdereBa/
43. 'bank'	/bΘNk/	bengi	/Beⁿgi/
44. 'petrol'	/petrl/	betũrũ	/Betoro/
45. 'plough'	/plaY/	mũraũ	/morao/
46. 'chalk'	/tΣok/	coka	/Σ□ka/

The English sounds /g/. /b/ and /d/ become pre-nasalised. This is too due to the fact that in Gĩkũyũ these sounds occur only in the pre-nasalized form when words borrowed from English contain these sounds, therefore, they become –pre-nasalized to make them conform to Gĩkũyũ sound system. As a result, these sounds change as follows:

47. Eng.   /b/   →   Gĩk   /ᵐb/

48. Eng.   /g/   →   Gĩk   /ⁿg/

49. Eng.   /d/   →   Gĩk   /ⁿd/

Examples of such loan words are listed below:

English			Gĩkũyũ	
50. 'bible'	/baibl/	>	mbaimbũ	/ᵐbaiᵐbo/
51. 'bus'	/b^s/	>	mbathi	/mba:Δi/
52. 'gas'	/gΘs/	>	ngasi	/ⁿga:si/
53. 'guitar'	/gita:/	>	ngita	/ⁿgita/
54. 'drum'	/dr^m/	>	ndarama	/ⁿdarama/
55. 'dance'	/dΘns/	>	ndaaci	/ndaΣi/

However, there were instances noted where sounds not native to   Gĩkũyũ were borrowed and used in the borrowed words. Most of such borrowed words are those associated with the elite Gĩkũyũ speakers. Most of the words that are being borrowed into the language currently, also belong to this group. The English sounds that are non-native to Gĩkũyũ language are borrowed alongside the lexical item. These sounds include /P/ and /S/ and examples of loanwords with such sounds are listed below:

English			Gĩkũyũ	
56. 'park'	/Pa:k/	>	Paaka	/Pa:ka/
57. 'primary'	/praim↔ri/	>	puraimarĩ	/puraimare/
58. 'parachute'	/PΘΦ↔Σu:t/	>	paracuti	/paraΣu:ti/
59. 'sausage'	/s□sIdZ/	>	sosĩnji	/s□sEⁿdZi/
60. 'pastor'	/pa:st↔/	>	pasita	/pasita/
61. 'sister'	/sist□/	>	sisista	/Sisita/

There are also cases however where the borrowed words differ significantly from the SL pronunciation. Nevertheless these words are still direct loans since both form and meaning have been borrowed from English. It is only that the sound and orthography have undergone greater modification so that it no longer closely resembles the SL item in sound and orthography. A few of such examples are cited below:

62. Gĩk   *kaiyaba*   /KaiaBa/   <Eng. /KeiΘpl/   'kei apple'

63. Gĩk   *thamanji*   /ΔamaⱭdZi/   <Eng. /sʌm↔nz/   'summons'

64. Gĩk   *birigiceni* /BiriΦiΣɛni/ <Eng. /↔Yp↔reiΣn/   'operation'

Such words are relatively 'old' borrowing for instance, all the above are associated with the colonial period. Unlike today, the Gĩkũyũ speakers had not been adequately exposed to English language and the majority of the speakers were not well educated then.

Direct loans also occur among English compound nouns and phrases. They are however borrowed into Gĩkũyũ as single lexical items and not decomposable compounds or phrases. This kind of phenomenon had been noted in other situations by linguists like Lehrer (1974). Such words in Gĩkũyũ include:

65. *cũndacũũ*   /Σo^{n}daΣo:/   'shoulder shawl'

66. *cũũkũmũsomba*   /Σokomus□^{m}ba/   'shock absorber'

67. *thengiũ*   /Δɛ^{N}gio/   'thank you'

In the case of *cũndacũũ* for instance, the Gĩkũyũ speakers understand the phrase as a single lexical item or word. The speakers do not view the phrase as containing two distinctive words, "*cũnda*" and *cũũ*. There was no evidence gathered where the speakers have borrowed *cũnda* to refer to 'shoulders? The same case applies to *cũkũmũsomba*. Whereas in English 'shock' is a modifier to the content word 'absorber' this does not apply in the *cũkũmũsomba* loan word. It is common to hear Gĩkũyũ speakers shorten the phrases to *cũũkũ* (shock) to refer to the object "shock absorber." Similarly there was no evidence available to show that 'thank' or 'you' has been borrowed separately. The two are borrowed together as one word, an expression of gratitude.

2.3 Loan Translations (Calques)

Loan translations involve cases where there is direct translation of the elements of a word into the borrowing language. The parts of a word are translated separately and a new word formed, rather than borrowing a word as a whole (Crystal, 1987). A new vocabulary item is created by translating a foreign word form into the native formative (Falk, 1973). There are many cases of loan translation in Gĩkũyũ, where certain expressions have been incorporated into the language by translating them from English. As stated previously, the process of incorporation is often with varying degree of accuracy. Consequently, some of the Gĩkũyũ loan translations are more accurate in comparison to English, the target language while others are not as accurate. This means that some loan words show a clear word-for-word correspondence, which may lack in others. Some of the loanwords with an accurate and clear word – for- word translation are illustrated below:

Gĩkũyũ	Literal Translation	Gloss
68. *Baba Mũtheru*	Holy father	'Holy father'
69. *Roho Mũtheru*	Holy Spirit	'Holy Spirit'
70. *Mũthuri wa Kanitha*	Elder of the church	'Church elder'

Interestingly, most of the examples are from the Christian religion domain. This could be attributed to the need by the faithful to be as accurate as possible when translating issues or concepts pertaining to matters of faith or religion. However there are also cases of word – for – word translation of words referring to other domains outside of religion. Some examples include:

Gĩkũyũ	Literal Translation	Gloss
71. *Mũtharaba mũtune*	red cross	'The Red Cross'
72. *Ũrimi wa mahiũ /*	farming of livestock/	'Livestock/
ngũkũ/thamaki etc	Poultry/fish, etc	poultry/ fish farming'

Though there is word-for-word transition, there are cases where grammatical or structural differences occur. In Gĩkũyũ language, the adjective is placed after the noun it modifies, as is

the case in the phase, *Baba* ('father') *mũtheru* ('Holy') to mean 'Holy Father.' This means that contrary to Gĩkũyũ, the adjective is placed before the noun it modifies in English noun phrases.

Being a proper noun (name of an organization) there is need to be as accurate as possible in translating 'Red Cross'. Regarding the second example, to the traditional Gĩkũyũ one simply cultivated crops, herded cattle reared chicken or trapped fish. So before the coming of the white men, the Gĩkũyũ talked of *ũrimi wa irio* (farming of crops) only. The native Gĩkũyũ meaning of *ũrĩmi* refers only to the idea of cultivating crops. There was clear distinctions between *kũrĩma* (to 'cultivate' and from which the noun *ũrĩmi* is derived) and *kũrĩithia* (the keeping of livestock). It is only in English language where "farming" incorporates both the cultivation of crops and rearing of livestock (CAL Dictionary).

The concept of livestock poultry or fish farming in Gĩkũyũ is therefore a case of loanword from English. Nowadays it is common to hear it used by Gĩkũyũ speakers to refer particularly to organized agricultural activities especially those that involve modern practices.

There are also cases where some of the loan translations lack a clear word-for-word correspondence. Although the English concept is translated and the meaning retained, it is not exactly word-for-word. For instance, the English concept of "boss" or supervisor was alien to the Gĩkũyũ speakers. Instead, the Gĩkũyũ had leaders in charge of a region, social group or functions, and such a leader was referred to as *mũtongoria or mũthamaki* (Mũriũki 1974). The system of a salaried job in a company or institution and headed by a boss or supervisor was introduced by the white men. The Gĩkũyũ adopted the concept but translated it into *mũnene* whose literal meaning is 'the big one' or 'the senior one.' A general hospital is considered to be bigger and superior to others such as district hospitals; when this concept was borrowed, the Gĩkũyũ use the term *thibitarĩ nene* (lit. 'big hospital').

2.4 Loan Shifts

Loan shifts occur when the meaning of a native word is extended so that it corresponds to that of a borrowed concept or object in the SL (Haugen, 1953). This, however, does not mean that the native word completely loses its original meaning to acquire a new one. Instead it acquires a new

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range of meaning while retaining the old one (Burton, 2002). Haugen (1953) talks of extending the native word's meaning so that it corresponds to that of the SL.

An example of loan shift in Gĩkũyũ is the word *mooko*. The original native meaning is the 'hands' or 'arms.' When the white men introduced the modern dressing with sleeves, the Gĩkũyũ extended the meaning of *mooko* to include the sleeves while retaining the original meaning of hands or arms. Another example is the Gĩkũyũ word *kĩhaaro*. Originally, this word referred to the village square where various social activities would be held (Mũriũki 1974, Kenyatta 1933). Today, the meaning has been extended to include a sports field and even a stadium.

In the traditional Gĩkũyũ religion, *ngoma* referred to the spirits of the dead (Mũriuki 1973, Cagnolo 1933, Kenyatta 1933). When the white missionaries introduced the Christian religion among the Agĩkũyũ, they introduced the concept of the devil. Among the words the Gĩkũyũ adopted to refer to the devil is *ngoma* which was an extension of the original meaning of the spirits of the dead.

Other examples of loan shifts are listed below, showing the original meaning and the new, extended meaning.

Gĩkũyũ	Original meaning	extended meaning
73. *riiko*	hearth	gas cooker
74. *rũrenda*	cobweb	web(site)
75. *gũthĩnja*	slaughter	surgery / operation
76. *matu-inĩ*	in the clouds/ the sky	heaven

In all the examples cited above, it is evident that a kind of logical association exists. For instance sleeves look like hands and so share the same word *mooko*. The original Gĩkũyũ village square today serves some of the same functions it used to such as playing field, and venue for public meetings- hence the word *kĩhaaro* is retained. Today, the gas cooker has replaced the hearth in most Gĩkũyũ homes and so since the gas cooker and the hearth serve the same purpose, the same word is used. The Gĩkũyũ idea of equating *gũthĩnja* (slaughter) to 'surgery' is a matter of

attitude since in their view then, to operate on a person was just like slaughtering them. More on the issue of attitude will be discussed later on in this study. In traditional Gĩkũyũ religion, *Mũrungu* (God) was believed to reside at the *Kĩrĩnyaga* (Mount Kenya). When the new Christian religion introduced the idea of heaven as the abode of God, the Gĩkũyũ used the word for the clouds or sky, *matu* to refer to heaven.

2.5 Loan Creations

In the case of a loan creation, a new form is created to help translate a foreign concept. In most cases, it involves a composite and uses indigenous elements to translate a foreign idea (Haugen 1953) Treffers – Daller, 2000). An example in Gĩkũyũ is the lexical item created to refer to the foreign concept of spirit- the strong type of alcoholic drink. The Gĩkũyũ word, *njoohi* is used to refer to alcohol in general. However, to distinguish the spirit type of alcohol, the Gĩkũyũ created the expression *njoohi ndũrũ* (lit. strong or bitter alcohol). This can be attributed to the fact that the Gĩkũyũ traditional brew, *mũratina* was usually mild in taste-sometimes even sweet-since it contained honey or sugar cane juice. Another example is the new concept of hospitalization. Traditionally, the Gĩkũyũ medicinemen would visit the sick at home or the patient would go to the traditional doctor for treatment and return home to heal (Cagnolo, 1933); Kenyatta (1933), Mũriuki, 1974). There were no special institutions like the hospital or even in-patient admissions. When this idea was introduced, the Gĩkũyũ created the expression *gũkoma thibitarĩ* (lit. 'sleep in the hospital'). Some of the life-style diseases experienced today were not known to the Gĩkũyũ. Such diseases are related to modern days' occupations and diet. When they learnt about them from the white people new words were created for them, depending on the understood nature of the disease. Hypertension or high blood pressure came to be known as *mũrimũ wa kũhanyũka thakame* (lit. 'disease of running of blood'); or *mũrimũ wa kũhũũra ngoro* (lit. 'disease of beating of the heart'). Diabetes is referred to as *mũrimũ wa cukari* (lit. 'sugar disease').

2.6 Clipping

Sometimes the borrowed word may be clipped. This is where a certain part or portion of the borrowed word is omitted. In the case of Gĩkũyũ borrowing from English, the Gĩkũyũ speakers did this in several ways. First of all, there are cases where a phrase borrowed from English has a whole part of it clipped, while the other part is retained. However, it was established in this

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research that the speakers still consider the remaining part as a whole word. Clipping one part does not affect the meaning. As stated earlier on, phrases are borrowed as single, unanalyzable units which are used in the sense of a single word. Examples of such clipped loanwords are listed below.

Gĩkũyũ	English source	Gloss
77. *nooti*	'note'	'bank note'
78. *puraimarĩ*	'primary'	'primary school'
79. *thekondarĩ*	'secondary'	'secondary school'
80. *Ngirũndi*	'guild'	'Women's Guild'
81. *Buuru*	'full'	'Full Gospel Church'

The speakers clearly understand the use of the clipped forms and the implied meaning. When one talks of *mwarimũ wa primary* (lit. 'primary teacher'), it is understood to mean a 'primary school teacher.' When one mentions *nooti* it is understood to mean the bank note (except in the context of the numerals where the same word *nooti* can refer to the loanword 'naught' (zero). Someone who claims to be a member of *ngirundi* ('Guild') is understood to belong to the Women's Guild just like a *buuru* ('full') member is understood to mean a member of the Full Gospel Church. Sometimes clipping may not involve omitting a whole part of a phrase. Instead only a small part of a word is clipped. In most cases it involves omitting the final consonant of the borrowed word. This is a phonological process which the Gĩkũyũ speakers employ to avoid consonant- final sounds, which do not exist in the native Gĩkũyũ system. Once the final consonant is deleted, a vowel sound is inserted instead. Examples of such words include the following:

Gĩkũyũ	Phonetic representation	Gloss
82. *paamu*	/pa:mu/	'pum(ps)'
83. *taitondii*	/tait$\square^n$di:/	'title dee(d)'
84. *cũndacũũ*	/Σo^{n}daΣo:/	'shoulder shaw(l)'
85. *ĩindi*	/ei^{n}di/	'Aid(s)'

There also exist cases where borrowed words are clipped because they were borrowed when they were already clipped or abbreviated. Examples of words borrowed in clipped form…

	Gĩkũyũ	**Gloss**	
86.	*ndomu*	'dorm'	(dormitory)
87.	*burinji*	'fridge'	(refrigerator)
88.	*betũrũ*	'petrol'	(petroleum)
89.	*takisii*	'taxi'	(taxi cab)

Abbreviated words and acronyms among the loanwords include the following:

	Gĩkũyũ	**Gloss**	
90.	*ĩindi*	'AIDS'	(Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome)
91.	*sindii*	'CD'	(Compact Disc)
92.	*ndibindii*	'DVD'	(Digital Video Disc)
93.	*tibii*	'TV'	(Television)
94.	*timbii*	'TB'	(Tuberculosis)

To the Gĩkũyũ speakers the above abbreviations or acronyms are perceived to be whole lexical items.

2.7 Coinage

This refers to the inventing of totally new terms. It is an entirely original creation that does not use word or formatives from another language or those already in the language (Falk, 1973). However not many cases of coinage were found in this study. Some of the few examples collected include the following:

95.	Gĩk	*Mũgithi*	Eng. 'train'
96.	Gĩk	*nduthi*	Eng. 'water pump/ 'motorcycle'

The words *mũgithi* and *nduthi* are new creations in Gĩkũyũ. They are not loanwords from English. Besides, no evidence was found to show that the words were previously in use as part of

Gĩkũyũ lexicon. They were therefore created to refer to the new objects- train and motorcycle, respectively. These were introduced to the Gĩkũyũ by the white men.

Some cases of coinage involve onomatopoeic words that tend to imitate a natural sound (Falk 1973). Some of the examples in, Gĩkũyũ include *taritari* to refer to 'flip-flops' and *kobokobo* among some speakers to refer to 'gumboots'. It is important to note that besides the onomatopoeic words, *taritari,* and *kobokobo* there also exist loanwords to refer to those items and they are more commonly used. These are *siripasi* (slippers) and *ngamumbuuti* (gumboots) respectively.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the various mechanisms employed by the Gĩkũyũ speakers in borrowing words from English. For each of the borrowing mechanisms, some examples have been cited from Gĩkũyũ language. It emerges that there exist differences in the amounts of words borrowed among the borrowing mechanisms. The greatest number of loanwords were acquired as direct loans- though with varying degree of accuracy. Coinages were quite few. Whatever the case, the borrowing mechanisms were found to be quite systematic and it is possible to explain them. It also emerged that in certain cases, particular phonological and morphological processes were involved.

The next chapter contains a discussion on semantic changes that take place when words are borrowed from English into Gĩkũyũ.

CHAPTER THREE
SEMANTIC SHIFT IN ENGLISH WORDS BORROWED INTO GĨKŨYŨ

3.1 Introduction

It is a natural linguistic phenomenon that all living languages change over time (Fromkin 2003). These changes occur in all aspects of the language including the lexicon and other components whether phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic. This chapter concerns itself with semantic change in the lexical items borrowed from English by Gĩkũyũ speakers.

When a language borrows from another language, in most cases, words are borrowed with a meaning that 'correctly' corresponds to the original SL meaning (Winter-Froemel 2000). In such cases, we can say there is no semantic change or there is zero semantic change. There are also cases where loanwords exhibit semantic changes. This semantic shift takes many forms and various degrees or extent of the shift from the SL meaning.

It is important to point out that whereas we may talk of non-native sounds in phonological analysis of borrowed words, meanings cannot be non-native (Winter- Froemel 2000). According to Taylor et.al (2001) the standard view about meaning is the assumption that "words of a language are associated with fixed and determinate meanings. It is only in case of polysemous words that a word may have more than one meaning. The kind of analysis that can be done with semantic change would be to compare the meaning of the borrowed words with the original SL meaning. Croft (2000), Winter-Froemel (2000) and Fromkin (2003) identify broadening, narrowing and meaning shift as categories of semantic change. Other scholars like Antilla (1989) and Hock (1986) include metaphorical change as a fourth category of semantic change. All these four categories of semantic change are discussed in this chapter. The chapter however begins with a study of cases of zero semantic change.

3.2 Zero Semantic Change

As stated earlier, there are cases where words are borrowed with the 'correct' SL meaning (Winter –Froemel 2000). This means that the borrowed words retain the original meaning in the SL. In the case of Gĩkũyũ borrowing from English, there exist very many cases where the

loanwords bear the original SL meaning. The majority of cases with zero semantic change were found to be among the direct loans. This can be attributed the fact in direct loans, lexical items are borrowed as they are with little modifications – mainly in the phonological aspect (Haugen 1950). Examples of loanwords with zero semantic change in the case of English- Gĩkũyũ include the following:

Gĩkũyũ	Gloss
97. *njirabu*	'giraffe'
98. *sembura*	'zebra'
99. *karati*	'carrot'
100. *mbĩkoni*	'bacon'
101. *thikati*	'skirt'
102. *tai*	'tie'
103. *njagi*	'jug'
104. *chumuni*	'chimney'
105. *katĩni*	'curtain'
106. *ngia*	'gear'
107. *kaburaita*	'carburetor'
108. *mburuu*	'blue'
109. *ngirini*	'green'
110. *tiranjibaa*	'transfer (N)'
111. *ributi*	'retire (N,V)'
112. *mocari*	'mortuary'
113. *kasini*	'cousin'
114. *mirioni*	'million'

The above examples of direct loans are drawn from across various semantic domains. In all the cases, the meaning of the loanwords correctly correspond to the SL meaning. Only the phonology and orthography differ. However, besides direct loans, words acquired through other borrowing mechanisms also exhibit zero semantic change. Clippings and abbreviations almost always show zero semantic change because they are normally derived from direct loans.

Examples include *Ĩindi* (AIDS), *ndomu* (dorm) *tibii* (TV) among others. Loan translations with clear –word-for-word correspondence also exhibit zero semantic change. This can be due to the fact this kind of loan translation is more accurate in the translation, hence retains the SL meaning. Examples include:

115. *Baba Mũtheru*   -   Holy father
116. *Roho Mũtheru*   -   Holy spirit
117. *Mũtharaba Mũtune* -   Red cross
118. *Ũrĩmĩ wa mahiu*   -   Livestock farming

In the case of *Baba Mũtheru* and *Roho Mũtheru* the phenomenon of zero semantic change can be attributed to the need to be as accurate as possible when translating religious or spiritual terms. The same case applies when translating proper nouns such as *Mũtharaba Mũtune* to refer to the Red Cross Organization. *Ũrimi wa Mahiũ* could be as a result of the need to be as accurate as possible to refer to the modern methods of livestock keeping and to distinguish from the traditional method of herding livestock.

Loanwards acquired through the other mechanisms such as loan shifts and loan creations are likely to exhibit cases of semantic change. This is because the lexical items are not borrowed as they are and exhibit cases where the SL meaning changes. Our attention now shifts to such instances of semantic change.

3.3 Semantic Broadening

The meaning of a borrowed word or a native word used to refer to borrowed concepts may change by broadening its semantic representation (Fromkin 2003). There occurs a kind of semantic expansion, so that the word means more than what it did originally. In the case of the loanwords from English, Gĩkũyũ has cases of words that were borrowed with a specific SL meaning but over time the meaning has been expanded to include others. There are also cases where native words have their meaning broadened to accommodate borrowed concepts or translate borrowed words.

The Gĩkũyũ word *rũrenda* originally meant 'cobweb.' When the modern concept of a website in communication technology was introduced, the same word, for cobweb is used to refer to the new concept. This is as a result of loan translation. The Gĩkũyũ speakers simply translated the English word 'web'- a polysemous word that refers not only to the spider's web but also to the web in information technology. (OAL Dictionary). This too is a case of translation from the SL third meaning of 'web' a complicated pattern of things that are closely connected to each other (OAL) Dictionary). This is a case of semantic expansion or broadening since the original meaning is retained while allocating a new meaning. The word *rũrenda* is also used to refer to network such as in the case of a terrorist group network.

As stated earlier, in loan translation, the Gĩkũyũ word *ũrĩmi* originally referred to farming but only in the sense of cultivation of crops. The meaning of this word has been broadened to include the modern system of specialized and systematic farming of livestock, poultry, fish, even bee-keeping. It is common to hear *ũrimi wa mahiũ/ ngũkũ*, etc. ('livestock/ poultry farming.') Another example cited in loan translation but which is also a case of semantic expansion is *riiko*. Originally this word referred specifically to the hearth which traditionally was the ground on which fire was lit using firewood sometimes three stones were included around it to place a cooking pot on (Mũriuki (1973, Kenyatta, 1938)). This meaning has been expanded to include modern objects for cooking with such as a gas cooker. There is also evidence of semantic expansion or broadening in the Gĩkũyũ word *Mũthuuri*. This word originally referred only to an elder who traditionally were men (Mũriũki: 1973), Kenyatta, (1938) or to refer to one's husband. The meaning of this word was later broadened to include even women in the context of a church elder, a concept introduced by the Christian missionaries. To avoid confusion however, the qualifier 'of church' is added so that rather than simply say *mũthuuri-* which can mean 'elder' or 'husband' *mũthuuri wa kanitha* (elder of the church/church elder) is used.

Another case of broadening is in the use of the word *ndagĩtari* by Gĩkũyũ speakers. This word was borrowed with the original meaning of a "doctor." Among the Gĩkũyũ speakers, however, this word's meaning is extended to include a nurse, a chemist and a pharmacist. *Wĩita* is yet another word that illustrates the phenomenon of semantic broadening. Whereas in English the word refers to a man who brings food to customers in a restaurant (CAL Dictionry), in Gĩkũyũ it

refs to both men and the women (waitress). In fact, it is further extended to include a barman and barmaid. It is therefore common to hear Gĩkũyũ patrons in a bar call out "*Wĩita*!" while referring to a barman or barmaid. One may attribute this phenomenon to the fact that Gĩkũyũ language system does not mark feminine and masculine gender on its nouns, unlike in the English case of 'waiter/ waitress' and 'barman/ barmaid.' To the Gĩkũyũ therefore, it is not necessary to distinguish between the masculine and feminine form. Interestingly, however, the loanword for 'barmaid' *mbaamĩindi* is reserved specifically for the female bar attendant. This could be due to the fact that Gĩkũyũ has the loanword m*ĩindi* 'maid' to refer to a 'housemaid.'

The Gĩkũyũ word *kĩama* originally referred to a council of elders. Today this word is used to refer also to political parties groups, organizations and unions – both local and international. It is common to hear among the Gĩkũyũ speakers the use of such words as *Kĩama kĩa Mũtharaba Mũtune* (The Red Cross Organization); *Kĩama kĩa Arutani* (Teachers' union) *Kĩama kĩa Mabũrũri* (The United Nations) *Kĩama kĩa Jubilee* (Jubilee Political Party) among others.

3.4 Semantic Narrowing

This is a kind of semantic restriction on the borrowed word (Fromkin 2003). Crystal (1987) talks of the word becoming more specialized in meaning. This then means that semantic narrowing is the opposite of semantic broadening. The restricted meaning makes the affected word to contain a meaning that differs from the SL meaning; or if it involves a native word, the word changes compared to its original meaning. Some examples drawn from the case of Gĩkũyũ borrowing from English can be cited.

One example of semantic narrowing is in the Gĩkũyũ speakers' use of the loanword, *andawĩa* ('underwear'). The original SL meaning refers to clothes worn next to the skin, under the other clothes (CAL Dictionary). This word in the SL is a broad category that includes various items of inner wear such as vest, petticoat and underpants. Among the Gĩkũyũ speakers, however, *andawĩa* is restricted men's to underpants only. During the research period, anytime the word came up, the speakers were invariably referring to men's underpants. When elicitation was used and the respondents directed towards a discussion on the items required for a student reporting to a boarding school *andawĩa* was always used in the sense of men's underpants. The women's

underpants were referred to as *thurarĩ cia thĩini* (the 'inner' or 'under shorts'). Some also used the loanword *pantii* ("pants").

The loanword *ngirathi* from English word "glass" is also restricted in its meaning. In the SL it has a variety of meanings including a hard, transparent materials; a small drinking container made of thin material (CAL Dictionary). By extension, we talk of glass window, glasshouse, glasses (spectacles), and so on. When Gĩkũyũ speakers borrowed the word glass, the designated meaning is restricted to the drinking container and the glass in a hurricane lamp. *Gĩcicio* is used to refer to the mirror and the material used in glass windows, doors, etc. *Macicio* is used to refer to "glasses (spectacles)."

'Gas' has also undergone semantic narrowing when we consider its use in Gĩkũyũ language as a loanword *ngaasi*. In most of the cases the word is restricted to the cooking gas. One hears Gĩkũyũ speakers talk of *riiko ria ngaasi* to refer to "the gas cooker." It is therefore not used exactly in the sense of SL meaning which refers to state that is neither solid nor liquid; a type of fuel for heating or cooking and a kind of air used for medical purposes to reduce pain (CAL Dictionary). The Gĩkũyũ speakers use *ngaasi* in the restricted sense of fuel used for cooking. Sometimes *ngaasi* could also be used when referring to "tear gas."

The English word 'bar' refers to a place where alcoholic drinks are sold and drunk (CAL Dictionary). It also includes the sale of non-alcoholic drinks such as milk as well as food (OAL Dictionary). In the SL therefore we have 'milk bar' 'coffee bar' and 'sandwich bar.' This is not the case in Gĩkũyũ where the loanword *mbaa* is restricted to the first meaning of a place where alcohol drinks are sold and drunk.

The loanword *biithi* ("fees") has also been restricted in its meaning. In the SL meaning, it refers to an amount of money paid for a particular service given, work done or even a right, (CAL Dictionary). In Gĩkũyũ it is not used in this broad sense but it is restricted to the money paid by students in learning institutions like schools, colleges or universities. During the research there were no cases where speakers used *biithi* to refer payments such as for a doctor's fee, lawyer's fee, entry fee, and so on. Instead, the words used for these payments were *mbeca* (money) or *marĩhi* (payments).

The Gĩkũyũ borrowed the word *rĩndiũ* ('radio') with the restricted meaning of a device for listening to news broadcast, music and so on. However in the SL 'radio' also has the extra meaning of an equipment that can send and receive signals, such as the one used by the police (CAL Dictionary). When a situation arose requiring the mentioning of this device for sending signals, the respondents did not use the word *rĩndiu*. Instead, they used the word *kĩmbo* (Cable) or ũba-ũba *('Over-over').* The use of *kĩmbo* could be as a result of the noted functional similarity between the method of sending messages through the wireless set and using electric signals to send the telegram messages as was the case then. The expression ũba-ũba ('over-over') could have been coined from the common expression 'over!' used frequently during the radio signal conversations.

3.5 Meaning Shift

In meaning shift the meaning of a word moves from one set of circumstances to another (Crystal 1987). The word meaning is perceived to have shifted considerably compared to the SL meaning. There are several examples that can be cited from the data collected on English loanwords in Gĩkũyũ.

The Gĩkũyũ use of the word *njaketi* ("jacket") is quite different from the SL meaning. In English it is a short coat and normally worn as part of a suit (CAL Dictionary). When this definition was put forth and respondents asked to state what it is, they almost always stated it is *igooti* ("coat"). To the Gĩkũyũ speakers *njaketi* refers to the more casual kind of short coat. *Igooti* therefore is yet another loanword that exhibits semantic shift. What Gĩkũyũ speakers refer to as *igooti* is "jacket" in the SL. On the contrary "coat" in SL refers to an outer piece of clothing worn over other clothes (CAL Dictionary). To the Gĩkũyũ speakers this is *kabuuti.*

Another loanword that shows a case of meaning shift is *tigiti* ("ticket"). Its meaning in Gĩkũyũ varies from that in the SL. Gĩkũyũ speakers use the word *tigiti* to refer to the busfare or generally any payment you give to be ferried in a public vehicle. When a Gĩkũyũ speaker says *"ndi na tigiti"* (lit. 'I have a ticket') they mean "I have fare." On the contrary the SL meaning of "*tigiti*" is not fare, but a piece of paper or card given to show that one has paid for an event, journey or

activity (CAL Dictionary). To Gĩkũyũ speakers, what one gets after paying for fare is *rithiiti* ("receipt").

Gĩkũyũ also has the loanword *siripasi* ("slippers") and it shows a case of meaning shift. In the SL "slippers" refers to a type of soft comfortable indoor shoes that one slips on (CAL Dictionary). What Gĩkũyũ refers to as *siripasi* ("slippers") was noted during the research to be "flip-flops."

Sometimes semantic change happens even to the native words (Crystal 1987). In the case of Gĩkũyũ some native words have undergone meaning shift in the course of borrowing from English. As stated earlier, *Mũthuuri* has undergone semantic expansion. The same word can be said to have undergone meaning shift as well because it can also be used nowadays to refer to women in the case of church elders. The native meaning of the word *Mũthuuri* does not include women. This is because as earlier mentioned the word originally referred to an elder or one's husband. The word *ngoma* is rarely used nowadays to refer to the spirits of the dead. It is more commonly used to refer to the devil.

Before contact with colonialists and missionaries, the Gĩkũyũ community believed in the existence of spirits of the dead, referred to as *ngoma.* Generally they were afraid of them and they were rarely mentioned (Cagnolo (1933), Muriuki (1974). The Christian Missionaries introduced the concept of the devil who was associated with evil. The word for the spirits of the dead, *ngoma,* was adopted to refer to the devil (among other words).

The loanword *thitĩnji* also shows a case of meaning shift. To Gĩkũyũ speakers it is equivalent to the bus station. However, in the SL meaning, it is one of the various resting places during a journey (CAL Dictionary). During the early days of colonial period, the British colonialists and missionaries would move from one point to another using horse or ox-drawn carriages that would stop at some points for the animals to rest before continuing the journey. These were stages. With coming of public transport vehicles that were fast moving, there was no need for stages, they stopped at bus stops and bus-stations. Gĩkũyũ speakers however stuck with *thitĩnji.* *Ceceni* (station) is normally used to refer to train station.

3.6 Metaphorical Semantic Change

Semantic changes are said to be metaphorical when one concept is perceived by the speakers of the recipient language to be similar to that of a new concept introduced from SL (Antilla (1989), Hock (1986). In such cases literal expressions in native language acquire figurative usage to refer to concepts perceived to be similar and acquired from the SL. This means that the recipient language speakers use a word or expression already in their language to refer to a new concept. There are a few examples that can be cited from the case of Gĩkũyũ borrowing from English.

Before the coming of the white man Gĩkũyũ people had a group of influential and respected individuals who would be spokesmen of their groups. Such an individual was referred to as *mũthamaki* or "spokesman" (Mũriũki 1974). Such spokesmen or *athamaki* (in plural) were in charge of various functions so that there were *athamaki a cira* (in charge of ceremonies) and *athamaki a bũrũri* (in charge of territorial units). In the real sense they were not political leaders as we know them today: (Mũriũki 1974:132)

> *Athamaki* were neither chiefs nor kings… They were simply the first leading personalities among the peers. They were rigidly controlled by the other peers.

It is the British colonialists who introduced the new political system and concept of a powerful, overall political leader in charge of a huge political entity and includes many different tribes. Such a leader today is called a president. The Gĩkũyũ speakers use *Mũthamaki wa bũrũri* (spokesman of a territorial unit) metaphorically, to refer to the president. Whereas the word *puresindenti* is also used by many speakers, the metaphorical term is also commonly used in the radio and TV broadcasts, political meetings and so on.

Another case of metaphorical semantic change is in reference to State House. Traditionally, *athamaki* had special huts, *thingira* built in every region or ridge. They would meet in those huts for their deliberations (Mũriũki (1973) Kenyatta (1938). According to Gĩkũyũ history, each generation of leaders had a name such as Iregi, Mwangi and Maina (Cagnolo 1933, Kenyatta (1933, Mũriũki (1974). According to one of the legends, the *Iregi* was a generation of revolters who revolted against a tyrannical leader (Kenyatta 1933). When the white men introduced the

concept of the State House as the seat and residence of the president, the Gĩkũyũ were able to see a similarity between this and their own traditional *thingira*, hut for the *athamaki*. This was coupled with the fact that to get their independence, the Kenyans- whom Gĩkũyũ are part of – revolted against the white men just like the *Iregi* of the old. The State House that would be occupied by the *Mũthamaki* of the revolters, *Iregi,* was seen as *thingira.* It therefore came to be known, metaphorically as *thingira wa Iregi* (Lit. The spokesmen's hut of the revolters).

The Gĩkũyũ were often awed by the white man, whom they refer to as *mũthũngũ*. The Gĩkũyũ viewed the white men as more privileged and some thought it was prestigious to associate with them (Mũriũki 1973). The white man was economically endowed, educated, politically powerful and technologically advanced. To the Gĩkũyũ any other person, even a fellow native Gĩkũyũ who had similar qualities, one's Boss or employer, is metaphorically referred to as *mũthũngũ*. A sophisticated and wealthy person may also be referred to, metaphorically as *chomba,* another term for the white man.

Another case of metaphorical semantic change is in the Gĩkũyũ use of the word that refers to "surgery." They metaphorically refer to it as *gũthĩnja* (Lit. "to slaughter"). To the traditional Gĩkũyũ the idea of cutting up a person and expose their internal organs while in a state of "death" was no different from slaughtering an animal. It did not matter that it was a medical procedure that could lead to cure. The word for slaughter therefore was picked and metaphorically used to refer to the medical procedure. This word is still used today, long after the majority of the Gĩkũyũ accepted surgery as a normal, life-saving procedure.

Metaphors are also evident in loanwords referring to legal matters. Traditionally the council judging a case would usually do so while seated around a fire place (*riiko).* If there was an appeal, the council had literally to return to the fire place (*gũcooka riko)* to further listen to the case. This literal expression has been adopted and is used metaphorically to refer to the concept of the white men's law where one may appeal in a court of law. Still in the legal matters, when one stands in the dock, the Gĩkũyũ speakers speak metaphorically of *kũrũgama mbaũ-inĩ* ("standing in the wooden structure").

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter the discussion has centered on the various types of semantic change. Whereas there are many cases where loanwords retained their SL meanings, there are also cases where semantic change does occur. The meaning of loanwords differs from the SL meaning that the words had when they were borrowed. The variation in meaning differs and for each category examples were cited.

Having so far discussed the mechanisms of borrowing of lexical items from English into Gĩkũyũ, and discussed the phenomenon of semantic change, next we consider factors that influence these processes. The next chapter focuses on how socio-cultural and psychological factors affect lexical borrowing and semantic change.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS INFLUENCING BORROWING AND SEMANTIC CHANGE

4.1 Introduction

Treffers-Daller (2007) observes that social factors influence the quality and quantity of borrowing. Sankoff (2001) is of a similar view and states that linguistic outcomes of language contact are best discussed within a socio historical perspective. Besides social factors, however, there also exist psychological factors that influence linguistic borrowing. Matras (2012) says that borrowing is not fundamentally a sociolinguistic process but fundamentally a cognitive process. There are other linguistic authors like Labov (2010) and Haspelmath (2008) who recognize the role of both social and psychological factors in influencing the process of linguistic borrowing and its outcomes such as semantic change. This is also the view adopted in this study.

The focus of this chapter is a discussion on how social forces as well as psychological factors have influenced the direction of lexical borrowing and semantic change. This is in regard to the case of Gĩkũyũ borrowing from English. The first part explores how social factors such as the Gĩkũyũ socio-political structure, religious beliefs and cultural practices have affected the borrowing process. The second part deals with the role of psychological factors like attitude in the borrowing process and semantic change.

4.2 Social Factors

The fact that languages come into contact, thus leading to lexical borrowing among other linguistic outcomes, is a social factor. Matras (2009) puts this into perspective in his view that language contact and interaction of the speech communities cause their languages to influence each other. Such contacts usually take place within the context of social inequality resulting from conquests, colonialism and so on (Sankoff 2001). This is clearly what happened in the case of Gĩkũyũ and the English-speaking British colonialists. The history of the interaction between the two communities was explained in the introduction to the study.

It was also briefly explained how the interaction between Gĩkũyũ and other speech communities like the Maasai, Swahili and Arabs led to borrowing of lexical items. The fact that Gĩkũyũ has so many loanwords from English can be explained from a sociological perspective.

When the speech communities come together, one of the social outcomes is a cultural exchange. There is introduction of new objects and concepts and the need to name those objects and concepts arises too. Haspelmath (2008) states that a cultural importation is often accompanied by a lexical importation. There are many cases of words that entered into Gĩkũyũ from English in this manner. The English people introduced new objects and concepts into Gĩkũyũ culture and the latter adopted English words or used their own to refer to the new imports. Such words are drawn from across all the semantic domains. They could be referring to material culture such as food and drinks, clothing, household items and machinery; or to social culture such as in economy, education, health and entertainment. It could also be in social organization such as politics, kinship, religion and judicial system. The fact that there were words introduced from English into Gĩkũyũ and fitting into those systems may be attributed to the fact that all humam societies have certain universal sociological structures and only the specifics differ. For instance the Gĩkũyũ could easily equate their own type of leader, *muthamaki,* to the new concept of a president. Where not practical, they imported direct loans such as *King'i* to refer to the British monarchy's "King"

It is also a social fact that the more politically and economically powerful speech community imposes its culture on the less powerful community. In the case of colonialism and conquests, the colonizing community enforces its culture on the subject community.   With regard to this study, the British colonized the Gĩkũyũ and consequently passed on their culture and language to the Gĩkũyũ. Like Treffers-Daller (2007) observes, borrowing normally flows from the dominant and the more culturally, politically and economically powerful community to the less dominant one. This is clearly what is observed in this research. It is the Gĩkũyũ who borrow the lexical items from English language. A check in the current English dictionaries revealed only one Gĩkũyũ word *irio* (food) that the English borrow from Gĩkũyũ and is marked East African English. Besides it was only in the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, 9th Edition (2015). The rest of the English dictionaries referred to lacked this entry.

Social factors played a role not only in the borrowing of lexical items as explained above, but they also influenced semantic change in certain situations. The Gĩkũyũ community had a traditional doctor *mũndũ mũgo* who had used traditional methods to heal his clients. To the Gĩkũyũ therefore anyone who can prescribe or dispense drugs for treatment is regarded as a 'doctor.' This could account for the observed case of semantic expansion of the Gĩkũyũ loanword *ndagĩtari* (doctor) to refer to not only a medical doctor but also to a nurse, pharmacist or chemist.

There is also the factor of initial exposure which could lead to meaning shift. There are noted cases where the speakers get stuck with a loan word for an object or concept that was encountered initially but later on changes. When a change occurs the initial loan word continues to be used in spite of the change. A clear case is in the use of the word *siripasi* ('slippers'). The Gĩkũyũ were initially exposed to slippers type of shoes according to some of the elderly Gĩkũyũ speakers that were interviewed. This word was initially borrowed with the correct SL meaning. When later flip-flops were introduced, the Gĩkũyũ speakers continued to use the term 'slippers'. The actual slippers had become less common and they were perceived to serve the same purpose as flip-flops, that of indoor footwear. The two types of footwear also looked almost the same. The same phenomenon of initial exposure contributing to meaning shift is evident in the loan word *thitĩnji*. ('stage'). The Gĩkũyũ speakers at first acquired this with the SL meaning of one of the resting places during a journey. This is what the Gĩkũyũ speakers noted with the earliest colonial administrators, settlers and missionaries as explained earlier on in this chapter. The word for stage *thitĩnji* is today used to refer to a bus-stop or bus-station, even after the SL meaning became obsolete after the introduction of fast-moving vehicles.

4.3 Psychological Factors

The psychological aspect is important since this study uses the cognitive approach to lexical semantics. The role of psychological factors like prestige therefore cannot be ignored. Indeed such factors have a played significant role in influencing the direction taken in lexical borrowing and semantic change when Gĩkũyũ speakers borrow from English.

It is clear from the previous discussion in this study that attitude was a determining factor in the outcome of the Gĩkũyũ–English contact situation. It can be attributed to the Gĩkũyũ people's attitude towards the process of colonialism and the missionary factor.

According to Cagnolo (1933:275).

> …being an enterprising and adventurous people, (the Agikuyu) took up the new culture of the white man in an extremely short time. They adopted the new concepts of religion, education and ways of life so quickly…

Of course history has it that the Gĩkũyũ had initially resisted the white men but they "Gradually learnt to conform with, and even accept British rule (Mũriũki 1974:167).

This positive attitude must have facilitated a faster rate of borrowing from English. It meant the Gĩkũyũ were ready to learn about and adopt the new culture. This, naturally led to importation of new lexical items from the English language as is the case with any language in contact with another (Haspelmath 2009).

The need to name new objects and concepts imported from the new culture is not necessarily the only reason why communities borrow lexical items. Like it was previously stated, every language has the capacity to create new words from its own resource to refer to the new objects and concepts. The fact that the borrowing community has gone ahead to borrow even the lexical items for objects that were already in existence can be attributed to attitude. The speakers of the recipient language perceive the donor language as being more prestigious and so prefer to borrow the lexical items, with some degree of accuracy (Haspelmath 2009, Haugen, 1953). Even more interesting is the fact that the speakers of the recipient language will not only engage in cultural borrowing but also core borrowings. (Haspelmath 2009). One would think it would be unnecessary since the objects or concepts already exist in the native language and so do lexical items that refer to them. This is clearly a matter of attitude, in viewing the donor language as prestigious. The Gĩkũyũ speakers have core borrowings in vocabulary referring to animals, kinship terms and numerals, among others. For instance animals like the giraffe and zebra were

known among the Agĩkũyũ and the words *ndũiga* and *wambũi mĩcore,* respectively, were used to refer to them. Today, these words are rarely used, if ever. The loanwords *sembura* and *njirabu,* are more common. The Gĩkũyũ native term for mother, *maitũ* is very rarely used and instead *mami* ('from mummy') is more common. The same case applies to *sista* ("sister") and *mburatha* ("brother") instead of the native terms *mwarĩ wa maitũ* and *mũrũ wa maitũ* respectively

The Gĩkũyũ had a clear and systematic numbering system that goes up to thousands (no native word was found during the research referring to "million" or trillion"). In spite of the availability of such a wide range of numerals, the speakers heavily borrow from English when referring to numbers. This was found to be the case mainly with numerals from eleven upwards. This can be attributed to the fact that speakers are likely to find the numbers from eleven upwards "cumbersome" since they involve compound words that combine tens and units. A speaker will most likely find it easier to say *irebeni* (eleven) instead of *ikumi na imwe* ("ten and one"). This too can be attributed to attitude. The need for 'convenience' may also be regarded as linguistic.

The Gĩkũyũ people also had native words that were used to refer to the various seasons (Cagnolo 1933). They were twelve in total and closely relate to the twelve months in the English Calendar. It would be expected therefore that the native terms would have been retained to refer to the mouths. On the contrary, the Gĩkũyũ speakers were found, in the course of the research, to have borrowed heavily from English when referring to the months. Infact it was also established that, with the exception of some elderly members, the majority of the respondents could not tell the native for the twelve seasons of a Gĩkũyũ calendar. The following are the twelve months that existed in the Gĩkũyũ language(in their native terms,) the corresponding loanword and the SL word.

Gĩkũyũ native term	Loanword	Gloss
119. *Mũgaa*	*njanũari*	'January'
120. *Mũgetho*	*bemburuarĩ*	'February'
121. *Kĩhu*	*maaci*	'March'
122. *Mũthatũ*	*ĩpuro*	'April'

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123.	*Ugĩranjara*	*mĩĩ*	'May'
124.	*Gathanwa*	*njuni*	'June'
125.	*Gathano*	*njuraĩ*	'July'
126.	*Mworia nyoni*	*agasiti*	'August'
127.	*Mũgaa wa kerĩ*	*seputemba*	'September'
128.	*Mwania thenge*	*okitomba*	'October'
129.	*Kanyua hungu*	*nobemba*	'November'
130.	*Gatumu*	*ndithemba*	'December'

There are cases where certain objects borrowed from English culture clearly had similar alternatives in Gĩkũyũ. It would be expected that the Gĩkũyũ speakers would use their native language resource to refer to the new objects. Instead, however, they preferred to use the English word which to them was more prestigious. A case in point is *mbagi* (Gĩkũyũ for "bag"). Gĩkũyũ people had a kind of bag referred to as *mondo*. This word is however not commonly used; *mbagi* is the preferred word. They also had a small serving tray (*Gatiti)* very similar to the English "tray." However the loan word *tiree* was preferred and is the one in use.

The preference to English terms over the available native words is evident also in other interactive discourse such as in expressions of gratitude, apologies, farewells, among others. One would sound more sophisticated when using such expressions borrowed from English rather than use the native terms. A case in point is the use of the apologetic term *sore* ("sorry"). It is very rarely that the equivalents in Gĩkũyũ are used. These are *nĩndahera* ("I regret") or *njoheera* ("I repent"). The same case applies to the loan word *thengiũ* ("thank you") which is more commonly used than the native expression *nĩ wega*. Rather than bid someone farewell using the Gĩkũyũ native expression *thiĩ na wega* ("go well"), one will hear more of *mbaĩ* (bye).

Another case in point is in the loanword, *sosĩnji* ('sausage'). The Gĩkũyũ have a type of stuffed meat whose preparation and appearance closely resembles a sausage, called *mũtura*. However, this word was not used to refer to the English 'sausage' as might be expected. Instead, they borrowed direct loan, *sosĩnji* to refer to the newly introduced 'sausage.' This could be attributed

to the fact that the snack was at first associated with the elite and the Gĩkũyũ speakers would find the world *sosĩnji* more sophisticated than using the native term *mũtura*. This too is a matter of attitude.

The Gĩkũyũ speakers were at first appalled by the idea of operating on a person. It was no different from slaughtering an animal, as earlier explained. Their use of the word *gũthĩnja* the same word for "slaughter" expressed their disgust and fear of this medical procedure.

The Gĩkũyũ Christian converts had a problem viewing church wine as "beer or alcohol." To Gĩkũyũ speakers, any alcoholic drink is *njoohi*. However to distinguish the church wine from any other alcoholic drink, the Christians converts adopted the expression *njoohi ya Mũthabibũ* (Lit. beer of the grapes). Similarly the word *ngoma* that originally referred to spirits of the dead is later on used to refer to the new concept of "devil." Interestingly it was not borrowed to refer to the new concept of "Holy Spirit" – not even qualifying it with "Holy." Traditionally the native Gĩkũyũ people feared the spirits and in most cases were associated with harm (Mũriũki 1974; Cagnolo 1933). Attitude had played a role in influencing certain semantic changes. For example, equating the idea of opening up a person during surgery to the idea of slaughtering an animal is a case of metaphorical semantic change. The use of the word *ngoma* to refer to devil and not in its original sense to refer to spirits of the dead is a case of meaning shift. There is semantic expansion when the word *mũthuri* not only refers to an old man or one's husband but its meaning has been extended to include a church elder. Its use nowadays, therefore includes even women who are church elders.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the role of social and psychological factors in influencing lexical borrowing and semantic change. Language is a social phenomenon and lexical borrowing being a linguistic process cannot take place outside a socio-cultural context. It has emerged from the discussion that social forces play a role in the process of lexical borrowing and semantic change. The kind of interaction that Gĩkũyũ had with the white man influenced the borrowing process. Besides the socio-cultural factors, psychological factors like attitude were also significant. The perception and attitude the Gĩkũyũ people had towards the British and their culture influenced

lexical borrowing. Much of the attitude was based on prestige as well as personal and religious beliefs. These factors have been shown to also have a bearing on semantic change.

CHAPTER FIVE
RESEARCH CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This research study has carried out an investigation into the linguistic contact between Gĩkũyũ and English. The cognitive approach to lexical semantics was applied as the theoretical framework in the study of the Gĩkũyũ borrowing of lexical items from English. The focus was on the borrowing mechanisms employed, instances of semantic change as well as discussion on the social and psychological factors that influence this process.

Having carried out this study there are a number of observations that were made and will be given in this final chapter of the study. It gives a summary of the findings on the case of Gĩkũyũ borrowing from English. Some remarks will be made concerning the hypotheses floated at the beginning of the study. Their validity will be tested against the findings and remarks made appropriately. The contributions of this study will also be discussed and recommendations for further research given before giving the final concluding remarks.

5.2 Summary of Findings and Remarks on Hypotheses

After a comprehensive study of the data on lexical items borrowed from English by Gĩkũyũ speakers, several facts emerge from the analysis. One of the findings is the fact that the linguistic contact between the two speech communities was quite productive. This is specifically in relation to lexical borrowing and semantic change. This however had been an on-going process in Gĩkũyũ language as the speakers acquired loanwords from their neighbours and other speech communities they came into contact with. These included the Maasai, Swahili and Arabs. In addition, there are many loanwords that got into Gĩkũyũ as a result of the colonialization of the community by the English-speaking British. Besides, the spread of Christianity and modern education among the Gĩkũyũ by various groups of missionaries also played a significant role in introducing a new culture and language. A close scrutiny of the loanwords reveals several other facts.

To begin with, it was noted that the majority of the loanwords are nouns. From the corpus data collected, nouns constitute over ninety-five percent (95%). The only other word classes represented and the loanwords were quite few- were verbs and adjectives. These included verbs like *ritaya* (go on retire); *paaka* (park e.g. a vehicle); and adjectives like *ngirini* (green) and *gatoreki* (catholic). There were also a few exclamations like *thengiũ* (thank you) and *mbaĩ-mbaĩ* (bye-bye).

Another observation was that Gĩkũyũ speakers employed various borrowing mechanisms when acquiring loanwords from English. These borrowing mechanisms are also discussed by various linguistic scholars in reference to situations relating to other languages. They include direct loans, loan creations, loan translations (calques), loan shifts clippings and coinage. The majority of the Gĩkũyũ loanwords were found to be direct loans, while very few were coinage.

It was also noted that most of the loanwords were used to refer to new object and concepts that the British introduced to the Gĩkũyũ speakers. The majority of the loanwords can therefore be said to have been as a result of cultural borrowing. However there were also cases of core borrowing, several cases were noted of words borrowed from English, yet there already were native counterparts or equivalents in Gĩkũyũ. Most of these cases were attributed to psychological factors such as prestige and attitude. The Gĩkũyũ speakers felt it was more prestigious to use the English loanwords rather than the native word. Although most of these words belong mainly to the material world, there were some examples in areas of conversational discourse such as interjections, as well as a few verbs. Examples include *thengiũ* ('thank you'); sore ("sorry") and *cenjia* (change")

Whereas it is true that borrowing can go in either way when languages come into contact, Haspelmath (2000) correctly notes that it normally proceeds from the language perceived to be more prestigious and more influential, to the less prestigious one. This was clearly the case concerning Gĩkũyũ –English contact. A search for words borrowed from Gĩkũyũ into English yielded only one word, *irio* (Gĩkũyũ traditional food) and this entry is associated with East African English. Besides it was an entry in only one English dictionary (OAL Dictionary). It is the Gĩkũyũ speakers who were observed to have borrowed heavily from English and not the vice

versa. This study therefore concurs with Haspelmath (2000) that lexical borrowing is predominantly one-way.

Lexical borrowing was also noted to be selectively done. Whereas there is evidence to show that Gĩkũyũ speakers freely borrowed from across various domains, it is equally evident that the speakers were also conservative in certain areas. It was difficult to find loanwords in reference to body parts and functions, as well as words referring to cultural practices especially those relating to rites of passage. For instance, negotiations during payment of dowry are carried out in a Gĩkũyũ linguistic style that is full of vocabulary, imagery and symbolism that is conservatively native. It is rare to find loanwords among Gĩkũyũ proverbs, idioms and other oral traditions. We can therefore conclude that Gĩkũyũ speakers refrain from borrowing from English in areas that relate to their cultural identity. This is so because it was also noted that other than in the case of Christian names, the Gĩkũyũ people retain their native names as they are. Even the name for the community and language Gĩkũyũ is used in its native from and not the angilicised form, Kikuyu.

Concerning the issue of semantic change, there were quite a number of cases noted where loan words, retained their original SL meaning. Indeed such cases were the majority. However there were also cases of loanwords failing to retain the SL meaning, thus exhibiting instances of semantic change. The cases of semantics change were noted to occur in various forms. These included broadening, narrowing, meaning shift and metaphorical change. Another observation concerns the issue of the variety of English borrowed. English language has different varieties that include the British, American, Australian, Indian and South African among others. As stated earlier, the Gĩkũyũ speakers were initially exposed to the British variety of English language, this is because they were colonized by the British, as were many other communities in East Africa (Crystal, 1995). Compared to other varieties- especially the American English- it was established in this research that Gĩkũyũ speakers borrowed from the British variety of English and not the other varieties. Examples of such loanwords include *rĩbuti* where the Gĩkũyũ borrowed from the British "Lift" rather than the American "elevator." Other include *betũrũ* (British 'petrol" rather than American gas), and ngamumbuuti from the British 'gumboot' instead of the American rubber boot.

There are also concluding remarks to make concerning the hypotheses cited at the beginning of the study. The first hypothesis stated that *Gĩkũyũ has extensively borrowed lexical items from English*. In the course of this research, the researcher never failed to note many English loanword while listening to ordinary conversations, public address or broadcasts, among the native Gĩkũyũ speakers. The corpus data used in this research – it involved over three hundred words- is by no means exhaustive. Many more loan words are entering into Gĩkũyũ languge from English especially in this era of advances in modern technology and English the main language of communication. Besides, the speakers of Gĩkũyũ are like everyone else getting more exposed to the global arena and where English is used as the *lingua franca.* The second hypothesis predicted that *the words borrowed from English into Gĩkũyũ undergo semantic change*. This hypothesis proved to be partially true. This is because the study revealed many examples where borrowed words retained the SL meaning. As stated earlier these loanwords were the majority. However, there were also examples to show that there exist cases of semantic change. The final hypothesis postulated that *there exist social and / or psychological factors responsible for borrowing and semantic change*. This was confirmed to be the case. The analysis of the collected data yielded instances where several social and psychological factors played significant roles in influencing borrowing process and semantic change.

Finally it is necessary to consider the relevance and adequacy of the theoretical framework applied in this study. The cognitive approach to lexical semantics was used. This theoretical framework proved to be relevant and adequate for this research. This approach views lexical borrowing as a cognitive linguistic process that occurs within a historical socio-cultural setting. In this study the historical context in which Gĩkũyũ and English speech communities came into contact was discussed. The socio-cultural aspect of the Gĩkũyũ as well as their attitude towards life and the white people who settled among them during the colonial period were also included. These formed the background to this study. This research also discussed how these social and psychological factors influenced the borrowing process and semantic change. The cognitive lexical semantics approach was therefore the right tool for the procedure used in analysing the data collected as well as the conclusions drawn from the findings.

5.3 Recommendations for Further Research

This research has established that Gĩkũyũ has borrowed significantly from English. This process continues. One may in future want to investigate if the many new loanwords entering into Gĩkũyũ from English exhibit the same borrowing mechanisms and semantic change as shown in this research or there are differences. According to Haugen (1950), Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Treffers – Daller (2000) speakers' age and bilingual ability may affect lexical borrowing and integration. Further research may help determine if these two factors had implications in the current situation where more young Gĩkũyũ speakers are now exposed to English than the more elderly speakers. One may want to establish if the current ongoing borrowings are being done with more degree of accuracy. In addition further research may be carried out to investigate more closely on the noted cases of non-native sounds being introduced into Gĩkũyũ from English. These include [P] and [S] in words like *sosĩnji* ('sausage') and paaka ('to park')

As stated earlier, this study was confined to lexical borrowing as opposed to code-switching, code-mixing and bilingualism. One may decide in future research to turn their attention to these areas which are also related to language contact situations. In the course of this research, instances of code-switching and code-mixing were quite evident among most Gĩkũyũ speakers, especially those with a good command of the two languages.

Also, while carrying out this study, the researcher stumbled upon two cases of what was believe to be chance resemblance of lexical item involving the two languages. The Gĩkũyũ word for 'tobacco," *mbakĩ* /ᵐbake/ sounds similar to the British English slang for tobacco, '*baccy'* /bϴki/. It is not likely that either of the languages borrowed from the other. This is because tobacco existed in both communities long before they came into contact (Muriuki, 1974). Another case is the similarity between the Gĩkũyũ word *njingiri* / ⊄dZɪᴺgiri/ and its English – equivalent, jingles / dZɪNglz/. Further research may help reveal if indeed this is a case of chance resemblance or not; as well as help to determine if there exist other examples.

According to Falk (1973) if the set of borrowed words are very many, the process may eventually affect the system of the borrowing language. Further studies might help establish if

this is happening in Gĩkũyũ, considering that the language is currently borrowing much more heavily from English than has previously been the case. While at it, one may also want to investigate whether if the borrowing continues at such a high rate, it might threaten Gĩkũyũ in future, leading to endangerment of the language.

5.4 Conclusion

This being the last chapter has concluded the discussion of this study. The study set out to investigate the process of lexical borrowing and semantic change in the case of Gĩkũyũ-English linguistic contact. The findings of this study confirm the fact that when two speech communities come into contact there is bound to be linguistic change. The resulting phenomena include lexical borrowing and semantic change. Lexical borrowing is normally motivated by the need to name new objects and concepts acquired from the language perceived to be more prestigious. This is cultural borrowing. However it has also been established in this study that core-borrowing may also take place and this was attributed mainly to psychological factors like attitude. Therapeutic and certain linguistic considerations were also shown to be factors that may influence borrowing. In the course of borrowing SL meaning may be retained or it may change in various ways.

Lexical borrowing is a continuous process. This means Gĩkũyũ speakers will most likely continue to borrow from English, perhaps even at a higher rate. This is could be the case when we factors in the role of English in the modern era of advanced technology and globalization. Most Gĩkũyũ speakers are also exposed to English language. As a result, more and more loanwords are entering from English into Gĩkũyũ. This can be a potential area of investigation in future research. The extent to which particular borrowing mechanisms are employed as well as the extent of semantic change may however vary from what was observed in this research. In conclusion it is also worth noting that from this research it is clear that all languages share certain universal properties. In this research such properties are related to lexical semantics. All in all, the field of lexical semantics is an interesting area of study. The process of carrying out the investigation may pose its own challenges but the effort is worthy it.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE ENGLISH – SPEAKING WORLD
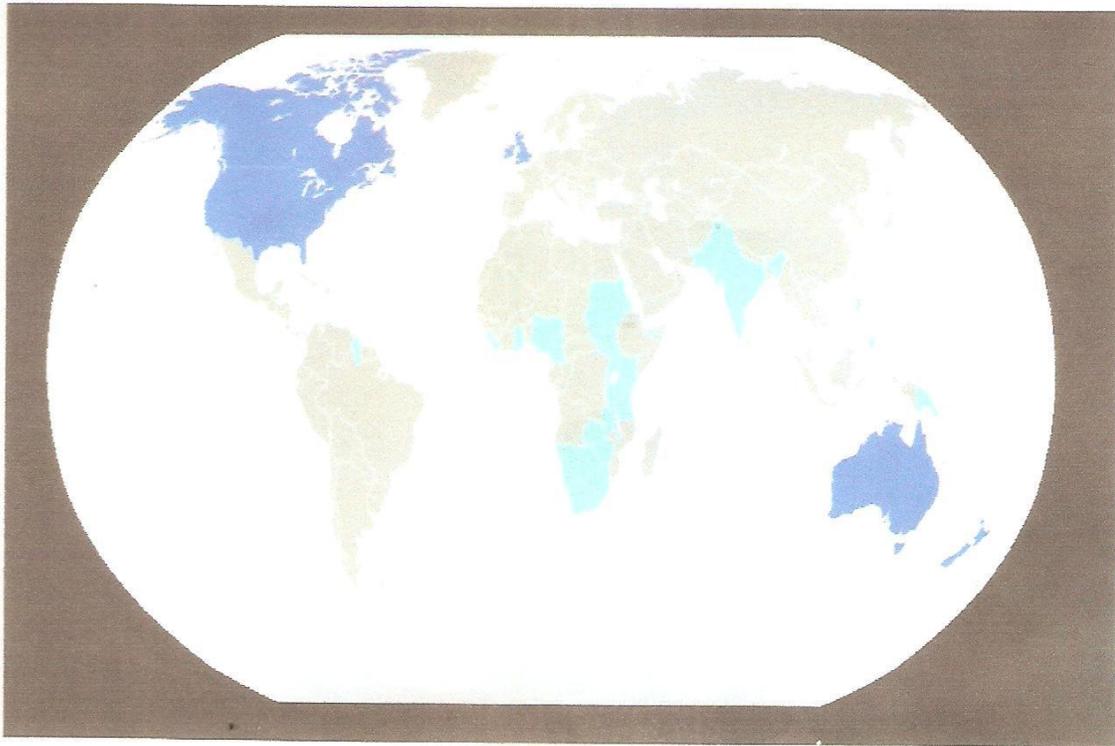
Key

English as a majority native language

English as official language but not majority native language

Source: The Wikipedia

ANCIENT BANTU MIGRATION ROUTES

SOURCE: http://exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu/images/ancientafrhist.jpg
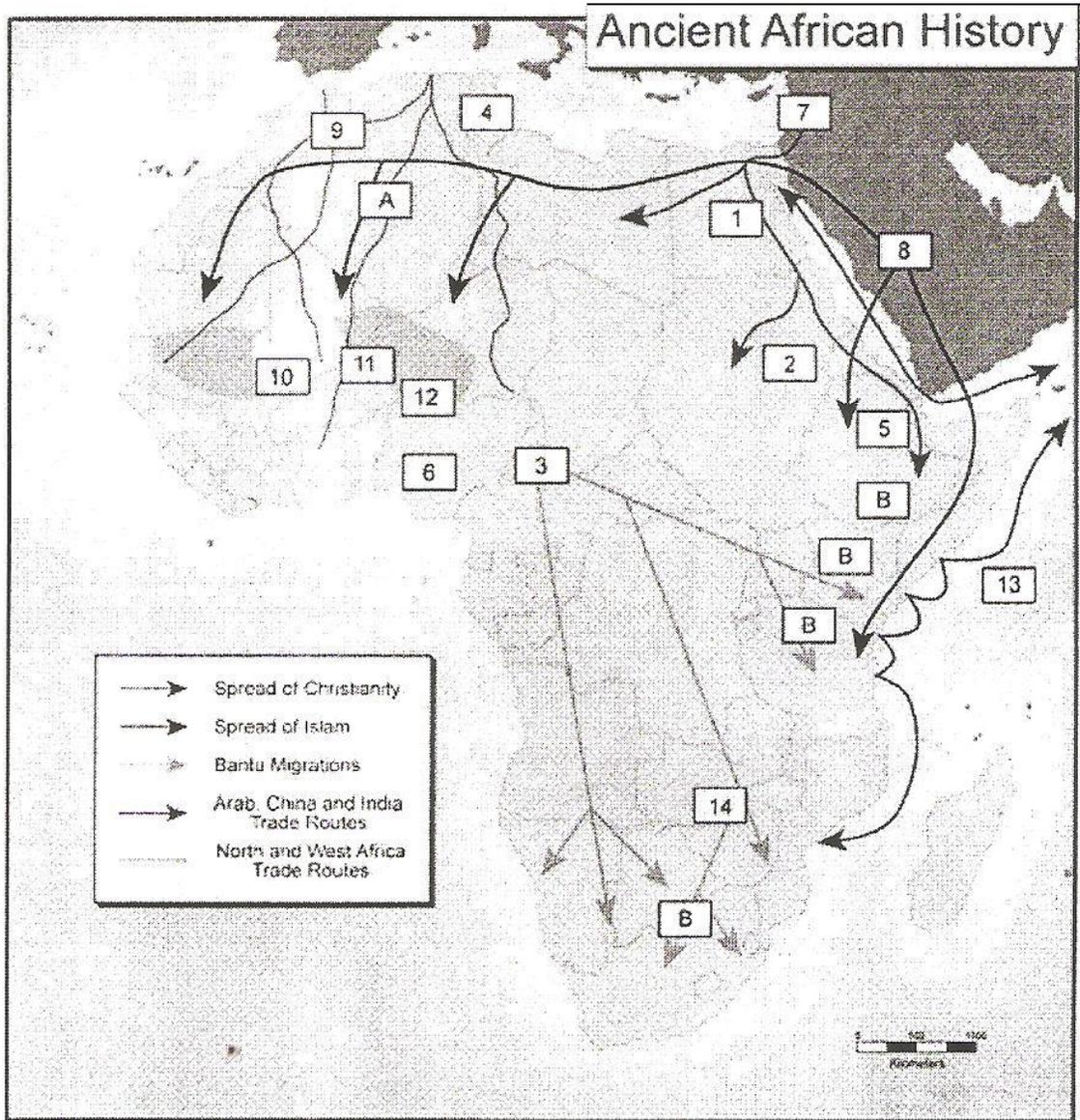
APPENDIX 3

EASTERN BANTUS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS
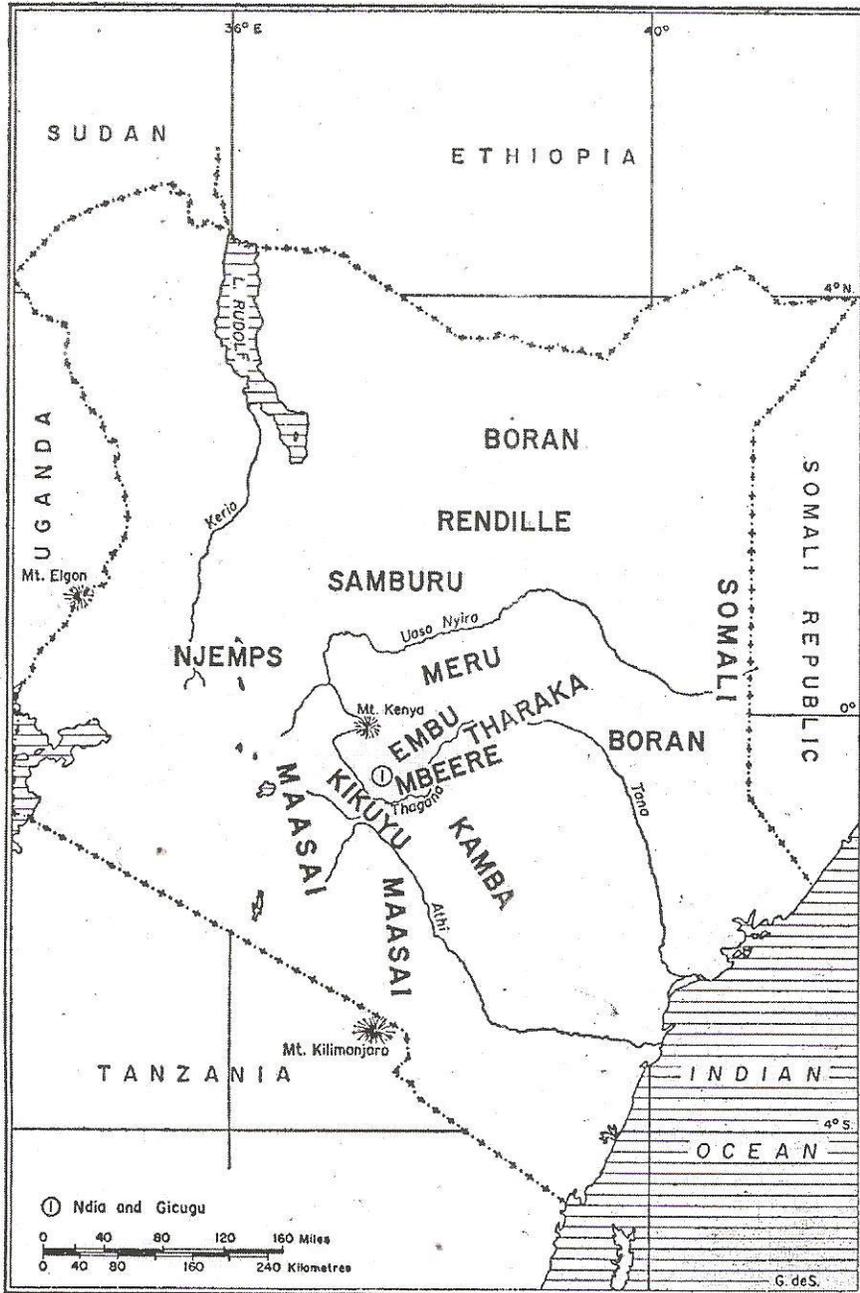
Source: A History of the Kikuyu 1500-1900

By: Godfrey Muriuki

APPENDIX 4

MIGRATION OF THE MOUNT KENYA PEOPLES

Map 3- Migration of the Mount Kenya Peoples

Source: A History of the Kikuyu 1500-1900
      By: Godfrey Muriuki

APPENDIX 5

SAMPLES OF QUESTIONS ASKED DURING DATA COLLECTION

1. To mechanics

(To elicit information on borrowed, words referring to car parts and operations):

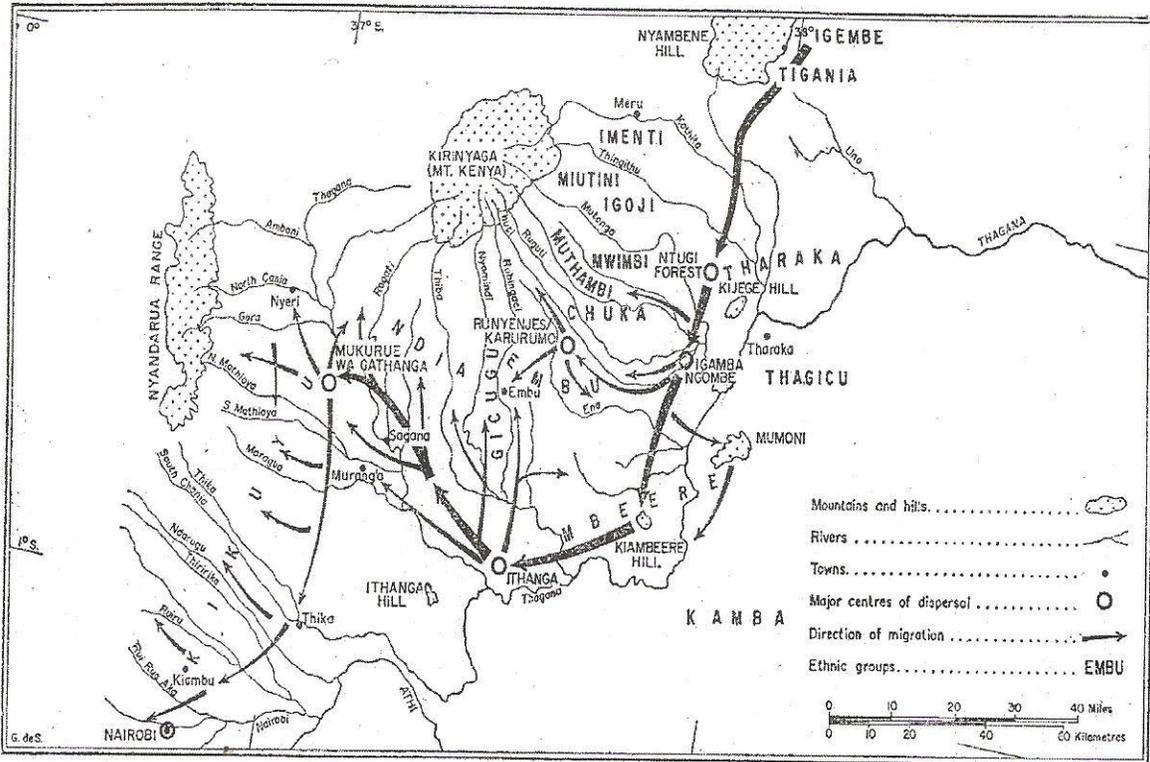*Na kwenda gwaku no ũndarĩrie indo cia ngaari iria ũthondekaga na ũria irutaga wĩra?*

(Could you kindly explain to me the various car parts that you repair and how they work?)

2.(In conversation son foodstuff and drinks (To elicit information on borrowed words referring to foodstuff and drinks):

Mũndu ũraiga mũkawa ni irio na indo cia kũnyua iriku ũngimutaara aige cingĩendekia na ihenya?

(If one was to operate a hotel, which fast-moving foods and drinks would you advise him or her to sell?)

3. (To inquire on whether tobacco, drum and jingles are borrowed words):

(a)   *Mbere ya mũthũngũ gũka-ri, Agikũyũ nimahũtha-gira mbaki?*

         (Before the coming of the white man, did the Gĩkũyũ people use tobacco?)

(b)   *Tangwetera mithemba ngũrani ya indo cia nyimbo iria Agikũyũ mahũthagira muthungũ atanoka.*

         (Kindly mention the different types of musical instruments the Gikuyu people before the coming of the white man)

APPENDIX 6

COMMON WORDS BORROWED FROM ENGLISH INTO GĪKŪYŪ

ECOLOGY

Fauna

GĪKŪYŪ		GLOSS
Taiga		
Njirabu	(nat.ndũiga)	
Thembura /sembura	(nat./njagĩ)	'zebra'

Flora

Kaiyaba	'kieaple'
Mburuungamu	'blue gum'
Rĩinabu	'pineapple'
Abokando	'avocado'
Thibinaci	'spinach'
Karati	'carrot'
Ipo	'apple'

Material Culture Food and Drinks

GIKUYU		GLOSS
Keki		'cake'
Kĩrimu		'milk cream'
Chipusi		'potato chips'
Sosĩnji		'sausage'
Mitipai	(meat pie)	'meatpie'
Aisikirimu		'ice cream'
Muthigwiti		'biscuit'
Mbĩkoni		'bacon'
Ciithi		'cheece'
Thubu		'soup'
Ngirebi		'gravy'
Raanji		'lunch'
Sapa		'supper'
Mburĩkibasiti		'breakfast'
Sonda	'soda'	
Njoohi	'alcohol'/ 'beer' / 'wine'/ 'spirit'	
Njoohi nduru	(Lit. 'strong beer')	'spirit'
Njoohi ya mũthabibũ	(Lit. 'vine beer')	'church wine'
Turungi	('true tea')	'black tea'
Thigara	(Swahili: 'sigara')	'cigarette'
Njemu		'jam'

Clothes, Footwear and Accessory

GĨKŨYŨ		GLOSS
Njini		'jeans'
Matiriũ		'material' (cloths)
Thikati		'skirt'
Thikabu		'scarf
Mburaũthi		'blouse'
Caati		'shirt'
Njaketi		'jacket'
Igooti		(short) 'coat'
Thuuti 'suit'		
Cũũ		'shawl'
Cũndacũũ		'shoulder shawl'
Mbĩmbĩcuu		'baby shawl'
Tai		'tie'
Kara		'collar'
Mooko	(Lit. 'arms')	'sleeves'
Andawĩa	('underwear')	'men's underpants'
Taurũ		'towel'
Thitokingi		'stockings'
Paamu		'pumps'
Ngamumbuti	('gumboots')	'Wellingtons'
Mbuuti		'boots'
Siripasi	('slippers')	
Cĩini		
Wiigi		'wig'
Handimbagi		'handbag'

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Buildings, Household Items and Material

GĨKŪYŨ	GLOSS
Chumuni	'chimney'
Buroo	'floor'
Baranda	'verandah'
Siiring'i	'ceiling'
Rooko	'lock'
Ngoroba	'storey'
Soketi	'socket'
Swici	'switch'
Waaya	'wire'
Katĩini	'curtain'
Thimiti	'cement'
Mbati	'putty'
Ngirathi	'drinking glass'
Gĩcicio	'mirror/window/glass'
Njagĩ	'jug'
Tiree	'tray'
Kabondi/kabati	'cupboard'
Wandirombu	'wardrobe'
Saindimbundi	'sideboard'
Ceobu	'shelf'
Ndiroo	'drawer'

| Ngasi | | 'cooking gas' |
| Riiko rĩa ngasi | | 'gas cooker' |

| Kotoni/katoni | | 'carton' |
| Ngereni/ngarani | | gallon, two - gallon tin can |

Transport and Related and Vocabulary

GĨKŨYŨ		GLOSS
Rigicũ	('rickshaw')	'handcart'
Mbaathi		'buss'
Roori/kiroori		'lorry'
Ngaari		car/vehicles'
Ngaari ya mwaki	(Lit. vehicle of fire)	'train'
Ndaragita/karagita		'tractor'
Njeti		'jet'
Herikobuta		'helicopter'
Paracuti		'parachute'
Ngaranji		'garage'
Ceceni		'station'
Mbuundi		'car body'
Mbuuti		'boot'
Kaburaita		'carburettor'
Taĩri		'tyre'
Ngia		'gear (s)'

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Ceethi		'chassis'
Honi		'car horn'
Ndithũrũ		'diesel'
Beturu		'petrol(em)'
Maguta	(Lit. oil/fat)	'fuel'
Cũũkũ/ Cũũkũmũsomba		'shock absorber'
Sigino		'signal/indicator'
Gĩtĩ	(Lit. oil/fat)	'seat'
Gĩcicio	(Lit. glass)	'side window'/windscreen'
Rithiti/bia	(ticket/fare)	'fare'
Thitĩnji	(stage)	'bus station'/bus stop'
Ndereba		'driver'
Njaamu		'traffic jam'
Paaka		'Park' (v)
Pakingi		'Parking'

SOCIAL CULTURE

Work Place and Related Vocabulary

GĨKŨYŨ		GLOSS
Purumuconi		'promotion'
Riibu		'leave'
Rũũtha		'holiday'
Bairo		'file'
Kamĩtĩ		'committee'
Anjenda		'agenda'
Mwandĩkĩ		'minutes/group secretary'
Sekeretari		'company/institution secretary'
Kworamu		'quorum'
Ritaaya		'retire'(N)
Kuheo ritaaya	(Lit. be given retire)	'retire' (V)
Wĩra	(Lit. work)	'employment'
Kwandĩkwo wĩra	Lit. be registered for work)	'be employed'
Tiranjibaa		'transfer '(N)
Kũhũra tiranjibaa	(Lit. effect transfer) 'transfer'	
Wabici/wobici		'office'
Riboti/roboti		'report'
Mbũũsi		'boss
Mũnene	(Lit. Senior/big)	'boss
Mũthũngũ	(Lit. white man)	'boss'

Manĩnja		'manager'
Mũnini wa manĩja	(Lit. manager's junior)	'assistant manager'

Trade and Commerce

GĨKŨYŨ	GLOSS
Marigiti	'market'
Igooti	'market'
Rithiiti	'receipt'
Thendi	'cent'
Mbauni	('sterling) pound'
Ciringi	'shilling'
Nooti	'banknote'
Bengi	'bank'
Ceki	'cheque'
Kacia	'cashier'
Kaunta	'counter'
Cĩĩnji	'change'
Mbaranithi	'balance'
Kambuni	'company'
Saako	'sacco'
Thothaiti	'society'
Rũũni	'loan'
Njoherera	'interest'

Cairoko	'shylock'
Mburũka	'broker'
Hũũka	'hawker'
Mbucĩri	'butchery'
Gĩthinjiro	'slaughter'
Mbaa	'bar'
Runjing'I	'lodging'
Rumu	'room'
Mbiiro	'bill'
Menu	'menu'
Wĩita	'waiter'/waitress'/'barman'/barmaid'

Machinery, Modern Equipment and Innovation and Related Vocabulary

GĨKŨYŨ	GLOSS
Macini	'machine'
Njenerĩta	'generator'
Tooci	'torch'
Kamera	'camera'
Rendiu/rĩndiũ	'radio'
Tibii/terebiconi	'TV'/television'
Tĩĩpu	'audio/video tape'
Mũraũ	'plough'
Thoo	'handsaw'

Buraithi		'pliers'
Hurumbaru		'wheelbarrow'
Gĩciko gĩa tiiri	(Lit. 'spoon for soil')	'spade'
Mbĩrĩrĩki	(Lit. rotator)	'sprinkler'
Sipika		'speaker'
Rĩbuti		'lift'
Kirini		'crane'
Kambiuta/kompiuta		'computer'
Erio		'aerial' TV
Netiwaka		'network'
Sindii		'CD'
Dibindii		'DVD'
Caanja		'charger'
Ikĩra mwaki	(Lit. 'put fire')	'charge'
Rurenda	(Lit. 'cobweb'	'website'
Thimu ya guoko	(Lit. 'hand phone')	'mobile phone'
Iimĩro		'E-mail'
Raputopu		'Laptop'
Bairasi		'virus'
Kirenditi		'credit'

Education

GĨKŨYŨ	GLOSS
Cukuru	'school'
Korĩnji	'college/course'
Ndingirii	'university degree'
Ndipuroma	'diploma'
Biithi	'fees'
Taamu	'term'
Yuniboomu	'school uniform'
Ruutha	'holiday'
Mbuku/ibuku	'book'
Coka	'chalk'
Mburakimbuundi	'blackboard'
Ndesiki	'desk'
Mbagi	'school bag'
rĩnjisita	'class register'
rura	'ruler'
namba	'alphabet/letters'
ndemwa	'alphabet/letters'
satibikĩti	'certificate'

Health

GĨKŨYŨ		GLOSS
Thibitarĩ		'Hospital'
Thibitarĩ nene	(Lit. 'big hospital')	'general hospital'
Ndisipenisarĩ		'dispensary'
Ndagĩtarĩ		'doctor'
Naathi		'nurse'
Matanĩtĩ		'maternity ward/service'
Kiriniki		'clinic'
Wondi		'hospital/ward'
Mocarĩ		'mortuary'
Kemĩsiti		'chemist's shop'/pharmacy'
Guthĩnjwo	(Lit. 'slaughter')	'surgery/operation'
Gukoma thibitarĩ	(Lit. sleep in hospital)	'hospital admission'
Thituruku		'stroke'
Mariria		'malaria'
Tiimbii		'TB'/Tuberclosis
Rĩmunia		'Pneumonia'
Kuhanyuka thakame	(Lit. running of blood)	'Hypertension'
Murimu wa cukari	(Lit sugar disease)	'Diabetes'
Ngaaĩ (Lit. glands)	(Lit. glands)	'Tonsilitis'

Leisure / Entertainment / Sports

GĨKŨYŨ	GLOSS
Patĩ	'party'
Ndaaci	'dance'
Mbaandi	'band'
Kwaya	'choir'
Thinema	'cinema'
Biumu	'film'
Piano/kĩnanda	'keyboard'
Ngita	'guitar'
Ndarama	'drum'
Wanumaningita	'one-man-guitar'
Ndinjei	'DJ' (disc-jockey)
Emusii	'MC' (Master of Ceremonies)
Bũrĩmbo	'volleyball'
Ribarii	'referee'
Ngooru	'goal'/goal-keeper'
Neti	'net'
Mũbira	'ball/match'
Mũbira wa magũrũ (Lit 'ball for legs')	'soccer'/football'
Mũbira wa moko (Lit 'ball for hands')	'handball'
Mbasiketimboro	'basketball'

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Religion and Related Vocabulary

GĪKŪYŪ		**GLOSS**
Mbaibu		'The Holy Bible'
Mĩceni		'mission'
Mũmĩceni		'missionary'
Pasita		'pastor'
Batĩrĩ		'padre'
Thakaramendi		'sacrament'
Ngirũndi		'woman's guild'
Yuuthi		'youth group'
Besitĩrĩ		'vestry'
Ndaimono		'demons'
Caitani		'satan'
Ndikoni		'deacon/deaconess'
Mbicobu		'bishop'
Mbicobu munene		Arch-bishop'
Pũpu		'popu'
Baba mutheru	(Lit.'the holy father')	'pope'
Muru wa ithe wiitu	(Lit. our father's son)	'brother'
Mwarĩ wa ithe wiitu	(Lit. Our father's daughter)	'sister'
Iguru	(Lit. 'up'/the sky')	'heaven'
Matu-inĩ	(Lit.'in the clouds')	'heaven'

Ikenero	(Lit. 'place of happiness)	'paradise'
Icua	(Lit. place of suffering)	'hell'
Ngoma	(Lit. 'spirit of the dead')	'devil'
Roho Mutheru	(Lit. 'Holy soul/spirit)	'Holy Spirit'
Gĩathĩ	(Lit. 'the communion')	'Holy Communion'
Wamukĩri	(Lit. 'the receiving)	'Holy Communion'
Muthuri wa kanitha		'Church elder'
Mutungaĩri	(Lit. 'who serves'	'reverend'
Muciĩ	(Lit. 'home')	'Home church'
Mwaki	(Lit. sub-region)	'church district'
Mathasi	(mothers)	'mothers union'
Taranda		'talent'
Gatoreki/kathoreki		'The catholic church'
Indi		'African Independent Pentecostal Church of East Africa (AIPCEA)
Bithĩĩ/Pisiĩĩ		'PCEA'/Presbyterian church of East Africa
Buuru	(full)	'Full Gospel Churches of Kenya'

Judicial System

GĨKŨYŨ	GLOSS
Igooti	'court'
Njanji	'magistrate/judge'

Thaĩri/saĩni		'signature'
Ngirimiti		'agreement'
Thero/sero		'cell'
Warandi		'warrant'
Thamanji/samaji		'summons'
Mbũndi		'bond'
Baĩni		'fine'
Kurugama mbau-inĩ	(Lit. in wooden structure)	'in the dock'
Gucokia ciira riiko	(Lit. return case to hearth)	'appeal'

Political Administration and Related Vocabulary

GĨKŨYŨ		GLOSS
Cibũ		'Chief'
Cibũ munene	(Lit. 'The big chief')	'Senior chief'
Munini wa cibũ	(Lit. the junior)	'sub-chief'
Borithi		'police'
Ceceni		'station'
Kambĩ		'camp'
Muthamaki wa bũrũri	(Lit. the ruler of the country)	'president'
Munini wa mũthamaki	(Lit. the junior of the ruler)	'deputy president'
Mwandĩki mũnene	(Lit. the senior secretary)	'principal secretary'
Thingira wa Iregi	(Lit. The rebels' hut)	'state house'
Mũkoroni		'colonialist'

Ndiũũ		'DO' (District Officer)
Ndithii		'DC' (District Commissioner)
Ngati		'home guard'
Koburũ		'corporal'
Thanjini/sanjini		'seargent'
Kabuteni		'captain'
Menja		'major'
Jenũrũ		'general'
Birigiceni		'operation'
Kabeceni		'inspection'
Kambĩni		'campaign'
Taito/taitondii		'title deed'
Marũa	(Lit. letter)	'Permit/Licence
Kabiũ		'curfew'
Imanjeneti		'emergency'
Kanjũ		'council'
Kanjũra		'councillor'
Mboomu		'bomb'

OTHERS

Mburuu	'blue
Ngirini	'green'
Papũ	'purple'

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Maruuni	'maroon'
Thengiũ	'thank you'
Cenjia	'change' (v)
Mirioni	'million'
Mbirioni	'billion'
Njanuari	'January'
Ndithemba	'December'
Femburuarĩ/ mweri wa keri	'February'
Mburatha	'brother'
Sista	'sister'
Mami	'mummy/mother'